‘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 HODGKINSON

Opusculum VIII
Heron-Allen Society

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‘Edward Heron-Allen and Friends’: Proceedings of the 5th. Heron-Allen Symposium, 2005: Talks delivered by Timothy J. McCann, Joann Fletcher and Richard L. Hodgkinson at the Fifth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Allen Room, Dean Street, London, July 2005.

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

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Timothy J. McCann

Limited to 100 copies numbered 1-100
Signed by Timothy J. McCann for members of the Heron-Allen Society.

This is number

45

Cover: Silhouettes of Edward Heron-Allen’s family and friends at Large Acres, Selsey, August 1916. Large Acres Visitors Book

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THE FIFTH ANNUAL HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM AT THE ALLEN ROOM, DEAN STREET, LONDON

By TIMOTHY J. McCANN

The theme of the Society's 5th. Annual Symposium, held on Saturday 2 July 2005, was 'Edward Heron-Allen and Friends', and for the venue we returned to Soho and to the Allen Room attached to St. Anne's Church where Heron-Allen served so long as Parish Clerk.

Our three speakers in the morning session discussed some of Heron-Allen's many interests through the medium of his friendships. The first speaker (Timothy McCann) discussed Heron-Allen's interest in local archaeology, and, in particular, the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins in Selsey in 1932, by exploring his friendship with Raymond Tinne Berthon, the handicapped Huguenot genealogist and fellow Selsey resident, and discussing a group of contemporary Selsey eccentrics. The second talk, a tour de force, by Joann Fletcher, examined two Egyptian Mummies, now in Hull Museum, and formerly owned by Bram Stoker and Heron-Allen. She introduced us to the study of Egyptian Mummies and told the story of the two mummies by means of Heron-Allen's literary friendships with the Wilde Family and Bram Stoker, and academic friendships with the distinguished Egyptologists Stephen Glanville and Robert Mond. Finally, our third speaker (Richard Hodgkinson), filled a gap in our knowledge by reconstructing the life of the distinguished foraminiferologist Fortescue William Millett through his relationship with Heron-Allen.

After lunch at the Golden Lion and the Society's Annual

General Meeting, Ivor Jones, Heron-Allen's grandson, read a selection of his grandfather's juvenalia. These poems and prose pieces were written when Heron-Allen was still at school or shortly afterwards, and the Society hopes to publish them in a future Opusculum.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN, RAYMOND TINNE BERTHON AND TREASURE TROVE AT SELSEY

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN

The sea-side village of Selsey, south of Chichester, during the time that Edward Heron-Allen lived there, was home to a number of celebrities and eccentrics. Among the former were Eric Coates, the composer of light orchestral music including the 'Dam Busters March' and 'By the Sleepy Lagoon', the theme tune to Desert Island Discs, written about the view from Selsey to Bognor across Pagham Harbour; Ford Maddox Ford, the novelist, with whom Heron-Allen vied for the affections of Violet Hunt and who he later denounced as a German spy; R.C. Sherriff, the playwright and author of 'Journey's End'; and Tom Walls, the actor and director of the Aldwych farces. Among the latter, apart from Heron-Allen himself, were such characters as Sir Alexander Hamilton, Arthur Paul Pedrick and Raymond Tinne Berthon.

Sir Alexander Hamilton, a direct descendant of Nelson's mistress Lady Emma Hamilton, lived at Paisley Cottage in Seal Square. He was known to parade through the village dressed in his kilt, preceded by a piper, and heralded by strong fumes of eucalyptus, his private health cure; and he progressed from being President of the local Conservative Association, to becoming a Muslim, and later a leader of the British Union of Fascists.

Arthur Paul Pedrick lived at 77 Hillfield Road. After a career as an examiner in the Patent Office, he is famous for holding 161 patents, which have earned him a web-site tribute entitled 'Patently Absurd' and a reputation for eccentricity that has spread internationally. His patents include such esoteric

inventions as the famous 'photo push-button Radiation Detector for use in chromatically selective Cat Flap control and 1,000 megaton earth orbital peace-keeping bomb'; 'piping snow and ice balls from Antarctica to irrigate the Australian Desert' or 'irrigating the Sahara Desert by piping fresh water from the mouth of the Amazon'; and 'reducing the tendency of a golf ball to slice or hook by electrostatic forces'.

One of the most remarkable of these eccentrics was Raymond Tinne Berthon. I first heard of him a few years ago through correspondence with Professor Abecasis-Phillips, who teaches English in Japan, and whose grandfather, Philip A.S. Phillips, was a friend and correspondent of Berthon. Philip Phillips, 1867-1934, was one of the fifteen children of Alfred Soloman a Jewish dealer in antique silver and his wife Sarah Phillips. He took his mother's name as her father had no son. Phillips was a collector. He collected gold and silver, lead weights, paintings and furniture. He was a scholar too, and as well as writing biographies of the eminent horn, tortoise-shell and papier mache craftsman, Jean Obrisset and the Huguenot silversmith, Paul de Lamerie, he published articles on silverwork and church plate in such publications as *Apollo* and *The Connoiseur.* Professor Abecasis-Phillips devotes a chapter to the correspondence between Philip Phillips and Raymond Tinne Berthon in his recent biographical study of his grandfather.

Raymond Tinne Berthon was born in 1868 at Halton in Cheshire, the fourth of five children of Charles Harrison Berthon, a Commander in the Indian navy, and Anna Tinne from Liverpool. Raymond was born severely disabled, and was looked after by his mother and his sister, who was a qualified doctor. They moved to Selsey from London in 1909, just after Heron-Allen settled at Large Acres, and two years later built the house in Fish Lane, which they named 'Halton'

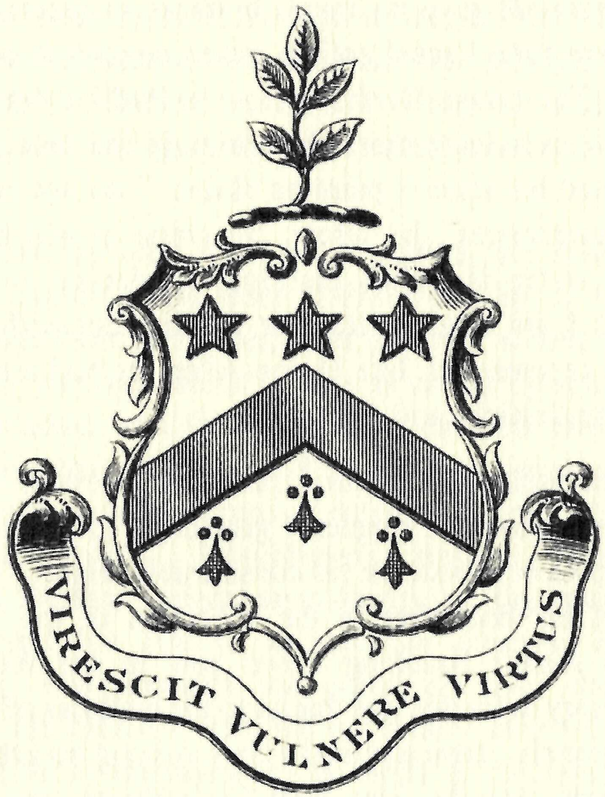
after their home town. Raymond's mother died on 10 April 1912 in Selsey, and he continued to be looked after by his sister. His sister, Ellen Margaret Tinne Berthon, a brilliant doctor, had been resident medical officer for the Marylebone Workhouse Infirmary during the Boer War, and had worked at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital and for Dr. Barnado's, but she gave up her medical career to nurse her brother.

Raymond suffered from heart trouble, but described his principal condition in a letter to Philip Phillips in September 1932. 'I was born deformed, you possibly would not detect anything if you met me. It is what is called Epispadias, born minus a bladder and the male organ cut half through from above downwards & only 1 1/2 inches long, because of this I have to be tied up in springs & rubber all day and I sleep in mackintosh sheets'. Nonetheless, despite these severe handicaps, Berthon became an authority on Huguenot ancestry and devoted his life to antiquarian studies. His letter continues: 'this prevents me going all over the country collecting the details I want for my hobby. Don't think that I am asking for sympathy. I am as happy & contented as most folk, perhaps more so, than many who have nothing of the kind, but it has to a great extent prevented me doing a lot of my own research work unless I happen to be near the sources for research (which I was when my parents lived near London). My parents left me with a comfortable income to live on in a quiet way, this was very lucky for me, for which I have to be grateful to God & to them, but my income is not enough to permit me to spend as I could! On employing others to search for me where I cannot do the work myself.'

Phillips was sympathetic with regard to Berthon's disability and clearly helped him with his Huguenot genealogy, at least during the years 1931 to 1933, when their

friendship was at its closest. He was appreciative of Berthon's scholarship and wrote to him in 1932, 'I always read your letters with the greatest attention & interest, as they are so full of information & give so many hints as to research work. When I have time I must collate their contents as a work of reference'. The letters Berthon wrote to Phillips during these years enable us to learn more about him. In one letter, in 1932, he mentioned his sister's painting skills: 'I do not cultivate a lot of acquaintances', he wrote, 'to come in and bother us when my sister is either painting, gardening or playing patience & I am letter writing or making out pedigrees' In another he reveals that, like Heron-Allen, he had a collection of silver candlesticks and spoons.

