'EDWARD HERON-ALLEN: BEGINNINGS AND ENDINGS'

Edited by
TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

TALKS DELIVERED AT THE
SEVENTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM,
13 TAVISTOCK PLACE, LONDON
JUNE 2017

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DAVID THOMPSON, JOHN P. MAHONEY
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Opusculum XXIV
Heron-Allen Society

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Talks delivered by David Thompson, John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney, Timothy J. McCann, and Roger Cline at
The 17th Annual Heron-Allen Symposium,
13 Tavistock Place, London, June 2017.

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Cover: Yoï Crosse (later Buckley and then Maraini) by Oishi Kuranosuka.

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THE SEVENTEENTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM AT 13 TAVISTOCK PLACE, LONDON

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN and JOHN E. WHITTAKER

Breaking with tradition, we held our Seventeenth Annual Symposium in a private property. By kind invitation of Roger Cline we met together at Flat 13, No. 13 Tavistock Place in London, where we held our deliberations amongst maps and sculptures and a fine collection of books.

With the chairman being in poor health, John Whittaker introduced the meeting. As well as welcoming a good show of members and friends (from as far afield as the USA and Italy) he thanked John Porter for coming along, he being the author of an unpublished biography of Yoï Maraini. David Thompson set the tone of the day with his talk, which was academic but accessible and humorous - and give us a splendid start. Expanding his contribution from last year's symposium when he introduced the Heron-Allen family tree by discussing the various Heron-Allen bookplates, he answered the questions that had arisen in the then discussion about the quartering on the plates. He showed that the missing quarterings were those of his ancestor Charles Herring. The situation was complicated by there being three generations of the family called Charles Herring and David told us a little about each of them. Finally, with generous extracts from the diaries of Frederick William Hamstede and an account of the history of the St. John del Rey Mine in Brazil by Edward Heron-Allen, he introduced us to Charles Herring III, who worked for many years there, was superintendent of the mine from 1830 to 1846 and who was presented with a magnificent gold box for his services on his retirement in 1846. David then described the box in some detail with the help of a number of slides.

In 1909 London society was transfixed by the sensational undefended divorce case between Mrs. E.C. Buckley and Sir

Coleridge Kennard. Edith Buckley was the wife of Captain Buckley and her solicitor was Edward Heron-Allen. Sir Coleridge was a young aristocrat on the fringe of the Oscar Wilde circle. The case was one of the very few examples of Heron-Allen's legal practices. John Mahoney introduced us to the cast of characters in this complicated story. Mrs. Buckley and Sir Coleridge, who acknowledge that they were lovers, instituted divorce proceedings because they wished to get married, but a number of people, including especially Sir Coleridge's mother, were determined to prevent the marriage. They succeeded in getting Sir Coleridge posted to Persia (he was in the Foreign Office) and then to dramatically change his mind, so that when Mrs. Buckley was granted her divorce he disowned her. John guided us through the complicated divorce proceedings and how Heron-Allen was enlisted by Mrs. Buckley to present her side of the case to the public. Sir Coleridge quickly married another woman, and Mrs. Buckley, after writing her account of the story, eventually settled in Italy where she married Antonio Maraini. She had known Heron-Allen before the case and their friendship continued for the rest of her life and included meetings in Paris and Florence in 1910 and 1923.

Captain A.W.F. Fuller was a collector extraordinaire. Best known for his ethnographic collections, which when eventually sold to the Field Museum at Chicago, comprised sixteen tons of Pacific artifacts. He also collected seals, Sussex books and documents and Benin heads. It was inevitable that he and Heron-Allen would meet and Tim McCann told the story of their relationship. First he introduced us to Captain Fuller and then he described how they met over a mutual interest in unravelling the history of the early printed guides to the City of Chichester. Later they co-operated on Heron-Allen's unpublished article on the nineteenth century Chichester artist and engraver, Thomas King. Fuller outlived Heron-Allen and purchased a number of items at the sale of Heron-Allen's library after his death, thus preserving them for future scholars to work on.

The final talk was given by our host, Roger Cline, who entertained us with a lively account of his Heron-Allen

Collection. He had managed to acquire a fine collection of Heron-Allen's books and booklets on Selsey. Mostly written by himself but some by other hands, all bearing the Heron-Allen bookplates and in characteristic style all enriched with his usual assortment of newspaper cuttings, letters and postcards. From these ephemera he put together an account of Heron-Allen's various disputes with local historians, especially one Samuel Day in the pages of the *Chichester Post*, about the history of Selsey.

The talks were followed by the Society's Annual General Meeting at which the various officers of the Society were re-elected and reports on the work and activities of the Society during the year were read. The members then walked to the North Sea Fish Restaurant in nearby Leigh Street where an excellent meal was enjoyed by all present.

Finally, we are most grateful to Roger Clime for very generously and bravely inviting us to his home and for hosting the symposium. We are also grateful to Robin Whittaker for his skill in marshalling the illustrations, and to Selsey Press for printing this Opusculum.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN. A FURTHER BRIEF GENEALOGY

by DAVID THOMPSON

At the annual symposium of the Edward Heron-Allen Society held in 2016 at the Novium in Chichester, a paper was given outlining the background to Edward Heron-Allen's use of heraldic devices as they appear on his various book plates. At that time there were several unanswered questions relating to the earlier plates which incorporated a second and third quartering combined with a first and fourth quartering of the Allen family arms. There seemed to be no connection with Edward's mother Catherine Herring's family and no evidence of a shield of arms relating to his first wife Henrietta Marianna Frederika Lehmann (1).

The arms of the second and third quarters could be emblazoned as:- Gules, on a fesse azure, three etoiles argent, in chief a sun in splendour or between two herons proper argent, and in base a horse passant or crest- an eagle displayed, a sun in splendour or in its dexter claw (Fig. 1).

In the paper it was suggested that the most likely explanation was that Edward Heron-Allen invented this part of the shield. In the intervening time further thought has concluded the question has to be asked as to why Edward Heron-Allen would invent a quartering for his arms when he had every right to use the Allen arms on their own? Indeed, when looking at the stained glass window in the Allen Room in Soho, would such a prestigious family as the Allens really display a spurious shield in the window of their premises? The simple answer is that it is very unlikely.

With the view that there must be a shield relating to Edward's second and third quartering, further research was necessary and, with the help of Ivor and Venetia Jones, John and Barbara Mahoney set about making a serious attempt to unravel the mystery. In the ensuing search, Chairman of the Society, Timothy McCann unearthed a major piece of evidence

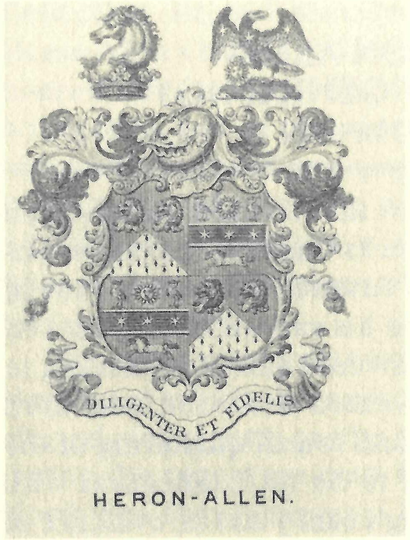


Fig.1. Edward Heron-Allen book-plate.

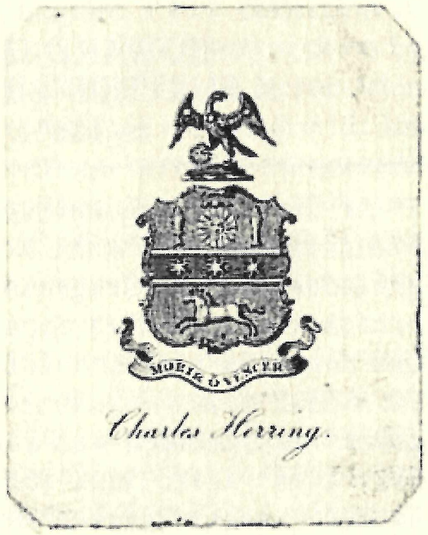


Fig.2. Charles Herring Junior book-plate.

in the form of a book-plate used by Charles Herring, Edward Heron-Allen's father in law (Fig. 2) The book-plate shows clear evidence that the second and third quartering of Edward Heron-Allen's shield is taken from the arms used by Charles Herring junior (2).

The emblazon here is clearly related to the Herring family, with herrings in chief flanking the sun in splendour. There is however one significant difference between these arms and those used by Edward, in that the fish, herrings proper, have been replaced by herons, and this was presumably done by Edward to recognise his ancestral name of Heron.

So who were Edward Heron-Allen's parents? Much is known of his father George Allen head of the London law firm (Fig. 3), who was born on 28th July 1827, one of six children of John William Allen and his wife Amelia, née Briggs. Edward's mother was Catherine Herring who was born in 1830, the daughter of Charles Herring and his wife Jane, née Bone. It is very fortunate that there are surviving portrait miniatures of both Charles Herring Junior and his wife Jane (Figs. 4 & 5). Making sense of the Herring family is made slightly tricky

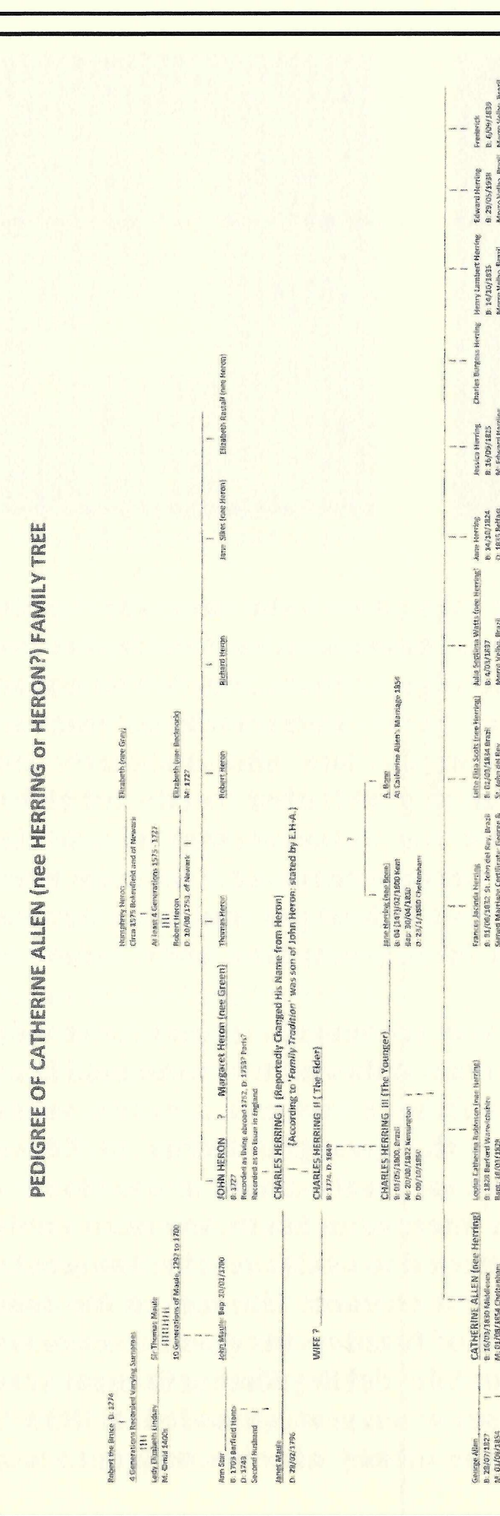


Fig.3. Allen Family Tree.

Fig. 4. Charles Herring Junior.

Fig.5. Jane Herring, née Bone.

because there were three men all with the name Charles (Fig. 3). Charles Herring 1st was a banker, merchant and lender from the London House of Herring, Graham and Powlers, grand speculators in Central and South American land, mines and other immigration deals in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He was great-great grandfather to Edward Heron-Allen. By 1824, Charles 1st was in partnership with William Graham, J.D. Powles and a German merchant, L.A. Goldschmidt. In the Peninsular War, Herring helped put together a legalized piracy team to intercept French merchant ships bound for South America.

The second Charles was seemingly a somewhat spoiled rich-man's offspring who really didn't have to work until late in life, post-1826, when his father's ventures got into serious financial trouble. He was the great-grandfather to Edward Heron-Allen and may have sat on the board of the House of Herring, a company with interests in South American mining associations. He can be referred to as Charles the Younger. The third Charles was a different character. He moved his family from London to the wilds of Brazil to become the managing superintendent of the Saint John del Rey Mining Company (São João d'el Rei in Portuguese) when it was founded in 1830. He appears to have needed the money and was willing to work

hard in oppressive conditions. It is this Charles who was grandfather to Edward Heron-Allen and was referred to professionally as Charles Herring Junior. He was born in 1800 in Brazil and with his wife Jane had eleven children. The eldest, also Jane, was born in Belfast in 1824, but died young at the age of ten or eleven in 1835. She was followed by Jessica, born in 1825 and then came Louisa Catherina who was born in Barford, Warwickshire in 1828. Next came Catherine, who married Edward Heron-Allen's father George Allen. Catherine was born in Middlesex in 1830. Her other sisters were Frances Jacinda, Leite Eliza and Julia Septima. She also had brothers, Charles, Edward and Frederick. From 1832, beginning with Frances Jacinda, the children's births are all recorded in Morro Velho in Brazil (Fig. 6).

So what was the business in South America? On this subject, there is a deal of information gleaned from two sources. Firstly there is a fascinating text written by Edward Heron Allen, based on accounts provided by his

