

# A SHRINE TO LOVE AND SORROW

## Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen (1880-1923)

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Some historians feel defeated when forced to silence by a paucity of source material. Others, perhaps with fewer scruples, look upon such lacunae as an opportunity to give free rein to their imagination. The conflict between these two approaches is mainly methodological, although we might observe that lack of evidence deters the scientific investigator, while perhaps inspiring the literary scholar.

As a medievalist, I find that a lack of source material typifies the period, and one simply has to make the best of what one has. However, as a historian I find it painful when source material exists but is inaccessible because access is denied by legal restrictions. But my admiration grows for the "literati," who, faced with fragments, are inspired to piece words together, as an archaeologist assembles potsherds.<sup>1</sup>

What we know about the French poet and novelist, Baron Jacques d'Adelswärd<sup>2</sup> consists very much of pieced together shards, some dubious, others probably assembled in the wrong positions, and many more simply missing. The image which emerges is thus full of guesswork, and must remain so until restrictions on the use of archival material are lifted in the year 2003.

The first fragments I discovered were in *Les amours singulières* (1949) and *Du Vésuve à l'Etna* (1952) by the French author Roger Peyrefitte. It was only in 1977 that I was able to examine a copy of his *L'Exilé de Capri* which had appeared in 1959. In reading that novel I became convinced that Jacques d'Adelswärd was, rather than a character in fiction, a real historical person. My curiosity was aroused. I decided to stu-

dy in greater depth this writer who, following the publication of Peyrefitte's novel, had acquired a reputation as a pitiful poseur whose life had been one great melodrama.

Having decided to study d'Adelswärd, I began to accumulate more fragments, mostly from secondary sources. During the 1980s my curiosity was further aroused by acquaintance with d'Adelswärd's own work which, because of the small editions in which it appeared, is difficult to locate. In the Royal Library in The Hague I found one volume of poetry, two novellas, and a virtually complete set of the magazine, *Akadémos*, which d'Adelswärd edited in 1909. I was also able to examine a selection of d'Adelswärd's poetry which a Belgian collector had donated to the Dr. Edward Brongersma Foundation.<sup>3</sup> Confrontation with this authentic material came as something of a shock: it revealed d'Adelswärd as a far more energetic, sincere, and much less frivolous person than the character portrayed in Peyrefitte's novel<sup>4</sup> and in other secondary sources.

The first, but least important, question I asked myself was what went wrong, starting with Peyrefitte? Soon I realized that Peyrefitte had probably just wanted to write a good novel, and that a novelist is not restricted by the rigorous standards of biography. But, then who was the historical person Jacques d'Adelswärd? I had to find additional primary sources, more of the author's own work, newspaper articles, archive materials, and observations about him by his contemporaries.

Peyrefitte's novel proved to be very helpful. I often admired the balance it struck between

being a readable story and dry biographical and bibliographical data. I discovered that Peyrefitte was doing his utmost to make the most responsible use of his material. That suspicion was further increased by reading the definitive version of *L'Exilé de Capri*. Although this edition lacks Cocteau's foreword (found only in the first edition),<sup>5</sup> it is often more detailed, and weaves more bibliographical information into the story. I considered this a generous gesture on the part of Peyrefitte towards his curious readers. However, in the novel, one incident still remains unclear: in 1903 d'Adelswärd was brought before the court on morals charges involving a number of Parisian schoolboys. In both versions of his novel, Peyrefitte glosses over the actual facts of the affair which led up to d'Adelswärd's arrest and subsequent six month prison sentence, five year deprivation of civil rights, and 50 franc fine.

In 1988 I came across some old inventories of important Parisian archives in the National Archives in The Hague. I asked myself whether material concerning this case might still exist, and sent a letter to Paris. The Director of the Archives of the Préfecture de Police informed me at the end of March that a search of the archives had not revealed any relevant material.<sup>6</sup> In May, the chief custodian of the archives of the Paris and Ile-de-France region informed me that "to his regret" the dossier of the affair had been destroyed;<sup>7</sup> he could only furnish a photocopy of the sentence. Meanwhile, I had approached the Archives de France (formerly the Archives Nationales). In mid-March I was told that they did indeed have the material I had requested, but I was at the same time informed that there was a restriction on its being made public until 2003, and that I would have to apply to the director of the archive for access. My written request was refused in April 1988 with the statement that no reasonable arguments could be found to support such a request to the Ministère de la Justice (Ministry of Justice).<sup>8</sup> After a few days of discouragement, I decided not to be stopped by this decision. Had my French perhaps not been correct, or had faulty wording directed my request to the wrong person?

I wrote a letter to the cultural attaché at the

Dutch embassy in Paris asking him to intercede on my behalf. I received a positive and enthusiastic response. There followed negotiations with the Archives de France, and in October the cultural attaché informed me that a compromise had been reached: the Archives de France would not object to my inspecting the dossier provided I gave assurance in writing that I would publish nothing which might reveal the identity of the children involved.<sup>9</sup> After wrestling with this offer, I decided not to accept it, because I already knew the identity of a number of the boys from other sources, and above all because I was unable to obtain any guarantee that the Ministry of Justice would also respond positively to my request.

### **L'Exilé de Capri**

It must first be said that Peyrefitte did outstanding research for his novel. He possessed all the writer's works;<sup>10</sup> he immersed himself in the secondary sources and visited places where d'Adelswärd had stayed; he spoke with many people, including family members, who had known the writer personally. Such efforts have, no doubt, given the novel its reputation for historical authenticity, a reputation neither entirely unjustified, nor fully deserved.<sup>11</sup> Peyrefitte did not want to limit himself to writing a historical biography or a biographical novel, as can be gathered from the remarks of Jean-Paul Sartre who, in 1958, spoke with Peyrefitte in Capri about the structure of the book. Sartre's evaluation, with which apparently the author agreed, was that, "The homosexual theme is very interesting. It also gives you the chance to portray the decadence of a whole society."<sup>12</sup>

The final result, *L'Exilé de Capri* (fig. 1) is a distortion, however brilliant, perhaps revealing more about Peyrefitte and his times than about d'Adelswärd and his. It is a kind of homosexual gossip about a particular segment of that community at the turn of the century: who did it, might have done it, or perhaps could have done it, and with whom. The hero (and, in any case, the historical d'Adelswärd) finds himself thrown together with most of the "notorious" homosexuals of the fin-de-siècle and the belle

époque, who are depicted as motivated principally by promiscuity. But perhaps Peyrefitte was really imposing his own world of the 1940s and 1950s upon d'Adelswärd.

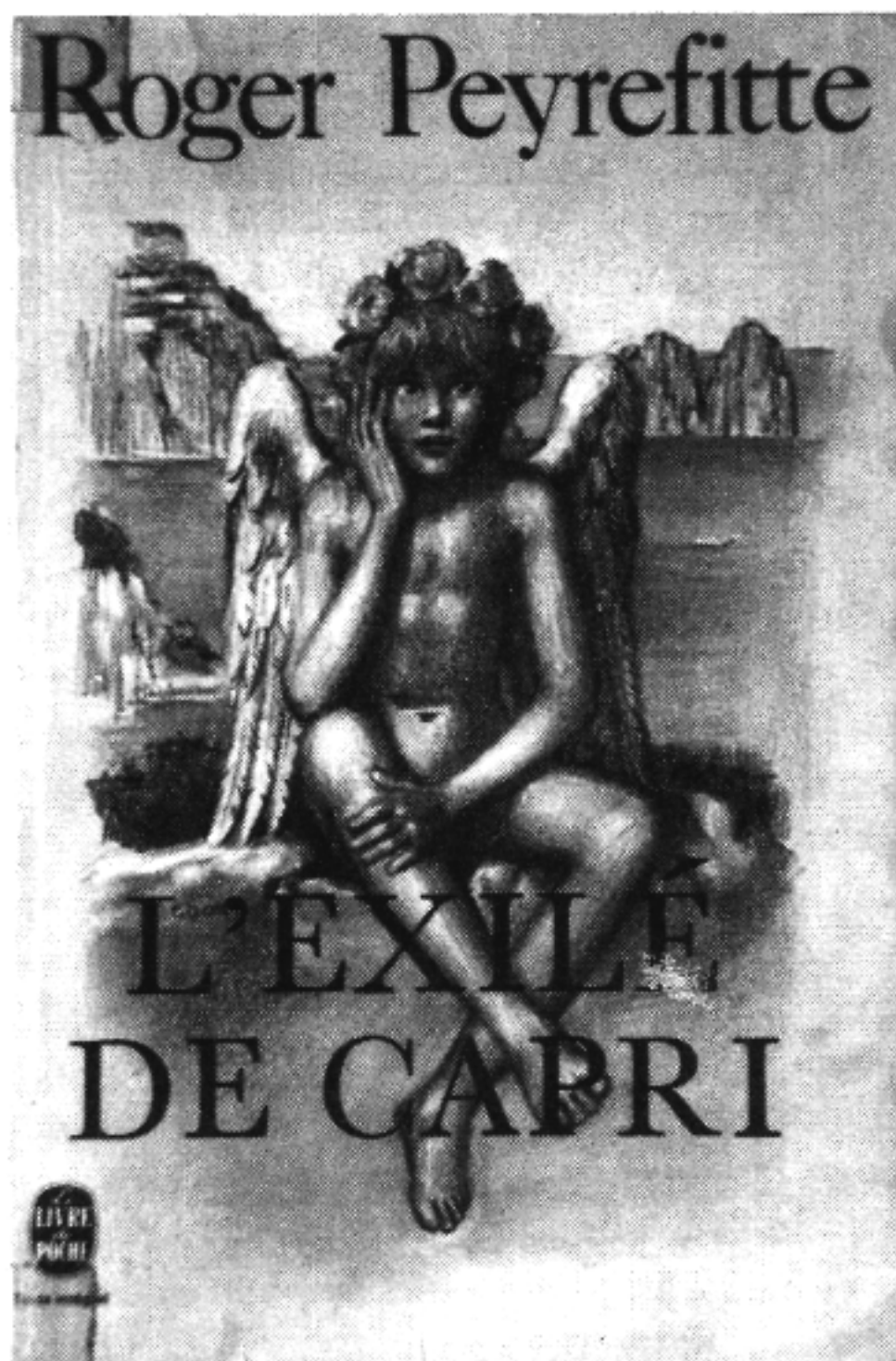


Figure 1 – Cover of the definitive edition (1974)

The point is not that homosexuals of one era are more or less sexually driven than homosexuals of another era, but rather that the reasons for choosing a promiscuous life-style in 1900 were often different from the reasons in the 1950s. These differences are what Peyrefitte denies his readers. He misses the opportunity to provide essential information about the mentality of the people of that time, information that could help us to understand them. D'Adelswärd is to Peyrefitte merely a “phenomenon,” a caricature with only a few essential features of his own to distinguish him from all those others who, since history began, have embraced “the love that dared not speak its name.” As to the real personality of

Jacques d'Adelswärd, Peyrefitte often maintains a malicious silence. One reads little in the novel about the long struggle so persistent in d'Adelswärd's work between woman and boy, between hetero- and homosexuality. One thing is clear in the novel: d'Adelswärd's ultimate choice was the adolescent boy, because he did not find mature men a reasonable alternative, and not (we might add) because he loathed women.

Another objection I have is to the way Peyrefitte somehow manages to involve d'Adelswärd in the vicissitudes of famous homosexual contemporaries. Perhaps he does this to compensate for the fact that he does not define his hero very well, but the historically curious reader must here be on his guard. For instance, the presence of d'Adelswärd at the confrontation between a group of English tourists and Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas in the Hotel Quisisana in Capri in 1897 is extremely dubious.<sup>13</sup> Jacques d'Adelswärd did indeed admire Wilde, but there is not one scrap of evidence, as far as I know, that they ever saw each other, much less met.

One final point. Considering the ethical norms of the period in which the novel is written and from which Peyrefitte has not been able completely to insulate himself, and considering also the still vigorous, small-minded secrecy in France about the events of 1903 and the decree that the Archives de France tried to impose upon me in 1988, it seems understandable that Peyrefitte chose either to give pseudonyms to a number of persons associated with d'Adelswärd or not to name them at all.<sup>14</sup> He certainly does not give the names of the Parisian schoolboys involved in the scandal; he only notes that in the sentence, reference is made to six boys of whom three were brothers. Strangely, however, earlier in the novel Peyrefitte gives a long list of boys – even divided into the schools they attended! – who might possibly have participated in the events which led up to the trial.<sup>15</sup> All of these people later played important roles in French society.<sup>16</sup> I must admit that I do not understand Peyrefitte's intentions. A number of possibilities did occur to me. Did Peyrefitte not wish to give the names of the six boys actually involved in the



case, either for ethical reasons or because they never became as famous as the boys he did list? Why did he include the names of boys *not* directly involved in the case? Did their reputations have to be cleaned up, and, if so, why? Were these the names which are probably recorded in the dossier but which do not appear in the sentence? One of those on the list, Paul Morand, in his *Venises*\* (1971) recalled d'Adelswärd all too well, and Peyrefitte recently admitted that Morand was one of his more important informants.<sup>17</sup> Or is this just another vindictive act, common to Peyrefitte's books, listing the names to suggest that these boys had more to do with the affair than appeared? We can only hope that after 2003 we will learn more.

