‘EDWARD HERON-ALLEN: RESEARCH IN EGYPT, LA ROCHELLE AND SUSSEX’

Edited by
TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

TALKS DELIVERED AT THE
FIFTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM,
THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, LONDON
JUNE 2015

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Opusculum XXII
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'Edward Heron-Allen: Research in Egypt, La Rochelle and Sussex'. Proceedings of the 15th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2015: Talks delivered by David Bone, John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney, Timothy J. McCann, and John E. Whittaker at the Fifteenth Annual Heron-Allen Symposium, The Natural History Museum, London, June 2015.

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Cover: Edward Heron-Allen on board the *PS Rameses* during his Upper Nile cruise, Egypt, 1903

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THE FIFTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM AT THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, LONDON

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

In 1909 Arthur Smith Woodward, then Keeper of Geology at the Natural History Museum in London, invited Edward Heron-Allen to work on the Museum's collections and for more than thirty years Heron-Allen worked at the Museum where he later was given his own room which he shared with his collaborator Arthur Earland. The Natural History Museum was thus an appropriate setting for a return visit for our Fifteenth Annual Symposium. We met downstairs in the Minerology Seminar Room after much preliminary work initially by Giles Miller and later by John Whittaker and Simon Parfitt. In a break from our normal proceedings and to enable our members to be safely guided through the labyrinth of corridors in the Museum we began the day with our Annual General Meeting.

The formal business of the Society safely disposed of, we began the programme of the day with the first paper delivered by Grahame Saxby-Soffe, entitled 'Roman sculpture in the Kingdom of Togidubnus: Edward Heron-Allen's Contribution'. Grahame introduced us to two Roman sculptured heads both dug up in the parish of Bosham in West Sussex and both associated at some stage with Heron-Allen, one of which is now on permanent display at the Novium in Chichester. He discussed the discovery of these heads and their subsequent history, the buildings that have been found in the Chichester area, and the relationship between the Roman and British populations. Images on Roman coins were linked to the sculptures from these sites. He sought to identify the heads and to tease out Heron-Allen's association with them. Sadly, owing to family illness, Grahame was not able to revise his paper and, as a result, it does not appear in this Opusculum. Hopefully it will in a future one.

We stayed in Sussex for the next paper, David Bone's 'Quarrying the Mixon: Heron-Allen's mystery resolved'. Mixon stone is used as building stone only in the very local area around Chichester, and it comes only from an outcrop of rock off the Selsey coast. Heron-Allen had looked into the history of the quarrying of this rock when writing his history of Selsey and tried to find out how it was controlled and eventually stopped but had drawn a blank on resolving the question. David, and his wife Anne have now been able to explore further, and found the evidence which had eluded Heron-Allen. He then firmly disproved some of the recent theories published about the Mixon rock and gave examples of where the quarried rock had been used.

Then John Mahoney introduced us to his and Barbara's researches into 'The 1903 Egyptian rebirth of the Necromancer, Edward Heron-Allen'. In this paper based on astonishing archival discoveries, John gave us insights, gained from the autobiography of another passenger on the Nile trip, into Heron-Allen's trip with his brother-in-law and fellow author Barry Pain. They took this holiday after the death of Heron-Allen's wife Marianna to help him recover from his subsequent depressive illness. John pointed out that although Heron-Allen's diaries and journals give much information about what he did and saw and thought, there is little about his interactions with others, so these observations of him show us a side of Heron-Allen that his writings do not reveal. The passenger was an American young lady and her account of her own Egyptian holiday enables us to follow Heron-Allen's programme to witness his growing relationship with his future second wife, as well as describing his courtship of the young American. The final surprise they'd found was a contemporary report in America of a knighthood having been conferred on Heron-Allen by King Edward VII.

Making use of the archives of the Natural History Museum and the Heron-Allen collection in the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester, Tim McCann then chronicled the friendship of Heron-Allen and Arthur Smith Woodward, the

Keeper of Geology at the Museum. It was Smith Woodward who first invited Heron-Allen to work on the Museum's collections and the two men worked closely on the discovery of the Selsey Mammoth in 1909. They continued to correspond for the rest of their lives and although never close friends their relationship tells us much about the archaeology and natural history of Sussex and Heron-Allen's multivarious interests.

Finally, John Whittaker led us through Heron-Allen's trip to France in his paper 'In the Footsteps of Alcide d'Orbigny: Heron-Allen's visit to Paris and La Rochelle, May 1914', based on his Holiday Journal. This revealed his trip as a fascinating mix of his further research on foraminifera and his enjoyment of the culinary and other delights of Paris and the Atlantic coast. He met with several eminent scientists in the pursuit of information about d'Orbigny and his ground-breaking research on these tiny creatures, studied d'Orbigny's unpublished plates of drawings of them in Paris, visited d'Orbigny's home near La Rochelle and spoke to some of his descendants, also collecting some foraminifera there on his own account. This visit ultimately resulted in his excellent biography of d'Orbigny, presented as his Presidential Address to the Royal Microscopical Society in 1917.

After these talks we were led on another tour of the museum's warren of passages to the exhibition of some of d'Orbigny's books and papers that Heron-Allen had collected and John Whittaker had put on display in the Heron Allen Library, while in the room next door Simon Parfitt demonstrated a number of the surviving teeth and bones of the Selsey Mammoth that Heron-Allen had rescued and sent up to Arthur Smith Woodward in champagne boxes! He introduced us to the bones, collected from the beach in Selsey in 1909, and was happy to answer our questions.

We then left the Museum and walked together to Pierino's in Thurloe Place, where the committee hold their meetings. We enjoyed a splendid meal together and the last of us rose from the luncheon table shortly after 7pm. Good heavens! All in all

a splendid day with excellent papers, good food and wine and the very best company.

In conclusion, we are most grateful to Simon Parfitt, without whose help the Symposium just would not have happened; Gregory Whittaker for facilitating the preparation of the illustrations for this O*pusculum,* and Selsey Press for printing it.

QUARRYING THE MIXON: HERON-ALLEN'S MYSTERY RESOLVED

by DAVID A. BONE

The Mixon Reef lies approximately 2km offshore south-east of Selsey Bill in West Sussex (Fig. 1). A well-known local feature, it is marked by a navigation beacon that, according to Heron-Allen (1911a), can be reached at low tide although "There is not however time for the return journey, and the walk over ... must not be attempted without a boat in attendance." Such a venture is no longer possible due to shifting sands and coastal erosion.

Stone from the Mixon Reef is geologically distinctive and has been quarried at low tide since Roman times for building stone "until the practice was forbidden some eighty years ago" (Heron-Allen, 1911a). He goes on to say that "We have endeavoured in vain to obtain from various Governmental Departments any information as to when, or why, and by whom, the quarrying of the Mixon Reef for building purposes was forbidden". The lack of any further evidence coming to light resulted in Heron-Allen often being the quoted source for a Government ban on quarrying, even though his question remained unanswered.

Other stories about the Mixon Reef include myths about lost cities, encouraged by the activities of scuba divers under the guidance of Hume Wallace, a former naval officer with a keen interest in underwater archaeology. His self-published manuscripts between 1967 and 1999 describe the discovery of a Roman quarry, a fort and even a lighthouse (e.g. Wallace, 1967, 1996). These reports are widely repeated and commonly accepted as fact, even though there is no proven archaeology to support these claims.

It is this confusion of unconfirmed 'facts' that led David and Anne Bone into several years of archival research, as described by Bone (2010). This has culminated in the answering of Heron-Allen's questions and the rejection of Wallace's ideas (Bone & Bone, 2014). A summary of those findings is presented here.

THE MIXON REEF

Mixon is an Old English word for a dung heap or midden, possibly referring to the smell of rotting kelp or due to the shape of the reef. A new suggestion is that the waterworn blocks of stone can look like petrified cow-pats with fragments of straw (actually the fossilised remains of foraminifera). Mixon Rock, which forms the reef is a distinctive rock type from the Bracklesham Group (about 45 million years old) that only occurs at this location. It is recognisable by its microfossil fauna of foraminifera, especially from the spindle-shaped alveolinas. Mixon Rock occurs in fractured layers around 150 to 200 mm thick, that are broken up by tidal action to produce waterworn blocks that, roughly trimmed, have been used as a local building stone (Mee, 1988).

Mixon Rock has been used as a building stone since Roman times, where it can be seen at Fishbourne Roman Palace. Since

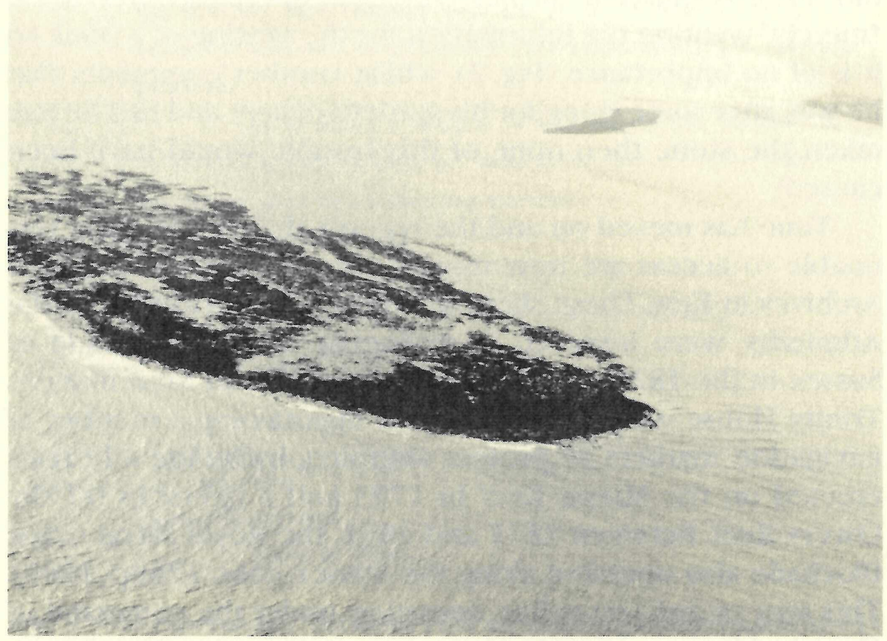


Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Mixon Reef, off Selsey Bill (reproduced courtesy of Chichester District Council).

then, quarrying has probably continued, albeit on a relatively small scale, up until the 1820s when there was a major escalation in quarrying activity.

DOCUMENTARY RECORDS

A local guide book (Dally, 1828), noted that the Government has "... lately prohibited further access to this ledge on account of an alleged injury to the harbour". Other later reports provide even less information, whilst Heron-Allen "endeavoured in vain" to obtain any information from various government departments. In a pamphlet of the same date, he states that the quarrying was forbidden by the Government because it was "... accelerating the erosion of our peninsula" (Heron-Allen, 1911b). Papers in the National Archives at Kew include Heron-Allen's investigations of this story. In 1910 (just before publication of 'Selsey Bill') he sought clarification on the banning of quarrying from the Board of Trade. The handwritten notes on his letter and in the files show that the civil servants placed a very low priority on this request and, essentially, they did not investigate it further. One note refers to Heron-Allen "merely" wanting the information for the writing of a book so it is of no importance (Fig. 2), whilst another comments that he was after some stone for his garden rockery and had he just taken the stone then none of this trouble would have been caused!

Time has moved on and the records that Heron-Allen was unable to access are now mostly preserved in the National Archives in Kew. These show that both Trinity House and the Admiralty were involved in managing the coastal trade of Sussex in the 1820s and took a keen interest in local matters. Trinity House were responsible for maintaining a number of navigation markers to protect shipping, including a beacon erected on the Mixon Reef in 1793 and a lightship off the Owers Reef. Between 1817 and 1831, the Royal Naval Coast Blockade also operated along the Sussex coast (Philp, 1999). This was an anti-smuggling operation under the command of Captain Mingaye of HMS *Hyperion,* stationed at Newhaven.

E No. 1980.

1927

OFFICE OF H.M. WOODS, R.N.

Whitehall, S.W.

10/105
15530/10

10th April 1911.

Sir,

File 21689.

Selsey Bill Foreshore.

In reply to your letter of the 5th instant (M.15530/10) I am directed by Mr Leveson Gower to say that immediately after the receipt of your letter of the 16th December last (M 15530) an enquiry was received here from Mr E.M.Allen as to the date of a Prohibition Order alleged to have been made in or about 1830 with reference to the quarrying of limestone from the Mixon Rocks at Selsey.

Copies of Mr Allen's letters to this Office, dated the 20th and 25th December 1910 and of the replies thereto, dated the 23rd and 30th December 1910 respectively, are enclosed herewith.

