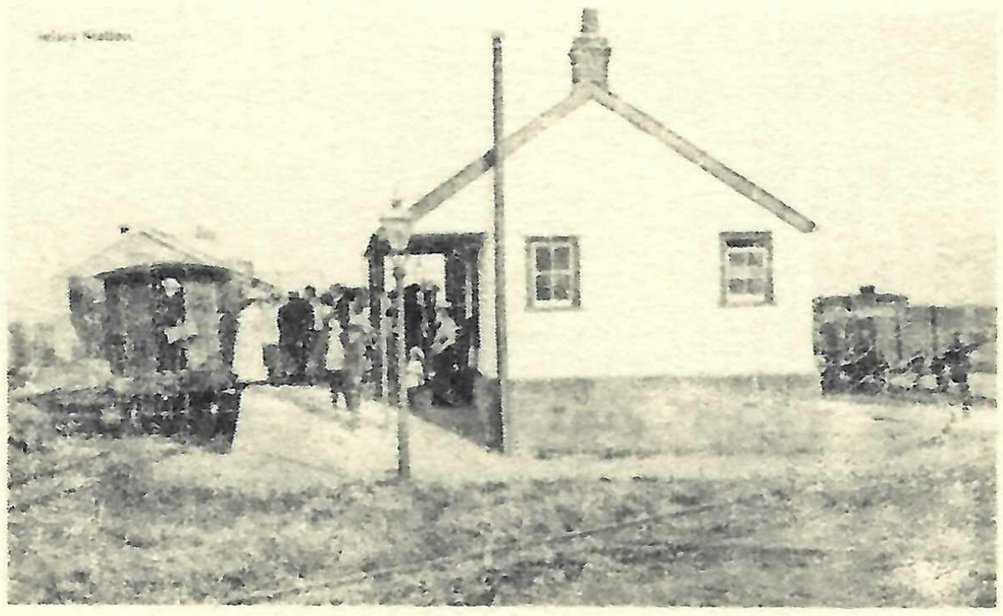
'EDWARD HERON-ALLEN: SELSEY AND BEYOND'

Edited by
TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

TALKS DELIVERED AT THE
FOURTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM,
THE NOVIUM, CHICHESTER
JUNE 2014

BY
JOHN P. MAHONEY and BARBARA P. MAHONEY,
TIMOTHY J. McCANN, DAVID BONE
AND JOHN E. WHITTAKER



Opusculum XXI
Heron-Allen Society

'EDWARD HERON-ALLEN: SELSEY AND BEYOND'

Edited by
TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

TALKS DELIVERED AT THE
FOURTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM,
THE NOVIUM, CHICHESTER
JUNE 2014

BY
JOHN P. MAHONEY and BARBARA P. MAHONEY,
TIMOTHY J. McCANN, DAVID BONE
AND JOHN E. WHITTAKER

Opusculum XXI
Heron-Allen Society

'Edward HeronAllen: Selsey and Beyond'.
Proceedings of the 14th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2014:
Talks delivered by John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney,
Timothy J. McCann, David Bone and John E. Whittaker at the
Fourteenth Annual Heron-Allen Symposium,
The Novium, Chichester, June 2014.

This edition published by the Heron-Allen Society
c/o West Sussex Record Office, County Hall, Chichester,
West Sussex. PO19 1RN
2014

© John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney,
Timothy J. McCann, David Bone and John E. Whittaker,
together with the Heron-Allen Society

Limited to 125 copies, numbered 1-125

This is number 9

Cover: Tramway station, Selsey, *c.* 1917. Heron-Allen is alighting from the rear carriage

CONTENTS

'Introduction' by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. 2

'Edward Heron-Allen and Selina Dolaro: *The Princess Daphne* Co-Authorship: Opinion or Fact' by John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney. 5

'Edward Heron-Allen and Walter Sickert in Venice and Dieppe', by Timothy J. McCann. 20

'Heron-Allen and the 'Saxon Feet' from Selsey', by David Bone. 38

'Heron-Allen and the Selsey Tramway' by John E. Whittaker. 47

THE FOURTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM, AT THE NOVIUM, CHICHESTER

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

The Society returned to Chichester for their fourteenth Annual Symposium, but as the West Sussex Record Office classroom has been remodelled we had to find a new venue in the city. The Novium, the new site of the Chichester District Museum, which holds several boxes of Edward Heron-Allen's archaeological findings as well as the 'Selsey Feet' and some memorabilia from the Selsey Tramway, was an obvious substitute, and we received a generous invitation from Cathy Hakes, the Curator. We met in the delightful surroundings of the Woolstaplers conference room on the top floor of the building with a splendid view of the Cathedral bell-tower, while below us were the remains of the old Roman baths.

Unlike in previous years when lunch was taken after the meeting or during the meeting, the 2014 Symposium began with a splendid meal at 'Vintage' on the Westgate Roundabout in Chichester, where the Society had dined previously in 2010. We then adjourned to the Woolstaplers Room, where the sun was so bright we had to lower the blinds and thus block out the magnificent view. After a brief introduction by the Chairman we were then entertained by four talks on various topics relating to Edward Heron-Allen under the general but not all-embracing theme of "Selsey and Beyond".

The first talk by John and Barbara Mahoney was concerned with Heron-Allen's novel *The Princess Daphne*. Once almost imposible to obtain, it was republished by Ray Russell of Tartarus Press in 2001 but because of a problem at the printers even this is still rare and expensive to buy (copies have an asking price of over £200). Members who have read the book belong to an exclusive club. Our speakers were concerned with the authorship of the novel, whether it was written by Selina Dolaro, a joint work by Heron-Allen and Dolaro, or simply written by Heron-Allen alone. The Mahoneys made their case with their customary enthusiasm, detailed research and multiplicity of illustrations.

Tim McCann, making extensive use of Edward Heron-Allen's holiday journals, introduced us to the friendship between Heron-Allen and Walter Sickert. They seem to have met in St. Mark's Square in Venice, where Sickert was painting the cathedral, and the friendship developed over a succession of meals in restaurants such as Panada's. Sickert invited the Heron-Allens to join him in Dieppe later in the year and they enjoyed a holiday there with French impressionist painters and remnants of Oscar Wilde's circle. They obviously purchased some of Sickert's paintings, unfortunately the whereabouts of which are unknown. Neither is anything known of their relationship after the death of Heron-Allen's first wife, Marianna, a few months later.

In the second part of the afternoon we moved from America, Italy and France to nearby Selsey. David Bone introduced us to the 'Selsey Feet'. Once supposed by Heron-Allen to belong to Anglo-Saxon statuary made of Caen stone, but now shown to be almost certainly, mere natural occurrences. Later we were allowed to see and examine the "feet", now in The Novium, and to decide for ourselves.

Heron-Allen was known to have several directorships in his "porfolio", one of which being the Selsey Tramway, a topic we do not seem to have ever covered in previous symposia. John Whittaker thus rounded off the day by giving us an amusing account of Heron-Allen's initial association with the Tramway, the first ride on which was one of the reasons he decided to settle in Selsey! Heron-Allen quickly became a Director of the Company and his *Selseyana* volumes in the West Sussex Record Office are a mine of information about the service. At the time the Resident Engineer of the tramway was Colonel Holman Fred Stephens, like Heron-Allen in WW1 much associated with military matters, and one would have thought the two would have thus much in common. However, they did not seem to get

on, especially in later days, and in 1919 Heron-Allen retired (or resigned) from the Board of the Company. In the 1920s, faced with mounting competition from road transport, the Selsey Tramway became a notoriously rundown and ramshackle affair, closing completely in 1935. John introduced us to some of the memorabilia housed in the Novium, especially one of the original name-plates and work's plate of *Ringing Rock,* one of the Selsey locomotives, and illustrated his talk with a number of photographs.

After the Society's AGM, the blinds were raised and we were able to see the Cathedral and the Bell Tower in all their glory. Generous thanks must go to The Novium for providing us with such an ideal venue (to which we will surely return), and for helping us keep awake after lunch with a ready supply of tea, coffee and biscuits. Moreover, the projecting facilities thankfully went without a hitch.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND SELINA DOLARO: *THE PRINCESS DAPHNE*: CO-AUTHORSHIP: OPINION OR FACT

by JOHN P. MAHONEY and BARBARA P. MAHONEY

The public record of literary collaborations between Selina Dolaro and Edward Heron-Allen has been well documented, but some remain controversial. Many of the following collaborations are no longer in doubt. Dolaro is listed as the sole author of the 1889 novels: *The Vengeance of Maurice Denalguez* and *Bella-Demonia* (1, 2). Heron-Allen suggests that he was the ghost writer for *The Vengeance of Maurice Denalguez*, but merely the Copy Editor for *Bella-Demonia* (3). Dolaro is listed as the sole author of two 1888-1889 short stories: "How We Sat Upon Society Journalism" in *Belford's Magazine* (4) and "Perfectly Shocking" in *Drake's Magazine* (5). Heron-Allen and Dolaro jointly authored "How We Died. From a Forgotten Dialect" published in *The New York Dramatic Mirror* (6) and an unpublished manuscript, *The Mourners.* A Comedy in One Act (7). The manuscripts considered to be genuinely authored solely by Dolaro are her plays, *Justine, Fashion,* and *PEG 2nd* (8). Her book of verses, *Mes Amours: Poems, Passionate and Playful* is now considered to be a joint collaboration with Heron-Allen (9, 10). In modern American literature indexes, both are listed as co-authors of the novel, *The Princess Daphne*, only in the 1888 Belford, Clarke and Co. publisher, American edition (11). The Henry J. Drane publisher, London edition, reportedly lists only Heron-Allen as author (12). However, some British literature indexes also listed Selina "Delaro". This paper explores the documentation and validity of the co-authorships of the novel, *The Princess Daphne.*

Many of these above mentioned literary documents or publications are difficult of access in either the public domain or in well-known institutional libraries. *The Princess Daphne* novel, is in our experience, virtually impossible to access. Most

literary indexes with author citings have Heron-Allen and Dolaro as co-authors of *The Princess Daphne*. However, some indexes list solely Heron-Allen, very rarely solely Dolaro/Delaro. There are perplexing listings of *The Princess Daphne* which have the author listed as Anonymous (13). We had assumed that these anonymous author listings for *The Princess Daphne* novel were either recent "digitized on demand" modern reprints trying to avoid copyright laws or just very poorly indexed by institutions. All these assumptions changed when a purported 1888 first American edition, allegedly listing Heron-Allen as the sole author, became available for evaluation of authenticity.

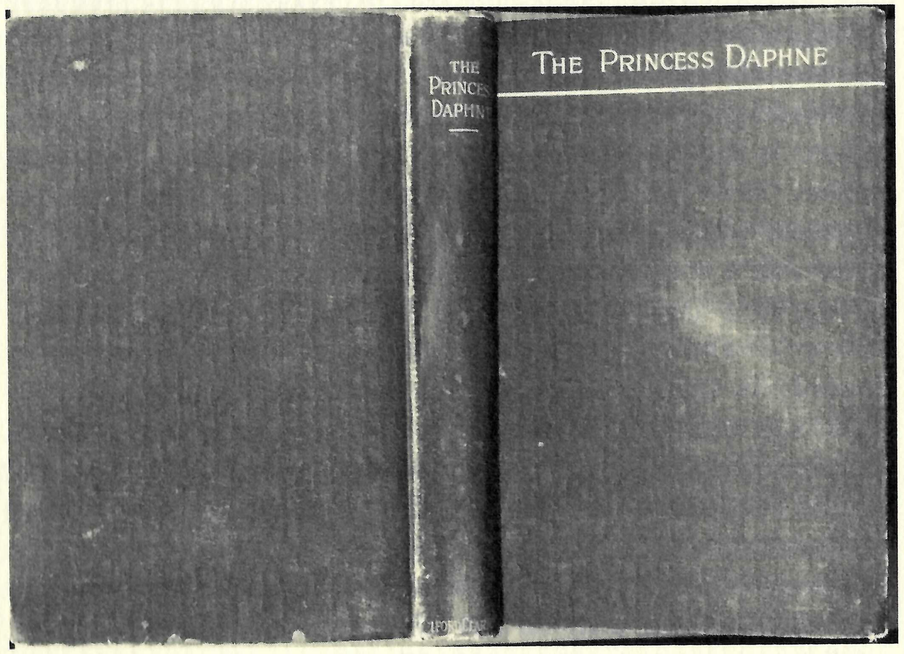
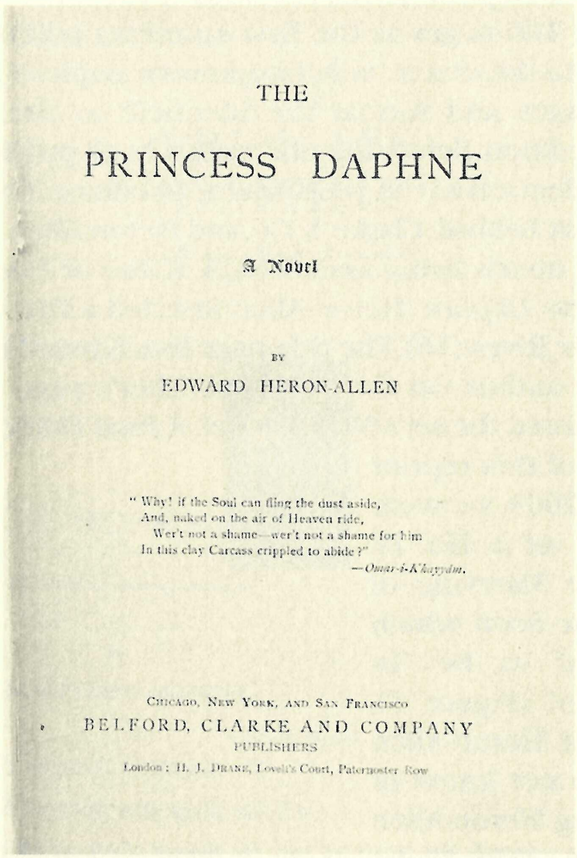


Fig. 1. First American Hard Cover Edition with Heron-Allen Cited as Author.