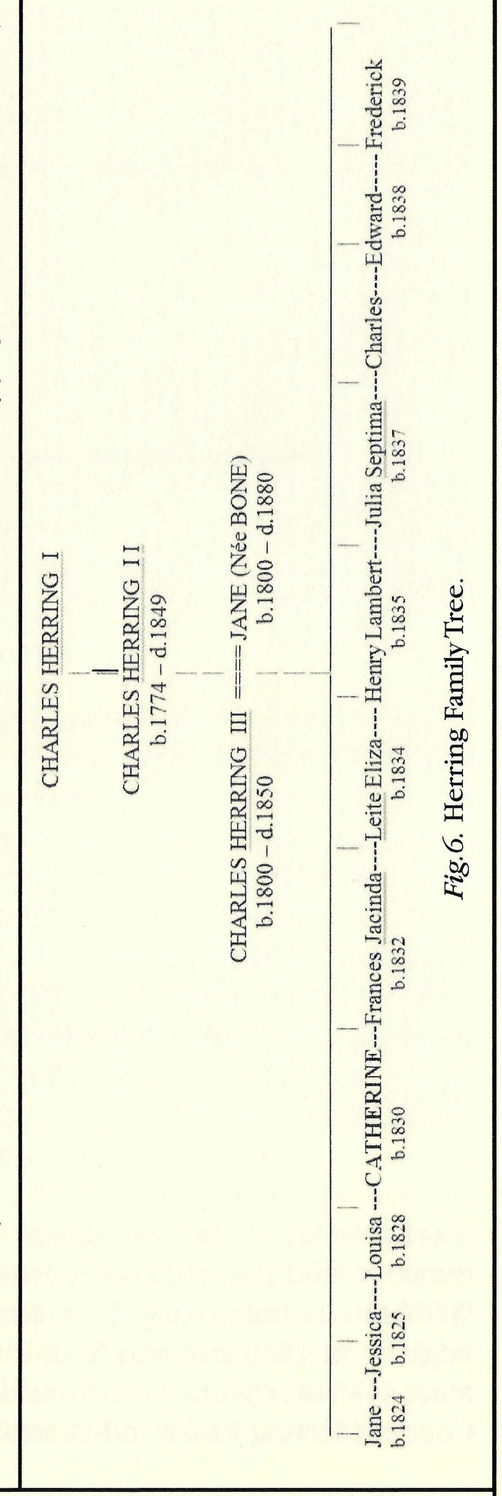
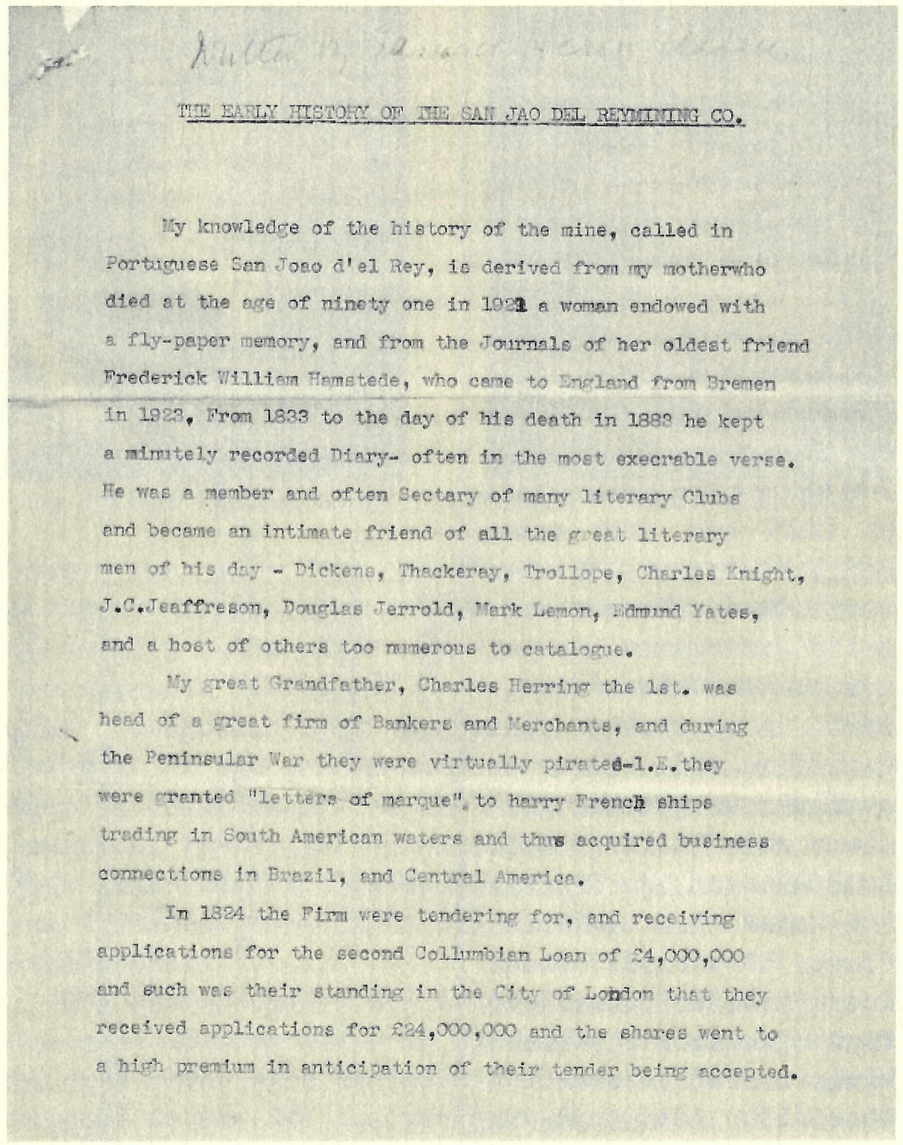


Fig.6. Herring Family Tree.



THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SAN JAO DEL REYMINING CO.

My knowledge of the history of the mine, called in Portuguese San Joao d'el Rey, is derived from my motherwho died at the age of ninety one in 1921 a woman endowed with a fly-paper memory, and from the Journals of her oldest friend Frederick William Hamstede, who came to England from Bremen in 1823, From 1833 to the day of his death in 1882 he kept a minutely recorded Diary- often in the most execrable verse. He was a member and often Sectary of many literary Clubs and became an intimate friend of all the great literary men of his day - Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Charles Knight, J.C.Jeaffreson, Douglas Jerrold, Mark Lemon, Edmund Yates, and a host of others too numerous to catalogue.

My great Grandfather, Charles Herring the 1st. was head of a great firm of Bankers and Merchants, and during the Peninsular War they were virtually pirated-i.E.they were granted "letters of marque", to harry French ships trading in South American waters and thus acquired business connections in Brazil, and Central America.

In 1824 the Firm were tendering for, and receiving applications for the second Collumbian Loan of £4,000,000 and such was their standing in the City of London that they received applications for £24,000,000 and the shares went to a high premium in anticipation of their tender being accepted.

Fig. 7. Edward Heron-Allen's typescript.

mother-in-law who he described as having "a fly-paper memory" and also from the journals of a family friend, Frederick William Hamstede (Fig. 7), a German by birth who came to England in 1823 and was later involved in the St John del Rey Mine (3).There is also some less detailed information regarding Charles Herring Junior in Marshall C. Eakin's account of mining

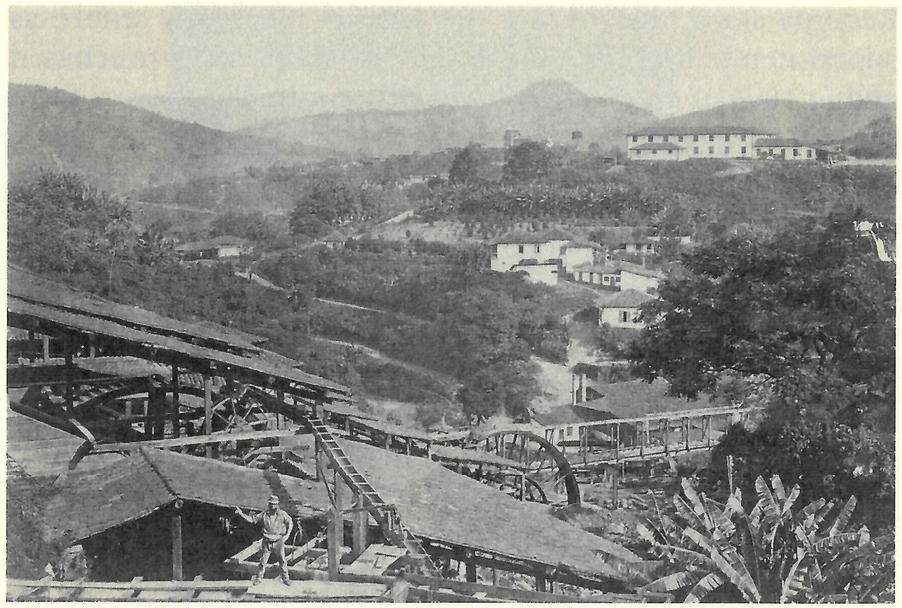


Fig.8. St John del Rey Mine, photo by Augusto Riedel (1836-1877?) (from Wikipedia).

in South America, published in 1989 (4). Eakin gives a full and detailed account of the St John del Rey gold mine in Minas Gerais in Brazil (Fig. 8) The mine was founded in 1830 and produced about 400 tons of gold before the company closed down in 1960. Surviving photographs suggest that the mine was not a particularly nice place to be. Edward Heron-Allen's father-in- law, Charles Herring Junior, was superintendent of the mine between its founding in 1830 and his retirement in 1846. One less palatable aspect of the mine was the use of slaves. An interesting note in Hamstede's journal reads as follows:-

> Thursday 15th April 1841.
> The packet by which Charles Herring was expected has arrived and he is not in her. He has, it appears been making further purchases of slaves which is likely again to knock all present chances of a dividend on the head. This will not raise him in the estimation of the shareholders, and will in all probability prepare for a stormy reception for him at the annual meeting.

Records show that during the Charles Herring's tenure as superintendent of the mine, over 500 slaves were purchased and in 1841, the year referred to by Hamstede, 37 slaves were purchased.

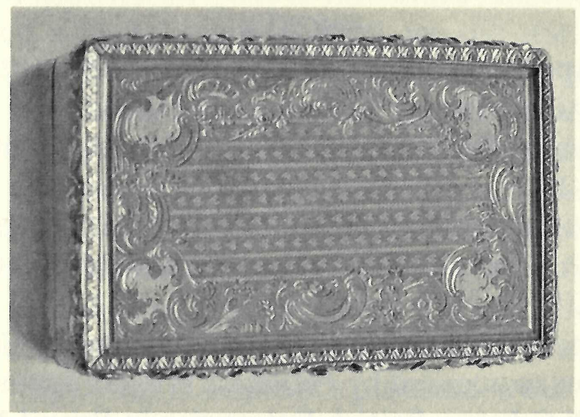
As well as slaves, the company also engaged skilled miners. A further extract from Hamstede's journal tells us:-

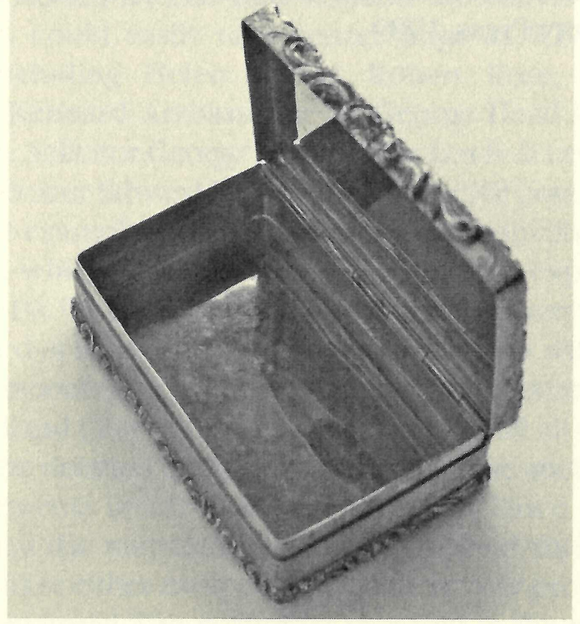
> Friday 6th August 1841
>
> Stayed at St Paul's Hotel with Charles from ten in the morning till nearly midnight. He leaves tomorrow for Cornwall for the purpose of engaging a mining captain – his business completed he returns to Dublin.

A further extract from Hamstede's journal refers to Charles Herring's widow, Charles having died the previous year in 1850:-

> Friday 6th June 1851
>
> Attended the Annual Meeting of the St John del Rey. The proposal of the Directors to vote £500 to Mrs. C.H. as the widow of the late Superintendent provoked some disagreeable discussion on the part of some who had recently become shareholders, and were therefore ignorant how largely the company were indebted to him. However we did succeed in carrying the vote despite them. Wrote to Mrs. C.H. to announce the result.

One object at least survives from Charles Herring's time in the St John del Rey Mine, in the form of a gold box (Figs. 9-11). The lid is finely engine-turned and the borders around the base and lid are encrusted with leafs and foliage. Within the border on the base are a series of vertical divisions enclosing hearts. Whilst the box bears no hallmarks to give it a specific date, the style would fit well with a piece made in the 1840s and probably of London make, unless there was a very competent goldsmith working in Brazil at that time. Perhaps pointing to a South American origin, it is worth noting that a gold box of this type made in London would almost certainly have been assayed and marked at the London Assay Office and also marked with a maker's mark. The lack of any marks might suggest that the





Figs. 9-11. Gold Box presented to Charles Herring Junior (private collection).

box does in fact have its origins in Brazil. In any event, the important aspect of the box for this account is the inscription on the lid.The box was presented to Charles Herring Junior on his retirement from the mine in 1846 and is inscribed, "C. Herring Jr. Esq. as a testimonial of respect from the Mechanics and Miners of the St João del Rey Mining Co.".

Clearly this man was much appreciated for his sixteen years of service as superintendent at the mine.

NOTES

1. This paper was subsequently published by the Edward Heron-Allen Society - Thompson, David, *The Armorial Progress of Edward Heron-Allen*; in Opusculum XXIII, (2016), 20-24.
2. The book plate is pasted into a copy of 'Heron-Allen and Pepler Pedigrees' - West Sussex Record Office, Heron-Allen MS. 1/8/1.
3. The typescript is assumed to be by Edward Heron-Allen based on an account by Frederick William Hamstede.
4. Marshall C. Eakin, *British Enterprise in Brazil*, Duke University Press, 1989.

THE MRS E.C. BUCKLEY - SIR COLERIDGE KENNARD AFFAIR AND SOLICITOR EDWARD HERON-ALLEN

by JOHN P. MAHONEY, BARBARA P. MAHONEY and ANTONELLA T. MARAINI

An obscure printed manuscript, *Captain J. Buckley, Mrs. E.C. Buckley and Sir Coleridge Kennard, Bart. Statement of Facts,* has languished for years in the British Museum.Although we acquired a digital copy in 2009, we did not realize the significance of this document for another six years.The museum statement on this library listing was that the document was prepared for Edward Heron-Allen (1) (Fig. 1). Only after a re-evaluation with additional research did we recognize that this manuscript was Heron-Allen's personal copy. Heron-Allen was the Solicitor representing Mrs. E.C. Buckley in an uncontested divorce so that she and her unmarried lover, Coleridge Arthur Fitzroy Kennard, 1st Bart, could be married with all due haste despite the objections of Kennard's powerful, wealthy and well-connected family, friends and London attorneys. The list of combatants could easily take center stage in *Who's Who* in England including Helen Carew, Robert Ross, Lady Ellen Georgiana Kennard, Ambassador Sir George Head Barclay and Lady Barclay, Solicitor George Lewis of the Lewis & Lewis London firm and Solicitor Edward Heron-Allen.This civil case may be the best-known example of Edward Heron-Allen's involvement in a legal action which had a broad public and press exposure from 1910 to 1919. When Heron-Allen's personal library collection was disposed of in a Sotheby's auction in 1944, his will stipulated that his personal attorney in concert with his estate executor, Vyvyan Holland (son of Oscar Wilde), would cull all documents that might be deemed inappropriate for a public auction such as client statements involved in civil litigation. Since there is no evidence that the statement was ever published, this document appears to have either escaped that estate review process or was deemed immaterial. This pamphlet was sold in the auction and ended up in the British Library's special collections. Another