As Mr Allen's enquiry is made merely for the purpose of writing a book it does not seem to Mr Leveson Gower that the matter need be pursued any further.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

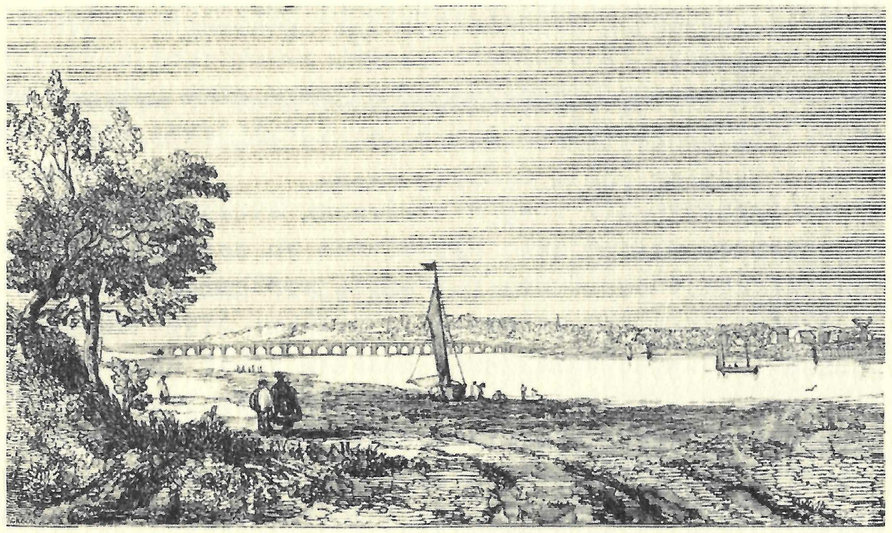
The Assistant Secretary,
Harbour Department,
Board of Trade.

Fig. 2. Correspondence between civil servants regarding Heron-Allen's enquiry about the Mixon reef, April 1911 (reproduced courtesy of The National Archives, MT 10/1381).

The Admiralty Digest (a series of annual indexed registers of correspondence) between 1820 and 1830 contains entries relating to the Mixon in only 1826 and 1827, which are the key years in this story. It was also clear that the Treasury had a crucial part to play.

THE FIRST PETITION (1823)

The demand for stone was considerably stimulated by the construction of the new bridge from Langstone to Hayling Island in 1823 to 1824 (Rogers, 2000; Skelton, 1826) and was a key element in the subsequent prohibition of quarrying the Mixon Reef. The bridge was a significant structure; around 1100m in length including causeways at each end with sloping sides and faced with Mixon Rock (Fig. 3). It is difficult to estimate how much Mixon Rock may have been used in the bridge construction. If the causeway facings used the same stone as is still visible today, then up to 7,600 tonnes of Mixon Rock may have been used in the causeway facings alone.



THE BRIDGE, WITH THE MAINLAND IN THE DISTANCE.

Fig. 3. Contemporary illustration of the Hayling Island bridge soon after its construction (reproduced in Rogers, 2000).

The first evidence of concern about the quarrying is indicated by a Petition to Trinity House from 14 Selsey fishermen in 1823. The fishermen's major concern was the impact on their livelihood if the sheltered anchorage on the leeward side of the Mixon Reef was lost because of the quarrying. They alleged that up to 100 tons of stone a day was being removed, causing heavier seas in the sheltered anchorage known as 'The Park' on the east side of Selsey Bill. Trinity House was therefore asked to stop the quarrying. In August 1823, Trinity House requested information on the nature of the quarrying and the petitioners' allegations. The reply to them made clear that there were often eight or nine boats of between five and 15 tons each working every day. The fishermen stated that the quarrying had been going on for the previous eight to nine years but had increased in the last two years. The view was that the Mixon Reef was important in creating a sheltered and safe anchorage from which they had all benefited and that continued removal of the rock would impair or destroy it.

THE FIRST MEMORIAL (1823)

A counter-petition, in the form of a 'Memorial' of August 1823 and signed by 105 people in Sidlesham and nearby parishes, was sent to Trinity House. The Memorialists described the size of the reef, and stated that the stone had been worked for most of the buildings in the area, including the parish churches of Selsey and Sidlesham. They claimed that hundreds of local people, whose work relied upon the quarrying, would have to rely on parish relief if quarrying stopped, with a consequently sharp increase in the poor rate. They argued that the improvement of the area relied heavily on the availability of Mixon stone, there being nothing else available locally and the nearest brick kiln being 10 miles away.

The signatories believed that the reef was not very important to the sheltered anchorage and, in their view, actually created a dangerous current between itself and the land. The Memorial stated that three of the signatories to the Petition

were motivated by envy and that all three had in the past worked the Mixon stone for themselves. Trinity House considered the evidence and advised that they had no authority to stop the removal of the rock so long as the exclusion zone around the beacon on the reef was respected.The matter seems to have been dismissed.

THE SECOND PETITION (1826)

By 1827 the vessels employed in the exploitation of the Mixon Reef were of 20 to 40 tons capacity and quarrying was carried out with the aid of explosives. Estimates suggest that up to 9,000 cubic metres (18,000 tonnes) of stone may have been removed from the reef during this period.

This extraction of stone continued to greatly trouble the fishermen and pilots of Selsey, who wrote a second petition to Trinity House in October 1826. This was forwarded to Lieutenant James Carr of HMS *Hyperion,* formerly the

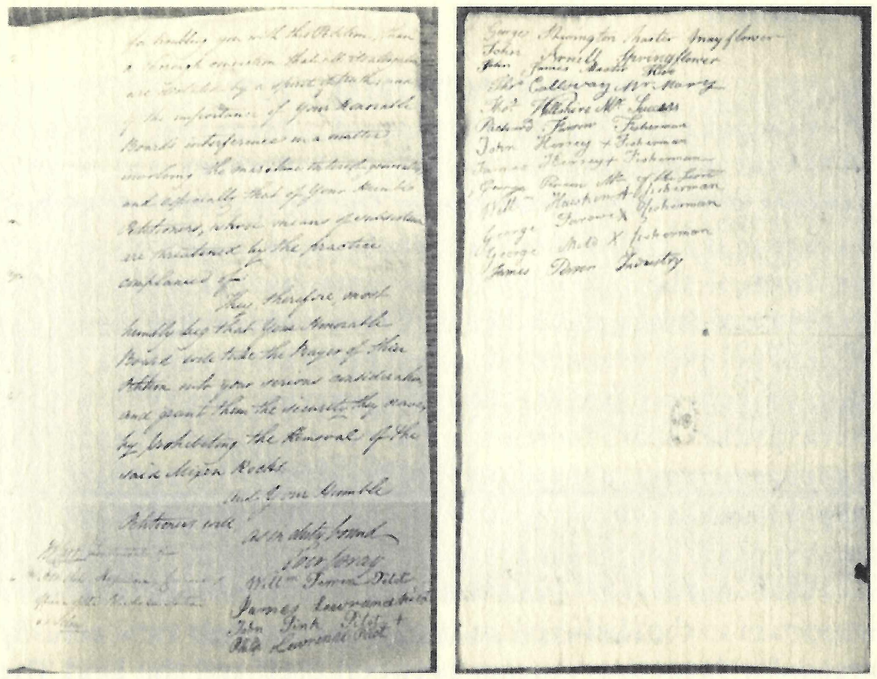


Fig. 4. Signatories to the Petition of 1826 (reproduced courtesy of The National Archives, ADM 1/2198, Cap M No. 380).

commanding officer of the Blockade Station at Selsey. Carr passed the petition to his commanding officer Captain Mingaye. A covering letter from the fishermen and pilots of Selsey asked Mingaye to inspect and approve the petition and to use his influence in having it considered.This second petition repeated the concerns about stone removal threatening the safety of the anchorage but added that "... upwards of Eighty Tons of Small Vessels constantly employed, whenever the tide suits, in removing the Rock and the number continues to increase".The petition, signed by 17 persons, makes a particular point that the fishermen had no other interest than the loss of the sheltered anchorage (Fig. 4).

Mingaye wrote to the Admiralty in October 1826, enclosing the fishermen's petition and letter, and stressing the usefulness of the fishermen and the risk that they and their families would require parish relief if the quarrying was not stopped. He reminded the Admiralty of the importance of the anchorage and described the size and location of the Mixon Reef. Mingaye also describes the scale of the quarrying, and that its prime use was the construction at Hayling, although other carriers were at work. The Admiralty decided to refer the matter to the Treasury to establish whether or not the Mixon Reef was Crown property.

By March 1827, it had been concluded that the Mixon Reef was Crown property and that the shelter it provided had been damaged in the previous three to four years. In April 1827, the Treasury advised the Admiralty,"... to take such measures, under the Advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General, as may be necessary for preventing any further destruction of this Rock". No order of the Treasury Solicitor has yet been traced, although it is referred to in a Hampshire newspaper of the time and another document records "By a Treasury Minute ... it was made Felony to remove any of The Mixon Reef off Selsey Bill ...".

THE SECOND MEMORIAL (1827)

The existence of a ban is substantiated by a Memorial raised in Chichester in July 1827 with 340 signatories.As in 1823, the

primary argument was that the cessation of the quarrying was causing hardship to the people. The first signatory is the vicar of Sidlesham who had a record of supporting smugglers amongst his flock, protesting when they were caught. Other signatories were members of the aristocracy and upper middle classes with influence in the Chichester area, such as the Duke of Richmond. The Memorial was sent to the Treasury who forwarded a copy to the Admiralty for the attention of HRH the Lord High Admiral (the Duke of Clarence, later William IV); the covering letter was annotated in September 1827 that it should be sent to Captain Mingaye and "... direct him to report on all the points mentioned in the Memorial". The Memorial and Mingaye's investigations must have been known to other local residents. In October 1827, the Bognor Commissioners wrote to the Treasury asking them not to rescind the order banning the quarrying of the Mixon reef. On 8 November Mingaye responded with a 14-page letter and a point-by-point rebuttal of the Memorial.

Captain Mingaye divided the Memorial into fifteen key statements why quarrying should be resumed and presented clear evidence to demolish each statement. Key to Mingaye's rebuttal is his note that:

> "The Memorial having to my knowledge laid at the Swan Inn Chichester for several weeks for the indiscriminate perusal and signature of all classes of people. I cannot know who really attached the signatures to it in consequence of their own local knowledge, or otherwise, but I am satisfied, three hundred of the numbers must have done so without being in any way masters of the matter contained therein".

Indeed the original document (Fig. 5) seems to have tankard ring marks and many of those signing it made a cross as they were illiterate.

Having considered Mingaye's rebuttal, the Admiralty's decision was added as a Minute to a corner of the letter "...HRH is satisfied that great injury to the Shipping interest would be

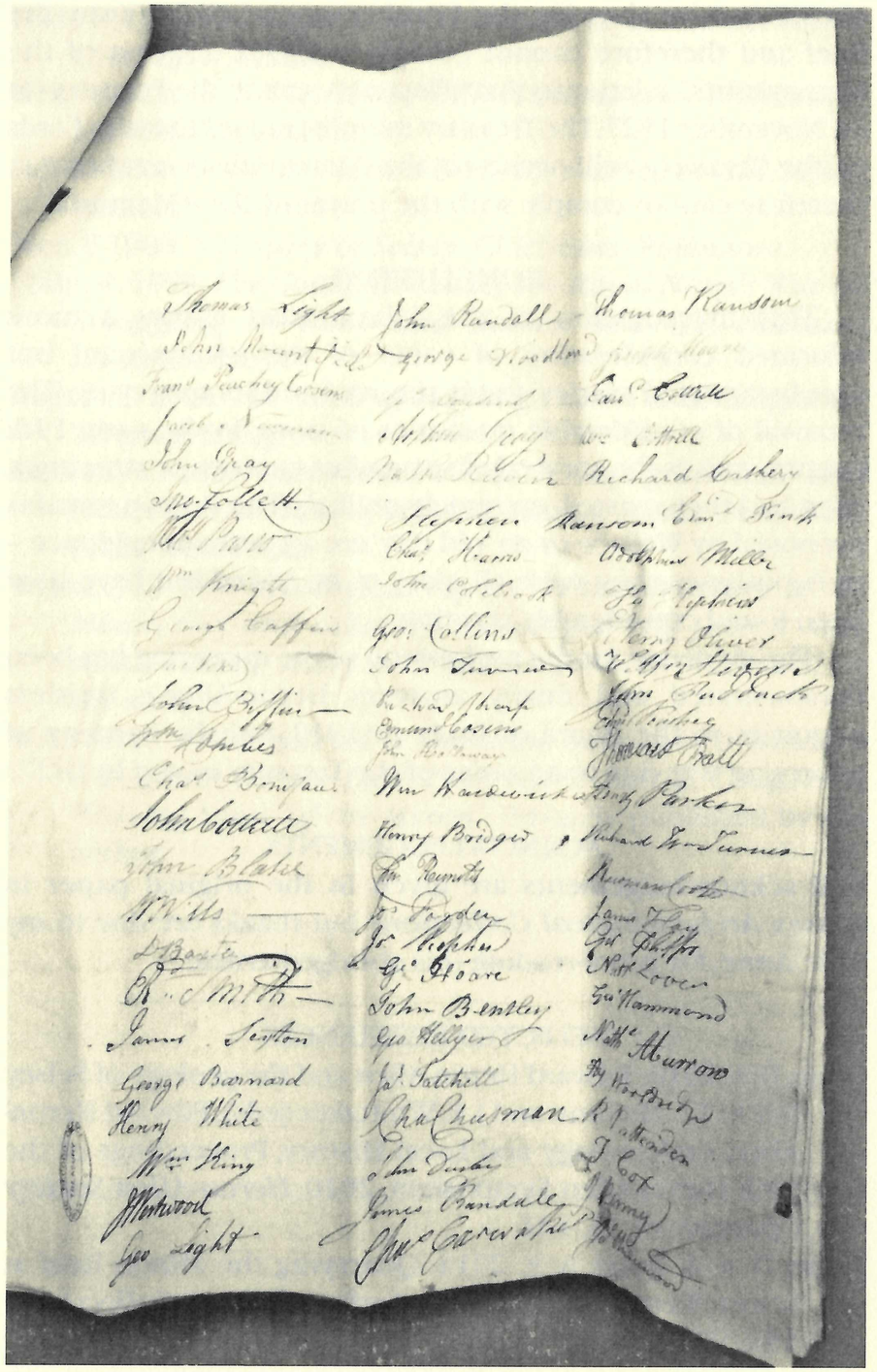


Fig. 5. One of the eight pages of signatories in the Memorial of 1827 (reproduced courtesy of The National Archives, T1/2539 file 21092).