PART I: THE FIRST AMERICAN HARD COVER EDITION OF *THE PRINCESS DAPHNE*

This edition (Figure 1) has all the important and similar physical hallmarks of Edward Heron-Allen's first editions for the period of 1888-1889: dark blue cloth hardcover, gilt cover and spine lettering, similar front cover design and 20 cm book size. Similar novels associated with Heron-Allen include: *Kisses of Fate*, *A Fatal Fiddle*, *Bella-Demonia* and *The Vengeance of Maurice Denalguez*. All five books have similar title page formats with a cited authorship, copyright date on the title page, same publisher and an absence of advertisement pages. But a critical "historical fact" is missing in *The Princess Daphne* title page, Selina Dolaro is not listed as a co-contributor (Figure 2). There is no page dedicated to Selina Dolaro. How can this be? Major literary indexes such as WorldCat, list *The*


THE

PRINCESS DAPHNE

A Novel

BY

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN

"Why! if the Soul can fling the dust aside,
And, naked on the air of Heaven ride,
Wer't not a shame—wer't not a shame for him
In this clay Carcass crippled to abide?"
—*Omar-i-K'hayyám.*

CHICAGO, NEW YORK, AND SAN FRANCISCO
BELFORD, CLARKE AND COMPANY
PUBLISHERS
London: H. J. DRANE, Lovell's Court, Paternoster Row

Fig. 2. Title Page of the 1888 First American Edition, *The Princess Daphne*.

Princess Daphne as a joint attribution. This copy is clearly an 1888 first American edition. This single inconsistency was the beginning of a long odyssey among friends, acquaintances and anonymous librarians seeking answers to our puzzlement. Who

authored *The Princess Daphne*? What physical types of books were issued? Was the novel reprinted? Did authorship change with either reprint editions or new publishers?

PART II: U.S. AND LONDON REPRINTS SPECIFICALLY LISTING HERON-ALLEN OR SELINA DOLARO AS AUTHORS

Between 1888 and the 1890s, The National Book Co. in New York City issued a red/tan cloth, hard cover, reprint edition of *The Princess Daphne* novel. The book is the same size and has the similar 160 pages as the first American edition. We have been able to document only two known copies (14, 15). The printed pages and format are identical to the 1888 first American edition. Before the title page, a book publication page (recto) is identical to the 1888 American edition. The publisher alerts us that Belford, Clarke & Co. and Heron-Allen planned on a set of his novels being issued: No. I, *Kisses of Fate* and No. II, *The Princess Daphne*. Heron-Allen inserted a five verse poem from Amelie Rives (16). The title page lists Edward Heron-Allen as the sole author. On the book publisher's page (verso), the publisher listed the set's No. III novel, *A Fatal Fiddle*. Before the discovery of this reprint edition in 2009, we were not aware of a No. IV novel, *The Marrying of Marmaduke Scott* which was stated to be "In Preparation" (Figure 3). We and the Heron-Allen Society do not know of any existing Heron-Allen No. IV manuscript. There is no mention of this No. IV novel in his private papers.

KISSES OF FATE

(*A Study of mere Human Nature*)

BY

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN

I. *The Suicide of Sylvester Gray.*
The Story of a Younger Son.
The Silence of Mrs. Cheriton's Children.

II. *The Princess Daphne.*

III. *A Fatal Fiddle.*

IN PREPARATION

IV. *The Marrying of Marmaduke Scott.*

Fig. 3. Publisher's page (verso).

The first London edition of *The Princess Daphne* is the well-known British Library copy (17). This copy is reportedly an undated paperback edition, published by Henry J. Drane, *circa* 1889. The publisher issued an illustrated front cover (illustrator H. Petherick) not seen in the Belford, Clarke & Co., hardcover, American editions. Heron-Allen is listed as the sole author on both the front cover and title page. We are unaware of a London, hard cover edition.

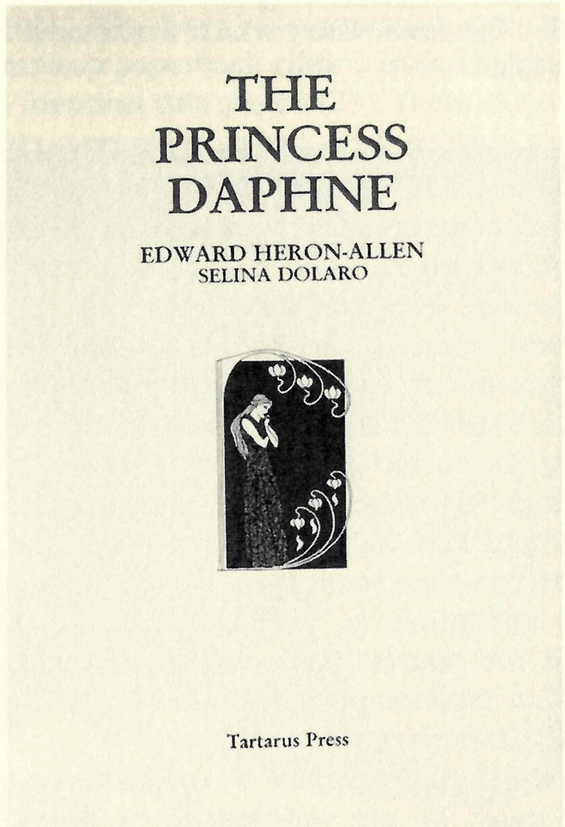


Fig. 4. Dust Jacket for the Modern UK Reprint.

The latest UK reprint is the best known, still readily available and a fabulously constructed edition by Tartarus Press, dated May 2001. This reprint edition has an illustrated, grey cloth hardcover with an illustrated, yellow dust jacket (18). The publisher offers additional valuable contents: Heron-Allen's

personal notes on his literary, scientific and artistic activities and a greatly expanded bibliography. Both the front cover and title page list authors Heron-Allen and Dolaro (Figure 4). The reprint's biography specifically lists both Heron-Allen and Dolaro as co-authors in the first American, Belford, Clarke & Co. edition. We shared our findings including book photographs with the publisher, Ray Russell. On further review, the publisher stated that "The Tartarus Press attribution of Selina Dolaro as co-author of *The Princess Daphne* was based on the US National Union Catalogue entry which would now appear to be erroneous" (19).

PART III: U.S. OR LONDON EDITIONS WITH AUTHORSHIP LISTED AS ANONYMOUS, *THE PRINCESS DAPHNE*

We have documented the anonymously authored reprint editions from as early as 1888 to all present day "digitized on demand" reprints. Early book reviews and advertisements hinted at these anonymous reprints (20-23). We have been unable to document early newspapers' book reviews or advertisements specifically citing or attributing authorship to Selina Dolaro. The correct terminology to use for these peculiar variants is either to list the book's authorship as anonymous or attribute (credit) authorship and then document attribution source. The Heron-Allen Society website has correctly listed the authorship attribution as "E.H.A and Selina Dolaro" and documented the source: National Union Catalog, US. This website's online bibliography attribution was originally created by Ray Russell, Tartarus Press.

We examined photographs of an unaltered anonymous, hard cover copy. We are only aware of anonymous, early American reprints published by Belford, Clarke & Co. An anonymously authored, Drane edition has not been documented. These anonymous editions represent all known copies of *The Princess Daphne* held in American libraries listed on WorldCat.org. This particular copy is currently warehoused at the University of California at Los Angeles. This institution has not granted us access to this book. Our access is limited to

website photographs available at the Hathi Trust Digital Library (24). The cover suggests that this book is nearly identical to the blue cloth, hardcover, first American author-cited edition. The endpaper floral design is similar to the first edition. The half-title page (recto and verso) do not list the publisher's four-volume Heron-Allen set of novels. The title page has a different format with no cited authorship. The copyright date of 1888 is printed at the bottom of the title page (recto and verso). At the end of the novel, there are three different sets of book advertisements. We have documented an anonymously authored American paperback edition issued in the same 1880s period with identical title pages (25). There is no mention of

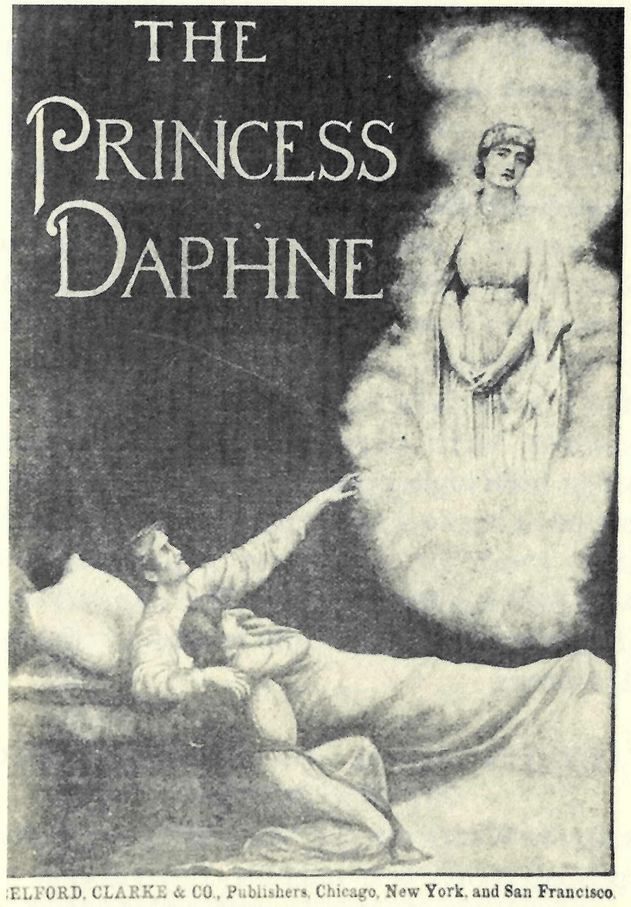


Fig. 5. Illustrated Front Cover of the American Paperback, Anonymous Edition.

Selina Dolaro in the anonymously authored, hardcover and paperback American editions. This paperback copy has an original unsigned illustrated front cover (Figure 5). A Belford, Clarke & Co. Advertisement in Sept. 1888 states, "In paper covers, illustrated by a remarkable and unique drawing by F. Hamilton Bell., 50 cents.".

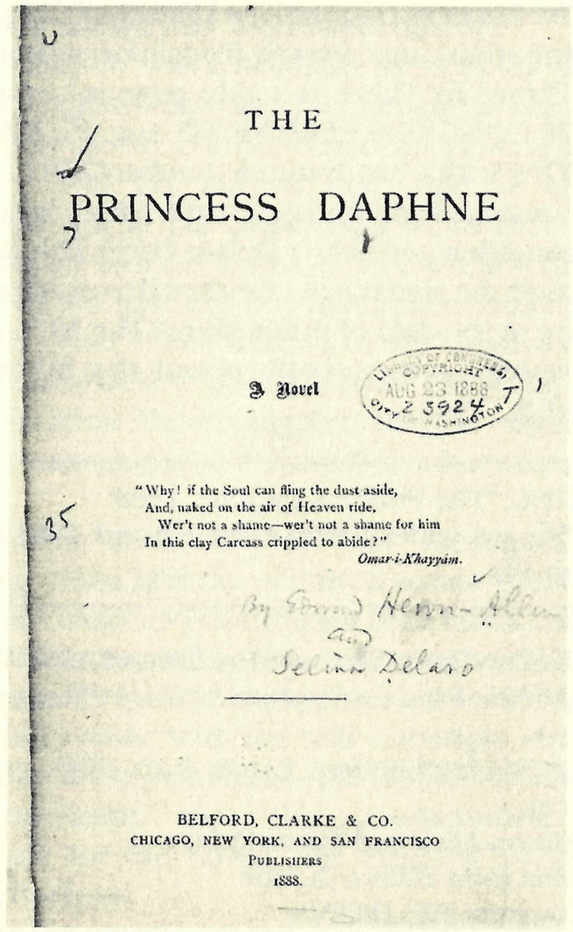
Why would Belford, Clarke & Co. issue author-cited hardcover copies of *The Princess Daphne* in 1888 and in the very same year flood the market with anonymous copies of the same book? This period of book publishing was truly the marketing version of the American Wild West with widespread book piracy and fraud. A proliferation of highly suspect satellite, fly-by-night, book reprint factories were printing vast numbers of cheap paperback - "dime novels". This market-driven strategy flourished because of the lax and unenforceable copyright laws which *de facto* encouraged book piracy. One of the Heron-Allen's publishers, Alexander Belford, was simultaneously a respected publisher and a major book pirate. Samuel Clemens, outraged by Belford's pre-American unauthorized publication of *Tom Sawyer,* introduced the character, Jack Belford, as a desperate character in at least two of his works describing him as "...the black-souled pirate himself" and the "...human miscreant" (26). We believe that by publishing anonymous copies, authors were deprived of their rightful royalty payments. The 1888 higher priced, authored-cited editions with low volume print runs are today in extreme scarcity compared to the 1888 lower priced, cheap paperback, anonymous editions with high volume print runs. The anonymous 1888 *The Princess Daphne* book is the only edition currently listed in American libraries.

PART IV: THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG (NUC) OF PRE-1956 IMPRINTS

According to Wikipedia, the National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints (NUC) is a massive 754 volume catalog of printed works published prior to 1956 which is held in US and Canadian libraries. The original goal was to locate and note the

location of a copy of every important book in the United States. The Library of Congress and other American and Canadian Libraries compiled this set from 1968 to 1981. The NUC of Pre-1956 Imprints was a very important resource for verifying bibliographic information and finding copies of books before the advent of digital databases such as WorldCat.org. This resource remains a valuable tool for researchers because some literary works are still unavailable on the current digital databases (27).