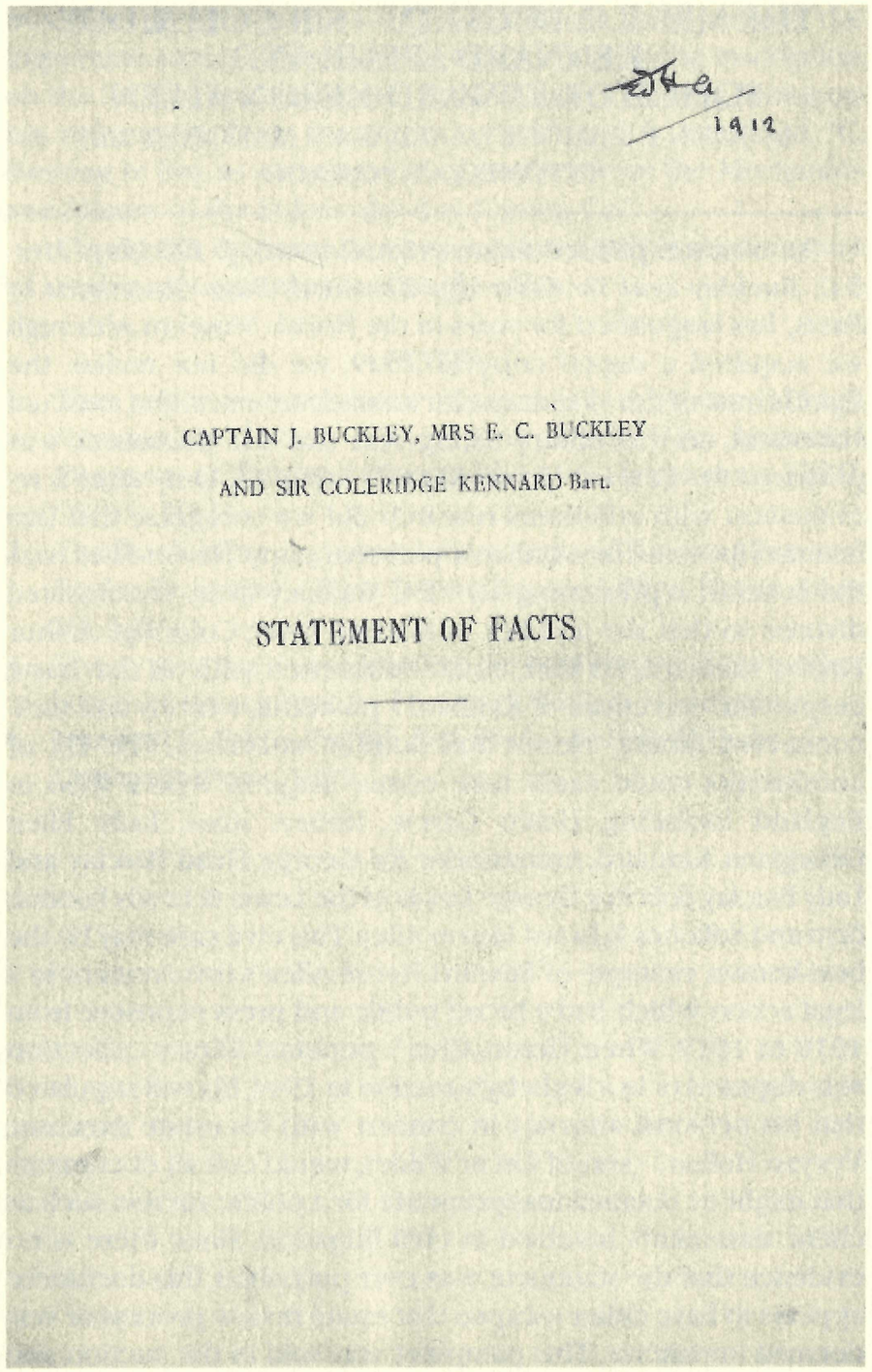


Fig. 1. Mrs E.C. Buckley's pamphlet.

copy is found in the Cornell University Library, Violet Hunt Papers 1858-1962 (2). Heron-Allen was a personal friend and admirer of Hunt. Violet Hunt (aka Hueffer), a spinster, convinced her lover, Ford Madox Ford (Hueffer) to divorce his wife and then marry her. But alas, Ford abandoned the spinster Hunt for another woman [a role reversal compared to the current case].

Because of the rarity of documentation regarding Edward Heron-Allen as a practicing solicitor and the public reaction to the opposing parties in this civil suit, this paper will explore some facets of Heron-Allen as a solicitor, his involvement in the Buckley–Kennard affair, the education and reaction of the public and press to all involved parties and the long-term effects on participants and their families.

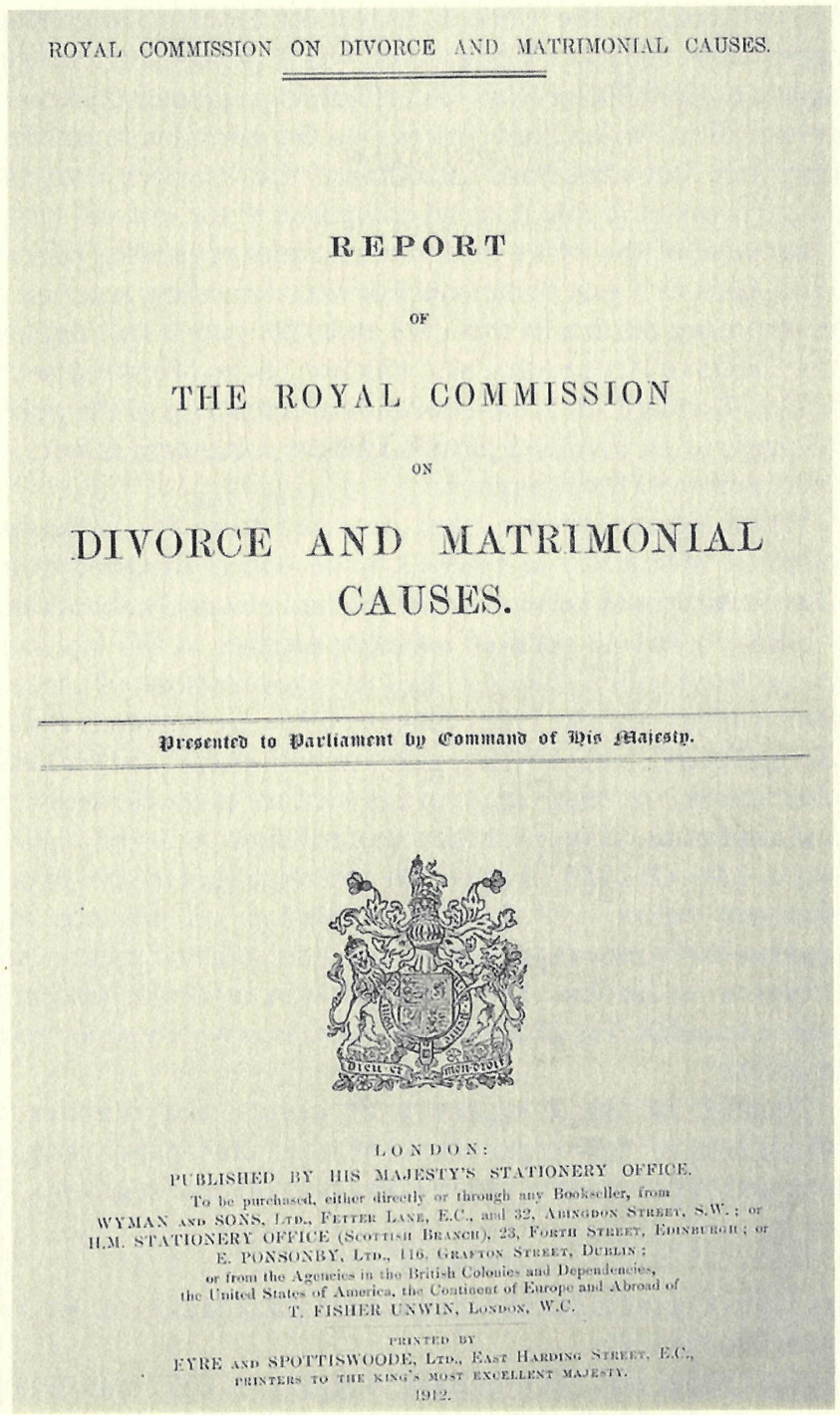
When Edward Heron-Allen returned from his bohemian American adventures in 1889 (3, 4) he was re-admitted to his father's law firm in London which he had electively abandoned in 1885 (5). His 33 year-old solicitor brother in the law firm, George Maule Allen, had just died of complications of chronic valvular heart disease. From 1891 to 1910, Heron-Allen built a quiet and respectable civil law practice with occasional favorable public comments regarding him as a solicitor (6-8). However, his most important accomplishment as a solicitor occurred in 1910 (9). On 4 March 1910, Heron-Allen was requested to give expert testimony before the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes especially focused on solicitor misconduct bordering on blackmail and intimidation involving potential societal scandals (Fig. 2). His involvement was widely reported in the press.

Because of the complexity of events and number of participants in this particular civil case, this paper will be discussed in pre-divorce, divorce and post-divorce segments.

PRE-DIVORCE

Mrs. Edith Cornelia Buckley, née Crosse [nickname: Yoï] & Capt. James F.H. Buckley.

Yoï Crosse was born in rural Hungary in 1877. Her Polish mother, Emilia Pawlowska, was married to an English citizen,



ROYAL COMMISSION ON DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES.

REPORT

OF

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON

DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES.

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Fig. 2. Royal Commission Report, 1912.

Fig. 3. Yoï Buckley, c.1902.

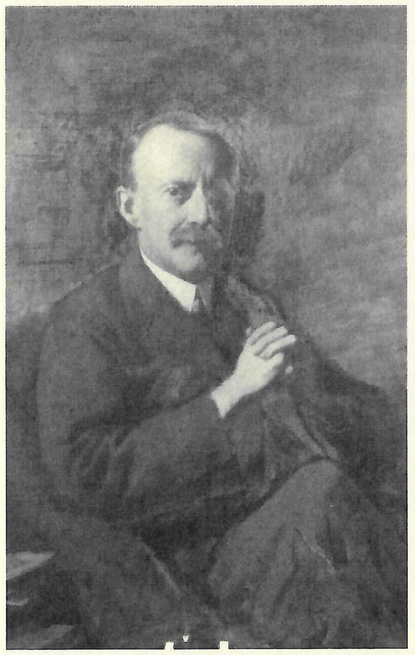

Fig. 4. Capt. James Francis Hughes Buckley.

Andrew Frederick Crosse, who specialized in Agriculture and wine production in Hungary. Yoï was educated at home by her grandmother, Cornelia Crosse and family. She ultimately met her future husband, James Francis Hughes Buckley from Llanelli, Wales, a Barrister and a member of the Army, the Pembrokeshire Yeomanry Cavalry.

On April 21, 1896, they were married in the parish of Paddington (Figs. 3, 4). Their children included Wilma in 1899 and Gabriel in 1904. By 1908, Capt. Buckley was a prosperous land owner in Wales with homes in Wales and Norfolk Square, London (10).

In December 1908, returning from Wales, he found an unexpected houseguest, Sir Coleridge Kennard, at his home with his wife. Another time, she had invited him to dinner. Capt. Buckley objected to Kennard's continued acquaintance with his wife. In summer times, the family usually went to their Welsh homestead, but in 1909, his wife complained that she was ill and wished to visit friends in Paris and he consented. In June, he received, via his house servant, a letter from his wife announcing her abandonment of their

marriage. On the same day, he received a request for a writ of divorce from Sir Coleridge Kennard. Capt. Buckley's subsequent thorough inquiries proved beyond a shadow of doubt that there were multiple episodes of adultery in London hotels and his own home.

Sir Coleridge Arthur Fitzroy Kennard, 1st Bart. & Family.
Coleridge A.F. Kennard was born in London on May 12, 1885. His father, Hugh C.D. Kennard, fleeing his quarrelsome spouse, died one year later drowning on a sinking ship traveling to Australia. His grandfather, C. John Kennard was a Conservative M.P. and owner of the *Evening News* newspaper. His grandmother, Ellen Georgiana Kennard, would play a prominent role in Coleridge's 1909 legal affairs. Coleridge's mother was Helen Wyllie Kennard (later Carew), an heiress from France, who played the decisive role in scuttling her son's proposed marriage to Yoï Buckley. Because of his newspaper's support of London politicians [and allegedly spending £70,000], Coleridge's grandfather was honored with a baronetcy. Unfortunately, just after the announcement of the honor, his grandfather died. His widowed grandmother, Ellen Georgiana, fought with Queen Victoria who capitulated and permitted a baronet's widow to be bestowed upon her. On her death or abdication, the title would pass to her grandson, and Coleridge Kennard. Helen Kennard's son was titled as the 1st Baronet at the age of six.

Although he spent his boyhood with his maternal grandparents at Eilen Roc, France, he was educated at Eton and took up service in the British Foreign Office. Coleridge made his friends in England, notably Aubrey Beardsley, Lord Alfred Douglas and Ronald Firbank. Robinson opined that young Kennard was a great dandy and bohemian in relationship to his friends, the arts and sexuality (11). Even his mother provided support for Robinson's characterizations of Sir Coleridge. Helen Carew commissioned a 1904 portrait painting of nineteen year-old Kennard by Jacques Emile Blanche (Fig. 5). But she strongly disapproved of the painting because of Kennard's dandy appearance, the positioning of the hands with delicate thin

Fig. 5. Sir Coleridge Kennard.
Painting known as *"The Portrait of Dorian Grey"*.

elongated fingers and exaggerated luxurious clothing, all of which might suggest a questionable heterosexuality. The painting was finally exhibited with the provision that Kennard's name not be shown. The portrait was shown with the exhibitor chosen title of *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*!

Helen Carew (formerly Kennard) remarried in 1896. Carew was a passionate supporter and personal friend of Oscar Wilde. She paid for the famous grave monument sculpted by Jacob Epstein for Wilde's re-interment at the Père Lachaise cemetery. She also was introduced to Wilde's literary executor, Robert Ross, who played a significant role in assuring the destruction of a Buckley - Kennard union in 1909. Sir Coleridge Kennard was a schoolmate of Oscar Wilde's son, Vyvyan Holland. Holland visited Carew in 1907 and for the first time saw his father's literary works.

Carew set up a meeting for Holland to meet Robert Ross (12). By 1908, Holland met most of the literary and artistic upper crust through the team efforts of Helen Carew and Robert Ross. That year, Kennard and Holland spent holidays together after taking his diplomatic service examination for the Foreign Office Service. Coleridge Kennard, Vyvyan Holland and Robert Ross attended the re-interment of Oscar Wilde's remains from Bagneux to Père Lachaise (13). Life changed forever for the dashing baronet in December 1908 when he met and courted Mrs. E.C. Buckley.

DIVORCE

Although the tabloids provided some factual information about the individuals involved, the two most important sources for gaining a balanced perspective were the High Court of Justice, Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, Case #9838 petition which included letters from Kennard's solicitors and Capt. J. Buckley, and the quoted telegrams and letters in Mrs. E.C. Buckley's Statement of Facts. Unfortunately, the 'Statement of Facts' has 34 pages of disordered and repetitive comments with a rambling manner and confusing time lines. Yet, this very style lends credence to the tale of a young simple Hungarian country women fighting for her children's future dignity against the innuendos and sneers of the aristocracy. For the sake of clarity, the 34 pages will be greatly condensed into the authors' perspective of facts based on the information available. Edward Heron-Allen did not write this statement of facts which

had a paucity of handwritten corrections to the printed facts and grammar. He provided the exact legal responses demanded by his client, Mrs. Buckley, and created mechanisms to ensure that written responses received from Kennard were truly his and not from his attorneys or other competing opposition parties. Heron-Allen wrote the definitive letter to Kennard exposing to all parties the baronet's final cruel deceit and gave him fair warning of the unspecified consequences that may be forthcoming as explained in the Post-Divorce events.

The twenty four year-old Sir Coleridge Kennard and the thirty two year-old Mrs. E.C. Buckley committed adultery. Both were clearly in love and wanted a quick marriage following an uncontested quick divorce. A quick divorce could only occur after a required six month waiting period for an uncontested petition. Mrs. Buckley must give up all her rights "as if she were dead" including all parental rights. Kennard, a co-respondent, likewise cannot contest the petition and must pay legal fees. Capt. James Buckley, Yoï Buckley and Sir Coleridge Kennard were in complete agreement with the terms of this uncontested quick divorce. But Kennard's mother was not happy and she made sure nobody would be happy.

Helen Carew led the opposition to this union. Her public theory was that Yoï was the instigating force to ensnare Kennard from his family and friends, plunder his present fortune and future trust assets; and that Yoï was working in collusion with Capt. James Buckley, an independently wealthy man! Carew went to the Foreign Office where Kennard was employed and convinced his Commanding Officer, Sir Charles Hardinge, her personal friend, to transfer Kennard to Rome and then Persia. Carew knew the financial stranglehold that she and her mother (trust fund assets) had over her 24 year-old son. All of the combatants met in London including Robert Ross. But Yoï was denied access to this meeting. The Foreign Office immediately ordered Kennard abroad and told Kennard that he must leave "his lady" behind until the divorce was finalized or he would face a dishonorable dismissal, permanent disgrace, and an inability to live in England again. Kennard signed a two-

Fig.6. Attaché to H.B.M. Legation, Tehran.

year service agreement to be stationed in Tehran, but he forgot to show this document to Yoï. Kennard seemed to have a 'weakness of youth' affliction.

