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The Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, a research division of Carnegie Mellon University, specializes in the history of botany and all aspects of plant science and serves the international scientific community through research and documentation. To this end, the Institute acquires and maintains authoritative collections of books, plant images, manuscripts, portraits and data files, and provides publications and other modes of information service. The Institute meets the reference needs of botanists, biologists, historians, conservationists, librarians, bibliographers and the public at large, especially those concerned with any aspect of the North American flora.

Hunt Institute was dedicated in 1961 as the Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, an international center for bibliographical research and service in the interests of botany and horticulture, as well as a center for the study of all aspects of the history of the plant sciences. By 1971 the Library's activities had so diversified that the name was changed to Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Growth in collections and research projects led to the establishment of four programmatic departments: Archives, Art, Bibliography and the Library.

Article 1.
appeared 1941
part cited

Am 2

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN BOTANY

One of the most scholarly contributions to the history of botany, which has appeared in recent years, is the study by T.A. and M.S. Sprague of The Herbal of Valerius Cordus (Journ. Linn. Soc. Lond., Bot. 52:1, 1939). The authors have made a searching examination of the Historia Plantarum, which was written before 1545, but not published until 1561. This work has a wider scope than the herbals of Brunfels, Beck, and Fuchs; it contains early notices of many exotic drugs and timbers, in addition to numerous first records for Germany and Italy. Over 500 plants are described, of which about 66 are 'new'. The authors of the present study include an account of cordus' life, and an appraisal of his ~~work~~^{botany} from various points of view, but most of the work is occupied by a systematic consideration of the plants described and figured, and of their modern identification. Another paper by T.A. Sprague, The Evolution of the Herbal, with Special Reference to the British Flora (Trans. S.-E. Union Sci. Soc. 43: 33, 1938) deals with the subject on broad lines. Though less technical than the account of cordus, it contains much that is original. Another recent work on herbals is Ueber alte Kräuterbücher by A. Schmid (Reprint with a preface added, from Schweitzer Beitr. z. Buchkunde, Schweizer Bibliophilen Gesellsch., Bern, 1939). This book is particularly valuable for its discussion of a number of the less well known herbals of the sixteenth century and later. An interesting feature is a diagram in the form of a complex genealogical tree, showing in graphic manner the relation to one another of the principal herbals, both as regards text and illustrations, and also distinguishing their individual contributions. The author, being a medical man, is able to give an authoritative account of the doctrine of temperaments, which is necessary for the full understanding of herbal literature. The figures include ~~two~~ reproductions of a number of title pages, and a series of pictures of Symphytum officinale L. derived from

herbals of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. This plant was chosen for special illustration because, after an early period in which its healing powers were held in high esteem, it passed through a time when its use was obsolete except in folk medicine, but it has now been reinstated and has received medical and scientific recognition.

A study dealing with a more specialised theme is B. Hryniewiecki's account of Anton Schneeberger (1530 - 1581) ein Schüler Konrad Gesners in Polen (Veröffentlichungen des Geobot. Inst. Rübél in Zürich. 13, 1938). Schneeberger belonged to a ^{family of} ~~Bavarian~~ ^{extraction} ~~family~~ settled in Zürich, but he himself spent most of his life in Poland. He compiled a Catalogus Stirpium ... Latine et Polonice conscriptus. Krakau, 1557. in which he identified the plants of Poland, and added the names in the Polish vernacular. This little book, which is now an extreme rarity, is the first of its kind dealing with the botany of Poland. It includes 432 plant names, of which 270 are wild Polish plants.

also falls under the heading fifteenth century Botany A note on Hyoscyamus luteus, by R.F. Ockenden (Isis, 30: 273, 1939). A certain plant described by Podoens as Hyoscyamus luteus has been identified as Nicotiana rustica. This brief paper reviews the evidence for and against this identification, and concludes that it is doubtful.

A general work of another kind, the interest of which is horticultural and archaeological as well as botanical, is S. Tolkowsky's Hesperides. A History of the Culture and Use of citrus Fruits (London, 1938). This ~~very~~ fully illustrated and documented monograph gives the history of the migrations of the orange, citron, lemon, lime, shaddock, and grape fruit, from their original home in S.E. Asia. The evidence drawn from representations of these fruits in pictures and other works of art is shown to be particularly useful, since it avoids the uncertainties as to the exact meaning of the names used at different periods, which often minimise the value of references in literature.

On the history of botany in the nineteenth century, three papers by W.T. Stearn in The Cactus Journal may be mentioned. The first of these is An Annotated Index to Salm-Dyck's "Monographia generum Aloeae et Mesembryanthemi." (7, Nos. 2 and 3: 34, 66, 1938-9). This memoir includes a biography and portrait of Salm-Dyck (1773-1861) and specimen plates from his work, which is fully analysed. There are also notes on other workers who have studied these genera. The second paper is a facsimile of "Plantae succulentae, in Horto Alenconico. Auctore H.A. Duval, Paris, 1809" (Ibid, 7, No. 4: 105, 1939). The facsimile was made from the copy formerly in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, which seems to be the only one extant. The introduction includes a biographic account of Duval, and a study of the sources from which the plants in the Alençon garden were derived. Stearn's third paper is on Pfeiffer and Otto's "Abbildung und Beschreibung Blühender Cacteen" (Ibid, 8, No 2: 39, 1939). This bilingual work (German and French) published in Cassel, 1838-1860, has fine coloured figures of Cacti in flower. Dates of publication of individual plates have been worked out, and the names used in the standard work on the family (Britton and Rose, The Cactaceae, 1919-23) have been added. Biographical information about Pfeiffer and Otto, and a portrait of Pfeiffer are included.

Agnes Arber

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New light has recently been thrown on Schneeberger's great contemporary, Clusius (1526-1609) by the publication of his letters to a Florentine gardener and botanist. (P.G. Conti, Lettere inedite di Charles de l'Escluse...a Matteo Caccini, Firenze, 1939). The letters cover the period 1606 to 1609, the last being written only thirteen days before the death of Clusius. Caccini's help is acknowledged in the posthumous Curae posteriores (1611), which is dedicated to him. ~~Conti's edition of the letters, see full text in my sketch, & vol. 1 of Clusius letters, in the h.c.~~ A note on Hyoscyamus luteus, by R.F. Ockenden (Isis, 30: 273, 1939) may perhaps be mentioned before leaving the subject of renaissance botany. A certain plant described by Dodonaeus as Hyoscyamus luteus has been identified as Nicotiana rustica. This brief paper reviews the evidence for and against this identification, and concludes that it is doubtful.

Article 2:

J. B. H.
P. 370. C. 65
K. Hall
P. 370 S. 20

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April 19. 1962

Recent work on the history of botany in the Old World

Contributions to the history of botany published during the last year or two take the form of scattered studies of subjects ranging over a period of more than 3000 years. They are best considered in roughly chronological order. Very early work has been brought to notice by F. E. WEISS in his account of the so-called "botanical chamber" attached to the banquet hall of THUTMOSIS III (1501-1447 B.C.) at the east end of ^{a piece} the ~~Temple~~ Temple of Karnak (J. R. Hort. Soc., 66, 1941, 51-4). The walls ^{On the sandstone blocks lining the chamber,} of the chamber are lined with slabs of sandstone on which plants are represented in bas relief, ^{which seem to be copied} often of great beauty. These perennially interesting decorations were analysed in 1919 by G. SCHWEINFURTH (Engler's Bot. Jahrb., 55, 464-80), and WEISS does not go beyond his findings; indeed, unless the reader also returns to SCHWEINFURTH, the later ^{more} account may leave a slightly misleading impression, ^{for} WEISS takes the attractive ~~view~~ view that these outlines represent in actual fact the plants and animals which THUTMOSIS, who was a great military adventurer and conqueror, brought to Egypt from Syria. But, ~~according to~~ ^{states, in the contrary of} SCHWEINFURTH, ^{BREASTED has} the hieroglyphic inscription upon which WEISS relies, does ^{not} ~~not~~ ^{not} state that the plants portrayed were brought by the king from Syria; if merely ~~say~~ say that they were there, and that the king found them. It seems most likely that the designer, without having either plants or sketches to go upon, was commissioned to represent as best he could an exotic flora ^{which} upon which he had never ~~set eyes~~ ^{seen}; possibly he looked for inspiration to any foreign

plants available to him, for instance certain species, ~~not from Syria but from other Mediterranean regions or from S.W. Arabia~~, which were then cultivated in Theban gardens. This view is disappointing as it reduces the interest of the "botanical chamber", but it appears that it must be accepted, since it is borne out by the fact that the only six plants which are definitely recognisable in the reliefs are not now native to Syria: Nymphaea coerulea Sav.; Punica granatum L. ; Arum italicum L.; Dracunculus vulgaris Schott; Kalanchoë sp.; Iris sp.

THEOPHRASTUS, though he lived more than a thousand years after the botanical chamber of THUTMOSIS III was decorated, is often known as the Father of Botany. Modern detailed studies ~~not infrequently~~ ^{have} revealed that his work is of even finer quality than one might suppose at first glance. G. SENN ^{, in 1941,} has recently worked over the oak galls mentioned by THEOPHRASTUS (Trans. R. Soc. Edinb., 60, 1941, 343-54), ^{and he} ~~he~~ considers that, though formerly scholars have concluded that the ~~Theophrastean oak~~ ^{these} galls are hardly capable of identification, nine of ~~the ten~~ ^{those} to which ~~he~~ ^{he} alludes can ~~usually~~ ^{in fact} be named with certainty today. SENN'S illustrated account should be very ^{useful} ~~valuable~~ to students of the history of cecidology.

Passing over a period of 1500 years, the next continuation we have to notice relates to a Chinese printed herbal, which much predates any herbal printed in Europe (HUMMEL, A.W., The Printed Herbal of 1249 A.D., Isis, 33,)

Page 808

1941, 439-42; reprinted from Ann. Rep. of the Lib. of Congress, Washington, 1941, 155-7, with editorial note by SARTON). The printing of herbals in China began before 1000 A.D.. The book of 1249, which Hummel has described, is a very fine example of early printing. Its ancestry can be traced back to a herbal compiled towards the end of the eleventh century, which was itself based upon earlier works. . . HUMMEL reproduces the figures of Euphorbia pekinensis Rupr. from the 1249 herbal; they are astonishingly similar to certain much later European illustrations of *mul. lata* etc.

~~Perhaps~~ ^{One of} the most famous of the early botanical gardens, that of Montpellier, is the subject of an historical study by D. MAW (J. R. Hort. Soc., 66, 1941, 121-8 and 158-63). P. R. de BELLEVAL (c. 1564-1632) initiated the garden in the last decade of the sixteenth century. He had pleaded that the students tended to abandon the school of medicine at Montpellier, in favour of those Italian universities which already possessed botanic gardens, and in 1596 Henry IV was moved to order his treasury to find a site and to pay the wages of a gardener. BELLEVAL anticipated modern methods by imitating natural conditions for marsh, water and rock herbs; he is also remembered for his introduction of the cultivation of the mulberry tree into Languedoc. The success of the garden is shown by the fact that, two or three years after its foundation, 1332 species were being grown. But less than a quarter of a century later, much of BELLEVAL's enthusiastic work was tragically undone. It was decided to increase the fortifications of the town, since conflicts between the Catholics and Huguenots had

by A. M. W. in the Journal of the American Botanical Society (1941) 20-30
 A sketch of the garden in the Journal of the American Botanical Society (1941) 20-30
 Homage to Henry R. Parodi (A. M. W. 1941)

herbal

broken out, and the garden, being on slopes essential to the new defences, was doomed to demolition. The town, indeed, suffered a siege, but when this phase was over, BELLEVAL did all that was possible towards restoring the garden. In MAW's memoir, interesting information is given about BELLEVAL's successors, the chief stress being laid upon the adventurous career and botanical travels of P.M.A. BROUSSONNET (1761-1807).

This century's 7 nehemur genus best felt in 1941. Certain aspects of his work of study of Malpighi

Among recent work on eighteenth century topics, special value attaches to S. SAVAGE's scholarly "Synopsis of the annotations by Linnaeus and contemporaries in his library of printed books". (Cat. of MSS in Lib. Linn. Soc. Lond., Part III, 1940). Of the 1600 works at present constituting the library of Linnaeus, between one-fifth and one-quarter contain written notes. All these have been analysed by SAVAGE, and his record forms an important source for students of LINNAEUS.

In 1941 two writers, independently, produced studies of "The Botanic Garden", published 150 years ^{before} ~~ago~~ ^{earlier} by ERASMUS DARWIN, CHARLES DARWIN's grandfather (EMERY, G., Isis, 33, 315-25; HALL, A. D., J.R.Hert. Soc., 66, 24-7). This poem, composed in heroic and often deliciously absurd couplets, though pompous ^{in some} is by no means negligible. With the voluminous notes appended to it by the author, it throws considerable light upon the state of botany at the end of the eighteenth century, and also sometimes foreshadows more recent developments.

WILLIAM FORSYTH (1737-1804), ^{who was} gardener to GEORGE III, after whom Forsythia was named, is commemorated in an article by A. SIMMONDS (J.R.Hert. Soc., 66, 1941, 319-24). In 1782 FORSYTH became one of the founders of the society for ^{the} ~~the~~ Promotion ^{of} ~~of~~

have been discussed by A. Arber (Chrom. Bot. 6, 1941, 391-2; Nature 147, 1941, 630-2; Proc. Linn. Soc. London 1941, 218-20; Isis, forthcoming.)

Natural History—a less successful precursor of the Linnean Society, to which its funds, books, and collections were eventually transferred. He was also one of the seven men who attended a meeting in 1804 from which the Royal Horticultural Society took its origin.

The centenary of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, by TURRILL was commemorated in Chronica Botanica, VI, 17/18, 1941, pp. 414-7. A short notice of the first Director, Sir WILLIAM HOOKER by A. V. HILL appeared in J.R. Hort. Soc., 66, 1941, 154-7.

Finally three papers by W.T. STEARN may be mentioned, ~~which~~^{some}, though their intention is primarily bibliographical, contain a good deal of historical information: SCHNEEVOOGT

and SCHWEGMAN's "Icones Plantarum Rariorum", J. Bot., 1940, 66-74; Ledebour's "Flora rossica", "Icones plantarum novarum", and "Flora altaica", with a note on Pallas' "Flora rossica", J. Arnold Arboretum, 22, 1941, 225-30; Botanical Description of plants rare, cultivated, and new, J. Arnold Arboretum, 23, 1942, April, 1942 Agnes Arber Cambridge, England

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Another Little-known History of Botany

In Nature for May 7 Dr Jules Brunel enquires about the "L.G." who was responsible for the Précis de l'Histoire de la Botanique, in T. xvii of Le Règne Végétal, by O. Réveil, and others, Paris, 1870-1. The volume in question is not accessible to me, but I find that in the catalogue of the Library of the British Museum (Nat. Hist.), "L.G." is identified as "L.G. Gérard". I do not know on what evidence this is based; I have been unable to trace any botanist of this name who might be the writer in question. Louis Gérard is too early in date, as he was born in 1733. As another ^{as a} ~~speculative possibility~~ ^{if Dr Brunel's identification with L. Gérard is not confirmed, the more probable, he} may I suggest Lazare Garreau, who was professor at Lille? We was born at Autun in 1812, and was apparently still living when the second edition of Pritzel's Thesaurus appeared (1872, 7). Garreau published papers on physiological botany in the decade between 1850 and 1860.

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in the name of the present volume
 Dr Brunel's contention that the author of the Précis was L. Gérard is ^{completely} ~~not~~ ^{correct} ~~correct~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{case} ~~case~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the ^{man} ~~man~~ ^{who} ~~who~~ ^{does} ~~does~~ ^{not} ~~not~~ ^{seem} ~~seem~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{have} ~~have~~ ^{been} ~~been~~ ^a ~~a~~ ^{botanist} ~~botanist~~.
 As another speculative possibility I should like to suggest~~

G. (L.) Précis de l'histoire de la Botanique
 par L.S. [i.e. L. Séraud] et
 Réveil (P.O.) notes. Le Règne végétal T. 17
 1871
 de Règne végétal. par O. Réveil notes.
 9 vols. nalla 8 vol
 Paris [1864-] 1870-71

Another Litch - Kinn Hist. Bot.
 Jules Brunel, Botanical Institute
 University Montreal.
 Aug 7. 1949 ed. L.S. Séraud
 la Précis de l'histoire de Bot. " de botanique encyclopédie
 de Règne végétale. Hist. Bot. L. Séraud

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(Louis Séraud), botan - ne Coblégnac (Van)
 1733
 no)

Garreau menus - bot phypny lute
 1850 or 1860.

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ISIS

Review of the History and Philosophy of Science
 Organ of the History of Science Society
 (Widener Library 185, Cambridge 38, Mass.)

to Dr. A. Arber, FRS.

Friday 4907.15

Dear Agnes,

Your good letter of 4904.24 containing the sentence "I do not like to think of your digging snow" refreshed me for it arrived on an extremely hot day. We have had more heat this summer than our share, and a real summer began long before the equinox. I have read your letter in *Nature* concerning L.C. and am almost certain that Brunel was right. L.C. = L. Guerin. I'll publish a note ad hoc in *ISIS*, of which a carbon copy is enclosed. Please note that in spite of the title page, the date of Pritzger's *Thesaurus* (2. ed.) is 1877 not 1872.

I think that Verdoorn will publish my London lectures and bibliography; I like him and trust him. He knows English very well but speaks it with the queerest accent imaginable, but it is clear I have no right to make such remarks!

Mabel is remarkably well and I have to restrain her from gardening, but can not restrain her in the best way which would be to do the work myself. Thanks to a very bad education, I am very lazy as far as manual labor is concerned: I was not trained for a servantless age.

With affectionate greetings from home to home
 G. Sarton

I hope that your thumb is completely healed ✓

Query no. 125 Who was the author (L.G.?) of the Précis de l'histoire de la botanique, Paris 1869?

Two letters published in Nature by Jules Brunel (May 7, 1949, p. 772) and by Agnes Arber (June 4, p. 882) ask that question without solving it. The ascription to Louis Gérard, appearing in the Catalogue of the Library of the British Museum (N. H.), seems due to a misunderstanding.

Here are the facts known to me, the Précis by L. G. constitutes the 17th and last volume of Le Règne Végétal by Aristide Dupuis, Frédéric Gérard, Oscar Réveil, etc. (17 vols. Paris 1864-69). The Précis contains a notice devoted to the Provençal botanist, Louis Gérard (1778-1859) author of the Flora Gallio-provincialis (1761), said to be the first flora based upon the new (unpublished) classification of Bernard de Jussieu (1759). In his préface L. G. states that his work is derived partly from the Thesaurus of G. A. Pritzel and partly from the notes taken by Frédéric Gérard. Now, if L. G. had been a second Louis Gérard, he would probably have mentioned his connection (or lack of connection) with the first Louis Gérard and with Frédéric Gérard.

As pointed out to me by Dr. Frans Verdoorn, Brunel's ascription of the Précis to L. Guérin is probably correct. The book was published by "L. Guérin et Cie, éditeurs. Théodore Morgand, libraire-dépositaire. rue Bonaparte 5, Paris". L. G....who signed the preface was probably the éditeur L. Guérin. The ascription is confirmed by internal evidence. E. g., the footnote on p. 397 "Nous citons exceptionnellement ici M. Reveil, l'un de nos

auteurs, non pas seulement parce qu'il est mort, mais à cause de la très-grande importance de son dernier travail, signalé par M. Duchartre dans son Rapport sur les Progrès de la botanique physiologique. Nous aurions dû consacrer une notice à cet éminent chimiste; mais cela nous aurait entraînés à en faire autant pour chacun des auteurs du Règne végétal, ce qui serait en contradiction avec leur pensée et leur volonté." G. S.

X That is, ~~on~~ the first edition Leipzig 1851 and the Additamenta of 1853; the editio nova et reformata is posterior to the Précis. It began to appear in Leipzig 1872, but was completed only after Fritzel's death (1874) by Karl Jessen in 1877. The Editio nova was reprinted in 1924.

Gray, Ronald P. (1952). Goethe the Alchemist. Cambridge

A good deal that its interesting in the book, but it seems to me to be largely vitiated by the fact that Gray seems to have looked about for a relatively unworked thesis about Goethe, and to have hit on the idea of representing him as profoundly influenced by alchemy* - he simply dismisses Goethe's considered condemnation of alchemy, which he quotes on pp. 56-7. Gray makes alchemy out to be a much more distinct and independent "religion" than it can actually have been; it was in fact largely a tissue of elements borrowed from Neo-platonic and other mystics, with an added empirical element (which had its value in leading on to scientific chemistry) - the whole mixture being then diluted with muddled magic. As examples of the features that Gray attributes to alchemy one may take the microcosm and macrocosm idea (pp. 8-9) but this was merely an old conception common to many early thinkers which alchemy absorbed. Again he attributes the idea of the coincidence of contraries to alchemy, but this was found very early in Greek philosophy and was expressed in the Middle Ages by Nicolas of Cusa, and in the Renaissance by Bruno.

It seems to me that Gray's knowledge of Neo-Platonism (and indeed of mysticism altogether) is surprisingly superficial - if he knew much about it I doubt if he would have referred to Evelyn Underhill's work as "Authoritative" (p. 21). Again he speaks of Spinoza in a way that does not suggest any first hand acquaintance with his writing. He attributes to him the tenet "God is circle, whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference is nowhere" This

is not a belief that Spinoza would ever have expressed - I cannot lay my hand on it, but I feel pretty sure that either Nicolas or Bruno. Acc. to Nicolas (Vandendorp p 377) in the Maxime (Deo) "Circulus infini, dicitur in toto... Circumferentia infini, dicitur in toto et ambrae... (Deo. I. 12)

Gray finds Goethe's botany saturated with alchemy. But he

Again Bruno - Grewing S (1950) p 162. Croy & Cam. Pansilone. S. Delye
He is the parallel of your the last, it seems to say, # the circumference as not - by far

* and then I have found Gray trying into the scheme. far (p 237) he compares Goethe to first setting up a system & then looking for confirmatory evidence - when I wrote this Gray was himself!