### Jacques d'Adelswärd becomes Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen

Of d'Adelswärd's mother, Louise Vuhrer, we only know that she came from a Catholic Alsatian family, and that her father is said to have been the founder of the Parisian newspaper *Le Soir*.<sup>18</sup>

On his father's side, his family can be traced back to Baron Georges Axel d'Adelswärd, a Swedish officer who was captured by the French in 1793 and imprisoned in Longwy.<sup>19</sup> There he married a French woman who, according to Peyrefitte, was the oldest cousin of Count Hans Axel von Fersen (1755-1810). Before 1783, von Fersen commanded the French troops who fought in the American Revolution. Later, as a diplomat, he raised a storm in Versailles and arranged the escape of the French royal family to Varennes in 1791; he was made a Swedish field-marshal in 1801, became the personal favorite of Gustav III and his son, but was stoned to death by a mob when the crown prince suddenly died. It is to this same von Fersen that Jacques dedicated his volume of poetry *Chansons Légères* (1900) (figs. 2-3) and whose name he later added to his own.<sup>20</sup>

One descendent of the Protestant d'Adelswärd line was Jacques' grandfather, Renauld-Oscar (1811-1898), who married Amélie Steiner and became a naturalized French citizen in 1832. After serving in the army, he founded the iron

and steel industry in Longwy-Briey, bringing prosperity to the district. In 1848 he was appointed deputy for the Meurthe district in the National Assembly in Paris, where he befriended a deputy from Paris, none other than Victor Hugo. After the coup d'état of 1851, he and Hugo briefly shared exile on the island of Jersey. According to Peyrefitte, the only accomplishment of Renauld-Oscar's son, Axel d'Adelswärd (i.e., Jacques' father) was to die at an early age of yellow fever in Panama.

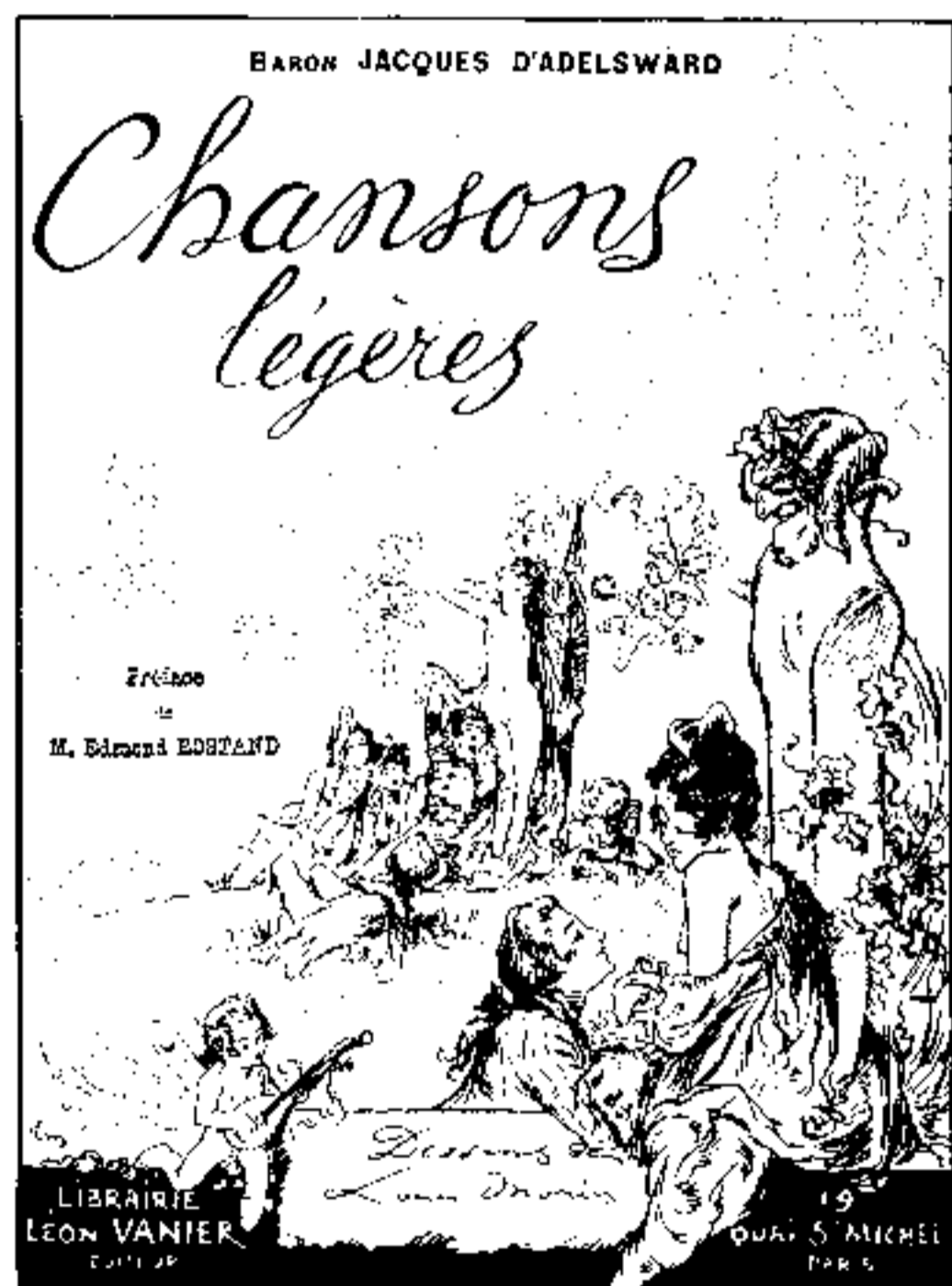


Figure 2 – Cover of the edition of 1901

Not much is known about Jacques' early youth. Peyrefitte provides us with the name of his guardian, Count Audouin de Dampierre, and mentions pleasant outdoor vacations with his grandfather on Jersey. Jacques found these much more interesting than the long summer days spent within the somber walls of Herserange, the family castle near Longwy, days interrupted only occasionally by visits to the steel mills. During one vacation on Jersey, Jacques seems to have

\*1984 (see p.51 note 17; p.57)

had intimate relations with an unidentified blond Eton schoolboy. In the volume *Chansons Légères. Poèmes de l'enfance* (Light verses: Poems of childhood) his poem, "Treize ans" (Thirteen years old), seems to be dedicated to this youngster, though there is an ambivalence whether it is the poet or (as Timothy d'Arch Smith has suggested) the dedicatee who is thirteen.<sup>21</sup> In the same collection Jacques describes in "À Grand-Père" (To Grandfather), the loving but rather remote relationship between himself and his grandfather. Jacques explained the fact that he hardly knew his grandfather by saying that as a boy he was pre-occupied with exploring the world around him, catching butterflies, and picking flowers.<sup>22</sup>

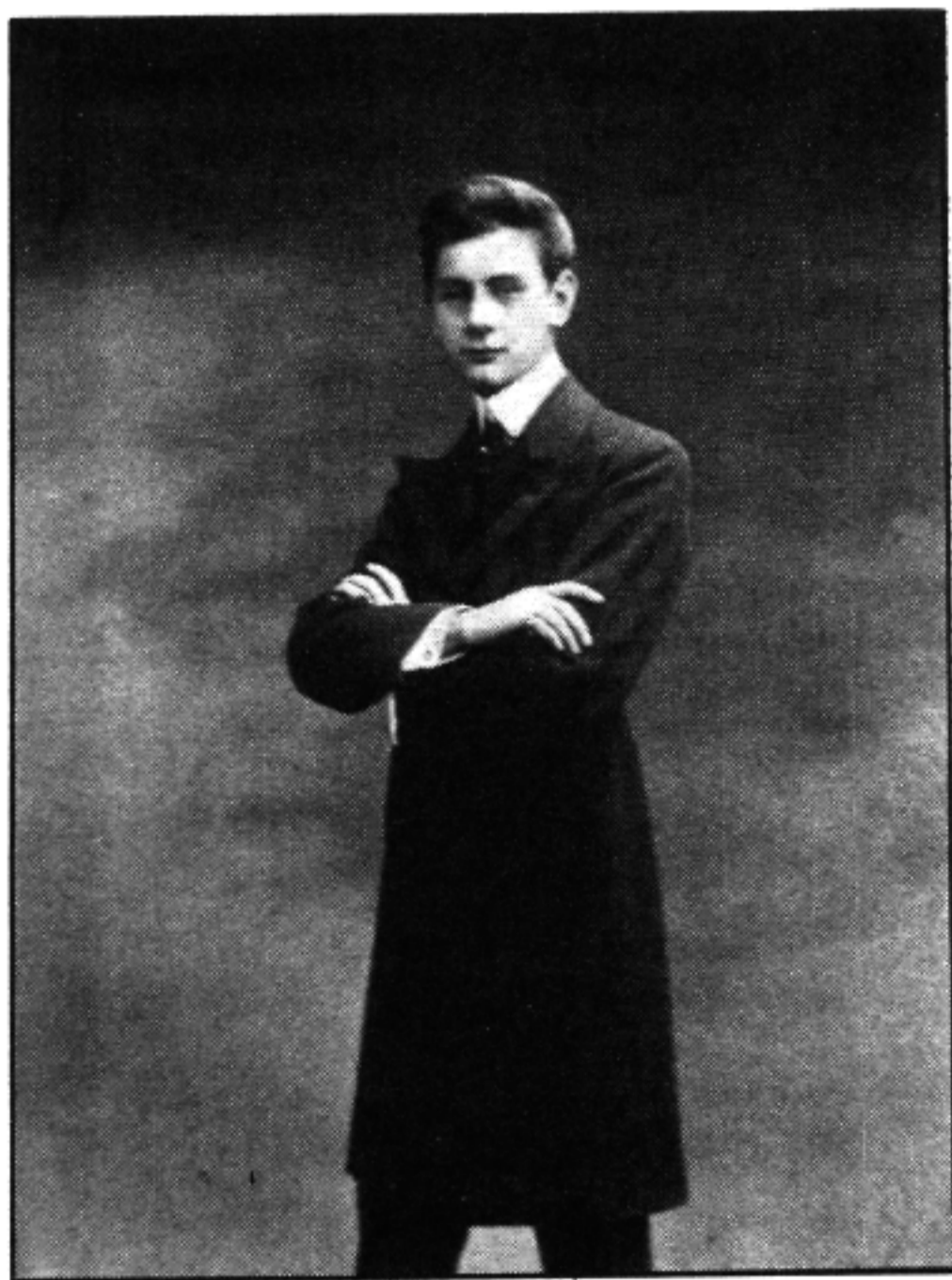


Figure 3 – Jacques d'Adelswärd in his teens

Jacques passed the greater part of the year in Paris, part of the time in boarding schools, and the rest of the time with his family which, after his father's death, consisted of his mother and two sisters, Germaine and Solange. Jacques remembers his little brother, who died young, in a tender *in memoriam* poem.<sup>23</sup>

His middle school years were characterized by a most tiresome tour of the very illustrious bulwarks of Parisian education: the Collège Sainte-Barbe-aux-Champs, the Lycée Michelet in Vanves, the Lycée Janson-de-Sailly (fig. 4), the Collège Rochefort, and the École Descartes. Saint-Barbe-aux-Champs was chosen by his grandfather because of its noble tradition dating back to 1460. The reason for the rapid change of schools remains unclear. The educational system was probably much the same in all of them; the authoritarian approach could not have varied a great deal.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the best clues lie in Jacques' character. Considering the spirit of the times, he must have seemed a difficult pupil to his teachers: he had his own ideas about things, and was perhaps a bit egocentric, non-conformist, and rebellious against idle authority. He gives a brilliant picture of the boredom of boarding school study hours in the poetry collection *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* (The Hymnal of Adonis) (1902). This poem also bears the title "Treize Ans":

*Treize ans, blondin aux yeux précoces,  
Qui disent le désir et l'émoi,  
Lèvres, ayant je ne sais quoi  
De mutin, de vicieux, de gosse.*

*Il lit; dans la salle ils sont  
Tous penchés à écrire un thème,  
Lui seul dans un coin lit quand même,  
Des vers de Musset, polissons;*

*Le pion passe, vite il se cache,  
Semblant travailler avec feu,  
À quelque devoir nébuleux,  
Très propre, soigné et sans tache,*

*Puis calmé, le moment d'après,  
Reprend tout rose sa lecture,  
Se met à changer de posture,  
Pour être de l'ombre plus près;*

*Coule ses mains, sans qu'on devine,  
Dans sa poche percée d'un trou,  
Et là longuement fait joujou,  
Rêveur de voluptés félines!*





Figure 4 – Lycée Janson-de-Sailly (1991)

### **Janson (cf p.34)**

#### **Thirteen**

*Thirteen, blond, with knowing eyes,  
Flashing restlessness and desire,  
Street boys' lips tinged with  
The mischievous, even, yes, the vicious.*

*He is reading: in the study hall  
The others are bent, writing an exercise,  
He alone, in a corner, reads  
Smutty poems by Musset;*

*The proctor passes by; quickly he hides himself,  
Pretending devoted concentration,  
At some nebulous task,  
Working properly, neatly, without stains,*

*Calm again, the moment passed,  
Resumes his reading, flushing,  
Shifting slowly  
To be deeper in shadow;*

*Slips his hand, unobserved,  
Into his pocket pierced by a hole,  
And there, for a while, fondles his toy,  
Lost dreaming in feline sensualities!<sup>25</sup>*

*L'Hymnaire d'Adonis*, which swarms with young blond boys, contains many poems directly referring to Jacques' own school years. Were such contacts and meditations as are described in "Crépuscule" (Twilight), "Rêve triste" (Gloomy dream), and "Adieu Mièvre" (Frisky farewell)<sup>26</sup> to have come to light, they would no doubt have led to the immediate expulsion of those involved. I doubt that this happened in Jacques' case; if it had, Peyrefitte would almost certainly have discovered it.