Robert Ross set up a small financial 'settlement' for Yoï while Kennard was in Persia. Kennard told Yoï that this was support money for her to live on until their marriage. But this

'settlement' paper would be used in the final proceedings as the basis that Kennard had met his obligations and had agreed to leave her entirely.

Kennard and Yoï both instructed Edward Heron-Allen not to defend the divorce case under the illusion that this would facilitate a rapid divorce and subsequent rapid marriage. On multiple occasions, Yoï offered to return to her husband and children and attempt reconciliation, an offer repeatedly rejected by Kennard with youthful hints of self-destruction.

Carew served notice to Heron-Allen, through her attorneys, that she would employ any measure to disrupt this union and prevent the family's exposure to public scandal. She threatened to ensure that the Buckley divorce would not be inevitable or speedy. Kennard's solicitors, through Carew, served notice that Kennard would dispute the claims in the Buckley petition. The Foreign Office then prevented Kennard from leaving Tehran. Using Heron-Allen's secret code word, 'Flavian' (14), Kennard confirmed that he did intend to defend the case, simply saying "have had to". The divorce was now delayed (Fig. 6).

Everything changed overnight with this delay of the divorce proceedings. Kennard stopped all communications with Yoï. Both her friends and foes heard that Kennard's feelings had changed towards his lover and that he had no intention of marrying her. Yet, just two weeks later without explanation, Kennard suddenly dropped his defense in the divorce suit and Yoï was suddenly divorced, alone, essentially bankrupt, and stranded in Kennard's apartment in Rome. Heron-Allen smelled a family of rats and wrote a brilliant and classic letter to the youthful baronet masquerading as an English gentleman, parts of which are produced below.

"My dear Roy, [Kennard's nickname]

The case of absolute necessity has now arisen. The divorce decree nisi in Yoï pronounced today. For some time past everybody has been telling Yoï and me that you are tired of the situation and have determined to abandon her to her fate. I do not believe that there is a

shadow of truth in this; not only having regard to the ethical impossibility of any man behaving in such a way to a woman whom he ever even pretended to care for, but also having regard to what we know of you and your letters especially one which is before me, in which you even warn her that every threat and device will be used to shake her faith in you, and in which you say, 'They are quite capable of trying to poison your mind and prove to you that I went to Tehran to get out of it and save myself'.

The day before yesterday I had a long interview with [Robert] Ross in which he told me categorically you have changed your mind.....have come to your senses and are tired of the situation.

.....I must tell you what is being done and said in your name, and must have your explicit repudiation of the things that they have tried to saddle upon you. If by any horrible chance there should be any truth in what they say, I ask you man to man to write and tell me that you have changed your mind and intend to leave Yoï to face the fate which you have forced on her. Nothing short of this under your own hand will ever shatter her belief in you. If I receive this it will become my duty to go to her; to see what could be done towards righting what you have done."

No answer of any kind was ever received. On March 2, 1910, Yoï Buckley set out for Tehran alone to face Kennard women to man. "Till I hear from Roy himself to my face, I shall not believe it."

Upon arrival in Tehran, Kennard studiously avoided her for four straight days. The consular service was insulting to her. Her pleas to the British Minister for Persia, Sir George Head Barclay were met with a cold and bitter rebuff. For three straight days, Lady Barclay, the American wife of the British Minister, ordered her to leave Tehran immediately, stating that Kennard "...is a young man who knows on which side his bread is buttered".

After four days of uncivil behavior by the staff and Lady Barclay, Yoï held her ground until Kennard agreed to allow her an interview, but only with a legal witness.

He said that he hated her and spoke in a most bitter, sneering and insulting manner. The baronet taunted her claiming that the money given in the so-called 'settlement' was more than enough for her egregious behavior and collusion. He said that his mother had provided definitive proof of her collusion and he believed his mother. He refused to show Yoï the documents demonstrating collusion. The die was cast. The possible marriage lay in ashes, yet Lady Barclay continued her daily verbal and written assaults on Yoï both in Persia and London. Yoï's response was, "I now live to disprove it – for my children's sake". She never saw or received communication from Kennard again. Then, Kennard had her evicted from his Rome apartment in May 1910, almost the same week that he turned 25 years-old and came into possession of his grandmother's trust fund of £50,000.

On January 5th, 1911, the *Time*s and the *Morning Post* announced the following:

"A marriage has been arranged and will take place shortly between Sir Arthur Fitzroy Coleridge Kennard, attaché to H.B.M. Legation at Tehran, and Dorothy Barclay, daughter of Sir George Barclay, British Minister to Persia, and Lady Barclay."

This marriage took place on April 5th, 1911.

POST-DIVORCE

It is our conviction that Heron-Allen did encouraged Yoï to begin a public campaign to disprove the aspersions of Helen Carew, Lady Barclay and their cabal of friends. Heron-Allen had already shown that he was well respected in the publishing field with expertise as a writer, editor and publisher's reader (15). He was very familiar with major publishing firms, their

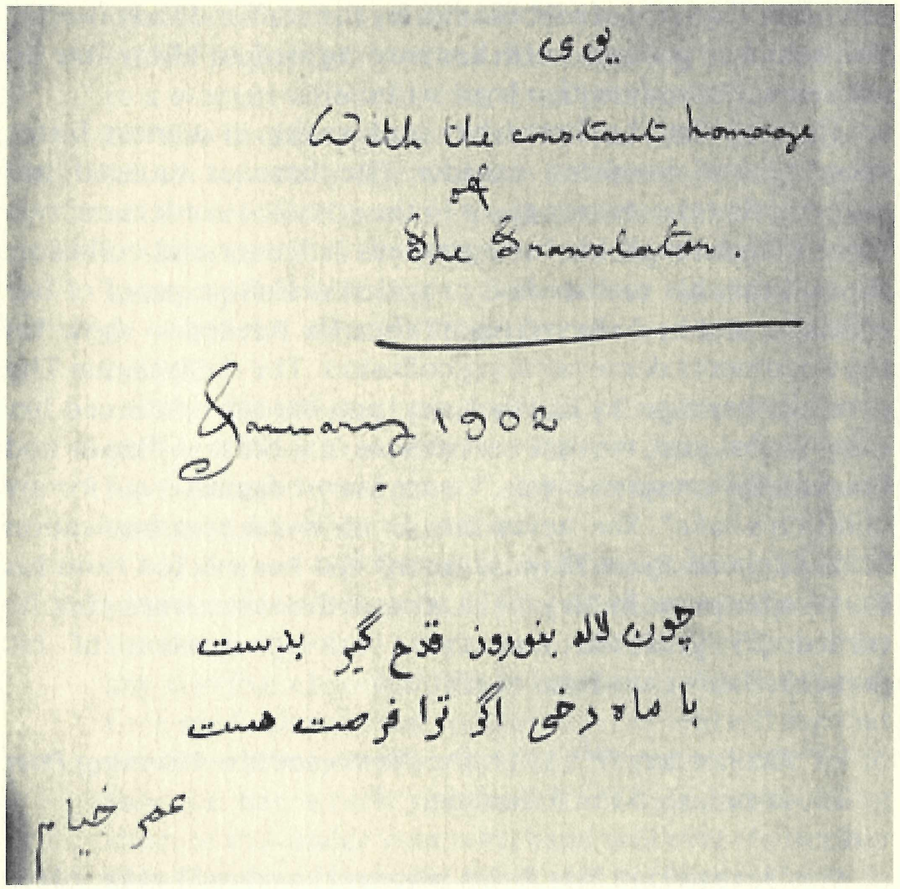

Fig. 7. Presentation Book inscription from Heron-Allen to Yoï Buckley, 1902.

owners and editors. Heron-Allen was also well entrenched in the social fabric of London society with his prior contacts with the Sette of Odd Volumes, his numerous scientific and literary endeavors, publications and memberships in London societies. Behind the scenes, he would have known exactly who to call in the print media with the latest hot news or scandal tips. His close friendship with the high society gossip hounds of London, such as Violet Hunt, would be fuel for the fire that needed to be lit. Heron-Allen was acquainted with Yoï Buckley as early as January 1902, eight years before the divorce. He sent Yoï a personal and collegial inscription on a presentation copy of his publication, *Edward Fitzgerald's Ruba'iyat of Omar*

DIPLOMAT'S WIFE SCORED
BY PRETTY PAMPHLETEER

Lady Barclay Is Attacked by Mrs. E. C. Buckley, Society Woman, on Question Love and Marriage

Fig. 8. Yoï Buckley, San Francisco, 1911.

Khayyam, 1899 (Fig. 7). The inscription began: "Yoï [in Persian], with the constant homage of The Translator, January 1902". This was followed by a two-line verse in Persian from the Ruba'iyat, 'Like a tulip in Nowrooz (spring time), drink a glass of wine with a beautiful girl if you get an opportunity'. He ended it with the name, Omar Khayyam (16). In his 1907 family travel journal, Heron-Allen wrote on 27 October 1907 that he dined at "Vian's in Rue Danon recommended by Yoï Buckley" (Personal Communication, Timothy McCann).

Heron-Allen would have known what the elite upper crust feared most: uncontrollable adverse comments and scandal about them and their families. This was why he would have assisted Yoï Buckley in her most unusual course of starting a pamphleteering campaign against the distinguished American, Lady Barclay (the former Miss Beatrice Mary Jay Chapman of New York) (17-20) (see Fig. 8). Heron-Allen also knew from his own personal experiences what an uncontrollable adverse ripple effect this scandal would have upon Helen Carew, Sir Coleridge Kennard, Sir George Head Barclay, Robert Ross and members of the Foreign Office.

There can be little doubt that Heron-Allen assisted Yoï by encouraging her to write in her own words, the entire truthful facts and opinions printed in this pamphlet which currently resides in the British Library. Mrs. Buckley also went to the Bahi'an religious leader of a huge sect of Persian followers and obtained their support which spread to their followers in France and America.

Famous American families, such as the Barney family of Washington, James Jackson of New York, Mrs. Sanderson of Los Angeles, the Getty Family of Chicago, and even Miss Natalie Clifford Barney, a personal friend of Edward Heron-Allen, joined together in a campaign of disapproval of Lady Barclay and her supporters (21). Society 'gossip' columnists continued to follow this event and its ripple effect on its major players even into 1919 especially under the society news columns of Marquise de Fontenoy (22-23). The pamphlet's ripple effect was a positive wave for Yoï with publishers more than willing to snare

the novice writer with a demonstrated public following. In her first publication, *A Year of Strangers*, under the pen-name Yoï Pawlowska, she sketches her 1910 philosophical and personal travel itineraries within each of the countries which she and Kennard visited during that year (24). This book is devoid of any specific mention of the courtship, divorce and Kennard's behavior in Persia. This was Yoï's personal survival log back from the road of devastation and despair. She described herself as a loner, dreamer, idealist and intense lover of nature, animals and children. Men's worse traits are suspiciousness; women's - jealousy. A major theme throughout her short travel stories is "I wish to be alone, always.....when finding my spring.....after the sleep of winter." While visiting Persia, her only indirect reference to the actions of Kennard *et al.* was, "Fate has taken from me everything; everything that a human being can lose, and I can still say, joy is mine." Because by maintaining her intimate contact with nature, "I am no longer myself, but by suffering have become part of all these things" [mother earth]. She wrote three additional books in 1912, 1914 and 1922.

The rehabilitation team's strategy in publishing in story-form her life, experiences, beliefs (25-26) and her early family life in Hungary (27), sometimes narrated from a child's perspective, strongly contrasted with the efforts of Kennard's group to portray her as a deceitful and unethical scoundrel, a parasite. But were Heron-Allen and Yoï's pamphlet and publishing plans successful?

THE RIPPLE EFFECT

Helen Carew's own grandson in his memoirs (George Kennard, 3rd and last baronet), described this sad reclusive women as: "In Claridge's [Hotel in London] she lived, was badly loved and died [in 1928], surrounded by parasites whom she maintained at the expense of a disappointing son". She specified that her son could not be an executor or trustee to her will. Her ashes were to be scattered into the wind. She apparently destroyed all photographs of herself and her family (28, 29). Her mother, Lady Kennard, died in 1916.

Robert Ross, a journalist, art critic and art dealer, probably best known as a devoted friend of Oscar Wilde, will be best remembered for his conservation of Wilde's literary body of work as his literary executor for the sole financial benefit of Wilde's children. Ross was a pivotal figure on the London literary and artistic scene from the mid-1890s to his early death in 1918. Ross was known to be an eccentric openly homosexual who was often criticized for his imaginative braggadocios' memory. Ross's ashes were placed in Oscar Wilde's tomb in Père Lachaise Cemetery in 1950 (30).

Capt. James Buckley and children were seemingly spared from any major scandal allegations in the press. Yoï and Kennard never once denigrated Capt. Buckley. In 1921, he married Martha Loie Labastie. Buckley died suddenly in 1924. Yoï's son, Ivor, a brewer by trade, married Barbara Pauline Long and was lost at sea on a ship bound for Australia in 1929 at the age of 25. After his death, his daughter was born, Barbara Anne Buckley. Yoï's daughter, Wilma, married twice with one son, David James Buckley. She never remarried followed the sudden death of her second husband in 1942. She died in 1980 in Sussex at age 81.

Sir George and Lady Barclay left Persia in 1912 because of the adverse public pressure, the social scandal of the Buckley pamphlet, alleged infidelities and Lady Barclay's quite public political interferences (31). Sir George Barclay was transferred to Bucharest. In Nov. 1919, he divorced his wife, Lady Beatrix Barclay, after she committed adultery with his friend who helped transport her out of a war zone (32). In May 1920, Lady Barclay married her Swiss lover, Raymond C.P. de Candolle. In 1942, she died in Surrey in quiet obscurity.

Sir Coleridge Arthur Fitzroy Kennard and family soon followed Sir George Barclay to Bucharest in 1912. Yoï's 'high society friends' had threatened Kennard with a horsewhipping if he returned to England. Many diplomats in Persia shunned Sir Kennard (aka 'The Boy') and his family (33). They were two sons, Laurence in 1912 and George in 1915. Kennard abandoned his pregnant wife, Dorothy, in 1915 and returned

to Persia. He wrote Persian poetry and also consumed drugs, hashish and opium and lost most of his fortune in casinos. He remarried in 1924, to Mary Graham Orr Lewis (Fig. 9). Unfortunately she died of tetanus in 1931. Between 1922 and 1947, despite his serious drug addiction, he published seven

Fig. 9. Kennard and his second wife, Lady Mary Kennard.

respectable books on literature, poems, the French Gestapo, and Persia (34). He even wrote about his beloved maternal homestead in France (35), but fails to mention that he lost the entire estate in a single night of gambling. He continued his debilitating gambling and drug behaviors late in life.

The Nazis invaded France in 1940. Kennard ignored warnings to leave his residence. He was arrested and interned in a French concentration camp at Compiègne. He married his 3rd wife, Violet, his personal nurse. Both died of natural causes in 1948 without wills and his estate passed solely to his 3rd wife's family, ignoring his two sons, except for two old frayed Etonian ties, a blazer and a scarf. In 1999, the Kennard baronetcy ended with the death of George 'Loopy' Kennard, 3rd Baronet - Coleridge's 2nd son with his 1st wife, Dorothy. Dorothy Barclay, his 1st wife, lived in very modest circumstances, unsupported by Kennard. She reportedly had little interest in her two children. In 1934, Dorothy Kennard is said to have traveled to Florence, Italy and met with Yoï Maraini. (36). She died of insanity in a nursing home in 1952 (37).