The Selina Dolaro attribution can be directly traced to written entries in the National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints concerning authors Edward Heron-Allen and Selina



THE

PRINCESS DAPHNE

A Novel

"Why! if the Soul can fling the dust aside,
And, naked on the air of Heaven ride,
Wer't not a shame—wer't not a shame for him
In this clay Carcass crippled to abide?"
Omar-i-Khayyám.

By Edward Heron-Allen
and
Selina Dolaro

BELFORD, CLARKE & CO.
CHICAGO, NEW YORK, AND SAN FRANCISCO
PUBLISHERS
1888.

Fig. 6. NUC Pre-1956 "Dolaro" Attribution, Library of Congress's Copy: Anonymous Edition.

Dolaro/Delaro. In magazines and journals, "Delaro" remains a common misspelling of her surname from the 1870s to the present. There are no known published articles with the name "Selina Delaro. If authorship is defined by attribution, it is guaranteed there will be a problem every time an attribution is uncertain (28). Catalogers attribute anonymous literary works by analyzing each specific text for the fingerprints of its creator: vocabulary distribution, content, organization of data and comparisons with known author-cited literary works (29). Both authors were known to be working together on literary projects in the period 1887-1888. We reviewed the copy of this novel in the Library of Congress. This is the anonymous variant edition of *The Princess Daphne*. The Library of Congress's NUC pre-1956 attribution came directly from information listed with this copy (Figure 6). There is a title page ink stamp stating, "LIBRARY OF CONGRESS COPYRIGHT Aug. 23, 1888 CITY OF WASHINGTON" with a handwritten number "23924T". The Title page has an unsigned and undated handwritten inscription, "By Edward Heron-Allen and Selina Delaro (*sic*)". This handwriting does not match the signatures of either Heron-Allen or Dolaro (she was alive at the date of publication). The NUC of Pre-1956 Imprints catalogs subsequently reveal the following three listings: (30-32)

NOVEL LISTING: "The Princess Daphne, 1888
NUC Pre-1956: see under Heron-Allen, Edward, 1861-1943"
Vol. 471. Page 489

HERON-ALLEN LISTING: "Heron-Allen, Edward 1861 -
NUC Pre-1956: The Princess Daphne, A Novel Chicago,
New York,
Vol. 242. Page 563 {etc} Belford, Clarke & co, 1888.
260p. 19 ½ cm
By Edward Heron-Allen and Selina Delaro
I. Delaro, Selina, joint author. II. Title
Library of Congress PZ3.H433Pr
NH 0313343 DLC WaU"

DELARO LISTING: "Delaro, Selina, Joint Author
NUC Pre-1956
Vol. 137. Page 475 Heron-Allen, Edward 1861 -
The Princess Daphne. A Novel ... Chicago, New York, {etc} Belford, Clarke & co, 1888.

(Note: the Novel listing above was updated after Heron-Allen's death by the NUC. However, the NUC did not update the Library of Congress's original 1888 Author listings for Heron-Allen or Delaro. Heron-Allen's death is still not recorded and the misspelling of Dolaro persists to this day. A website search of the Library of Congress's databases for the author "Dolaro" does not list this 1888 First edition!).

This attribution was a scholarly attempt by an unknown Library of Congress librarian(s) to categorize the anonymous Belford, Clarke & Co. edition based on general information gathered in 1888. The author-cited 1888 US edition most probably was not in the possession of, or recorded in any American library indexes at that time. Currently, the Library of Congress does not have any documentation from the publisher, cited authors, other library indexes or the "original cataloger" to justify a Dolaro/Delaro co-attribution (33). The use of the misspelled surname, Delaro, suggests that the original cataloger used mainly newspaper and journal articles when attributing authorship.

This Dolaro co-attribution was subsequently widely disseminated when libraries acquired access to rare books via microfilm purchases and co-mingled their index entry with the NUC pre-1956 index attribution. A thorough search of the old copyright records for this book provides no linkage with the Dolaro/Delaro's name with the only copyright claimant being Belford, Clarke & Co., not Heron-Allen (34). This new data leads to the conclusion that the co-attribution of Selina Dolaro/Delaro for the novel, *The Princess Daphne* is most probably erroneous.

However, the novel's original manuscript and all of Edward's Heron-Allen's personal notes, letters and documentation

concerning *The Princess Daphne* remain missing. These documents may have been discarded, lost or destroyed when Heron-Allen abruptly left America and returned to England in 1889. The same fate may have occurred if these documents were in his personal library's collection which was dispersed at the Sotheby's auction in 1944 (35). Never say never. We await future discoveries if these documents have survived the ravages of time.

REFERENCES

1. Dolaro, Selina: *The Vengeance of Maurice Denalguez.* Belford, Clarke & Co., 1888.
2. Dolaro, Selina: *Bella-Demonia. A Dramatic Story.* Belford, Clarke & Co. Chicago, 1889.
3. Dolaro, Selina: "Bella-Demonia. A Dramatic Story". J.P. Lippincott Co., *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine:* March 1889, See "In Memoriam", pp. iii-iv.
4. Dolaro, Selina: "How We Sat Upon Society Journalism", in *Belford's Magazine*: Vol. 1(No. 3) 346-355, August 1888, 1st Page.
5. Dolaro, Selina: "Perfectly Shocking", originally published in *Drake's Magazine*, N.Y., November 1888; source: *The Naples Record* newspaper, Wednesday, January 30, 1889
6. Dolaro, Selina and Heron-Allen: "How We Died. From a Forgotten Dialect". In *The New York Dramatic Mirror* http://Fultonhistory.com Search: Heron-Allen, Dolaro.
7. Dolaro, Selina and Heron-Allen, Edward: *"The Mourners"* A Comedy in One Act. Unpublished Manuscript, Title Page. Source: University of Chicago Library.
8. Dolaro, Selina: *PEG 2nd* (Scenario of PEG 2nd. A Play), Manuscript only, Harvard University, Theatre Collection, Boston, MA 10).
9. Dolaro, Selina: *Mes Amours. Poems Passionate and Playful.* Belford, Clarke & Co., Chicago, IL 1888.
10. Mahoney, John P and Mahoney, Barbara P.: 'The Queen of Bohemia and the Poems and Passions of the Boy, Omar. Selina Dolaro and Edward Heron-Allen. "Mes Amours"': *in* McCann, T.J. & Whittaker, J.E. (eds), *Edward Heron-Allen and Some Women of his Acquaintance.* Heron-Allen Society Opusculum XIX, 23-35 (2013).
11. http://www.worldcat.org/title/princess-daphne/oclc/47677536/editions?editionsView=true&referer=br, WordCat.Org; Search: Princess Daphne and Heron-Allen.
12. *Ibid.*
13. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Search/Home? checkspelling =true&type=all&lookfor=princess+daphne&submit= &type=all&sethtftonly=true; Hathi Trust Digital Library; Search: Princess Daphne
14. Private Collection.
15. http://www.afn.org/~vampires/bkslist.html; Vampire Junction's Book Bibliography.
16. Troubeskov, Amelie (Rives) Chandler (1863-1945). *A Winter-Walk* (unpublished Poem) and [12] Letters of Amelie Rives.... Written to me [Edward Heron-Allen] in New York in the Year 1888 (Castle Hill, Cobham, Virginia, February 22, 1888 - January 28, 1889). Manuscript No. 170/212, Online Archive of California (OAC) http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt538nb916 /entire_text/
17. http://search.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&vl(174399379UI0)=any&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCONTENT%29&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1356195513192&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&dum=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl(freeText0)=the+princess+daphne+heron+allen&vid=BLVU1&fn=search; Explore the British Library; Search: Heron-Allen, Princess Daphne.
18. Heron-Allen, Edward and Dolaro, Selina: *The Princess Daphne.* Tartarus Press, North Yorkshire ©2000.
19. Private Correspondence.
20. Book Review: *Belford's Magazine*: Vol. II, December 1888 - May, 1889, page 108.
21. Book Review: *Brooklyn NY Daily Eagle*, June 30th, 1888.
22. Advertisement: *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 10th, 1889. http://Fultonhistory.com Search: Princess Daphne.

23. Belford, Clarke & Co Advertisement. *The American Bookseller*, 9/15/1888, page 199.
24. http://catalog.huntington.org/search~S0?/Xprincess+daphne&SORT=AX/Xprincess+daphne&SORT=AX&SUBKEY=princess+daphne/1%2C1%2C1%2CB/frameset&FF=Xprincess+daphne&SORT=AXX&1%2C1%2C; Huntington Library Catalog, California
25. Anonymous: *The Princess Daphne*. Belford, Clarke & Co. Chicago, 1888. In the Collection of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
26. Mahoney, John P. and Mahoney, Barbara P.: A Fatal Kiss of the Princess. Who did Marmaduke Scott Marry?' In *The Heron-Allen Society Newsletter*. No. 13, August 2008, pages 3-5.
27. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Union_Catalog; Wikipedia.
28. https://ualearn.blackboard.com/bbcswebdav/pid-318561-dt-content-rid-803559_1/courses/49608.201240/readings/wajenberg.pdf ; A Cataloger's view of Authorship by Arnold Wajenberg.
29. Pollard, Allison: Authorship Attribution: lyle.smu.edu/~rewini/5-7339/allison.ppt
30. The National Union Catalog (NUC) of Pre-1956 Imprints. Novel: *The Princess Daphne*, Vol. 471, page 489.
31. The National Union Catalog (NUC) of Pre-1956 Imprints. Author: Heron-Allen, Edward, Vol. 242, page 563.
32. The National Union Catalog (NUC) of Pre-1956 Imprints. Author: Delaro, Selina, Vol. 137, page 475.
33. Personal Communication and Documentation, Thomas Mann, Humanities and Social Services Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Owner of an Anonymous copy of *The Princess Daphne*, Listing Co-Authorship and attributing Dolaro's co-authorship to the National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints (NUC). Attribution is handwritten by an unnamed librarian cataloger.
34. Personal Communication, Thomas Mann, Humanities and Social Services Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

35. http://books.google.com/books/about/Printed_Books_and_a_Few_Manuscripts.html?id=o9zZZwEACAAJ ; Printed Books and a few Manuscripts: Properties of E. Heron-Allen, Oct. 9th-10th 1944.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND WALTER SICKERT IN VENICE AND DIEPPE

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN

Edward Heron-Allen was a compulsive diarist. Few days went by without him working on one of his diaries. There are surviving diaries of his many holidays, his scientific expeditions, the childhoods of his children, the First World War and even of his boating trips. Thirty two volumes of his holiday diaries have survived, numbered I to XXVIII (some volumes were numbered 'A' and 'B' or include just postcards), dating from his trip to the Rhine and the Bernese Oberland in June 1881 to his visit to Tours in May 1937. The diaries were compiled in characteristic fashion. Heron-Allen wrote a daily account of his doings on all his holidays, in the form of letters, usually, but not always, addressed to his wife "Nour", which he then posted home. When he returned home he collected up the holiday letters and bound them into volumes, together with photographs, postcards, bills, menus, programmes, maps and other ephemera that he had collected on the journey.

The diaries are full of interest, and, this afternoon, I want to draw your attention to two of them in particular - Volume VII, which describes a holiday in Lugano, Verona, Venice and Milan in April and early May 1901 (1), and volume VIII, which describes a holiday in Dieppe in September of the same year (2). I have chosen to look at these two journals in particular because they chronicle the last two holidays Heron-Allen enjoyed with his first wife Marianna, known in the diaries as 'Molly' or simply 'M', and because of the information they give us about his friendship with the artist Walter Sickert. Very few of Heron-Allen's friends have left a record of their relationship, and his holiday journals help to redress the balance. Little has been written about Heron-Allen and Sickert, though the holiday journals have already been used by Venetia Jones in her account in one of our early Newsletters of her trip to Venice with her daughter Fiona (3) and by Matthew Sturgis in his 750 page biography of Sickert in 2005 (4). But Venetia was only interested in the Venice diary and Sturgis was really only interest in Walter Sickert. Also, Gyles Brandreth brought Sickert and Heron-Allen together in his fictional *Oscar Wilde and the Ring of Death*, along with Arthur Conan-Doyle, Lord Alfred Douglas, Bram Stoker and Robert Sherard (5).

Edward and Marianna Heron-Allen, accompanied by Ella Hallward and Brooke Sewell, who had stayed with them in Venice in 1899, arrived in the city from Verona on 9 May 1901. It was Heron-Allen's seventh visit: He had first seen 'The Queen of the Adriatic' as Envoy Extraordinary of the Musical Section of the International Inventions Exhibition 1885 in London for the Kingdom of Italy in March 1885 and he and Marianna (Figure 1) holidayed in Venice there in 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899. Ella Hallward was a long-standing friend, christened by Heron-Allen as 'Lady Ella', and an artist, who had illustrated Coleridge's *The Raven. A Christmas Tale* in 1898 (6), and Heron-Allen's Persian publications on Omar Khayyam and Baba Tahir in 1899 and 1902 respectively (7). She was to marry Colonel James Rigby Dyas the following year. Brooke Sewell was a stockbroker, who had married Margaret Cattley in 1898 and subsequently had a large family. He was a frequent guest at "Large Acres". They stayed on the fourth floor of 2725 San Maurizio in rooms found for them by Augustus and Clara Montalban, and quickly hired Toni 'Antonio Franzenchini' as their gondolier for the duration of their holiday.

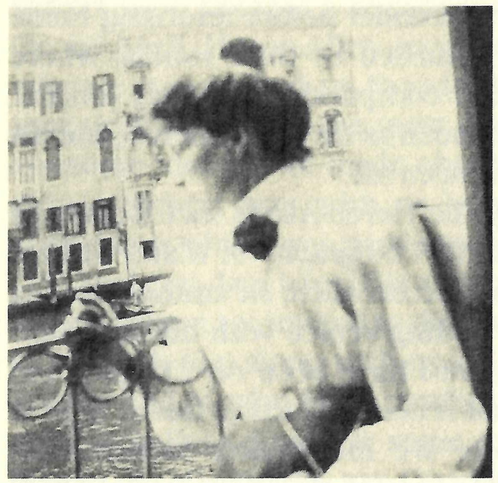


Fig. 1. Marianna Heron-Allen in Venice.