After initial difficulties with his final examinations, Jacques finally obtained the necessary baccalaureate to go to university. He enrolled at Geneva and there in 1898 he published his first collection of poems, *Conte d'Amour* (Tale of love). The same year, however, his grandfather died, and he was called back to France where he tried to get used to the fact that he had received a rich inheritance. In Paris he enrolled in a number of courses without taking any of them very seriously. After his compulsory military service was abridged to ten months, he returned to Paris on 20 September 1902 and fell again into a rather directionless existence.





Figure 5 – Jacques d'Adelswärd in his twenties

He debated between taking up a career in diplomacy or going into politics, took courses at the *École des Sciences Morales et Politiques* at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and joined the Royalist Party. His urge to show off was temporarily satisfied by the purchase of a royal blue Darracq automobile, driven by a liveried chauffeur. But establishing himself as a writer (fig. 5) offered the greatest promise: he had published two new collections of poems, *Chansons Légères* (1900) and *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* (1902). He also published *Ébauches et Débauches* (Drafts and dissipations) (1901), and a novel, *Notre-Dame des Mers Mortes* (Our Lady of the Dead Seas) (1902), the fruit of a visit to Venice. Meanwhile, he had become a welcome guest in Parisian literary salons: there the ladies, hoping for a casual flirt or merely seeking an ideal son, gushed over the promising but above all rich young dandy; some probably had never read a word he had written. A number of his fellow artists, however, expected better things from his young talent.<sup>27</sup>

### Baron Jacques and the *Messes Noires* of 1903

In January d'Adelswärd leased a bachelor's apartment at 18 Avenue de Friedland, just two doors away from his mother. The building still stands, and above the top floor windows one can read the incised letters "NC." This is not, however, an homage to Jacques' future boy-friend, Nino Cesarini, but simply the logo of the company that constructed the building, the *Nationale Compagnie d'Assurances sur la Vie*. It is now occupied by several medical specialists (fig. 6). 1903 was the year of Jacques' moving friendship with Loulou Locré, a pupil at the *Lycée Carnot*;<sup>28</sup> and of his ultimately disastrous association with Albert François de Warren, a contemporary who appears in Peyrefitte's novel as Hamelin and whose brother was knighted by the Vatican. It was also the year of serious marriage plans involving Blanche de Maupeou, who came from a respected aristocratic family.<sup>29</sup> Nothing, however, was to come of those plans, for the long arm of the law intervened.

By order of the judge for the pretrial hearings, Charles de Valles, Jacques (fig. 7) was arrested by Messieurs Hamard and Blot of the *Sûreté* on 9 July on suspicion of indecent conduct with minors (figs. 8-9) and offending the public decency. He was brought to the Santé prison for questioning.



Figure 6 – Avenue de Friedland, Nr. 18 (1991)

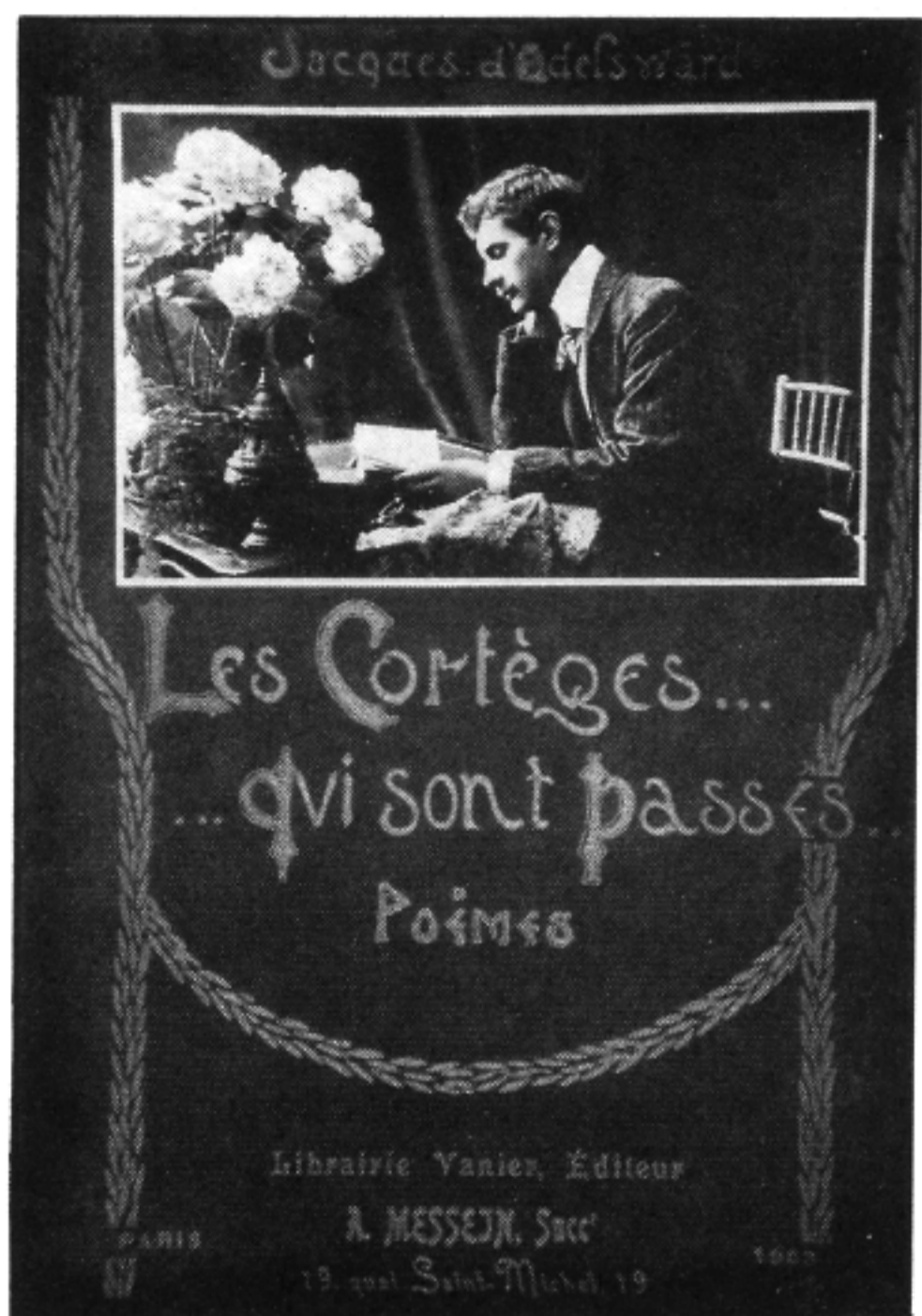


Figure 7 – Cover with d'Adelswärd's portrait (1901)

The newspapers and magazines were full of the case in the days that followed.<sup>30</sup> Jacques and Albert de Warren were supposed to have held orgies (called *Messes Noires* – Black Masses – by the press) in their homes, involving countless youngsters from the better circles of society, mostly recruited from Carnot, Chaptal, Condorcet, and Janson-de-Sailly schools (figs. 4 & 10). Writing of a confrontation between his father and d'Adelswärd years later in Venice, Paul Morand described how his fellow students used to point out Jacques as he waited expectantly outside their school doors.<sup>31</sup>

According to Peyrefitte, the alleged soirées involved the crème de la crème of Parisian high society: many prominent ladies and gentlemen came to gape at these exhibitionist *tableaux vivants* and *poses plastiques*, and some of the observers actually participated in them – the much admired courtesan Liane de Pougy, for example,

posed as the Callipygian Venus. But scandal erupted following a failed blackmail attempt by Jacques' former valet, Pierre G. (fig. 11) who demanded 100,000 francs in return for his silence. When Jacques' mother refused, he went to the police, who at first refused to believe him. However, Pierre's story was confirmed by a certain Perrin, a blackmailer arrested by Inspector Roux and who seems to have been an intimate acquaintance of Albert de Warren. A number of schoolboys were shadowed and their activities observed, after which the police stepped in. Forewarned, de Warren fled, but d'Adelswärd's mother was forced to retain the famous lawyer, Demange, who had defended Dreyfus.

During his detention, Jacques was examined by a psychiatrist named Valon who, according to the newspaper *Le Matin*, diagnosed insanity, alcoholism, and epilepsy inherited from his grandparents. Valon described attacks during Jacques' youth which had brought him to death's door, causing brain damage which, according to the psychiatrist, condemned him to lead the life of a congenital liar. Valon even claimed that his residence in various boarding schools had only added to his lack of education in moral hygiene, and the psychiatrist concluded that Jacques had a damaged sense of responsibility. In August, he was brought to the prison hospital in Fresnes (perhaps also because the regimen was less severe there) to undergo some unspecified medical treatment. It was at this time that he wrote a collection of poems entitled *L'Amour enseveli* (Love in burial costume), which appeared in Paris a year later. In October he was returned to the Santé, on the same day Albert de Warren, assisted by his counsel Maître Henri-Robert, voluntarily appeared before Judge de Valles.

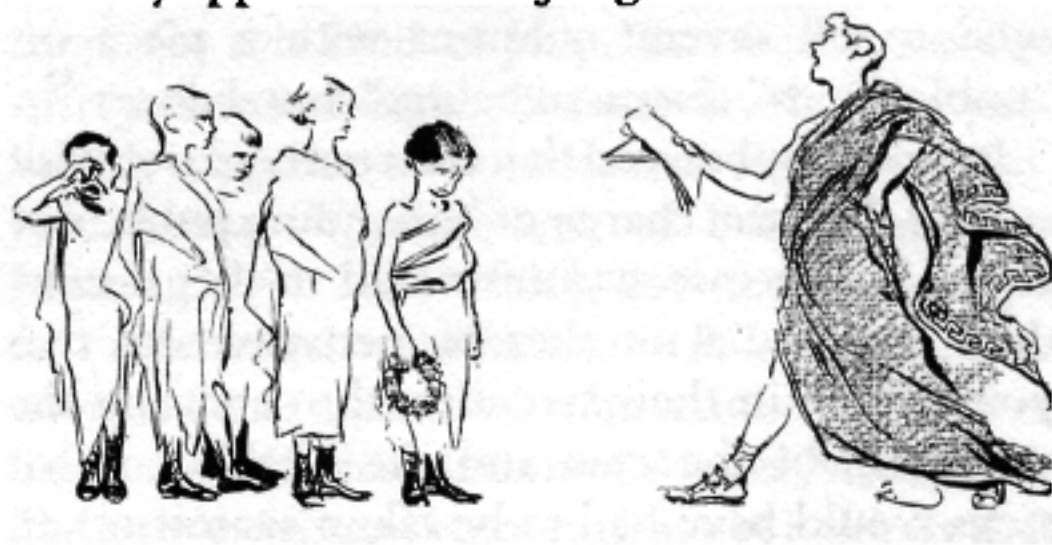


Figure 8 – Caricature by Kupka (1903)





Deux Enlèvements

Figure 9 – “Two Removals” by Kupka (1903)

The trial began on 28 November in the ninth chamber of the Tribunal Correctionnel headed by Judge Bondoux, the court having decided that the proceedings would be held in camera. On 3 December the prosecution lawyer, Les-couvé, outlined the case for the prosecution followed by the statements for the defense by Demange and Henri-Robert. On the same day a guilty verdict was handed down: having already served six months d’Adelswärd was set free that evening. Considering that the trial was held in camera, it is easy to understand why so little was reported about it in the press. Only Grandgousier, in the republican newspaper *Le Matin*, managed to fill several columns with a piece on “noble deeds” discussed behind closed doors.<sup>32</sup>

It must be observed that the court did not wish to deal with the charge of “offending public decency.” The case was restricted to illegal conduct between a number of teenagers and two young men in their twenties, thus averting the widening of the case and the likelihood that steps would have had to be taken against other, perhaps older, participants. Moreover, accord-

ing to the sentence, “indecent behavior” was cited with only six minors: Berecki, Bosch (Boesch?), Locré, and the three brothers Adalbert, Jacques, and René Croisé de Pourcelet, sons of a Parisian engineer of whom the older was thirteen (fig. 12).<sup>33</sup> In so doing, it was probably hoped that the affair could be contained and above all the public’s appetite for sensation dampened.