* Gray implies this later in the book r (p257) speaks; Neo-Platonism is a philosophy which he became acquainted with "in the course of years," not as a gentle influence
(Gray) states himself that Goethe read Plotinus "Enneads" when he was fifteen; this must have given him, even in his first youth an insight into pure Neo-Platonism and the better kind of mysticism.* When it came to botany, he would thus have been already alive to the Unity of all things. The ideas of bipolarity and the tension of opposites, again, need no alchemical derivation ^{they are} ~~it is~~ a very ancient philosophical conceptions. This being so, it is difficult to see why alchemy should be dragged in to explain the Urfpflanze. I see no reason whatever to connect Boehme's "Qualities" with Goethe's stages of the plant, especially as Goethe, on Gray's own showing, makes only one passing reference to Boehme, which might equally well refer to any other man who had had a mystic experience (p.38). Gray's diagram would indeed have shocked Goethe; it looks as though Gray had never in his life looked at a plant with a seeing eye. Goethe himself was a draughtsman, and if he had thought fit he could have portrayed the Urfpflanze, but he had far too much insight - he knew that the conception was unpicturable.

p. 262. I doubt if the statement that Goethe believed in magic all his life is justifiable. Gray does not seem to distinguish between a man's beliefs and the ideas with which his mind chooses to play ("The human mind is playful and will not be denied its sport!") The scale of Goethe's personality held plenty of vitality over for mental play.

Gray, Chp X1. (Conclusion) is rather more sober than the rest of the book but he states that "Goethe's most deep-seated convictions had originally sprung from the occult tradition above" (p257) It does not seem some time he substantiates this at all.

p73. Gray seems to think that was an accepted idea that the leaf is the fundamental organ of the plant.

An 8.

Dr. Bernhart Milt in Gesner
received July 1926

form. An 12

For slip 7 pub. in 1936 see bibliography

Conrad Gesners

Historia Plantarum (Fragmenta relicta)

Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), Naturforscher, Polyhistor, Stadtarzt und Lehrer in seiner Vaterstadt Zürich, ist der Begründer der modernen wissenschaftlichen Botanik. Er hat den gigantischen Versuch unternommen, die gesamte Wissenschaft von der Natur in gross-angelegten Werken darzustellen, ein Versuch, wie er in diesem Umfang wohl weder vor noch nach Gesner je von einem Gelehrten allein gewagt worden ist. Er verarbeitete zu diesem Zweck die gesamte ihm zugängliche naturwissenschaftliche Literatur vom Altertum bis auf seine Zeit, stellte die kritisch gesichteten Ergebnisse zusammen, prüfte sie so weit als möglich in der Natur selbst nach und bereicherte sie durch viele eigene neue Funde und Beobachtungen. Es handelte sich um erste Gesamtdarstellungen in modernem Sinn; altes und neues Wissensgut wurde eklektisch zusammengestellt, wobei der Massstab der Beurteilung in erster Linie die eigene Beobachtung und das eigene kritische Urteil und nicht mehr das Zeugnis klassischer Autoritäten war. Ein vierbändiges Tierbuch wurde noch von Gesner selbst vollendet. Für eine grossangelegte Pflanzenkunde, die mit 260 Büchern mehrere Foliobände füllen sollte - Gesner hatte für ihre Ausarbeitung zwei Jahre in Aussicht genommen - waren die Vorarbeiten zum Abschluss gekommen, als er 49-jährig an der Pest in Ausübung seines Berufes starb. Ein ähnliches Werk über die Medizin war erst teilweise in Angriff genommen; am weitesten gediehen war eine Gesamtdarstellung der Lehre von den Heilmitteln und ihrer Herstellung. Nur der frühzeitige Tod hat Gesner gehindert, seine ungeheuren Pläne auch auszuführen. Ähnliche, kritisch gesichtete Gesamtdarstellungen gab es zu jener Zeit noch nicht; wären sie wie sein Werk über die Tiere zu Stande gekommen, hätten sie zweifel-

los die Grundlage gebildet für die Weiterentwicklung der abendländischen Naturwissenschaft. Seine Handbücher sind Kompilationen in dem Sinn, in dem auch jedes moderne Handbuch, das eine Gesamtdarstellung irgend eines Wissensgebietes versucht, naturnotwendig Kompilation ist.

Die beiden noch erhaltenen Codices, die sich auf der Universitätsbibliothek in Erlangen befinden, enthalten die wesentlichsten Vorarbeiten Gesners zu der geplanten Pflanzenkunde. Wann die beiden Bände ihre heutige Form erhielten, lässt sich nicht mehr bestimmen. Wahrscheinlich wurde Gesners Nachlass erst etwa hundert Jahre nach seinem Tod in Bände zusammengefasst. Die Reihenfolge der Blätter wurde aber zur Hauptsache noch von Gesner selbst bestimmt, indem er die einzelnen Blätter nummerierte. Diese Blätter waren ursprünglich von sehr verschiedener Grösse. Gesner scheint sie in seiner Wohnung auf über zweihundert Regalen einzeln aufbewahrt zu haben, sofern nicht auf diesen Regalen die getrockneten Pflanzen aufbewahrt wurden, was nicht mehr mit Sicherheit bestimmt werden kann. Wohl um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts wurden die Blätter alle auf dieselbe Grösse gebracht, indem man ihnen verschieden breiten Rand anklebte; so wurden sie dann gebunden. Die Idee des Rand-Anklebens war vorzüglich. Vorderseite und Rückseite der Bilder mit ihren Notizen wurden so in ihrer ursprünglichen Form bewahrt. Der Vorteil dieser Methode ergibt sich vor allem bei einem Vergleich mit den Sammelbänden eines Felix Platters in Basel, der die Originalbilder den Konturen nach ausschnitt und auf gleichgrosse Bogen aufklebte, wobei dann die Rückseite und die Originalnotizen verloren gingen. Die zwei Bände mit Pflanzenbildern enthalten aber auch Blätter aus späterer Zeit, die Gesner nicht gehört haben können. Der Schluss des zweiten Bandes stammt von Gesners Schüler, Kaspar Wolf. Wie viele der Gesnerschen Blätter im Lauf der Zeit verloren gegangen sind, lässt sich nicht mehr bestimmen, da Gesners Pflanzenverzeichnis bis heute nicht wieder aufgefunden worden ist; gar zu viele sind es aber wohl nicht gewesen.

Die beiden Bände enthalten auf zusammen etwa 490 Foliosseiten an die 1500 Pflanzenbilder; die Zahl der Spezialabbildungen einzelner Pflanzenteile beträgt ebenfalls einige hundert. Die meisten Blätter sind beidseitig bemalt. Irgend eine ersichtliche Ordnung in der Reihenfolge besteht nicht. Meist folgen sich Pflanzen, die auf derselben Exkursion gesammelt oder gleichzeitig zugesandt worden sind. Dieselbe Pflanze kommt oft an verschiedenen Stellen in beiden Bänden vor. Stets suchte Gesner schlechte Bilder durch bessere zu ersetzen; die schlechten behielt er aber gleichwohl, schon wegen der Notizen darauf. Auch zeigen die verschiedenen Bilder derselben Pflanze nicht immer alle Pflanzenteile gleichzeitig oder gleich trefflich. Auf einem einzelnen Blatt können mehrere oder auch nur eine einzelne Pflanze abgebildet sein. Neben den Bildern der Gesamtpflanze findet man viele Spezialzeichnungen von einzelnen Pflanzenteilen, vor allem von Früchten und Blüten, nicht selten im Aufriss. Die Samenanzahl ist sehr oft angegeben. Blattstellung, Blattform und Blattansatz wurden von Gesner genau wiedergegeben, Blattrand und Rippen deutlich dargestellt. Bei den Stengeln achtete er darauf, ob sie rund oder kantig, behaart oder unbehaart seien und auch die Farbennuancen suchte er in grosser Treue abzubilden. Besondere Sorgfalt schenkte er auch der Darstellung der Wurzeln. Seine Bilder geben den Gesamthabitus der Pflanze wie auch ihre einzelnen Teile in gleicher Treue wieder. Gesner legte hierauf um so grösseres Gewicht, als er zur Bestimmung der nähern oder weitern Verwandtschaft der einzelnen Pflanzen, d. h. zur Bestimmung ihrer Stellung im Pflanzenreich, alle Pflanzenteile zum Vergleich heranzog und als erster auch Wurzeln, Blüten und Früchten besondere Aufmerksamkeit entgegenbrachte. Er erkannte (nach A. von Haller) als erster das richtige Prinzip der botanischen Methode, Geschlechter aufzustellen, die eine Anzahl Species

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umfassen und Klassen als Inbegriff mehrerer Geschlechter. Neben Gattungen und Arten unterschied er bereits auch Arten und Varietäten. Es finden sich bei ihm schon reichliche Ansätze zur Ausbildung einer natürlichen Pflanzensystematik. Zur Bildung eines eigentlichen Systems kam er aber nicht mehr, schon wegen seines viel zu frühen Todes. Gerade seine Erkenntnis von der grössern oder geringern Verwandtschaft der einzelnen Pflanzen bei Fehlen eines eigentlichen Pflanzensystems erschwerte später die Herausgabe seines botanischen Nachlasses in besonderer Masse, da es nicht gelingen wollte, ein ordnendes Prinzip zu finden.

Die einzelnen Pflanzenbilder sind von sehr verschiedenem wissenschaftlichen und künstlerischen Wert. Weit aus die besten stammen aus Zürich, von Gesner selber oder von Künstlern, die unter seiner Anweisung arbeiteten. Gezeichnet wurde nach frischen oder getrockneten Pflanzen. Zuerst wurden die Konturen in Tusche gezeichnet; dann folgte die Kolorierung mit Aquarellfarben. Bei gewissen Bildern fehlt die Kolorierung vollkommen, bei gewissen zum Teil waren gewisse Pflanzenteile schlecht oder ungenau geraten, findet sich nicht selten nebenstehend eine bessere Zeichnung, diese wohl meist von Gesners Hand. Formen und Farben sind von grosser Naturtreue. Fehler in der Kolorierung finden sich naturgemäss besonders auf Bildern, die nach getrockneten Pflanzen hergestellt worden waren. Wie sein Schüler Dr. Kaspar Wolf berichtet, stammen etwa 150 Bilder von Gesner selber. Wenn heute auch nicht mehr festgestellt werden kann, um welche Blätter es sich dabei handelt, darf diese Angabe doch unbesenen als richtig angenommen werden, das Wolf Gesners langjähriger Famulus, Freund und wissenschaftlicher Testamentsvollstrecker war. Von den Künstlern, die für Gesner arbeiteten, ist uns leider nur wenig bekannt. Sie arbeiteten offenbar im Stundenlohn; wenigstens findet man auf vielen Blättern den Vermerk einer Zeitangabe wie 2 stund, 5 stund u. d., von verschiedenen Händen geschrieben. Signiert sind nur 6 Blätter

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im ersten Band (fol. 50, 58, 103, 117a, 137b und 145), welche die Initialen des Zürcher Malers Jos Murer aufweisen (von Herrn Dr. Hugelshofer in Zürich identifiziert). Auf Seite 186c, unten links findet sich von Gesners Hand der Name Gryssi; ob das der Name des Zeichners ist, ist ungewiss. Auf Seite 143b wird ein Maler Antoni Leemann, den man sonst aber nicht kennt, genannt; ob er aber wirklich für Gesner gearbeitet hat, lässt sich nicht beweisen. Wahrscheinlich gehörte auch Gesners Verwandter J. Thomann zu seinen künstlerischen Mitarbeitern, ohne dass man aber wüsste, welche Blätter ihm zuzuschreiben sind. Mit den von Schmiedel aufgeführten Namen von Zürcher Mitarbeitern lässt sich nichts anfangen. Die oft zitierte Beteiligung des bedeutenden Zürcher Malers Hans Asper an Gesners Pflanzenwerk ist durchaus fraglich und nirgends belegt. Aus dem Ausland erhielt Gesner Bilder und Pflanzen aus England, Deutschland, Italien und besonders Südfrankreich, vereinzelt auch überseeische. Diese Bilder sind in der Regel viel schlechter, zum Teil vollkommen unbrauchbar. So entbehren zum Beispiel die Bilder, die ihm sein Augsburger Freund Occo gesandt hat, jedes wissenschaftlichen Wertes und sind nur aus alten Kräuterbüchern abgezeichnet. Sie fallen nicht nur durch ihre mangelhafte Naturtreue, sondern vor allem auch durch eine merkwürdige Stiliserungsmanier, besonders der Wurzeln, auf und können zu einem schönen Teil nicht genauer identifiziert werden. Aber auch die Bilder, die ihm von so bedeutenden Naturforschern wie Dalechampius, Aldrovandi und Calceolarius übermittlelt wurden, stehen an Qualität den Gesnerschen Bildern weit nach. Vereinzelt stösst man auf ganz phantastische Bilder; so erhielt Gesner vom Sohn des Zürcher Antistes Bullinger ein Bild der blauen Wunderblume. Einen Vergleich mit den Gesnerschen Bildern halten höchstens die Pflanzenbilder von Weidnitz aus, die er für das Kräuterbuch von O. Brunfels gezeichnet hatte; die Originalzeichnungen finden sich heute im botanischen Nachlass des Basler Gelehrten Felix Platter in Bern. Leider wurde für die Gesnerschen Holzschnitte

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ein viel zu kleines Format gewählt. Von der Schönheit und Vortrefflichkeit der Originalbilder geben sie kaum einen Begriff. Von besonderem Interesse sind noch einige "Naturselbstdrucke", da sie von den heute bekannten wohl die Ältesten sind.

Von den Pflanzenbildern dürften etwa zwei Drittel aus der Schweiz stammen und zur Hauptsache in Zürich entstanden sein. Vor allem interessieren hier die zum grössten Teil erstmals dargestellten und beschriebenen Alpenpflanzen aus den Bergen Graubündens, aus dem Glarnerland, der Urschweiz, dem Berner-Oberland und dem Wallis. Nicht wenige Pflanzen besass Gesner auch aus dem Jura, vor allem von den Lägern. Auffallend reich ist auch seine Sammlung von schweizerischen Wasserpflanzen, vornehmlich aus dem Zürichsee, dem Katzensee bei Zürich, der Limmat und auch der Reuss. Die übrigen Schweizerpflanzen stammen meist aus der Umgebung von Zürich, der Nordschweiz, der Gegend um Chur, Basel und aus dem Wallis. Nicht wenige der Pflanzen wuchsen in Gesners zwei botanischen Gärten, so auch die meisten Gartengewächse, deren Samen und Zwiebeln vornehmlich aus den Fuggerschen Gärten in Augsburg stammten. Einzelne Pflanzen erhielt Gesner aus England von Caius, Parkhurst und Gipson zugesickt, etwas mehr aus Deutschland, besonders aus Bayern und Sachsen, vor allem auch aus dem herznischen Wald. Die Namen der Freunde, die Gesner hauptsächlich mit Pflanzen und Bildern versahen, findet man im ersten Band der von C. Schmiedel herausgegebenen Opera botanica C. Gesneri angeführt. Reich ist Gesners Sammlung an mediterranen Pflanzen aus Südfrankreich, wenn auch die Bilder von wesentlich geringerer Qualität sind; nicht wenige erhielt er vom Lyoner Naturforscher Dalechampius. Aus Italien schickten ihm besonders Aldrovandi und Calceolarius Material. Ausser den Pflanzenbildern finden sich in den beiden Bänden noch etwa 130 Abbildungen von Drogen, Früchten, Rinden und Wurzeln, die wohl nur teilweise identifiziert werden können. Die meisten erhielt Gesner aus Frankfurt von einem gewissen Oppenheim. Sodann enthalten

die beiden Bände noch eine Reihe von Holzschnitten, die zum Teil aus gedruckten Kräuterbüchern stammen, zum Teil auch Einblattdrucke sind.

Ausser Bildern enthalten die Blätter noch zahlreiche Notizen, die im Lauf der Zeit immer ergänzt worden waren. Es wird darin vermerkt, wer die Pflanzen gefunden oder geschickt hat, wann und wo sie gewachsen sind, oft mit Angabe verschiedener Fundorte, wann sie geblüht haben, wie sie von den verschiedenen Autoren genannt werden und welche Volksnamen sie tragen, welchen Geschmack sie haben, ~~was~~ ob sie bitter oder sauer sind, ob feuchter oder trockener, warmer oder kalter Natur und in welchem Grad. Spärlich finden sich auch medizinische Notizen, häufiger Angaben, in welcher Beziehung die Bilder nicht ganz richtig gezeichnet oder gemalt wurden. In der Regel tragen sie auch Vermerke, auf welcher Seite man dieselbe Pflanze in anderer Ausführung nochmals findet. Ausser den Notizen von Gesners Hand finden sich noch solche von Kaspar Wolf, Pflanzendiagnosen von Johannes Bauhin und besonders häufig von Thomas Penny, einem englischen Naturforscher und Freund Gesners. Des Engländers Diagnosen sind ausserordentlich zutreffend (laut Urteil von Herrn Dr. Walo Koch, Konservator des botanischen Museums der E.T.H. in Zürich).; auch vermerkt er in der Regel, wo er die betreffenden Pflanzen in Frankreich und der Gegend von Genf und Savoyen gefunden hat. Hier und da fügt er auch englische Pflanzennamen bei.

Nach Gesners Tod erwarb sein Freund, langjähriger Mitarbeiter und Nachfolger als Stadtarzt, Dr. Kaspar Wolf, diesen botanischen Nachlass, von Gesner selber noch kurz vor seinem Tod mit seiner Herausgabe betraut. Wolf hat auch eine ganze Reihe von Gesnerschen Manuskripten im Druck herausgegeben und für das wissenschaftliche Andenken seines grossen Lehrers mehr getan, als irgend sonst jemand, wenn auch seine uneigennütigen Bemühungen bei der Nachwelt nicht die gebührende Anerkennung gefunden haben. Er hat sich alle Mühe gegeben, auch die Historia Plantarum Gesners herauszugeben; er voll-

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endete noch die Vorarbeiten und schrieb die ersten Kapitel des geplanten Werkes, sah dann aber ein, dass dieses Unternehmen seine Kräfte und sein Können überstieg. Um aber die Herausgabe dieses Pflanzenwerks durch sein Unvermögen nicht zu gefährden, verkaufte er Gesners Nachlass zum gleichen Preis, wie er ihn einst übernommen hatte, nämlich zu 150 Gulden, im Einverständnis mit den Erben Gesners, an den Nürnberger Arzt und Naturforscher Joachim Camerarius, welcher ebenfalls mit Gesner persönlich befreundet gewesen war. So kam Gesners botanischer Nachlass im Jahr 1680 ins Frankenland, wo er bis zum heutigen Tag geblieben ist. Camerarius verwandte ziemlich viele Bilder aus diesem Nachlass zu eigenen Zwecken, leider ohne die Quelle anzugeben; den Nachlass als solchen vermochte er ebenso wenig im Druck herauszugeben. Nach seinem Tod ging dieser auf seinen Sohn über, der ihn in jeder Beziehung unbezahlt liess. Nach ~~seiner~~^{dessen} Tod ging der kostbare Besitz an eine Familie Nützli über, und von dieser im Jahr 1687 an den Nürnberger Arzt und Naturforscher J. C. Volckamer. Sein Sohn, der spätere Besitzer, bot die beiden Bände im Jahr 1711 der Bürgerbibliothek in Zürich zum Kauf an, die zu jener Zeit von dem berühmten Arzt, Naturforscher und Polynistor J. J. Scheuchzer verwaltet wurde. Obschon der Preis nur 300 Gulden betragen hätte, kam der Verkauf doch nicht zu Stande. (Diese bisher unbekannte Tatsache entdeckte der Scheuchzerforscher Dr. Rudolf Steiger an der Zentralbibliothek in Zürich in einem Scheuchzerschen Briefband.) Im Jahr 1744 erwarb der Nürnberger Arzt Hofrat Ch. J. Trew den gesamten Nachlass Gesners, soweit er noch zusammenzubringen war und in seinem Auftrag gab der Erlanger Professor C. Schmiedel in den Jahren 1753-17~~54~~⁵⁹ einen Teil dieses Nachlasses in zwei prachtvollen Foliobänden heraus, etwa zweihundert Jahre nach Gesners Tod. Schmiedel hat mit diesem Werk eine ungeheure Arbeit mustergültig durchgeführt. Immerhin ist vom ganzen Nachlass erst etwa ein Drittel herausgegeben worden; wegen der Ungunst der Zeit musste von einer weiteren Publikation Umgang genom-

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men werden. Mit der riesigen Bibliothek Trews kam auch der Gesnersche
Nachlass nach seinem Tod an die Universität Altorf und nach deren
Aufhebung durch ein königliches Dekret im Jahr 1818 an die Univer-
sitätsbibliothek von Erlangen, die ihn heute noch besitzt.

Bibliographie: Ueber C. Gesner und sein Werk ist grundlegend noch
heute die von Schmiedel verfasste, lateinisch geschriebene Biographie
im ersten Band der von ihm herausgegebenen Opera Botanica C. Gesneri, 1739.
In dieser Arbeit sind auch alle frühern, zum Teil verloren gegangenen
biographischen Versuche berücksichtigt worden. - J. Hanhart: C. Gesner,
ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des wissenschaftlichen Strebens und der
Glaubensverbesserung im 16. Jahrhundert, Winterthur, 1824. - Willi Ley:
Konrad Gesner, Leben und Werk (Münchner Beiträge zur Geschichte und
Literatur der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin, Heft 15/16), 1929. -
J. Mählis Artikel über C. Gesner in der Allg. deutschen Biographie
(Bd. 9, S. 107 ff) u. a. m.