Walter Sickert made his first visit to Venice in the autumn of 1894 accompanied by his wife Ellen, the daughter of Richard

Cobden, and they continued to visit what Sickert called, 'the loveliest city in the world' on a regular basis. By 1901, however, his marriage was over, and when he returned to the city once again in the spring, he was determined to work hard and add to the success of his recent exhibition in Paris where his paintings of Dieppe and Venice had proved popular.

The Heron-Allens' holiday soon settled into a familiar pattern. On the first day Heron-Allen and Brooke walked to the Post Office and to Cook's to collect mail, and then met up with the ladies. They tended to have morning coffee at Quadri's and occasionally ices, they lunched at Vapore's and usually had dinner at Panada's. The day was spent sight-seeing, searching for silver, glass and beads, buying flowers and fruit with occasional trips to the Lido. In the evenings they usually had a trip on the canals with their gondolier before returning home for a nightcap. They often returned to their rooms, where Heron-Allen wrote letters and compiled his holiday journal. Occasionally they met friends such as Dr. Van Someron, and his wife Ivy, Mrs. Benson and Kathleen Alt.

Eventually and inevitably the Heron-Allens met Sickert. As Mathew Sturgis wrote in his 2005 biography of Walter Sickert: 'he also encountered Edward Heron-Allen, an amusing young English polymath, who was visiting Venice with his new wife' (8). Their first meeting seems to have been on 21 April, and Heron-Allen's Holiday Journal records: 'Starting out at 6.30 & getting to Panada at 7. Here we met Walter Sickert who presently joined us at Quadri for coffee & sat with us until 8.30 when we came home' (9). This initial meeting obviously went well because two days later, the diary records: 'we joined the others at Panada's at 6.40 where we dined most excellently, being presently joined by Walter Sickert who is a quaint and humorous wight' (10).

The acquaintance developed into friendship, and two days later, on 24 April, they observed Sickert at work. 'The girls didn't join us in the Piazza till 11.45 & then we talked a bit with Sickert who has begun a new & weird picture of S. Mark this morning. He stands all the morning with a crowd around him,

who make despairing remarks about him, regretting that he should be doing such awful things – they do not appreciate the Starr-Sickert New Century developments of the Whistler legend. He enjoys it and paints on imperturbably, outraging all their preconceived ideas of art' (11). In fact, Sickert planned to make a series of paintings of St. Mark's, all of the same format, which he intended to be shown together.

The following day the Heron-Allens went to the Lido, and on their return met up with Sickert again: 'We got back from the Lido baked through at 5.45 & had to change at once & start for dinner at Panada at 6.30. Sickert turned up & joined us, & came afterwards for coffee' (12). The journal continued: 'Got to Panada at 6.45 where we had sturgeon & asparagus, & entertained Sickert who was rather depressed'. Dining with Sickert soon became a regular part of their daily programme. On 28 April, Heron-Allen recorded: 'Embarked for the Molo whence we walked to Panada & had a horrible dinner of 'macaroni al forno' & the most discouraging leather ham & an awesome "dolce". We made observations to Mollie about this dinner. Sickert was with us however and we enjoyed our misfortune which was partly mended by Quadri's afterwards' (13). And two days later: 'Ella and I went to the post & then met Sickert whom we invited to dine with us at the Vapore tonight, so we took him along with us arriving at 7 – where we found Brooke and M who had actually bought some beads! We had quite excellent dinner & some extraordinarily good Falerno Bianco & afterwards sat Quadri, listening to the band & watching the people who were as thick as a Jubilee crowd in the Piazza until 10 when we strolled home taking Sickert with us. He only stayed a few minutes however' (14). I don't want to give the impression that the Heron-Allens monopolised Sickert's spare time when he was not painting. Sickert enjoyed a busy social life during his Venetian break. He spent a great deal of time with the Hultons. Walter Hulton was an English painter, who had lived in Venice for almost twenty years, while his wife, Constanza, was a half-Italian beauty, who Sickert himself painted. He also socialised with Sir William Eden, the

art-lover who so famously clashed with Sickert's erstwhile sponsor, Whistler. He even found time to attend the Anglican church services at the church in Campo S. Vio, part financed by the archaeologist Sir Henry Layard and his wife, leaders of the English community in Venice. Unlike Heron-Allen, who once he had found a restaurant that suited his taste, returned to it monotonously, Sickert found a little Trattoria, called Il Georgione, close to the Rialto, and informed the Heron-Allens: 'I have found such a restaurant, if you are very good I will tell it you in secret next time' (15). Another attraction was the 4th Venice Biennial. Although much of its art was not to Sickert's taste, it included French art for the first time, a number of sculptures by Rodin and works by friends such as William Hulton and Heron-Allen's friends Clara and Hilda Montalban.

For the next few days, Heron-Allen was troubled by severe tooth-ache for which he sought the help of Dr. Van Someron, and they did not bump into Sickert in Venice again. Within a week, the Heron-Allens and their friends returned to England via Milan, but Sickert was keen to continue the friendship they had established by dining together on holiday. Sickert stayed in Venice until July and it is clear from his correspondence with the Heron-Allens that they remained in touch. He wrote to Marianna (Molly) but addressed the letter to Edgware Road and it was not delivered. He wrote to her again, this time addressing the undated letter to Northwick Terrace and complained that he was 'getting a little tired of Bella Venezia & long for my native Dieppe' (16). He claimed that he: 'regretted your quitting Venice' and significantly, he invited them to his permanent home in France: 'Go to Dieppe for the summer' he advised, and 'if you do, stay at no. 1 rue de L'Isle de Ville, Madame Ann Lefevre, bourgeois, cheap mince. It is the intellectual centre. I breakfast and dine there myself'.

In response to Sickert's invitation, the Heron-Allens holidayed in Dieppe from 5 to 14 September 1901, and this time they holidayed with Ronald Duncan and Effie Twiss, long-standing friends and afterwards regular visitors to Large Acres, rather than Ella Hallward and Brooke Sewell, though they did

not stay together. After a delayed journey in England and a disappointing evening in Seaford the Heron-Allens endured a very rough crossing and were pleased to reach the Hotel de la Plage 'where Effie Twiss had taken rooms' for them. But the hotel proved unsatisfactory, and Edward Heron-Allen was uncomplimentary about the accommodation and the food and complained about everything 'excepting Mabel the sister of Aubrey Beardsley who is picturesque' (17). Writing to Reginald Turner, the previous day, Max Beerbohm announced: 'Miss Beardsley has also arrived, fresh from a provincial tour. She trails about, all day, in evening dress – low neck, no sleeves, and a train as long as the Rue de l'Hotel de Ville, which she carries swathed over her arm. She creates a great sensation' (18). Mabel Beardsley was a red-headed actress and the elder sister of the celebrated artist. They spent the day on the bicycles they had hired and Heron-Allen reckoned that they had cycled 20 miles which rather gives the lie to the idea that his wife was by this time an invalid. When they returned, they determined to leave their hotel and find somewhere else to stay.

Heron-Allen recorded that 'the following day we went to Monsieur Lefevre's to lunch where we met Max Beerbohm and M's friend Altamura [a French impressionist painter]. We were informed that 'tout les couverts sont pris. Monsieur Lefevre's being a very exclusive little gargette, the intellectual centre of Dieppe, so we postponed our introduction to it until Walter Sickert should make the way smooth for us' (19). Altamura was a friend of Mollie's of long-standing. When the Heron-Allens were in Paris in October 1896, Heron-Allen described calling on 'Mollie's ancient love, Altamura' (20) and, when they finally met up and dined together two days later, he described him as "the long sought & yearned after" (21) Altamura. During the meal "Altamura brought a little picture he painted of Mollie 13 years ago & has promised to make up a replica" (22). 'After lunch' the Holiday Journal continued, 'we went and sat outside Lefevre's for our coffee & there Sickert found us & engaged us not to go anywhere until he had found some rooms for us & arranged for us to have all our meals at Lefevre's'. John Stokes,

in his *Oscar Wilde, Myths, Miracles and Imitation*, wrote that: 'Lefevre's became a genial habit, like so many incidentals of a Dieppe holiday' (23). The general view of Lefevre's was summed up by Reggie Turner, who wrote that 'not caring that it is perhaps not quite crème-de-la-crème', its clientele were 'quite pleased with it and themselves and only wanting it to remain unchanged' (24).

Max Beerbohm wrote an essay devoted to 'The Maison Lefevre', where he 'spent some of the happiest days of my youth'. 'It stands', he wrote 'I hope I need not say "stood" – exactly opposite to one court-yard of the Hotel de Ville, Dieppe. It belonged to old Madame Lefevre ... it was in August of that year that I first sojourned there. I had been recommended to do so by Walter Sickert, who loved the place. Whistler, his early master, had loved it too, but in none of the Augusts that I was destined to stay there did Whistler re-appear' (25). It might be supposed that Lefevre's was an expensive establishment. 'It was not so', Beerbohm added, 'It was, in spite of the aforesaid cachet, far from being so. Otherwise I couldn't have stayed there. I think that for staying there one paid nine francs a day, "*tout compris*" – "*tout*" except wine. And this one exception made very little difference to one's weekly bill, for *vin rouge ordinaire*, of which I drank always a bottle at luncheon and another at dinner, cost next to nothing in those blissful cheap days. I am afraid that my capacity for absorbing light wine without apparent ill-effects rather amazed and troubled the two Frenchmen who, year after year, sat at the same round table with me and with Sickert and with Reginald Turner, dearest of all my friends'.

'After coffee we came home', Heron-Allen recorded, 'and very soon Sickert came & took M out after rooms' (26). Heron-Allen was asleep when they returned having got two nice rooms in the annex to the Hotel de Rhine. 'Sickert found us a man with a barrow & we then moved. At last, comfortably settled, the Heron-Allens began to enjoy the 'English experience' in Dieppe (Figure 2). John Stokes felt that 'wherever they chose to stay the English would soon settle into

Fig. 2. Edward Heron-Allen in Dieppe.

a similar ritual, usually based on the casino, 'where' as Evelyn Sharp remarked: 'you met everybody, in the morning at the bathing quay, and in the afternoon at the children's dance, and in the evening at the concert, and all day at the gaming table where you put your money on the "little horses"' (27). Actually Edward Heron-Allen, although he joined in the gambling, thought '"petits chevaux" 'an utterly foolish & ridiculous game, though one sees people win or lose a good deal at it' (28) but eventually he succumbed and used a system which meant he neither won nor lost very much.

The following day after lunch at Lefevre's with Max Beerbohm and several members of his family, they went for a

long walk and coming back into Dieppe they bumped into Henrietta Stannard (John Strange Winter) and Heron-Allen had a long talk with her. John Strange Winter was the pseudonym of Henrietta Eliza Vaughan Stannard, who was a successful novelist with her tales of regimental life. She and her husband lived in Dieppe from 1896 to 1901 for the health of their daughter, rather as Heron-Allen was to move to Selsey in 1906 for the health of his daughter, and they had a house in Dieppe until her death in 1911. They regularly entertained Oscar Wilde to breakfast in Dieppe, while he was living at Berneval. She was a long-standing resident of Dieppe; did much to make it popular with English visitors, set two of her novels - *A Sea-Side Flirt* (1897) and *A Summer Jaunt* (1899) in the town, and perfectly summarized the English visitor's day in the resort. 'One goes down on to the terrace in the morning, watching the bathers and listening to the band, meeting all one's friends, looking at each other's dresses and talking scandals' (29). To be fair to the Heron-Allens, their holiday was rather more energetic. Yes, they listened to the band and watched the bathers, but they both swam, went for long walks, enjoyed bicycle rides in the local countryside and danced in the evenings. That evening Heron-Allen 'met M. at Lefevre's & we had a cheery and excellent dinner with Walter Sickert and Max Beerbohm, having our coffee from the terrasse (anglice the side-walk)' before going on the casino, where they danced before retiring to bed in their rooms (30).

On 9 September Heron-Allen bathed in the morning 'and then met M. at Lefevre's where we lunched with Sickert & Altamura and had our coffee on "Terrasse" afterwards with the whole coterie' (31), and in the afternoon they rode their bicycles to the outside villages. They enjoyed their outing but Heron-Allen had a characteristic rant. 'The curse of Dieppe and the countryside around it', he wrote, 'is the motor-car. These infernal things pass one continually in a cloud of dust & stench at 30 or 40 miles an hour, rattling like an express train & hooting like a fog horn. It is perfectly vile' (28). The next day conformed to Evelyn Sharp's description. They swam, cycled,

Fig. 3. Walter Sickert at home in Dieppe.

dined, listened to the concert and retired to bed. The next day followed the familiar pattern with bathing, cycling, dinner and an evening concert.

Heron-Allen recorded that 'Mollie visited Walter Sickert's studio' on 11 September to look at his drawings (Figure 3). And continuing that later 'we went down to La Plage, met our coterie & bathed. Effie, Duncan, Altamura, Mabel B & everyone was there & the water was lovely' (32) (Figure 4). Later on they cycled out to Berneval, so recently the home of Oscar Wilde. Heron-Allen described it as 'just like Alum Bay' in the Isle of Wight. Rather disparagingly he wrote: 'the great joy of Dieppe

Fig. 4. Marianna Heron-Allen and Altamura bathing at Dieppe.

is that there is absolutely nothing in the shops which one has any desire to buy, which is strange but economical for the visitor'. That evening the Heron-Allens hosted a dinner party at Lefevre's. The guests were Walter Sickert, Altamura, Effie Twiss and Ronald Duncan. 'A more rowdy party I never attended', Heron-Allen recorded: 'we had the wildest time possible, Mme Lefevre having stretched the capabilities of the house to the utmost. We had a most excellent dinner including some perfect partridges wonderfully cooked, and sat over it till 9.30 when we went to the casino & played petits chevaux' (33).