Whether this was indeed the intention of the court, or whether, as Peyrefitte suggests, this was the wish of other and more important people, the attempt failed. The degree to which the name d’Adelswärd-Fersen still stirs the public imagination is a result not of his literary output but rather of the fabrications circulated about him from 1903 onwards. In 1904, for example, three years before Peyrefitte was born, the pornographer Alphonse Gallais, using the transparent pseudonym of Doctor A.-S. Lagail, brought out a strange book entitled *Les Mémoires du Baron Jacques: Lubricités infernales de la noblesse décadente*, in which he set out to kill two birds



Figure 10 – Lycée Carnot (1991)



with one stone. As often in Gallais' books, the nobleman was one target of satire, and this time homosexuality was the other. The writer of these apocryphal memoirs obviously had little affinity for, or experience with, the sexuality of children; whenever there is an opportunity, his frame of reference is the (hetero)sexual behavior of adults. But the real purpose of the book is to allow the author to cast aspersions on everyone around Jacques: he had intimate relations with Oscar Wilde, Pierre Loti, and Jean Lorrain; he had an incestuous relationship with his mother who took his virginity at an early age; Jacques, in turn, deflowered a number of little boys above the skeleton of his own mother. The piece ends with Jacques' death in the prison hospital at Fresnes as a result of "a delicate operation on his anus." The book also contains a poem of 14 stanzas with 8 lines each, entitled "Notre-Dame des Verges Fortes" (Our Lady of the sturdy cocks), a word play on Jacques' novel, *Notre-Dame des Mers Mortes*, of 1902. The poem is dedicated "to my friends de Barden (de Warren)



Figure 11 – Caricature by Hermann-Paul (1903)

and La Lorraine (Lorrain).” It is not surprising that this little book was condemned in the Cour d’Assises de la Seine on 11 October 1913.<sup>34</sup> A few years later the author tried to resurrect it; using the pseudonym Grimaudin d’Echava, he republished the material in Chapter Four (“Chez le Baron d’Alderswald”) of his *Passions de Femmes. Roman vécu de moeurs féminines et autres. Luxures orgiaques et ordurières. Livre III.*<sup>35</sup>

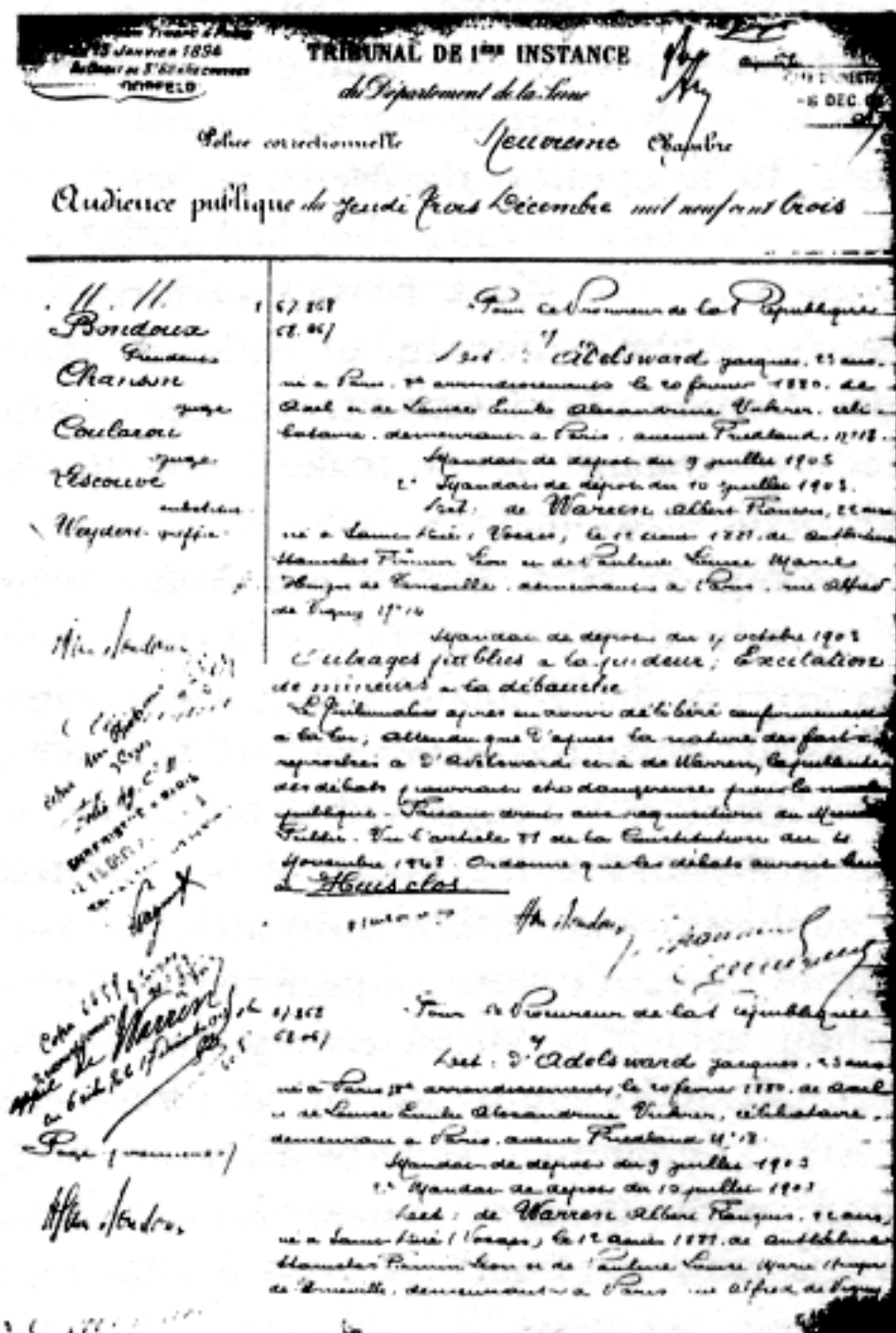


Figure 12 – First page of the sentence

Obviously the public way in which this affair was reported provided a rich source of nourishment for this kind of pulp. But facts were also manipulated at higher literary levels. The previously-mentioned homosexual French writer, Jean Lorrain (pseudonym of Paul Alexandre Martin Duval, 1856-1906), devoted many pages to d’Adelswärd in *Pelléastres: Le Poison de la littérature*, his tirade against what he termed bad taste in literature. His description of *Messes Noires* reads like an eye-witness account; it is not unlikely that he was present at some of the gatherings, even



though Peyrefitte expressly states that Lorrain had not been invited. Taken in context, it would seem that we are dealing with a literary settling of accounts. Here are two people perceived by the outside world as “friends” but who in fact lived in totally separate worlds: a homosexual who worshipped at the shrine of muscle-bound sailors and similar types, and an aristocratic French “Uranian,” hankering after loyal intimacy with the companions of his youth.<sup>36</sup> Lorrain’s descriptions of d’Adelswärd are telling: not only is Jacques a “snob,” but above all “puerile” and “pitiful.” In his opinion, the *Messes Noires* do not deserve such a label because they had nothing in common with the Black Masses of Joris-Karl Huysmans, Abbé Guibourg, or Gilles de Rais. Besides, Lorrain added with a sneer, one cannot expect a protestant ever to make a convincing parody of the Catholic mass.

According to him, the *Messes Noires* were nothing more than ordinary literary salons held on the Avenue de Friedland which degenerated into “banal” costume parties with d’Adelswärd at the center (are we supposed to think here of similar gatherings at the house of the German poet \*Stephan George?). The most shocking and, in light of Lorrain’s personal preferences, “pitiful” thing which occurred during one of the gatherings was the appearance of “an adolescent, stark naked, lying on a white bearskin, his body covered with golden gauze, his forehead crowned with roses and his arms resting on a skull of polished ivory.”<sup>37</sup>

Was this the “indecent” for which Jacques was condemned? Peyrefitte’s description in *L’Exilé de Capri*, based largely upon Lorrain’s report, gives us no further information; at the point where the reader might want clarification, the boys disappear behind a screen of discretion, in this case into the bathroom. What follows is one of the strongest passages in the novel; unfettered by details, the author skillfully uses suggestion to draw the reader to one conclusion: “It” happened in the bathroom. But what actually took place in that bathroom?

When Peyrefitte came to write his memoirs, *Propos Secrets*, the screen of discretion came down. Pity for Jacques’ family had prevented

him from detailing in 1959 what he already knew: Jacques followed the boys, who were stimulated by the tableaux, to the bathroom and masturbated them.<sup>38</sup>

After all the build-up, this revelation is not terribly spectacular. Peyrefitte, however, submitted that his information came from the declarations of those involved, such as can be found in the court documents. Peyrefitte claimed that a photocopy of the relevant dossier had been given him by “an important magistrate” through a lawyer, a certain Marcel Mirtil.<sup>39</sup> Upon questioning, the Director of the Archives de France assured me three times that no outsider had ever taken the dossier out of the archive, nor inspected it. What then of Peyrefitte’s claim? The simplest explanation would be that one of the two parties was lying. I consider this the least likely alternative. If Peyrefitte had wanted to invent, he would have provided us with a more spectacular climax; and one cannot really expect the director of an archive to know the precise history of all the documents in his care. There is always the chance of a leak; some unscrupulous employee could have been bribed to make a clandestine copy of “Top Secret” material. A duplicate of the dossier might have come into the hands of the defense lawyer, Demange, and his copy might have been the one obtained by Peyrefitte.<sup>40</sup>

In any case, we may know more about this in 2003. Another aspect of the case might also be cleared up then, one which is referred to neither in the sentence nor in Peyrefitte’s novel: two newspapers reported that during the police search of d’Adelswärd’s apartment a number of pornographic photos were seized – *Le Matin* wrote of “sadistic photos.” It was suspected that the photos had been made by a certain Tr., an amateur photographer and brother-in-law of de Warren, a regular guest at the Black Masses. Upon Jacques’ arrest, Tr. disappeared. *Le Temps* reported that the police found only sports photos when they searched the photographer’s atelier.<sup>41</sup>

### Lord Lyllian

There is one other source which might provide us with some clarification of the events leading

\*Stefan (cf. *Paidika* 5:59; other sources corroborate)

up to the trial, a novel written by d'Adelswärd in Ceylon and Capri in 1904 and published in 1905, entitled, *Lord Lyllian. Messes Noires* (fig. 13). Oddly enough it was dedicated to the *juge d'instruction*, that is to the judge for pretrial hearings. One of his strongest works, it consists of an astonishing mixture of fact and fiction. Only the last quarter of it deals with the affair of 1903; the remainder we must consider Jacques' apologia. It is a book full of mirrors and masks (much of it takes place in Venice) in which a layman, perhaps even a judge, must get lost. Maybe that is why the Dutch writer and essayist, Gerrit Komrij, even though he made a good attempt to unravel its mysteries, called it a "deafening mistake."<sup>42</sup>



Figure 13 – Cover by Claude Simpson

First of all, there is considerable juggling with names. When the reference is to contemporary events, the players assume their real names: Huysmans, Barrès, Louis of Bavaria. With those of d'Adelswärd's circle, and as events become more and more fantastic, the names take on their own masks: the German industrialist Supp (Frie-

drich Alfred Krupp), Sar Baladin (Sâr Mérodack = Joséphin Péladan), Montautrou (Robert de Montesquiou), Achille Patrac (Achille Essebac = A. Bécasse), the painter Chignon (Edouard Chimot), Claude Skrimpton (Claude Simpson). Albert de Warren becomes Guy de Payen. The hero lives on Avenue d'Iéna (de Friedland), and we can recognize Inspector Roux in the police agent Pioux. Jean Lorrain appears repeatedly as the chatter-box and sexual match-maker, Jean d'Alsace, who on one occasion even forgets his wig. We can now understand why Lorrain mounted such a savage attack on d'Adelswärd in *Pelléastres*.