Gesner als Botaniker: A. v. Haller: Bibliotheca botanica, Nürnberg
1772, p. 282-292. - Kurt Sprengel: Geschichte der Botanik, Leipzig, 1817. -
P. Th. Bruhin: Aelteste Flora der Schweiz aus den Werken C. Gesners und
seiner Zeitgenossen (Verh. der st. gallischen naturwissenschaftlichen
Gesellschaft, 1864/65). - E. Meyer: Geschichte der Botanik, Königsberg, 1866.
- H. Christ: Zur Geschichte des alten Gartens (Basler Zeitschrift für
Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Bd. XVI), 1917.

Ueber Gesners botanischen Nachlass sind grundlegend, neben
den allgemeinen Bemerkungen über Gesner als Botaniker, die Aufsätze
von C. Schmiedel und Trew in den Opera botanica C. Gesneri. - Ueber die
Neuentdeckung des inzwischen verloren geglaubten Nachlasses vergl.
4. Hilt in der Zürcher Zeitung, 1923, Nr. 2039.

Ueber Gesners Illustrationen vergleiche man P. Leemann-van Elck:
Der Buchschmuck in C. Gesners naturgeschichtlichen Werken (Schweizer
Sammeler und Familienforscher, Jahrg. 8, Bern, 1934; als erweiterter Sonder-
druck herausgegeben von P. Haupt, Bern, 1935); diese Arbeit macht die
frühern einschlägigen Arbeiten überflüssig.

Zur Geschichte der sogenannten Naturselbstdrucke vergleiche
man A. Tiberghien: Phytotypie et Phytotypes. Notice sommaire, biblio-
graphique et historique sur l'impression des plantes à l'aide des
plantes elles-mêmes. (Bull. Soc. Royale de Bot. de Belgique, t. 64, fasc. 1;
1931), 81-91.

Heute besitzt die Zentralbibliothek Zürich diesen gesamten
noch vorhandenen botanischen Nachlass C. Gesners in Form von Photo-
graphien (Band 1) und Photocopien (Band 2). Der Geschichte der schwei-
zerischen Naturwissenschaft wurde durch die Leitung dieser Bibliothek
durch dieses erhebliche Kosten verursachende Unternehmen ein sehr
grosser Dienst erwiesen.

Ans

pp 2, 5, 6.

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This was
not used

ETHEL SARGANT.

(1863 - 1918)

A Study of the Mind of a Morphologist,

- by -

Agnes Arber.

The death of Ethel Sargent, early in 1918, leaves an irreparable gap in the ranks of botanical morphologists. Her earliest work - carried out under the direction of Dr. D. ^H Scott (1893-4) - dealt with physiological anatomy, and she next devoted several years to botanical cytology, studying chiefly the formation of the sexual nuclei in the Turk's Cap Lily. But the most mature and fruitful period of her life's work was that represented by the series of papers ~~published~~ ^(1.) published between 1898 and 1915, dealing with the vascular structure of the seedlings of the Flowering Plants. In applying the results of a study of seedling anatomy to the interpretation of ^{the problems of} race history, she initiated an entirely new departure. Her central paper on the subject - "A Theory of the Origin of Monocotyledons founded on the Structure of their Seedlings" (190³) - contains a mass of detailed information regarding a hitherto unexplored field, illuminated by a remarkable hypothesis which has had a

(1.) Papers 6, 8, & 10-17 in the accompanying list

great effect upon botanical thought. Her subsequent work was mainly concerned with the development of the lines of reasoning laid down in this paper and their extension to such special cases as that of the Grasses. In 1913 she was President of the Botanical Section of the British Association and her Address dealt on broad lines with the subject of seedling anatomy, considered as a branch of botanical embryology.

Since Ethel Sargent's death several notices of her life and of her botanical output have appeared (1). The intention of the present paper is to supplement these more general memorials by a sketch of one special aspect of her personality - her attitude towards scientific research in general and botanical morphology in particular. It forms an attempt to give an impression of her mode of scientific thought, illustrated chiefly from her letters and unpublished notes, and also, to some extent, from the recollection of innumerable talks. Analysis and quotation of her published writings have been deliberately avoided, since her memoirs are accessible to every student: it seemed more worth while to compile a record, however slight and inadequate, from other sources.

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- (1) See especially an authoritative biographical notice by Dr. D. H. Scott, in The Annals of Botany, Vol.32, 1918, pp.i-iv. Also a letter by Dr. Scott in The Times Literary Supplement, Thursday, January 31, 1918, and brief notices by the present writer in The Cambridge Magazine, Vol.7, January 26, 1918, p.361, and Nature, Vol. 101, January 31, 1918, pp. 428 - 9.

From the scientific point of view, the most salient features of Ethel Sargant's character were her passion for research and her native and inherent capacity for its pursuit. To an unusual degree her whole personality came to fruition in her work, partly, perhaps, because she realised the need of analysing and accepting her ^{individual} ~~particular~~ qualities in order to get the best results from them. In her own words "in order to overcome difficulties one has to humour one's ^{own} peculiarities a little - just as a good sportsman humours his hunter, and so can get him over obstacles that would baffle a worse rider on the same horse." She believed firmly "in the part played by character in all sustained effort, even when purely intellectual", and she was indeed a living example of the truth of this dictum. She recognised the necessity for putting the best of oneself and all the resources of one's vitality into any original work that is to be worthy of the name: "research" she said, "cannot be done on anything less than beef-steaks." She worked with the utmost intensity, but for quite brief periods in the day, and with a strong preference for the early morning hours. "My own experience" she wrote, "is that so long as I can get the morning to 12 or 1 for my research, to have the rest of the day filled up with domestic occupations which do not hinge on myself is positively

beneficial." Her delight in her work gained in vividness from her experience of the depth of depression that lie in wait for the researcher. "Besides the even and daily pleasures of it as a pursuit", she wrote, "one gets glorious hours and days. Even the dark depths of despair have their charm, but I confess that it is hard to endure the dreary monotonous streaks." It was these monotonous streaks which made her describe her work as "twenty days of drudgery to one of pure research." She used to say that any student beginning really independent work - not the mere hewing of wood and drawing of water for his professor - must expect, sometime in the first six months, to go through a period when he is tempted to commit suicide.

Towards the manual part of her work, Ethel Sargent's attitude was highly characteristic. She mastered all the necessary detail with a thoroughness that was enhanced by the fact that, working at home, she dispensed with the trained assistance in setting up apparatus, etc., which is a feature of all public laboratories. "There is no such thing", she used to say, "as a manipulative difficulty that can't be overcome." She derided the proverb that the bad workman complains of his tools, and held that it is only the good workman who fully realises their importance. She

was accustomed to ^{initiate} ~~imitate~~ and develop her own methods, and ^{it may} be recorded in the commission that she was probably the first botanist in ~~England~~ ^{this country} to apply

microtome methods to the ^{elucidation} ~~study~~ of plant structure. Her preparations and material were indexed in a complete and concise fashion of her own, which might well serve as a model for scientific book-keeping. Though her work dealt to a great extent with the minutiae of ^{anatomy} ~~structure~~, she never lost herself in a maze of detail; she continually related the study of her sections to the external features of the plant, and also where possible, to the general skeletal system as seen in three dimensions, for instance by rendering the whole region transparent in strong carbolic acid. She insisted that it "is most important to be constantly orientating oneself in microscope work by means of the naked eye or with a simple lens". She trusted much to the effect of "getting one's fingers in the thing", believing that the actual handling of the material gave solidity and proportion to the biologist's conceptions. Her hypotheses grew, it might almost be said, through her fingers. Her geophytic theory of the origin of Monocotyledons arose of itself, as it were, out of the fact that she germinated the seeds of members of this group in large numbers, and, through a series of years, kept watch over the curiously dilatory development of countless geophytic seedlings.

The actual writing of Ethel Sargent's papers was done slowly and "at vast expense of nervous energy". That she

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believed in allowing ~~such~~ theories to ripen gradually is shown ~~by the following extracts from~~ ^{in her} letters to a student who had sent her a suggested ^{solution} ~~edition~~ of a certain botanical problem. "I like your hypothesis" she wrote, "and think it quite good enough to publish, but strongly advise you not to do so. It is the sort of idea to open a note-book about in Darwinian fashion.....It will be a very valuable bit of experience for you to have a subject in the back of your mind to be tackled by compiling facts, and later on you will find the advantage of having a few points handy on which to set research pupils. And I think it better for Science in general that you should chew the cud of an hypothesis even if it means delay in publishing." In a later letter she added, "I am glad your better self approves my advice

in re your Little Notion. Beware above all things of the mental laziness ^{which} ~~that~~ wears the mark of industry! ^{With that} ~~Copybook Maxim, I will close."~~
Ethel Sargent never held a teaching post, and she was, in the best sense of the word, an 'amateur'. This must not be taken however to imply that she suffered from any lack of training, for as a science student at Girton she became imbued with the Cambridge tradition, while later on she served an invaluable apprenticeship in research under Dr. D. H. Scott at the Jodrell Laboratory. ^S She might rather be said to be an amateur by conviction. She was keenly

~~aware of~~
~~alive to~~ the jading effect of professional life ~~which she~~
~~observed in other workers~~, and she felt that the ^{conceal} (drawbacks
of isolation, and of inability to give full time to the
subject, were more than compensated by the advantage in
freshness which is reaped when the entire ^{intellectual} output ~~of the~~
~~intellectual life~~ can be dedicated to research. Speaking
of Charles Darwin, whom she regarded as the amateur par
excellence, she asked, "can you imagine [him] in full health
as reposing from his research by teaching and organising?"
She added, concerning herself, "I am quite sure that teaching
(as a regular occupation), and still more organising work on
Committees and so on would stifle thought." Her apprecia-
tion of the amateur standpoint was reflected in her rooted
objection to academicism - the danger to which the profes-
sional is most prone. In scientific writing she set great
store by vitality of expression, which she valued more than
academic correctness of form. On one occasion she swept
aside some conventional alternatives - which the present
writer had proposed for certain colloquial phrases occurring
in a joint paper - with the remark, "I would rather be vivid
than classical". In the same spirit she criticised the
lucid, precise, and exquisitely arranged memoirs of various
French botanists, on the ground that "they comb Nature's
hair too much".

Both the strength and the weakness of Ethel Sargent's mind were determined by the fact that her intellect was, above all things, that of the researcher: the pursuit of the unknown was in her blood. She was enthralled by the process of investigation; she loved Keats' sonnet - "Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold", - because it expressed the very essence of the spirit of discovery. In such lectures as she occasionally gave, she deliberately set herself to be "suggestive not exhaustive", and she considered that in writing a book the essential thing was to lay stress upon "what we don't know". The work which was natural to her was pure research in which she was not tied down to any preconceived plan but could allow herself to be led largely by instinct, or, ^{rather,} ~~to use more accurate terms~~ by the results of what psychologists call subliminal mentation. A mind so strongly gifted in a rare direction, inevitably suffered, in some degree, from the defects of its qualities. Ethel Sargent considered irrelevant information to be stifling to research, and she had a real fear of it; this was probably one of the factors, in addition to uncertain health and exacting home duties, that prevented her acquiring quite that catholic knowledge of ~~her subject~~ ^{botany} which might have led to wider developments in her own work. It was a matter of rejoicing to her that the subject of the vascular anatomy of seedlings - when she

first embarked upon it - possessed the merest minimum of 'literature'. She said herself that in her research she was conscious of going too straight ahead, and that the fact that she was seldom tempted into side issues, though sometimes a source of strength, led ⁱⁿ other cases to the overlooking of interesting new problems. In this connection she used to point to her failure ~~to~~ ^{to} recognise 'double fertilisation' in Lilium ^M martagon, though she possessed preparations made for another purpose, which, when she came to look into the matter [—] after ^{had} Nawaschin ^{had} announced his discovery - were found to show the process distinctly.

For some years before Ethel Sargent's death she was occupied in collecting materials for a general book about the group of plants with which most of her research had been concerned. It seemed to the present writer that the prospect of this book, which she undertook by invitation and not spontaneously, had ^{an unfortunate} ~~an~~ effect upon her. A piece of work which had, to a great extent, to be schemed ^{out} ~~out~~ beforehand was naturally repugnant to her; she was the born explorer who prefer^S~~s~~ to plunge into the unknown and to be guided from point to point by clues as they appear~~d~~. She liked to leave her work free to grow under her hands, and she had a great distaste for committing herself beforehand as to its exact content. It is characteristic of her that, in

apologising for a certain discrepancy between the title and the substance of a lecture she was delivering, she said that at the time the title was decided upon she "didn't know what it would turn out." To map and elaborate in detail the features of a region concerning which a great deal was already known, was not in her line, and her peculiar gifts were wasted upon it. ~~She showed little facility for quickly perceiving the bearing and relation of miscellaneous facts which she had not herself discovered. The projected book also implied much study of the literature, which to her was painfully laborious, and in which - as is often the case with un congenial tasks - she spent a disproportionate amount of time. Instead of rapidly tearing the heart out of each memoir, she abstracted in excessive detail, even making careful tracings of illustrative figures.~~

Here was not
~~It may perhaps be doubted whether~~
 she had the power to weld into an organic whole a mass of material, much of which must necessarily be *derived from the ideas of others.* ~~secondhand.~~

The fact that Ethel Sargent came of a family associated on both sides with the legal profession, had probably something to do with her appreciation of the qualities of reasoning, and her distress at looseness and inconsequence of thought, such as that which once led her to say of a certain biologist "His mind doesn't bite on an argument". She took a keen interest in the laws of evidence and regretted that students

Ethel Sargent employed the word morphology in a sense somewhat wider than that in which it is often used by botanists. She regarded the restriction of the term to the study of external form as an unwarrantable limitation, and held that the features of the vascular system frequently supply essential morphological characters. The divorce between systematic botany and anatomy, which is implied in the view that internal characters do not count in morphology, she attributed in part to the fact that the "whole classification of the flowering plants was built up

at least in its main outlines before the compound microscope had been improved so as to be a really useful instrument". She saw with regret that the gulf between the systematic botanist who rarely resorts to the compound microscope, and the vegetable anatomist to whom it is a tool in constant use, has given rise to "a most unphilosophical division of the whole science". She held that our knowledge concerning the lower plants "is on the whole in a more satisfactory condition than our knowledge of the structure of flowering plants because no artificial separation between external form and internal anatomy has been made", since "their classification was undertaken much later than that of the flowering plants and for the most part by botanists trained in the methods of anatomy".

Besides the dangers lurking in the unnatural disunion between ^{botanical} morphology and anatomy, Ethel Sargent recognised another and perhaps even more serious peril in the ease with which, under the influence of the academic mind, morphology may be divested of its essentially historical character. "All morphological problems" she wrote, "are questions of race history; they can therefore be ~~more~~ ^{most} precisely stated in historical terms". She considered that ~~all~~ ^{the power to do} good morphological work was conditioned by the existence of what might almost be called a distinct

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'morphological sense', capable of analysis into two principal elements - a feeling for history and an instinct for form; she wrote, indeed, of the sense of form as "the basis of all morphology". She confessed that she observed the morphological instinct - and hence the power of fully apprehending morphological reasoning - to be rare among botanists: she said of one writer in whom these qualities were conspicuously lacking, "It is quite clear that he can't imagine any morphological evidence strong enough to satisfy him and must needs ask for a fossil miracle".

not used

One peculiarity of morphological argument of which Ethel Sargent never lost sight ~~peculiarly which to certain temperaments is highly distasteful~~ is that the criteria used can seldom be applied universally: a canon of criticism which is of proven validity in one piece of work, may yet turn out to be perfectly useless in attacking another problem which is apparently closely allied. "In weighing morphological evidence", ~~Ethel Sargent~~ ^{she} wrote, "each author has his own scale of values"; ~~and it need hardly be said that~~ The utmost perspicacity is ~~evidently~~ necessary if the researcher is to steer clear of the reefs and shoals thus introduced. ~~Ethel Sargent~~ ^{she} was fully alive to these dangers and ~~she had~~ ^{possessed} the saving grace of being able to laugh at her own reliance on certain criteria of whose validity in her special line of work she had become

convinced by experience. She replied to the present writer, who had shown scepticism about a certain canon, "Your question brings out very clearly the extent to which every morphologist (the example to-day of course is myself) depends on his own scale of values. That scale becomes a part of one's mental equipment, and to criticise it really at first blush struck me (I abandon the general pseudonym, but I believe the phenomenon is general) as a sort of lèse-majesté".

constructed on the basis of Evolution: we stand or fall by it". She was herself a convinced Darwinian, though she had no sympathy with an uncritical acceptance of the natural selection hypothesis. She held that ^{only such workers} ~~writers~~ such as Bateson and de Vries, who ^{worthy to be regarded as} continued the subject and studied it at first hand, were Darwin's ~~true~~ followers; "he would" she wrote, "never have owned those who quote his words as the only true Gospel for his disciples". She looked upon Romanes' contribution as a brilliant corollary to Darwin's work, and felt that the more recent writer had never received quite the recognition ^{that} ~~which~~ was his due. She was fully aware that Darwin's explanation of evolution no longer held the field as once it did, but she thought that this was ^{largely} ~~chiefly~~ due to a natural reaction ^a swing of the pendulum and that we should eventually come back to something much nearer to the Darwinian position than the present generation is likely to deem possible. But she was reluctant to express herself with any freedom about these topics, for she had come deliberately to the opinion that the 'how' and the 'why' of evolution do not directly concern the morphologist, and that his problems are essentially independent of any particular evolutionary theory. Her writings were, however, inevitably coloured by the Darwinian view of the relation of structure to function, and on this account her conclusions

may seem, from a more modern standpoint, to need some re-statement; but such an alteration would ~~be largely a matter~~ *deal almost exclusively* ~~with~~ *practically* their mode of expression and would leave their substance ~~practically~~ *unaffected.* *Ethel Sargant* ~~She~~ not only kept morphological considerations distinct in her own mind from evolutionary hypotheses, but she realised that the matter went deeper. She showed for instance that it would have probably made little difference to the Natural System of classification if evolution had become an accepted fact before instead of after the main outlines of that system had been laid down. We may take to serve as our conclusion a passage (1) in which she developed this idea and followed it up with what was perhaps her nearest **approach** to a confession of morphological faith.



"One is apt to think that the Natural System has been constructed in a shockingly haphazard way. But let us consider the possibilities. Suppose the doctrine of descent had been assumed from the beginning, how would the botanists of the eighteenth century have begun to build up a system on that foundation? Direct evidence of course is not available. Few fossils had been discovered, nor

would they have been of much service without the insight into the affinities of the Vascular Cryptogams and Gymnosperms which we owe to the compound microscope. The early botanists must have fallen back on comparative observations. They would be driven to examining ~~to~~ ^{and} describing their plants and guessing at their relationships to each other, just as Linnaeus and his successors did observe and describe and guess. Any artificial system would be avowedly provisional, and we may conclude that there would be fewer constructed. But on the whole the Natural System would be built up from the accumulated experience of generations, as indeed it really was built up; profiting much from the inspirations of such genius as that of Linnaeus, and not a little from the painful toil and even from the mistakes of lesser men.

It would seem that morphologists can only advance in this way - like a blind man with a stick, who in spite of sounding every step before he takes it is always liable to stray from the path. We assume that a more or less probable guess is true, and if the consequences are unsatisfactory we give up that guess and make another. No hypothesis is ever proved in morphology; the most universally accepted is only probably true. Indeed we are forced at times to put up with a very slender degree of probability. Yet though

our methods seem so inconsequent, though we gain ground by a series of blunders, we can point with pride to our results. Systematic botanists built up the Natural System from a mass of detail, without any consistent theory to guide them but believing in order underlying that detail. In fulness of time the principle of that order was found to be relationship by descent".

Memoirs by Ethel Sargent.

- ✓ 1. [Conjointly with D. H. Scott] . On the Pitchers of Dischidia Rafflesiana (Wall). Ann. of Bot. Vol. 7. 1893 pp. 243 - 269, 2 pls.
- ✓ 2. Some Details of the First Nuclear Division in the Pollen-Mother-cells of Lilium Martagon, L. Journ. Roy. Micr. Soc. 1895. pp. 283 - 7. /  text-figs.
- ✓ 3. Direct Nuclear Division in the Embryo-sac of Lilium Martagon. Ann. Bot. Vol. 10, 1896, pp. 107 - 8, ~~1~~  text-fig.
- ✓ 4. The Formation of the Sexual Nuclei in Lilium Martagon, I. Oögenesis Ann. of Bot. Vol. 10, 1896, pp. 445-77, 2 pl.
- ✓ 5. The Formation of the Sexual Nuclei in Lilium Martagon II Spermatogenesis. Ann. of Bot. Vol. 11. 1897, pp. 187-224, 2 pls.
- ✓ 6. [Conjointly with Rina Scott]. On the Development of Arum maculatum from the Seed. Ann. Bot. vol. 12. 1898, pp. 399 - 414, 1 pl.
- ✓ 7. On the Presence of two Vermiform Nuclei in the Fertilised Embryo-sac of Lilium Martagon. Proc. Roy. Soc. vol. 65. 1899. pp. 163 - 5. 1 text-fig.

- ✓ 8. A New Type of Transition from stem to Root in the Vascular System of Seedlings, *Ann. Bot.* Vol. 14, 1900, pp. 633 - 8, 1 pl.
- ✓ 9. Recent Work on the Results of Fertilization in Angiosperms. *Ann. Bot.* Vol. 14, 1900, pp. 689 - 712.
10. The Origin of the Seed-Leaf in Monocotyledons. *New Phyt.* vol. 1. 1902, pp. 107 - 13, 1 pl.
- ✓ 11. A Theory of the Origin of Monocotyledons founded on the Structure of their Seedlings. *Ann. Bot.* Vol. 17; 1903, pp. 1 - 92, 7 pls. 10 text-figs.
- ✓ 12. [Conjointly with Agnes Robertson (Arber)]. The Anatomy of the Scutellum in *Zea Mâis*. *Ann. Bot.* Vol. 19, 1905, pp. 115-123, 1 pl.
- ✓ 13. The Evolution of Monocotyledons. *Bot. gazette*, Vol. 37. 1904, pp. 325 - 45, 6 text-figs.
- ✓ 14. The Early History of Angiosperms. *Bot. Gazette.* Vol. 38. 1905, pp. 420 - 3.
- ✓ 15. The Reconstruction of a Race of Primitive Angiosperms. *Ann. Bot.* Vol. 22, 1908, pp. 121 - 86, 21 text-figs.