Notwithstanding his physical problems, Berthon became a distinguished scholar of Huguenot genealogy. Like Heron-Allen he had his own bookplate for his considerable library. There is an example of his bookplate in the collection of the Plymouth antiquarian Joshua Brooking Rowe now in the Westcountry Studies Library at Exeter, and thanks to the kindness of the Local Studies Librarian, I have acquired a copy. Among his genealogical correspondents was the Rev. John Cavis-Brown, the rector of Selsey. The Heron-Allen papers in the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester contain several letters from Berthon to Cavis-Brown , written while he was holidaying at Freshwater Bay on the Isle of Wight in January 1907. Berthon was evidently helping Cavis-Brown with his proposed history of Selsey, and provided him with pedigrees of the Darrell and Hamilton families, as well as promising subscriptions from his mother and his friend H.W. Forsyth Harwood, the editor of the *Genealogist's Magazine.* Anna Tinne Berthon, Raymond's mother, was a subscriber to Heron-Allen's *Selsey Bill: historic and prehistoric* in 1911, but the connection was probably Cavis-Brown rather than Heron-Allen.



Raymond Tinné Berthon.

Fig.1 Raymond Tinne Berthon's bookplate.
Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter.

I felt certain that Raymond must have known Heron-Allen, but I was unable to find any correspondence between the two men. That they were aware of each other is shown by Heron-Allen's careful preservation of a notice of the death of Dr. Ellen Margaret Tinne Berthon in the *Chichester Post* of 28 September 1929. Heron-Allen pasted the cutting into his seven volume collection of Selseyana, now in the Record Office at Chichester. Dr. Berthon expressed the wish to be cremated and his ashes buried at sea and they now lie amidst the mixen rocks. After the death of his elder sister, Raymond Tinne Berthon was looked after by his second sister, Alexine Thorpe, by then a widow.

The connection, when I eventually found it, turned out to be an archaeological one. 'On 16 November 1932, two gardeners "double-trenching" at "Halton", a property one acre in extent, owned by Mrs. Alexine Sara Tinne Thorpe and her brother, Mr. Raymond Berthon (the house having been built in 1911), just below the corner where Fish Lane joins Albion Road at Selsey, and about a quarter of a mile from the seashore, unearthed a "crock" or pot, containing 975 Roman coins, dating from A.D. 220 to 270'. Thus wrote Edward Heron-Allen in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 74 (1932). He went on to describe the discovery of the pot by Arthur Downer and Nellie Miller; the gardeners employed by the Berthons: the report and delivery to the local police, and the coroner's enlisting of Mr. C.J. Pretorious, sometime of Selsey and the British Museum, who washed the collection and listed and dated the coins.

An Inquest of Treasure Trove was held in Chichester on 21 November by Mr. Loader Cooper the Chichester coroner, with a jury of local residents chaired by Mr. J. Bailey of West

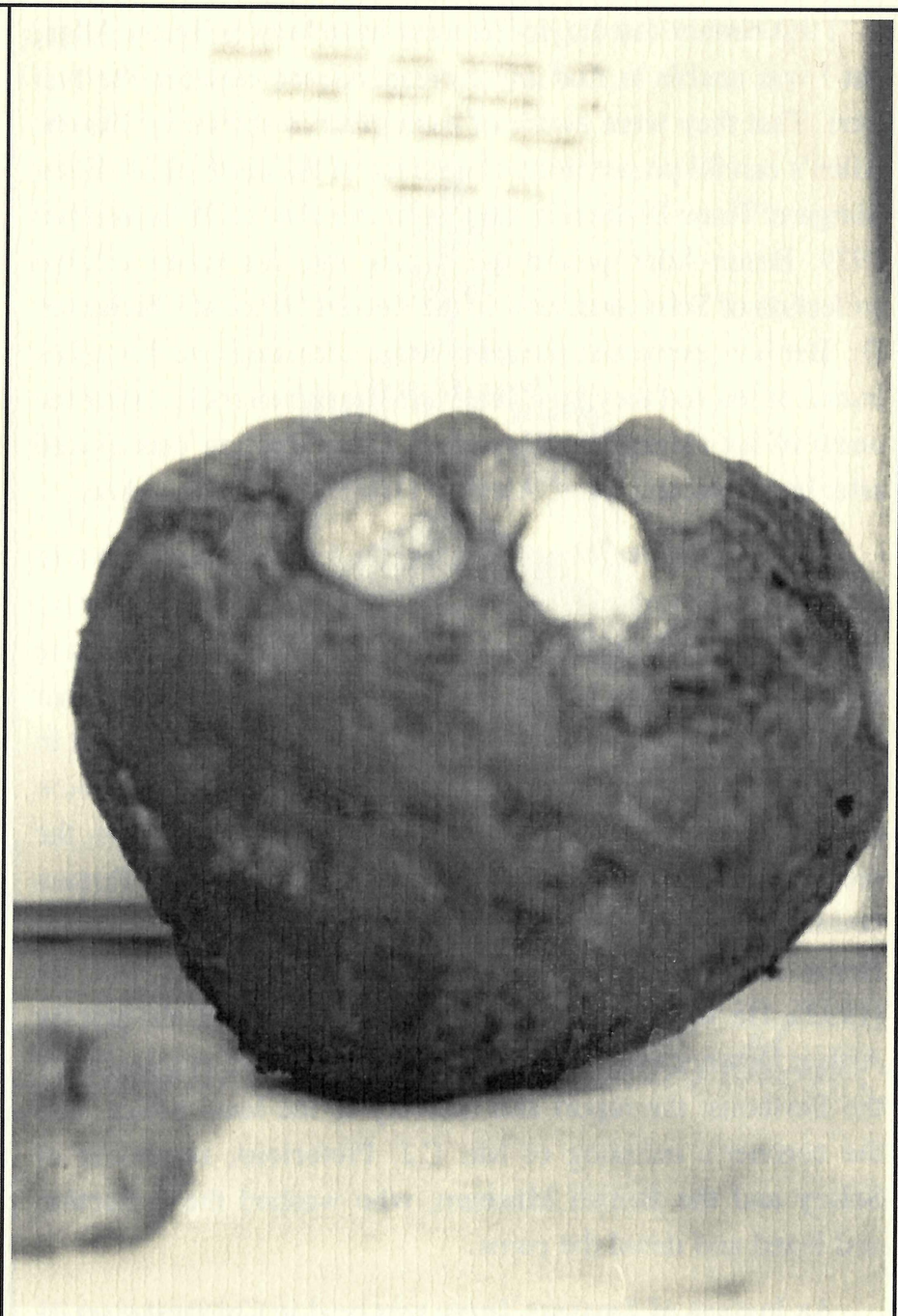


Fig.2 The remains of the Pot in which the Hoard was found.
West Sussex Record Office, Chichester.

Sussex County Council. The hoard was declared Treasure Trove, forwarded to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, where it was cleaned and sorted, catalogued and reported on by Harold Mattingly. Heron-Allen, as local secretary of Sussex Archaeological Society, had been informed about the find straight away, and immediately became involved in the story, while Berthon described the events in a series of letters to Philip Phillips. Mr. Bailey, published a short note on the find in the February 1933 issue of *Sussex Notes and Queries*, and Heron-Allen updated the story in the May issue, whereupon Heron-Allen was approached by Elliot Curwen, the well-known local archaeologist, to write up the entire collection in the county archaeological journal, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. In this, Heron-Allen had the support of L.F. Salzman, the editor of *Collections*.

Heron-Allen's article, 'A Hoard of Roman Coins from a Villa-Site at Selsey', published in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 74 in 1932, but clearly written in 1933, was his most sustained piece of archaeological writing apart from his monumental *Selsey Bill. Historic and Prehistoric* twenty one years earlier. In its twenty-three pages, dated June 1933, Heron-Allen describes the discovery of the hoard at Halton on 16 November 1932, and the Chichester inquest on 21 November. After a table showing the distribution of the coins by reigns between 220 and 270 there is a long and discursive discussion of the legends on the reverse of the coins. He then goes on to describe the various Roman finds in Selsey during the time that he lived there, and made clear that he had made a point of seeing all of them, before reviewing the evidence for a villa extending from Pagham Harbour to the site of the

lighthouse and possibly as far south as Selsey Bill. After speculating on the reasons why the hoard was buried in the year 270, he concludes the article with a table of reverses identified on the coins in the hoard. The article is illustrated by Harriett James's rather crude version of the original plan by Alexine Thorpe and Raymond Tinne Berthon of their garden.