Dieppe, it must be remembered was Sickert's home, and it is important to remember that he had a full life there outside his friendship with the Heron-Allens. That summer, for example, he was preoccupied with a visit to the town by the ageing impressionist Camille Pissaro, and spent as much time as he

could in his company. However, Lefevre's clearly played a significant part in his life in Dieppe, with or without the Heron-Allens. S.N. Behrman in his delightful *Conversations with Max*, records Beerbohm reminiscing about the restaurant and its proprietoress – 'we talked about Titine'. "Who was Titine?" I asked. "She was Mme Lefevre and ran the hotel Chez Lefevre, where we all lived in those days", Max said, "Sickert was very taken with her. Titine was the soul of Chez Lefevre. She was enchanting, Titine. We did everything through Titine. We all shamelessly curried favour with her. The food was wonderful. When I was in favour, Titine would see to it that I got something special. I would crow over Sickert. Since Sickert would share the dish, I was not slow to point out the advantage to him of having me for a friend" (34).

Mollie Heron-Allen obviously enjoyed Sickert's artistic work as well as his company and his hospitality at Lefevre's, and 12 September found her inspecting his drawings again, and she did not meet up again with her husband until 12 o'clock. He, in the meantime, sat with Effie Twiss and Mabel Beardsley, and then wandered around the town where he bumped into Sickert and a French painter named Montier. After lunch he had another walk, accompanied by Effie in the direction of Powerville and there was the first indication of his scientific interests as they walked: 'picking up chalcedonies, of which there are more on the beach here, and a few teaspoonful's of foraminifera, which was the main object of our expedition' (35). He did not return until 4.30 and Mollie was very unhappy having convinced herself that he was lost. He managed to reassure her and they took a stroll around the town, 'looking into the shops that contain nothing that one can want to buy, & examining the pictures of Altamura & Sickert which are on sale at Clovet's in the Grand Rue, some very nice little things among them'.

After their stroll, they changed and 'got to Lefevre's at 7.45, where we dined for the first time alone, the rest of the crowd being "en société" tonight'. 'We grow very fond of Lefevre's, he added, '& they of us apparently, it is most quaint & exclusive.

The family wait on us, & old Madame L. comes in in state with the joint which she carves with precision, & comes round to see that we have what we like. I have eaten enough mussels to power a regiment. We are also having quantities of little wild strawberries which remind us of Venice' (36). But the reminders of Venice did not favour Dieppe and Heron-Allen began to worry that the stormy weather might prevent them from returning home as they had arranged.

The 13th found then lunching again at Lefevre's, and Mabel Beardsley joined them, lunching at Sickert's expense. Afterwards Heron-Allen went to Powerville with Effie Twiss. 'A pretty little place', he called it, 'with a lovely beach on which I picked up a lot of quite exceptionally fine chalcedonies' (37). On the 14th they met up with Sickert in the morning and he took them to the bank, the Post Office and then to the Casino. At 12.30 'M having gone round by way of home', he recorded that he 'took Mabel Beardsley to lunch at Lefevre's where he had a most rowdy and amusing lunch with Sickert, Altamura, Foster the disciple & Montier, & we talked and laughed & sang until 3 to the envy & scandal of the people outside'.

Effie Twiss and Captain Duncan, their holiday companions, left Dieppe that afternoon, but Heron-Allen's diary tells us he and his wife 'dined with Sickert & Montier, went to the casino afterwards, where we danced a little, played petits chevaux & talked to Mabel Beardsley and Altamura till 11.30' (38). They had hoped to go home on the next day, but on 15 September it was too rough for them to make the crossing, so they dined at Lefevre's with Altamura and Montier, the two painters, and later played baccarat with John Strange Winter.

On 16 September they packed and 'went to Sickert's for a barrow man to take our luggage, came home, went back to Sickert's to fetch our commissions' (39). Sickert was however "introuvable" so we had to have the hotel man'. In characteristic style they rowed over the hotel bill, thought Lefevre's bill was not cheap and wrangled with other tradesmen before they crossed over and returned to England. So they left without saying their goodbyes to Sickert. It is fair to say that their

Dieppe visit was not one of Heron-Allen's most successful holidays. After the death of his first wife in early 1902 he returned to Venice with Edith, his second wife, in 1906, 1910 and 1922, but he never returned to Dieppe. There was simply not enough to entertain him there. He danced a little, he swam, but not often, and he bicycled. He had little interest in gambling at the casino and he found nothing worth buying in the shops. His days seemed to centre on meals at Lefevre's and socializing with a small group of friends – Walter Sickert, Mabel Beardsley, the two impressionist painters Altamura and Montier (Figure 5), and his holiday companions Effie Twiss and Captain Duncan. In Venice, on the other hand, he had a wider circle of friends, he patronized several different restaurants and cafes, he spent a great deal of time shopping and even more sight-seeing. Arthur Symons wrote: 'I went to Dieppe this summer with the intention of staying from Saturday to Monday. Two months afterwards I began to wonder, with a very mild kind of surprise,

Fig. 5. Altamura, Marianna Heron-Allen, Walter Sickert, Mabel Beardsley and Montier at Dieppe.

why I had not yet returned to London' (40). For Edward Heron-Allen a week was definitely enough.

On 9 October Sickert wrote to Edward Heron-Allen. He apologised for not answering Heron-Allen's last letter: 'I have been ages answering yours. I cannot say it is work, for I am doing nothing, to counterbalance having done too much in Venice' (41), and he acknowledges receipt of Heron-Allen's latest book on the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*: 'Thank you for your enchanting little Omar Khayyam. That is for dinner & alternated by the Daily Telegraph. I have conceived a fine illustration of [ ]. I will not speak for fear of "embarass". But it will be amazing as Whistler used to say. I am also going to paint a canvas of the same, so, indirectly you have added a canvas to my oeuvre'.

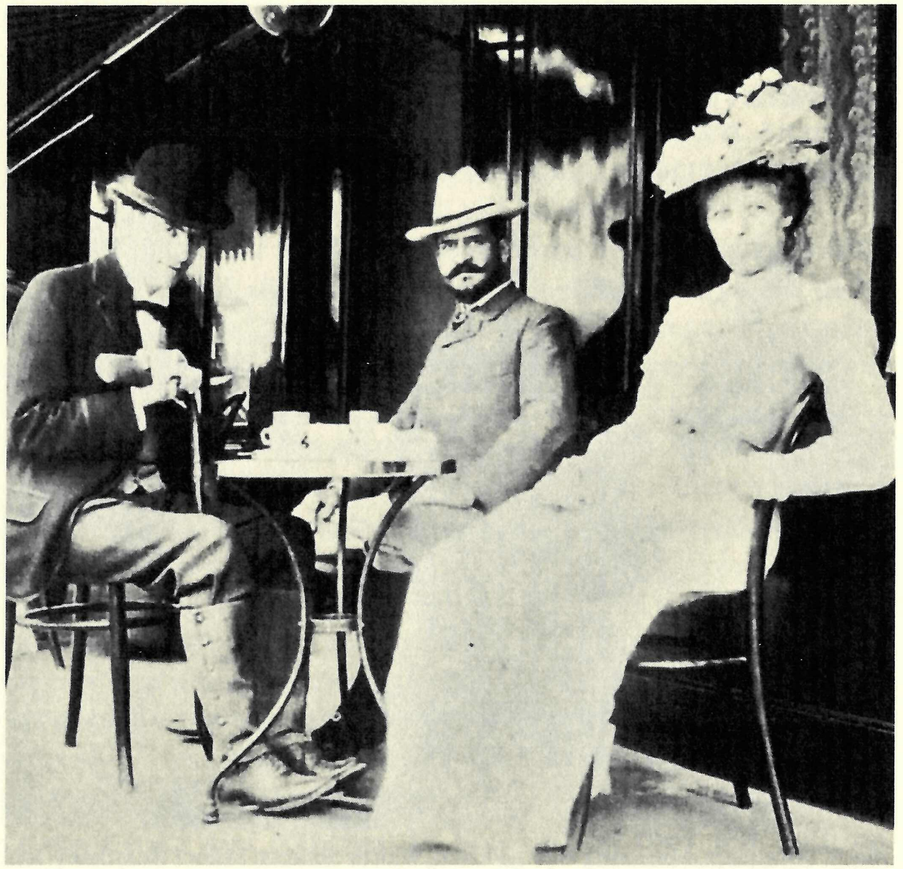


Fig. 6. Walter Sickert, Altamura and Marianna Heron-Allen at Dieppe.

Evidently Heron-Allen had advised him of the poor health of his wife, because Sickert responded: I am very grieved that your wife is souffrante. I hope it has been only temporarily as they say in America & that by now she is well again. Tell her to drop me sweet nothings occasionally into the letter box in her convalescence & recovery', and again presses them to visit his domain: '... Dieppe is a howling vacancy & we nourish ourselves with words & glad to get even that'. '.... I lunch at 12 in somewhat pompous solitude in the back room at Lefevre's with a copy of the *Matin* for company', he added and enquires after their mutual friends Mabel Beardsley and Max Beerbohm.

Heron-Allen's wife died on 26 January 1902, and I have found no evidence of him meeting or corresponding with Walter Sickert after that date. They seem to have been agreeable holiday companions but do not seem to have created a lasting friendship. After the death of his first wife, Heron-Allen's life took a different direction, and Sickert was probably more interested in Mollie than in Heron-Allen (Figure 6). What happened to the Sickert paintings and sketches that the Heron-Allens purchased in Dieppe is not recorded.

NOTES

1. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VII. 'Lugano, Verona, Venice, 1901'.
2. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII, 'Dieppe, Sept 1901'.
3. Venetia Jones, 'Reflections of Venice, & Extracts from EH-A's Holiday Journals 1898 and 1901', in *Heron-Allen Society Newsletter*, no.10 (Spring 2007), 6-7 and no. 11 (Autumn 2007), 6-7.
4. Matthew Sturgis, *Walter Sickert* (Harper Collins, 2005).
5. Gyles Brandreth, *Oscar Wilde and the Ring of Death* (John Murray, 2008).
6. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Raven. A Poem.* Illustrated by Ella Hallward, with an introduction by the Hon. Stephen Coleridge (H.S. Nichols, 1898).

7. Edward Heron-Allen, *Edward Fitzgerald's Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam with their original Persian sources collated from his own MSS, and literally translated*, with illustrations by Ella Hallward, (Bernard Quaritch, 1898), and Edward Heron-Allen, *A Fool of God: The mystical verse of Baba Tahir*, with illustrations by Ella Hallward (Bernard Quaritch, 1902).
8. Matthew Sturgis, *ibid.*, 290.
9. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VII.
10. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VII.
11. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal no. VII.
12. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VII.
13. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VII
14. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VII.
15. Walter Sickert to Marianna Heron-Allen, n.p., J.P. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, USA.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
18. Max Beerbohm to Reginald Turner, 5 September 1901, published in Rupert Hart-Davis, (ed.), *Max Beerbohm. Letters to Reggie Turner* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 1964), 146.
19. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
20. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. V.
21. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. V.
22. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. V.
23. John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde. Myths, Miracles and Imitations*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 132.
24. Reginald Turner, *Castles in Kensington* (Greening, 1904), 10.
25. Max Beerbohm, 'The Maison Lefevre' in Rupert Hart-Davis, (ed.), *Max Beerbohm. Letters to Reggie Turner* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 1964), 302-304.
26. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
27. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII
28. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
29. John Strange Winter, *A Sea-Side Flirt* (F.V. White, 1897), 19.
30. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.

31. Edward Heron-Allen Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
32. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
33. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
34. S.N. Behrman, *Conversations with Max* (Hamish Hamilton, 1960), 245.
35. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal no. VIII.
36. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
37. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
38. Edward Heron-Allen Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
39. Edward Heron-Allen, Holiday Journal, no. VIII.
40. Arthur Symons, 'Dieppe, 1895' in *The Savoy*, no. 1 (1896), 84-102.
41. Walter Sickert to Edward Heron-Allen, 9 October 1901. J.P. Getty Research Institute, Lost Angeles, USA.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The illustrations to this article are taken from Heron-Allen's own camera and filed in his Holiday Journal. I should like to thank Ivor Jones for his permission to use them and to quote from the Holiday journals.

HERON-ALLEN AND THE 'SAXON FEET' FROM SELSEY

by DAVID BONE

ABSTRACT

A piece of stone dredged off Selsey in 1909 was described by local historian, Edward Heron-Allen, as a foot of a Caen Stone statue of Saxon date from the ruins of the submerged Selsey Cathedral. A second foot, also slightly larger than life-sized but cruder in style, was found on the Selsey foreshore in 1939 and cast some doubt on Heron-Allen's identification. A new assessment has shown that both finds are Bognor Rock and almost certainly flukes of nature. If future discoveries prove that they are indeed weathered pieces of statue, then a late medieval date would be more appropriate.

INTRODUCTION

Heron-Allen (1861-1943) was a noted polymath, acknowledged as an expert in subjects as diverse as violin-making, foreign languages, and marine zoology (Heron-Allen Society undated). On moving to Selsey in 1906-7, he quickly engaged in a wide range of local studies including geology and archaeology (Bone, 2010). In a remarkably short length of time, he produced a number of pamphlets and gave local talks but he is best known for his massive volume of 400-plus pages titled *Selsey Bill: Historic and Prehistoric*, published in 1911. It is this publication that describes a 'carved foot' found in 1909 as being of Saxon date, an observation that has since been repeated in other publications (e.g. Mee, 1988, p.12).