The main character is Renold Howard Evelyn Monroe, Lord of Lyllian Castle in Scotland who at the age of seventeen lost his parents: first his adulterous mother and then his tender loving father. Following a tender puppy-love affair with a fourteen-year-old girl, the young orphan falls into the clutches of Harold Skilde (Oscar Wilde), the writer of *The Portrait of Miriam Green* (*The Picture of Dorian Gray*, of course). Skilde falls in love with the innocent youth, but perverts him and turns him into a simultaneous reincarnation of Adonis, Heliogabalus, and Narcissus. Countless men and women, mostly older, court him and bind him to serve their sexual needs. Following the suicide of one of his worshippers during a night-time erotic performance by the Lord in the ruins of a Greek temple, he breaks off his relations with Skilde, who is immediately arrested in England and sentenced to "hard labor." Komrij rightly points out parallels between Lord Lyllian and Lord Alfred Douglas. Chapter Nine even begins with a letter from Skilde to Lord Lyllian which seems a paraphrase of Wilde's *De Profundis* even though this work was only published by Robert Ross in shortened version in 1905.<sup>43</sup>

After protracted wanderings through Europe, filled with memories of his innocent youth and his loving father; after a number of new conquests (which he takes as his due) and the accompanying ennui; and after a short-term love affair with a Gypsy girl in Venice and a "true love" romance with the young Swedish poet Axel Ansen (who unfortunately dies young), Lord Lyllian



finally settles down in Paris. There follows the well-known story resulting in the *Messes Noires*, though d'Adelswärd's perspective is that of the sensation-hungry public. All the ingredients are there: the schoolboys arrive (Lyllian's "choir-boys"); a naked boy lies on an altar and is bedecked with white roses and black lilies, a skull in his hand; Lord Lyllian worships in front of him on his knees while reciting poetry. There even follows a scene in which a sword-wielding Lyllian chases a little boy. Someone in the public asks, "Is he going to cut the children's throats?" The writer's commentary is short but deadly: Black Masses take place only in the fantasy of those who cannot allow themselves to be Rosicrucians!<sup>44</sup>

Lord Lyllian has previously informed us that he only wanted to raise the ethical and aesthetic consciousness of the schoolboys and expose them to good poetry (Byron and Verlaine). He would guide them to experience the magnificent, consoling character of love and so stimulate them into seeking a deserving comrade with whom they would not be ashamed and could share the excitement of discovering life, beauty, and tenderness.<sup>45</sup> In the end Lord Lyllian betrays the boys; he renounces boy-love and abandons his friends to throw himself into the arms of his ultimate love – a young girl of noble birth. The hero is asked to justify himself by one of the schoolboys, André Lazeski (the young Berecki from the sentence?),<sup>46</sup> and is subsequently killed in a *mêlée*. The boy also dies in the fight.

The novel is a breathtaking mixture of truth and fiction providing some new information about pedagogical eros. Where the book is of exceptional value is in casting new light on the writer himself, his character, and his artistry. D'Adelswärd appears in the novel in at least four guises, and he even lets them carry on love affairs with each other. Most important, of course, is the decadent Lord Lyllian. He is offset by the chaste Renold (the name of d'Adelswärd's brother who died young).<sup>47</sup> But he is also the sly old diplomat d'Herserange who bears the name of the d'Adelswärd family castle. The fourth is an artist of his own age, Axel Ansen, with whom Lord Lyllian is only able to exchange a single kiss

before the poet dies. Lyllian realizes that this young man was the first person in his life who loved him without reservation. Axel, of course, was the first name of d'Adelswärd's father.

This is sufficient, I believe, to demonstrate the complexity of the novel, which is a virtually unique manifestation of narcissism. We can rightly conclude, I think, that the early deaths of his little brother Renold and his father placed an ineradicable stamp upon the character of the young Jacques d'Adelswärd.

### The Years of Exile

Immediately upon his release, Jacques tried to make amends for his past. He appeared with bouquet in hand at the door of his fiancée, Blanche de Maupeou, intending to explain all, but was sent away by a servant without a chance to speak with her. In despair, he decided to end his life with a bullet in the head, but his attempt failed. No longer feeling welcome in the Parisian salons, he decided to join the Foreign Legion. That came to nothing because of his delicate health, although Peyrefitte's version is that his rank would have been that of a common soldier because of his jail sentence. He could expect no support from his family, and so there was no choice for him but to leave France.

Precisely why he established himself on Capri is not known. Many writers point to the long history of the island, from its beginnings with the supposed orgies in Villa Jovis of the Roman Emperor Tiberius. Others point to the fact that Marquis Donatien Alphonse de Sade and Lord Alfred Douglas (after Wilde's trial in 1895) had both fled there, and this cannot be excluded as a motivation. However, I believe there were more practical considerations: Jacques knew Capri from vacations during his adolescence; he was thus probably aware of the existence of its international colony of artists and expatriates which might have seemed at that moment his only safe haven, a place where he could build a new life, and, moreover, which he could use as a stage to profile himself. Jacques appears in the writings of a number of authors who lived and worked there: in the memoirs of the English writer



Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*\* (1933), and in his novel *South Wind* (1917); in the memoirs of E.F. Benson; and in the novel *Vestal Fire* (1927) by Compton Mackenzie, in which d'Adelswärd appears as the dandy, Count Robert (Bob) Marsac Lagerström.<sup>48</sup>

Jacques took up residence in the Hotel Quisisana and soon purchased land on a hill opposite the ruins of Tiberius' palace. He commissioned his friend Edouard Chimot to design a villa and hired a local contractor to build it (fig. 14). As the time drew near for construction to begin, he departed with friends to the Far East to visit, among other places, Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He worked on *Lord Lyllian* during that trip; at the same time he began *Le Sourire aux yeux fermés* (The smile with closed eyes) which is imbued with Hinduism and the discovery of opium. He returned to Capri in the spring of 1904, residing temporarily in the Villa Certosella which, according to Peyrefitte, he filled with orchids,

oriental perfumes, jewels, ebony furniture, bronze and copper objects, and "suitcases full of opium."<sup>49</sup> He also hired three Caprian boys to help him in the house and garden.

In July he had to flee temporarily to escape the wrath of the islanders when a local worker was killed building Villa Lysis. In Rome he met a fourteen-year-old construction worker, Nino Cesarini, who immediately stole his heart. Jacques sounded out the boy's family and obtained their permission to take Nino with him as his secretary. The two of them were greeted with understandable suspicion on Capri. Nino, especially, was a problem: not because he was a boy but because he was from Rome and not from Capri.

In the spring of 1905 they visited Sicily, according to Peyrefitte to make a pilgrimage to the grave of Count August von Platen Hallermünde and to visit the photographer Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden in Taormina. Both visit and pilgri-



Figure 14 – Villa Lysis (c. 1986)



mage are possible, even probable, but I can find no documentary evidence of either, nor for a meeting, later, between Jacques and Kuno von Moltke and Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld.<sup>50</sup> In Taormina d'Adelswärd began his novella, *Une Jeunesse* (A youth), which, together with *Le Baiser de Narcisse* (The Kiss of Narcissus), appeared in 1907. *Le Baiser*, dedicated to Germain Wenzel, must be considered a failure; it is hopelessly mired in its own classical allusions: the principal character, Milès, even drowns in his own mirror image! *Une Jeunesse*, however, is, in the opinion of the writer Rachilde, really a minor masterpiece which deserved the Prix Goncourt. Its plot revolves around the twenty-three-year-old French painter, Robert Jélaine (fig. 15), who is in love with Nino, a sixteen-year-old seminary student. The couple's antagonists are Father Seraphino, also in love with Nino, and a girl, Michaëla, whom Nino loves. Ultimately, the girl dies and Nino decides to become a priest. The novella is dedicated to "N[ino]. C[esarini]. More beautiful than the Roman light."<sup>51</sup>



Figure 15 – Jacques d'Adelswärdt  
**Adelswärd**

The construction was finally completed in July: it was handed over by the contractor, and Nino was able to put in place the stone with the inscription "IN THE YEAR MCMV / This villa was constructed by Jacques Count d'Adelsward-Fersen and dedicated to the youth of love." In the autumn they made a short visit to Paris to deliver the manuscript of the poetry volume, *Le Danseur aux Caresses* (The caressing dancer), which was published the following year. They probably went directly from there to Oxford where *Une Jeunesse* was completed in 1906. Back on Capri, Jacques took a fourth Caprian boy into service in order to depart immediately with Nino on a long journey to China. Towards the beginning of 1907, both returned to Italy, Jacques enriched with a collection of 300 opium pipes which he had assembled in China.

The years 1907 and 1908 seem in all respects to have marked a crisis in d'Adelswärd's life. In any case, he found it necessary to restore contact with his family; he visited his sister Germaine, who in the meantime had married the Marquis di Bugnano, a young member of parliament from Naples. He invited his sisters and his mother to visit his new home on Capri, during which time Nino was temporarily installed elsewhere. Now seventeen, the boy was in Jacques' eyes in the full glory of his youthful bloom. Such beauty needed preservation, and Jacques commissioned two artists to immortalize him. Nino's portrait was painted by Umberto Brunelleschi (1879-1949), a young artist from Pistoia who was making an international furore and liked the company of "young poets." The sculptor Francesco Ierace (1854-1937) from Polistena, whose atelier was now in Naples and who had in the meantime achieved national fame, cast Nino's image in bronze. The photo of Nino on the terrace of Villa Lysis (fig. 16) dates from about this time. The boy is wearing a toga, with a diadem around his head and in his left hand is holding a small Nike on a globe, symbols traditionally associated with Roman gods and emperors.<sup>52</sup>

Nino's attractiveness smote others as well. During a visit to Venice, Nino flirted with Alexandrine (Sacha) Ricoy Antokolsky, who found Nino so much to her taste that she even fol-



lowed him to Capri and eventually seduced him. Jacques reacted furiously in a volume of poetry appropriately entitled *Ainsi chantait Marsyas* (So sang Marsyas), an exalted song of praise to his Nino who he felt was about to leave him. "How many tears must it take to wash away *her* kisses?" he asked in the poem "Ce matin, tu dormais comme un petit enfant" (This morning you slept like a small child). The poem "L'Icone" (The icon) is a vision of the future and begins with the conciliatory words, "Later, when you are no longer with me and have left me for another..." But in "La Fripeuse de Moëlle" (The crusher of the pith) the defiler of their common shrine is reproached and Nino receives a lecture on the nature of woman: no matter what guise she may assume, Venus or Eve, a whore remains a whore, and syphilis follows in her wake.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 16 – Glorification of Nino Cesarini

This explosion of passion can only be understood in light of Jacques' consuming fear of losing the boy and the jealousy aroused by that fear. I doubt that Nino really intended to leave

his comfortable situation; rather he would have considered the dalliance as a small adventure and a pleasant distraction from life at Villa Lysis, which had become rather dull.

After this affair the household domestics from Capri were discharged for failing to fulfill their responsibilities and Jacques wired Ceylon to ask that he be sent two Singhalese houseboys.

### The Expulsion from Italy

D'Adelswärd's novel about Capri, *Et le feu s'éteignit sur la mer..* (And the fire was smothered by the sea) appeared in 1909 and caused a local sensation. The author spared hardly anyone in his exposure of island habits and morals (fig. 17).<sup>54</sup> Nino was growing older and Jacques now sought pleasure with Neapolitan boys and in clouds of opium. According to Peyrefitte, he smoked at this time some 30 or 40 pipes a day which sounds like an absurdly high number but actually is not.<sup>55</sup> Events associated with Nino's call-up for military service, and similar festivities at Villa Lysis forced d'Adelswärd to leave Capri.

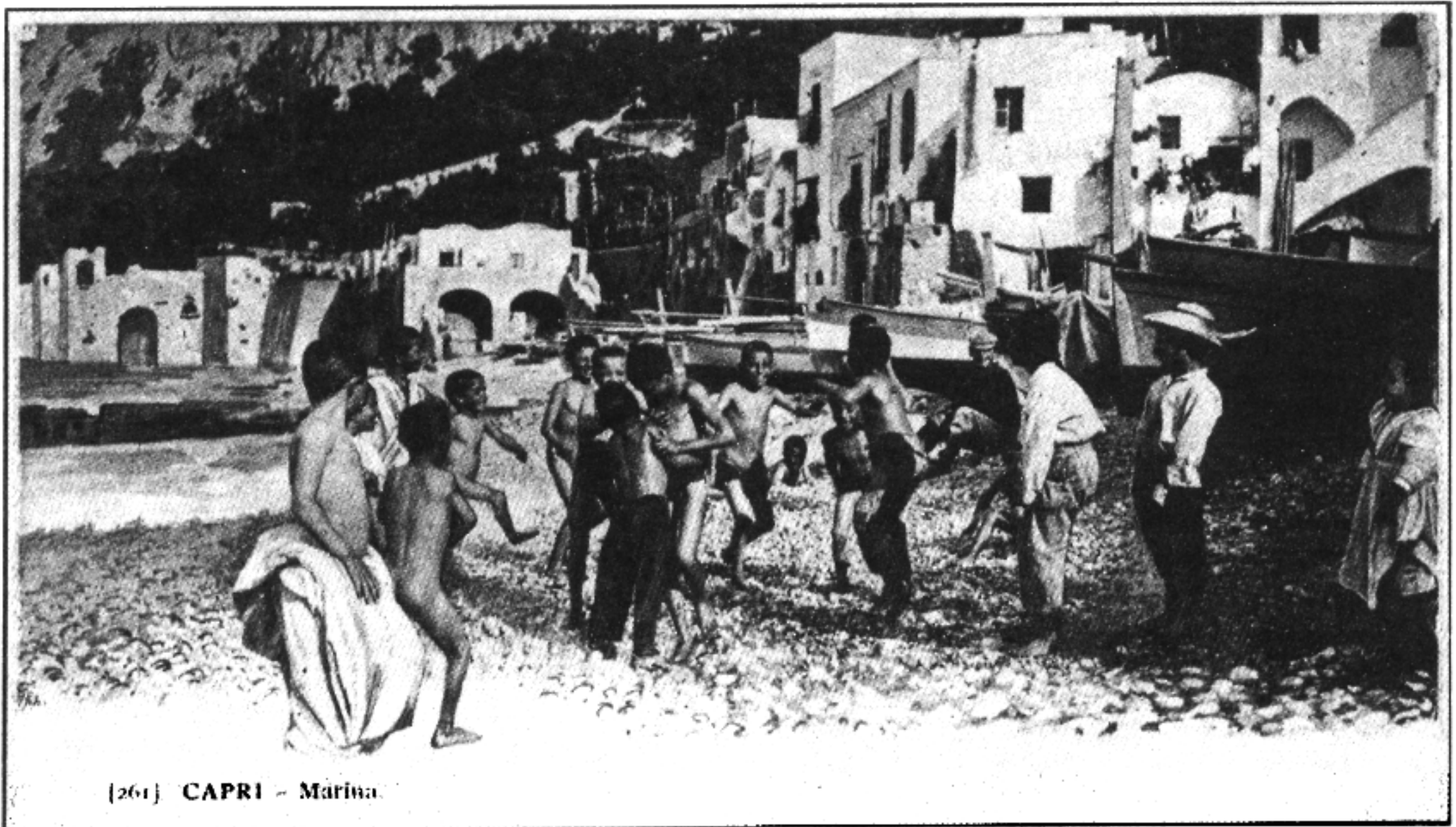
Jacques invented a pleasant skit for Nino's twentieth birthday in which the boy would be elevated to a "soldier of Mithras." It was performed before a group of friends one night in the Maternània grotto by torchlight. According to local gossip, Jacques himself played an important part as the "handsome youth" Hypathos, while his "fat old cook" played the part of Tiberius.<sup>56</sup> Peyrefitte minutely describes the twenty lashes which the Singhalese boys, playing the parts of slaves, administered at daybreak to Nino's bare buttocks. A passer-by gathering herbs could not understand what was happening; she informed her father, who lodged an official complaint of violation of public decency.