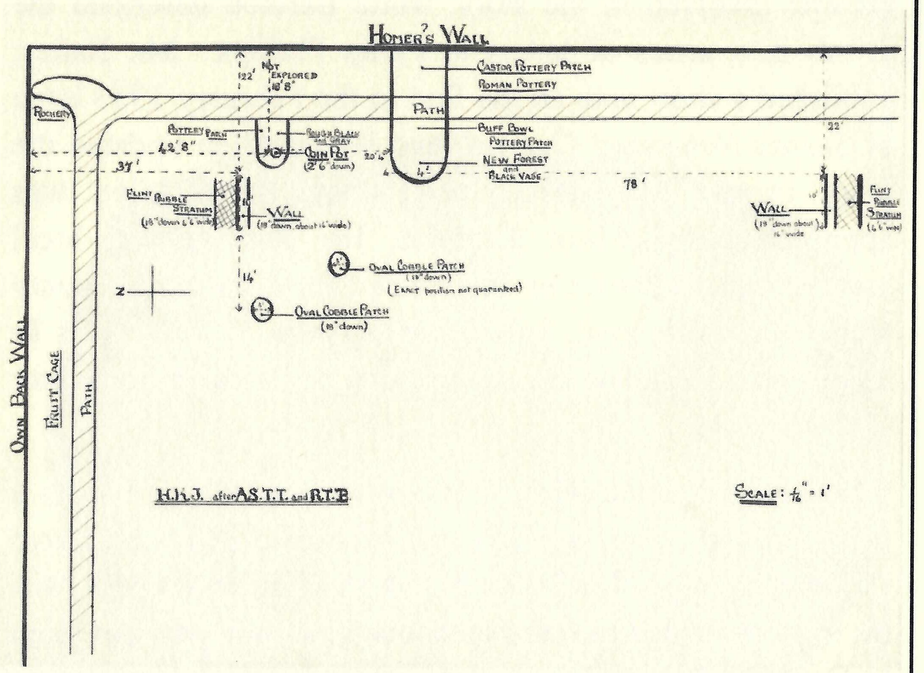


Fig.3 Harriett James's sketch of where the Hoard was found. West Sussex Record Office, Chichester.

In characteristic fashion, Heron-Allen kept a detailed file on the story of the Selsey Hoard, and the file, which was sold after his death, was eventually bought by his antiquarian acquaintance the well-known collector Captain A.W. Fuller and is now in the County Record Office at Chichester. It is this file that tells the story of the relationship between the two men. It contains Heron-Allen's correspondence with archaeologists

such as Eliot Curwen and L.F. Salzman, the coroner Loader Cooper, and with the Tinne Berthons.

After the discovery of the hoard, Alexine Thorpe drew a plan of her garden showing the precise location of the find and sent it to Heron-Allen with notes about the fragments of wall and pottery sherds that were also uncovered. Heron-Allen passed the plan to Harriett James for 'improvement' and returned the sherds to the Berthons in a box, with a present of asparagus seeds, accompanied by detailed instructions to the gardeners about planting them. Then he arranged for Reginald Smith of Selsey to photograph the pot in which the coins were buried. He persuaded the Berthons to lend him the pot to show to the authorities at the British Museum, but the file contains a letter signed by Alexine and Raymond Tinne Berthon demanding that the pot be returned to them, and declaring that they would not sell it or give it away, nor would they place it on display in the Museum and that it was to be returned to them in a month. Reginald Smith's negatives are still in the file and I have developed some so that you can see the pot and some of the washed coins.

Heron-Allen attempted to keep a record of what happened to the coins from the Selsey Hoard. Heron-Allen himself was sent 43, practically one of each variety by the Department of Coins and Medals in April 1933. 40 were sent to the Museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society at Barbican House, Lewes. 40 were sent to Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. 40 more were sent to W.L. White for the Chichester Museum. Some twenty coins were sent to Thomas Halton, the former Rector of Selsey. Reginald Smith, who made the photographs of the pot, received half a dozen. Heron-Allen listed a few

coins that were sold or given away by the finders presumably after their return from the Museum and queried whether some were given away before they were impounded. Certainly the Berthons admitted to Heron-Allen that they had kept nine postumus for friends and that the gardeners had sold and given away coins to visitors to the house and that they could not possibly be traced. All this information was listed in his file.

As to the present whereabouts of the hoard, Richard Abdy the curator of Roman Coins at the British Museum kindly pointed out to me that A.S. Robertson's *An Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards* (2000) lists the Heron-Allen hoard as no 500. 281 coins are still in the British Museum and a further 40 are still with Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. Chichester District Museum still have their forty three coins and the Sussex Archaeological Society have thirty seven. So far as I can discover the site was never excavated as Heron-Allen had suggested, and much of it is now under the sea. Halton is no more and part of its garden is occupied by a row of modern houses at the end of Albion Road. The spot where the hoard was found is now occupied by shingle on the beach about 27 metres south of the south-east corner of the Selsey Lifeboat Museum.

Philip Phillips died in January 1934, though his regular correspondence with Raymond Tinne Berthon ended more than a year earlier, when he suggested that Berthon should write elsewhere for information about Jewish genealogy. Alexine Tinne Berthon did not long survive the discovery in her back garden. Heron-Allen's Selseyana volumes record her death on 4 May 1935 aged 70. Perhaps surprisingly, her brother survived more than ten years after he was deprived of

the support and supervision of his two sisters. Raymond Tinne Berthon's death was announced in the September 1944 issue of the *Genealogist's Magazine*, and he continued his genealogical interests to the very end. The March 1943 issue announced his gift of a typescript on the Berthons of the West Indies and Amsterdam in March 1943. His twelve volume history of the Berthon and allied families and 57 notebooks were presented to the Society in February 1949, and are still among the Society's collections.

There is a postscript to the story. Just a few months ago, Tom Creedy, one of our members, brought into the Record Office a photocopy of a volume that Raymond Tinne Berthon had compiled. It was a List of the bona fide Crab, Lobster, Prawn and Whelk Fishermen of the East Beach in Selsey, dated 13 December 1909, which, in its 153 pages gave pedigrees of the seventy two men listed. It is an extraordinary document and a tribute to the persistence and genealogical skills of a brave and determined man.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am much indebted to Professor John Abecasis-Phillips who kindly shared with me all his information about Raymond Tinne Berthon, and to Tom Creedy for showing me the List of Crab, Lobster, Prawn and Whelk Fisherman. Matthew Gillespie of the Society of Genealogists helped me with regard to their collection of Berthon's papers. For their help in identifying the present whereabouts of the Selsey Hoard, I am indebted to Richard Abdy and Joe Cribb of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Library; Jane Seddon of Chichester District Museum; Emma O'Connor of Sussex

Archaeological Society; Richard Le Saux of Brighton Museum and Art Gallery and John Mills of West Sussex County Council. I am grateful to the County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester for permission to reproduce two items from Heron-Allen's volume on the Selsey Hoard and to the Librarian, Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter, for permission to reproduce Raymond Tinne Berthon's bookplate.

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EDWARD HERON-ALLEN, HIS FRIENDS AND THEIR MUMMIES : EH-A AND ANCIENT EGYPT

By JOANN FLETCHER

As an acknowledged authority on a number of subjects, Edward Heron-Allen's huge range of interests included Egyptology. Although the full extent of his involvement in the subject has only recently started to emerge, it was an interest also shared by a number of his colleagues and acquaintances.

Europeans had long been fascinated with ancient Egypt, and set against the prim and proper niceties of English society, Egypt past and present proved a tremendously alluring place. Regarded as a land of magic and the exotic by the Victorians, their desire to find archaeological proof for Biblical events initiated many archaeological excavations during the mid-19th century. As increasing numbers of discoveries were made throughout the second half of the 19th century, two large caches of royal mummies uncovered at Luxor in 1881 and 1898 created great interest amongst the public, and with wide-scale tourism beginning in 1869 with Thomas Cook's first escorted tour of Egypt, no trip down the Nile was complete without mummified remains to take home as a souvenir.

As more of the country's epic history came to light, certain aspects of the ancient culture created a great deal of curiosity, from the worship of multifaceted animal-headed deities to a mistaken assumption that brother-sister marriage was commonplace. The revelation that women had played a major role in ancient Egyptian society also had a significant impact at a time when Edwardian ladies were steering the political climate towards emancipation, and female pharaohs were something the

growing Suffragette Movement was quick to capitalise on.

Although EH-A himself stated that "there is nothing in the West that has not come from the East", his involvement in the study of ancient Egyptian culture has long been unappreciated. Much of this is due to the disruption of publications and by the destruction of key documents during the Second World War, "whose termination it is at this present time impossible to forsee", wrote EH-A in the foreword of his 1941 work on Egyptian hieroglyphs. Yet his contribution was completely unknown within the world of Egyptology, until a chance encounter with a couple of ancient Egyptian mummies in the storerooms of a Hull museum.

Little was known about either mummy after the city's Municipal Museum - and its archives - were destroyed by incendiaries in June 1943. Although the mummies and their coffins had already been placed in safe storage with other items of value, the warehouse in which they were housed was located beside the river Humber in an area prone to tidal flooding. Unfortunately the mummies were waterlogged on several occasions, and as their coffins' painted decoration and inscriptions began to dissolve, the damp conditions led to serious wood beetle infestation.

In the aftermath of the war, attention naturally focussed on rebuilding the devastated city and the mummies remained in storage. After 30 years they were finally rediscovered on the warehouse floor, covered in layers of mud and grime. After preliminary cleaning and emergency conservation treatment to halt their deterioration, it was admitted that "with care, money and space they could still be a major attraction", although the press declared them to be "of no significant local historical value" and "how they arrived in Hull is a mystery". With neither

in a condition to be redisplayed to the public, both were placed in permanent storage in the Hull & East Riding Museum.