THE SELSEY FEET

The Novium (formerly Chichester District Museum) houses two separate 'carved feet' in the Heron-Allen collection, one found in 1909 and the other in 1939 (Figures 1-3). Neither of these have museum accession numbers. Both 'feet' have similar

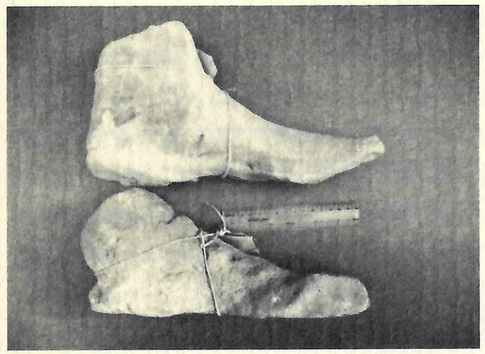


Fig. 1. Right view of 1909 'foot' (top) and 1939 'foot' (bottom) (photograph D. Bone).

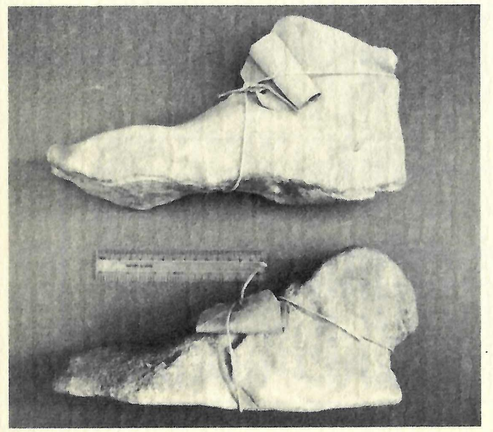


Fig. 2. Left view of 1909 'foot' (top) and 1939 'foot' (bottom) (photograph D. Bone).

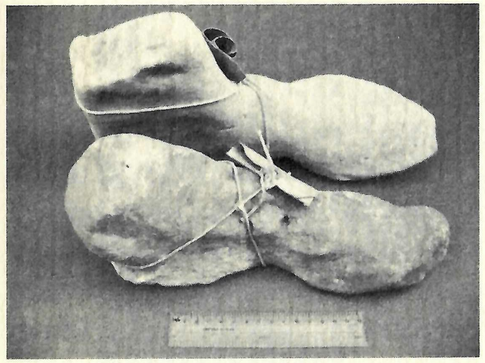


Fig. 3. View from above of 1909 'foot' (top) and 1939 'foot' (bottom) (photograph D. Bone).

tie-on labels, suggesting that they were labelled at the same time and the phrasing suggests that they were written by Heron-Allen himself. Both 'feet' are slightly larger than life-size, the 1909 example measuring 342mm long and 148mm high and the 1939 example measuring 365mm long and 197mm high. Both specimens have waterworn surfaces although the original 1909 'foot' is much smoother and orange-brown in colour. The second 'foot' is much more weathered, grey in colour and perforated by small marine borings.

The 1909 'foot' is illustrated in Plate 23 of Heron-Allen (1911). The caption reads: 'Foot of Statue of Caen Stone, probably from the Old Cathedral, Selsey'. Further details are provided in the text '... one of our Selsey fishermen, trawling in the waters traditionally covering the site of the submerged cathedral ... brought up in the year 1909, a primitively but accurately sculptured foot

in Caen stone, which is essentially early Saxon in style and workmanship' (Heron-Allen, 1911, p.103).
The label on the 1909 'foot' reads:

> E. Heron-Allen, F.R.S.
> *The "foot" figured on Plate XXIII, and "described" on p. 103 on my book "Selsey Bill" (London 1911).*

The use of inverted commas in the label suggests that Heron-Allen may have had some doubts about his published identification as a Saxon-style statue foot following the discovery of the much cruder second 'foot' of similar size, the tie-on label for this one reading:

> E. Heron-Allen, F.R.S.
> *Found 1939 below the "cliff" on the coast opposite the Isle of Wight.*
> *Query an "artefact", or "pseudomorph" of a "foot" or similar to that figured on Pl. 23 and described on p. 103 of my book "Selsey Bill" London 1911.*

This suggests that the specimen was found on the beach below the cliff on the west side of the Selsey peninsula, between Selsey Bill and Medmerry, unlike the 1909 example which was found on the east side of the peninsula.

THE STONE

Caen Stone is a fine-grained Jurassic limestone from Normandy. Its major use in Britain was during medieval times, both as ashlar for building and for intricate carving, and is a common stone in the fabric and monuments of ecclesiastical buildings. It would be easy to identify the 1909 'foot' as Caen Stone as there is a similarity in colour but, unfortunately, Heron-Allen was mistaken. Close inspection reveals it to be an iron-stained, calcareous-cemented, fine-grained and slightly

glauconitic sandstone that compares closely to Bognor Rock. This identification is confirmed by the faint traces of two fossil bivalve shells, one of which can be seen in the underside of the 'toe' where the concave imprint of a shell with a ribbed ornament is faintly visible (Figure 4). This is *Glycymeris brevirostris* (Figure 5), a cockle-like shell that is common in the Bognor Rock (Venables, 1962, p. 250). A crescent moon-shaped

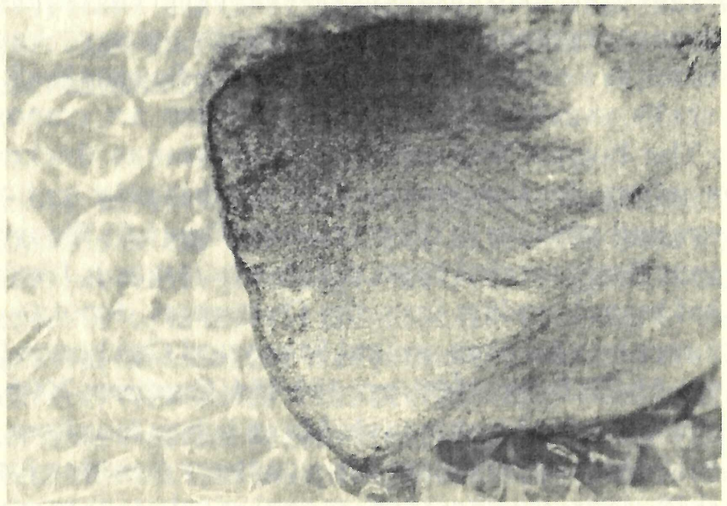


Fig. 4. Detail of fossil shell imprint in underside of the 'toe' of the 1909 'foot'. Note the faint pattern of ribs and growth rings (photograph D. Bone).

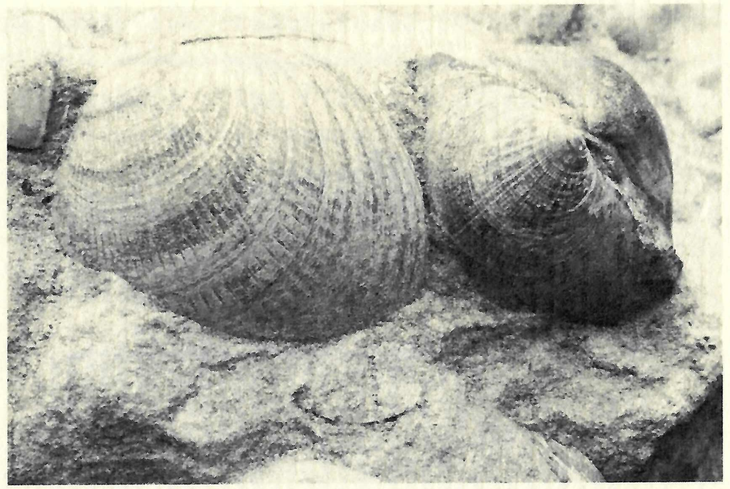


Fig. 5. Fossil *Glycymeris brevirostris* shells in a piece of Bognor Rock from Bognor Regis (photograph D. Bone).

void, 63mm long, in the underside of the 'heel' is where another *Glycymeris* shell fragment has been lost by solution. The stone of the 1939 'foot' was not recorded by Heron-Allen. Although differently coloured, with no visible fossils and suffering more marine erosion, it is also Bognor Rock.

The Bognor Rock is a local development within the London Clay Formation that is restricted to the Bognor and Chichester area (Aldiss, 2002, p. 38). The individual rocks are concretions of calcareous-cemented sandstone, typically between 1 and 3m in diameter, in a compact sandy matrix, the Bognor Rock Sand. Fossil shells, usually *Glycymeris brevirostris*, are common in places. The Bognor Rock reaches its maximum thickness at Bognor where the concretions form a substantial reef on the foreshore and offshore to the south-east (Figure 6). Worn pieces of Bognor Rock, eroded from the *in situ* outcrop, have been recorded in and eroding from the Quaternary deposits of the West Sussex coastal plain around Selsey and Chichester (Bone, 1985, pp. 15-77; Bone, 1989, pp. 153-154; Cordiner, 2006, p. 6). Examples have also been recorded from Selsey foreshore (Reid, 1897, p. 10). Although Bognor is in a contrary direction for long-shore drift, there are clearly other geological mechanisms that can operate to bring Bognor Rock to the Selsey area.

Fig. 6. The Bognor Rock reef on the foreshore at Bognor Regis (photograph D. Bone).

Bognor Rock is a characteristic building stone of the Bognor area (Venables & Outen, 1969, pp. 15-16) and the present author has identified it in 12 medieval churches in the area, as well as a 19th century chapel in Chichester (Green, 2007, p. 62). It is also used extensively in garden walls and rockery stone. There are no records of Bognor Rock being used for sculptures in Roman, Saxon or medieval work (e.g. Tweddle *et al.*. 1995) and a search by the author of 51 churches within 25km of Selsey and Bognor has failed to locate any sculptures or monuments in Bognor Rock.

MORPHOLOGY

Writing in 1911, Heron-Allen appears confident in his identification of the 1909 specimen as the foot from a Saxon statute. However, the phrasing of the labels suggests some later hesitation. A temporary exhibition in Chichester District Museum that included the 'feet' prompted a note in the Heron-Allen Society Newsletter: 'Until recently they were labelled as the feet from a statute or rude from the Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Church Norton. However, the general consensus now is that they are a natural phenomenon and a fluke of nature' (Seddon, 2004). This conclusion was, in part, based on the opinion at that time of the present author.

In September 2010, the two 'feet' were shown by the author to Dr Paul Williamson, Keeper of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics & Glass at the Victoria & Albert Museum and the author is grateful for his comments which follow. "On the basis of general morphology, the two stones do look remarkably like feet but there is no further evidence, such as any ornamental detail (even allowing for their weathered condition) to support this conclusion. This could possibly suggest an ecclesiastical figure in which plain unadorned footwear is usual but some residual detail would still be expected. Secular figures, usually knights or similar, have footwear or various adornments of which there would definitely be some residual trace so these can be discounted. In reclining effigies, the feet tend to be integral with the supporting base slab and there is no evidence

for that in these examples. More likely, if they are feet, they would be from standing figures but then they do not show the usual twisting or angling that is common with niche statues. If they are sculpture then they are definitely not Saxon but would date no earlier than the 12th century or later than the 16th century, with closest comparison with late medieval forms of the 13th or 14th centuries. On balance, they are not convincing pieces of sculpture" (Williamson pers. comm.).

DISCUSSION

Heron-Allen's Saxon 'feet' may be considered as: part of a late medieval ecclesiastical statue, or natural pieces of rock that suggest slightly larger than life-sized human feet.

The two 'feet' have been positively identified as Bognor Rock of local origin and not Caen Stone. Fragmentary pieces of Bognor Rock are well known from the coastal plain deposits of the area and have been previously recorded from the foreshore at Selsey. Bognor Rock is a fossiliferous sandstone of variable hardness and not a material that lends itself to being carved. A search of ecclesiastical buildings throughout the area has failed to identify any statues or monuments made from Bognor Rock and no published references to the use of this stone for carving have been located. The aggressive nature of coastal erosion would make it unlikely that even fragmentary pieces of statue would survive in a recognisable state for any length of time. It is possible that the fragments originate from statues lost overboard from a ship or from the break-up of a wreck, although this is unlikely for the 1939 piece found close inshore 'below the cliff'. Such a scenario is also considered unlikely given the lack of other instances of statuary in Bognor Rock.

As a final observation, the 1909 specimen is unusually free of abrasion and marine borings for a stone that is recorded as being dredged from the sea floor. Was it modified to appear more lifelike?

CONCLUSION

From the geological evidence it is clear that these items are formed of Bognor Rock and not Caen Stone. Their morphology is not indicative of a Saxon date and, although a late medieval date is a possibility, the historical and art-historical evidence has produced no examples of Bognor Rock being used in architectural features, effigies or statues. The two 'feet' are therefore considered to be flukes of nature, the 1909 specimen possibly having been modified to make it even more lifelike.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to Chichester District Museum for allowing access to the 'feet', Dr. Paul Williamson for expert comment, Anne Bone for critical reading of the manuscript, and Tim McCann for asking me to speak at the July 2010 Heron-Allen Society conference in Chichester, which prompted the writing of this paper.

REFERENCES

Aldiss, D. T. 2002. Geology of the Chichester and Bognor district. *Sheet description of the British Geological Survey*, 1:50 000 Series Sheet 317 and Sheet 332 (England and Wales).

Bone, D. A. 1985. The London Clay and associated deposits exposed in Chichester Harbour (West Sussex). *Tertiary Research*, **7**, 13-21.

Bone, D. A. 1989. Temporary exposures in the Lower Palaeogene of the eastern Hampshire Basin (Chichester to Havant). *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*, **100**, 147-159.

Bone, D. A. 2010. 'Edward Heron-Allen and the geology of Selsey Bill', *in* T. J. McCann & J. E. Whittaker (eds), Edward Heron-Allen, Archaeology and Local History, Proceedings of the 10th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2010. *Heron-Allen Society Opusculum* **16**, 4-16.