The local authorities took advantage of this circumstance to rid themselves of d'Adelswärd. Fearing a new outburst in the press following the famous Krupp scandal in 1902, the police were kept out of the affair and Jacques' brother-in-law, the Marquis di Bugnano, was asked to intervene.<sup>57</sup> D'Adelswärd was summoned by the Marquis to Naples and given the choice of leaving the country voluntarily or being officially



expelled. Jacques chose the former and returned to France. He stayed briefly in Paris, but, because he was now accustomed to a Mediterranean climate, he soon took up residence in the Villa Mezzomonte in Nice.

The editors promised a point of view free of platitudes and preconceptions. They pledged a return to the tradition of Greek simplicity and natural paganism, and to Latin purity. According to the two editorial statements in the first issue,



[261] CAPRI - Marina.

Figure 17 – Bathing boys at Capri (C. 1900)

Jacques could now dedicate all his time to the cultural magazine, *Akademos. Revue Mensuelle d'Art Libre et de Critique* (fig. 18), which he had founded the previous year in Paris and which had appeared monthly from 15 January 1909. Whoever thumbs through the 2,000 odd pages of the 12 issues which appeared must be impressed. The magazine was very well produced and contains countless interesting original stories, poems, plays, and critical essays, and a very impressive array of contributors, some of whom, it must be said, did not keep their promise to contribute.<sup>58</sup> Even Nino, actually in military service, appears as “M. le gérant” (the book-keeper), and in issue 10 there is a little joke: the author of *Baiser de Narcisse*, Jacques himself, is requested to make his name and address known to the editors!<sup>59</sup>

one probably written by Jacques, their greatest enemies were vulgarity, hypocrisy, obscurantism, and ugliness; French culture had to free itself from Slavic decadence, German heaviness, the (Anglo-) Saxon slang of thieves, and Judeo-Christian prejudices.<sup>60</sup> Since they did not wish to confine their vision to France alone, cultural activities in other countries were regularly reviewed and attention was given to what was being published elsewhere, including works by Elisar von Kupffer, Arthur Lyon Raile (Edward Perry Warren), John Henry Mackay, Walt Whitman, and Xavier Mayne (Edward Irenaeus Prime Stevenson).

There were, of course, a number of contributions by Editor Jacques d'Adelswärd (fig. 19) himself, either under his own name or the pseudonym Sonyeuse.<sup>61</sup> In the first issue there is his



"In Memoriam" for the editorial secretary, Raymond Laurent, cousin of Fernand Gregh and friend of Marcel Proust, who had committed suicide in Venice under the hotel window of a young American with whom he was hopelessly in love. His still-warm body was found by none other than Vyvyan Holland, Oscar Wilde's son! But after only one year, Jacques had to stop publication of the magazine as it was consuming enormous sums of money and its circulation remained small.



Figure 18 – The first issue of Akedemos  
**Akadémos** (see picture just above!)

Early in 1911 Nino was discharged from military service; the two of them set out for the Far East, returning to Nice in 1912. In the meantime, Jacques had completed *Le Sourire aux yeux fermés*, which included a revised version of his essay "l'Extase" (Ecstasy) which had first appeared in *Akadémos*. It was published in 1912 and was followed by a volume of poetry, *Paradinya* in 1913. In April Jacques finally received permission to return to Capri, which he celebrated in the long poem, "À l'Italie. Ode à la

Terre Promise" (To Italy: Ode to the promised land).

L'auteur de :

*Et le Feu s'éteignit sur la Mer...*



FERSEN

Figure 19 – Caricature of d'Adelswärdt by Moyano (1909)  
**d'Adelswärd**

## The Final Years

With the outbreak of war in 1914, Jacques was asked to present himself for military service. In the French consulate in Naples, he was found unfit for combat and was sent to a hospital to be cured of addiction, though he secretly compensated for his abstinence from opium with the use of cocaine. It was during this period that he met the sculptor Vincenzo Gemito.<sup>62</sup>

Nino was wounded in battle and sent to a hospital in Milan to recover. Jacques returned to Capri, his doctors having declared him incurably ill. In Villa Lysis he took up his old habits and spent most of his time treading back and forth between his study and smoking room. His last published volume of poetry appeared in 1921, *Hei Hsiang. Le parfum noir* (Hei Hsiang: The black perfume) (figs. 20-21), almost entirely devoted to opium. But life had one small



surprise left in store for him: his acquaintance with fifteen-year-old Corrado Annicelli, son of a notary in neighboring Sorrento, who had come on vacation to Capri with his parents.<sup>63</sup> Corrado's mother and father had no objection to their son's association with a man of the world who knew many important people and who above all could stimulate the boy's fluency in French. In Peyrefitte's novel, Corrado is called Manfred, after the half-brother of the Hohenstaufen King Conrad IV.



Figure 20 – Cover of d'Adelswärd's last book

Initially, Corrado was more of a sly fox than a "petit faune" (little faun), as Jacques called him. The boy kept Jacques firmly in tow by expecting all sorts of things in return for his companionship: trips around Italy and the dedication of poems to himself. For the Christmas vacation of 1922, the boy tried to convince Jacques that he was unable to visit him, but Jacques insisted and was invited to come to Sorrento and fetch him. This sort of teasing was probably all part of their erotic play. Corrado also came to Capri, on his

own initiative, for his Easter vacation in 1923. Jacques was still working on his poem cycle, *La Neuvaine du petit faune* (The little faun's novena), which was never published. The manuscript was still in Corrado's possession when Peyrefitte spoke with him years later.<sup>64</sup> For summer vacation, Corrado came again to Capri. Now seventeen, the boy was torn between feelings of sincere love and compassion for Jacques and an intense disgust for his drug addiction. On 15 September, Jacques brought the boy back to his parents in Sorrento, and on his return journey he visited his sister Germaine who, since her divorce, lived near Turin. Alarmed by Jacques' physical condition, she advised his mother to come at once. Pressure was put on him to have his will drawn up.

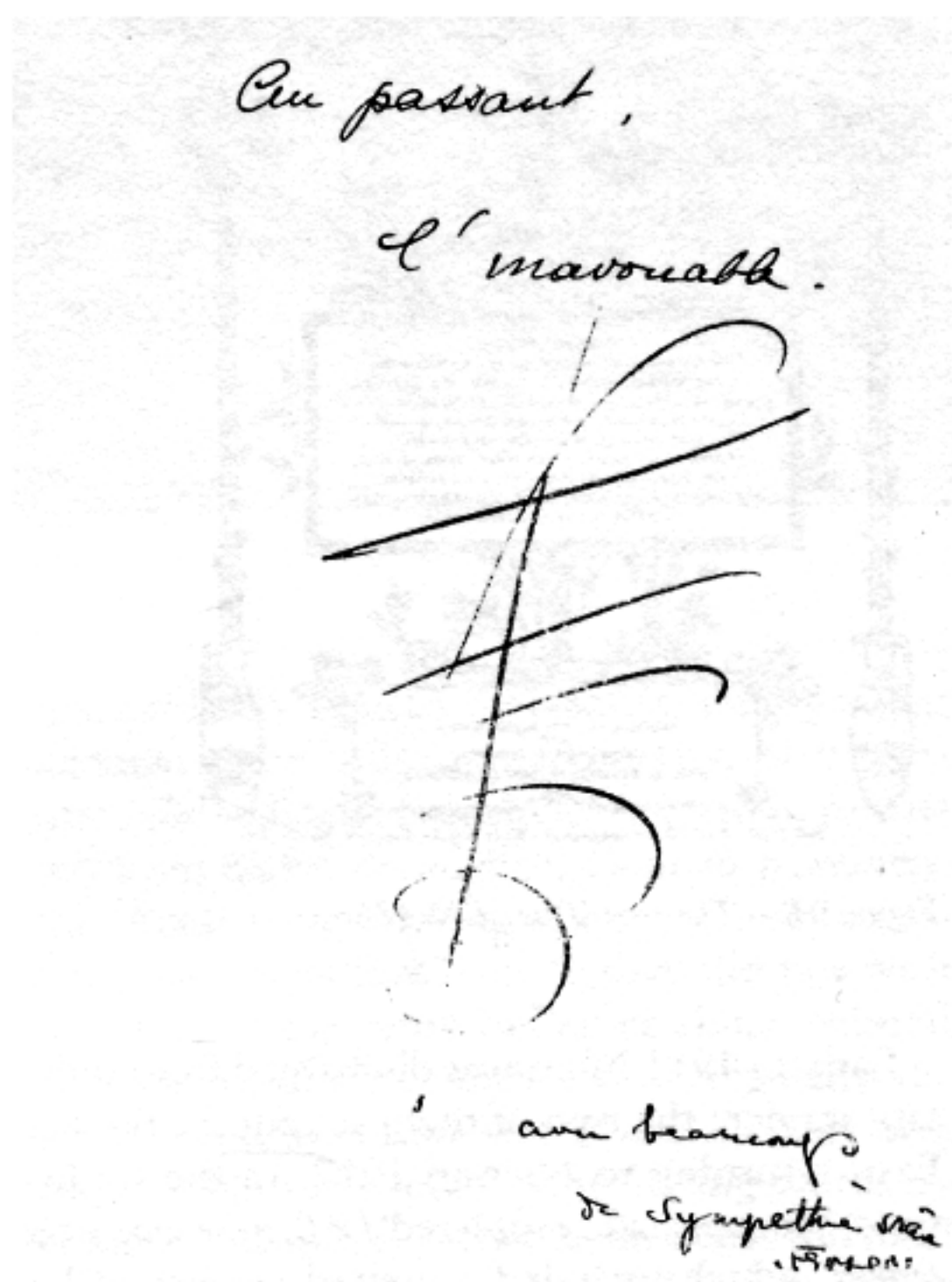


Figure 21 – Autograph of d'Adelswärd

It seems that on 15 October Jacques felt that his end was approaching. He departed hastily for Sorrento to pick up Corrado. According to Pey-

refitte, the boy, by chance, was home sick from school that day. They immediately left for Sicily; again von Gloeden was visited in Taormina, and the grave of von Platen in Syracuse.<sup>65</sup> They were back in Naples on 5 November, Jacques by now gravely ill. Nino picked them up and took them to Capri. Jacques died after supper that same evening—of an overdose of cocaine dissolved in a glass of champagne, leaving his friends in dismay. Most commentators have assumed that it was suicide. Norman Douglas said that a thunderstorm burst out that night and it maintained its fury for twelve straight hours.<sup>66</sup>



Figure 22 – Jacques d'Adelswärd

Dr. Gatto, who signed the death certificate, gives a heart attack as the cause of death. Jacques' devoted friend Ephi Lovatelli, of Greek origins, prepared the body with rouge and lipstick, sealing his lips with a gold Macedonian coin to be used to pay the boatman carrying him over the River Styx. In order to safeguard the inheritance, Jacques' family spread the rumor that Jac-

ques (fig. 22) was poisoned by Nino out of jealousy.<sup>67</sup> His sister, Germaine, and his mother insisted on a post-mortem examination; it was carried out by the authorities in Naples and lent no support to their accusations. Jacques' body was released and later cremated in Rome. The ashes were placed in the non-Catholic cemetery in Capri. His grave is on a hillside, opposite that of Norman Douglas, whose gravestone bears the inscription, "Omnes eodem cogimur" (We all gather at the same place).