After a further twenty-four years when the stores' collections were being prepared for relocation to Hull's new 'Hands-On History' Museum, the museum's education officer invited the author to catalogue their Egyptian artefacts. Delighted to learn of the mummies' existence, she launched the 'Hull Mummies Conservation Fund' with Hull museum staff to raise the necessary finances to have the mummies cleaned and conserved. Initial condition and conservation reports prepared by a specialist conservator ascertained the full extent of the work required, and with each mummy given a new accession number – KINCM.1999.149 and KINCM.1999.150 - research began into the two anonymous Egyptians and their long journey from the Nile to the Humber.

Although the museum's original accession records had been destroyed, there were several passing references to the mummies in museum publications from the 1930s, the most detailed describing the radiological examination of mummy KINCM.1999.149 in 1938 - "Another feature which obtained tremendous publicity at the time was the fact that a mummy, which had not been unwrapped, might have contained jewels or other objects. The Director, having been asked to give a lecture to the Hull branch of the British Medical Association, offered to do so if they would 'X-ray' the mummy! This was done, and it was said to have been the first occasion upon which this method of examining mummies had been adopted, and the photograph appeared in various papers. Although the accuracy of this statement was questioned by some authorities, the ensuing correspondence certainly gave increased publicity".

Fig.1 Thomas Sheppard with the Mummy and the set of X-rays.

This 'increased publicity' included this extraordinary image of Hull's larger-than-life director Thomas Sheppard (1876-1945), standing alongside the mummy in its coffin and a full set of X-rays. Yet despite Sheppard's claim of this being the first event of its kind, mummified remains had actually been X-rayed some 40 years earlier by W.M.F. Petrie (1853-1942), the so-called 'father of British Egyptology'. Sheppard is known to have corresponded with Petrie, and by helping fund his excavations, Hull Museums obtained an impressive collection of Egyptian artefacts which were displayed alongside the two mummies.

Further details of the mummies' pasts were discovered in the records of Hull Corporation, the minutes of their Museums and Records Sub-Committee stating that both had been acquired in 1930. On 30th March of that year, Sheppard was able to report "From the Whitby Museum I obtained a complete mummy case with lid and the mummy, with gold and other decorations from Luxor. The entire covering is highly decorated in colours and hieroglyphs, and is early Ptolemaic, about 300 BC. By paying cash down I was able to obtain it for £15".

As the search for the mummy's origins moved north to Whitby's Pannet Park Museum, which is still run by the town's Literary & Philosophical Society, they were able to confirm that an Egyptian mummy, formerly in their possession, was sold to Hull Municipal Museum in 1930. Although there were no further details, the society's secretary had written to Sir E.A. Wallis Budge (1857-1934), Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, where their highly informative letter - dated 24th April 1903 - was still on file:

"Dear Sir, This society has had presented to its museum by Sir George Elliot the mummy of an Egyptian princess, and at our last meeting I was directed to enquire whether any and if so what steps should be taken by way of antiseptic: and further to ask that in case any gentlemen connected with your department should be visiting Whitby in the course of next season whether he would be good enough to give us any information as to the exhibit". The society received "an obliging letter" from Budge three days later, and although the nature of his advice remains a mystery, it was sufficient to warrant a vote of thanks from the society's members.

Newspaper archives revealed that Sir George Elliot (1815-1893) had been a prominent figure in late 19th century politics. From his beginnings as a miner in the Durham coalfields, he eventually became MP and was elevated to the peerage in 1874. As a close friend of Disraeli, Elliot persuaded the prime minister to buy shares in the Suez Canal, and Disraeli sent him out to Egypt in the late 1870s to represent Britain's interests. After serving as financial advisor to Egypt's spendthrift khedive Ismail Pasha in 1876, Elliot was presented with a number of antiquities as a token of gratitude for his help, including a huge piece of granite from the Great Pyramid of Giza and apparently the aforementioned 'mummified princess', later donated to the museum at Whitby.

In addition to a Welsh estate, the Elliots also had a grand house in Whitby's Royal Crescent, a fashionable terrace on the town's West Cliff built to house increasing numbers of seasonal visitors. The small town's dramatic coastal setting made it a popular destination for writers, artists and actors, many of whom made the eight hour train journey from

London. In August 1890 these included the author George du Maurier, novelist and pre-Raphaelite beauty Violet Hunt and theatrical manager Bram Stoker (1847-1912), with his wife Florence and young son Noel.

During their 3-week residence in the Crescent, the Stoker family enjoyed a variety of concerts, plays and dances at the town's grand Spa and Saloon, although Stoker himself sought a break from the incessant socialising required in his professional life. Much of his time was spent exploring the cliff-top graveyard of the 12th century church of St. Mary, reading the headstones of drowned sailors and listening to the local fishermens' tales of the undead. He was also intrigued by the recent shipwreck of a Russian vessel on the sands below, and as the idea for a novel took form in his mind, he began making notes in the town's well-stocked library. Consulting reference works on eastern Europe and the Carpathians, he discovered that the region's word for devil was 'Dracula', and he began work on the first draft of his most famous novel in Whitby library.

With Dracula eventually published in 1897, Stoker's 'The Jewel of Seven Stars', described as "a kind of sequel to Dracula", repeated the story of an exotic aristocrat raised from the dead. Yet this time the central character was the mummy of an ancient Egyptian queen, reanimated by a group of scholarly gentlemen in a remote coastal location – with devastating consequences. When the book was first published in 1903, the murderous activities of the mummy seem to have created some genuine discomfort, and although Stoker eventually substituted a 'happy ending', the damage was done. Already ill at ease following tales such as Arthur Conan-Doyle's "Lot No. 249", a short story from 1892 about a

mummy bought at auction, mummies housed in private homes were inevitably regarded with a certain degree of suspicion and as mummies and mummified body parts were donated to museums up and down the country, the Elliot family made their generous donation to Whitby Museum that same year.

Yet in certain circles the original plot-line was a great success, praised by Stoker's occult-minded friends like the Scottish writer J.W. Brodie-Innes who felt 'Jewel' shed a "clearer light on some problems which some of us have been fumbling in the dark after for long enough". As has been pointed out more recently, "the novel is striking in its use of scientific discovery as a springboard for metaphysical conjecture, bringing questions of immortality or reincarnation into the world of radium and X-rays", and Stoker is known to have done his Egyptological homework. As his biographer notes, Jewel "resembles Dracula in that years of reading and research preceded it", and indeed, Stoker is known to have consulted – and indeed owned – a number of works by Wallis Budge and Flinders Petrie.

Although Elliot's mummified princess in Whitby must surely have fuelled Stoker's imagination, it seems to have been fired initially by his friendship with the family of Oscar Wilde, a fellow student at Dublin's Trinity College. Stoker was a regular visitor to the Wildes' home in the city's Merrion Square, where Oscar's father Sir William, surgeon oculist to Queen Victoria, would entertain at Saturday night soirees with tales of his trip to Egypt in 1838. At a time when Egyptology was very much in its infancy, Cleopatra's Needle still lay in the sands at Alexandria, and it was Wilde senior who began the long campaign to have the obelisk brought to England for its

eventual erection on the Thames Embankment in 1878. Whilst touring Sakkara, the vast cemetery of ancient Egypt's capital Memphis, Oscar's father had also acquired a mummy, and "From the time that Stoker heard William Wilde expound on his Egyptian adventures, he had in mind a book about mummies and curses; he borrowed the plot from Wilde, who had found a mummy outside a tomb and brought it back to Merrion Square".

Another link between Stoker and the Wildes was Florence Balcombe, Oscar's first love who later became Mrs. Bram Stoker. Oscar himself married Constance Lloyd in 1884, and the couple settled in a smart house near Chelsea Embankment at 16 Tite Street. According to one of Wilde's biographers, there also seems to have been a good deal of attraction between the Wildes and EH-A, and "by a curious twist of fate, Heron-Allen, who was attracted by Constance Wilde, was to fall in love with her, while Wilde was attracted by Heron-Allen's youthful beauty and was to fall in love with him". Indeed, EH-A's journal of December 1885 describes Mrs. Wilde's "deep thrilling eyes" and "masses of glorious black-brown hair".

Yet the first record of contact between EH-A and the Wildes dates from the beginning of 1885, when EH-A had sent Wilde a copy of his book on violin making and Wilde had acknowledged its receipt. After their first child Cyril was born in June 1885, "among those who wrote to congratulate the proud parents was a young man named Edward Heron-Allen, who dabbled in astrology and had recently written a book on violin-making which he sent Wilde. "Will you cast the child's horoscope for us?" Wilde replied to Heron-Allen's congratulations. "It was born at quarter to eleven last Friday

morning [5 June 1885]. My wife is very anxious to know its fate, and has begged me to ask you to search the stars". Although the biographer goes on to state that "no doubt Heron-Allen did cast the baby's horoscope, but the details have not survived", the event took place on 12th June.