Cordiner, R. J. 2006. *The Quaternary Geology of Chichester Harbour.* Bognor Regis: Geode Publications.

Green, A. H. J. 2007. *The building of Georgian Chichester.* Chichester: Phillimore.

Heron-Allen, E. 1911. *Selsey Bill: Historic and Prehistoric.* London: Duckworth.

Heron-Allen Society. Undated. Edward Heron-Allen [accessed 13 Oct. 2012 http://www.nhm.ac.uk/hosted_sites/heronallen/society.htm].

Mee, F. 1988. *A History of Selsey.* Chichester: Phillimore.

Reid, C. 1897. The geology of the country around Bognor. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain*, Sheet 332 (England and Wales).

Seddon, J. 2004. 'A better Mousetrap and the Selsey Feet'. *Heron-Allen Society Newsletter,* no. **5**.

Tweddle, D., Biddle, M. and Kjølbye-Biddle, B. 1995. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. IV, South-East England.* Oxford: The British Academy.

Venables, E. M. 1962 (published 1963). The London Clay of Bognor Regis. *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association,* **73**, 245-271.

Venables, E. M. and Outen, A. F. 1969. *Building Stones of Old Bognor.* Bognor Regis: Bognor Regis Natural Science Society.

EDITORS' POSTSCRIPT

The talk delivered by David Bone was an illustrated version of the paper that was published in *Sussex Archaeological Collections,* volume **151**, pp. 187–192, in 2013. It is reproduced here by permission of the Sussex Archaeological Society. David's conclusion that the 'Saxon feet' were a possible deliberate deception of Heron-Allen by parties unknown was further discussed following the talk. Did Heron-Allen pay a finder's fee for items brought to his attention? If so, this would potentially encourage such actions. John Whittaker also suggested that such deceptions may have also occurred at other times, possibly taking advantage of Heron-Allen's wide-ranging enthusiasm but lacking the necessary expert knowledge in those particular study areas.

HERON-ALLEN AND THE SELSEY TRAMWAY

by JOHN E. WHITTAKER

This is the story of the Hundred of Manhood & Selsey Tramway and Heron-Allen's involvement in it. [For those interested in etymology - a *Hundred* is an administrative division introduced by the Saxons (then, an area populated by 100 people or hides). *Manhood* means "main" or "common wood", which must refer to its former vegetational cover]. Anyway, our subject was more simply and popularly known as the Selsey Tramway, and has spawned several books of which I would recommend the following. The first, a privately published booklet, is "*The Hundred of Manhood and Selsey Tramways later known as The West Sussex Railway 1897-1935*" by Edward C. Griffiths which went to three editions, the first dated 1948, the last, 1974. The second book, "*Branch Line to Selsey*" (1983) by Vic Mitchell and Keith Smith is in the popular Middleton Press Branch Line series. The third, "*The Selsey Tram*" by David Bathurst, was published locally by Phillimore in 1992 (it can still be bought in the West Sussex Record Office). The fourth and most recent (2006) is a beautifully illustrated, two-volume book "*The Selsey Tramway*", written by Laurie A. Cooksey and published by Wild Swan Publications of Didcot, Oxon, which to an old railway fanatic like myself, is the *piece de resistance* as well as a really nostalgic read. Incidentally, Laurie Cooksey has donated the MS of this book and his photo collection of the Selsey Tramway to the Colonel Stephens Museum in Tenterden, Kent, Brian Janes of that Museum tells me.

Laurie Cooksey's book also relates a most amusing incident, worthy of repetition here, first told, I believe, in the *Chichester Observer* in 1909, in which Heron-Allen tells us why he settled in Selsey in the first place...so you can blame the Selsey Tramway personally for it!

In the summer of 1906 Heron-Allen was staying in Bognor Regis with his family and finding the sea-air of great benefit to

his sickly 2-year old daughter [Itha, Ivor Jones' mother], made enquiries as to a site where he might build a new house. Instead, someone recommended he went over to Selsey, which the family duly did by train. On boarding the Tram at Chichester, they had only travelled for five minutes when it suddenly stopped. "[William] Walker, the conductor, was passing through the train selling tickets", relates Heron-Allen, "and I said to him 'Broken down?'. He replied, 'No sir. There is a cow on the line!' Presently we were on again but after about ten minutes we stopped again and I said to Walker facetiously: 'Another cow on the line?' He replied, 'No sir, it's the same cow!' I turned to my wife and said, quoting Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters*, 'This is the place for us. We will return no more...we will no longer roam'". H-A duly bought a 5-6 acre field, which had been laid out for 20 building plots and after his "sporting offer" was accepted, he built his house "Large Acres" on the land in 1906-1907. The rest, as they say, is history.

It is interesting, therefore, to report that one of Edward Heron-Allen's many subsequent directorships was indeed that of the The Hundred of Manhood & Selsey Tramway Company. This independent railway/tramway was opened in 1897 and ran from its own station in Chichester in Terminus Road (off Stockbridge Road), to Selsey, very nearly 8 miles. Its engineer and locomotive superintendent was one, Holman Fred Stephens, a flamboyant character of military bearing, more about which we will hear shortly. When the undertaking was planned it was found possible to purchase all the land by private arrangement, based on personal contacts, without the need for compulsory purchase orders, hence a reference sometime later by Heron-Allen..."to its hugging the hedges in an apparently needless manner". Also in view of the nature of the operation, particularly the intention not to run trains at an excess speed, there was no need to obtain a Light Railway Order under the new legislation of 1896. The railway, therefore, instead of being known as such, would be known as a "tramway", ostensibly complying with the legislation appropriate to the running of trams. Hence, the formal name

of the company was "The Hundred of Manhood and Selsey Tramway", and the name by which the line was always known - was the Selsey Tram - even though it was not a tram at all. This rather "dubious" scenario meant that this exempted it from Board of Trade scrutiny and enabled it to construct the track very cheaply, and at the numerous road crossings there was no obligation to provide safety measures expected of a Light Railway.

To digress slightly, let us first hear a little more of the two main protagonists in the context of this presentation, namely Edward Heron-Allen and Holman Fred Stephens (otherwise known as Colonel Stephens). The latter got his first name, by the way, from Holman Hunt, the Pre-Raphaelite painter, because Stephen's own father was a friend of Hunt and a minor member of the Brotherhood himself.

Heron-Allen was variously Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Tramway Company from before WWI until 1919, its most prosperous years. One would like to think that this prosperity, in part, was due to Heron-Allen's stewardship and almost certainly, money. Stephens was the Resident Engineer and Locomotive Superintendent. He had also designed and equipped the line when it opened in 1897. After 1924, after which Heron-Allen no longer served on the board, Stephens became its sole owner as with a great number of other small light railways in England and Wales which he also ran, at their greatest extent covering over 450 miles. This empire he administered from an office in Salford Terrace, Tonbridge. Kent.

Not only therefore did the two have the Selsey Tramway in common, both shared a military background of sorts. One might therefore have thought they would have been (if not close friends), friends. This did not seem to be the case, however, especially latterly and I can, for instance, find no evidence (from Heron-Allen's Visitors Book) of Stephens ever actually visiting "Large Acres".

The military connection? Edward Heron-Allen had formed (with others) the Selsey Platoon of the 9th Royal Sussex Volunteer Regiment in May 1917. He was appointed Platoon

Commander in September of that year, and Second Lieutenant in November. In May 1918 he went to the War Office, at Adastral House, to work for the propaganda section of the Military Intelligence Department.

Concerning Holman Fred Stephens (Figure 1), I wrote several years ago to the Colonel Stephens Museum, which is based at the Kent & East Sussex Railway, Tenterden, Kent (another of the small railways he had managed and which is still running today). I wrote....." I am a member of the Heron-Allen Society. Edward Heron-Allen lived in Selsey and amongst other things, was a lawyer and scientist. He was also a Director of the Selsey Tramway just before WWI until 1919. My question is, does the Colonel Stephens Museum have any record of correspondence between Heron-Allen and Stephens (who was Resident Engineer at that time)? They must also have had a mutual interest in army matters as Heron-Allen was involved with the Sussex Volunteer Regiment in WW1 and wrote a journal of the Great War, which has now been published. Many thanks in anticipation."

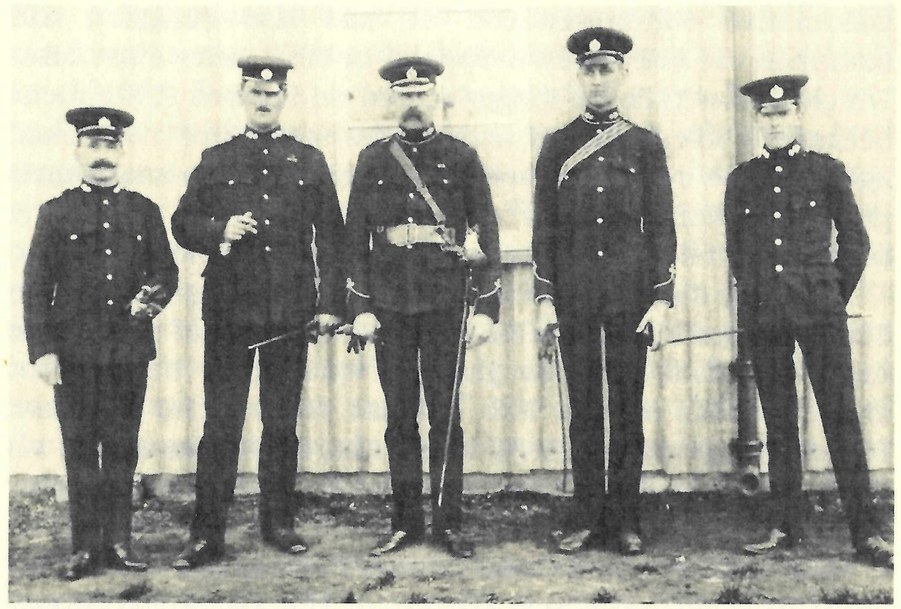


Fig. 1. Sussex Volunteers, Royal Engineers, at Esatbourne, 1907. Captain Stephens (as he then was) is second left.

Brian Janes responded on behalf of the Colonel Stephens Museum. "I regret we have very little. Indeed the most we really have is the 2nd (and last) Selsey Minute book. This has lots of reported stuff on both Heron Allen and Stephens. From memory the two do not appear to have got on in these later days. I'm not sure whether the two's military interests may have crossed. Stephens first commission came in 1896, when he reached the rank of second-lieutenant with the 1st Sussex (Volunteer) Royal Engineers at Eastbourne. The following year, he was promoted to Lieutenant, and in 1898 to Captain, whilst still based at Eastbourne [as pictured in Figure 1, standing second left]. Stephens received a fresh commission in 1905 as a Captain with the 2nd Cinque Ports, Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers). Again this commission was based at Eastbourne. In 1921, Stephens became Commanding Officer of the Sussex (fortress) Royal Engineers Territorials in Seaford. His time in Seaford was short-lived and he moved on to Commanding Officer to the Cinque Ports (fortress) Royal Engineers. based at Dover. He was also made a Lieutenant Colonel in 1921, and was thenceforth always referred to as Colonel Stephens".

On the railway side, Stephens also ultimately ran a whole series of small independent railways from his offices in Salford Terrace, Tonbridge, as already mentioned. He had originally been the railway engineer (that is, he supervised the construction and procured the necessary equipment) of a number of minor railways, including the Selsey Tramway. He has been described, on the one hand, as "the king of minor railways", and on the other a sort of "spiv", residing over an increasing number of buccolic and decrepit undertakings run on a shoestring. It was also said of him... "he collected railways in the way that another might open grocery shops". His military bearing was also apparent in his railway management. He could be overbearing, he was also strict, but fair and was generally much liked by his staff, in the main.

To continue. With regards to Edward Heron-Allen, I've found it a little difficult to know precisely when he first became involved with the Hundred of Manhood & Selsey Tramway

Company. Remember, he had built his house in Selsey in 1906-1907, so it is clearly subsequent to this. At the AGM of the Company on September 30th 1911, however, Heron-Allen is described (in Cooksey's book) as being "in the Chair", where he alluded to the ..."apathy and want of interest shown by the shareholders in what had been their most critical year". This is a theme he reiterates several times at AGM's, during his

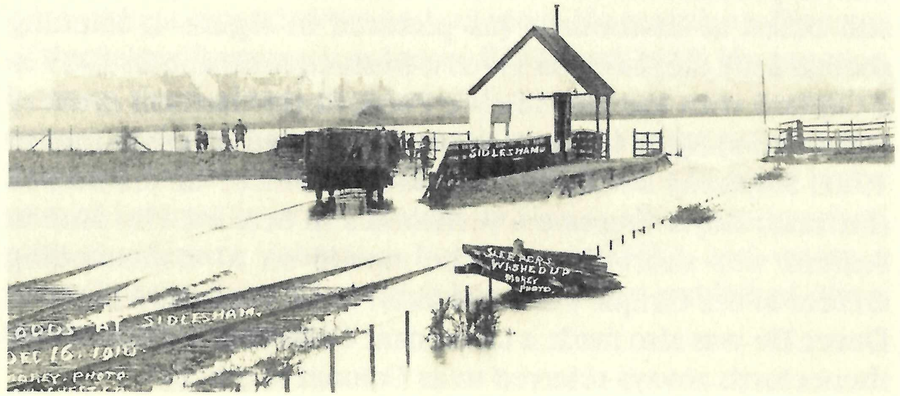


Fig. 2. The "Great Flood" of December 1910, Sidlesham station.