16. The Development of Botanical Embryology since 1870.
Presidential Address to Section K (Botany) Brit. Assoc.
Rep. Birmingham, 1913, pp. 692 - 705, 1 text-fig.
- ✓ 17. [Conjointly with Agnes Arber]. The Comparative Morphology
of the Embryo and Seedling in the Gramineae. Ann. Bot.
Vol. 29, 1915. pp. 161-222, 2 pls. and 35 text-figs.

Plate -

ETHEL SARGANT

~~(LITHO)~~

From a lithograph by F. Ernest Jackson, 1910.

microtome methods to the study of plant structure. Her preparations and material were indexed in ^acomplete and concise fashion of her own, which might well serve as a model for scientific book-keeping. Though her work dealt to a great extent with the minutiae of structure, she never lost herself in a maze of detail; she continually related the study of her sections to the external features of the plant, and also where possible, to the general skeletal system as seen in three dimensions, for instance by rendering the whole region transparent in strong carbohc acid. She insisted that it "is most important to be constantly orientating oneself in microscope work by means of the naked eye or with ^athe simple lens." She had ~~a great~~ ^{marked} belief ~~in the importance~~ ^{traced much to the effect} of "getting one's fingers in the thing", ~~and held~~ ^{believing} that the actual handling of the material gave solidity and ~~concreteness~~ ^{proportion to the biologist's conceptions} to ~~one's~~ ~~views~~. Her hypotheses grew, it might almost be said, through her fingers. Her geophytic theory of the origin of Monocotyledons arose of itself, as it were, out of the fact that she germinated the seeds of members of this group in large numbers, and, through a series of years, kept watch over the curiously dilatory development of countless geophytic seedlings.

The actual writing of Ethel Sargent's papers was done slowly and "at ~~a~~ vast expense of nervous energy." That she

Morphology, in that historical aspect on which Ethel Sargent so constantly insisted, is closely bound up with evolution. As she wrote, "all modern morphology is

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- (1) This passage and some other quotations in the present paper are taken from Ethel Sargent's notes for ~~five~~ ^{four} lectures on "The Methods of Morphology" which she addressed to Girton students in 1915.

(By Miss Layard — written on the Sunday when we were all in 3
such suspense before war was declared — the day of the fate)

In the Old Rectory garden ----- Aug. 9, 1914

The wind has blown since dawn — the restless wind —
Waking the leaves to murmur like the sea;
The twilight veils the earth in mystery
But cannot still the leaves, nor soothe the mind
Stirred by the breath of war. No rest we find
From thought, forerunner of calamity,
Suspense consumes us; better far be free
To face the worst, so doubt remain behind.

Be still! Our life is fed through the same ties
That bind us straitly in a narrow place.
Like the green leaf, torn from its resting-place,
The soul that breaks its bonds untimely dies,
E'er on at the altar, kneeling to be fed
By God Himself, He gives us earthly bread.

To:

My Prospective Tenant.

Tax not the Village Dame with vain expense,
 With ill-matched aim weep not for paper'd walls,
 The Rich hang papers in their gilded halls
 But whitewash should content the Man of Sense —
 It purges his taste & saves my pence.

The wise man shuns the plumber's frequent calls,
 Nor, ev'n when gutters leak & plaster falls,
 Condemns his landlady to indignance.

Smooth are your lines, designed to touch the Heart,
 And turn the Mind from any thought of ill,
 But — ^{how} ^{do} ^{you} ^{conceal} ^{the} ^{art}

That taught the Jam to hide the bitter Pill,
 When you concerted words of flattery
 Did you see aught of verdant in my eye?

Les Lois de l'Evolution,

par
Louis Dollo,Conservateur au Musée royal d'Histoire naturelle,
à Bruxelles.

Bulletin de la Société belge de Géologie, 1893, Vol. VII, p. 164.

(Résumé).

I. — Selon la conception géniale de l'immortel
Charles Darwin (1809-1882):L'évolution, — la transformation des Organismes, —
résulte de la fixation, — sous l'influence de la
sélection naturelle, — provoquée par la lutte pour
l'existence, — des variations individuelles utiles.Toutes les espèces, — animales ou végétales, — qui
existent ou qui ont existé, — depuis l'apparition
de la vie sur le globe, — doivent leur origine
à une loi fondamentale.

II. — Mais:

1. Quelle est la cause des variations individuelles?

2. Quelle est leur amplitude? — Est-elle faible?

Est-elle grande? — (p. 165)

L'évolution fut-elle extrêmement lente? Ou
se fit-elle par sauts assez brusques?

3. D'un autre côté, l'évolution est-elle réversible? —

Un Organisme peut-il retourner (totalement
ou partiellement) à un état antérieur, déjà
réalisé dans la série de ses ancêtres? —Sait qu'il y arrive d'un seul coup; soit qu'il
traverse à rebours, pour l'atteindre, les
diverses phases qui lui ont donné naissance.4. Enfin, l'évolution est-elle limitée? Ou
infinie? — Tout Organisme porte-t-il
en lui une puissance de métamorphose sans
bornes? — Ou s'éteindra-t-il nécessairement
après avoir parcouru un cycle déterminé?

III. — La solution de ces questions est d'une importance capitale pour le biologiste. Et cela, non pas simplement pour l'intérêt énorme qu'elles offrent en elles-mêmes, mais à cause de leurs applications.

IV. — M^c. Dollo est d'avis :

1. Que l'évolution se fit par sauts assez brusques.
2. Qu'un Organisme ne peut retourner, même partiellement, à un état antérieur, déjà réalisé dans la série de ses ancêtres.
3. Que tout Organisme doit nécessairement s'éteindre, après avoir parcouru un cycle déterminé, — qui peut, d'ailleurs, être extrêmement long.

C'est ce qu'il exprime en disant :

L'évolution est discontinue, — irréversible, — limitée.

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V. — L'auteur expose, ensuite, les raisons pour lesquelles, selon lui, il faut qu'il en soit ainsi.

Puis, il cite de très nombreux exemples, — tirés, tant des Animaux vivants ou fossiles que des Végétaux actuels, — pour appuyer sa manière de voir.

VI. — A cette occasion, M^c. Dollo est heureux de constater que ses idées ont été admises par son Maître, M^c. A. Giard, professeur à la Sorbonne, et par son excellent ami, M^c. P. Pelsener, professeur à l'École normale de Gand.

Il remercie ces deux naturalistes des cas de discontinuité ou d'irréversibilité qu'ils ont bien voulu lui communiquer (M^c. Giard : Crustacés, Végétaux ; M^c. Pelsener : Mollusques).

Il remercie également deux autres de ses

meilleurs amis: M^c. J. Massart, assistant à l'Institut botanique de l'Université de Bruxelles, qui lui a signalé beaucoup de faits intéressants relatifs à la discontinuité et à l'irréversibilité chez les végétaux; et M^c. G. A. Boulenger, du British Museum, qui a appelé son attention sur divers points de la structure des Reptiles vivants, d'une portée considérable dans ces questions. p. 166

Il mentionne aussi avec satisfaction que M^c. S. Errera, professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles, se rallie, au moins partiellement, à ses vues.

Enfin, il annonce, pour terminer, que M^c. P. Haliez, professeur à la Faculté des Sciences de Lille, à la suite de ses dernières études sur les Vers, conclut à la discontinuité de l'évolution.

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VII. — Ce sont les recherches spéciales que M^c. Dollo poursuit, depuis douze ans, sur les Osséments fossiles du Musée de Bruxelles, qui l'ont conduit à ces généralisations.

Il les fit connaître, pour la première fois, dans son cours à l'Institut Solway (Université de Bruxelles) (Leçon autographe du 12 novembre 1890).

Ultérieurement, il y revint, notamment dans le Bulletin de Giard (20 septembre 1891) et dans le Bulletin de la Société (25 octobre 1892).

VIII. — L'auteur a remarqué avec plaisir que ses idées ont été adoptées sans réserve par M^c. A. Lameere, professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles, dans son Esquisse de la Zoologie (Bruxelles, 1892) et dans le syllabus de son Cours sur le Transformisme.

(Extension universitaire; leçon III; 1898).

IX. — M^c. Dollo se propose de réunir en un petit volume illustré sous les cas importants de discontinuité, d'irréversibilité et de limitation recueillis par ses amis et par lui.

X. — Est-ce à dire que, dans la pensée de l'auteur, les lois ci-dessus énoncées soient les seules qui régissent l'évolution des Organismes? Nullement. Il y en a bien d'autres, et des plus fondamentales. Exemples: la loi de la recapitulation, la loi de la régression nécessaire, etc. »

A RECENT DISCOVERY IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY BOTANY

By Professor Walther Rytz. Das Herbarium Felix Platters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Botanik des XVI. Jahrhunderts. (verhandl.d.Naturforsch. Gesellsch. in Basel, vol.xliv, part 1) 222pp., 22 figures, 1933.

By Professor Walther Rytz. Pflanzenaquerelle des Hans Weiditz aus dem Jahre 1529: die Originale ^{den} zu ^AHolzschnitten im Brunfels'schen Kräuterbuch. 44 pp., 15 coloured plates, Bern, 1936.

When, a few years ago, Professor Walther Rytz of the University of Bern was reviewing the collections in the Botanical Institute, he brought to light an herbarium in nine folio volumes, whose existence had been forgotten for more than a century. The history of these volumes, so far as it could then be traced, was that in 1806 they had been received by a ^{book seller} dealer in Bern from ^{an antiquary} ~~a dealer~~ in Zurich who owed him ^{four} ~~five~~ Louis d'Or which he was unable to pay; ~~six~~ ^{four} years later the Bern dealer sold the nine folios for a single Louis d'Or to a botanist through whom they came into the possession of the Institute. Since the collection was obviously a remarkable one, and appeared to be of early date, Dr. Rytz examined it minutely. His researches and their results make a fascinating story, which is set out in fully illustrated form in the memoirs cited above. Of the nine folios, the herbarium occupies eight, while the ninth contains illustrations alone. The herbarium is far from complete; indeed there is reason to believe that about ten more volumes may await some future happy discovery. Even in its incomplete form the collection contains 813 species drawn from a wide geographical area; ~~it includes~~ ~~plants from~~ Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain and Egypt. It also represents activity of an adventurous kind, for there are specimens from Pilatus, Monte Baldo and the Mountains of Savoy - peaks arousing little emotion among the alpinists of today, but most formidable in the eyes of the men of earlier centuries. The dried plants are well preserved and arranged, and some of them have retained their colour admirably; this point must have been regarded as of special importance, for, in some campanulas the difficulty that the

corollas turn brown on drying has been met by replacing them by imitations cut out of larkspur flowers! There are a number of inscriptions on the sheets, and all the information which can possibly be gleaned from these has been brought together and analysed by Dr. Rytz, who has also made ^{an exhaustive} ~~a profound~~ study of the paper used for mounting - a study which reveals no less than forty ^{more or less} different watermarks. All this research leads directly to the conclusion that the collection was ^{formed} ~~brought together~~ in the second half of the sixteenth century by some botanist who was in relation with Charles de l'Ecluse (1525 - 1609) ^{Conrad Gesner (1516-1585)} and Joachim Camerarius (1534-1598), from ~~both of~~ whom he received specimens. After a process of delicate detective work, too complex and detailed to be summarised here, Dr. Rytz decides that the herbarium was undoubtedly ~~collected by~~ ^{the work of} Felix Platter, an eminent physician of Basle, who lived from 1536 to 1614. Fortunately the facts of Platter's life ^{have been} ~~are~~ fully recorded ^{in a} ~~from~~ ^{contemporary} portrait was available for reproduction. From 1582 to 1587 he is known to have studied medicine at Montpellier, like so many botanists of his day - for instance Conrad Gesner, Jaques Dalechamps, Charles de l'Ecluse, Jean Bauhin, Pierre Pena and Jean de l'Obel. In his diary of 1584 Platter speaks of collecting "viler kreuter, die ich in papier zierlich immacht", so it is clear that he had already begun a herbarium soon after the middle of the sixteenth century. Dr. Rytz believes that all European herbaria can be traced back to the influence of ^{the Italian continent} ~~Luca Ghini, of Pisa~~, from whom the "Father of British Botany", William Turner, learned to dry plants. Rondelet, Felix Platter's teacher at Montpellier, was also probably taught the art of herbarium-making by Ghini, and ^{then} disseminated it among his pupils. The interchange of dried plants between savants played a very important part in the beginning of scientific systematics, and illustrations often seem to have been drawn from them. This is shown by the fact that in August 1563 Conrad Gesner wrote to ^{Jean} ~~Johannes~~ Bauhin, "At this time I cannot occupy the artist with dried plants: he can scarcely now paint all the ^{fresh} ~~dried~~ and ^{green} ~~dried~~ examples: I put off the dried ^{specimens} ~~ones~~ to the winter, when there will be no opportunity of getting ^{the living} ~~living~~ ones". The oldest herbaria usually consisted

of dried plants alone, but the collections of ^{Gaspard} ~~Caspar~~ Bauhin and Felix Platter are exceptions in including figures as well as actual specimens. In the Platter herbarium there are 650 woodcuts; most of them are from well known herbals of the period, but there is also a rough but specially interesting set of pictures, which appear to be proofs taken from the blocks prepared by Leonhard Fuchs for a ^{projected} new edition of his herbal, which was destined to remain unpublished.

Felix Platter did not confine himself to botany: he was an enthusiastic collector of natural and artistic treasures of all kinds, and foreigners were ^{who would} ~~accustomed to~~ visit his "cabinet" for instruction and entertainment. ^{Various have left records of the progress of his researches. To my reading the most} Those in whose lives Michel, Sieur de Montaigne, plays a part, must feel a glow of pleasure in realizing that ~~it was Platter's herbarium~~ ^{Michel, Sieur de Montaigne Platter's herbarium} ~~now again accessible to the curious~~ - which was ^{examined with admiration by} Montaigne when he passed through Basle in 1580 on his way to Italy. ^{His} ~~An herbarium~~ was evidently a new toy to him. He writes of "un livre de simples... au lieu que les autres font prendre les herbes selon leurs couleurs, lui a trouvé l'art de les coller toutes naturelles et proprement sur le papier." He notes with surprise that the pages could be turned over without the plants dropping out, and that some of them were actually more than twenty years old.

The ninth folio, which ^{is of} ~~contains~~ illustrations alone, seems to be the last survivor out of a set of similar volumes, of which no less than twenty-three have ^{disappeared} ~~been lost~~. ^{perhaps this rare trouvaille} ~~treasure trove~~ will reward future search. The surviving volume ^{contains} ~~includes~~ 667 woodcuts, mostly derived from printed herbals, ^{and a few} ~~and~~ copperplate etchings. There are also water-colour drawings, which are of peculiar interest, since they include a number which Dr. Rytz recognised at once as corresponding closely to the woodcuts by Hans Weiditz in the great Herbarum Vivae Eicones of Otto Brunfels (1530)

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- a book which marks the beginning of an epoch in plant illustration, + which has been elucidated for botanical students by the authoritative work of Dr. T. A. Sprague of the New Herbarium (Journ. Lem. Soc., Bot., vol. 20, 1928). ^{Crime companion, the newly discovered} ~~water colours with the mounted leaves no doubt that the~~ ~~drawings~~ are in actual original form the blocks in the herbarium

made. They are ^{in ink} outline pen-drawings in sepia, painted in watercolour. In the second of the two memoirs under review, a number of these paintings are reproduced in colour, and botanists can themselves compare them with the cuts in Brunfels' herbal. It may seem surprising that Weiditz should have taken the trouble to colour the drawings, when they were to be reproduced as woodcuts, but Dr. Rytz has shown convincingly that the colour was chiefly intended to assist the man who would copy the outline on to the block, and also the woodcutter, who would complete the process. The colouring is not used for its own sake, as in Albrecht Dürer's inimitable plant studies, but is employed with the definite object of heightening the comprehension of the form, and thus giving confidence to the copyist and enabling him to achieve a free and virile outline. Weiditz did his drawings on both sides of the paper - a luckless economy which led Platter, who was a man of method, to mangle the drawings cruelly in cutting ~~them~~ ^{as many as possible,} out so as to stick them into the appropriate places in his collection. On the backs of some of them, which have been unstuck for ^{examination} ~~the purpose~~, fragmentary inscriptions in the handwriting of Weiditz have been detected. They include directions to the craftsmen, and, on one fortunate page, the date "1529" has escaped Platter's scissors.

In a summary such as this it is impossible to do justice to the indefatigable scholarship with which Professor Rytz has extracted and evaluated every particle of ore from the rich vein which he has struck. His study ^{has many} ~~is full of~~ interesting ^{aspects} ~~sidelights~~ which cannot be indicated here, though one of the parallels which he suggests may be cited in conclusion. He shows that there is a certain correspondence between the history of botany and the history of human anatomy. He compares the importance ^{to} ~~in~~ botany of Hans Weiditz' drawings, with the importance ^{to} ~~in~~ anatomy of the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci and of Vesalius. Indeed after reading Dr. Rytz's work, one is left with an enhanced sense of the ~~high~~ significance of the rôle of ~~the~~ artists in the biological renaissance of the sixteenth century.

Rytz, W
Das Herbarium Felix Platters.
Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Botanik
des XVI. Jahrhunderts. ^{Basel} (Verhandl. d.
Naturforsch.-Gesellsch. in Basel. Bd
XLIV, Teil I., ~~1930~~), 222 pp. 22 figs. 1930

Das Herbarium Felix Platter

Wine planters ^(with us overlaid) came to light in the
Basel Institute for Linnaeus, Bern in 1930
There contains drawn plants & also sketches for
the herbar. Denny

p 4.
These 9 volumes for all to remain 7 - layers
Collection. The current 7c herbarium other 8
7 or 9 volumes belong to a further collection in one Form 7
volume. They are all different types & size . collect
(about 40 x 30 cm) ~~bound~~ by the publisher .
Thus some ^{sign} differences in ~~binding~~ to ~~bound~~ .

The herbarium volumes do include wood cuts &
water colors. The (p 6) ~~the~~ plan as well Delat. 7
presses - arranged ^{some} ~~some~~ Denny
columns admirably.

p 7 Composites in order to give the face
to the flowers of ^{from a Denny} in order to
keep to the usual blue tint, to composite flowers
even replaced by flower bells cut out of
Delphinium flowers!

~~It is probable that there are original 50 volumes~~
p 8
some of the flowers are stuck to a thin paper, ^{they have been cut out}
with the intention of the present ^{the present} ^{make-up}
of the herbarium in transfer into original one.

1870 Ry Lambert Arm. Nov
Her VI 36 + 39.

"Homologous" ^{The general definition is:} "having the same relation,
position, relative position, etc; correspondingly."

Woodcock Lakes 439. C. 9^{3.45}

Plato Camp 180. C. 9^{2.307}

Hadronia anemula Tenbner (ed-
1907)

R. 707. d. 1

all p12 subjects & could analyze
 all information in the localities & references & botanicals (2)
 & gardens are carefully brought together & analyzed
 Plans were used from ^{Carles} Chusis (1525-1607)
 & Joachum Camerarius (1534-1578)

Delate
 sheet
 collect

p14
 Instead the collection was made - to 2: half 1576
 century & includes plants of gardens Italy,
 & for various districts, (holland, Spain, Egypt,
 S. France, Paris, Savoy, & herbarium that
 it seems uncertain for Cordoba)
 whether to make himself collect the plants he
 includes from Padua, Monte Baldo, the
 mountains Savoy. These mountains that ^{are in}
~~no doubt~~ to modern spirits, seem to Alps
 per. consist of six cent. men from Padua
 were known. In 1538 the center of Padua
 Müller & some parts found around the
 Stockholm in Bremen ^{to collect} & precision
 plants & a ^{later} partus made of precision

p15.
 In 1800 leaves 7-9 volumes thus due - 40
 men a less distinct water marks due as described -
 detail three very figured. Then water marks
 show that the paper in rare Concepts (2 an) 1870

Shaded
 many
 leaves
 in
 6 papers

The watermarks indicate date between 1556 & 1604
 By an engraver's duty } eagle - this plants would
 or an old paper to another deduced that up to
 a later one 1586 the herbarium had a store 1
 due 1586 on old paper. (1 can: for
 this very clear)

p 26 arrangement of the fls. *Banhus Phytosinox* is followed. But not the nomenclature. It suggests that the fls. were collect & named before the appearance of Phytosinox, there subsequently arose a second name viz. then seems also there has been a later influence for *Purox*. see letter

Told me

p 29
Probably the name was arising 18 or 19 volumes of the herbarium when 10 or 11 are lost, says that my one day come of light

Purox

p 9
A dealer - Beer took the 9 volumes of a dealer in Zurich who and his father took when he was unable to pay. The father was sold from *Louis d'Or* to J. S. Wyttenbach (1790-1870) a well known dealer in Beer.

more numbers

p 29 - 30.
Felix Platter (1536-1614) is the collector of the 1552-1557, a his return to his native Basel he carried on work as bookseller in his garden. this Platter

p 31
He then appears to appear in Platter's death, an due etc
found that Banhus was a friend of Platter's who was in the hands of Platter's handwriting
Communicated as his Platter's handwriting
Beer has also compared Platter's handwriting
in the Herbarium in Platter's handwriting
I have seen some of these with Platter's handwriting in 1790 in the hands of Platter's handwriting in 1806 in the hands of Platter's handwriting in 1806 in the hands of Platter's handwriting

Scrap in the University Library, Basel, &
this comparison indicates that the unit is
Felix Platter's.