occasioned by allowing the Continuance of taking away the Reef and therefore cannot comply with the request of the Memorialists"; a letter to that effect was sent to the Treasury on 16 November 1827. The Treasury minutes record that the Lords of the Treasury will write to the Memorialists as they "... therefore cannot comply with the prayer of their Memorial".

CONCLUSIONS

This investigation of the Mixon Reef allows a more informed consideration of some of the oft-repeated but unsubstantiated stories about the reef and its quarrying. The removal of considerable quantities of stone in the early 19th century makes the survival of any earlier quarries or structures, even had they existed, extremely unlikely. The Roman remains proposed by Wallace or an 'old city' are all without evidence – as hypotheses they were all ideas to be tested but have now been found considerably wanting.

The evidence for the prohibition of the quarrying has been demonstrated and finally answers Heron-Allen's fruitless enquiries to the Board of Trade in 1910 and the banning of quarrying was due to an order of the Treasury issued in 1827.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Full acknowledgements are given in the original paper in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* but thanks are due to my wife, Anne, for proof-reading this abridged article.

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THE 1903 EGYPTIAN REBIRTH OF THE NECROMANCER, EDWARD HERON-ALLEN: THE DISCOVERY OF NED AND BARRY'S EXCELLENT ADVENTURE

by JOHN P. MAHONEY and BARBARA P. MAHONEY

The years 1902-1903 were a very tumultuous period for Edward Heron-Allen. Marianna, his first wife, chronically afflicted with a debilitating disease suspected to be tuberculosis, had recently died on January 2nd, 1902 (1). Twelve months later, Edward 'Petronius' Heron-Allen had "a bad nervous breakdown from overwork" in late January 1903 (2). At the insistence of family and friends, Heron-Allen and his brother-in-law, Barry Pain, planned a marvelous two month excursion of the Upper Nile terminating in Naples and Rome. For the previous six months, he felt "older, sadder, wiser and more hopelessly alone in the world without energy or desire to be otherwise." In a Cairo, Egypt letter addressed to 'Sappho' (Josephine Preston Peabody) and dated March 29th, 1903, he composed a wooing correspondence and alluded to his choice of a tour of Egypt. "The East has no doubt something to do with my moods; one cannot wander among these temples where one thinks in thousands of years, without sensibly timing one's views of men and things." In a startling admission in the same letter, Heron-Allen proclaims to "know enough (modern) Arabic to take a great interest in all I see here, and enough to distrust (and rather dislike) the native Arab. One of my many faults is a violent racial instinct, amounting almost to insularity, and though I love studying foreigners, I never can quite accept them as the same order of creation as myself." Similar episodes of his insensitivity to ethnic diversity are documented in his early Castle Garden newspaper interviews and his novel, *Princess Daphne* (3, 4). These ethnic insensitivities are obviously not unique to Heron-Allen, but were pervasive and culturally acceptable in England and America at that time.

Barry Pain was an English journalist, poet and writer, known for his parodies and lightly humorous stories. Pain also authored horror and fantasy stories (5). His *Eliza* book was serialized by the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1992 and 2006. Pain married Amelia Lehmann, one of painter Rudolf Lehmann's four daughters. In 1891, Heron-Allen married another daughter, Marianna Lehmann. Pain dedicated his 1901 book, *Stories of the Dark*, to Marianna Heron-Allen. Rudolf Lehmann's eldest daughter, Liza Lehmann, was a gifted musician, singer and composer with a notable composition, *In a Persian Garden*. In his Omar Khayyam commentary, Heron-Allen acknowledged the assistance of Barry Pain in the assemblage of the intricacies of Persian sentence construction into acceptable English (6).

For many years, Heron-Allen's Egyptian letter ending on March 29th 1903, left questions unanswered. Heron-Allen had composed a very detailed travel diary of this 64 day Egypt and Italy trip with 126 handwritten pages, 164 black/white photographs and 40 black/white postcards. Heron-Allen had assembled an enormous ephemera section composed of hotel and tramway tickets, hotel and restaurant bills, liquor receipts, restaurant menus, telegraphs, shipping bills, travel agency bills, postcards received, business cards, special exhibit brochures and entrance tickets, travel company brochures, art and antiquarian brochures, a list of passengers on the Nile River Trip, laundry bills, maps, and the physical layout of the steamers. There were two handwritten letters from Barry Pain (7). Heron-Allen recorded in his "Holiday Journal" detailed daily experiences of trip preparations, travel and food accommodations, extensive site visitations, plant fauna, local animals, city and village constructions, navigation routes and water supplies, weather, local inhabitants and historical site findings. Except for his colorful descriptions of the native populations and his travelling companion, there was a remarkable paucity of descriptions of his personal interactions with people on this tour. He did admit that he sought the counsel of the Nile steamer ship's doctor, F.W. Saunders about his depression.

This paper will not attempt to present the comprehensive details of this trip which are well documented in his personal Holiday Journal. We will present a much more personal view of his interactions with fellow travellers observed by a woman member of the steamer cruise and gain insight into Heron-Allen's emotional turmoil and recovery.

An internet presentation on *"Life in St. Louis: the Matthews Family Exhibit 1851-1933"* uncovered a remarkably detailed 1903 trip in Egypt and Italy by a young single 28 year-old American woman (8). The autobiography of Lucy Chambers (née Matthews) describes her reminiscences of her trip in the Upper Nile and Italy. Lucy Matthews was born December 4th, 1875, grew up in a prominent family of eight children in St. Louis, Missouri. The patriarch of the Matthews family, Leonard Matthews, founded a wholesale drug company and a brokerage firm. She attended the Mary Institute, studied art in New York under William Merritt Chase and became a member of the New York Arts Students League. She was active in the St. Louis Artist Guild. She had longed to travel abroad by sea. Mr. and Mrs. McKesson, friends of her parents, unexpectedly invited her to sail to Egypt with them as her chaperones on January 31st, 1903 on the *S.S. Kroonland* from New Orleans to Marseilles (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Lucy Matthews at New Orleans Seaport with Mrs. McKesson, her Chaperone (right and left, front centre).

Arriving safely, they boarded a big "P&O" steamer for Port Said. Subsequently, they travelled by train to Cairo arriving at the Shepheard's Hotel. Their local Cairo excursions included the great Cairo Museum, the Great Pyramid and the Sphinx.

THE TRIP TO THE UPPER NILE

The autobiography of Lucy Matthews Chambers details her reminiscences of this trip to the Upper Nile and Italy.

> "The trip up the Nile was under Cook's [Nile Travel Service] guidance and very well planned. We were fortunate to be placed next to two prominent men from London. Mr. Barry Paine (*sic*) sat next to Mrs. McKesson (Fig. 2). He was editor of *"Black and White"*, a weekly London publication about sports entertainment, social news and cartoons. Mr. Pain had sparking black eyes and black hair and beard. He was quiet most of the time, but he never missed a chance to make an amusing comment or show his appreciation of those about him. I sat opposite him at one of the three long tables. Mr. Edward

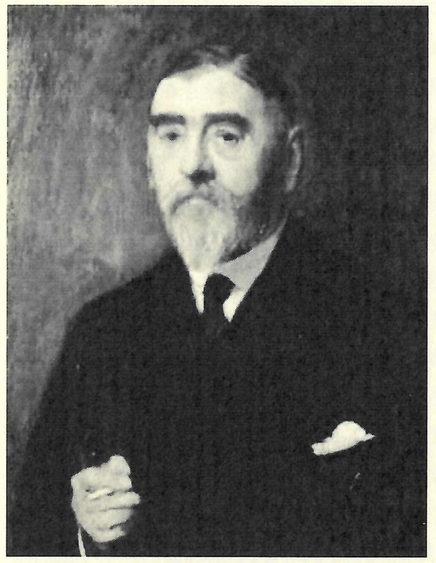

Fig. 2. Barry Pain.

Fig. 3. Heron-Allen prepares for the desert.

Herron-Allen (*sic*) sat at my right. He was Mr. Pain's brother-in-law and travelling companion. Mr. Allen was in deep mourning for his wife who had recently died. He wore a black hat, black leather boots and spats. Black initials were embroidered on his shirts in Persian letters. He sealed his letters with black wax using a crested seal (Fig. 3). My seat was at the end of the table so I did not have anyone at my left. This pleased me as Mr. Allen became more interesting and charming every day. Mr. Allen was so well informed that he helped me learn about each new wonder with his books and his good memory." "Mr. Allen had made friends with a nice English girl who was travelling with an elderly lady from London who used a sedan chair carried by two Arabs. Miss X either walked beside her or rode a donkey if she needed it. Miss X often rode with Mr. Allen and Mr. Pain" (Figs. 4-5).

Figs 4-5. "Miss X": Edith Pepler and Edward Heron-Allen - on the *Rameses*.

According to Miss Matthews' autobiography, this Upper Nile excursion included long trips into the desert visiting the Tombs of the Kings, Deir el Bahri Temple, the Temple of Abydos, Beni Hassan, Memphis, Denderah Healing Temple, Karnak Temple, the island of Philae and its Temple of Isis and the Aswan Dam. Heron-Allen's photographs and documents indicate many more excursions in his Holiday Journal.

> "One day a pleasant lady from London walked with me about a ruin. She talked about Mr. Allen and told me of his prominence as a scholar and said he was known by many during his younger days as the handsomest man in London (a big order). He was then in his early forties. Nearly two weeks had passed before we reached the Aswan Dam.
>
> One of the many ways my acquaintance with Mr. Allen ripened into real joy was the dislike of the doughy inside of hard French rolls. One day when he saw me making a ball out of the soft dough, he produced one he had made. After that, we had contests, one trying to outdo the other. His balls were rounder and cleaner than mine. He disliked loud laughter or talk – so did I. We both disliked Paris. Sometimes we were so busy making dough balls during meals that we talked very little. Perhaps after having been sightseeing together we were talked out. Here was a scholarly English gentleman who delved deeply into the arts and culture of both Egypt and Persia making bread balls with a little responsive, not highly educated American. When we returned to the boat [from the Aswan Dam], I walked to the end to look at the moonlight on the river. Along came Mr. Heron-Allen. This was our last night on the steamer. He and Mr. Pain were returning to Cairo and the McKessons and I were taking a smaller boat to the second cataract and

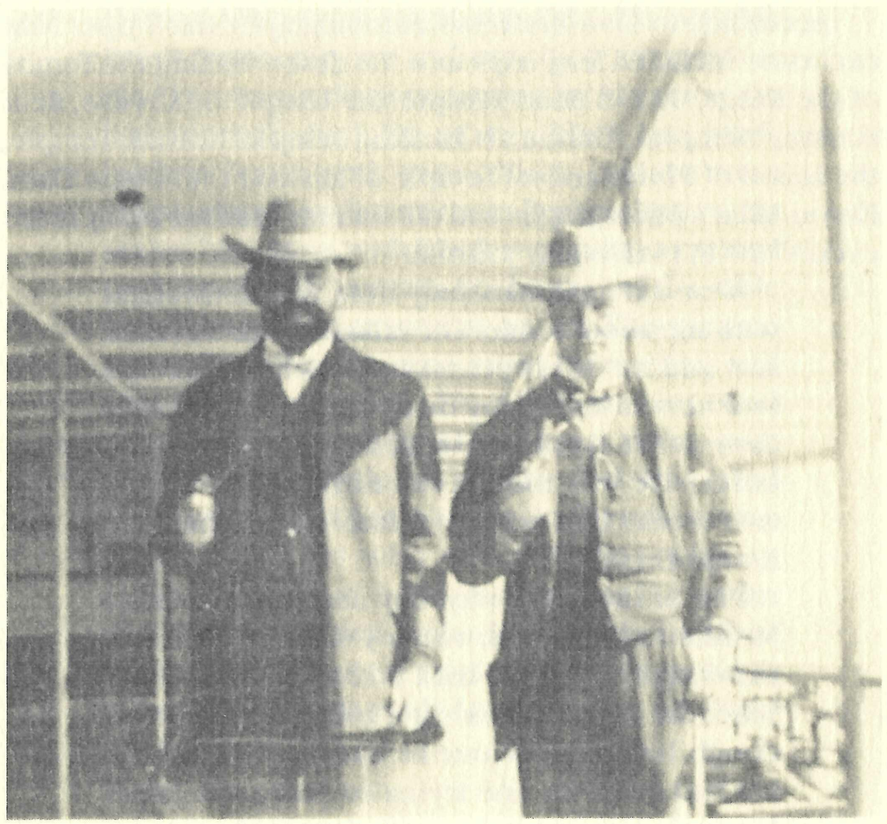

Fig. 6. Barry Pain and Edward Heron-Allen.