EH-A's talents also included cheirosophy, the study of the lines on the hand, and with his skills much in demand in fashionable society, he was invited to lecture on the subject in America by the agent J.B. Pond. Embarking on a lucrative 6-month tour aboard the Etruria in the autumn of 1886, one his fellow passengers on the Atlantic crossing was Bram Stoker, en route to make preliminary arrangements for a production of Faust. With both men drawn to supernatural themes, EH-A had begun writing what has been termed 'esoteric' fiction in 1886, and his 'Princess Daphne', published in 1888, was one in a genre of "mesmeric novels which borrowed the gothic staples of magic portraits and enchanted mirrors and added sudden aging and perennial youth", as featured in the Wilde's Dorian Gray of 1890 and Stoker's Dracula of 1893. Dracula's plot line also features mind-reading and clairvoyance, and Stoker is known to have attended at least one lecture of the London-based Society for Psychical Research of which EH-A was an early member. Although he attended séances throughout his life, EH-A himself seems to have been something of a sceptic and having exposed a couple of mediums of the time "never witnessed any phenomena that he could not himself reproduce as 'parlour tricks'".

Following his first marriage to Marianna Lehmann in July 1891, EH-A continued his various studies into foraminifera, Persian literature, the violin and palmistry, and in 1892

published 'A Manual of Cheirosophy'. Regarded by those in the field as "by far the best book on the subject", the manual examines the possible origins and history of the subject, quoting a legend which traces it back to ancient Egypt. "It is said that Aristotle, when travelling in Egypt, found an Arabic treatise on this science of the hand, graven in letters of gold, upon an altar dedicated to Hermes, and that he sent it to Alexander, as being worth the attention of the highest savants, where it was translated into Latin by one Hispanus". EH-A later commented that "I do not know where this statement originated: probably among the vaticinations and literary irresponsibilities of some of the older chiromants… I presume the account arose in this way: there is no doubt that when Aristotle – subsidised by Alexander – made his expedition into Asia for the purpose of compiling his 'History' he was in the habit of sending the results of his investigations to Alexander as they were completed, and in the course of this journey visiting Egypt, he picked up a quantity of the occult knowledge of the Egyptian magi".

After his first wife's death from consumption in 1902, EH-A himself embarked on a three month tour of Egypt in the spring of 1903. Amidst the romantic splendours of the Nile, he met his second wife Edith Pepler, his 'Lady of Light' (or 'Lady of the Moon'), after falling in love with her 'little brown feet'. In Cairo he stayed at Shepheard's Hotel on Ezbekiyah Square, *the* place to stay for all western tourists, and conveniently located for the newly opened Cairo Museum of Antiquities. Replacing the unsuitable buildings which had previously housed the growing numbers of artefacts, including one of Ismail Pasha's old palaces out at Giza, the new museum had been designed by French architect Marcel Dourgnon in the neo-classical style

considered suitable for antiquities. It even had its own saleroom, located at the front of the building overlooking the gardens, and in an excerpt from his journal EH-A states:

"Shepheard's Hotel, Cairo 28 March 1903… drove off to the Salle de Vente of the Museum…. and positively bought a Mummy! A full sized real unexplored man – mummy, case and all complete… we have called him Ferguson after our guide but Barry[?] christened him Eric".

In the days before the Egyptian government banned the export of antiquities, artefacts discovered on excavations were sent to the museum as a matter of course. After the museum selected the items they wanted, the excavators were generally allowed to keep the rest, which were usually distributed to their sponsors back home. The museum also sold on many of its objects, particularly duplicate material, and certainly mummified remains, which were generally regarded with a certain amount of distaste. Only the royal mummies discovered in the caches of 1881 and 1898 seem to have been appreciated, although rather more for who they were rather than what they were. Yet even royal remains were not always valued, and when Petrie discovered a mummified forearm with jewellery intact in the Abydos tomb of King Djer (c.3000 BC) in 1901, he sent the detached limb to the museum at the end of the season along with the rest of his finds. Obviously the arm was regarded as something unique, although once its bracelets of gold, amethyst, turquoise and lapis-lazuli had been removed for display, the arm - the earliest royal remains ever found in Egypt - was simply thrown away.

Complete mummies were so plentiful they were exported abroad in vast numbers, the animal mummies discovered in

their millions literally shipped out by the ton to be ground down as fertiliser. Human mummies were recycled to make brown paper, artists' paint (the appropriately named 'mummy brown'), and according to Mark Twain in 'The Innocents Abroad', even burnt as railroad fuel – "Damn these plebeians, they don't burn worth a cent! Pass out a king!"

The more aesthetic-looking mummies featuring gilding or brightly-coloured decoration were given away as diplomatic gifts or sold to tourists, whose excited search amongst the wrappings for hidden treasures, often as a form of drawing room entertainment, destroyed countless fragile examples. Even those donated to museums by owners unsettled by the latest horror story were not necessarily safe, and although X-rays were used to examine mummies as early as 1898, many were still being unwrapped 'for the sake of science' for another 10 years or more.

Fortunately, EH-A was rather more enlightened and the mummy he purchased was left wrapped and intact. Shipped back to England, the mummy eventually took its place in the library of the new family home 'Large Acres' at Selsey. A plan of the 50 by 25 foot library shows the mummy, re-christened Fred, standing in the corner of the room beside the grand piano close to EH-A's desk, in the company of the two violins he made, some Victorian toys and around 10,000 books. The library also housed his varied collections, ranging from English silver, glass and china, walking sticks, precious stones, seals and stamps, although EH-A was particular about the kind of stamps he collected, "only Egypt and current English".

He had also amassed a collection of Egyptian scarabs, the small, carved amulets the ancient Egyptians used as seals and

jewellery for over 2,000 years. Associated with Kheper, god of the rising sun, their form was based on the scarab beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer*), whose habit of rolling balls of dung across the floor was believed to mirror the way the sun was propelled across the sky. After laying their eggs in these balls, which were then buried in the ground, the young hatching out appeared to emerge from the earth in an apparent act of self-generation, and so the beetle became symbolic of new life and resurrection. In 1918 EH-A received a detailed note on the scarab from H.W. Mengedoht (1870-1939), an orientalist of Hungarian origin who had studied Egyptology and Assyriology and as 'consultant to the British Museum' gave gallery talks to the public.

Fig. 2 EH-A's necklace of scarabs.

Following the Edwardian taste for ancient jewels in modern settings, EH-A had some of them mounted as jewellery, including pendants, wrist bands and a necklace of 15 scarabs which he gave to his wife Edith for Christmas 1918, together with a description of each one. Like most ancient scarabs, these were mainly made of blue glazed ('faience') pottery or steatite, although scarabs were also manufactured in semi-precious materials such as lapis-lazuli, jasper and amethyst.

EH-A's collection included a jasper example, and two amethyst scarabs he acquired from Luxor (ancient Thebes) were attached to the base of the infamous 'purple sapphire', the large amethyst he was given in 1890 and described in detail in the first story of 'The Strange Papers of Christopher Blayre'. If his intention was to neutralise the infamous stone's negative influence, his choice was intriguing, since the scarabs apparently dated from the reign of Queen Hatasu, the old name for the great female pharaoh Hatshepsut (c.1473-1458 BC).

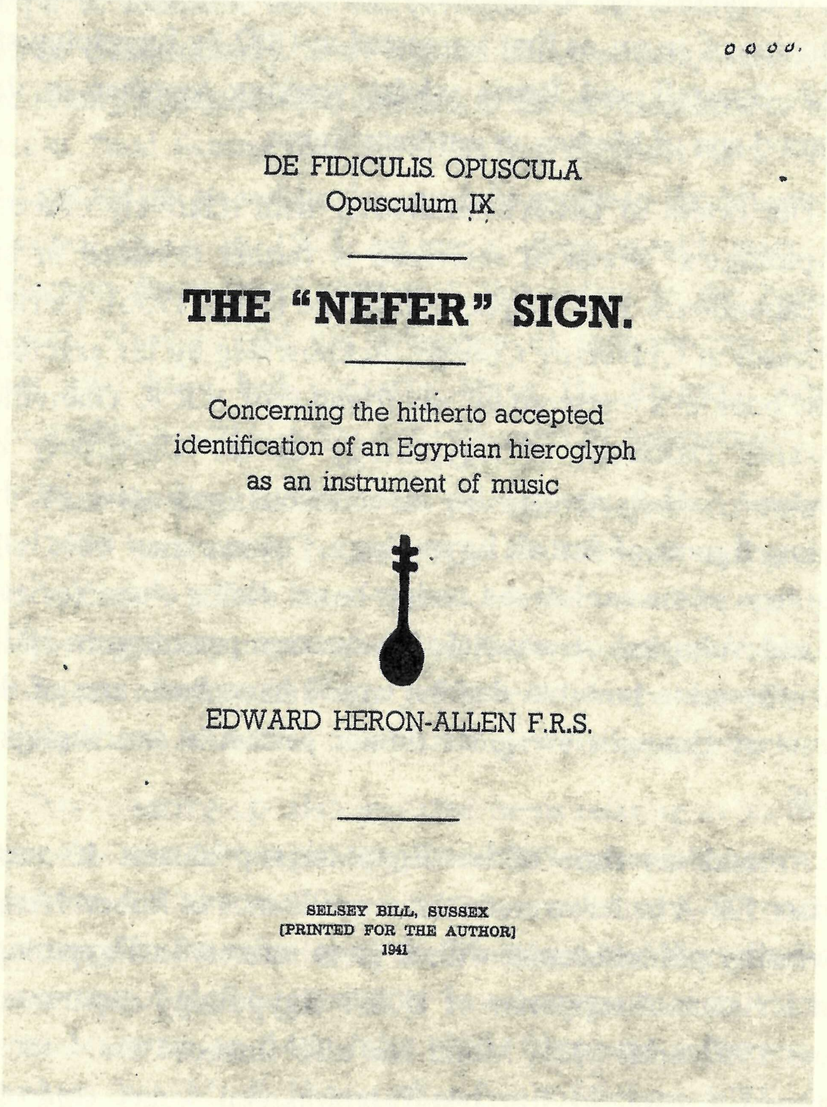
As one of Egypt's six women rulers, and probably the most widely known, Hatshepsut was regularly portrayed in traditional pharaonic attire. Although this was simply standard practice, she has often been misinterpreted as a woman 'masquerading' in men's clothes, and so inevitably fascinated the Victorians. As the basis for the character of Stoker's queen in The Jewel of Seven Stars (who coincidentally owned a large red ruby scarab with mystical powers), Hatshepsut was also something of a role model for writers such as Amelia Edwards, whose classic work 'A Thousand Miles up the Nile' based on her 3-month Nile voyage in 1873 influenced a generation of tourists and Egyptology buffs.