34
p 33
Felix Platter studied medicina in Basel
with so many botanists, his time — Charles ^{de Platte}
Corneil Jansen, Jacques Bolebays, Pierre
de l'Ecluse, Jean Bauhin, Pierre Pena,
Jean de l'Obel etc. He spent 7 collecty
"vler kreuter, die ich in feyer Zuerlich
inmacht" (1554 p44) the bygone herbager
cannot be later than this

p 35
He returned to Basel, became a very successful
practising physician — teacher of medical students (p 36)
He was full of ornaments, was of fun & to keep
Canoes in Basel.

p 37
He was a catholic collector & no foreign neglect
to see his "Cabinier" of notable & artistic treasures.
The catalogue of his collection survives.
Montaigne mentions it.

Montaigne. Michel de Jauret Du voyage
de Michel de Montaigne en Italie. 1566
p 77 who describes the herbarium
the idea of dried plants was evidently new &

him who describes it as an administration
"un livre de simples ... au lieu que les
autres font perdre les herbes selon leurs
couleurs, lui a trouvé l'air de la

color toutes nouvelles et jurement sur
le papier, que les mondes feuilles et
fibres y apparoissent, comme elle font
... des singles qui y estoient celles,
y avoit plus de vingt ans.

44

A nineteenth century biographer writes him
"He ~~was~~ ^{received} ~~strongly~~ ^{sharply} forwardly & singly
without preconceived ideas the phenomenon
which nature New thin in the connexion
with them directly appeared to him
+ without thought (there is a artificial hypothesis
being a foreign the remote in union
in the near ... he sought to truth above all.
He was nearly 78 when he died

p45

He does not say further he learnt to an of making
a herbarium, but seems to be of printed as
something already known. It is probable that
of Rondelet, herbarium was ~~initiated~~ ^{initiated} Montpelier.
was my have learnt to an at Pisa for
Lucia Ghini, for then an Eight herbarium
William Turner learnt the plants.
Peyz treats their herbarium on the of
"monotypic" origin.

the making
herbarium

p46

Mars had an important the interchange?
direct plants of drugs between Lavoisier was
a renaissance of botany in the 16th century.
p50 - In August 1563 Johannes Conrad Jessor

In p. 46
the Lavoisier
in 16th century

waits & Johannes Bauhin "At the
 time I cannot occupy & attend ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{drawn} ~~drawn~~ ^{drawn} plants: 6
 he can scarcely now paint all the ~~living~~ ^{drawn} ~~drawn~~ ^{drawn} plants:
 recent, living examples; I put off the
 drawn ones for winter, when there will be no
 opportunity to get living ones.
 In another place he writes that his artist painted
 drawn plants even better & more readily than
 living ones.

p 57
 It was to newly awakened feeling for objects
 observation, nature when found the basis for
 the ~~herbarium~~ ^{herbaria} & of herbaria.

p 51
 The herbarium contains 813 species.

p 54-55
 Subjects in early history of study
 p 56-57
 recent introduced ^{then cultivated} ^{in European} ^{gardens}
 various American plants.

In herbarium center
 See maps, *Canna indica*, *Agave Americana*,
Phaseolus vulgaris, *Helianthus annuus*

p 59
 The dried-herbarium consists of drawn plants
 alone, except in the case of herbarium
 Caspar Bauhin & others, Feder P. latter,
 both, which included figures as well as
 dried specimens. In Platter herbarium the
 illustrated (woodcuts) were in colors. herbs
 (650) ^{the woodcuts are} mostly for well-known ^{herbs}
 (p 60) ^{the woodcuts are} - Fuchs, labels, Mattioli, ^{classics} ^{et}

U.S.A.

Woodcuts
or well
in herbaria

p 60, 61
But in addition there are a number of poor, rough
proofs by Fuchs prepared for a new
edition, his herbal which was never published.

p 71 in volume of pictures ⁶⁶⁷ the woodcuts
are drawn for most of the young herbs, there
are also 11 copperplate etchings

p 73
It appears that there were probably ^{another} 23
volumes of pictures in addition to the one
that he received.

A number of the water colours are attributed to
Bask artists by Ruyt.

The water colours by Hans Vredt should rather
be described as pen and ink (Ruyt) drawings tinted
in water colour.

The woodcuts are somewhat simpler than the
~~drawings~~ water colours, which confirm the idea
that the water colours are the originals.

p 80
Brunfels himself speaks of woodcuts as
"durch den hochberümpften meyster Hans
Weyditz von Sharburg gerissen und
Controfaert."
pp 81-82 Konrard, the woodcut is pulled out
water colour, then the mystery of the wood
labelled "berweyng" the label is ~~the~~ for the
water colour, then the mystery of the wood
p 92 in Arator colour, then an upside down
sketches of parts which were not in the
delicate vegetable structure.

Wedydy had ^{pg 3-4} papers used both sides of paper. Plotter had cut on that he wanted after many use the figures on both sides; they did not happen overlap.

pg 6
notes, some water colors done after this is the
note, Hans Wedydy
Rydz thinks that the panels ^{panels} to write on each
a number, a date, ~~and~~ the place name & sometimes
remarks, down the page & other details. pg 8

He reproduces one inscription from 1529
This inscription includes an A capital currency
like Dure's ^{family} initial. He ~~thinks that~~ these
Does this have an influence on Dure's work
Wedydy?

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pg 104
They study ^{in detail} the work of ^{the} artists of their
with overlap

pg 106
Rydz thinks that there ~~is~~ Wedydy found the
plans for return, Bruegel was ~~to~~ ^{on} his
before seen & make a distinction between "the
painter" & the other artists who worked for him.
These men seem to have had very much
independently of him & he had used the cells they
chose supplied him with.

Full bibliography
critical account of the work in 'identifications
Hans Wedydy
water colors of Wedydy

Walter Rytz. Pflanzenaquarelle
des Hans Weiditz aus dem Jahre 1529
die Originale zu den Holzschnitten im
Brunfels'schen Kräuterbuch. 15 Tafeln
im Offsetdruck. 44 pp. Bern 1936

Wald
Brunfels' work is better known as a book
Muskaten, tall trees & little pages
Weiditz work
not as known

Der Schweizerische Schweizerischen Bibliophilen
Gesellschaft have been responsible for the
publication. made 1 public of figures

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The woodcuts are almost always smaller
than the water colors.
Enlarged and drawn
How plates to
draw on
& inscription

pp 6-7
He has two water colors cut in an elegant
barbaric manner. ~~with~~ sometimes in pairs
actually cut off. My own steel was to where
in some way to the wood cut. I was worried
few times but had hoped in two water colors
and used both sides of the paper in order to
than plates work for them - order to
to stick them in a separate place, but
cut up sheets in ~~some~~ some of the
over the as if for a printed edition.
but sides, were the main material.
P. had
in the thickly cut drawings - the accompanying
sacred natural parts & drawings in the accompanying
inscriptions, in a & inscription belong to the plants

drawn on the verso of leaf my receive a
 underside. Some of the sketches were ~~too~~
 unsharp & their backs examined*. The figures
 unsharp thus disclosed some real flaws
 I directs the Reiser (droptown on the wood)
 a the wood cutter. In a letter these directs
 they seem to have been with an the same of to
 painter himself. We my transfer conclude that
 we have here the actual says I have
 Verdy, whose steamer was at Reiser in a
 far instead

* In cases then appearing in drawing as a stamping
 disclosed smears. v) interest in oval

Teaching of Janellerte Reiser - Federzschneuger Type 1
 P. 14 Reiser's model of the wood cut done

Teaching outlines done with the pen
 Reiser's plan with class. were done in the brush
 It seems curious that Verdy should have
 colour drawings intended for reproduction by woodcut

p. 15 It seems that Joachim Schott who was
 primary responsible for the book, that he
 command Reiser's odd the text - Verdy
 to sketches. The woodcut drawings were neither bespoke
 nor superimposed by him
 The further pushed forward to fill
 p. 15. He tried to colour was a help to help the
 man who could copy wood cutter. The way - due to his
 very colour seems primarily to
 have included Reiser's drawings of the wood cut done

Herbarium
 records
 Elionas
 made
 & related
 J. J. J.
 W. J. J.

p 20
 the work seems to have been all done within the
 year. ~~the~~ ^{enquiry} ~~the~~ ^{enquiry}
 part of way, because in this country different
 for the use in Durci's drawings there were intended like
 works, and in the end.

They were to regard the studies of the special
 you reproduction in wood cut.

The work was finished in June being the
 days all by June in 1829 like Bonifed
 write the text the first part of June 1530

(He agrees to understand Bonifed Fuchs other Descriptive
 with them Bonifed. In this part then my lower
 to two parts ~~works~~ in Bonifed well to believe them
 also would enter in Fuchs to ~~action~~ them
 was much more complete collaboration in non change of
 show to plan as it type in trees as an individual while
 The result is more sophisticated, and has an order like whole
 draw is a good pen the ~~difficulties~~ on a somewhat
 different plane. The artist has worked unshakably
 to believe, to choose a departure in fact of A

Fuchs
 & Bonifed

p 25 R. points on these Fuchs sources represent
 the plant in flower in the first leaves (which
 would be their time be dead) still flourishing
 The leaves spread in - in order to show them
 more profusely.

p 24-5 He compares the last botany Weddell's
 here anatomy + the vegetation in the
 illustration of these leaves de Vries change in
 1510-13, but not pulled down just Hummel
 Vesalius gave with Re fabric 1543

(no
 to make
 from the
 then the
 reason
 was
 the
 of
 1843)

Denny 1.
 Form / herbar 1. orig size 3 no. 1 spec 6
 Delat / press 1 Amem plus 6
 analysis of upornit -> sheets etc 2
 V denms 2
 argum / plans nomenclata 3
 Alchili Plath. order 3
 Hunt / herbar since Plath made 5 3
 Lef / Plath 4
 Moutagne 4-5
 Importance / herbar 5
 V adens coll as herbar den plans 6,7
 V den / pictures 7

Vdum / pates }
Waddy works hitherto known }
S. Marks V. II 1
W.C. 2
Ind

made / pates } II 1

Evidence of devotes / ~~do~~ cut for Draps II 1
relate of woods in HVE & draps III

The cutting up, water class (thin II 1-2
inscripts I. 8

made. technique, water class II 2
of Paper II 2 III 3

reason of colorat II 2
II 3

made / says / Herbar vasa eicms
4 2, I 8

regards of wood II 3

of Fruits / Muffels II 3
Anat II 3
particular } = artent - (then) / part

Ar 15

ON A FRENCH VERSION OF THE HERBAL OF LEONHARD FUCHS.

The great and beautiful folio herbal of Leonhard Fuchs - ^{ital} De Historia stirpium, published at Basle in 1542 - was the source of a series of reduced and variously degraded French versions. A number of these are dismissed collectively by Pritzel (Thesaurus ^{ital} Literaturae Botanicae, Ed. 2, 1877) as "libelli miserrimi", but although the figures are mostly poor and crude copies of Fuchs's admirable wood-engravings, the texts and their provenance might well repay a thorough comparative study. In the present note I propose to consider only a single example of these little herbals - ^{ital} Histoire generale des plantes et herbes avec leur proprieté par M. Leonard Fuchs, printed in 1580, ^{rom} "A Rouen, De l'Imprimerie de Robert Mallard, rue de L'orloge à la grand Nef". The British Museum possesses two undated books which are both apparently later editions of this work. One of them (catalogued "1700?") is from the press of another Rouen printer, ^{rom} "Jean le Cousturier, rue Escuyers, au Chapeau Rouge", the other was printed at Troyes; it is catalogued as "1620?". I have before me an example of the 1580 edition which was formerly in the library of Dr. Edmond Bonnet and then in that of Miss Gubielma Lister, to whom I am indebted for help in its study. This copy has been somewhat cut down; the pages now measure about 11.6 cms. in height and 7.7 cms. in width.

On the verso of the title-page is the following disarming little poem, addressed by the printer to the reader, who is referred to elsewhere in the book as "amy Lecteur":-

mm.

Ce iourd'hui t'est, ce livre présenté,
 En beau françoys proprement traduité:
 Auquel, pourras, prendre (si bon te semble.)
 [Et] guerison, et plaisir tout ensemble:
 Car il n'y a de mal aucune espece,
 Qui n'ayt ici, sa guerison expresse.
 Par ce moyen cognoistras le desir,
 Des imprimeurs à te faire plaisir.

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Dont recevras un profit incroyable

Estant c'est oeuvre a tes yeux agreable. $\bar{\pi}$

This copy of verses is succeeded by wood-cuts and text relating to seventy-one herbs, interspersed among which are a few descriptions with no pictures appended. This part of the book occupies 150 pages, and is followed by a short section (five pages) treating of Tobacco. This concludes the portion of the little volume which can strictly be called an herbal, but there still remain about an hundred pages of miscellaneous medical recipes, beginning with plague remedies.

Such botanical interest as the herbal possesses, lies chiefly in the descriptions of the plants enumerated; these diagnoses, however, are often curiously sketchy. Cow Parsley (Persil), for instance, receives no description beyond the statement that in the month of May the places where it grows are almost entirely white with its flowers; this, though true and picturesque, is scarcely adequate for purposes of identification! But occasionally something more in the modern manner is achieved. In treating of Cyclamen, the translator adds the information that it is to be found in abundance in the forest of Orleans; the description, derived from Fuchs, states that It has Ivy leaves of purplish colour, and mottled above and below by white blotches, the stem four fingers long, naked and leafless, in which flowers are formed like Roses of purplish colour: the root is black, like to the Turnip.

In the sixteenth century the way in which the phenomena of sex extend to the plant world was not understood, and the words "male" and "female" were used in senses that now sound strange to our ears. In ^{our version of} Fuchs's herbal we meet with the old belief that the scarlet and blue varieties of the Pimpernel are respectively masculine and feminine - a belief which also finds expression in the English herbals of Henry Lyte and William Turner. The record runs as follows:- Il y a masle et femelle: qui ne different en aucune chose fors en couleur de fleur le masle porte fleur de couleur incarnate, et la femelle de couleur d'azur.

A greater part of the herbal is taken up with an account of the

"virtues" of the plants; some of the Medicines recommended, such as Marsh-mallow for coughs, have survived to the present day. And it is rather a pleasure to find that the practice of giving Chickweed to caged birds is of respectable antiquity - as might indeed be guessed from the English name. We read that "les petits oiseaux se delectent à manger de ladicte herbe [Mariolaine, Chickweed]. Les Oiseleurs donnent de ladicte herbe à manger aux petits oysillons en cage quand ils ont perdu l'appetit de manger". Another of these survivals is mankind's appreciation of Asparagus; we are told that, when cooked according to the directions given, it is "une grande viande et un des principaux mets des grands seigneurs". In turning over the pages of the herbal, one is struck by the frequency of the remedies for loss of hair - the Nettle, Vine, Cyclamen, Waterlily and two kinds of Fern are each in turn offered for this purpose; it seems to suggest that baldness may have been particularly rife in the sixteenth century. Some of the objects for which medicaments are proposed are, happily, out of date today; we are, for instance, directed to mix Maiden-hair Fern with the food of cocks and quails to embolden them, and encourage them to joust and combat.

Quite a large number of the recipes transgress the boundary line between medicine and magic. For instance, one of the herbs recommended for tertian fevers must be gathered with the left hand and with the eyes averted, while naming the patient. In the case of Vervain, the third node is to be collected for tertian fevers, and the fourth for quartan fevers; while, if Borage is used, a decoction should be made of a three-stalked plant for tertian, and a four-stalked for quartan fevers. Various ^{herbs} ~~plants~~ are credited with remarkable protective qualities. Wild Angelica, for example, has power "contre ensorcelemens, ou enchantemens, si on ^{la} ~~la~~ porte avec soy". Tansy is particularly valuable, as it protects him who carries it from poisons and wild beasts and sun-stroke, and saves him from feeling any fatigue in travelling. Wild Thyme, when burnt, drives away all serpents and venomous animals, and it is recommended to mix it with the food of harvesters, so that if, peradventure, in their weariness they be overcome by sleep, they may rest in security, safe from the attacks of poisonous beasts.

Tobacco had not reached Europe when Fuchs produced ^{the} De Historia Stirpium, so the section of our little volume dealing with this herb is a new feature. It includes a wood-cut of the Tobacco plant, with a smoking head beside it; I find that the source of this engraving is the rare ^{herb} Adversaria Nova of P. Pena and M. de l'Obel, published by T. Purfoot in London, 1570/71.

It is a curious thing that in Pena and l'Obel's herbal, the figure of the Tobacco plant did not form an integral part of the book, but an appropriate space was left in the text, so ^{that} a detached leaf bearing the picture might be pasted in later. In our little French herbal, the figure of Tobacco is poorly copied from that of de l'Obel, and the smoke is so unrealistic in character as to suggest that the woodcutter had never seen a pipe in use, and was mystified by the lines with which the original draughtsman had tried to indicate the emerging cloud. The same picture of Tobacco, though without the smoking head, had already been pirated in an English book, "Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde, ... Englished by Jhon Frampton Marchaunt. Imprinted at London in Poules Church-yard by Willyam Norton". This is a translation of a work by the Spanish physician Monardes, ^{the} La Historia medicinal de las Cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales, which appeared at Seville in its complete form in 1574. Tobacco is dealt with in the second part of this book, which was originally published in 1571, and which contained a very inadequate portrait of the plant; the English translator certainly did well to use de l'Obel's picture instead of that of Monardes. In a former book (^{from} "Herbals", Cambridge University Press, 1912) I reproduced this figure (p. 105), but I did not know at that time that it ^{owed its origin} ~~could be traced~~ to de l'Obel.

The letterpress relating to Tobacco in the French version of Fuchs which we are studying, is not directly derived either from Monardes or de l'Obel, and I have not been able to trace its provenance. We are told that the herb, which is lauded as "premiere entre les medecinales", derives its name ^{Nicotianes} from "Maistre Jean Nicot Conseiller du Roy ambassadeur de sa maiesté au Royaume de Portugal, es annees 1559.60.61." The description of the plant is

strikingly good and clear. The stem, we read, "is very straight, not inclining to one side or the other, thick, hairy and viscous. The leaves broad and long, green, tending to yellow, bearded, soft, thready, not dissected, larger near the root than higher up. It puts forth its flower almost like those of the Rose Campion, in hue whitish and carnation-coloured, having the form of a little bell, emerging from a goblet-shaped envelope". We are also told that the smoke, "receu^s spécialement avec un cornet à l'effigie duquel voyez au costé de l'herbe appaise la faim et soif".

In the latter part of the book are collected together a mass of medical recipes under such headings as "Diverses Receptes", etc. Some of them remind us how highly perfumes were valued in the days before disinfection in the modern sense was understood. For instance, if you go into a place where plague is suspected, it is well to attach to your person "un sachet de Sandal cramsisi", containing fine pounded pearls, fine coral, ambergris, musk, and other ingredients, or you may carry in your hand "une pomme d'odeur", including a number of scents and drugs. Some of the other remedies enumerated must have depended on a more facile faith than the doctor of today can expect from his patients. For example, if a fish bone is stuck in the throat, you have merely to wreath the throat ^{with} externally with Periwinkle flowers, put the sufferer to sleep, and next morning he will awake cured.

But despite this and other absurdities, a rather unexpected vein of commonsense runs through the compendium of recipes. Rules for distilling herbs are given, and special stress is laid on the importance of collecting each leaf, flower and root at that exact moment of the year when it is in its fullest perfection; it would be satisfactory if one could feel assured that this point was always as conscientiously attended to in modern commercial herb-gathering! Our herbalist, again, has enough mother-wit not to be unreasonably jealous for his craft, for though he commends Henbane and other remedies against toothache, he adds the honest confession, "mais si la dent est creuse, bon est la faire arracher". He tilts against the idea that expensive and out-

landish medicaments are better than those that are cheap and homely, and declares, for example, that he has found the horns of deer and goats more efficacious than the rare product of the unicorn. He professes that he would rather himself be cured by the use of a mean remedy, than "die with all the syrups, all the oils and all the sumptuous medicines of the Orient, or Occident". He notes that if you want to speak contemptuously of any man, you say that you hold him of no more account than your old shoes, but he objects to this proverb, on the ground that old shoes are in reality extremely valuable: for, if you reduce them to ashes, you have an excellent remedy for a blistered heel, which these cinders cure "by antipathy", just as a scorpion, when applied to the wound which it has itself inflicted, immediately makes it whole.

Our author quotes the ancients with respect, but nevertheless he inveighs against the notion that all medical truth is already in man's possession, "for God always reserves something for the judgment and experience of later generations". Though his work is admittedly a compilation, it reveals a personality, and we may feel that he achieved his concluding wish - not to be numbered with those "who fail to leave anything to posterity whereby it may be known that they have lived in happy labour".

Newnham College,
Cambridge

AGNES ARBER

(Date) May 8. 1920 (Name of Reader) Agnes Aber
(Letter and Number of Seat) E. 9.

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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue).	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work.	Date of Publication.
547. 6. 8	Fuchs, L	1700

This space for official use only.

Title of Work.

(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)

Hortus Jénico de Plantes

P.T.O.

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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue).	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work.	Date of Publication.
546. 6. 20	Monardes, N.	1571

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Title of Work.

(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)

Segunda Parte Indias Occidentales

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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue).	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work.	Date of Publication.
C. 81. E. 20.	Monardes, N.	1574

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Title of Work.

(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)

Primera y segunda y Tercera ... Indias Occidentales

P.T.O.

(Date) Aug 8 1924 (Name of Reader) Agnes Arber
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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue). 447.8.3.	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work. <u>Pona, P. - L'Obel M. de</u>	Date of Publication. <u>1570 or</u>
--	--	--

This space for official use only.

Title of Work.
(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)
Stuprum Americanum Nova

P.T.O.

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(Date) Aug 8 1924 (Name of Reader) Agnes Arber
(Letter and Number of Seat) E. 9

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Press Marks should be quoted from the General Catalogue, not from the Subject Index.

Before leaving the Room, Readers must return

Press Mark. (From General Catalogue). 447.8.4	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work. <u>L'Obel, M. de</u>	Date of Publication. <u>1576</u>
---	--	-------------------------------------

This space for official use only.