Abu Simbel. Then I said, 'We may not see each other again so I will say farewell' and started to shake hands. He held my hand, looking at me intently. Then he said, 'We will meet again and that may be soon.' My answer was, 'You are returning to London and we are going to Sicily for a month'. Again he insisted that we will meet again! We were leaning against the boat-rail. My answer was, "Yon rising moon that looks for us again, how oft here after will she wax and wane; how oft....". He broke in finishing the line – "hereafter rising look for us. But how did you happen to recite that?" I said I had read the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. "You have, and you

never mentioned it during the two weeks we spent on the ship?" The occasion had never come up – this was the first full moon we had had on the trip. Mr. Allen told me he was a Persian scholar and had made a translation of this then popular poem" (Fig. 6).

Lucy and the McKennons left the next morning on a small boat to go to Abu Simbel. They returned on a steamer to Cairo, a boat to Messina, Catania, Taormina, Syracusa, Girgenti, Palermo, Sicily, Naples and then by train to Rome staying at the Hotel de Russie on Easter Sunday.

"While we were threading our way through the crowd, whom should we meet but Mr. Pain and Mr. Heron-Allen. Mr. Allen's prediction had come true - we met again! Mr. Allen had regained his health and must have looked more as he did before the loss of his wife. He was very handsome. I asked him if he was clairvoyant. Mr. Allen asked my chaperone permission to call on me the next evening and take me to the Coliseum by moonlight. Mr. Allen came to the hotel to pay a farewell call upon us. I asked Mrs. McKesson if I could go out and sit in the garden. A full moon casts lights and shadows over the terraced garden. Water from a pipe on the top terrace dropped into a small pool and then to other pools in the lower terraces. The tinkling sound added charm to the evening. We walked about the paths and then sat down on a carved stone bench near the hotel. We talked about the scenes and the places we had enjoyed the most in Egypt. Mr. Allen told me he had bought a beautiful mummy case containing a carefully wrapped mummy and had ordered it to be sent to his home in London. I told him about the preparations St. Louis was making for the World's

Fair. I may have suggested that he should come to the Fair. His arm had been resting on the back of the bench and he reached around my shoulder, pulling me toward him, and tried to kiss me. I repulsed him quickly. He asked me why and said it just seemed to fit the perfect evening we had spent together. I told him that I was not the kissing type and my kisses would be saved for the man I hoped to marry. Next morning a bunch of exquisite variegated carnations came with a charming note. I had spent an hour or more with the most interesting highly cultured man I had ever met."

The next day Heron-Allen and Pain left for London. Heron-Allen sent her a package containing a photograph of his portrait as a young man painted by a German artist, Lembach. [Franz von Lembach]. In his letter, Heron-Allen suggested that she come to his London home and his trusted housekeeper and the new Egyptian mummy named "Eric Ferguson" would be her chaperones! She declined his gracious invitation.

The documentation of Miss Lucy Matthews in Heron-Allen's 1903 Egyptian Holiday Journal is minimal. She is listed in the *P.S. Rameses* list of passengers along with her chaperones, Mr. and Mrs. J. McKesson. On March 2nd 1903, Heron-Allen first mentions her when he was summoned by "my neighbour at meals Miss Matthews to come out and supervise a candy pull, a mysterious operation with toffee not quite finished but pulled out in ropes and wrung until it is quite white from the breaking of the fibre." The last entry was in Rome on Easter Sunday, April 12th when Heron-Allen met them at a mass at the Vatican and then again when walking near their hotel. There were no photographs of Miss Matthews or her chaperones. Heron-Allen records no personal impressions of the Missouri travellers.

So ends our 1903 tale of Ned and Barry's great adventure into the Egyptian desert and the splendor of Rome. Lucy Matthews made it back to America after three and one-half months of travel. She reported that on arrival, she had received

two letters from Heron-Allen, one of which he told of his marriage to Miss X [Edith Pepler], the nice young woman companion of the old English lady in Egypt. She records her last comments on Heron-Allen with a startling claim:

"When I wrote to Mr. Heron-Allen that I had enjoyed seeing the Miss X we had met on the Nile trip, his answer was a surprise. He wrote about their marriage [November 19th, 1903]. He said they often spoke of me and the time I made 'pulling candy' on the boat. They asked me to send the recipe, which I did with my congratulations. Another of his charming notes on his interesting paper came. The paper was folded in such a way that no envelope was used, and then sealed with black sealing wax. A couple of months went by when news that interested the McKessons and me appeared in papers and magazines. Mr. Edward Heron-Allen, noted Persian scholar of London had been knighted by King Edward VII. This was for Mr. Allen's literal translation of the complete Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Mr. Allen's unexpurgated translation from old Persian was valuable to Persian scholars. Thus he became Sir Edward Heron-Allen."

HOLIDAY JOURNAL ADORNMENTS

We are unaware of any documentation supporting Lucy Matthews Chambers claim that Edward Heron-Allen was knighted.

A sales or shipping receipt for 'Eric Ferguson' the mummy was not identified. The mummy was purchased in Cairo at the "Salle de Vente [Sales Room] of the Museum" when Heron-Allen returned from the upper Nile cruise. Heron-Allen named the mummy 'Ferguson' after a local guide on the Rameses tour steamer. Barry Price christened the mummy, 'Eric' after his beloved godson (later re-christened, 'Fred' on arrival to Selsey).

Funniest moments: Barry Pain was fascinated with the Egyptian goddess of War – Pakhet, the cat. He unfortunately purchased two cat faux-mummies, both wrapped in ancient mummy cloth: one a fresh cut log and the other a recently deceased cat which began to decay before they reached the comforts of their boat.

Heron-Allen was fixated with garnet, cornelian and amethyst mummy heads, scarabs and chalcedonies.

The 'pulling candy' recipe from Lucy Matthews was not identified.

The total cost of the tour for Heron-Allen and Pain travelling in First Class accommodations was £390 (£200 travel, £100 hotels and traffic, £90 purchases). In 1903, a poor family of three could survive on £100 a year by living in the countryside.

Tender moment: Heron-Allen on the day of Edith Pepler's departure on March 15th stated, "I lose Nour-I-Máh [written in Farsi] in grief".

Edith Pepler's alleged "elderly lady from London", her possible chaperone was not identified. According to the Holiday Journals, Pepler, Heron-Allen and Pain had extensive day and nighttime excursions together.

Heron-Allen revealed his most chronic mental disorder since childhood which could result in a complete acute mental breakdown: claustrophobia.

> Most notable quote: In a letter from Barry Price to his godson, Eric on Apr. 26, 1903: "In Mr. Heron-Allen himself you will find an example of pure godliness. O try to make yourself more like him! Try to absorb some portion of his deep saintliness and his intimate knowledge of draw-poker. Note what he says when they ring him up on the telephone to ask if he is Gamages [department store in downtown London], or when the call from next door has made improper use of his best carnations. These things bring out what is best in a man. Emulate his freedom from irreverence and drink in his spirit from the wood."

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EDITORS' NOTE

Subsequent to the presentation of this paper, Tim McCann (in *The Heron-Allen Society Newsletter* no. 27; for Autumn 2015), maintains that following his own research, Marianna Heron-Allen did not die of consumption as suggested above, but of cardiovascular collapse – the result of complications arising from unsuccessful fertility treatment.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND SIR ARTHUR SMITH WOODWARD

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN

The archives of the Natural History Museum in London are a rich source of information about the life and interests of Edward Heron-Allen. They contain some of the letters he wrote to a number of distinguished scientists. These include F.A. Bather, who succeeded Sir Arthur Smith Woodward as Keeper of Geology at the Museum; W.T. Calman, Assistant Keeper of Crustacea and later Keeper of Zoology; Sir Sidney Harmer, sometime Keeper of Zoology; W.D. Lang, who succeeded Bather as Keeper of Geology; K.P. Oakley, one of the exposers of the Piltdown hoax; C.T Regan keeper of Zoology and later Director of the Museum; H. Dighton Thomas, who was later to write Heron-Allen's obituary and Sir Arthur Smith Woodward himself. I have chosen this morning to look at the relationship between Sir Arthur Smith Woodward and Edward Heron-Allen from an examination of their correspondence here in the Natural History Museum, both in the Museum archives and in the Heron-Allen Library, and in the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester.

Whereas Heron-Allen was a Londoner, Arthur Woodward was born on 23 May 1864 at Macclesfield, Cheshire, the elder son of Edward Woodward, silk dyer, and his wife, Margaret Smith, whose maiden name he used as an additional surname. Both families had long been connected with the silk trade in Macclesfield. He was educated at the King Edward VI Grammar School, Macclesfield, which awarded him a scholarship to Owens College, Manchester. Before graduation, Woodward obtained a position in the Geology Department of the British Museum (Natural History), as it was then known. It had newly transferred to South Kensington, where he worked, arranging the collections of fossil vertebrates for exhibition. Such was the quality of the collections in the Museum that Woodward

determined to devote his career to the special study of fossil fishes. Later at the suggestion of the keeper, the museum's trustees instructed Woodward to make a catalogue of all the fossil fishes in the department: he thus entered on his life-work.

The first of his four volumes of the *Catalogue of Fossil Fishes in the British Museum* (1) appeared in 1889, when Heron-Allen was still preoccupied with Cheiromancy, the last in 1901, a few years before Heron-Allen began his work on the foraminifera of Selsey. Nearly one hundred years later this catalogue was still in great demand. In 1901 he succeeded to the keepership in Geology at the Natural History Museum and thereafter he concentrated on vertebrates generally and fossil fishes in particular. Although Woodward produced over six hundred publications, most of them papers in scientific journals, the catalogue was his *magnum opus*. Like Heron-Allen he acquired a speaking knowledge of several European languages; travelled widely in quest of new material, both in the field and in public and private collections; made contact with palaeontologists of many nationalities, and entertained

Fig. 1. Arthur Smith Woodward.

them at home; and worked to enrich the collections in the Museum.

In his personal life Arthur Smith Woodward (Fig. 1) married Maud Leonora Ida (1874-1963), daughter of the geologist Harry Govier Seeley in 1894. They had one son, who entered the colonial service and died in 1924, and one daughter. Woodward was knighted in 1924, and in that same year he took early retirement. It was said that he was disappointed at not being appointed Director of the Museum in 1919, but despite never again entering the Museum, he continued to work and travel, and to excavate unsuccessfully at Piltdown until he went blind in his final years. He died at his home, Hill Place, Balcombe Road, Haywards Heath, Sussex, on 2 September 1944.

When he died Woodward had a high reputation as a distinguished and successful scientist, but his reputation was tarnished by the exposure of the Piltdown fraud in the 1950s. In 1912 Charles Dawson, a Sussex solicitor, had shown Woodward fragments of a human skull said to have come from Pleistocene gravels at Piltdown, Sussex. Woodward joined Dawson in excavations at the site and together they found further hominoid fragments, worked flints, and other mammalian fossils. In 1913 Woodward described 'Piltdown man' as *Eoanthropus dawsoni*, and with Dawson, Teilhard de Chardin, and others he continued to work the Piltdown site. Dawson died in 1916; nothing was found at Piltdown thereafter by Woodward or anyone else. Since the Piltdown fakes were uncovered in the 1950s, there have been repeated attempts to identify the forger, but whoever the forger was there is no doubt that the victim or dupe was certainly Woodward. Between 1912 and his death, he published some twenty-five papers bearing on Piltdown, and his last work, dictated to his wife during his blindness and issued posthumously in 1948, was *The Earliest Englishman,* a book on Piltdown man. Woodward was completely taken in.