Yoï Buckley stayed in Rome in 1911 after her trip to Tehran. She married her second husband, Antonio Maraini, an artist specializing in sculpture. They moved to Florence. They had three sons, Fosco in 1912, Harry in 1915 (died in infancy) and Grato in 1917. The Maraini family lived full highly productive and successful lives in the arts and literary community in Florence. This couple had an impressive array of subsequent multi-talented Maraini family members of which further discussion is far beyond the scope of this paper.

Fosco Maraini and his family had moved to Japan for an academic career in 1938 (38). Yoï, a British citizen, was in seclusion and hiding from German Gestapo who controlled North Italy in 1944. Unfortunately after Yoï learned that Mussolini had ordered her son, Fosco, his wife and three children to be interned in a Japanese concentration camp for refusing to support the Fascist regime, Yoï Maraini died of a hypertensive cerebral stroke on October 31, 1944. Fosco would later write of his last visual memory of his mother,

> "The last inquisitive onlookers went away, the last customs officials went back to their office, but there she stayed, a thin, lonely figure, standing on the quayside. It grew dark, and she was still there. I looked at her and looked at her, and then I couldn't see her any more. I never saw her again." (39).

Fosco and his family survived the war, liberated by the Americans in 1945 (Fig. 10). Yoi's sons, Fosco and Grato, both died in 2004.

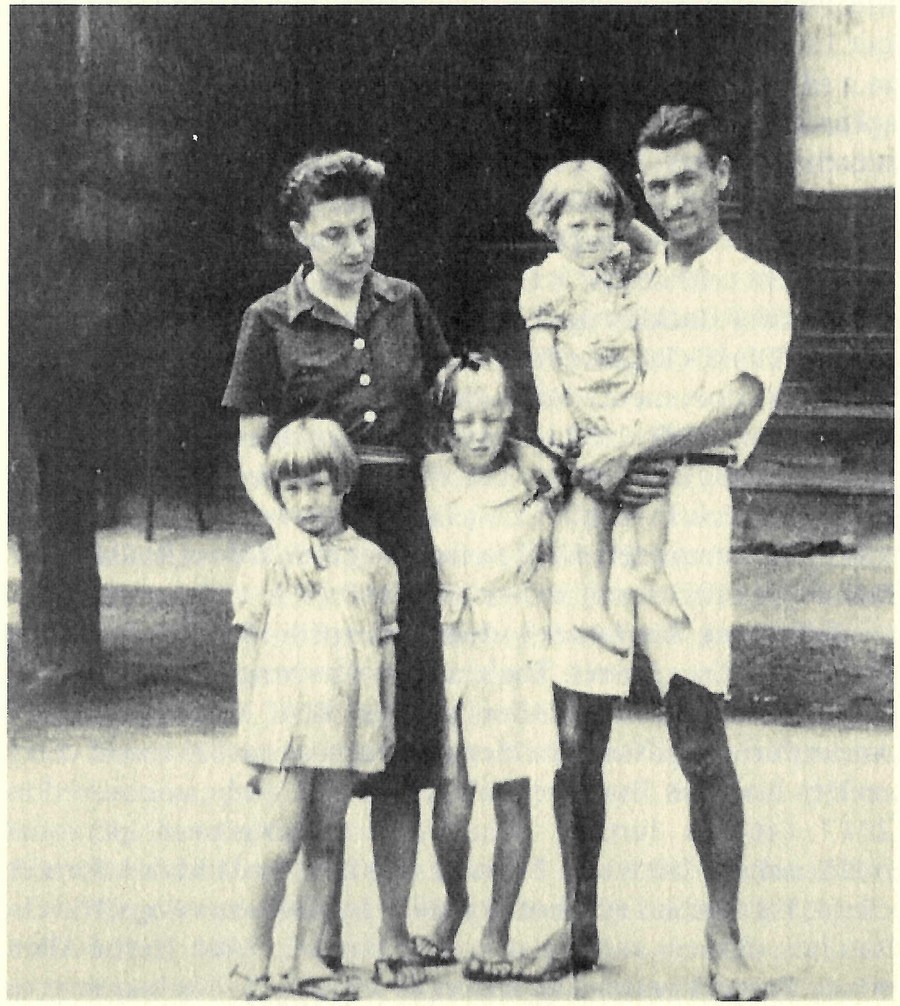

Fig. 10. Topazia Alliata and Fosco Maraini, Yuki, Dacia and Toni (Antonella), in Japan.

EPILOGUE

Regarding the Kennard affair, Yoï's response to the world in 1911 was, "I now live to disprove it – for my children's sake". Did she ever reunite with the Buckley children? Fosco Maraini remembered as a child that his mother received letters from both of her children in England (40). Their father, Capt. Buckley, died in 1924. Prior to Capt. Buckley's death, Yoï and Antonio Maraini had often travelled to London (Yoï's own brother and sisters lived there) and once stayed at Wilma's home in Cadogan Gardens but Gabriel Ifor Buckley did not meet his mother on this visit (41). In 1926, Wilma Bernhard, née Buckley, [without her 1st husband] and her brother, Gabriel Ifor Buckley, traveled as a sibling pair to Australia. Yoï, Wilma and Ifor met and spent some time together in Naples (42). In 1927, Wilma Bernhard traveled alone to Naples, Italy on a ship again ultimately bound for Australia. She landed 300 miles from Florence. In Fosco Maraini's personal papers, Wilma traveled to Florence in the mid-1920s and stayed with the Maraini family (43). Yoï's son, Gabriel Ifor Buckley died in 1929 in an apparent drowning on a ship. Wilma's letters (Yoï's daughter) to a friend in 1940 and 1944 (44) documented that mother and daughter were having shared hand-delivered letters via Italian friends and visiting Buckley family members (the war had disrupted the civilian postal service in Italy). In an English probate action filed in 1949, Yoï Maraini left £645 to her daughter, Wilma Rollins [née Buckley, ex-Bernhard], in her 1944 will (45).

Following his father's death in April 1911, Heron-Allen retired to Selsey, Sussex. There are no surviving letters between solicitor Edward Heron-Allen and his client, Mrs. E.C. Buckley. An important passage in Heron-Allen's personal travel diary entries from his Florence, Italy trip in 1923, was uncovered in 2017 (46). It further details the non-business, personal relationships between Edward Heron-Allen and his former client, Yoï Maraini and both of their families: meetings, travels, lunches, dinners and a visit to the Maraini home. Heron-Allen wrote Fosco Maraini two letters in 1939 (47). Yoï had sent to Heron-Allen her son's first book, *Dren-Giong*. Heron-Allen expressed great interest in Fosco's travels to Sikkim and Tibet and his writings about Buddhism in Tibet. Heron-Allen's personal diary entries, letters and the 1902 Omar Khayyam book document a remarkable 37-year span of friendship between Yoï Maraini and her solicitor, Edward Heron-Allen.

"Many people humiliated young Yoï and made her suffer. Solicitor Edward Heron-Allen was seemingly the only one with a sound human and ethical professional behavior."

Antonella T. Maraini, November 25th, 2016
(granddaughter to Yoï Maraini).

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EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND CAPTAIN A.W.F. FULLER

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN

When in 1957 Francis W. Steer, the then County Archivist of West Sussex was invited by Chichester City Council to revise and update the City Guide, he designated the subsequent publication as the 16th Edition (1). Since that date, a number of scholars have attempted to identify and list the previous fifteen editions. But before that date there was considerable interest in the earliest Chichester guides, and first into the field was Edward Heron-Allen. Towards the very end of his life, in association with Harriett K. James, he published two articles – '"The First" Chichester Guide' in *Sussex County Magazine*, volume 14 (1940), 162-5 (2) (Fig. 1) and '"The Early" Chichester Guides' in *Sussex County Magazine*, volume 14 (1940), 273-6 (3). While conducting the research which led to these two articles he made contact with the well-known local antiquarian, Captain A.W.F. Fuller. It was inevitable that these two enthusiastic scholars and collectors would eventually come across each other.

A.W.F. Fuller (Fig. 2) was born in Chichester on 29 March 1882, the son of the Rev. Alfred Fuller, and was proud of the fact that his family had lived in Sussex for six hundred years before him. The Rev. Alfred Fuller, 1832-1926, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was destined for a career in the church. He was ordained at Lichfield in 1858 and was successively curate at Kirk Hallam in Derbyshire, 1857-60, curate at Stoughton, 1860-4, and rector of West Itchenor, 1865-79, both in Sussex Then, in order to be able to devote himself more to intellectual pursuits, he retired to Chichester from his ministry at West Itchenor. He was greatly interested in natural history, and particularly in entomology. In 1881 he was appointed honorary curator to the museum of the Chichester Literary and Philosophical Society, a post he held until 1886 (4). He was a Vice-President of the Chichester and West Sussex Natural History and Microscopical Society, and read a number of papers

The First 'Chichester Guide'

By EDWARD HERON-ALLEN, F.R.S., AND HARRIET K. JAMES

AT intervals during past years we have intruded upon the hospitality of the SUSSEX COUNTY MAGAZINE with inquiries concerning the early history of the anonymous *Chichester Guide*. We have advertised in the local press—and elsewhere—without *any result. We have, however, never relaxed* our efforts nor abandoned the search, and, at length, the problems are solved.

First as to the authorship. The Rev. Alexander Hay published in 1804 his *History of Chichester*, the first specialised *magnum opus* dealing with the City. His Preface opened with these words:

> About twenty years ago I wrote a small pamphlet called *The Chichester Guide* which, by favour of the public, has undergone several impressions.

That gave us "a point of departure".

Unfortunately the only trace of this *editio princeps* which we could find was a fragmentary volume in the Library of the British Museum. This has no title-page. At intervals several pages are "missing" and the volume comes to an abrupt end at page 50. The Library contains four later editions, none of them dated on the title-page, and all more or less incorrectly dated in the General Catalogue, but a "Note", dated January 1794, which follows the title-page in the second edition—of 1794—tells us that:

> The first Edition was written in the year 1783 since which time some alterations and improvements have taken place in the City of which due notice is taken in the following pages.

We have visited every available Public Library in search of the 1783 edition and we have, at last, run it to earth in the Public Library at Brighton. It is a small 12mo (in 6s.) entitled

> The Chichester Guide: Containing, An Account of the antient and present State of the City of Chichester and its Neighbourhood; Interspersed with Historical Events relating to the original Inhabitants, the Belgians, the Romans, and the Saxons, together with the Establishment of the Kingdom of South Saxony, now called Sussex
>
> *Si quid novisti rectius istis*
> *Candidus imperti—si non his utere mecum.*
> HORACE
>
> Chichester. Sold by C. Jaques; and by S. Crowder, Pater-Noster-Row, London.
> Price One Shilling.

This copy appears to be unique or, at least, of extreme rarity. It measures — slightly *trimmed—6½ by 3⅝ inches (72 pp.).*

The second edition—of 1794—(and later editions) are large 8vo pamphlets—an uncut copy of the third edition measures 8¾ by 5½ inches. This second edition contains a notable addition on the character of Bishop Sherborne (on p. 22):

> . . . but as nothing mortal is perfect, this great and good man had his failings. He was of too easy credulity, especially in the later part of his life and too fond of the marvellous; as appears plain enough from the history and characters which he has annexed to Wilfrid and Richard.

This and a few similar passages are omitted in all the later editions.

The title-page is practically the same as in the first edition down to "state of the City," and continues:

> Interspersed with historical Events relating to the original Inhabitants, and of the Establishment of the Kingdom of South Saxony, now called Sussex. Together with all that's worthy of Notice in the neighbouring Places, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, And the fashionable and elegant Watering Place of Bognor. Corrected to the present year.
> Chichester: Printed and sold by J. Seagrave, in East Street; and may be had of the other Booksellers. Price 1s. (72 pp).

This is undoubtedly the second edition, as the preface indicates, and it must have been in process of publication in the autumn of 1793 and published by Seagrave early in 1794.

Further evidence verifying this occurs in the edition as follows:

p. 31. Concerning the four gates which formerly opened into the four principal streets of Chichester the author writes:

> Three of these four gates were taken down *about sixteen years ago.*

Fig. 1. 'The First Chichester Guide' by Edward Heron-Allen and Harriett K. James.

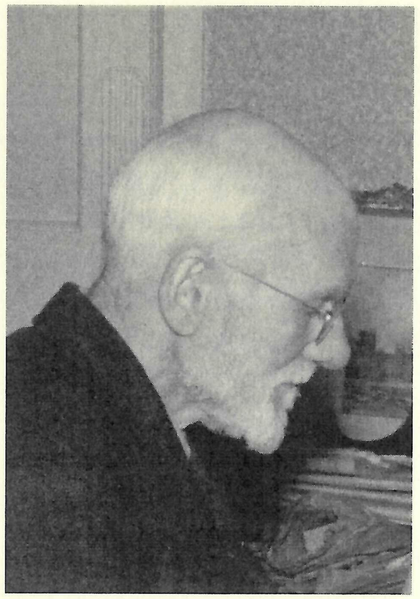


Fig. 2. Captain A.W.F. Fuller. West Sussex Record Office, Add. MS. 50.065.

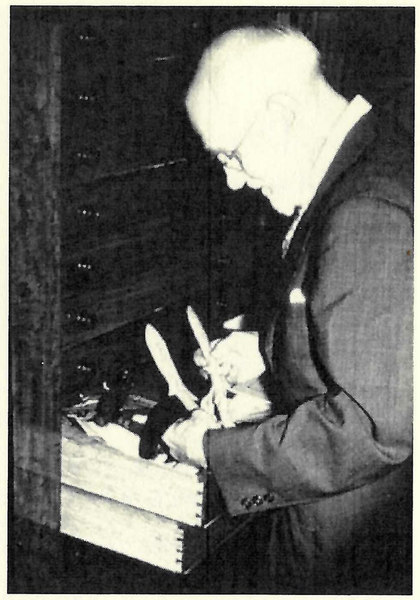


Fig 3. Captain A.W.F. Fuller with two whale bones. West Sussex Record Office, Add. MS. 50,065.

at meetings of the society (5). The Fuller Collection includes a copy of his 'Local and rare English Lepidoptera found in the neighbourhood of Lausanne' (6). A.W.F. Fuller clearly grew up in an environment full of fossils and bones, butterflies and scientific books and artefacts.

The Rev. Alfred Fuller was also interested in local history. The Fuller Collection includes his very detailed genealogical notebooks recording all the Fullers who had lived in Sussex in the preceding centuries. A.W.F. Fuller would have been brought up to know that he came from the same family as Thomas Fuller DD, 1608-61, royal chaplain and author of *The Worthies of England*; of Thomas Fuller, 1654-1734, physician to Queen Anne, and of Mad Jack Fuller of Brightling.

From an early age, A.W.F. Fuller collaborated with his father in joint genealogical research into the Fuller family, and in the formation of a collection of Pacific artefacts. In 1894 the family left Chichester and moved to Sydenham Hill, near London. Two years later the Rev. Alfred Fuller gave his son a Fijian club, his first Pacific specimen, and the starting point of Fuller's Pacific

collection, which was to be the abiding interest of his life, and which was to become known all over the world. The Rev. Alfred Fuller actually began the collection and, until his death, continued to provide financial assistance towards its formation. As early as 1910, A.W.F. Fuller was elected a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

A.W.F. Fuller was educated at Dulwich College, and later entered a law firm in London, being admitted a solicitor in the High Court. His legal career was cut short by the outbreak of the Great War and, characteristically, he joined the army as a private. He was soon recommended for a commission, and joined his brother's regiment, the Oxford and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, for whom he specialised in explosives and trench warfare. In 1917 Fuller was sent to Salonika, where he commanded a training school in the use of explosives. His father copied all his letters from Salonika into a volume, now in the Fuller Collection; they tell an interesting story of the campaign there and in the Carpathian Mountains, and reveal that Fuller still found time to collect specimens and artefacts.