Although a woman of modest means, Edwards created the UK's two leading Egyptological institutions, the Egypt Exploration Fund (later Society) and the first chair of Egyptology for her protégée Flinders Petrie at University College London, the first university in England to admit men and women on equal terms. As vice-president of the Society for Promoting Women's Suffrage, Edwards was also indignant at the reluctance of male scholars to recognise Hatshepsut's achievements, and in her own publications praised the "genius and energy of this extraordinary woman".

Two of the other scarabs in EH-A's collection bear the names of Hatshepsut's nephew, stepson and successor Tuthmosis III. Known to history as the 'Napoleon of ancient Egypt' on account of his military exploits and limited stature, Tuthmosis' throne name (or prenomen) 'Menkhepperre' is written with the hieroglyph sign of the beetle, pronounced 'kheper', followed by the traditional epithet 'netjer nefer', meaning the 'good god'. Other scarabs in the collection are inscribed 'nefer neb', meaning 'the good lord', a general reference term for pharaoh, and each featuring the nefer sign.

Generally translated as 'good' or 'beautiful', the nefer is another distinctive hieroglyph symbol originally thought to represent a stringed instrument. Yet with his lifetime's research into the history of such instruments, combined with an obvious knowledge of current Egyptological literature, EH-A realised that this identification was unfounded. As he says himself, "The identification of the Egyptian hieroglyph nefer as a stringed musical instrument by Dr. Charles Burney in 1776, has been accepted and recorded ever since that date by the compilers of all authoritative works on the History of

Musical Instruments, but the real – the anatomical – significance of that hieroglyph having now been established as a result of the researches of Egyptologists, a revision of the earlier attribution and interpretation of the nefer sign brooks of no delay and it is herein set forth".



DE FIDICULIS OPUSCULA
Opusculum IX

THE "NEFER" SIGN.

Concerning the hitherto accepted identification of an Egyptian hieroglyph as an instrument of music

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN F.R.S.

SELSEY BILL, SUSSEX
[PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR]
1941

Fig.3 Edward Heron-Allen, *The "Neffer" Sign. De Fidiculis Opuscula. Opusculum IX* (19)

This took the form of a privately published booklet entitled 'The "Nefer" sign: concerning the hitherto accepted identification of an Egyptian hieroglyph as an instrument of music', which eventually appeared in 1941 in advance of a more lengthy treatment postponed by the war. It demonstrates that the nefer sign was actually derived from the heart and windpipe of an ox, as first suggested in 1892 by Egyptologists F.C.J. Spurrell and Petrie whilst working together at the pyramid site of Medum in northern Egypt.

The extent of EH-A's familiarity with relatively obscure Egyptological works of reference is further revealed in his correspondence with Stephen Glanville (1900-1956), Petrie's successor at University College. Acknowledging his gratitude in the booklet's foreword to "my friend Prof. S.R.K. Glanville, Edwards Professor of Egyptology in the University of London", EH-A reveals his connections with one of the leading figures of British Egyptology. The two men were both members of the exclusive London-based dining club 'Ye Sette of Odd Volumes' of which EH-A became president in 1927, and it is quite possible that he would have been one of the guests at Glanville's regular dinner parties at his Highgate home.

Around the time of his Egyptian trip almost 40 years earlier, EH-A had also made the acquaintance of Robert Mond, a wealthy philanthropist with a great interest in Egyptology and a financial supporter of UCL's Egyptology department. From 1902 until 1925, Mond had also financed the work of Howard Carter in his pre-Tutankhamen years and the conservation of tombs in the Luxor region then being used as housing by the local people and their livestock. Eventually

elected president of the Egypt Exploration Society, Mond certainly knew EH-A since the two men had worked together in 1905 on the Infant's Hospital in London's Vincent Square.

Over the next 25 years or so, much of EH-A's prolific output of academic work was produced in the library at Large Acres. Unfortunately, however, the effect of damp sea air on the library's plaster walls had led to the development of blue mould, "and fearing that his collection of specimens, books and pamphlets would be damaged, he wrote to the Museum's Trustees twice in 1925 asking if they would store the collection for a year". Although this refers to the Natural History Museum and his collection of foraminifera, EH-A must also have had concerns about the mummy, which presumably would also have shown signs of deterioration.

When the tragic death of his younger daughter Armorel in July 1930 "practically put an end to his activities in literature and science", EH-A then "spent his life clearing up, and completing many matters and collections, and presented all the objects of which had been published in his book on Selsey, to the various Museums to which they were appropriate".

This 'clearing up' also included items relating to his other interests, and although the mummy's whereabouts were unknown for almost 70 years, the answer was eventually discovered in the minutes of the Museums and Records Sub-Committee of Hull Corporation. In a discussion of the Albion Street Museum on 14th July 1930, Sheppard informed its members that "Mr. E. Heron Allen [sic] of Selsey Bill Sussex has presented an Egyptian Mummy which has been in his possession for many years, and this has been packed and has since been removed to Hull".

The timing of EH-A's donation less than 4 months after the acquisition of the Whitby mummy suggests he may have known of Sheppard's desire to expand his popular Egyptian collection. Although it is possible that he also knew something of the colourful history behind the Whitby mummy and its links with Stoker, it seems almost certain that EH-A would have known Sheppard's reputation as a geologist first and foremost. As an expert on the chalk beds of the Yorkshire wolds, Sheppard had an impressive publishing record with around 300 geological papers to his name and a 30 year tenure as editor of 'The Naturalist'.

Certainly Sheppard was no obscure curator hidden away in a small museum 'up north', and with a wide circle of colleagues in many fields including Marie Stopes, the campaigner for birth control, and the actress Colette O'Neill, he regularly travelled to various social events and academic meetings up and down the country. His appearance at a 1926 meeting of the British Association in Oxford generated a cartoon in the Tatler, and with his great talent for publicity, he very much played on his reputation as a notorious collector. As the president of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society noted, "if ever any valuable antiquities or other objects were missing from any of the museums or private collections in the county, the first place they looked to in the hope of finding them was the museum at Hull!".

Sheppard made quite sure the five museums in his care had a high profile in the regional press, and only 12 days after taking possession of EH-A's mummy, a certain 'Crispin' writing for Hull Daily Mail noted that "During the past few days there has been an extraordinary number of visitors to the

various museums in Hull. In the Albion Street Museum, the collection of British birds and the recently acquired Egyptian mummy and the wild flower collection has proved particularly attractive." A very similar report appeared in Leeds' Mercury the same day, the anonymous correspondent announcing "I am informed by the Director that during the past few days there has been an extraordinary number of visitors, especially to the Central Museum in Albion Street, where there is a fine collection of wild flowers and several recent additions, such as an ancient Egyptian mummy (which is regarded with awe by the youngsters)".

Following its arrival in Hull, EH-A's mummy had been installed in the centre of the east wing of the Municipal Museum on Albion Street alongside the Whitby mummy, the centrepiece of a fine collection of Egyptian antiquities including "necklaces, jewellery, earthenware vessels, etc., and a particularly important funerary group showing a model of a sacrifice and a brewing scene of the XII dynasty, presented by the Hull Brewing Company". The collection was increased throughout the 1930s through Hull Museums' contribution to Egyptian excavations, and on 16th February 1932 Sheppard was able to report to the Museums and Records Sub-Committee that "Sir Flinders Petrie had made additions to our collections of ancient Egyptian antiquities, and there is an Egyptian mummy and case presented by Mr E. Heron Allen."

Although there were no further references to 'Mr. E. Heron Allen', either at Hull or in the usual Egyptological sources, one Edward Heron-Allen whose dates were given as 1861-1943 was eventually discovered via the internet. Despite a lack of mummies, Egypt, or anything similar amongst the

references to gothic fiction, violins, palmistry and foraminifera, the website did mention that further information could be obtained from Mr. Ivor Jones at a Dorset address. Following an initial enquiry, he confirmed that his grandfather had indeed owned a mummy, although its whereabouts were unknown after the library contents had been dispersed.