Title of Work.
(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)
Plantarum sicut Stuprum Hestria

P.T.O.

^{segunda}
Segunda parte del libro de las cosas que
se traen de nuestros Indios Occidentales,

Seville 1571

Open in *Schouw* *gew.* *fig.* *aan* *reproductie*
in the 1574 ed.

(Date) Aug 8. 28 (Name of Reader) Agnes Arber
(Letter and Number of Seat) E. 9.

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Press Mark.
(From General Catalogue).

970. a. 12.

This space for official use only.

Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work.

Fuchs, L

Date of Publication.

#1620?

Title of Work.

(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)

Historie generale des Plantes

P.T.O.

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Press Mark.
(From General Catalogue).

546. c. 10

This space for official use only.

Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work.

Monardes, N

Date of Publication.

1569

Title of Work.

(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)

Dos libros --- India Ocidentales

P.T.O.

P. Pena et Mo. de Label
Stipium Adversaria nova. London 1571
Thomas Purfoot 1571 choppen. lin-1570 London
as little page.

10252

Figure of tobacco in the smoky head, pasted in
an appropriate space being left in the text
by text not done for Label.

B.M. 447.8.3

Label Edn. Nova Stipium Adversaria ^{convers.} 1576 bound up with
the Stipium Observaciones } Mo. de Label
Anwers 1576 the same of space is left
same figure inserted
At side of figure in both cases, a qu- smoky
head word
Nuchone userta in-fundibulo Indi
et quo hauriunt fimum
et in nuchone

inter figure is inserted in the same way
of the ymelus & made in the page there
is a space, but no space left for it as of
Nuchone. This is also true of the 1570-71 edn.

(Date) Jan 10. 20 (Name of Reader) Agnes Arber
 (Letter and Number of Seat) 338

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Books, for which they have put in Tickets of application, at the Centre Counter, and **reclaim the Tickets**. They are responsible for the Books so long as the tickets remain unclaimed.
Press Marks should be quoted from the **General Catalogue**, not from the **Subject Index**.

Press Mark (from General Catalogue), (Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work), Date of Publication

547.6.8

Herbo L

[1700-2]

Title of Work.

(If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.)

Histoire Generale des Plantes
 ① How is propriety spell - little.
 ② + name + address / printer. p. 1. / ms

This space for official use only.

③ 2 Et quies in
 line 4 poem

P.T.O.

Food
 Asparagus 1.
 Use / chicken fluid
 7

Designs
 Jany . 1.
 Fern . 1.
 Senoa 4
 Cyclam 4
 Red line pump 5
 Cyprip 6
 Buge - thaus 7
 Ludiang vga donk / Pany 8

Reminder stick - use
 Jurnauve . 1.

Embodly corks
 1-2.
 5

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Reminds of balls
 Water p 2
 Vno 3
 Cyclam 4
 Waterly 5
 Fern 5

Names
 Hades Bury 2

5-7-76
 216

 8:0 . 5
 218 . 6

 1018 . 11

c 122 . 15 . 10
 . 18 . 18 . 11

 11116 . 11

As if to make up for our lack of evidence of the *Geoplytic*
flora in ^{the} British Cretaceous, we have a singularly complete
series of successive floras of Eocene & Oligocene age
from ^{more than} ~~at least~~ half a dozen successive horizons.
In three unfortunately half-impressions constitute practically the
sole evidence except in the case of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{floras} ~~of~~ the London Clay
& the upper Oligocene. Consequently we still know very little
about these floras of a reliable nature. One fact however
is clear. The flora ^{which} ~~has~~ ^{has} been visited in Britain, at any rate
in Eocene times, is not the assemblage of plants native to these
islands today. This however is not to be regarded as a statement
implying what our plant was occurring in Britain described here
in Eocene times. We are not in a position to make any definite
statement on this point. So far as we can judge from our fragmentary
half-impressions, the Eocene & perhaps also the Oligocene floras
contained a considerable number of genera which are
not represented in Britain today & which at the present time

Thyme + bay
venis
saus

2

Beehive

2

2 green books by Best
with cabinet 3

Cometes
Eles p 5

2 drawers
any dress
3

Lawrence

3

dupes 6

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

again Tracy
3

quantity for
major 4

5

6

7

For champagne
Vand
4

Spells
Tracy
6

As we have already intimated the ^{Cretaceous} ~~Carboniferous~~ history of a
despotic flora is ^{practically} wanting in this country. The Cretaceous, Lower
a higher fossils of this nature occurring in Eastern and
extremely few a full in practically nothing of importance on
this point. The earliest Dicotyledonous woods are supposed
to occur in the Lower Greensand, but leaf impressions of this
group are ~~at~~ unknown in any form but what we reach the
Dorsetshire & Reading beds of the Lower Tertiary, while fruits & seeds
first occur in abundance in the ~~Upper~~ ^{Lower} Tertiary of the same formation.

For all evidence lacking in this country we must search
the records of Western Europe. These ~~are~~ at present have not been
brought to a satisfactory ^{Scientific} status ~~of~~ from which several results
may be drawn. We do not know how far this flora was
local or regional, or exactly in what respects it differs from
the vegetation ^{of today} of the same region.

Compare with 1542 Fuchs

[is fig. copied but not reversed]

Small planter reversed
Large "

Apparatus not reversed

Arm reversed

Dist. / Arm seen edge - very different from
from Fuchs.

G column copied, not reversed

marks to be seen in few - the four
Forms in locus of Fuchs

others.

Order / looks not the same as Fuchs

Blanc d'ear

From Fuchs

night candidate

Forme (reversed)

Forme

ventures also

The 2 plants figs are even for the 1549 Leyduni
Fuchs, & may have been roughly copied for it - rather
larger

Arum reversed in myn - have been used as source,
my Fuchs very slight enlarg
Ius not reversed - c. late byer

De Historia stirpium Commentarii
Mayer. Leyduni. April
Balthazarem Amstelredam 1549.
[V. c. Syn. 8. 54. 223]
mine's very inferior to this.

Saxifrage reversed. = good dist. called

Cyclamen similar not reversed

Asarum similar & not reversed

(Conium. some figs reversed (some not.)
Asparagus not reversed - close similar in
size

1551 edn. Hb. 18. 20.

Jusquame = Hyoscyamus
similar = not reversed

of an *lyte*
from meller + reversed - *intercalatedly*
barum
Aum. meller. not even

37 (Date) Jan 10. 28 (Name of Reader) Agnes Arber (Letter and Number of Seat) B B 8

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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue). <u>449. F. 2</u>	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work. <u>Fuchs, L.</u>	Date of Publication. <u>1549</u>
Title of Work. (If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.) <u>Historie der Plancten</u> <u>(Fuchs 2. Ausgabe)</u> <u>(Fuchs)</u>		

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P.T.O.

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Title of Work. (If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.) <u>Historie der Plancten</u>		

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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue). <u>970. a. 12</u>	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work. <u>Fuchs L</u>	Date of Publication. <u>1549</u>
Title of Work. (If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.) <u>Historie der Plancten</u>		

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Press Mark. (From General Catalogue). <u>442. h. 7</u>	Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work. <u>Fuchs (Leonhard)</u>	Date of Publication. <u>1549</u>
Title of Work. (If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required.) <u>Commentarii, seu excella</u>		

This space for official use only.

P.T.O.

Histoire générale des Plantes et
Herbes ... (avec lettres & notes)

à Rouen
chez Jean le Cousturier,
un Escuyer, au Choupeau Rouge

L'Imprimeur au Lecteur

Ce jourd'huy t'est-ce livre présente,
En beau François proprement translate,
A quel pourras prendre (si bon te semble)
Et guérison, et plaisir tout ensemble:
Car il n'y a de mal aucune espèce,
Sur n'ait ici sa guérison expresse,
Par ce moyen cognoistras le desir,
Des Imprimeurs à te faire plaisir:
Dont assurés un profit incroyable,
Estant cet livre à tes yeux agréable.

(My curde engamp. Ends in
Whores in the main head)

[547. b. 8]

Histoire generale des Plantes et herbes

M. Leonard Fuchs " Same title as J. Hersteis'.

Trigo

small square

? 16 mo

Depressed cut
Tobacco cones, or cut + no figure.

Histoire des plantes de M. Leonard Fuchsius, avec les noms Grecs, Latins, et François. Paris 1549

man large figures. 8 vo. not nearly so departed (2 reduced copies for folio fuchs)

L'Herbier des Plantes mis en Commentaires par Leonard Fuchs medecin tres renommé Chez Guillaume Rivelle

deux

15-88

Quarto but smaller

Manuscripts

than those above ? for the title

Commentaires tres excellens de l'histoire des plantes, Conquisz premierement en latin par Leonard Fuchs, medecin tres renommé. The translation now; written in by Eloy Maignan Paris 1565 - [Reduced for the large type to the Octavo] a block about 4 3/4 in

371, HIGH ROAD,

LEI. GYSTONE,

ESSEX.

23. 12. 27

My dear Agnes

This comes to bring you & Muriel much love & best of good wishes for Christmas & 1928. I believe you will enjoy

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

this old faithful portrait of the Narcissus that grows wild between Golden Cap & Chammouth Fellows. To Muriel I send this

with pencil, hoping that it may come in useful. Will you be having a festive time with your brother & this family? I hope so.

We had a happy card from Dolly after her arrival at Funchal, where Sam & James gave a pleasant welcome. I think she is busy in flying south, away from our frosts & thaws, &

The Solas friend an my trust.
Many thanks for so kind giving me
the list of the editors of Flora Danica
up to a certain date. I have not got any
further yet as to the artists who illus-
trated the 18th volumes & want our
friend B. D. Jackson to help! -

Do you know a little 12.^{mo} entitled
'Histoire Générale des Plantes et Herbes avec
leur Propriétés, par M. Leonard Fuchs
de Figure & vertu du petum ou nicotine
vulgairement appelle herbe roya.?
Avec un nouveau preservatif contre la
peste ... A Rouen. de l'imprimerie
de Robert Mallard, rue de l'orloge à la
Grand Nef' 1580.?' ?

It has an illustration of tobacco, after Plinius,
with the addition of a man's head smoking a
not cigar - The receipts & remedies
are amazing. If you do not know

this little volume & would care to borrow
it I will very gladly lend it you, or
give it, in good will make you more
out of it than I should. I bought it something
ago.

Godbye dear Agnes our my fingers wish
My truly yours G. K. K. K.

Jay full news an of the new
fourde world, ... English y John Frampton Martam
- printed an London in Pauls Church-yard, y
Willyam Norton 1577

the said pan-15 bar byes
Syn .7.57.7

p⁴

in ~~tabaco~~
"Of the Tobacco, & his fructi vartues"

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

The next edn is ¹⁵⁸⁶ Leville,
Deus Libros ...

p³ & 4

The next for tobacco pan-15
1576. Segunda parte del libro

These two were combined with
Primera y segunda y tercera de las cosas
partes de la Historia medicinal de los Indios
que se haen de Seville 1574

See Jayfull news an ... Newe Fowle world ...
by Michela Morades & ... English y John Frampton
... in an Introduction y ... before printed - 2 vols the Tudor
London New York. 1925.

Translated - London
ed. by (handwritten name)

[~~Spain~~ S. 700.c.92.
9-10]

Coronne femelle
columbres come petits raisins recheissans
de pteleur d'or" [? Jansy

L'Asperge

"On amasse son espic pour manger; lequel
pour sa tendrete les frians ont turne en
plaisir de gourmandise. Aujourd'hui l'Asperge
cuite en potage, puis mise en hyle, sel & vi-
vinaigre est une grande viande et un des
pumpoux mets des grands seigneurs

Symmaues (Mout Au)

les feuilles seches bouillies
en lait font bonnes pour soudain
guerir la plus mauvais toux du monde.

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1.1.
Avronne or fanderbe = abrotanum, South com-wood
As. uned gain scorpis

Saxifrage. Picture looky like Well me. "C'est
une herbe branchue qui a les Jones Deliez
short, short. The leaves polished within, (London)
narrow, courts. on the other side pointed with in, -
bark, within-flave, within-seed, the root
black. of no utility."
Marduban Fern (page opposite Asperge) "cette

herbe meslée avec la viande des coq & des 2
Cailles emboldes leur & encourage leur 5 jours
à Combat.

"The cottage engendered melancholy", it hinders sleep
by dreams & ^{reverses} ~~reverses~~ (= raving, delirium)
reverses (= well as every)

Arum. Pied de veau (this the modern name)

Nettete (opposite Ba) "Elle reserist honorement
de voir les places peles."

p 26 Brunie Couleurée = adde's Bruny (opposite
under the shade.) because adde's love & shelter

Serpotet [Wild thyme] p 32

Lucas de le bruste, il change de son odeur
tous serpens et animaux venimeux, et parce
par ce, la mesle on en la viande des moissons
à ce que si par aventure quand il font les
sommait les serpens, ils puissent seurement
reposer, et qu'elles bestes qui se lettent leur
venir ne leur fassent mal"

Melisse [Balm] 33+34 Balm the
If one rubs the beehives with
bees will not fly ~~away~~ their departure.

Les Lyxmachie (p 35-6) "est de
grande efficace, contre les playes et escorcheures
qui se font par les sautiers qui sont mal
aisez."

Vire p 38
le centre de l'escorce restitue les cheveux
perdus, et les multiplie.

Hobinth p 48

L'eau ou laquelle ceste herbe a trappé
muse ou l'ense a escrire, garde les livres
d'estre rongez des rats et souris.

p. 46 "pour sa grande amertume empeschan-
allegresse et gayeté"

p 49-50

L'Orme
L'humour qui a la production des premières
feuilles se trouvent dedans les ses versés
faire le peau belle, et la face plus resplendissante

Anis p 14-15.

Estant pendu au chevet du lit tellement
que les dormans se peussent ventiler, il oste
les songes.

p 58-59
Le Chardon beniet

Les modernes disent que le Chardon beniet...
vaut contre la memoire perdue;

p 59

Angelique sauvage p 61

Contre ensorcelement, ou en chartemens,
si on la porte avec soy.

p 64
La Rose en-cogneue de totes,

et de blancs, de domestiques, et de sauvages.

177
Le Sene & les joues courbes en forme
de croissant de la Lune, le sene long et pointu
comme le cœur d'un homme.

178
Du Cicament ou pain de pourreau

Il s'en trouve en abondance en la forest d'Oilears.
Il a feuilles de Lyene de couleur purpurine et
byaces dessus et dessous de taches blanches, la
tige longue de quatre boyts, nue et sans aucunes
feuilles, en terre laquelle se font fleurs comme
roses de couleur purpurine: la saure est noire,
semble au pavane. Il croit en lieux ombreux,
parmi les hayes et dedans les buissons, s'ayamment
sous les arbres.

champs
178-70

180
Gelan: semel f. bulnes

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181
Seyaton, semel f. bulnes

183
Esparoutte [Spergula] Partonim, multiflorum
maliciae 185
Contre fevres tierces, commandem- l'arracher avec la
main gauche et ce faisant dire pour qui on le cueille,
et n'y regarder point. Puis mettre la feuille sous la
langue du malade afin qu'il avale soudain
avec deux dragmes d'eau.

185
Vervaine (Puis au drache wood may bluit
couleur y fleurs "trant sur le

186
"C'est dire que si on arrose une tete de l'eau
ou la Vervaine aura temps ceux qui
assisteront au banquet, s'en

travaux-resquis. Le tiers moied de l'herbe
en montan- droit depuis le terre jusques
en haut- pins avec ses feuillet, et- ut- il- est- donné
en breuvage contre les fieures tierces, comme le
quel vème contre les fieures quartes

p 90

Quand les Foynes se veulent batu contre les serpens,
ils se font en mengant- devant- d' celle Rue"
[Foyne = not-ary Dictionary]

p 97

Blanc d'eau a les d'estang

p 98

remedy f baldness

p 99

Phyllic des Officines [officine = apothecary's
(Fem) lebructy

p 100

remedy f falling hair belliqueux " y mix

p 101

remedy f baldness
mels coctes - fantuys men belliqueux
with in font

p 105

Argalis

" On marche par tout dessus, par les champs
et par les vignes, et- n' a- rien si vulgaire, et- desquoy
l' on face moins de compte. Il y a male et
femelle: que ne differenc- en aucune chose
fors en couleur de fleur le male porte fleur
de couleur incarnate, et- le femelle de couleur
d' azer."

p 108
 Pour un tiers Euphrasia les herbes & fleurs
 de couleur jaunes (n'ente p 109) but the
 "Certainement. si tu considères diligemment. (6
 et de pres les fleurs d' Euphrasia, tu cognostras
 qu' elle ne sont du tout de couleur, ni aussi de
 tout blanches. Car elles sont tachées et marquées
 de trois couleurs, rouge blanc, et noir."

Euphrasy " inferme merveilleusement la memoire,
 et la refaire, quand elle se perdue, si on la voit en
 vin blanc avant reduit. en poudre."
 p 110

Ortie morte Real verte (white, yellow & purpurine)
 (no doubt included several times)
 p 119
 dit-on que si on met la racine de
 cette (Ortie) moyennant qu' elle soit Automne
 sur le bras de ce celui qui a le feuere tierce,
 pourveu qu' en la cueillans on nomme le patient
 par son son, (et qu' on dise qu' on l' arrache) et a qui, et pour
 le feuere de qui on l' arrache) qu' il perdra entièrement
 la feuere".

P. 120 Jansie ou herbe Saint Jean.
 p 111
 "Et on dit aussi que ceux qui l' ont sur eux
 ne peuvent estre endormez ni de poisons, ni
 de medecines venimeux, ni de bestes, ni mesmes
 du lait. On bien aussi que les
 voyageurs l' ayant liée sur eux, ne sentent
 la peste aucune."

p 735
Mariolaine (Chubuv)

Les petits oiseaux se délectent à manger
de la dicte herbe. Les oiseaux femelles de
ladite herbe à manger aux petits oisillons
en cage (jean) et ont perdu l'appétit de manger."

p 136

La Barroche est semblable au Borillon
blanc, ayant la feuille desprimée en tête,
après plus noire, non dessemblable à la longueur d'un
boeuf : la fleur perue est belle et plaisante :
laquelle description convient tellement à cette herbe,
qui est aujourdhuy appelée en notre
langue Barroche, qu'il n'y a homme (s'il n'est
plus aveugle de l'aveugle) qui ne voye que c'est
le Barroche des anciens

p 137

Barroche (carré)
jean tertre

has 2 decostes 3 plans
fever - 4 grains planton feve

Persil (Parsley)

"au mois de May, les lieux ou ils croist sont quasi tous blancs, des fleurs d'icelles"

[This is all the description given]

L'Herbe ^{p 151} nictiane premiere entre les medecinales."

Cette herbe est appelee Nictiane à cause de la premiere connoissance qu'en ^{Donné} en ce Royaume par le sieur Jean ^{Conseiller} du Roy, ambassadeur de sa maieste au Royaume de Portugal, es années 1559. bo. 61.

p 152

"ayant la tige ^{verticille} ^{ne declinant} ^{car} ^{ne droite} ^{et vigoureuse} ^{Les feuilles} ^{ne la} ^{grasse} ^{et velue} ^{sur le caune} ^{larges et longues} ^{rectes} ^{non decoupez} ^{barbes} ^{douces} ^{filandrez} ^{de la racine} ^{qui haut} ^{plus grandes} ^{pres} ^{la fleur} ^{presque} ^{semblable} ^a

Elle se jette ^{de couleur} ^{d'une} ^{cosse} ^{et incarnate} ^{ayant} ^{le forme} ^{d'une} ^{coffe} ^{petite} ^{de clochette} ^{tantant} ^{d'une} ^{coffe} ^{en forme} ^{de sobelles} ^{* Rose-campion} ^{culture} ^{dictees} ^f ^{Tobacco}

An elobant-sei)
p 255-
Ladite fumee receue speciallement avec un
corner l'effyie duquel voyez au coste de

l'herbe appaise la faim et soif sans qu'elle
engure aucunement, chose approuvée
& couronnement par les mainiers

p 155

Fait pour secher les feuilles les
enfiler ensemble, puis les mettre en une
chaube au flambeau à l'ombre, non
au Soleil, vent, ni au feu.

p 156

Le Benefice commun.
Recettes de divers auteurs avec le
moyen de composer plusieurs souverainetés
par toutes maladies Et principalement
de la composition des pilules contre la Peste

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^{p 157}
Nouveau preservatif contre la Peste
avec Remedes contre celles approuvées
cette année 1580. en ville de Paris.

ou 1^{re} preservative :

Fait prendre une Figue grasse, et en icelles
mettre la moitié d'une vieille noix, et cinq
ou six feuilles de Rue, et le manger
au matin jeud : on mis au bain d'un
couteau sur les charbons."

Rules of Deciding
p166

Item vouloir distiller les fleurs, comme de Rose,
Oryan, Romain, fenette, Tachus et
telles autres, tu dois choisir et prendre
parle au temps, auquel icelles fleurs font en
leur meilleur estat, et plus grande et
parfaite beauté. Cela se des, pour autant que
toutes fleurs ne viennent pas en une mesme
temps, ainsi varient selon la saison: parquoy
se fait sur ve leur disposition.

p167

de herbes, il faut attendre le temps qu'elles
soyent hors de graine, et que les feuilles
chevent. Cela se fait au commencement
d'Octobre, et des jusqu'en Fevrier assurement;
car des toute la persistence des herbes en la
racine, ainsi se consomment en la feuille et a
le tige. ~~Cela doit estre mis~~

* car comme elles se commencent a
faillir hors. Tu dois savoir que l'amour
n'en plus a la racine

Various ways / may use water or little or none.

"Roses fresches posées sur un blanc linge,
mis et estendu sur un bassin et couvertes d'un
vaseau rempli de charbon ardent, distillant
dans iceluy bassin beaucoup d'eau, bien odorante."

p. 170 "l'eau de vie"

medicaine seule et souveraine sur toutes les
autres medecines ... à toutes maladies guerit,
tant passees comme presentes et futures."