In accordance with Jacques' will, Nino received 300,000 francs, the right to use of the property, and the right to rent it out; Germaine became the owner of the villa, including all of its contents. Jacques' mother inherited the remainder of the capital and title to the mills at Longwy.

As for Jacques' intimates, Loulou married and lived as the proud father of a daughter in a castle in the French countryside. Nino sold his rights to the villa to Germaine for 200,000 lira. His portrait by Brunelleschi and his statue by Ierace were sold to a Swiss antiquarian and have since disappeared. He returned to Rome, where he operated a newspaper kiosk, and died in middle-age in a Roman hospital. Corrado became a talented actor.<sup>68</sup>

#### *Editor's Note:*

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## NOTES

1. The title of this article is a translation of the inscription "Amori et Dolori Sacrum" that d'Adelswärd placed on his villa in Capri (first called "La Gloriette" and later "Villa Lysis") in 1905. The line is taken from an inscription on the church of Santa Maria della Passione in Milan and at the same time served as title for a book by Augustin-Maurice Barrès (Paris: Félix Juven, 1902). The latter contains, among other things, recollections by Barrès of his youth in Nancy where, with the Marquis Stanislas de Guaita, he attended the lyceum. Together, de Guaita and Barrès later founded the Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix (see my article "Boys in Art. The Artist and his Model: Ferdinand and Hector Hodler. A New Approach" in *Journal of Homosexuality* 20: 1/2 (1990), p. 79). Barrès and d'Adelswärd knew each other.

2. The following variations appear: Jacques d'Adelsward(-)Fersen; (Jacques) de Fersen; Fersen; Count (de) Fersen; Baron Jacques. His own publications for the most part list the author as Jacques d'Adelswärd(-Fersen), while the court documents refer to him as Jacques d'Adelsward. Arvid Andrén, in his *Capri. From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age* (Gothenburg: Paul Aströms Förlag, 1980), p. 161, mentions the incredible carelessness to which the writer's name has often been subject: "Fate willed that he, who could not tolerate a single misprint in his poems, had both his first and last names misspelt on his tombstone, which attests that it was raised over the Baron Jaques Adelswärd Fersen." Peyrefitte had previously pointed out in his *L'Exilé de Capri. Édition définitive* (Paris: Flammarion/Le Livre de Poche, 1974), p. 321, that the data on the tombstone were incorrect: his date of birth was not 20 February 1879, but 20 February 1880, and his date of death not 6 November 1923 but 5 November 1923. J. Money (*Capri: Island of Pleasure*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986, pp. 86, 310, n. 30) obviously overlooked the correction in the date of birth (given accurately in the sentence of 1903). Meanwhile the typesetter has played his part in d'Adelswärd's commemoration. On a map of Capri which I bought there in 1985, Villa Lysis is identified as Villa Felsen; in an article by Boudewijn Büch the writer suddenly becomes "Fersen" (see "Curious Capri" in *Avenue* 21:8, 1986, p. 82); in *Memorie di un Uomo Inutile* by Francesco Caravita di Sirignano (Naples: Fiorentino, 1990), p. 243, he is called Jacques Fersen d'Adelswar. Philip Core carries matters a bit too far in his *Camp: The Lie that Tells the Truth* (New York: Delilah Books, 1984), p. 83 by referring to the author as "Von Fersen, Baron D'Adleswaard" and above all by dating him a century

earlier, listing the dates of birth and death of Hans Axel Count von Fersen ("le beau Fersen"), a personal friend of Marie Antoinette and instigator of the flight to Varennes. This is hardly "camp"; it is sheer laziness.

3. The reference here is to a number of notebooks with a handwritten selection from d'Adelswärd's volumes of poetry in the Royal Library at Brussels. The copyist faithfully transcribed the various volumes and noted beside the titles of the poems he does not include in his selection the comment "s.i." ("sans intérêt" or "not interesting"). The copyist clearly made his selection on the basis of homosexual themes and is often sloppy in copying the punctuation.

4. In 1987 Eric Wohl produced a very thorough study of the literary reception of Peyrefitte's, *L'Exilé de Capri* in his unpublished B.A. thesis (which is being reworked into his dissertation), *Mémoire de IVème Année (...) sur Interférences Morales dans le Domaine Esthétique: de Fersen à Peyrefitte* (Memoir of the fourth year [of university] on moral interferences in the aesthetic domain: from Fersen to Peyrefitte) (Kensington, Australia: University of New South Wales, 1987). Wohl concluded that the criticism of Peyrefitte's novel rested more on moral prejudice than on the upholding of literary/aesthetic criteria. In light of this study the question remains why Peyrefitte depicted the hero of his novel as being so pitiful.

5. As Peyrefitte later attested in *Propos Secrets [1]* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1977, pp. 157-158) and *Propos Secrets 2* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1980, p. 363), he scrapped Jean Cocteau's foreword following Cocteau's death and upon request of d'Adelswärd's nephew, Count Carlo di Bugnano. Peyrefitte, too, found the foreword not very appropriate, based as it was mainly upon Cocteau's jealousy of the aristocratic d'Adelswärd.

6. Letter of the Préfecture de Police, Cabinet du Préfet. Archive - Musée, Paris, 31 March 1988: "Research in our archives has not enabled us to discover any documents relating to Baron Jacques d'ADELSWARD (Fersen) and Albert de WARREN." The statement implied that either documents of the affair did not exist or that they could not be (were not permitted to be?) found. For further information, the letter referred me to the Ministry of Justice!

7. Letter from the Direction des Services d'Archives de Paris, Paris, 26 May 1988.

8. Letter from the Directeur Général des Archives de France, Paris, 20 April 1988.

9. Letter from the Ambassade van het Koninkrijk (sic) der Nederlanden, Hoofd Pers- en Culturele Zaken, Paris, 4 October 1988.

10. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets 2*, p. 353.

11. See, for example, J. Money, op. cit., pp. 255, 301.

Although Money was aware that the novel is "a blend of fact and fancy," his study of d'Adelswärd's life is often untrue and unreliable in its details because he a) did not consult a number of sources; b) largely based his facts on Peyrefitte's novel which, above all, he sometimes wrongly interpreted or even read censoriously (perhaps the English translation which he used is here to blame); c) used Compton Mackenzie's novel set in Capri, *Vestal Fire* (1927) (London: Hogarth Press, 1985), and the communications of important Italians, as objective historical sources without considering the possibility that they had colored the facts. For instance, F. Caravita di Sirignano, op. cit., p. 184, refers to Nino Cesarini as "Cesarino Romano" (little Caesar from Rome).

12. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets* [1], p. 195.

13. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 19-20; A. Andrén, op. cit., pp. 160-161; J. Money, op. cit., p. 310, n. 30.

14. It definitely concerned persons who were still alive. Recently Peyrefitte has begun in his *Propos Secrets* to reveal a number of their names.

15. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, p. 80.

16. Peyrefitte mentions pupils of the Carnot, Condorcet, and Janson-de-Sailly lycea. D'Adelswärd knew the latter from his own school years. I was able to document, among others, the following names from the Carnot school: André François-Poncet, politician, diplomat and writer who during the Second World War was interned in Germany; Gabriel Marcel (son of art historian Henry Marcel, after 1912 director of the Musées Nationaux), philosopher and writer and spokesman for Christian existentialism; Paul Morand (son of painter Eugène Morand, director of the École des Arts Décoratifs), diplomat and writer; Pierre-Etienne Flandin, repeatedly minister of several departments after 1924, including Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Vichy regime, arrested by de Gaulle and in 1946, upon Churchill's intercession, found innocent.

17. See P. Morand, *Venises* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), p. 39-40; R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets* 2, p. 359.

18. We must of necessity rely upon Peyrefitte for some information about Jacques' ancestry and youth. The newspaper, *Le Soir*, was established in 1867 and offered moderate opposition to the empire. Following the war of 1870 it supported the politics of Thiers and the establishment of a conservative republic. In 1873 the paper was bought by the Orleanists.

19. Ample discussions about Jacques' ancestry in J. Balteau, et al. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* I (Paris: Lctouzey et Ané, 1933), p. 545.

20. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 14-15. See also Note 2. For more information about Hans Axel von

Fersen, see N. I. Garde (pseudonym of Edgar Leoni), *Jonathan to Gide: The Homosexual in History* (New York: Nosbooks, 1969), pp. 491-495.

21. The section "Un Souvenir pour une Larme" (A souvenir for a tear) in d'Adelswärd's poetry volume *Les Cortèges qui sont passés* (Corteges of the past) (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1903), pp. 93 ff., is dedicated to this guardian. J. d'Adelswärd, *Chansons Légères. Poèmes de l'enfance* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1901), p. 120; T. d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest. Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 118.

22. J. d'Adelswärd, *Chansons Légères*, pp. 156-158.

23. Ibid., pp. 95-96: "À mon Frère Renold" (To my brother Renold). In neither version of his novel does Peyrefitte mention the boy! A good example of boarding school impressions is found in the poem "Innocence," from d'Adelswärd's poetry collection, *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis, à la façon de M. le Marquis de Sade. Paganismes* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1902), p. 118.

24. On the French educational system at this time, see A. Prost, *Histoire de l'Enseignement en France 1800-1967* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970), pp. 57 ff., 246 ff.

25. J. d'Adelswärd, *L'Hymnaire*, pp. 136-137. English translation by the author.

26. Ibid., pp. 49, 114-115, 144-145.

27. J. Balteau, op. cit., p. 544; R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 30, 46. According to Peyrefitte, d'Adelswärd read to his camp comrades, including Edouard Chimot, engraver from Lille, passages from works by Rimbaud, Péladan, and Huysmans. It remains unclear whether Jacques was licensed at law: this was claimed in an anonymous article in *Le Matin* headed "Messes Noires en plein bacchanale," 11 July 1903, p. 2, but was denied by A. Jarry, "L'Âme ouverte à l'art antique" in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903) [no pagination].

28. The poem, "Noëlleries" (Christmas tales), in the collection *Les Cortèges*, p. 16, is dedicated to this Loulou. R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 74-75, constructed the last name of Loulou, who lived on Rue de Berri, in the form of a puzzle. To solve the puzzle, one combines the data from P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1865-1890), Volume IV, p. 526 and Volume X, p. 613, with the names in the sentence. Loulou was descended from the jurist Jean-Guillaume Locré, Baron de Roissy (1758-1840), author of the 31-volume work, *Législation civile, commerciale et criminelle de la France* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1827-1832).

29. The engagement was reported in the press. One newspaper announced both the engagement and Jac-



ques' arrest on the same day! See Regina, "La Vie de Paris. L'île de Puteaux" and (Anonymous) "Un scandale Parisien" in *Le Figaro* 10 July 1903, pp. 1, 4.

30. See Note 29 and, among other sources, (Anonymous) "Messes Noires" in *Le Matin* 10 July 1903, p. 2; (Anonymous) "Messes Noires en plein bacchanale," loc. cit.; (Anonymous) "Un scandale" in *Le Temps* 12 July 1903, p. 3; A. Jarry, "Le Périple de la littérature et de l'art. Héliogabale à travers les âges" in *La Plume: littéraire, artistique et sociale bi-mensuelle* 16:343 (1903), pp. 209-210; *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903), the whole issue. The case was not overlooked by the foreign press. The report in the *Berliner Tageblatt* 10 July 1903 (taken directly from *Le Matin*) appears in I. Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909), p. 698.

31. P. Morand, op. cit., p. 40. Morand recalls the response of his school friends on a walk with his father over the Square of San Marco in Venice, during the course of which they suddenly encountered d'Adelswärd. His father refused Jacques' proffered hand on the grounds that he did not wish to shake hands with a pederast, much to the amusement of the young Morand who observed that his father, without realizing it, did so all day long! Morand must have been mistaken here in the year he cites (1908), for the meeting can only have taken place in 1907.

32. Grandgousier, "Un procès à huis clos. Les Messes Noires" in *Le Matin* 29 November 1903, p. 1, and "Tribunaux. Les Messes Noires" in *Le Matin* 4 December 1903, p. 2.

33. Ms. 3-12-1903, Paris, Archives de Paris, Tribunal de 1ère Instance du Département de la Seine. Police Correctionnelle Neuvième Chambre. Audience publique du Jeudi Trois Décembre mil neuf cent trois, fol. 1-3.