When he moved from London to the south coast, originally for the health of his daughter, and had a house - "Large Acres" - built in Selsey in 1905 and 1906, Edward Heron-Allen

unwittingly found himself in a perfect location to pursue his study of foraminifera. His early friendship was with Fortescue William Millett, the dedicatee of Heron-Allen's *Prologomena* (2), his first essay on the subject. This led to the suggestion that he should research the Eocene and Pleistocene rocks beneath the Selsey sands and the blocks of *Alveolina*-limestone from the offshore Mixon Rocks, and to his introduction to his fellow foraminiferist Arthur Earland, with whom he was to publish some seventy scientific articles over the next twenty five years. Heron-Allen soon formed the habit of prowling the shorelines of the Selsey Peninsula looking for corals, wood, molluscs and nummulites, many of which he sent to the Natural History Museum in London. These deposits brought forth letters of thanks from Arthur Smith Woodward, then Keeper of Geology, in which he suggested that if Heron-Allen would like to study the collection of foraminifera at the Museum full facilities would be open to him.

It is not known when the two men first met or indeed when Heron-Allen first started working at the Natural History Museum, but Smith Woodward's response made it possible for Heron-Allen to begin his association. In March 1909 he wrote to Smith Woodward: 'I enclose my paper on *Cycloloculina* & will take an early opportunity of bringing up a slide or two. Ought I to make a mount of it for the B.M? If you can suggest whence it came I shall be eternally grateful (3)'. This first surviving letter came soon after Heron-Allen began his famed partnership with Arthur Earland - their first joint paper being published the previous year - and is the first suggestion of their famous type-slide collection now in the Heron-Allen Library at the Museum. Although his work there was always unpaid and unofficial and he was never a member of the staff, Heron-Allen worked there at least from 1909 for the rest of his life. Smith Woodward replied favourably suggesting that Heron-Allen might consider depositing his specimens with the Museum - 'it is always well to keep type specimens in a public place, where everyone can consult them' (4). A few days letter Heron-Allen wrote again: 'we shall gladly fall in with your suggestion of

presenting our original type slides to the Museum. I will probably bring them next Wednesday afternoon, when I shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you' (5).

From these casual beginnings the relationship between the two men was transformed by the discovery of the Selsey Mammoth. On 16 March 1909, just about the time that Heron-Allen sent his paper to Smith Woodward, James Lawrence, a Selsey fisherman discovered the remains of a mammoth on the beach at Selsey at low tide.The story is told admirable by Simon Parfitt in our *Opusculum* XX (6), so all I will add this morning is the part played in the story by Smith Woodward. The following week, on 23 March, *The Globe* carried a report that expert assistance was quickly drawn to the site. 'Dr. A Smith Woodward, Keeper of Geology in the Natural History Museum, has examined the remains of a mammoth found below high-water mark on the beach at Selsey Bill; in a fresh water deposit of black clay, which is usually covered with a thick bank of shingle. The bed has not been exposed before within the memory of the present generation of fishermen, and is rapidly disappearing again' (7).

The report also revealed that Mr H.A. Smith, whose bungalow was opposite the site and was also involved, had received a letter from Mr. Arthur Smith Woodward, Keeper of Geology at the Natural History Museum, saying that if the specimen proved to be a good one it would be a desirable specimen for the British Museum and advised that the removal of the bones should not be undertaken by inexperienced people who might destroy it.

Smith Woodward visited the site on Saturday at the low spring tide, as reported by *the West Sussex Gazette* on 25 March (8), accompanied by Professor Gregory of Apuldram, the editor of *Nature,* the Reverend. J. Cavis-Brown, the incumbent of Selsey, and Edward Heron-Allen and expressed the opinion that 'the animal in all probability died where it was found ... and that it was quite likely that the remains were 4,000 years old'. Dr. Woodward expressed the opinion that the mammoth was probably a young one of its kind, although nobody knows

to what age mammoths used to live. Dr. Woodward also considered that the skeleton may have been previously exposed and partly washed away by marine action. Perhaps surprisingly, there is no mention of Smith Woodward in the Large Acres Visitors Book. It is hard to believe that he was not at least entertained to lunch by the Heron-Allens, but as he lived in Sussex he obviously preferred to return to his own home for the night.

Smith Woodward wrote to the Sussex antiquarian, the Rev. Alfred Fuller on 23 March 1909: 'I went to Selsey on Saturday and watched the diggings to make sure that if any bones needed expert attention they should have it, but all the parts are so much broken and waterworn that only small pieces can be recovered. The teeth are well preserved and are typical mammoth not antique.As you suppose the spot is on the E. side of Selsey Bill close to the fishermen's huts, and the clay is almost covered again by the shingle. Mr E. Heron-Allen (who has a house in Selsey) proposes to buy the specimens and give them to the museum' (9). Heron-Allen obviously wrote a letter to Smith Woodward that has not survived offering to collect the findings and present them to the Museum as a gift, or, if he had to purchase them, to sell them on to the Museum. On the same day the latter wrote to Heron-Allen: 'I have been looking into the question of the Selsey Mammoth and find we have very little from that region, so that we shall be very glad to have the new specimens if you will kindly help us as you suggested. We will either accept them with gratitude as a present from you or will buy them through your kind intervention. Our adventures of Saturday are recorded in this mornings *Daily Graphic*' (10).

It seems that Heron-Allen collected the remains that were photographed, and arranged for their deposition at the Natural History Museum in Cromwell Road, as Smith Woodward had recommended.Apparently James Lawrence asked for £5 for his discovery. On 27 March, Heron-Allen wrote to Smith Woodward: 'I enclose Lawrence's answer to my offer of £4. Shall I 'spring' the other £1 do you think?' (11). Two days later Smith

Woodward replied: 'Five pounds is an extreme price for the mammoth remains, including the four molars, but I think, if we were buying them, I should advise the Trustees to rise to that amount' (12). On 16 April Smith Woodward broached the subject of Heron-Allen working at the Museum for the first time, writing that: 'when you can spare a few hours occasionally, I think you would be interested to study our collection in detail. We shall be much pleased to give you all facilities' (13).

Evidently the transaction about the mammoth bones went ahead because on 4 June Heron-Allen wrote to Smith Woodward: 'I am sending off today "all the mammoth there was" as Kipling says. He is in two champagne cases, one containing the more & the other the less, interesting bones. Of the latter especially I should like to have a photograph, in case at any future time it seems desirable to illustrate the remains in a work on these beds' (14). It was characteristic of Heron-Allen to send the bones to the museum in champagne cases! Pasted into Heron-Allen's *Selseyana* volumes is a letter from Arthur Smith Woodward dated 7 June 1909 to Edward Heron-Allen at 3 Northwick Terrace, NW: 'With very many thanks, I have safely received the two boxes of bones & teeth of the Selsey mammoth, and you will receive an acknowledgement of your kind present after the next meeting of the Trustees. We shall be pleased to arrange for a photograph at any time. Yours sincerely. Smith Woodward' (15). The question of the photograph obviously preoccupied Heron-Allen, for on 20 August he wrote to Smith Woodward: I should be so glad if at some time, quite at your leisure, you could instruct the official photographer to photograph a group of the bones of the Selsey Mammoth. I should like to leave it to you to select what should be photographed with a view to making a plate at some future time for a work on the Shores of Selsey. Do not trouble to attend to this if you are on leave, as it will do at any time before the end of the year' (16). Heron-Allen was still publishing his series of papers with Arthur Earland on the foraminifera of Selsey in the pages of *The Journal of The Royal Microscopical Society* that he was later to reprint as *On the Recent and Fossil Foraminifera of the Shore-sands at Selsey Bill, Sussex*... Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society By Edward Heron-Allen and Arthur Earland [London: William Clowes for the authors, 1908-11, with plates], as well as preparing his *Selsey Bill; Historic and Prehistoric* [London: Duckworth & Co., 1911, xvi+404pp.] and *Nature and History at Selsey Bill. A Lecture* [Selsey: Elizabeth Gardner, 1911, 35pp.].

The series of articles on the foraminifera of Selsey that were the first fruits of the collaboration of Heron-Allen and Earland, was remarkable in many ways, but there cannot be many scientific articles written in such fine style. Heron-Allen began the series: 'I opine that if there might be a special heaven for Rhizopodists, it would be one whose leading feature would be a calm sea, in which the surface waters of which a record number of living, pelagic Foraminifera might be gathered in the terminal bottle of a common tow-net. If this may be postulated as the Walhalla of the student of the Foraminifera, his Niffelheim may certainly be found in the material which, for the past year, has occupied my leisure moments, and the appellate jurisdiction of my friend and collaborator, Arthur Earland. I refer to the material which may be scraped at any time, between tidemarks, from the surface of the shore sand of Selsey Bill, which extends from the point of the Bill north-westwards, through Bracklesham Bay, to the brackish waters of Chichester Harbour, opposite Hayling Island and the Isle of Wight. When first I suggested devoting my attention to the material to Mr. F.W. Millett, he returned me a highly characteristic answer, and one which would have seriously damped the ardour of a beginner. He said: "the specimens of Foraminfera are interesting, but I cannot quite see how you are to make a helpful monograph out of this jumble of fossils washed out of uncertain beds from unknown localities". In the beginning I found Mr. Earland at one with him, but as I continued doggedly upon the quest, Mr. Earland came round to my view that this is probably the most remarkable and suggestive foraminiferous deposit to be found in the British Isles' (17).

On 13 October Arthur Smith Woodward wrote on receipt of two more of Heron-Allen's foraminiferal papers 'I will have a group of the Selsey bones photographed very soon, & send you proofs for approval or otherwise. I hope you have admired the mandibular teeth since they were mounted and exhibited' (18). Evidently Smith Woodward did as he promised because on 8 November Heron-Allen wrote: 'many thanks for your letter & the proof photograph which is, I think, charming. I shall be glad to have the negative as you suggest & as I want to come to the Museum one afternoon, I will if I may call for it' (19). He then went on to report on his success in Selsey. 'I have had extraordinary luck with the Selsey sand', he wrote: 'I have found a new rhizopod which is either a species of my genus *Cycloloculina* or a new genus. The sections which determine the matter are giving me fits – a loosely arenaceous friable beast with no inside 'stanchions' at all. You can imagine what a test it is for one's early religious training'.

As he got nearer to publishing his *magnum opus* entitled *Selsey Bill: Historic and Prehistoric*, Heron-Allen again looked to Smith Woodward for help on writing up the mammoth. 'Would you be so kind as to write opposite the numbers on the enclosed "schedule" the identification of the bones on the enclosed photograph. I think I know them, but before I print I want to be quite sure' (20), he wrote on 6 October: 'Would you also tell me, from the size of the metatarsal, the patella, & the chin-point how tall this mammoth was? (I have with temerity suggested eight feet)'. Smith Woodward was quick to reply on the following day: 'Herewith please find the particulars. I am sorry they were delayed by my absence abroad. From comparisons with the skeleton of an existing Indian elephant, I think this young mammoth was about nine foot in height' (21). Smith Woodward retained his interest in the Selsey discoveries, writing on 28 September 1915: 'I have just learned that a tusk and bones have been exposed by the sea above Pagham Harbour. Possibly you have already received notice of this – if not you may be glad to enquire. When next you are here come to see the colossal bones of *Elephas antiquus* from Chatham' (22).

Woodward was a strict disciplinarian, and has been described as a humourless martinet. Although perhaps not easily approachable, he could be very kind and considerate to his junior staff. Heron-Allen teased him in a letter dated 8 October 1910: 'By the way, I heard a lovely criticism of you as a Curator from an eminent Geologist to whom I showed the mammoth photographs. He said: "Smith Woodward would persuade you to give him your pants if he wanted them for the Museum, & if you wouldn't give them to him he would wait till you were dead & then go & steal them'" (23). Smith Woodward proved to be up to the joke and relied: 'I am much amused with the unsolicited testimonial – thank you. I feel quite proud of such a reputation' (24).