After the war Fuller returned to England in broken health. He retained his title as Captain in the Infantry for the rest of his life, but was pensioned shortly after the armistice. He never returned to his legal career on account of his deafness, but served for a time as honorary curator in the Ethnology Department of the British Museum. In July 1924 he married Estelle Cleverly, who brought him her own special interests and created oriental and Scandinavian collections of her own. Just as father and son had shared a passion for collecting, so husband and wife together devoted their lives to their collections.

Although he never visited Polynesia, Captain Fuller's Pacific collection continued to grow throughout his life (Fig. 3), and gradually scholars from all over the world came to Fuller's house to study the material (7). As he grew older, Captain Fuller, who had always refused offers for individual items, on the grounds that he wanted to keep the collection together, began to wonder about its future. He had met individuals from the

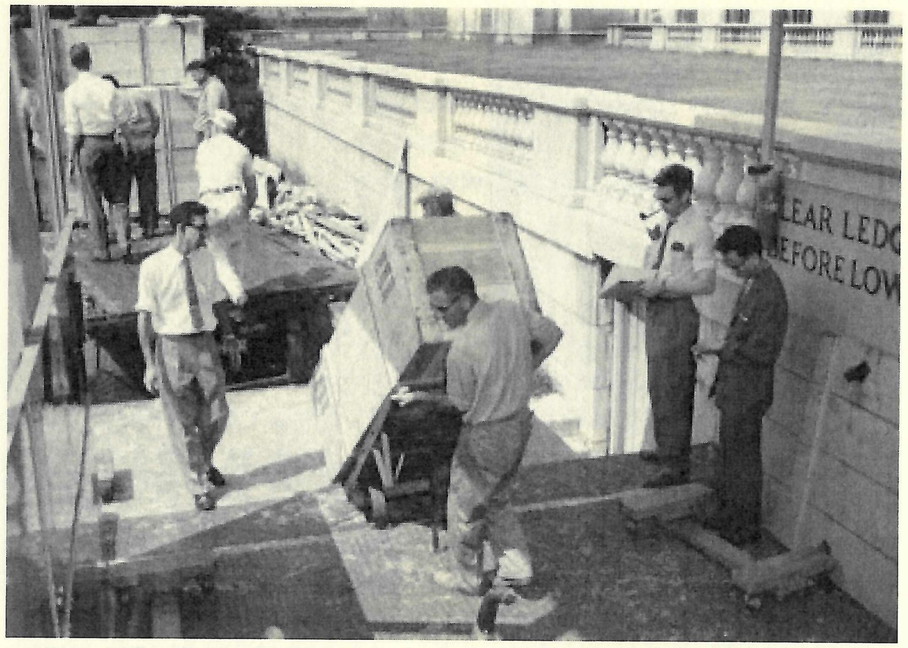


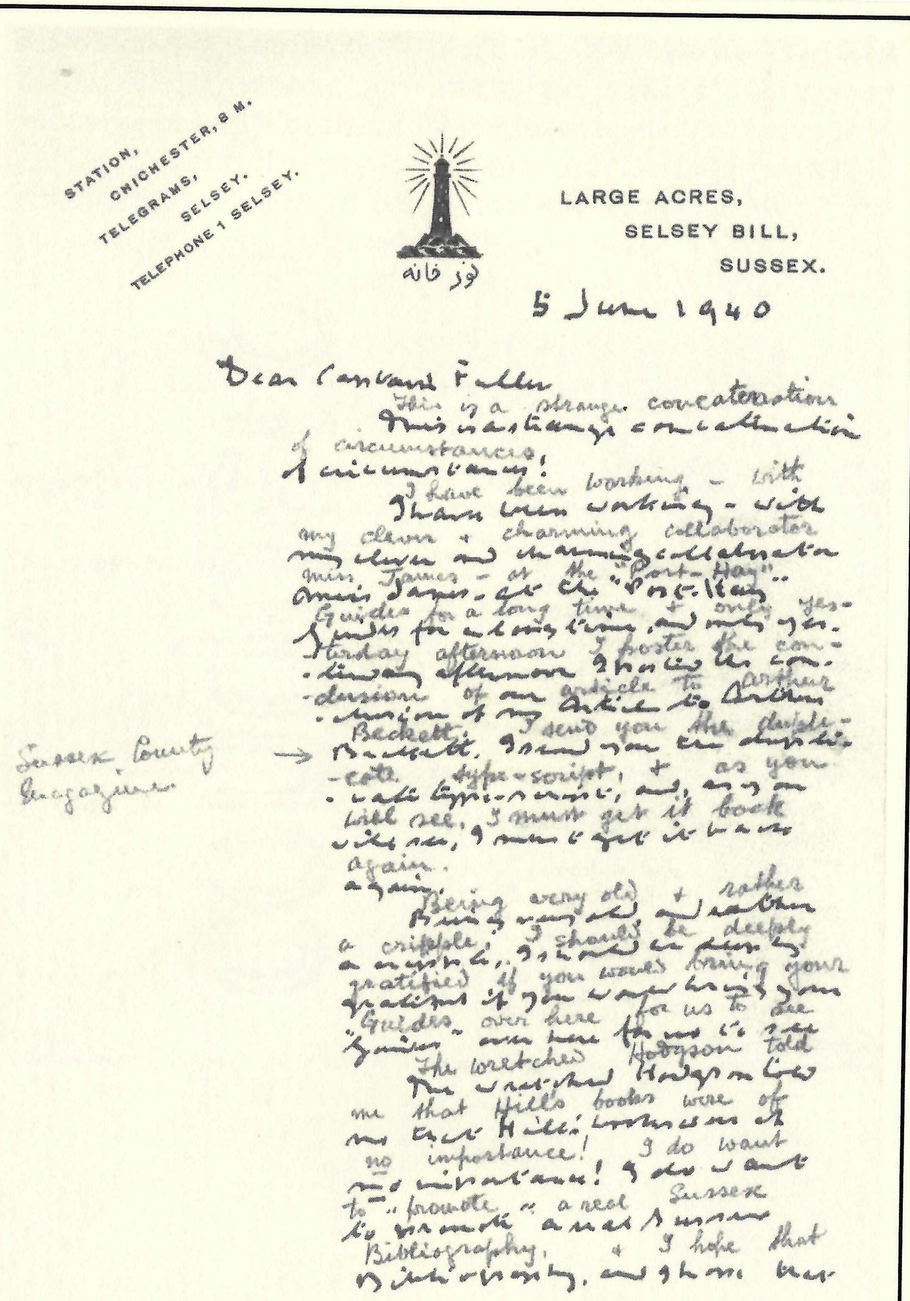
Fig. 4. The Fuller Collection arrives at the Field Museum in Chicago, 1958.

Field Museum in Chicago in the 1950s, and finally agreed that the whole collection should go to America. In 1958 the collection was transported to Chicago. It filled 71 crates, and weighed more than 16 tons (Fig. 4). The huge collection was catalogued, a hall featuring the Fuller Collection was opened in 1961, and ten years later a comprehensive catalogue was published (8). Captain Fuller was appointed a Patron of the Field Museum in 1958. Captain Fuller's other collecting interests centred on Africa, and on the art of Benin in particular (9); the north-west coast Indians of North America; official seals; and on the history of Sussex, and the Fuller family and the history of Chichester in particular. The card index of Captain Fuller's Sussex Library, but not alas all the books, is now in the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, while his library of books relating to Polynesia was purchased by the Bishop Museum in Hawaii.

Captain Fuller died on 13 December 1961, shortly after his enormous collection had been catalogued, and, sadly, before he

had been able to visit the Field Museum in Chicago. In the twenty years after his death, his widow, Estelle Fuller, generously deposited much of her husband's Sussex collection in the public domain, as a memorial to her husband, and after her death her work was continued by Anthony Walton, her executor. She gave the Chichester District Museum a considerable collection of archaeological material, as well as

Fig 5. Edward Heron-Allen at his microscope.


STATION,
CHICHESTER, S.M.
TELEGRAMS,
SELSEY.
TELEPHONE 1 SELSEY.

LARGE ACRES,
SELSEY BILL,
SUSSEX.

5 June 1940

Dear Captain Fuller

This is a strange concatenation of circumstances.
I have been working - with my clever & charming collaborator Miss James - at the "Post-Hay" Guides for a long time & only yesterday afternoon I posted the conclusion of an article to Arthur Beckett. I send you the duplicate typescript, & as you will see, I must get it back again.
Being very old & rather a cripple, I should be deeply gratified if you would bring your Guides over here for us to see. The wretched Hodgson told me that Hill's books were of no importance! I do want to "promote" a real Sussex Bibliography, & I hope that

Sussex County Magazine

Fig 6. First page of a letter to Captain A.W.F. Fuller from Edward Heron-Allen. 4 June 1940. West Sussex Record Office.

some local history items; she presented the old Chichester City Council a fine collection of paintings by the Smith Brothers of Chichester; and she gave the West Sussex Record Office a rich collection of manuscripts, books and prints (10).

Edward Heron-Allen (Fig. 5) wrote that 'at intervals during past years we have intruded upon the hospitality of the *Sussex County Magazine* with enquiries concerning the early history of the anonymous Chichester Guide. We have advertised in the local press - and elsewhere - without any result. We have, however, never relaxed our efforts, nor abandoned the search, and, at length, the problems are solved'. He wrote this, in conjunction with Harriett James in *Sussex County Magazine* in April 1940 (11), in one of the very last pieces that he published. In the article the authors discuss their discovery of the first edition of the Rev. Alexander Hay's Guide dated 1783 in Brighton Library, and, using the evidence of the texts of the various editions tentatively date the 2nd Edition to 1794, the Third Edition, printed by Joseph Seagrave to late 1795, the Fourth Edition to before 1801 and the Fifth Edition to 1805.

The publication of this article evidently persuaded Captain Fuller to get in touch with Heron-Allen and to tell him that he had a number of editions of the Chichester Guide in his library of Sussex books. The letters that Heron-Allen wrote to him in return are now preserved in the West Sussex Record Office (12), and they make an interesting sight. Heron-Allen's handwriting had deteriorated so markedly by this time that Captain Fuller transcribed all the letters in pencil above Heron-Allen's script in ink. In the first letter (see Fig. 6), addressed to Captain Fuller at Littlewood Farm Cottage in Singleton, he wrote:

> 'This is a strange concatenation of circumstances. I have been working - with my clever and charming collaborator Miss James - at the 'Post Hay' Guides for a long time, and only yesterday afternoon I posted the conclusion of an article to Arthur Beckett. I send you the duplicate typescript and, as you will see, I must get it back again. Being very old and rather a cripple, I should

be deeply grateful if you would bring your guides over here for us to see. The wretched Hodgson told me that Hill's books were of no importance! I do want to promote a real Sussex Bibliography, and I hope that you will undertake it. If I can make the S.A.C. people to produce it. I have the whole of Brown (of Cambridge) material – a vast mass. And it is all at your service and you may be glad to see my collection and titles. Will you come over any day and lunch with us, and I will try to get Miss James, who is very keen, but unfortunately an invalid and we can deal with Valentine. Have you the foundation of his Guide published in the "Antiquarian Cabinet" (12mo 1809 and 1812)? I thought that the 1810 edition was a short book. I returned the 1811, and the subsequent 2nd Edition to the Brighton Library, half an hour before your letter arrived. I need hardly say that we shall look forward most eagerly to seeing you and 'clearing up'. The Victoria County History is appallingly unreliable, and I am amazed that my friend Salzman should have put his name to it'.

Fuller wrote in pencil on the back of the letter: 'Heron-Allen wrote a paper on the Valentine Chichester Guides – its editions, showing the first vol 1811 and the 2nd ed., I having a copy dated 1810 upset the whole theme & caused the penning of this letter to me'(13).

It is not clear whether or not Captain Fuller accepted Heron-Allen's invitation, though it seems likely he did: but he did lend him three of the guides. We do know, however, that he wrote to Heron-Allen on 3 July and received a reply two days later in which Heron-Allen, quite unabashed, promised to send him a copy of the proofs of his second article, and discussed the Valentine and Dally editions of the Chichester Guide. The letter (14) went on to discuss the other topic that preoccupied his final years – Heron-Allen's research on the engravings of the Chichester artist Thomas King. He planned to identify all the published engravings by King and evidently wrote a monograph on the subject which was close to his heart. In the

codicil to his will dated 10 April 1940, Heron-Allen wrote that: 'whereas the articles written by me, in collaboration with Harriett Kate James of St. Itha, Selsey, aforesaid, have been written for, and accepted for publication by the editor of 'The Sussex County Magazine". And whereas the outbreak of a second European War has relegated the publication of these articles until the end of this War. Now I direct my executors and trustees to set aside after the death of my wife and in the distribution of my estate, a sum of money sufficient to provide for the printing of an edition, limited to two hundred copies of these two articles (1) The Problems of the Original Church at Selsey Bill and its Successors etc" and (2) "Thomas King of Chichester, and Lambert Bernardi, with all the illustrations indicated in the Manuscript' (15). He went on to direct his executors to present copies of these articles to the libraries of the British Museum, the London Library, the University Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, the Royal Society, the Sussex County Library in Chichester, the Public Library in Brighton, the Sussex Archaeological Society at Lewes, the Society of Antiquaries and any other Libraries which they thought fit. Unfortunately the executors did not follow Heron-Allen's instructions and neither article was published, and the manuscripts of the two articles are not known to have survived.

Captain Fuller possessed a portfolio of prints by Thomas King that is now in the West Sussex Record Office (16). Heron-Allen wrote on 5 July 1940: 'I should very much like to see the King. The copy I have seen (issued by Mason and Wilmshurst) contains 4 "King" plates & four others (including Bradbridge – a brass not stone) and that is all. Size of the 4 large plates 93/4 x 14in. high'. He went on to discuss some of the King plates and concluded his letter: 'if we have not been wiped out by the bombs we must have another "jaw" about all this' (17).

Since he had not received a reply from Captain Fuller, Heron-Allen wrote again on 11 July to return the three Chichester guides and to reiterate that he was keen to see the portfolio of Thomas King printed (18). His next letter, dated 20 July, reveals that Fuller had agreed to send him his portfolio (19):

'I think we can say "ex cathedra" that this is how he issued the series of his Cathedral prints, and it settles the question of the Broadbridge plate. I can now finish my "Catalogue raisonné" of his work, and when it is done I will send you a typescript for your 'observations'. There are sixty three of his plates now known to us. I need hardly say of what vital importance your information about this, and also about the "Guides" has been to me and I am very grateful to you for your invaluable collaboration' (20).

In 1940 the second part of the article by Edward Heron-Allen and Harriett James was published in *Sussex County Magazine*, in which they discussed the later editions of the Chichester guides by Thomas Valentine published by William Mason in 1810, 1811 and an undated third edition and by Richard Dally printed by J. Hackman in 1831 and 1836. They acknowledge Captain Fuller for lending them his unique copy of the 1810 guide, which he had purchased from W.H. Hills of East Grinstead in 1932. Unfortunately Heron-Allen's research on Thomas King, their other collaboration, was not published and the present whereabouts of the manuscript is unknown..