Having finally established the mummy's movements from Cairo to Hull via Selsey Bill between 1903 and the present, the next step is to find out what happened 2,000 years ago - who the individual was, their age and sex, their profession and general state of health, which part of Egypt they came from and the methods used in their mummification.

Much of this has already been established in the case of the Whitby mummy (KINCM.1999.149), whose colourful history and radiological examination in 1938 attracted the attention of the media. With television involvement, the mummy was re-examined in 2001 using a portable CAT-scanning machine and the expertise of the University of York Mummy Research Team led by palaeopathologist Professor Don Brothwell. Based on the 1938 photograph showing the original X-ray image of the pelvis, together with the letter referring to the mummy as a 'princess', the team assumed that the body was female until the 3-d images provided by the CT scanner revealed the presence of a penis, suggesting that the supposed 'princess' was actually a man.

In an attempt to discover his identity, the wooden coffin was also re-examined, its shape and style giving a date between c.500-300 BC. Although its original decoration had been washed away in storage, the old photograph revealed traces of the original hieroglyphic text which was enhanced by

computer and sent to Dr. John Taylor, curator in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum and an expert in ancient Egyptian coffins.

He was able to decipher the faint text, and although the area surrounding the name was missing, the sex of the mummy was confirmed by the words 'son of'. His father was Horawesheb and his mother Nebetwedjhat, both of whom had worked as priest and priestess in the temple of Akhmim in middle Egypt. In time it should be possible to work out their son's name by cross-referencing with known members of their family tree named on artefacts in other collections. Nevertheless, the text did reveal that the unnamed son had also worked as a priest, and with special responsibilities as a stolist, responsible for robing the divine statue on a daily basis, he would have had access to the temple linen stores. It therefore seems no coincidence that his mummy is wrapped in hundreds of metres of high-quality linen, which is currently undergoing examination.

Using sample sizes less than 0.1mg - literally the size of a pin-head - the materials employed in his mummification have been studied by the York team using gas-chromatography and mass-spectrometry. Amongst a series of intriguing discoveries, the outer wrappings had been sealed with a Persian-sourced bitumen mixed with beeswax to create a waterproof coating capable of repelling the atmospheric moisture responsible for decomposition after burial. Minute samples obtained from the body itself through damaged areas around the shoulders and feet also revealed cedar resin employed for its antibacterial and insecticidal qualities and found in a human mummy for the very first time.

With increasing amounts of new information giving the Whitby mummy a further layer of detail, the priest has finally been able to reclaim his remains from the clutches of the fictitious princess. Following conservation, he has finally been placed back on display in a purpose-built, environmentally controlled display space and is proving very popular with visitors.

Attention is now focussed on EH-A's mummy (KINCM.1999.150), which remains in storage following a preliminary examination in June 2005. Beneath the current layers of grime, the mummy (1.46 metres long) and its wooden coffin (1.66 metres long) are both decorated with bright, mineral-based pigments. The stylised hair of the coffin is the traditional sky-blue colour associated with the gods and the dead, whilst the face is covered with gold leaf, the same

Fig. 4 The face of the coffin of EH-A's Mummy.

blue-gold combination also found on the mask covering the head of the mummy itself.

Despite damage to the decoration sustained whilst the mummy and coffin were in wartime storage, specialist cleaning and conservation should be able to restore something of the original lustre, in addition to any remaining inscriptions which might give clues to the mummy's identity and profession. This was clearly someone of importance in society, the plentiful linen wrappings coated in thick layers of costly resins again hinting at wealth and status.

Using many of the same techniques employed with the Whitby mummy, chemical analysis is expected to give clues about the materials used in the mummification process, and age and sex will hopefully be established using portable X-ray equipment. These images will also help to assess the mummy's internal condition prior to the complex conservation treatment, hopefully this can be paid for by a second phase of fundraising to be launched at the end of 2005 and coinciding with the newly created display panels featuring EH-A stressing the necessity of the work.

At the moment the mummy can be dated on stylistic grounds to the early to mid-Ptolemaic Period, between 300-100 BC. The decoration adorning both the coffin and the mummy portray a number of Egypt's traditional gods, the protective sister goddesses Isis and Nepthys, Anubis the black jackal and guardian of the dead, and Khepri the giant scarab, god of the rising sun and resurrected life.

The detailed image of Khepri may well have influenced EH-A's choice of mummy in 1903, and as the only witness to many of his endeavours in the library at Selsey, information

gained from the mummy might also reveal further aspects of EH-A's life. This seems particularly appropriate given his middle name (later incorporated into his surname), since the grey heron (*Ardea cinera*), the Egyptian benu bird which embodied the sun god, was the origin of the legendary phoenix. Perhaps EH-A's connections with ancient Egypt run deeper than we think.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very much indebted to Ivor Jones and Timothy McCann for kindly providing background information and to Dr. Joan Navarre who has so generously shared her own research, in particular drawing my attention to EH-A's work on the nefer sign. As part of the ongoing Hull Mummies Conservation Project, my colleagues Dr. Stephen Buckley and Prof. Don Brothwell in the University of York Mummy Research Team have provided much valuable information, as have Dr. John Taylor of the British Museum, conservator Alison Walster and Bryan Sitch and Martin Foreman of Hull & East Riding Museums. Thanks are also due to David Richardson and the late Dennis Northmore of Hull's Hands on History Museum, Edith Gray and Amanda Corp of the London Library, Lister Healthcare's Mobile Medical Technologies, Stone City Films, Mike Horne, Ian Scorah, Roxie Walker and the NILE Organisation.

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MY FRIEND FORTESCUE WILLIAM MILLETT, THE LAST OF THE "GREAT FORAMINIFEROLOGISTS"

By RICHARD HODGKINSON

This is how Edward Heron-Allen wrote of his late friend in 1939, and a good definition I could use for this friendship is "*One attached to another by sentiments of esteem"*. We are remembering two people separated by age, in fact a 28 year gap, so we could almost think of them as *"professor"* and "*student"*.

Fortescue William Millett was born in 1833 at Marazion in Cornwall, where some members of his family were persons of standing in local administration, Father a registrar of Births etc., Uncle a solicitor. It is likely he was schooled in the Marazion Church school where he learned to read, write and calculate. Fortescue was no dullard, in fact he became good at languages and dialects, most probably speaking with a broad Cornish accent himself. Having spent his early life in Marazion, little is known of him until he moved to London at the age of 20 where, looking for a job, he joined the thousands of like-minded youths crowding into the poorer districts. We have no evidence that Fortescue had any relatives there, so he would have needed to take care of himself and live on his wits. It is only through the census that we are able to trace him at all, but the early ones, up to 1851, are not very informative. However, we do know that by 1880 at the age of 47, he had become manager to an hydraulics engineer and that he lived in the Islington area. Knowing him to be studious and probably ambitious it's not surprising he did so well and came to be

recognised both in his paid work and in foraminiferology as a talent worth cultivating.

In his new London life there were many Clubs, Societies and evening classes to attend, but we shall probably never know why he gravitated towards microscopy and the foraminifera. He was so interested in the subject that he became an early member of the Quekett Microscopical Club, but who his sponsors by personal recommendation were is unknown. We know from records that the Quekett's offices were at 192 Piccadilly, later 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly, and that they held meetings at University College. Later he became a fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society and thus gained more contacts. This Society had Rooms at No 21 Regent Street, so both institutions were easily accessible from his Islington home.

We are unable at present to fully detail Millett's 30 years in London, except to say that during this time he became interested in, and most informative on, the biology and taxonomy of the Foraminifera. Then, at 50 years old in 1883, he "*up stakes, lock stock and barrel*" and returned to his home town in Cornwall, there to devote himself almost exclusively to the study of Foraminifera. First thoughts were that he had cut himself off from everything he had known in London, but this might not be quite true, for later we find an odd remark in a letter to Edward Heron-Allen dated 1892, saying he was not coming up to London unless business calls. As for the foraminifera, he did not become acquainted with their biology overnight but soon learnt that their taxonomy was not just "*like sorting cards and if you obtained the right sort you got the right answer*". He must, through his friends and

correspondence, have built up an encyclopaedic knowledge. Henry Bowman Brady, the most informed of all the foraminiferologists, in his 1884 introduction to the Challenger Report on the Foraminifera, acknowledges Millett's help in the production of generic and specific synonymies, a most painstaking and precise task requiring an extensive knowledge and a very good retrieval system. In return, Fortescue, in letters, paid Brady the deference due to a very experienced naturalist.

As a member just of two microscopical societies where would Millett have studied literature on the foraminifera? There is nothing to suggest that either body had extensive libraries on the subject and personal reprint collections take years to accumulate. We do know that Thomas Rupert Jones (Assistant Librarian to the Geological Society and member of the Geologists Association) might have been able to open those libraries to Fortescue, and also the British Museum Library was widely consulted by many other naturalists of that time.

A certain Edward Heron-Allen, son of a solicitor and 28 years Millett's junior, was just finding his scientific feet during this period and, amongst other interests, he also was investigating the Foraminifera (previously a boyhood fascination), when he first came to Millett's attention. Edward was eager to join clubs and societies where like-minded people would meet and during this formative period he also gained the attention of Charles Elcock (probably a Quaker from his turns of expression). Elcock may well have been an even more close and helpful friend to the young Edward Heron-Allen than Millett, and in fact, it was he who wrote to

Millett in 1892 expressing interest in Edward, who had become known to them as an enthusiast with funds to support himself. Millett, as a fellow Society member, offered to help Edward, who, as a beginner, found himself floundering in a morass of generic and specific names. The two also offered suggestions and help with Edward's study of the chalk foraminifera, which was published in 1894.