Heron-Allen himself needed no persuading, and sent up from Selsey a steady stream of material to the Natural History Museum. The relationship between the professionals at the Natural History Museum and wealthy amateurs such as Heron-Allen was an interesting one, and sometimes it is difficult not to see Heron-Allen as someone who saw the Museum staff as his research assistants. On 9 August 1910 he wrote to Smith Woodward: 'The enclosed plant, a climber, is growing in one of my plantations, & I suspect it of being Poison Ivy. I don't know anyone in the Botanical Department since Carruthers died, & I should be so grateful if you would send it over, & ask someone to tell me about it, as if it is the Wicked Vine I must eliminate it before it hurts my babies, or anyone else. I have found some Pleistocene Wood in the mud whereout our Mammoth came & can bring it up to you the first afternoon I can. It might be interesting to put it with the bones when identified' (25). On 6 October: 'I packed up the Eocene Corals for you the other day, but Prof: Gregory persuaded me not to send them till they have been exhibited at his High School Ceremonial opening on the 27th. After that I will bring them up' (26).

He was also happy to take advantage of his relationship with Smith Woodward to further his own interests, writing on 6 October 1910: 'would you be so good as to put me up for the Geological Society? I shall quite understand if as Secretary you

do not feel justified in doing so. If you will, however, I will get Reid or Allen to second me'(27). Smith Woodward was happy to oblige and replied on the following day: 'I have much pleasure in signing the enclosed nomination form. I asked Andrews to sign first, to cover the secretary - I think, however, there is no rule against my signature of proposal. You need not, unless you wish, trouble to obtain more signatures - I will recommend acceptance of the nomination to the council when it is read' (28).

But, on the whole, there were advantages to both sides in their relationship. Typical is a letter from Smith Woodward to Heron-Allen on 13 January 1911, in which he wrote: 'Mr. Newton decides that the twelve shells [that Heron-Allen had sent up to the Museum for identification] are *Scorbicularia plana* del. Mr Lang is very much pleased with the Bracklesham coral which he would be glad to keep. I will keep the shells until next we have the pleasure of seeing you' (29). Or one from Heron-Allen on 9 May 1912: 'I took the tooth to the BS soiree last night hoping I might see you, but I was disappointed. Ray Lankester was showing some of my Selsey Flints. This tooth comes out of the head, a very fine and perfect head of a saurian of some kind, & is stated to have come out of the Eocene mud at Bracklesham. Will you tell me (1st) whether it is a fossil or recent, (2nd) whether it is an Eocene saurian & if so what, or (3rd) if it is derived - perhaps from a passing ship jettisoning curiosities' (30).

Apart from a letter dated 16 November 1915 to be found in a scrap book and a volume of letters concerning Heron-Allen's election to the Royal Society and his Presidency of the Royal Microscopical Society now in the Museum of the History of Science in Oxford, thanking him for the gift of his paper on the Foraminifera of the Kerimba Archipelago and expressing the hope that they would meet at the Royal Society Club on 30 November at Prince's in Jermyn Street (31), there followed a gap in the correspondence of several years duration, not I think, caused by any break in their friendship, but more likely because they were both pursuing different interests. Heron-Allen wrote

on 15 November 1921 responding to a lost letter from Smith Woodward: 'you are more than right - it is an age since we met. I have often worried about it, but I have had a converging summer, one of those times when every thing one has worked at for years suddenly ripens for demonstrating or publication, & I find myself with two papers in the press and three reaching the writing stage' (32). The two papers were his joint work with Arthur Earland on the foraminifera from the British Antarctic Survey (33) and from the Eocene clay of Nigeria (34), but Heron-Allen was keen to enthuse about the Australian material he and Earland were working on. 'It is beautiful stuff' he wrote on 12 February 1923, '& took me eight months to examine & mount the specimens' (35).

Smith Woodward invited Heron-Allen to join him in March 1923. 'I am much annoyed', Heron-Allen replied, 'to find I cannot be at the Palaeontographical on Friday. You do give such short notice & I am full up as I am taking the family to Rome next day' (36). His enthusiasm for the Australian project was undimmed. 'Since I wrote to you about the Miocene of the Moorabool, developments have occurred, & now we mean to get more material from Australia before we can let the paper go. So the Geol. Soc. won't hear of us till midsummer. But it will be worth waiting for. We have 250 spp. already! Nobody seems to have had a stab at the Miocene, & it really is a wonderful "epoch"! The Filter Quarry seems to have sunk from a shore-sand to a 1000 fathoms quite gently for about a million years' (37).

In the Spring of 1923 Heron-Allen agreed a course of lectures on nature study at Copnor School in Portsmouth, and he turned to Smith Woodward for assistance. He wrote to him on 23 March: 'Referring to our conversation of yesterday, I want the following specimens for illustrating a Nature-study lecture I am preparing for Copnor School, Portsmouth (S. Hants Education Committee). I present the specimens with the Lectures, of which I am doing a long series, but the following I have not got in my cabinet & should be glad if you could let me have them - small hand specimens - 1. Anthracite. 2. Cannel

Coal. 3. Lignite. And also about three Coal fossils, e.g. *Sigillaria, Calamites*, & a "pretty" fern impression' (38). The course seems to have been a success, but there is no evidence that Heron-Allen repeated it elsewhere.

He continued sending Smith Woodward his local finds. He wrote on 17 May 1923: 'I was hoping to see you last night at the Roy. Soc. & was much disappointed. A man has brought me two fossils from the London clay at Sheppey. (a) a very perfect fish head & (b) a perfect Lobster in the "boiled" attitude. I took them on the chance that they might interest you. Does it sound as if they would? If so I will bring them to S.K. one day when I am in town' (39).

Their relationship was not all work however. In September 1924 Smith Woodward evidently consulted Heron-Allen on the subject of wine: 'You cannot do better than Cockburn & Co: 8 Lime St., E.C. If you mention my name you will be well treated. The vintage wines are now 72/- instead of the pre-war 36/- but the 1917 & 1920 are admirable for laying down. They have a vintage blend which is as good as any one can want to drink at 72/-. I always drink this unless I have a real connoisseur with me' (40).

This proved to be their last surviving correspondence. Smith Woodward retired in 1924, and Heron-Allen marked the occasion by writing: 'I do congratulate you again hanging up the sword & buckle, and I hope you will wrest the secrets of Piltdown from it's strong bosom. I wish you were not so far off, so that I could run over & look you up' (41). We don't know whether or not Heron-Allen ran over, looked him up, and shared a bottle of vintage wine. We do know that Smith Woodward continued to dig at Piltdown but that he never found any other artefacts after the death of Charles Dawson in 1916. The surviving correspondence at the Natural History Museum has enabled us to have a glimpse of the relationship between two players in the story of the advancement of natural history in the early years of the twentieth century.

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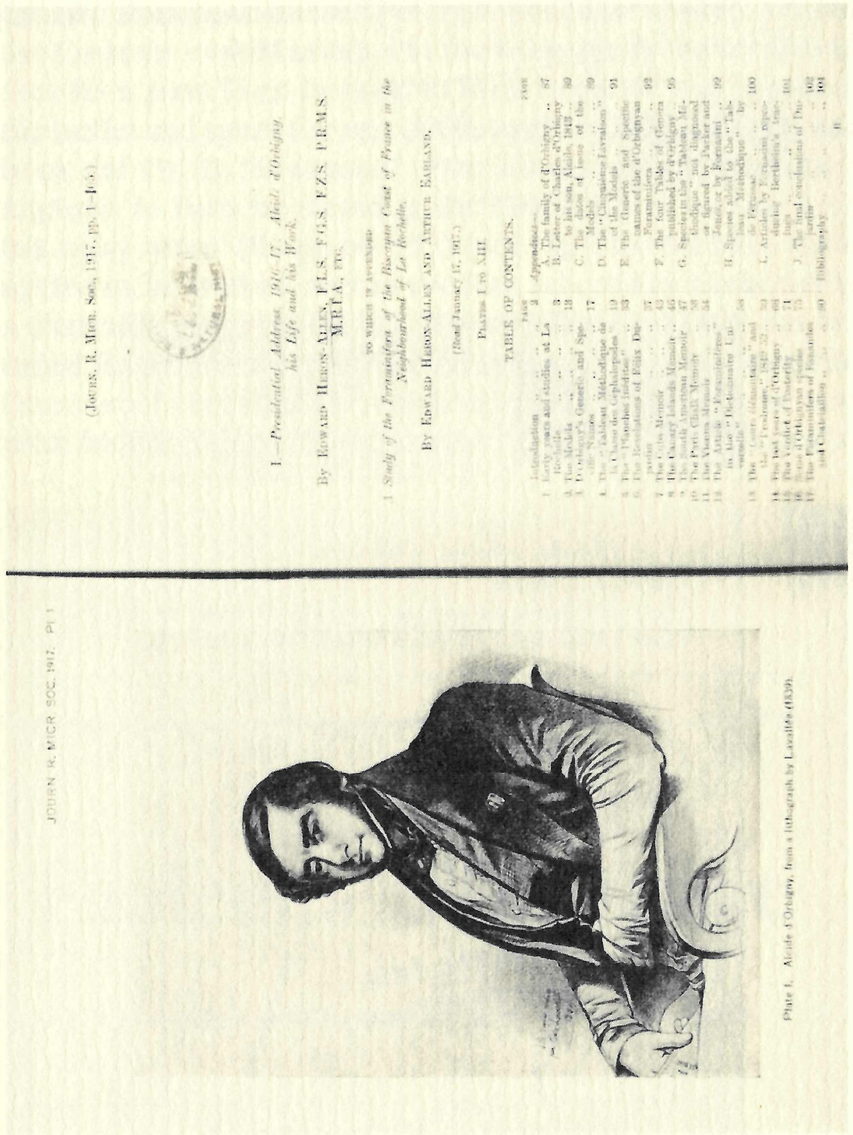
IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ALCIDE D'ORBIGNY: HERON-ALLEN'S VISIT TO PARIS AND LA ROCHELLE, MAY 1914

by JOHN E. WHITTAKER

This presentation is primarily based on the second part of Heron-Allen's Holiday Journal Volume XVIII, labelled "Paris and La Rochelle, 1914" (the first part having covered his visit to Cornwall in 1913).

The trip involved initially a visit to Paris, partly for scientific purposes, partly as a "tourist" (but much of the latter, as far as I can see, was of a rather "naughty" nature). Subsequently he visited the environs of La Rochelle, on the western French coast. This was to follow in the steps of Alcide d'Orbigny, one of Heron-Allen's greatest heroes - a French naturalist of great renown. His father had originated from what is now Haiti in the Caribbean and had come to France for his education, becoming a naval surgeon. When the young Alcide was born they came to live in Esnandes, a small village near La Rochelle. It was d'Orbigny who first recognised foraminifera for what they are - small shelled protists, superficially like small molluscs, yet simple single-celled organisms. ("The beauty and mystery of the Foraminifera", you will remember (see Hodgkinson & Whittaker, 2003), being one of Heron-Allen's two great passions, the other being the history of the violin). The result of the visit was ultimately to lead to the very fine biography (Fig. 1), entitled "Alcide d'Orbigny, his life and his work", by Edward Heron-Allen FLS, FGS, FZS, PRMS, MRIA, etc. read as his Presidential Address (of 1916-1917) to the Royal Microscopical Society, and published in 1917.

As most of you will know, Heron-Allen's Holiday journals are based on frequent letters, usually addressed to his wife in Selsey, recording his daily exploits [Fig. 2]; together with postcards, photographs, bills, wine lists, tickets, and much other ephemera, bound together into an exquisite volume and labelled.



(Journ. R. Micr. Soc., 1917, pp. 1–16.)

1.—*Presidential Address, 1916-17. Alcide d'Orbigny: his Life and his Work.*

By Edward Heron-Allen, F.L.S., F.G.S., F.Z.S., F.R.M.S., M.R.I.A., etc.

(Read January 17, 1917.)

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Plate I. Alcide d'Orbigny, from a lithograph by Lassalle (1839).

Fig. 1. (left) Portrait of Alcide d'Orbigny. (right) Contents page of Heron-Allen's biography of d'Orbigny published in 1917.

Fig. 2. Account of his activities in La Rochelle addressed to his wife in Selsey (one of a daily series). Sent by recorded delivery, dated 25th May 1914.