... Premièrement, prens bon vin vermeil,
le meilleur que tu pourras trouver.
Appareillez dessus le rebort trois ou quatre
smets yppocry au arlydres ~~est~~ dessus.

p. 172

Elle donne liens et bonne memoire, repare
l'oise et aussi entablement elle procure et
enjoins à la personne plusieurs autres biens

p. 173

Si ceste eau est mise en aucun vaseau
qu'on la tache d'une chandelle, elle s'allumera
instantement."

p. 182

"Et note qu'abstinence est le souverain
remede contre toutes fevres, mais
qu'elle soit faite par attremperance."
(2)

p 190
Remedy f toothache

Prenez racine de Jusquama, autrement
dite Hannebanne, et la faites vieillir
en vinaigre et eau Rose, puis mettez du bit
vinaigre dans la bouche du malade, et
cela vray donnera guerison.

"mais si la dent est creuse, bon est
la faire arracher."

p 207
Contre les arrets de poisson estant
en la gorge.

Prenez de la Perwenche, et en lieu
de l'ur du col de celui auquel y a
arresté quelque chose et qu'il aille
dormir, et le matin il sera gueri.

p 215
A very good remedy for the
supperts of the plague.

To be fine pour pearls, fine coral, ambergris
+ musk + the ingredients in a secret "ur
sacher de sandal chamvisi:
et que l'on "une pomme d'odeur" unguent
membre f scents drugs herb in "une jarre bond.

~~Puis ne d'en~~

p234

"en suivant ceux qui ont fait modestes
voyes cherche la verité"

p237

Après nouvelles curieuses de ^{the fun} ^{doctes celle} ^{part}
"C'est une chose plus que prodigieuse.
Car le lendemain nos medecins desesperans du
patient, furent plus estonnez que fondateurs de
cloches quand ils virent cheminer par les rues
ceux qu'ils avoyent tant chappete."

2243

A Reques ^{le dieu} "Donne splendeur a
par-beau en-jacques le ^{seigneur} de la Dame."

p146

~~En quoy~~
"le sottis curiosite des hommes cherchant
bien wing, a-a grand pais, les choses,
lesquelles ne font en rien a comparer a
choses, par quoy on velt."

Des vieux soulers
 On dit en commun proverbe. Je tiens aussi grand
 conte de luy, que de mes vieux soulers: Comme
 si on vouloit de moncher, que ^(un peu mais) belles savates ^{del shies}
 ne servent à rien. Et ~~tantefois~~ tantefois si
 celuy qui tient tels propos ~~se~~ scavoit la grande
 effroie desdites savates, il les auroit en grande
 singularité. Car les savates rediges en cendre
 guereusement toute carseurs, ~~en~~ ^(c'est-à-dire) meurtreuses
 des talens comme par une antipathie, ainsi que nos
 voyons aux scapins, lesquels appliqués sur leur
 pygnure martelle, le guereusement sur l'heure.

^{p 256}
 sur shells - remens f baldurs

p 257

nos Prudeines Docteurs, font un grand
 Cas de le corn d'une beste, nommen-
 Myrtileros, que nous appelons vulgairement,
 Licorne. et en font comme un alex. deu
 (unicorn)
 et jarent remens de tous maux. Tantefois estant
 studieux de si grandes propriétés, lesquelles ils
 attribuent à ladite Licorne, j'ay bien voulu
 experimenter en plus de dix, au temps de pestilence,
 mais n' en trouray oncques effect- louable, en trop
 plusieurs ne repose ^(ouie) sur la corne de
 Cerces Cerf ou de Chèvre, que sur celle del Licorne:

p 258

Lequel "lecteur amy"
 Luy a attribué "car ce ne suis si arrogans de vouloir
 m' donner la premiere invention"

p 25
"le maistrice des arts, experience,"

p 20 (impur f 200)
Vedra 15 Arab paysees - "les Singes Arabes"
C'est un beau "n'ayans l'usage des
langues, voulans conde le noir avec le blanc
et des deux mots fier, et satin, en font un
consonne" (fin - 200) (impur f 200)
par satin)

p 291
j'aymerois beaucoup
Le miel des Jourdella cuit avec un blanc,
sebitement par une specificque propriete, gueri ces
affections du foye illini par dehors, Il est, l'on tuiffera
qui voudre si est-ce toutes fois que j'aymerois
beaucoup mieux estre delure, d'une si estete maladie,
avec un peu de corroy, que de mourir avec
les susps, toutes les huiles, et medecines impurees qui
font sur Oueni, en Occident.

p 292
Des vertus de la Suye
Les Docteurs n'ont point touché de la Suye
comme, laquelle se comere en voy chemines-
Encens, mais trop bien au traité de la Suye des
de Mirre, de Terbinthe de Strox de poix
de Cedre, En quoy tout en fois ne faut temerairement
condamner la puissance de nostre vulgaire Suye,
car les anciens n'ont touz-cogneu, et Dieu
faide toujours quelque chose au bon jugement, et
l'experience des porteurs.

17293
 Je serais ~~longs~~ temps, si je voulois
 par le menu racontar les singulars propriety - des
 choux, on la louange desquel de grandissimes
 personnages ont employe tous les efforts de leur
 engin". He adout une y the cottage slath of the
 une / vaus ils l'add ta be huss ta vaus
 C'est par "felrey called Galenest - & the poor
 miserable ~~from~~ "Nicoliens" qui accusent lui &
 very engin : pource pour ce qu'ils ne trouvent
 tet remede en leur Recipe. Jusques a ce
 respondray, Dieu aydam à mon plaisir.

17294
 Remmnd spides vels f stoppy f floss / floss
 f ~~caus~~ bleedij

17368
 A laquelle [la societé humaine] oner tant
 qu'il falaira au maistre de l'oeuvre, nous
 employerons tous nos diuines et nocturnes
 efforts, ne voulons sçavoir ceux d'ailleurs
 la memoire se perd avec le son, c'est à dire
 qu'ils ne delaissent à leur protente
 chose par laquelle on puisse entendre
 qu'ils ayent vesu en heureux labours labours

~~He does not~~
 His deuse is not to follow those whose leare
 nothing & their posterity by due or any know
 that they have lived in happy labour.

Nature print leaves in a 15th cent. ms, see Fischer, H. *Mitt. d. bot. Anst. München* 1929 p. 125, up. PLXIX

An 14

(1855): *On Nature-Printing*

Bradbury, Henry. *Proc. Roy. Institution of Great Britain*, vol. II, 1854-8, pp. 106-110, 3 plates. [P. 340.1.C.155.2]

Experiments in getting impressions of plants seem to have been made in the 16th century, and in 1650 de Moncoys, in his *Journal des Voyages* describes the technique used by a Dane, Welkenstein, (who dried the pressed plants and then smoked them over in the smoke of a candle or oil lamp. Then they were placed between two soft leaves of paper, and rubbed down with a smoothing-bone so that the soot was imprinted on the paper. *See account up for original in ms. p. 10*)

Kniphof about a century later published a book illustrated in a similar way,

but with printers'-ink substituted for lamp-black, and flat pressure for the smoothing-bone. *Kniphof's Hoppe's methods were used by Twining (Nottingham after 1847) made plates of plants which were exhibited for Bryant Street London.* (p. 112)

(There is an copy of his work in the University Library:- MA.62, 29-31

Kniphof, J.H. (1757-61): *Botanica in originali seu herbarum vivum... elegantissima ectypa... opera et studio J.G. Trampe. Halae Magdeburgicae.*)

The impressions are coloured by hand in rich strong colour, which much detracts from the delicacy of the nature-prints)

Another book illustrated with nature prints was :-

Hoppe, R.H. (1787-93) *Ectypa plantarum ratisbonensium*. Regensburg.

There is a copy at the British Museum (Bloomsbury, 36.g.13), and ^{at} B.M. Nat. Hist.) but not so far as I know in Cambridge.

So far as I know, Kniphof and Hoppe were the only people actually to apply the direct ectype method to the illustration of flowering plants. ^{can shape be} My impression

is that the anonymous ^{very Mushet's} collection at St John's College with manuscript names was made by this process probably late in the eighteenth century. ^{It does not appear from apparatus or original drawings an exact copy} The handwriting ^{of the plant names} strikes me as not unlike that of Dr William Heberden (1710-1801), which

has herbarium specimens

is reproduced in T.J. Pettigrew's *Medical Portrait gallery*, vol. III, No 7 (n.d. 1840) but I do not think that was his scope. ^{Also Thomas Curtis slips - Latin names which a}

Like most medical men of his time Heberden may well have been a botanist ^{classical scholar, but he was, would the unlikely} but I know of no evidence that he was. ^{It would be interesting to compare the} It would be interesting to compare the labelling of the nature print figures with any original labels which may remain in connexion with his materia medica cabinet.

and engraver

The next advance in nature printing was due to a Danish goldsmith/
Peter Kyhl, who, instead of printing direct from the plant, got an impression
of the plant in metal and used this to print from. He describes his method
in a manuscript dated 1833. He put the ^{dried} plant between a steel plate and a thorough
lead or other soft metal heated plate of ~~metal~~ and ran these two plates between two steel cylinders, so
that the impression of the plant was left in the softer lead plate., which
was then used to print from.

In 1847 A late improvement was the electrytyping of the soft metal plate.

Henry Bradbury (of the publishing family) (1831-1860) perfected the
technique, which he had learnt when working at the Imperial Printing Office
in Vienna. He coloured the ^{electrytyped} actual plate and printed from it, instead of
using hand colouring afterwards. After his early death nature printing ~~and~~
seems to have fallen ^{off} into disuse, in England.

The books for which Bradbury prepared the illustrations were

Johnstone, W. & Cowall A (1859) The Natural Printed British Sea Weeds.
(nature printed by Henry Bradbury London 1859 (London 2 - V.L. H.D. 36.46.47)
Moore, T. (1855) The Ferns of Great Britain, Ireland, ed by J. L.
Bradley. Nature-printed by Henry Bradbury. London
(this is also enlarged)

In Vienna it was used for ~~fitting~~ ^{Shuasen's} illustrations of fossil leaves
in 1877 etc. (Jackson, B.D., Botanical Illustration from the invention of
printing to the present day. Journ. Roy Hort. Soc., vol. 49, 1924, pp. 167-77.

"17950
Monsieur Walguetstein Danvers, nous apprit chez Monsieur
Tevend à imprimer toutes sortes d'herbes sur du
papier, en les fumant sur la flamme d'une lampe,
puis les mettant entre deux papiers et passant un
polissoir dessus. (en fait on utilise un ^{polissoir} ^{bois}
mean ^{smooth} ^{Bradley} ^{translates})
Monconys, de ^(Balthazar) Journal des Voyages Paris
Lyon 1666. O. 3.45

Moore, T. (1855): The Ferns of Great Britain, Ireland, ed by J. L.
Bradley. Nature-printed by Henry Bradbury. London
Bradley trans. the ferns

Bradbury, Henry. On Water - Purity.
 Proc. Roy. Inst. of Great Brit. V. II 1854-8
 P. 340-1. C. 135. 2
 pp 106 - 118. 3 pls
 J. Schimper det. in *Diepud Purity* Wien
 6. opens for 1620 or leaves - mounds in gets some impression
 of plants.
 Plants dried & smoothed over into uniform (blacked) -
 these placed between 2 sheets of paper & rolled down
 into smoothy bone.

Knapf (Enfuc) Herbarium Vivum MA. 62. 29-
 pentas with (with) large black & flat pieces to
 smoothy bone.
 p 110 A first division plain & dried plant betw
 2 plates - a heated lead plate, etc 2
 plates run speedily between a cold metal plate & 2
 sheet cylinders.
 p 112 1847 Trazny, Nitrogen pure fero & pure
 gases or when by heat
 62. 7 under

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Some of the order, electroply the metal from red
 ash

J. H. Knapf.
 Botanica in originali seu herbarium
 vivum.
 "Elegantissima ectypa"
 ... opera et studio J. f. Traupe.

Halae Magdeburgicae
 1757-1861

Linnaeus names
 very fine rather from the spill of the heavy coloring.
 no plate marks

MA. 62. 29, 30, 31, 32

Who drew paper very amble to M. Jones collect in
 Water dried in 8 centuries
 2 centuries together - can not be
 V.C.

FROM THE LIBRARIAN
SAINT JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

15. v. 65

Dear Mr. Arber.

Certainly you may have the nature-print
at your house for further investigation. If you will call
in at the library any morning between 9 & 11 a.m., we will
hand you the parcel. Many thanks for your interest

Yours sincerely
F. D. C. White

The Natural Printed British Sea Weeds
W. S. Johnson & A. C. Wall.
London. Bradbury & Evans.

Natural printed by Henry Bradbury
1859

4 vols in 2.

no plate mark. Column
M.D. 36. 46, 47

British Ferns of John Moore
Natural Printed by Henry Bradbury
Edinburgh. London 1855

M.D. 36. 37, 38

column. no plate mark.

(Oxford edn) 5 files 1855

Moore, T. (1855) The Ferns of

Great Britain & Ireland, ed. by J. Henry
Lindley. Natural-printed by Henry
Bradbury. London, Bradbury & Evans,
Whitechapel.

Auer, A (1853) Die Entdeckung
des Naturselbstdruckes.

Denkschriften d. k. Akad.

Naturwiss. Wien. Math.-Nat.

Classe. VA V, 1853, pp 107 -

110

T. 340.3.2. 1.6.

A trumpet blowing across, to achievements
in nature printing, the Vienna K. K.
Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.

12 magnific plates - plants, lace, etc. &
a fossil fish. Some in the
plates stand in plate margin

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M. H. 6.40
Ludwig's "Spiegel" space, it is "the first"
English attempt at applying Nature-
Printing to Botanical Science. change folio
magnific plates. Much raised paper. —
back of paper deep grooved by
axes, rashes, then, not
plate mark.

Santolina chamaecyparissus S. Eur.
Sedum canadense N. Am.

Labelly ?
St. John's
Collect

Lynxglossum lucidum
not down say be
to (Lambert) Lam.

Ornithoglossum non-spermatophyte
(?) upon the mean is not spermatophyte

Polygonum crispum with = crispum
The Liliaceae. gis with = feminis

Lecturis (a pro-lumen form) Crantz 1766
Lecturis = Loun.

Alisma cordifolia (L.) cordifolium

Achras Maspalensis
= Maspalensis.

Heracleum f. Heracleum

Bupleurum f. Bupleurum

Vidua Divia
Cyp D

Carex scandens Rott bot Fl German
= C. Anthracis Herb.

Vicia Carabica

of four egg fly plus, and all down nos
with Tubum compositum a line with
usual (6)

Comarum palustris

Phloxis lymphis
Phloxis Lychabris

May 1545 Dr. Reuer found in one tree the name gentian but S. Pneumoniae or
27) widely used of apples, suggest tree to Labelly was used by someone
having no botany

Lorenzo de Vici. Lamentum Exhibiti
1952. Diphtheria Solby. Royal Academy.

Codex p 95.

Nº 359. Printed by (C. A. 72.V. a.)

Reproduction.

Lorenzo writes: "This paper must be printed at
Comp - black mixed in soft paste & the leaf printed on
white lead in thin ink, as in done in printing type, then
press in the usual way; & thus the black will appear
dark in the hollows & light in the prominent; which
appears here reversed."

(C.A. = Codex Atlanticus, *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*
Milan, compiled in the 16th century from
several notebooks written between 1483 & 1518)

ON A FRENCH VERSION
OF THE

HERBAL OF LEONARD FUCHS.

THE great and beautiful folio herbal of Leonard Fuchs—*De Historia Stirpium*, published at Basle in 1542—was the source of a series of reduced and variously degraded French versions. A number of these are dismissed collectively by Pritzl (*Thesaurus Literaturae Botanicae*, Ed. 2, 1877) as "libelli miserrimi," but although the figures are mostly poor and crude copies of Fuchs's admirable wood engravings, the texts and their provenance might well repay a thorough comparative study. In the present note I propose to consider only a single example of these little herbals—*Histoire generale des plantes et herbes avec leur proprieté par M. Leonard Fuchs*, printed in 1580, "A Rouen, De l'imprimerie de Robert Mallard, rue de L'orloge à la grand Nef." The British Museum possesses two undated books which are both apparently later editions of this work. One of them (catalogued "1700?") is from the press of another Rouen printer, "Jean le Cousturier, rue Escuyere, au Chapeau Rouge." The other was printed at Troyes; it is catalogued as "1620?". I have before me an example of the 1580 edition which was formerly in the library of Dr. Edmond Bonnet and then in that of Miss Gulielma Lister, to whom I am indebted for help in its study. This copy has been somewhat cut down; the pages now measure about 11.6 cms. in height, and 7.7 cms. in width.

On the verso of the title-page is the following disarming little poem, addressed by the printer to the reader, who is referred to elsewhere in the book as "amy Lacteur":—

Ce iourd'hui t'est, ce livre présenté,
En beau francoys proprement traduit:
Auquel, pourras, prendre (si bon te semble)
(Et) guérison, et plaisir tout ensemble:
Car il n'y a de mal aucune espèce,
Qui n'ayt icy, sa guérison expresse.
Par ce moyen cognoistras le desir,
Des imprimeurs à te faire plaisir,
Dont recevras un profit incroyable
Estant c'est oeuvre a tes yeux agreable.

This copy of verses is succeeded by woodcuts and text relating to seventy-one herbs, interspersed among which are a few descriptions with no pictures appended. This part of the book occupies 150 pages, and is followed by a short section (five pages) treating of Tobacco. This concludes the portion of the little volume which can strictly be called an herbal, but there still remain about an hundred pages of miscellaneous medical recipes, beginning with plague remedies.

Such botanical interest as the herbal possesses, lies chiefly in the descriptions of the plants enumerated; these diagnoses, however, are often curiously sketchy. Cow Parsley (*Persil*), for instance, receives no description beyond the statement that in the month of May the places where it grows are almost entirely white with its flowers; this, though true and picturesque, is scarcely adequate for purposes of identification! But occasionally something more in the modern manner is achieved. In the description of *Urtica*, the translator adds the information that it is to be found in abundance in the forest of Orleans; the description, derived from Fuchs, states that

It has Ivy leaves of purplish colour, and mottled above and below by white blotches, the stem four fingers long, naked and leafless, in which flowers are formed like Roses of purplish colour: the root is black, like to the Turnip.

In the sixteenth century the way in which the phenomena of sex extend to the plant world was not understood, and the words "male" and "female" were used in senses that now sound strange to our ears. In our version of Fuch's herbal we meet with the old belief that the scarlet and blue varieties of the Pimpernel are respectively masculine and feminine—a belief which also finds expression in the English herbals of Henry Lyte and William Turner. The record runs as follows:—

Il y a une male et femelle: qui ne different en aucune chose fors en couleur de fleur le male porte fleur de couleur incarnate, et la femelle de couleur d'azur.

A great part of the herbal is taken up with an account of the "virtues" of the plants; some of the medicines recommended, such as Marsh-mallow for coughs, have survived to the present day. And it is rather a pleasure to find that the practice of giving Chickweed to caged birds is of respectable antiquity—as might, indeed, be guessed from the English name. We read that "les petits oiseaux se delectent à manger de ladite herbe [Marianne, Chickweed]. Les oiseleurs donnent de ladite herbe à manger aux petits oysillons en cage quand ils ont perdu l'appetit de manger." Another of these survivals is mankind's appreciation of Asparagus; we are told that, when cooked according to the directions given, it is "une grande viande et un des principaux mets des grands seigneurs." In turning over the pages of the herbal, one is struck by the frequency of the remedies for loss of hair—the Nettle, Vine, Cyclamen, Water-lily, and two kinds of Fern are each in turn offered for this purpose; it seems to suggest that baldness may have been particularly rife in the sixteenth century. Some of the objects for which medicaments are proposed are, happily, out of date to-day; we are, for instance, directed to mix Maidenhair Fern with the fool of cocks and quails to embolden them, and encourage them to joust and combat.

Quite a large number of the recipes transgress the boundary line between medicine and magic. For instance, one of the herbs recommended for tertian fevers must be gathered with the left hand and with the eyes averted, while naming the patient. In the case of Vervain, the third node is to be collected for tertian fevers, and the fourth for quartan fevers; while, if Borage is used, a decoction should be made of a three-stalked plant for tertian, and a four-stalked for quartan fevers. Various herbs are credited with remarkable protective qualities. Wild Angelica, for example, has power "contre ensorcelemens, ou enchantemens, si on la porte avec soy." Tansy is particularly valuable, as it protects him who carries it from poisons and wild beasts and sun-stroke, and saves him from feeling any fatigue in travelling. Wild

Thyma, when burnt, drives away all serpents and venomous animals, and it is recommended to mix it with the food of harvesters, so that if, peradventure, in their weariness they be overcome by sleep, they may rest in security, safe from the attacks of poisonous beasts.

Tobacco had not reached Europe when Fuchs produced *De Historia Stirpium*, so the section of our little volume dealing with this herb is a new feature. It includes a woodcut of the Tobacco plant, with a smoking head beside it; I find that the source of this engraving is the rare *Stirpium Adversaria Nova* of P. Pena and M de l'Obel, published by T. Purfoot in London, 1570/71. It is a curious thing that in Pena and l'Obel's herbal, the figure of the Tobacco plant did not form an integral part of the book, but an appropriate space was left in the text, so that a detached leaf bearing the picture might be pasted in later. In our little French herbal, the figure of Tobacco is poorly copied from that of de l'Obel, and the smoke is so unrealistic in character as to suggest that the woodcutter had never seen a pipe in use, and was mystified by the lines with which the original draughtsman had tried to indicate the emerging cloud. The same picture of Tobacco, though without the smoking head, had already been pirated in 1577 in an English book, "Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde, . . . Englished by Jhon Frampton Marchaunt. Imprinted at London in Poules Church-yard by Willyam Norton." This is a translation of a work by the Spanish physician Monardes, *La Historia medicinal de las Cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales*, which appeared at Seville in its complete form in 1574. Tobacco is dealt with in the second part of this book, which was originally published in 1571, and which contained a very inadequate portrait of the plant; the English translator certainly did well to use de l'Obel's picture instead of that of Monardes. In a former book ('Herbals,' Cambridge University Press, 1912), I reproduced this figure (p. 105), but I did not know at that time that it owed its origin to de l'Obel.