So here the Friendship begins. Edward as a member of learned societies and subscriber to journals must have known of Fortescue's ability even before his first paper with Balkwill appeared in 1884, followed rapidly by those in 1885 and 1886. Perhaps at this time Edward had been eyeing Selsey as a suitable retirement home, for he was delighted to see in 1893 that Fortescue had produced a list of species for Bell's paper on the post-Tertiary deposits in Sussex and on the living fauna of Mounts Bay, Cornwall. Though the absence of Edward Heron-Allen's outgoing correspondence precludes certainty, we might suppose he wrote to Millett, reminding him of their earlier London acquaintance and to which Fortescue replied confirming that he was always willing to help anyone in need, and certainly on a project as dear to his and Brady's hearts as the study of English Chalk Foraminifera. This immense project was, unfortunately, never fully completed, despite considerable input from Millett and Brady. Fortescue had recommended its study by way of small units, but as is often the case, the project fell victim to other, more pressing work.

Millett, at 28 years the senior to Edward, would have been in the position of "*Professor*" to Edward's "*student*" when he wrote to him suggesting some reading material. Later, after Edward's second marriage and knowing, I suppose, of

Edward's desire to move to Selsey, Fortescue told Edward to contact a certain Arthur Earland, who was at that time most knowledgeable on the foraminifera of the Bognor region, just to the east. This, of course, led to an even better known friendship and collaboration, that between Edward Heron-Allen and Arthur Earland, which has been so well documented. Although we have little record, perhaps a few letters, we must be thankful that the telephone was hardly in operation (circa 1880), for without the written word we would have no records at all. We have no idea if Millett was ever linked by phone, but in the light of subsequent disruption to his life and his slightly reclusive nature, it is doubtful. We know that from 1900 onwards Milllett felt very isolated and out of touch and appealed to Edward to keep him informed and send reprints.

For his part Edward received a considerable amount of information on processing and species identification from both Fortescue and Charles Elcock, who possibly also acted as editors of his work. He acknowledged them and dedicated his book (1894) on the Chalk of the Twyford-Maidenhead railway cutting, to Fortescue, a very kind touch to a man who was always willing to share his knowledge with his friends. So, Chalk foraminifera represented the commencement of the Millett – Heron-Allen relationship, which continued mainly by letter, was stormy at times and ended with Fortescue's death and Edward's final visit to Brixham in 1915 (see below). However, despite the storms, there is evidence to show that the *professor / student* relationship was on the whole, quite amiable. In 1892 Edward and his new wife Marianna went to Marazion and without doubt spent time with Fortescue, chewing over various problems and enjoying the beneficial

sea air of Mounts Bay. It is to all our chagrin that any diary Edward may have kept of those idyllic times is missing, especially as those he wrote in later years are so marvelously informative.

It was about this period that Millett's star was really in the ascendancy. To Edward he was the man of the moment. Fortescue had been asked to undertake a study, which was to make his name - the study of the St. Erth Clay - a rare and thin deposit found only in Cornwall. He was rewarded for his work with the William Bolitho Gold Medal and honorary membership of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, a membership he actively retained until the year he died. Following the deaths of his friends Henry Bowman Brady and William Kitchen Parker (both nationally recognised authorities on the Foraminifera) Fortescue became their natural successor, his extensive knowledge by this time eclipsed by possibly only one other - Thomas Rupert Jones, Professor of Geology at the Military Academy Sandhurst and, although Millett's senior by about 17 years, outlived by Fortescue by only five. Millett published his most famous work, on the Foraminifera of the Malay Archipelago, in 1898, using material supplied by A. Durrand. Edward had a look at the fauna and there were too-ings and fro-ings of information. Reading between the lines, Edward held on to the specimens a little longer than Fortescue would have liked.

Then, at the turn of the century came the dramatic upheaval which shaped the remaining 15 years of their relationship. Fortescue suddenly left Marazion to live in Brixham, Devon, 130 miles away as the crow flies. Everything he took with him seems to have been unceremoniously

dumped in his new residence, 'Eniscoe' on the Berry Head Road. This sudden upheaval, the cause of which remains unknown, appears to have had a deep psychological effect on Fortescue, reflected in his new, utterly disorganised life-style. In spite of the chaos which ensued, materials and books strewn everywhere and with Millett himself suffering bouts of illness involving giddy turns and eye trouble (which prevented the use of artificial light with the microscope), he tried to co-operate with Edward's study of Haddon's Torres Strait material. This involved him in a great deal of time-consuming microscopy, and despite prodding from Edward he was

Fig.1 Fortescue William Millett in later life.
Heron-Allen Library, The Natural History Museum, London.

"*forcefully of the opinion that it had nothing of worth above that he had examined from the Malay Archipelago*". The project stopped and restarted over the period of Edward's move to Selsey, punctuated by letters of increasing irritation from Fortescue. The project was ill-fated, it had been going since 1886 and eventually died out, leaving just a few pages of manuscript and drawings. In this material was one foraminifer of worth, which is even now being restudied. It was sent to Frederick Chapman at the University of Adelaide by Haddon who published a description of it as the new genus *Haddonia*.

Millett, now in his mid seventies, was not yet out of favour, although he had become a little fixed in his ideas. He was obviously very proud to see Edward rising in fame for he wrote to Earland in praise of Edward, calling him a "*universal genius, an admirable Crichton*". He added a rider that "*if only his wings could be clipped it might be possible to make him useful, for at present he is a bit wordy*". We know with hindsight that this was a fair comment but if Edward knew, and bearing in mind he was ambitious, it might have appeared as a criticism.

Millett the *professor* always considered it right to spell out criticism in advance of a projected piece of prose, just as a good referee would today. He rather laid into Edward about the big Selsey publication, a joint effort with Earland, albeit a bit late, for it had already been published. Edward took this very personally and although I do not believe that Fortescue ever knew it, he told Earland and Earland replied that it was better to forget the letter, for Millett was "*entrenched behind a card index, with a library accumulated over half a century and out of date ideas and had only ever produced one good piece*

of work, the Malay Archipelago". He wondered what Fortescue, who he described as an "*amiable gent*", thought of them both and whether he thought they "*should be taken seriously or were figures of fun*". Perhaps Edward thought Millett was jealous of his growing success, for he was cultivating the right people in his overwhelming ambition to become Fellow of the Royal Society.

As the correspondence that survives is all from Millett we cannot fully know the ins and outs of the situation and Earland's assessment is perhaps unfair, but both he and Edward probably now viewed Fortescue as a reclusive old man (in his late 70s by this time), not looking after himself too well or being fastidious in his dress. Edward, on the other hand, was now set to become the star in the firmament for the next 20 years.

On 8 February 1915, at the age of 82, Fortescue died. The two doctors, having been called upon his being found alone in his house "*in a precarious state*", were unable to revive him. He had requested a very simple interment and was buried in the Churchyard of the Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin. We have very little information as to who attended the graveside. Short obituaries appeared in the *Brixham Guardian*, kept by Edward and stuck within one of his books, but who the authors were remains a mystery. Other obituaries appeared in the *Journal of the Quekett Microscopical Club*, *Nature* (both anonymous) and the *Geological Magazine* by C. D. Sherborn. The Royal Geological Society of Cornwall appears never to have recorded his passing, and oddly, neither did the Royal Microscopical Society, where Edward, as its President during 1915/16, certainly never wrote a signed tribute for the man he

must, in spite of all those criticising letters, still have considered a friend.

Fate now took a hand, or as Fortescue might have once said, *"reshuffled the cards"*. Later in 1915, somewhere around the War Office and Westminster, Edward was approached by Vivian Millett, a nephew of Fortescue, and a "*pleasant, breezy fellow*" to use Edward's words, who was dressed in the green uniform of the City of London National Guard and, as we now know, was a mourner at Millett's graveside. It is probable that Millett's executive lawyers in Marazion had found letters providing Vivian with information on his uncle's contacts and, realising that Edward was probably the only person who could preserve the scientific documents left lying around in the shambolic mess that had been Millett's home for the past 15 years, Edward was invited to see what was worth rescuing.

In spite of all that might have passed to sour a friendship, and to his credit, Edward and his fastidious lady secretary went to Brixham to clear up what he calls "*the awful mess in a closed up house, left by an 82 year old recluse who probably would not allow his daily's, the misses Curtis, to tidy*". He paid the estate £100 and removed all that was of interest, correspondence, books, reprints and Fortescue's fossil collection, which he then set about sorting and cleaning at Selsey. Over many years, Edward managed to make everything presentable, and took it to his room at the British Museum (Natural History) now the Natural History Museum, London and incorporated it into the Edward Heron-Allen archive, where the name of Fortescue William Millett lives on.

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

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

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

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

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

Opusculum VI *'Portraits and Persia: Bookplates and Bognor': Proceedings of the 3rd Heron-Allen Symposium, 2003*. 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. 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. 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).

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

Printed by Selsey Press Ltd. 01243 605234