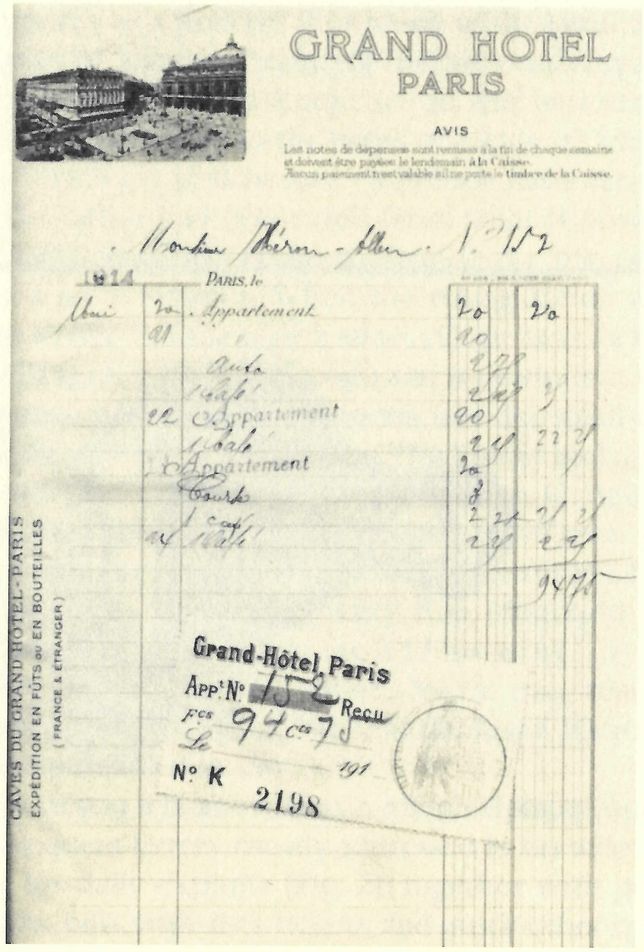

Fig. 3. Bill for his stay in the Grand Hotel, Paris, 20-24th May 1914.

In this instance his Journal records that he left Victoria station at 11.00 on 20th May 1914. He sailed from Folkestone. Luckily the sea was like a millpond. He was off the boat first and with only his writing case and microscope as hand luggage, had the Douane to himself before anyone else arrived. Although the Customs looked askance at the microscope, he records that they let it pass. Then by train to Paris Nord. He had lunched in the buffet and spent the rest of the time reading Collette's latest book (of 1913), *"L'entrave"* ("the hindrance" or "obstacle" in English). In Paris he stayed at the Grand Hotel, having "a nice but noisy room" (Room no. 152) (see Fig. 3 for his bill). Having settled in, he walked over to the Ritz, where Ray Lankester had a charming room on the 4th Floor [E. Ray Lankester has been called England's most influential biologist and was sometime Director of the NHM (he resigned/retired in 1906); he was a great friend of Heron-Allen, a regular visitor to "Large Acres" and

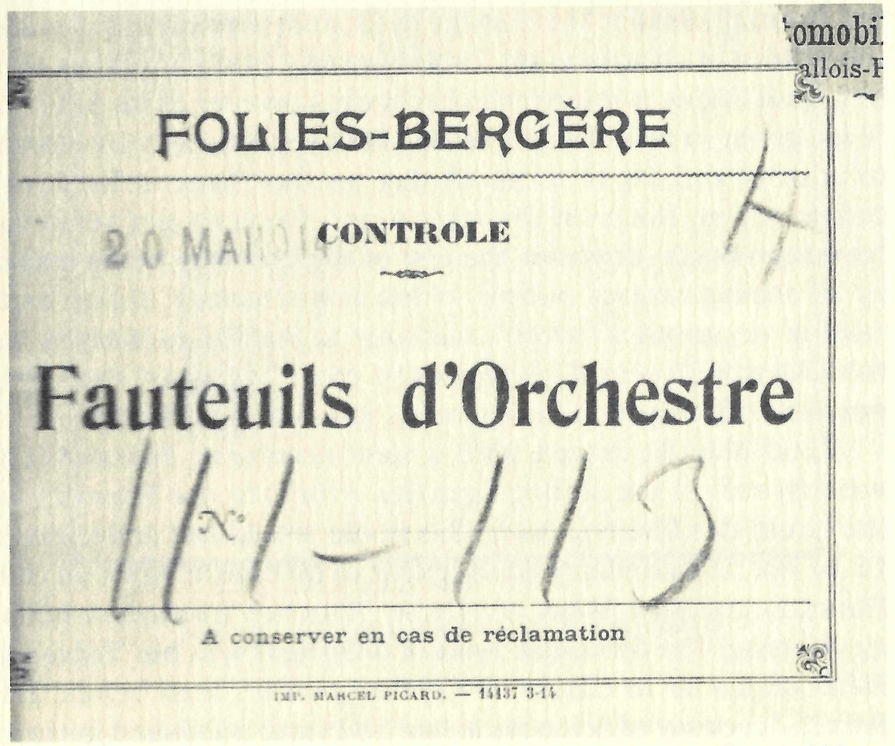

Fig. 4. Ticket for the Folies-Bergère. His seat in the front stalls would have been an ideal spot from which to see the action!

godfather to one of his children]. He doesn't record why Lankester was in Paris, but nevertheless they had a nice meal together at Henri's and then went off to the Folies Bergères (Fig. 4) ...."where there was an interminable 'Revue' with some startling incidents - notably the beautiful ladies without anything on at all except an inefficient sash whose principle object seemed to be the same as that of a pennant on a mast - to show where the draught came from. On the whole I never saw so many naked young women on any stage before". After the show they drove to the Brasserie Universelle in the Place de l'Opéra and had Munich Beer and discussed protozoology until 1 a.m.!

The 21st May was Ascension Day and everything was closed. Heron-Allen was trying to buy a copy of d'Orbigny's "Planches Inédites" and with the help of Ray Lankester they had run a copy to earth to Boule's keeping [this is Professor Marcellin Boule, a palaeontologist and expert on early man, at the Natural History Museum in Paris, and later involved with the Piltdown controversy]. Unfortunately Boule couldn't see him until Friday (tomorrow) afternoon, however, as he put it ... "I am going to take the Musée de l'Histoire Naturelle by storm tomorrow and try to work all day on the 'Planche Inédites' before seeing Boule in the afternoon". He does not seem to have seen Boule, however, the rest of the 21st May being made up of seeing various people of his acquaintance, dining and visiting yet another "revue", this time at the Folies-Marigny in the Champs-Élysées. This was even more "naughty" than the previous offering; I will not trouble you with the details!

22nd May. So armed with a new notebook, Heron-Allen went by cab in the stifling heat (he writes) to the Museum in the Jardin des Plantes. Marcellin Boule would not arrive until 12.14 but he had plenty of indexing to do before work on the Planches Inédites. What are these Planches Inédites, I keep mentioning? The first great work of d'Orbigny was his *"Tableau Méthodique de la Classe de Céphalopodes"*, read before the French Academy of Sciences in late 1825 and published in their *Annales* in 1826. In it, he divided the Cephalopodes (molluscs)

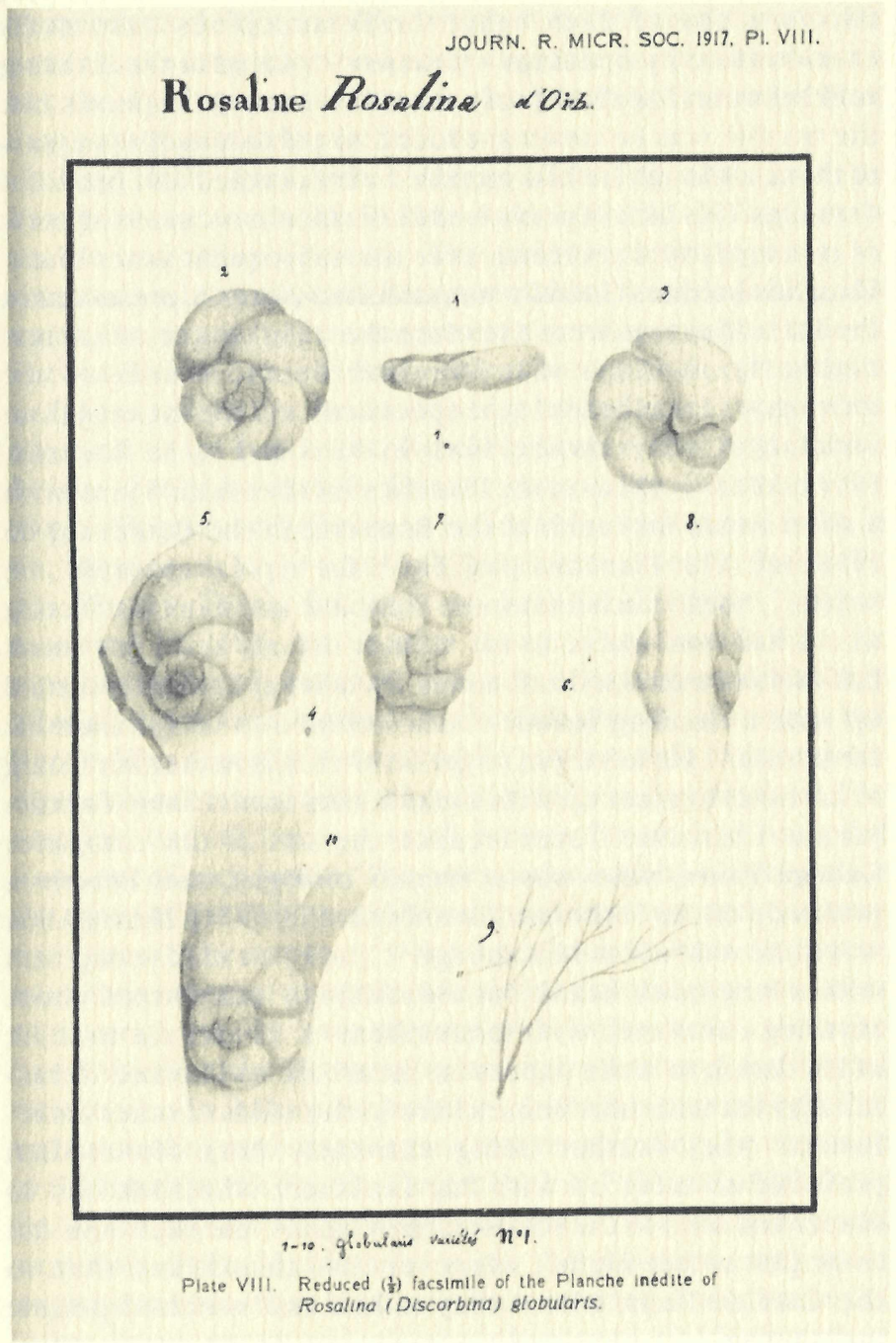

Plate VIII. Reduced (½) facsimile of the Planche inédite of *Rosalina (Discorbina) globularis.*

Fig. 5. A page of foraminifera from the *Planches inédites* of d'Orbigny.

into two, one of them being the Foraminifères (tiny shells characterized by openings - foramen - located in the dividing wall between the chambers). He listed some 544 species, but the trouble was he never got round to publishing illustrations of them, although he had prepared very detailed and beautiful drawings. This lack of published illustration has caused all sorts of nomenclatural problems over the subsequent years. These Planches Inédites (literally "unpublished plates"), preserved in the Paris Museum, were therefore the main source of interest during Heron-Allen's visit. Moreover, he also wanted to see d'Orbigny's foraminiferal type-specimens and the material from which they were chosen, both in Paris and in La Rochelle. Heron-Allen worked on the Planches Inédites until 5 p.m. with a short break for lunch at the Brasserie in the Boulevard de l'Hôpital. The Planches [see Fig. 5 for typical example], he writes ..."were much finer, more complete and more fascinating than I had anticipated in my wildest dreams and I got about half of them examined and noted ... when Ray Lankester turned up with a dazzling blonde ...who seemed to reciprocate his admiration". He left them to get on with it, however, returning to his hotel to meet up with a gentleman named Fauré-Fremiet [this is Emmanuel Fauré-Fremiet, the son of the composer Gabriel Fauré, who was a French biologist, and latterly a professor of the Sorbonne; he only died in 1971]. Heron-Allen was quite rude about him, though "...[he is]... a mild young man with a long black beard, but astonishingly uninformed about anything connected with foraminifera - it amazes me to think of his daring to write papers on them". He had invited Heron-Allen to tea with him "somewhere in the wilds of outer Paris". Instead (the weather being extremely hot), Heron-Allen preferred to meet up with Ray Lankester, who took him to dinner and then to the Folies-Marigny again ("the show was not as bright as last night", whatever that means) and then to the Café de Paris, where they talked and watched people until 1 a.m.

On the 23rd May Heron-Allen finished examining the Planches Inédites and during lunch there occurred a

tremendous deluge outside, which at last cleared the air. He finally had a long interview with Marcellin Boule who showed him the d'Orbigny types that they have in Paris. "I wonder what they have got in La Rochelle?", he muses.