Fig. 3. Selsey Tramway replacement service, horse bus at Sidlesham in the "Great Flood".

involvement with the Selsey Tramway. In this particular case, he is referring to the aftermath of the catastrophic storm of Friday 15th December 1910 when the sea broke through the sea-defences known as "The Narrows" near the old entrance to Pagham Harbour - remember, the former Pagham Harbour had been reclaimed for farming only in the 1870's. Several thousand acres were flooded almost instantly as far as Sidlesham (Figure 2). The sea also broke through to the west, and Selsey became an island. The gas works (off Paddock Lane, which can't have been far from where Heron-Allen lived) was flooded and the retorts split (in fact Selsey residents were still without light or cooking facilities even at Christmas 1910). The tramway perhaps came off worst as the track was flooded to a considerable depth between Sidlesham and Ferry. Luckily they had locomotives, carriages and goods wagons both sides of the flooded track and thus could run shuttle services, with a horse bus for passengers from Mill Pond Halt to Ferry station via Sidlesham Village (Figure 3). The Company immediately set about raising the track considerably on a embankment and through tram services were resumed by Easter 1911. This had come at some expense, however, ultimately costing some £3,500. At an Extraordinary Meeting of Shareholders in 1911 we read that it had been hoped that they (the shareholders) would take up Debentures to provide the money. In fact only two shareholders had applied for a very small portion of the debentures - hence Heron-Allen's complaint, mentioned above. Heron-Allen went on...."The whole of the rest of the capital required for the work has been provided and the expenses met or guaranteed personally by the Directors". In fact, they were really only underwriting it but in a strongly worded report to another Extraordinary General Meeting held on February 9th 1912, Heron-Allen (as Chairman) actually threatened to call in the Receiver, unless the shareholders came up with the money. One is led to think, therefore, that Heron-Allen had put his personal money into the Tramway Company, and probably quite a substantial amount, even though some or most of it was as a guarantee.

In spite of all this these were halcyon years for the Selsey Tramway, with passenger traffic at its highest ever level - some 120,000 per annum. It was in fact also a relatively prosperous concern. It had now put the 1910 floods behind it and taken measures to ensure it would not happen again. Now came plans to expand.

Heron-Allen (as Chairman) and Colonel Stephens (as Engineer) were prominently involved with the plan for an extension of the line to the Witterings and West Itchenor (Figure 4). At Itchenor a 200' concrete jetty was to be built by the Custom House, so that vessels up to 800 tons could be

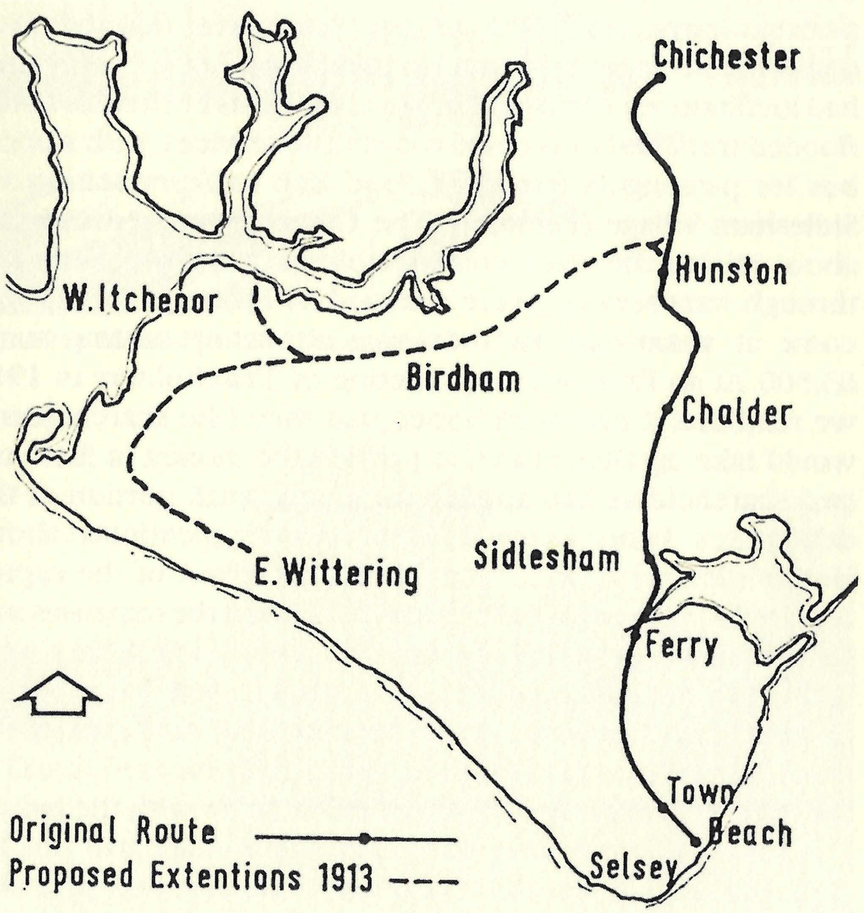


Fig. 4. Planned Selsey Tramway extensions to West Itchenor and The Witterings, 1913.

received. As there was local opposition, however, a public enquiry had to be held. The plans were strongly supported at the enquiry by the Colonel and by Heron-Allen. The Witterings, it was said, had "an excellent front of sand" and the scheme would "add another seaside resort to the South Coast". Moreover, Heron-Allen assured the enquiry that there would be no great difficulty in financing the undertaking. A Light Railway Order was indeed granted in 1913 to build not only the proposed extension, but also to allow the company... "to purchase or lease, reconstruct or repair, renew, work and maintain the existing tramway between Chichester and Selsey". The latter would therefore also have served to legalise the Company's position. However, because of World War 1 this never was proceeded with and the powers subsequently lapsed.

Heron-Allen appears as Chairman (or Vice-chairman) at the AGMs of the Tramway Company until December 31st 1919 when he retired. Or did he resign? He seems to have become more and more despondent of the shareholders... "It is a grievous pity", he said, that shareholders "did not take their courage in both hands and do something to enable them to make the line worthy of the service which it was expected to provide". Being astute, he probably saw, after the end of WWI, that the writing was on the wall. Based on Brian Jane's (of the Colonel Stephens Museum) comments that Heron-Allen and Colonel Stephens did not get on in later years, this could have been a deciding factor in his resignation. Colonel Stephens' refusal to purchase or commission new and comfortable rolling stock, inability to maintain the track and existing stock to anything like acceptable levels must have latterly irked Heron-Allen a great deal, but I also suspect he (more than anyone) saw the inevitable rise of the internal combustion engine, with which the Tramway could not expect to cope. It was said that the tram went everywhere but where people lived, whereas, although the bus service (that was about to come in) took considerably longer, it was able to offer passengers a door-to-door service.

Up until January 1924 the Tramway was still operating without proper legal authority, when an application was made under the little-used Railway Facilities Act of 1864, to change its name to the West Sussex Railway and regularise the whole position. At this date Colonel Stephens had also acquired a controlling interest in the line from the existing board of directors, but by now Heron-Allen had left.

In the late 1920's it became a notorious ramshackle affair. Stephens had introduced petrol-driven rail buses to cut costs, but these had proved unpopular and annual passenger numbers fell to about 20,000 per annum (or even less). In January 1935 the West Sussex Railway (the erstwhile Selsey Tramway) closed completely, by which time Colonel Stephens was also dead.

Let us leave the Selsey Tramway in happier times, with the enclosed atmospheric photograph (Figure 5) of Selsey Station in c. 1917 with Heron-Allen alighting from the rear carriage, which many of you may have seen before as it has been exhibited at two previous symposia held at the Record Office.

Fig. 5. Tramway station, Selsey, *c.* 1917. Heron-Allen is alighting from the rear carriage.

"RINGING ROCK"

The arrival of this locomotive came after Heron-Allen's departure from the Board of the Tramway Company, but as one of the nameplates and a works plate are preserved here in The Novium, it is especially worthy of our attention. It has an interesting and complicated history. It was a 0-6-0 tank engine and was supplied new to a Cardiff firm in 1883, there being named "VIDA". It was numbered 890 by Manning Wardle of Leeds, its builders. After this, it worked as a contractors' locomotive at several sites, including a Royal Naval munitions depot, usually as a shunting engine. It was purchased by Colonel Stephens for use on the Selsey Tramway in 1922, and always remained his personal property.

Whilst on the Selsey Tramway she was painted unlined dark blue and henceforth named "RINGING ROCK". The origin of the name goes back to 1876 when Manning Wardle built another engine, this time for the Narberth Road and Maenclochog Railway in South Wales. Around 1899 that company named it "RINGING ROCK", as "Maenclochog" means "Bell Stone" in Welsh. If you hit a bell stone with a large hammer it rings, hence the alternative, "Ringing Rock". The nameplates

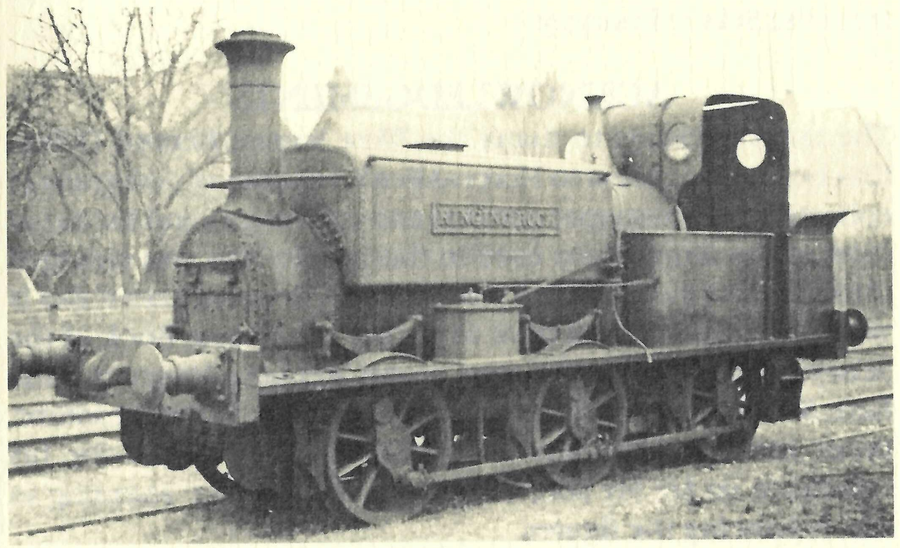


Fig. 6. *"RINGING ROCK"* at the end of its days. Chichester exchange siding (with the Southern Railway), 1935.

were still carried when the engine was purchased by the Kent & East Sussex Railway in 1914. Within three years it had been re-named "HESPERUS" on the Kent & East Sussex and the "RINGING ROCK" brass nameplates, with a black background, were later transferred to the Selsey Tramway's latest acquisition. Colonel Stephens had a series of favourite names for his locomotives, which he used several times on different railways, and this often complicates matters. He also seems to have had an especial liking for names from Greek mythology. However, on the Selsey Tramway, the names of the other locomotives included the more local - "SELSEY", "SIDLESHAM" and "CHICHESTER".

"RINGING ROCK" served the Company to the end and was last used on the 24th January 1935. She was left on the transfer siding at Chichester (Figure 6) and was broken up by a firm of scrap merchants in July of that year. After the locomotive was scrapped, all that remained were one Nameplate and a Works Plate which "after many years in private ownership....were presented to the Chichester Museum" (now The Novium). Whom the private individual was, the Museum must know unless he/she wished to remain anonymous. These plates must be some of the last (if not the only) major artefacts that remain from the Selsey Tramway.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank the West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, for access to Heron-Allen's volumes of *Selseyana* (a collection of newspaper cuttings and ephemera), and for use of most of the illustrations used in this article. This was arranged through the kind offices of Tim McCann. To some extent this is work in progress. I still have to access the Minute Book of the Selsey Tramway, housed in the Colonel Stephens Museum at the Kent & East Sussex Railway, in Tenterden, Kent. In the meantime, Brian Janes of that Museum, is sincerely thanked for his assistance so far. My son, Gregory, is thanked for scanning in and enhancing the figures.

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 he 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). [Reprinted 2012]

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. Mahoney and Barbara 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)

Opusculum XV 'The Man in White': Edward Heron-Allen and the Thames, by Richard Bossons. (2010)

Opusculum XVI 'Edward Heron-Allen and Local History and Archaeology'. Proceedings of the 10th. Heron-Allen Symposium, 2010, edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the tenth Heron-Allen Symposium, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, July 2010, by David Bone, Martin Bates and Timothy J. McCann. (2011)

Opusculum XVII The Le Gallienne versus Heron-Allen Incident, by John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney. Talks delivered at the ninth Heron-Allen Symposium, Natural History Museum, London, July 2009 and the tenth Heron-Allen Symposium, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, July 2010. (2011)

Opusculum XVIII 'Edward Heron-Allen and the Violin'. Proceedings of the 11th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2011, edited by Peter Horton. Talks delivered at the eleventh Heron-Allen Symposium, the Royal College of Music, London, June 2011, by Timothy J. McCann, Peter Horton and John P. and Barbara P. Mahoney (2012).

Opusculum XIX 'Edward Heron-Allen and Some Women of his Acquaintance'. Proceedings of the 12th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2012, edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the twelfth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Allen Room, Dean Street, London, June 2012, by Timothy J. McCann, John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney, John E. Whittaker, and Jan Bargmann (2013).

Opusculum XX. Edward Heron-Allen and his Collections. Proceedings of the 13th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2013, edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the thirteenth Heron-Allen Symposium, the British Museum, London, June 2013, by John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney, Simon Parfitt, Thomas Hockenhull, Pamela Thompson and David Thompson (2014).

Opusculum XXI 'Edward Heron-Allen: Selsey and Beyond'. Proceedings of the 14th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2014. Edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the fourteenth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Novium, Chichester, June 2014, by John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney, Timothy J. McCann, David Bone and John E. Whittaker. (2014).

Copies of these Opuscula cost either £5 (*Opuscula 1-VI and VIII*) or £10 (*Opusculum VII and IX-XXI*) each from Timothy J. McCann, Chairman of the Heron-Allen Society, 18 Oaklands Road, Havant, Hants. PO9 2RN.

Printed by Selsey Press Ltd - www.selseypress.co.uk