The West Sussex Record Office at Chichester has the pencil Card Index of Captain Fuller's Sussex library and it is clear from this that he had already began to collect some of Heron-Allen's writings before the two men collaborated on the Chichester Guides and on Thomas King. On the cards Captain Fuller noted the date of purchase as well as the price paid for his books, and often added helpful comments to the dry listing of his purchases. From the card index we learn that on 14 June 1933 he purchased for nine shillings a copy of Heron-Allen's, *Selsey Bill. Historic and Prehistoric* (1911). It was a presentation copy with an inscription signed and dated 14 September 1928. Unfortunately he did not make a note of the presentee. Later that year he purchased for one shilling a copy of Heron-Allen's *Map and Visitors Guide to Selsey* (1912). Then again on 11 October 1933 he bought for one shilling a copy of Heron-Allen's 'A Hoard of Roman Coins from a Villa site at Selsey' - a reprint of the article first published in *Sussex Archaeological*

Collections, vol. 74 (1933). He described his purchase as 'placed in black covered loose-leaf file containing the original MS of the above with typescript corrected proof sheets, photos, negatives and letters'. This document is now in the West Sussex Record Office, where it is catalogued as MP 498.

Once their correspondence came to an end, Captain Fuller continued to collect Heron-Allen material. On 29 November 1941 for sixpence he purchased a copy of the small cheap edition of Heron-Allen's *The Parish Church of St Peter on Selsey Bill* (1935). Heron-Allen died on 28 March 1943 and Captain Fuller was present at the sale of his library on 10 October 1944 when he purchased a number of items. Shortly after the sale, the card index tells us that he purchased for twenty shillings from Thorps of Guildford the two volumes of Heron-Allen's Meteorological Register kept at Large Acres 1908-1927 that are now in the Record Office, where they are catalogued as MP 117. Thorps had bought the volumes at the sale of Heron-Allen's library. Then on 13 March 1947 he purchased for three shillings the larger version of Heron-Allen's *The Parish Church of St. Peter* on Selsey Bill, the 4th. Edition published by W.G. and T.R. Willis in Chichester in 1935. It was no. 27 of the 100 copies printed. Next, on 29 March 1947 he purchased for twenty five shillings Heron-Allen's, *Love Letters of a Vagabond.* This included several associated items, the card index telling us these were a signed copy of the original holograph manuscript of the book and an original fair copy of the manuscript signed and dated 20 July 1889, together with a proof copy corrected by Heron-Allen; a copy on full parchment and stamped with the author's Arabic seal and finally, a copy half on parchment inscribed that it was presented to 'G.A.' by EH-A on Guy Faux Day 1889. The card index goes on to reveal that the volume was published in London by Henry J. Drane at Lovells Court, Paternoster Row, London EC, MS CXXXIX; that the second item was published at New York and London in 1888 and 1889, while the third adds to Drane, Belford Clarke & Co., New York, Chicago and San Francisco, 1889, and tantalisingly that the first two items were written on the back

of letters to the author in the period 1888 and that all the first four items bear his bookplate. This purchase did not end up in the West Sussex Record Office.

Captain Fuller's next recorded purchase was on 14 March 1953 when for six shillings he bought a copy of Heron-Allen's, *De Fidiculis Opusculum VI: A Contribution towards an accurate Biography of Charles Auguste de Beriot and Maria Felicita Malibran-Garcia.* This was reprinted from the *Violin Times* and was no. 15 of 20 copies initialled by the author. His final purchase was on 24 August 1960 when for five shillings and sixpence he bought a copy of Heron-Allen's, *Opuscula 85, Memoranda of Memorabilia encountered in the Course of a sentimental Journey through the Correspondence of Marie de Rabutin-Chantal Marquise de Sevigne and her Friends, and recorded by Bro. Edward Heron-Allen, F.R.S., Necromancer to the Sette,* published by Oxford University Press in 1928. This was no. 125 of 133 copies inscribed that it was presented to 'A.J. Ellis by Ed Heron-Allen, Necromancer and President' on 1 August 1933. It is noticeable that whereas before they got together about the Chichester Guides, Captain Fuller only purchased Heron-Allen's Sussex writings, after their association he collected non-Sussex material, and it is possible that he bought other Heron-Allen material. For example, at the sale of Heron-Allen's Library, Captain Fuller purchased a bundle of title deeds relating to Amberley, including deeds of Amberley Castle 1719-1795 and an engraving of the castle by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck dated 1737. They were deposited with the Sussex Archaeological Society by his widow, Mrs. E. Fuller of 50 Kingsmead Road, London. SW2, on 2 July 1963; were transferred to the West Sussex Record Office in, December 1980. [Acc. 5308], where they are now catalogued as Ass. MSS 25,605-25,627.

NOTES

1. Francis W. Steer, *The City of Chichester. The Sole Official Guide issued by the Corporation of Chichester*. 16th ed.., Chichester City Council, 1957.
2. Edward Heron-Allen and Harriett K. James, "The First 'Chichester Guide'", in *Sussex County Magazine*, vol. 14. No.5 (May, 1940), 162-5.
3. Edward Heron-Allen and Harriett K. James, "The Early 'Chichester Guides'", in *Sussex County Mag*azine, vol. 14, no.8 (August, 1940), 273-6.
4. See Francis W. Steer, *The Chichester Literary and Philosophical Society and Mechanics' Institute, 1831-1924. Chichester Papers*, no. 29 (1962).
5. The annual reports of the Chichester and West Sussex Natural History and Microscopical Society reveal that the Rev.Alfred Fuller read the following papers to the Society: 'Scientific Authorship', in 1882; 'Pomatorhine Skua Gulls' in 1882; Stray Notes on Canadian Natural History', in 1884 and 'The Rhinoceros' in 1887.
6. Rev. A Fuller, 'Local and Rare Lepidoptera found in the Neighbourhood of Lausanne', in *Lausanne Young Men's Christian Union Magazine* (1892).
7. See Hermione Waterfield, 'Captain A.W.F. Fuller' in Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King, *Provenance. Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2009), 93-104.
8. R. and M. Force, *The Fuller Collection of Pacific Artefacts* (1971). See also Dale F. Simpson, 'Captain A.W.F. Fuller's contribution to the Field Museum's Easter Island Collection' in *Rapa Nui Journal*, vol. 24 (1), (2010), 19-28.
9. See R.J.C. Dark, *The Art of Benin: A Catalogue of an Exhibition of the A.W.F. Fuller and Chicago Natural History Museum Collections of Antiquities from Benin, Nigeria* (1962).

10. Timothy J. McCann, 'Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 1882-1961, and the Fuller Collection in the West Sussex Record Office' in *West Sussex History*, no.24 (1983), 3-7, refs.
11. Edward Heron-Allen and Harriett K. James, "The First 'Chichester Guide'", in *Sussex County Magazine*, vol. 14. No.5 (May, 1940), 162-5.
12. W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Add. MS. 52,636.
13. Edward Heron-Allen to Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 5 June 1940. W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 52,636.
14. Edward Heron-Allen to Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 5 July 1940. W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 52,636.
15. W.S.R.O., Heron-Allen MS. 1/7/6.
16. W.S.R.O., F/PD. 298.
17. Edward Heron-Allen to Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 5 July 1940. W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 52,636.
18. Edward Heron-Allen to Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 11 July 1940. W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 52,636.
19. Edward Heron-Allen to Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 20 July 1940. W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 52,636.
20. Edward Heron-Allen to Captain A.W.F. Fuller, 27 July 1940. W.S.R.O., Add. MS. 52,636.

COLLECTING HERON-ALLEN

by ROGER CLINE

Having bought a flat in Chichester in 2009 and being an avid collector of paper documents on London local history, I extended my collecting interest to the Chichester region. The occasional book sales (now discontinued) at Stride's in Chichester provided the first batches but I noticed a lot consisting of three large boxes in a sale by Bloomsbury Auctions in their Godalming auction rooms, which I duly bought for reason of quantity rather than quality considerations.

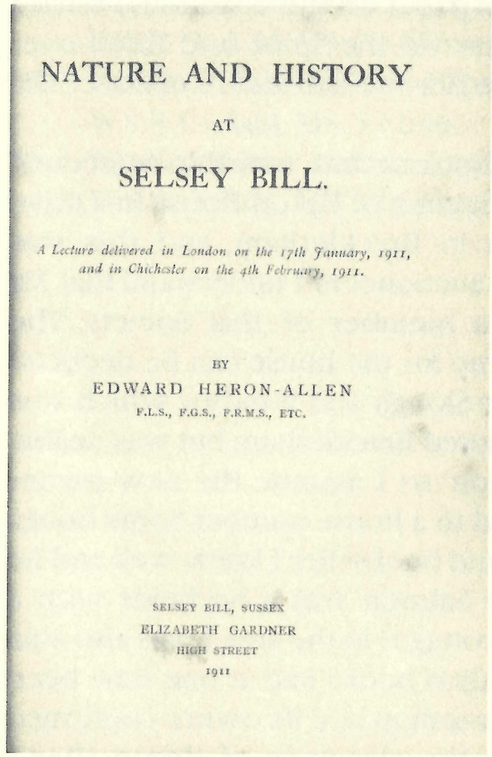
When I sorted the lot I noticed just under twenty books with various Heron-Allen bookplates, most of the books specially bound with marbled paper on the boards and what I think is called quarter leather on the spine and free cover corners. This led me to google Heron-Allen and to discover the delights of this Society.

From envelopes used as bookmarks I was able to deduce that the books came from H. Salmon of Upton House in a drive running parallel to the sea in Bracklesham, and this was confirmed unofficially by the auctioneers. I understand that Mr Salmon was not however a member of this Society. The significance of the Upton name for the house can be deduced from a history of Upton near Slough and Windsor which was also included in the lot. I explored Bracklesham but was unable to find a house named 'Upton' so I assume the new owner changed the name or reverted to a house number. Some books had the sticker of a secondhand bookseller I knew well and he was able to tell me that Mr Salmon was a bachelor with a business renting out holiday cottages in the area. I was also able to work out that the Heron-Allen books had at one time been handled by the Petersfield Bookshop and its owner confirmed his business had dealt with the clearance of Heron-Allen's library (although he did not seem old enough himself to have been in business at the time of Heron-Allen's death).

I was able to buy in a later sale by Bloomsbury a copy of Heron-Allen's major work on Selsey Bill, also from Mr Salmon's estate. This had the ownership inscription of the composer Eric Coates, whose residence in Selsey is marked by a Blue plaque. I had to talk severely to a dealer at the sale who wanted to buy that book to give to friends of his who lived in Coates's house.

Among my books, there are several guides to, or books about, Selsey. Most of them have EH-A bookplates.

The first is a twelve page guide with seven of the pages taken up with advertisements for local hotels, tradesmen and a school. There is no title page or publisher/printer details; the only date is that of 1900 on the spine of the binding. The main text ends with the initials WB and mentions an anchorage for yachts inside the Bill ....'and they float over the site of the old Cathedral about a mile and a half from the present shore...It was at Selsey that Christianity was first preached to the South Saxons'. The prose has a certain style; in a passage about sea bathing, 'the scene glows with discreetly nude plungers, cautious dippers, heedful floaters, all seen through a glorifying haze of summer heat and all bobbing and blowing and spitting and shouting to one another in wet revelry'.


NATURE AND HISTORY

AT

SELSEY BILL.

A Lecture delivered in London on the 17th January, 1911, and in Chichester on the 4th February, 1911.

BY

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN

F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.M.S., ETC.

SELSEY BILL, SUSSEX

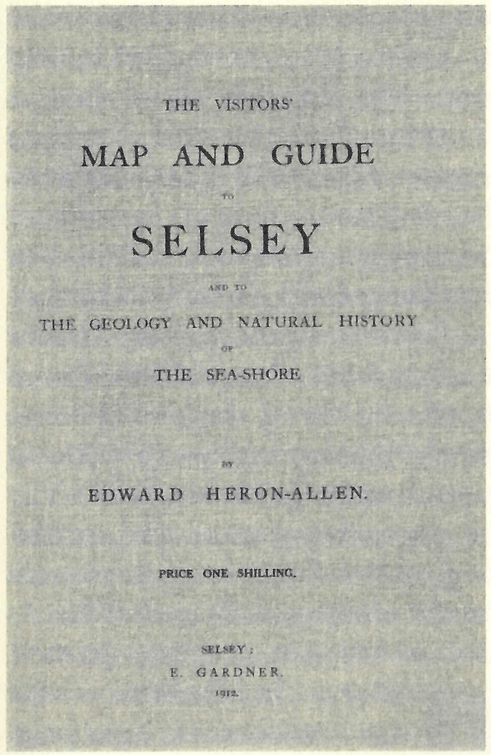
ELIZABETH GARDNER

HIGH STREET

1911

Fig. 1. Title page of "Nature and History at Selsey Bill" by Heron-Allen (1911).

We pass quickly on to the next book (Fig. 1), a publication of Heron-Allen's own lecture *'Nature and History at Selsey Bill'. A Lecture delivered in London on the 17th January, 1911 and in Chichester on the 4th February, 1911.* The title page gives the author's qualifications as FLS, FGS, FRMS, etc, but the publication date of 1911 is too early for his FRS. The publisher was Elizabeth Gardner, High Street, Selsey Bill, Sussex. EHA's copy has two editions bound together, the second also dated 1911 being revised and with a map – the revisions are minimal. Both editions are printed by the Dryden Press of 8-9 Frith Street, Soho Square, close to the Allen firm in London. The verso of the title page refers to EH-A's forthcoming *Selsey Bill, Historic and Pre-Historic* to be published by Duckworth's of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden and mentions that the numbered lantern slides in the lecture text will mostly appear as full-page illustrations in the forthcoming work. The binding is of better quality than that of other authors' works and the page height is greater.


THE VISITORS'

MAP AND GUIDE

TO

SELSEY

AND TO

THE GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY

OF

THE SEA-SHORE

BY

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

SELSEY:

E. GARDNER.

1912.

Fig. 2. Title page of "The Visitors' Map and Guide to Selsey...." by Heron-Allen (1912).

In the same superior binding and taller page is Heron-Allen's own *The Visitors' Map and Guide to Selsey and to the Geology and Natural History of the Sea-Shore,* price one shilling (5p), published in Selsey by E Gardner, 1912, but printed in the City of London (Fig. 2).

The author's preface, written from Large Acres, Selsey Bill, explains the guide consists of matter from his magnum opus (costing forty-two times as much) as may reasonably be supposed to be of interest to the visitor to Selsey. JA Lovegrove

drew the map specially for 'our volume' [not clear if this is the guide or the larger work]. This map numbers all the fields, field 390 being named Large Acres. The eastern shore line is continuous across Pagham Harbour; the light railway and its stations south of Pagham are clearly shown. The text is certainly not what one expects from a local guide, having no mention of the transport, accommodation and entertainment facilities of the area, concentrating instead on the geology and natural history.

A local clergyman KH MacDermott wrote '*Selsey, Sussex with instructions for collectors*', published in 1920 by Moore & Wingham of 39 East Street, Chichester. At the time he was Rector of Selsey, but he had been Vicar of Bosham (1905) and would become Rector of Buxted, near Uckfield (1927). The guide is truly pocket size, the pages being some 5x3 inches. Two pages are taken up with a quotation of eleven 4-line verses of Kipling's poem "Eddi's Service" which refers to St Wilfrid's connection with Selsey, by kind permission specially granted.

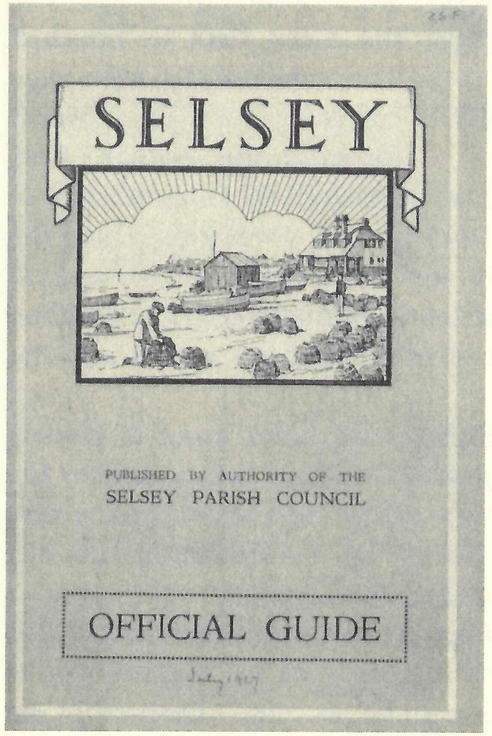


Fig. 3. "Selsey Offical Guide" of 1927.