May 24th and 25th. Heron-Allen left the Gare de Montparnasse on the 10.55 train to La Rochelle. He had lunch on the train after Chartres. The train went through lots of vineyards which cheered him somewhat (it was a jolting old train). As he got further southwest the villages began to look like the Riviera or north Italy - burnt brown roofs, open loggia and deserted yards. He reached La Rochelle at 6 p.m., then repaired to his hotel (the Hotel de France et d'Angleterre). Before dinner he met Dr Etienne Loppé, the Curator at the Museé Fleuriau de Bellevue in La Rochelle, and agreed to be at the Museum at 10.30 a.m. the following morning in the Jardin des Plantes. There, he went to look at d'Orbigny's types mounted in 1885 by Charles Basset. The foraminifera, he reported, were all fastened down in cells and unfortunately most of them were masked by the rich growth of fungus, but Heron-Allen thought it worthwhile just to come here and see them, to understand fully what d'Orbigny had to work on. The originals had all been in small bottles; Basset had mounted some out of each bottle. "The ones picked out by d'Orbigny for the types of the *Tableau Méthodique* I must see and compare with these"...he wrote ..."when I get back to Paris. Dr Loppé, who runs round at intervals, was delightful and gave me tubes of material, etc. So I am pleased with La Rochelle". After he had finished at the Museum he had a stroll around and visited various sites including the harbour ..."which is exceedingly fine and interesting with its two great towers guarding the entrance to the inner port" (Fig. 6). He got back at 7.00 and a little later Dr Loppé and his wife arrived for dinner - "she is a quaint and attractive little Miridionale with the blackest and most impressive eyes - they have only been married since January."... "After dinner we sat and talked zoology until 10.15 when they left. ... He seemed really delighted to find someone to talk science to, for it does not seem to be much culturated here".

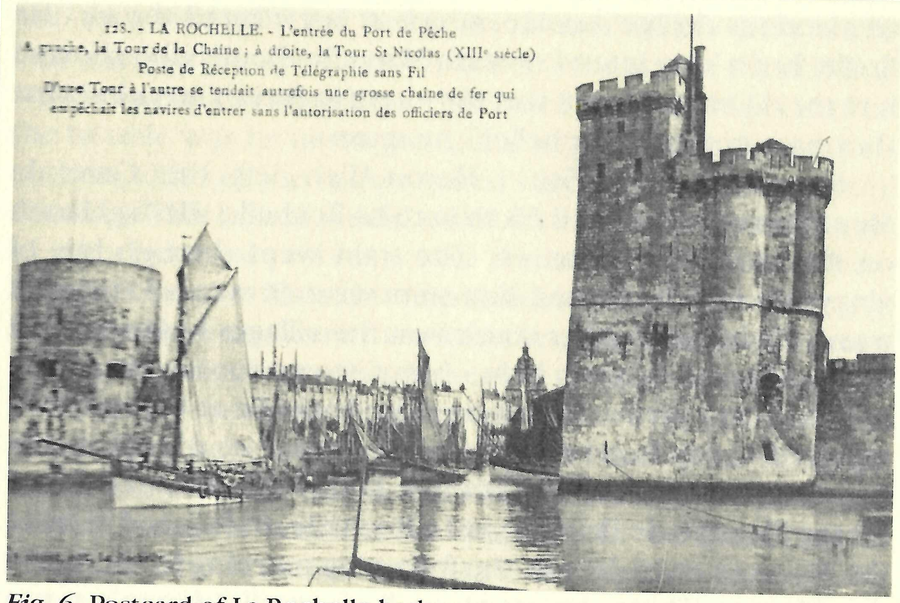

Fig. 6. Postcard of La Rochelle harbour.

26th May. A perfect morning. After coffee Heron-Allen went out to look for the Île de Ré and then Dr Loppé and his wife came with their automobile to take him to Esnandes – a sort of pilgrimage to the home of d'Orbigny. After driving through verdant agricultural land they first stopped near the coast – at the edge of a vast expanse of mudflats where they cultivate mussels and oysters. Inland are vast areas of salt-pans, interrupted by little patches of vineyard. There was no possibility of collecting foraminifera here so they piled into the car again and made for Esnandes which is on the Anse de l'Aiguillon, an immense shallow-water bay, which at low water becomes miles of mud, in which mussels are raised in traps, formed by hurdles placed in the soft mud – they are triangular in shape with a net at the seaward end. These "bouchots" become thickly covered in mussels and are reached by the "boucholeurs" at low tide with little punts called "acons" (Fig. 7) which they propel by kneeling on the "acon" on one knee, propelling it with the other leg cased in a long boot, which serves as an oar, anchor and a rudder. Heron-Allen made a gathering of sandy mud around the edge of the shore (see Fig. 8

Plate III. Esnandes : The "acons" of the mussel fishers.

Fig. 7. "Acons" at Esnandes, used for harvesting the mussels.

for the foraminifera he found). By 12.30 his bag was fairly full of samples so they went back to the village and made for the "Café de Paris", a most unpretentious village pub, had a perfectly delightful drink, and a superb lunch, he recalls. In the afternoon they poked around Esnandes, then got back to La Rochelle at 4 p.m. and had tea at Loppé's flat. They then went to one or two old bookshops in search of d'Orbigny's "Prodrome" (*Prodrome de Paléontologie Stratigraphique Universelle des Animaux Mollusques et Rayonnes*, another famous book of his, of 1850) which they did not find, although Heron-Allen reports that there were lots of other geological works of d'Orbigny to be had for a just a few francs. At 6 p.m. he and Loppé were off again, this time to the Plage de Châtelaillon, to the south of La Rochelle, where they did more collecting. An extremely busy and interesting day, he concludes.

On May 27th Heron-Allen went to the Île de Ré collecting. Scientifically, as it turned out, the day was a failure - he says he

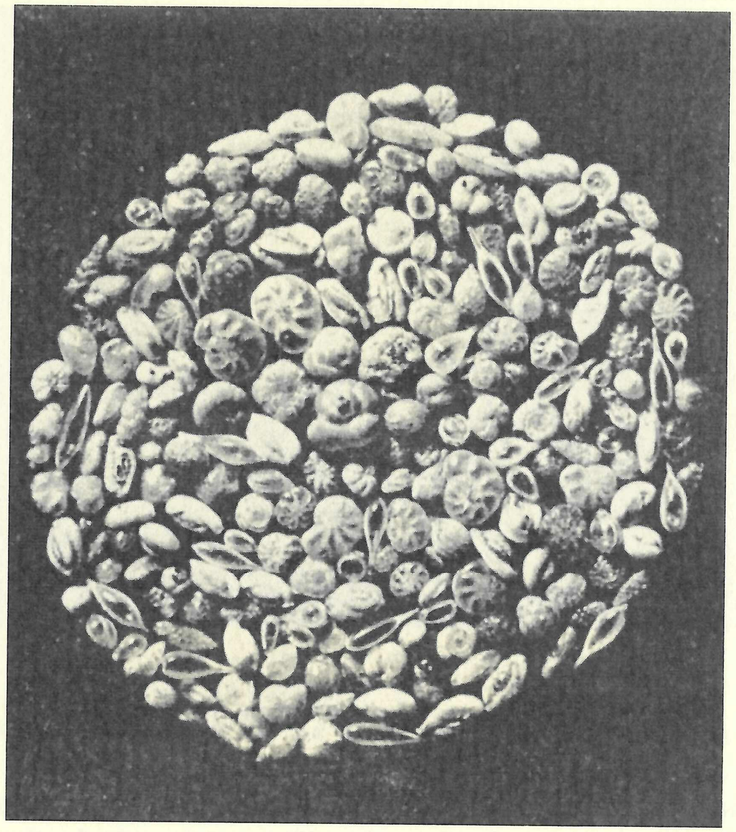

Fig. 8. Some foraminifera collected by Heron-Allen from Esnandes.

might as well have gone back to Paris instead and got home a day earlier, but from the point of view of travel and experience it proved extremely interesting. The rail journey to the ferry for the island reminded him of the Selsey Tram – with its switchback and overgrown track. The steamboat was tiny, but luckily the sea was smooth and the crossing only lasted 15 minutes. From Sablanceaux, the ferry terminal, he went by a little train to St Martin, the "capital" of the island. By the time he had lunch and hired a chauffeur in order to do some collecting, it was nearly 3 p.m. They'd just started out when a gale blew up and Heron-Allen got wet through – whereupon he gave up and took the train back to the ferry. Figs 9 and 10 show the railway and ferry on the Île de Ré. [They come from a series of delightful postcards re-issued by the Association des Amis du

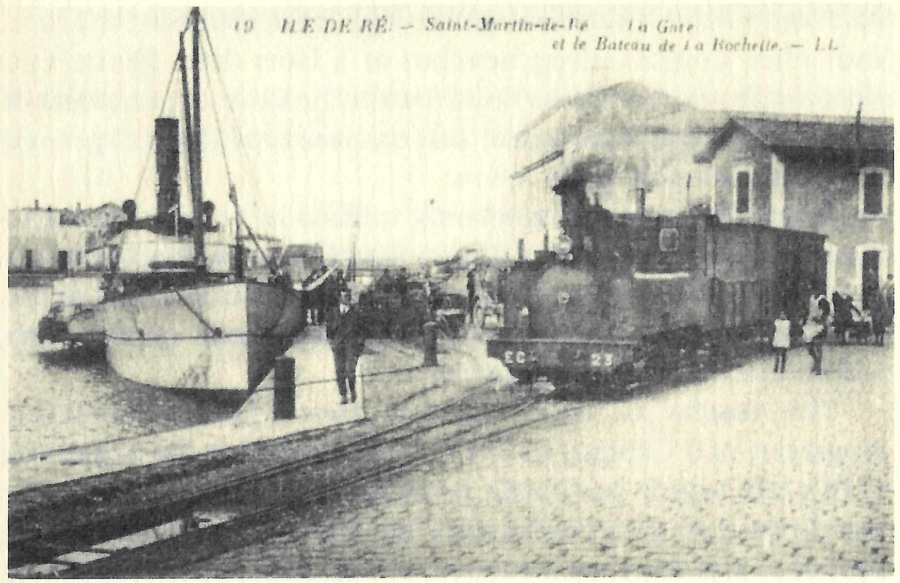

Fig. 9. St Martin harbour, Île de Ré, with the La Rochelle ferry and awaiting train.

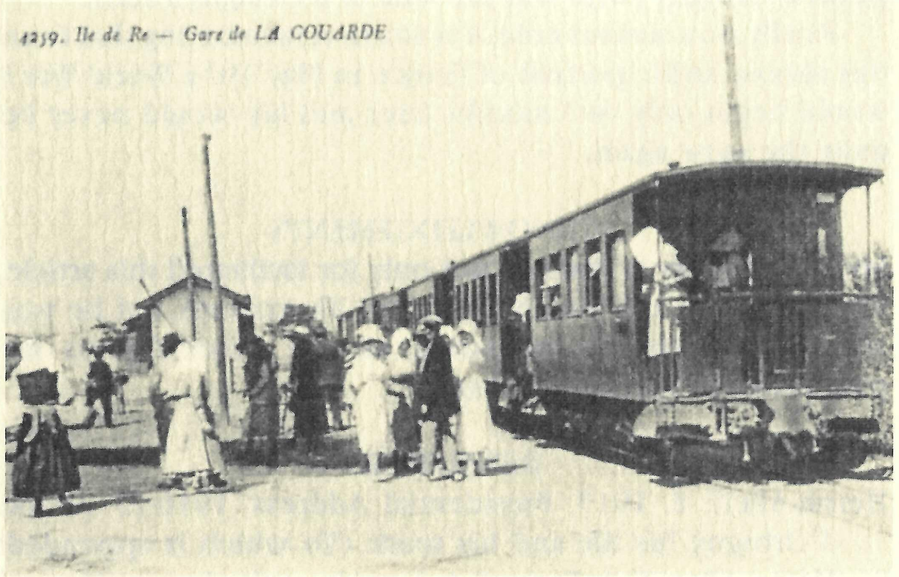

Fig. 10. Train in La Couarde station, Île de Ré Railway.

Musée de l'Île de Ré in 2003, which I found on eBay]. Because of the now rough sea, a much larger boat was sent (probably the *"Coligny"*, Fig. 9) and although "tossed about" he got back to La Rochelle by 6 p.m. He asked Dr Loppé if he would be so

kind as to send him shore gatherings from around the island and other neighbouring beaches at a later date. In the end Heron-Allen parted from Loppé with "profuse expressions of mutual esteem and gratitude", as you have heard he had proved to be a thoroughly good fellow.

May 28th was spent returning to Paris by train and back to the mundane pleasures of Grand Hotel. On the 29th he went shopping and had a final interview with Marcellin Boule at the Paris Museum. He left Paris by the midday train on the 30th, and so ends his Holiday Journal.

The results of this visit was Heron-Allen's admirable biography of d'Orbigny of 1917, as mentioned at the beginning of this talk, which has hardly been bettered since. It seems he was helped in its construction by d'Orbigny's actual living ancestors and there are letters bound into his copy of the Royal Microscopical Society biography, in particular from Madame Henri d'Orbigny (who was the wife of d'Orbigny's son).

Finally, on a serious note, it is worth remembering that from this almost idyllic portrait of France in May 1914, World War I would begin only two months later, and life would never be quite the same again.

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