34. A.-S. Lagail, *Les Mémoires du Baron Jacques: Lubricités infernales de la noblesse décadente* (Priapeville: Librairie Galante, An IV du XXe siècle foutatif [=1904]). A clumsy English translation was published in Canada in 1988; it had one positive result: the 1991 reprinting of the original text in France, now provided with page numbers, and the pages printed at last in proper sequence. See: A. Gallais, *The Memoirs of Baron Jacques: The Diabolical Debaucheries of Our Decadent Aristocracy*. Transl. and Introd. by Richard West (Vancouver: Ageneios Press, 1988); P. Cardon (ed.), *Dossier Jacques d'Adelsward-Fersen* (Lille: Cahier Gai-Kitsch-Camp XX-4, 1991), pp. 63-95; P. Pia, *Les Livres de l'Enfer. Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques du XVIème siècle à nos jours. II* (Paris: Coulet et Faure, 1978), p. 441; L. Perceau, *Bibliographie du roman érotique au XIXe siècle.*

II (Paris: Georges Fourdrinier, 1930), pp. 41-43. Perceau, who described the work as "the most horrible of its kind," mis-states the title of the poem as (perhaps a Freudian error): "Notre-Dame des Vierges Fortes" (Our Lady of the sturdy virgins), instead of "Notre-Dame des Verges Fortes" (Our Lady of the sturdy cocks)!

35. P. Pia, op. cit., pp. 535-536.

36. de Fersen, *Lord Lyllian. Messes Noires* (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1905), pp. 169-171.

37. J. Lorrain, *Péleestres: Le Poison de la littérature* (Paris: A. Méricant, 1910), p. 135. In the last few years a lot of new studies have appeared on Gilles de Rais and Joris-Karl Huysmans. On the Black Masses of Abbé Guibourg, see U. K. Dreikandt (ed.), *Schwarze Messen. Dichtungen und Dokumente* (Herrsching: M. Pawlak Verlagsgesellschaft mbH., 1970), pp. 69-77, and R. Cavendish, *Die schwarze Magie* (Frankfurt/Main: G. B. Fischer Verlag, 1969), pp. 377-381. It is here revealed in passing that as early as 1889 the newspaper *Le Matin* had given special attention in its news coverage to "Black Masses." This study, on pages 46-49, gives some other details of the Black Masses of Abbé Boullan (1824-1893) who during the 1880s and 1890s had captured the imagination of many in France. Huysmans and Stanislas de Guaita (see Note 1) were members, for shorter or longer periods, of his circle. Typical of all cited examples seem to be accusations of ritual child murder combined with orgiastic convocations. It almost seems as if Lorrain regretted that d'Adelswärd had spared the lives of his little friends!

38. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets* 2, p. 362.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 361.

40. The furnishing of duplicate copies of court dossiers for the benefit of the accused is a rather recent practice in many countries of Europe (communication from Edward Brongersma). It is unclear whether this began at an earlier period in France.

41. (Anonymous) "Messes Noires," loc. cit.; (Anonymous) "Messes Noires en plein bacchanale," loc. cit.; (Anonymous) "Un scandale," loc. cit. In the sentence there is only reference to "gravures licencieuses" (licentious engravings) which d'Adelswärd showed to the schoolboys.

42. See Note 36. G. Komrij, *Verzonken Boeken* (Amsterdam: Synopsis, 1986), p. 67.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 68; de Fersen, op. cit., pp. 78-83; R. Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987), p. 551.

44. de Fersen, op. cit., pp. 151-180. I have been unable to discover whether d'Adelswärd himself was a member of the Rosicrucians or only sympathized with them. In any case, Péladan and Barrès, leaders in the

Ordre de la Rose-Croix Catholique, participated in d'Adelswärd's magazine *Akademos* in 1909. In my opinion, Lyllian's cryptic remark refers to concepts of Péladan about "The Worthy Subject" and "Ephobic Beauty" (see my article "Neither to Laugh nor to Cry. A Failure in the End: Charles Filiger (1863-1928)" in *Paidika* 1:4, 1988, pp. 38-41).

45. de Fersen, op. cit., p. 162.

46. Erroneously given by Komrij, op. cit., p. 67, as a "Hungarian poet." It was a 17-year-old Polish boy whom Lord Lyllian encouraged to write poetry. From the sentence it seems that not just Loulou Locré but also the Berecki boy had special bonds with d'Adelswärd.

47. de Fersen, op. cit., p. 27; at the threshold of puberty, the boy fondles himself in front of a mirror, fantasizing about a non-existent "brother"!

48. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 86-88. Nino Cesarini, Jacques' later boy-friend, is recognizable in the novel, *Vestal Fire*, in the person of Carlo di Fiore, and Villa Lysis (named from Plato's dialogue on "the good" as the ultimate goal of all human desires) is called Villa Hylas, after the beloved of Herakles.

49. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, p. 130.

50. R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 169-174, and my article, "Op het snijpunt van twee wegen – John Henry Mackay, anarchist en knapenminnaar" in *Maatstaf* 31:8 (1983), pp. 70-78.

51. J. d'Adelswärd-Fersen, *Une Jeunesse/Le Baiser de Narcisse* (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1907). The Uranian and expert on witchcraft, Montague Summers (1880-1948) wrote with great sympathy about d'Adelswärd and even dedicated a collection of his poetry to him, *Antinous and Other Poems* (London: Sisey's, [1907]). He incorrectly wrote that the novella took place in Venice, whereas it actually was set near Taormina and in Verona. See M. Summers, *The Galanty Show. An Autobiography by Montague Summers* (London: Cecil Woolf, 1980), p. 236. The supposition made by T. d'Arch Smith, op. cit., p. 156, that Rachilde (pseudonym of Marguerite Aymery Vallette) used Jacques' name for the two incestuous homosexual brothers Fertzen in her novel, *Les Hors nature. Moeurs contemporaines* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1897), must be corrected: in 1897 Jacques had not yet acquired his "reputation"! Possibly Rachilde was referring to Hans Axel von Fersen (see Note 20).

52. For a reproduction of the statue of Nino cast by Francesco Jerace, see J. Money, op. cit., p. 95. With respect to the photo, the same symbols – although in mirror image – can be found on a drinking vessel from the First Century B.C. on which Emperor Augustus is shown in all his majesty, and on a Fourth Century A.D. coin on which the Emperor Constantius II is

depicted as Perpetuus Augustus. The closest resemblance with the photo is found in Second and Third Century A.D. depictions of Zeus Nicephorus, see A. Dimitrova-Milcheva, *Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos in the National Archeological Museum in Sofia* (Sofia: Septemviri Publishing House, 1981), pp. 32-33, Nrs. 13-14a. The photo differs in the following respects: standing posture, lack of scepter, and a Christian cross around Nino's neck.

53. J. d'Adelswärd-Fersen, *Ainsi chantait Marsyas. . . . Poèmes* (Florence and Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1907), pp. 15-16, 23-28. The photo of Jacques in J. Money, loc. cit. dates from this time and gives evidence of d'Adelswärd's increasing use of opium.

54. On the response of the residents of Capri, see J. Money, op. cit., pp. 109-111. One of Jacques' friends suggested that readers might have mis-read the implications of the dots following "mer," which of course means that they interpreted it as "merde" (shit).

55. The use of opium – following the Chinese Chandu method – was very popular with a number of artists, especially since the drug was easily obtainable in European apothecaries, even after the First World War. W. Schmidbauer and J. vom Scheidt, *Handbuch der Rauschdrogen* (München: Nymphenburger, 1975), pp. 139-146, states that the smoking of 20 to 40 pipes (6 to 7 grams) per day was common for the average user (10 grams of opium contain approximately 1 gram morphine, of which 0.2 to 0.3 grams come directly into the blood with smoking). A. Hayther, *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), goes deeply into the influence which the drug had on various artists. Jacques' attraction to this particular drug can be explained in part by the fact that from ancient times opium has been used in various mystery cults and initiation ceremonies.

56. A. Andrén, op. cit., p. 161. (Anonymous) "Le triste héros des messes noires Jacques d'Adelswärd meurt mystérieusement à Capri" in *Le Matin* 10 December 1923, p. 1, prints sensationalistic reports from the local rumor mill: the residents of Capri crossed themselves when strange sounds and lights came from similar nocturnal "orgies" held in Villa Lysis.

57. See Note 50.

58. The following are some of the best known names: Paul Adam, Henri Barbusse, Maurice Barrès, Jules Bois, Norman Douglas, Georges <sup>\*</sup>Eekhoud, Achille Essebac, Claude Farrère, Jean Ferval, Anatole France, Henry Gauthier-Villars and his wife Colette Willy, Maxim Gorky, Robert d'Humières, Pierre Loti, Maurice Maeterlinck, Octave Mirbeau, Jean Moréas, Joséphin Péladan, Laurent Tailhade, Emile Verhaeren, Renée Vivien.

**\*Eekhoud**



59. (Anonymous "N.D.L.R."), "Note de la Direction" in *Akadémos* 1:10 (1909), p. 640.

60. "Inaugural" and "Notre But" (Our Aim) in *Akadémos* 1:1 (1909), pp. 1-2, 113. N. Douglas, *Looking Back: An Autobiographical Excursion* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1934), pp. 358-366, knew only this issue of the magazine. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 109, 311-312, knew of 10 of the 12 issues but only consulted six.

61. Jacques borrowed this pseudonym from the book by Jean Lorrain, *Sonyeuse* (Paris: Charpentier, 1891).

62. J. H. van Epen, *Compendium Drugverslaving en Alcoholisme. Diagnostiek en behandeling* (Amsterdam: Agon/Elsevier, 1974), p. 90, cites Freud's experiments with curing opium addiction by administering cocaine. This resulted in the patient becoming psychotic.

On Gemito, see my article "Street-Urchins: Antonio Mancini (1852-1930)" in *Paidika* 2:3 (1991), pp. 31-47, passim. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 124-126, 134, has d'Adelswärd undertake in 1913-14 another trip to the Far East, with Nino and some women from the colony at Capri. This trip is only mentioned by E.F. Benson and C. Mackenzie and is probably based upon fantasy.

63. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets* 2, p. 355. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 159, 170, describes Nino after 1918 as a young man who "at last" was set on the straight and narrow path through his war experiences; he was not only decorated but seems to have suddenly taken on Anglo-Saxon morals. He is supposed to have stayed with d'Adelswärd only out of compassion for the "madman"; "they were now 'just friends,' and Fersen's attempts to revive the old sexual relationship were rejected." This is a concatenation, perhaps based upon wishful thinking, of absurdities and suspicions presented as fact which is based in no respect upon existing documentation. Above all, because of Jacques' preference for ephebes, we may assume that the sexual component of the relationship had ended years before.

64. R. Peyrefitte, loc. cit.

65. According to Peyrefitte's novel; I can find no other documentation. Peyrefitte's opinion is highly probable. It raises the question of why d'Adelswärd visited von Gloeden with Corrado just as he had earlier with Nino. Perhaps he wanted both youngsters preserved in the work of the famous photographer of boys of the time. Perhaps these photos will some day come to light! R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 292, 298, says that d'Adelswärd also had sketches made of Nino and Corrado by the sculptor Vincenzo Gemito (see Note 62).

66. N. Douglas, loc. cit.

67. (Anon.) "Le triste héros des messes noires Jacques d'Adelswärd meurt mystérieusement à Capri," loc. cit.

68. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 172, 315; R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., p. 314; *Propos Secrets* 2, loc. cit.

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2. Cover by Louis Morin. Edition of 1901.
3. Jacques d'Adelswärd in his late teens. In: *Chansons Légères* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1901).
4. The Lycée Janson-de-Sailly (1991). Photograph by Dré Leyten.
5. Jacques d'Adelswärd in his twenties. From: M. Desbruères, "Découvrez l'oeuvre de Fersen" in *Arts* 716 (1959), p. 2.
6. Avenue de Friedland, Nr. 18 (1991). Photograph by Dré Leyten.
7. Cover of *Les Cortèges qui sont passés* (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1903) with d'Adelswärd's portrait.
8. Caricature by Kupka, in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903) [no pagination].
9. "Two Removals" Caricature by Kupka, in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903) [no pagination].
10. The Lycée Carnot (1991). Photograph by Dré Leyten.
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14. Villa Lysis (c. 1986). From: B. Büch, "Curieus Capri" in *Avenue* 21:8 (1986), p. 68. Photograph by Martin Thomas.
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16. The glorification of Nino Cesarini. In: M. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde IV* (Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann, 1930), p. 632.
17. Bathing boys at Marina, Capri (c. 1900). Picture post-card by Richter & Co., Naples. Collection of the author.
18. Cover by Edouard Chimot of the first issue of *Akademos* (15 January 1909).
19. "FERSEN. The writer of: *Et le Feu s'éteignit sur la Mer.* ." Caricature by Moyano, in *Akademos* 1:5 (1909), p. 708.
20. Cover of *Hei Hsiang. Le parfum noir* (1921).
21. Autograph of d'Adelswärd, double signed: *Au passant, l'inavouable. F[ersen.] avec beaucoup de sympathie [sic] vraie. Fersen.* (To the passer-by, what we try to conceal. F[ersen.] with lots of sincere sympathy. Fersen.) In: *Hei Hsiang. Le parfum noir* (Paris: Albert Messein, 1921). Collection of the author.
22. Portrait from the *in memoriam* "Le triste héros des messes noires Jacques d'Adelsward meurt mystérieusement à Capri" in *Le Matin* 10 December 1923, p. 1.