The instructions for collectors are an eight-page appendix by EH-A, now FRS, telling the earnest enquirer to buy EH-A's map and guide to tell him what to look for - the present appendix will tell him where and how to look for fossils, agates, gold and prehistoric remains.

A more professional-looking guide was published under the authority of Selsey Parish Council (Fig. 3) and designed, printed and copyrighted by the Abbey Publicity Service of Croydon in South London, a

firm well-known to me as publishers of many London borough guides. Again it is not dated but someone (I suspect EH-A) has written in the date July 1927. A further guide in the series is a second edition from the Abbey Publicity service, dated in manuscript 1937-8. The text and advertisements now emphasise the delights of living (and buying a home) in Selsey rather than just taking a holiday there.

After his death, EH-A continues to feature in the local guides. In a *Guide to Selsey and the Selsey Peninsular,* issued by the Selsey Ratepayers' Association for temporary visitors and residents in June 1947 full acknowledgement is made to EH-A's classic volume for most of the historical matter. The book is said to be an outstanding tribute alike to the resource and industry of the author, as it is to his intimate knowledge of Selsey where the later years of his life have been spent.

The short history of the Church of St Peter, Selsey, (my copy revised 1997) is stated to have been compiled chiefly from the researches and writings of Edward Heron-Allen, FRS. EH-A had presented the current organ in 1917, in memory of his father George. George had been a keen supporter of St Anne's Soho and there is now an Allen Room in the church. Many Allen relics were lost when the Soho church was bombed in WW2.

EH-A's copy of the 1927 guide (Fig. 3) is particularly interesting in that some of the advertising pages carry stuck-on press cuttings of letters to the Editor of the *Chichester Post* newspaper. It might help to list the letter writers. Apart from EH-A, there are:

Samuel H Day, a member of Selsey Council, wrote from The Looe, Selsey, which was a large house at the coast end of West Street whose site is now covered by the modern houses of St Wilfrid's View.

The Revd KH MacDermott whom we have met already as author of the 1920 guide.

Alfred Charles Jonas a fellow of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, living at Locksley, Bognor.

It is significant that the author of the guide does not feature in the correspondence and is not even named. On the other hand, much confusion and opportunity for casting aspersions on others' scholarship is caused by the typesetter and copy editor of the *Chichester Post* who created a number of silly print errors.

The *Chichester Post* correspondence starts in the issue of 20 August 1927 with a long letter from EH-A titled "Selsey's Guide Criticised". EH-A refers to his own 'largely obsolete' guide and then ironically states that the diligence in research and scholarship of the compiler of the new guide are well in advance of his. Having said that, he proceeds to tear into the new guide, mentioning the reference to Roman and Saxon flints, asking for the writer's authority for these post-neolithic discoveries. The new guide says meteorological statistics are not recorded but EH-A points out that the Selsey Meteorological Station has been recording morning and evening recordings for the past twenty years and these were summarised and analysed in the Parish Magazine a few years previously. EH-A does not mention that these observations were carried out by himself, but fellow members at the 2017 Heron-Allen Symposium said that was the case.

EH-A asserts the story in the guide that the old Selsey Cathedral and Bishop's Park are now submerged [in the sea] was a myth when he wrote his major opus. He asks for a list of local churches which prove the story is true as the guide states and how they prove it. The guide mentions 22 Selsey bishops and EH-A asks which of his own longer list do not qualify. The guide mentions an Archbishop Roger who moved the See to Chichester; EH-A asserts he did not exist.

The guide says the old [Selsey] church was immortalised in poetry 'on Selsey Marsh' by Kipling. EH-A questions the existence of the poem. EH-A says the Kipling poem on Eddius Stephanus celebrating Mass is associated with Bosham rather than Selsey. The poem quoted in the 1920 guide refers to the chapel at Manhood End and to the surrounding marshes but Selsey itself is not mentioned. EH-A scoffs at the guide's

mention of the church's 'Norman front' and pretends he does not realise this is a typo for font. This lowers the tone of the debate, which for the most part remains low.

EHA asks for the 'official historian' of the Selsey parish Council to explain and next week the *Chichester Post* carries a letter in reply, not from the guide compiler but Samuel Day who explains that there is no official historian, the guide having been compiled by the company who had applied to the Council for permission to publish the guide; Day had voted against the application but the Council had accepted the proposal. Day had believed the guide by the Rev KH MacDermott was sufficient. Day however thought the new guide was useful and good for its intended readership of holiday visitors rather than serious scholars.

Day supports the topographer Camden's story about the old Cathedral being submerged and mentions an article in the previous week's issue supporting it. Day argues there is no definitive list of Bishops so to quote a number differing from EH-A's is acceptable. He argues that Manhood End mentioned in Kiping's poem is nearer Selsey than Bosham. (In the 24 September issue EH-A writes to say Manhood End is somewhat to the north-east of Birdham; the modern ordnance survey 1:50000 does not show it but as the bird flies, that makes it nearer Bosham than Selsey.)

To lower the tone of the debate still further Day attacks EH-A's own 1912 guide, alleging several errors (which they are, probably being perpetrated by the typesetter but the intended meaning is clear). EH-A is not inclined to accept criticism and returns to the fray in a letter published in the 3 September issue. He asserts Camden is a collector (and worse still, publisher) of 'ridiculous myths'; he asserts the submergence of the Bishop's park in recent times is geologically impossible; as with the guide's Norman front he treats a typo in Day's letter as literal truth and is duly ironic about it, but argues the text of Kipling's poem is poetic licence and therefore not reliable to disprove his own argument. The *Chichester Post* editor added a postscript apologising for the misprints in Day's letter.

Samuel Day is also not inclined to give up and in the 10 Sept issue points out EH-A's guide does not mention the old cathedral at all, submerged or not. He suggests EH-A should spend time revising his own guide rather than rubbishing Camden and correcting Kipling.

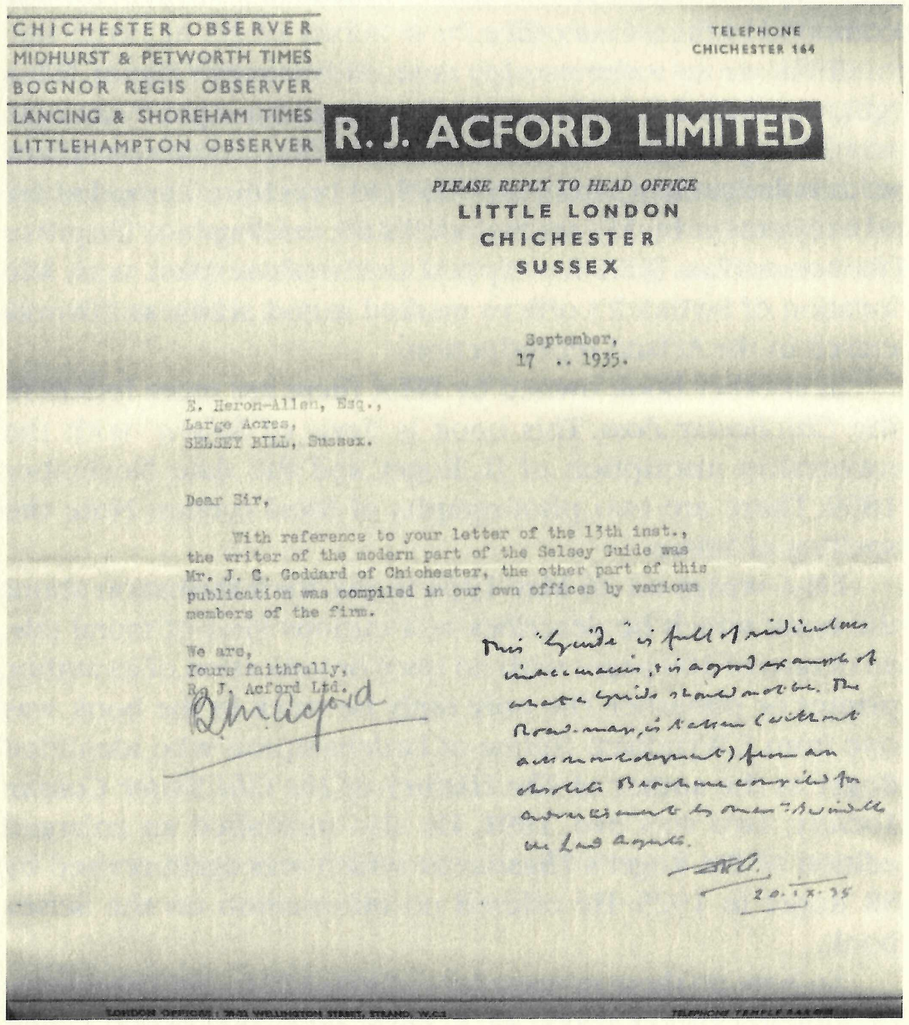
MacDermott himself writes in the issue of 17 September that Kipling has confirmed to him that the poem relates to Selsey, not Bosham. He says he has not seen the new guide. EH-A writes again with another swipe at Day, accusing him of using the tactic which he learned when Day was a common law barrister of 'when you have no case, abuse the other side's attorney'.

A rise in tone is attempted by Alfred Charles Jonas in the 17 September issue, giving his version of the relevant history (which seems generally to support EH-A) and mentions a work by Ralph Brooke in 1723 which shows errors in the Camden work. With his authority as a FSA (albeit of Scotland) he suggests 'criticism has its usefulness, but its best purpose should be to prove, if possible, the truth or approximately the facts. Lapsus calami and typographical errors have no part in that. He quotes 'Science only will one genius fit/so vast is art, so narrow human wit'. The typesetting or copy editing at the *Chichester Post* has not improved and Jonas's letter appears with the date 10 August rather than (presumably) 10 September.

Neither Day nor EH-A takes the hint from Jonas's quotation and both return to the fray on 24 September. Day gives chapter and verse of EH-A's statements in his published works which contradict his arguments in the *Chichester Post* correspondence. He points out an error on page 26 of EH-A's guide (actually it is page 26 of his *Nature and History on Selsey Bill*) where in a transcription of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* 'Priests' are written where 'Greeks' are intended. EH-A welcomes Jonas to the correspondence but his welcome is again spoilt by the *Post* typesetter who calls Jonas a Bavard rather than a Bayard taking the field. EH-A is pleased to learn of Brooke (since it supports his argument that Camden

is not to be trusted) and suggests they need a modern Brooke to show the errors in the new guide.

EH-A closes the correspondence in the 1 October issue, by blaming the copyist of his edition of Bede for confusing priests and Greeks and likening the Bavard misprint in his previous letter to the classic 'bottle-scarred veteran' often-quoted misprint. He says he has hugely enjoyed the exchanges



CHICHESTER OBSERVER
MIDHURST & PETWORTH TIMES
BOGNOR REGIS OBSERVER
LANCING & SHOREHAM TIMES
LITTLEHAMPTON OBSERVER

TELEPHONE
CHICHESTER 144

R. J. ACFORD LIMITED

PLEASE REPLY TO HEAD OFFICE
LITTLE LONDON
CHICHESTER
SUSSEX

September,
17 .. 1935.

E. Heron-Allen, Esq.,
Large Acres,
SELSEY HILL, Sussex.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 13th inst., the writer of the modern part of the Selsey Guide was Mr. J. C. Goddard of Chichester, the other part of this publication was compiled in our own offices by various members of the firm.

We are,
Yours faithfully,
R. J. Acford Ltd.

This "Guide" is full of ridiculous inaccuracies, it is a good example of what a guide should not be. The Road-map, is taken (without any acknowledgment) from an obsolete Brochure compiled for advertisement by one Brindle the Land Agent.

20.IX.35

LONDON OFFICES: 3&4 WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, W.C.2 TELEPHONE TEMPLE BAR 4[illegible]

Fig. 4. Letter from R.J.Acford Ltd. concerning the Selsey Guide, about which Heron-Allen had been very rude. See the latter's written comment on this letter, dated 20.9.1935.

although I wonder whether at times he wished he had never started it.

Other publishers had a go at publishing guides to Selsey, but they also received the EH-A scrutiny. EH-A wrote on 13 September 1935 to RJ Acford Ltd of Little London in Chichester (publishers of the *Chichester Observer* and other local papers) to enquire who was the author of their *Selsey Guide and Street Plan* price 6d. A BM Acford replied that the modern part's author was Mr JC Foddard of Chichester and the rest was compiled in their own office.

EH-A wrote a manuscript note on his copy (Fig. 4): "This 'guide' is full of ridiculous inaccuracies and is a good example of what a guide should not be. The Road Map is taken (without acknowledgement) from an obsolete brochure compiled for advertisement by Messrs Swindell's the land agents." To prove his accusation EH-A has tipped in the same plan with the location of Swindell's offices marked in red, whereas this was erased in the Acland reproduction.

In another book owned by EH-A there are more letters to the *Chichester Post*. This book is *'Sons of Selsea'* with the ownership inscription of JL Roget and the date November 1899. There are two photographs of local scenes. Note the spelling of Selsea.

EH-A writes on 26 May 1934 to ask for information about the book which he describes as a curious kind of moral tale, an octavo of 108 pages with no trace or indication of its author, printer or publisher. The only reply he stuck in the book was one from E Wyndham Hulme of Littlehampton who identified Roget as the author of *The History of the Old Water Colour Society,* two vols 8vo, 1891. He also published an enlarged edition of PM Roget's *Thesaurus* which was again revised by SR Roget in 1925. He offered no information on the Selsea book.

So how do these newspaper cuttings add to our knowledge of Edward Heron-Allen? As a fairly new enthusiast I look forward to the promised biography and hope it will include an assessment of his character. Having written his magnum opus

on Selsey in 1911, followed in the next year by his short guide to the geology and natural history, he clearly felt he had established himself as an expert in the area. Authors who dared encroach on the field came in for scrutiny and criticism when different theories were put forward. The letters to the editor, which today would be carried at greater speed through social media, suffer from the dangers of too hasty composition (and inaccurate typesetting). His attacks on the veracity of the later guides inevitably led to their authors (or supporters) pointing out errors in EH-A's earlier works. Heron-Allen did not write a local guide for residents and visitors who are much more interested in the general facilities provided for their everyday enjoyment than on strict historical accuracy and it would have been better for EH-A's blood pressure if he had not started the criticism of the Abbey Publicity guides. However I am glad he did since I at least have found it entertaining and I now feel I know him a little better.

HERON-ALLEN SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

Opusulum XXIII. Edward Heron-Allen. The Past, The Future and the Other World. Proceedings of the 16th Heron-Allen Symposium 2016, edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the sixteenth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Novium, Chichester, June 2016 by John P. Mahoney and Barbara P. Mahoney, David Thompson, Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. (2016).

Opusculum XXIV. 'Edward Heron-Allen. Beginnings and Endngs'. Proceedings of the 17th Heron-Allen Symposium 2017. Edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the seventeenth Heron-Allen Symposium, 13 Tavistock Place, London, June 2017 by David Thompson, John P. Mahoney, Barbara P. Mahoney and Antonella T. Maraini, Timothy J. McCann and Roger Cline (2018).

Copies of these Opuscula cost either £5 (*Opuscula 1-VI and VIII*). £10 (*Opuscula VII and IX-XX*) or £15 (*Opuscula XXI-XXIV*) each, from Timothy J. McCann, Chairman of the Heron-Allen Society, 18 Oaklands Road, Havant, Hants. PO9 2RN.

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