The letterpress relating to Tobacco in the French version of Fuchs which we are studying, is not directly derived either from Monardes or de l'Obel, and I have not been able to trace its provenance. We are told that the herb, which is lauded as "premiere entre les medecinales," derives its name, Nicotiane, from "Maistre Jean Nicot Conseiller du Roy ambassadeur de sa maiesté au Royaume de Portugal, es annees. 1559.60.61." The description of the plant is strikingly good and clear. The stem, we read, "is very straight, not inclining to one side or the other, thick, hairy and viscous. The leaves broad and long, green, tending to yellow, bearded, soft, thready, not dissected, larger near the root than higher up. It puts forth its flower almost like those of the Rose Campion, in hue whitish and carnation-coloured, having the form of a little bell, emerging from a goblet-shaped envelope." We are also told that the smoke, "recuee speciallement avec un cornet l'effigie duquel voyez au coste de l'herbe appaise la faim et soif."

In the latter part of the book are collected together a mass of medical recipes under such headings as "Diverses Receptes," etc. Some of them remind us how highly perfumes were valued in the days before disinfection in the modern sense was understood. For instance, if you go into a place where plague is suspected, it is well to attach to your person "un sachet de Sandal cramoiis," containing fine powdered pearls, fine coral, ambergris, musk, and other ingredients; or you may carry in your hand "une pomme d'odeur," including a number of scents and drugs. Some of the other remedies enumerated must have depended on a more facile faith than the doctor of to-day can expect from his patients. For example, if a fish bone is stuck in the throat, you have merely to wreathe the throat externally with Periwinkle flowers, put the sufferer to sleep, and next morning he will awake cured.

But despite this and other absurdities, a rather unexpected vein of common-sense runs through the compendium of recipes. Rules for distilling herbs are given, and special stress is laid on the importance of collecting each leaf, flower and root at that exact moment of the year when it is in its fullest perfection; it would be satisfactory if one could feel assured that this point was always as conscientiously attended to in modern commercial herb-gathering! Our herbalist, again, has enough mother-wit not to be unreasonably jealous for his craft, for though he commends Henbane and other remedies against toothache, he adds the honest confession, "mais si la dent est creuse, bon est la faire arracher." He tilts against the idea that expensive and outlandish medicaments are better than those that are cheap and homely, and declares, for example, that he has found the horns of deer and goats more efficacious than the rare product of the unicorn. He professes that he would rather himself be cured by the use of a mean remedy, that "die with all the syrups, all the oils, and all the sumptuous medicines of the Orient, or Occident." He notes that if you want to speak contemptuously of any man, you say that you hold him of no more account than your old shoes, but he objects to this proverb, on the ground that old shoes are in reality extremely valuable: for, if you reduce them to ashes, you have an excellent remedy for a blistered heel, which these cinders cure "by antipathy," just as a scorpion, when applied to the wound which it has itself inflicted, immediately makes it whole.

Our author quotes the ancients with respect, but nevertheless he inveighs against the notion that all medical truth is already in man's possession, "for God always reserves something for the judgment and experience of later generations." Though his work is admittedly a compilation, it reveals a personality, and we may feel that he achieved his concluding wish—not to be numbered with those "who fail to leave anything to posterity whereby it may be known that they have lived in happy labour."

AGNES ARBER.

Newnham College, Cambridge.

had: started from f TCS An 16
+ also part used -
Cant. Rev.

Thomas Johnson: Botanist and Royalist. by H. Wallis Kew and H.E. Powell.
Longmans, Green and Co. 1932. 8/6 net.

^{It's}
~~Thomas Johnson is chiefly remembered~~ as the apothecary and botanist who edited the greatly improved second edition of Gerard's Herball, which ^{to John Johnson, which would} appeared in 1633. ^{to} Despite Johnson's importance in the history of British botany, and the gallant part which he played in the Civil War, no comprehensive study of his life has hitherto been attempted. The task, as Mr. Wallis Kew and Mr. Powell point out in the book before us, presents special problems of a disheartening character. At the outset every student of Johnson is confronted by the difficulty that the combination of two such common names makes all identifications precarious. Even when the field is limited to ¹⁰⁰ contemporaries of the same profession, ¹⁰⁰ (and to neighbours in London), we find that the Court Book# of the Society of Apothecaries for 1617 - 1651 include five Thomas Johnsons, and that there were two other men of this name, as well as the herbarist, living in the parish of St. Sepulchre. ^{then} Moreover, another Thomas Johnson, Apothecary, practised within seven minutes' walk of our Johnson's Snow Hill house; and there was also a Barber-Surgeon of the same name with whom he has been ~~sometimes~~ confused. The consciousness of these stumbling-blocks increases our gratitude to the authors of Thomas Johnson ²⁰⁰ for having given us a work in which all ~~the~~ authentic records of the botanist's activities have been laboriously collected, and in which every direction that might be expected to yield facts about his life has been explored systematically. ³⁰⁰ The ³⁰⁰ painstaking and minute researches have revealed much that is of interest, ³⁰⁰ but ³⁰⁰ his private life ³⁰⁰ remains wholly obscure. We have no certain information about the year of his birth, the names of his parents, the place of his education, nor whether he married and left descendants. His history as a field botanist, however, can be traced from point to point in his published work, and from the botanist we can, to some extent, deduce the man. ⁴⁰⁰

It seems probable that Thomas Johnson was born somewhere about 1600. In 1628 he became a free brother of the Society of Apothecaries -

apothecaries in those days representing general practitioners as well as drug-
~~gists.~~ ^{and} In the succeeding year he published a relation of his plant-hunting
 excursions - "simpling voyages", as he called them - into Kent and to
 Hampstead Heath. This was the first printed account of such expeditions
 to appear in this country. On the journey into Kent, the party, ⁽³⁰⁰⁾ which
 consisted of ^{John & nine companions} ten persons, travelled by two boats from St. Paul's to
 Gravesend, ⁴⁰⁰ encountering a storm on the way. At Queenborough ^{Thomas's father} their journey
 was delayed by the Mayor, who desired the attendance of three or four of
 them to know the business of so large a party of travellers in those parts.
 Fortunately ^{his worship} he accepted their explanations, and the interview ended with
 the drinking of healths in excellent ale. On the Kentish expedition more
 than 250 plant species were collected, while 72 were obtained from Hampstead
 Heath and the country round. 93

The Herball of John Gerard had been published in 1597 and in
 the succeeding thirty-six years there had been no new edition, nor had any
 subsequent book taken its place. It contained many errors, which were partly
 accounted for by the fact that the text was a translation from Podoens,
 rearranged according to the method of Lobel, and illustrated by a collection
 of figures which had been used by ^{a this herbarium} Tabernaemontanus. In 1632, the
 successors of the original publisher, being alarmed by the idea that a
 competing herbal by Parkinson was about to appear, commissioned Johnson to
 prepare a new edition of Gerard's book, ⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾ allowing him only one year for the work. This was a colossal under-
 taking. Not only was it necessary to correct Gerard's errors and add original
 matter, but, to illustrate the book, ⁶⁰⁰ a different and larger collection of
 2766 figures had to be fitted into the text; these were the wood blocks used
 in the famous series of herbals published by Plantin of Antwerp. Johnson
 himself speaks of "the hast of the worke, whereby I was forced to performe
 this task within the compasse of a yeare". One can but marvel at the high
 standard which ^{John} he attained, though working under such pressure. ^{more books} Considering
 his ^{short} period, ^{Dudey in the} his scholarly scrupulousness in editorial work, ^{he} was remarkably ^{any other person}. He
 evolved an elaborate system of marking the text to distinguish the degrees to
 which he had altered or rewritten Gerard's descriptions, ^{while} and those accounts

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Compare
herb
with

of plants, which he had received from his friend Goodyer, were printed in a form which made them readily recognisable.

We have so little ⁷⁰⁰ knowledge of Thomas Johnson's personal life, that it is ^{pleasant} a ~~pleasure~~ to find that there is in existence a letter, ⁽⁶⁰⁰⁾ relating to the Herball, indicating that a friendship existed between him and the poet, ^{held many, about all, for his death upon Lady Norton} Sir Henry Wotton, the ~~author of that perfect distich upon Lady Norton:-~~

"He first deceased; she for a little tried
To live without him, liked it not, and died".

The letter in question is addressed "To my verie loving and learned friend Mr. Johnson Apothecarie, at his ^{house} ~~howse~~ on Snowe Hill, London". Wotton explains that he is ~~sending~~ ^{send} his servant with the request that Johnson will tell him "where he may buy one of your Gerrards, well and strongly bound: Next, ^{or} where I may have for my monye, all kinde of coloured Pynkes to sett in a ⁽⁷⁰⁰⁾ Quarter of my Garden or any such flowers as perfume the Ayre". We can easily guess what directions Johnson gave to Wotton's servant, for in ~~the~~ ^{the} herbal, after describing "Gillofloures, Pinkes and the like", he recommends "such as are addicted to these commendable and harmlesse delights" to "repaire to the garden of Mistresse Tuggy ... in Westminster, which ^{the} in excellencie and varietie of these delights exceedeth all that I have seene".

30 In 1639 ⁹⁰⁰ Johnson made his last herborizing excursion, ~~the famous~~ Welsh journey, in the course of which he ascended Snowdon, and found alpine plants such Silene acaulis, the cushion Pink. Though ^{John's} ~~his~~ fame is founded on his edition of Gerard, in reality his most important work was the Mercurius Botanicus, which was ~~based~~ ^(1634 or 1641) primarily upon the results of his various plant-hunting expeditions. This work, which was published in ^{my 6 Dec 1634 or 1641} two parts in 1634 and 1641, was, in a sense, the earliest British ⁽⁸⁰⁰⁾ ~~flora~~ for it was the first work in which the attempt was made to enumerate all the known British plants, and to deal with them ~~alone~~ ^{by themselves}; the herbals, on the other hand, ¹⁰⁰⁰ had aimed at comprehensiveness, and had not concentrated on the plants of this country. He had indeed planned to carry this undertaking much further, and, in collaboration with John Goodyer, to produce a regular

descriptive and illustrated flora. Though fate prevented the fulfillment of this ambition, Johnson's work, incomplete as it was, remained until the time of Ray the best guide to our native plants.

When the Civil War broke over England, it put an end for ever to Johnson's scientific activities. ¹⁰⁷⁷ He gained reputation as a soldier - a fact which was more surprising to the Victorians than it can be now, after the countless examples of such transformations in the ¹¹⁰⁰ Great War. Johnson joined the Royalist forces at Oxford, and was sent to Basing House, where he took part in the long defence, which is discussed in detail in the book before us. ^{He was duty man of house as an occasion} On November 7, 1643, the Parliamentarians obtained possession of certain outbuildings, and the garrison decided to try the dangerous remedy of sallying out and firing the barns. "Lieutenant Colonel Johnson coragiously ventured out into the very Grange yard, with 25 men onely, and encountering with Clinson [Captain-Lieutenant to Waller], grappled with him, and was too farre engaged, when two or three stout fellows of the Garrison hasted to his rescue, where captain Clinson received his death wound". It was not until the Autumn of the next year that Johnson received the shot ^{was} ^{in the shoulder} ^{+ died for result fever} from the effects of which he died, "no lesse eminent in the Garrison for his valour and conduct, as a souldier, then famous through the Kingdom for his excellency as an Herbarist, and Physician".

1644 he was shot & died for result fever, 1247

"The ... ^{days fever} ^{the doctor} ^(the) ^{indicated} ¹¹⁶⁰
severe was ^{the doctor} ^(the) ^{indicated} ¹¹⁶⁰
marked ^{the doctor} ^(the) ^{indicated} ¹¹⁶⁰
performed in

30
43
80

THOMAS
JOHNSON

Botanist
&
Royalist



H. WALLIS
KEW
&
H. E. POWELL



LONGMANS

Made in Great Britain

Wm. Arber *but name wrong*
1000 65000...

Please note address of

THOMAS
JOHNSON

Botanist & Royalist



The Tenia

Trin. h. 8

Sy.

(P. 4)

H. WALLIS KEW & H. E. POWELL

Thomas Johnson, Botanist & Kydin H. v. d. Kar & HE
Powell, Longman Green, Co. 1932.

Vern. Neun's Alumni Cent abgreves

(1751) unles 35 Thomas J.'s & Foster's
Alumni Oxonienses (1714) 19. The
Asoc. | Spotters' Car Book 1617-1651
includes five.

All to know that John printed as a
Lund Spotters' then was ante T.J. Spotters,
probably with seven minutes' vol. | Some
held that John had; more that was two
the Thoms Johnson's in his hands | P. Dep. lch.
There was also Thoms Johnson, Barb. Surg.
and what I do forget but argued

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No comparisons allowed, his historical give.

p12

Fuller did us as to see! Bay House note
"A man of such modesty that knowing 20
Greek, he would own the knowledge of
Nothing" "When in Bay House a dozen years, several were
to do, the Doctor (who probably preferred no ordinary handwriting")

p13

Bar in Spurbshire & Mant
Surbshire.

p15

Spotters - then Dept. returns but to find
probations - changes, then Dept.

p14

Exam date) but unsets, but it was full of
somewhat more than 1600

¹⁶⁷
In 1626 he travelled to northern part of
Eyde.

(2)

¹⁶⁹ From 7 bag Penzance for his dray.
+ 20 lbs northern can powder & under 1 bush
records of Eyde, out of W. de Seldin, King Penzance,
near Bell flower

¹⁷⁰ In 1628 he became free brother, & served 7
Apostles, to examine end by 1628. Nov. 28. Thomas
Johnson apprentice to Mr Will^m Bell was excited to
find sufficient was made free p.d. his fees of aw
a spoon.

¹⁷¹ His famous herbaceous excursions "single
voyages" as he called them, in (near & Harpstedt) West
were the earliest printed narratives of such
undertakings made in this country.

¹⁷² The young 5. King occupied 5 days
the young 10 years were by the boat
of Park of Jarrow but eventually stem some boat
their young was delayed by 5 May on his descent to
attendance of some a few 1 then to know the business of
so long a stay? travels - to see just. He accepted
their explanations & troubled end us to duty of
health - excusable.

¹⁷³
A 5 Harpstedt Health & spirits by full ~~Even Ocean~~
to be, Wharfedale & delos, & Volly

The p 32 ^{was subsequently how taken as place} (3)
 The nyse fered publ - 1577 - no new
 ed. appeared until Johnson's in 1533. Unfortunately
 Johnson is obliged to refer to new ed. in 1700,
 because the publ was of the 15th century. Palmer's
 "Kedra Botanic" is also a publ -
 which she has been done to

37
 1248
 It was invented to take the new diff &
year - was to arrange fully - the new diff &
year coll (2766 words) - really found's unusual
error would have been done by John do
with more diff meter.
 John Ward) Amherst Paris , Jan 1639.

pa but drop himself
pa Recall of some houses to Bermuda's
a house , bananas , the few of good design
figure - "the full or men was very top"
London , is did create something like a
Muske-Melon."

p 32. few had fallen to figures / Tabernaemontanus
with the Dodons text - p 50. They were the
figures with " Tabernaemontanus' new
Kreuzbuch (1588-1591) & Erasmus Plantarum
(1510) did 16 new ms by the figures misapp
any of the Tabernaemontanus figs.
pa
few had done 5 figures method more (sta-
Label

p53
Used to figure where to work of Dodder,
Label + Clusius were found print

p57
John had found dead the scrupulous feelings of
the modern editor, if he had in about 1770
made the text ~~more accurate~~ ^{more accurate} ~~than the original~~ ^{than the original}
here ~~where the text is more accurate~~ ^{where the text is more accurate}
descript. ~~than in~~ ^{than in} Descript of Dodder he print. ^{from John's}
p58
Address of Reader ^{also to work} "if there be any defect
in all humane works) ascribe it in part to my haste &
may business, & in some places to my want of sufficient
information, especially in Exotic things."

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p58
Reference to Plant-collector

p57 I would say used John was right
the block is used ^{to make the data} ^{to make the data} ^{to make the data} ^{to make the data}
Clusius, ~~Sever~~, Johnson, Parkinson, Selmon,
Banker, Chabracus

p63
"The heart of the taste within the compass of 7 years"
performed to Wake, shortly I was found
p69
prints to Jards of Parkinson. Long Here, Tradesant
in Suit Carbet, Ralph Tuggys in Westmont.
Mistress Tuggy continued to garden

The author conclude for intent evidence to the
translatⁿ Ambrose Pa^{cy} "The Values" to at
famous Chirurgeon, Ambrose Pa^{cy} "And of p^{er}
in 1634 under the name of Thomas Johnson
myself attributed to Johnson & Boland

1689
It appears to be the best view to the ultimate production
of work on which the plan is now in the County
with their wealth. The plan is now in the County
of 105. forty in John Ford's
was accurately he pulled up in 1800
the numerous he pulled up in 1800
was - it appears to be as
much as possible of this.

1634
He went to account the plan for in a copy of
Bath & dis, the Bath hot springs &
1686
June 1
on the hot springs, Bath
The Bath hot springs had described book

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

1637 p 89
Letter for Sir Henry Wotton to Johnson "In my voice
long & learned friend Mr Johnson & Apothecarie,
on his house on Snow Hill, London. He
said his seven - with the request - that Johnson
will tell him "where he may buy me / your
Ferrand, well & strongly bound: Next, where
I may have for my money, all kinds of
Colours Pyrites ~~and~~ to sett in a Quarter
my garden as my seed flowers as perfume
the Ayre. Publy ~~the same~~ in Henry
Wotton was refer'd to Master Tuggie's Westminster

Sander as to be plain for "Clove Gilloflowers, 6
 Purbes, & the like" - exceeds all others in the
 excellency & variety their commendable
 delights.

p 108
 This was his last
 handwriting & account
 in 1641
 was his last published work

97
 21639. Ly. Agm., John made his fans
 with young who lasts 3 weeks a more
 Take me to an Edward Maynes interpreter.
 p 96 My account Snowden's find
 with plans see > Silver accounts, Andrew Paul

p 98
 My was disappointed in the dear & account -
 mention near Banger when they were the my
 plans then for about because to guide
 saw he feared to cogles rest of them.

=
 p 106 The two Coletys then John pulled
 under the name | Inverness Boston, he
 intended to be a comment all the Boston
 plans then known. He enclosed the 89 p
 of the title 47 and the few - Butler sends

p 109-110
 The last was by in 1642
 21643 John found to regular forces at
 Oxford & University. Saw him then being depre-
 (Dart) Physic. He relates that while he
 they was at Oxford - was his pleasure that
 thing should be created in de la faculte such >
 had from him service in battle or had when to him
 of shalton - his country until (number after)
 Edmund petitioned for his joint ~~there~~. me
 created.

p 112
Johnse from Aland Rowdon at Basy Hare
in Harzheim when was held for the King (under the sea)
the end) was

7

(A plan of PLIX)

Detailed description

p 119
The ~~man~~ Margins, who built the ~~new~~ Basy
House had ~~not~~ there, but he was ~~attacked~~ & his ~~father~~
were not ~~murdered~~ enough of a ~~defence~~, so he ~~sent~~ to
King of ~~one~~ hundred ~~merchets~~ & ~~later~~ ~~more~~
Colonel Rowdon ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ his ~~request~~ ~~was~~ =
Johnse ~~visit~~ ~~in~~ ~~defence~~ On November 7, 1643,
to Palamantus ~~and~~ ~~with~~ ~~in~~ ~~pinning~~ ~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~buildings~~
+ the ~~day~~ ~~farrier~~ ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
Jayens ~~remedy~~ ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
fire. "Cautious" ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
himself. ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
me into the very ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
+ encounter ~~with~~ ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
farre ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
[Capt. - Lieutenant Weller],
fought ~~with~~ ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
two or three ~~stare~~ ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
brother to his rescue, ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
his death wound.

Johnse ~~visit~~ ~~in~~ ~~defence~~ On November 7, 1643,
to Palamantus ~~and~~ ~~with~~ ~~in~~ ~~pinning~~ ~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~buildings~~
+ the ~~day~~ ~~farrier~~ ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
Jayens ~~remedy~~ ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
fire. "Cautious" ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
himself. ~~to~~ ~~defence~~ ~~to~~ ~~build~~ ~~to~~
me into the very ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
+ encounter ~~with~~ ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
farre ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
[Capt. - Lieutenant Weller],
fought ~~with~~ ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
two or three ~~stare~~ ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
brother to his rescue, ~~farre~~ ~~year~~, ~~with~~ ~~2~~ ~~men~~ ~~only~~,
his death wound.

p 124
1644 ~~year~~ Johnse ~~visit~~ ~~in~~ ~~defence~~ On November 7, 1643,
effects ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~valour~~ ~~conduct~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~soldier~~,
Johnse ~~visit~~ ~~in~~ ~~defence~~ On November 7, 1643,
then famous ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~King~~ ~~dom~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~ex~~ ~~cellency~~ ~~as~~
an ~~Herbairist~~ ~~Physician~~. p 24-5
an ~~farmer~~ ~~held~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Annals~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~King~~ ~~dom~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~ex~~ ~~cellency~~ ~~as~~
house in 1645

Thy John's reputation was established by his
 edit. of Jean, the more important of his works was
 to Mercurius Botanicus published in two parts
 in 1636 & 1641. This was in a sense the first
 Botanic Flora, for it was the first work due to
 the same author. The plants were arranged in two parts
 of Herbs & plants, & dealt in dose. The second part
 of Dulcium & plants, & his life. While still an
 to from business, his life. While still an
 apparently he was engaged in describing many plants
 when he visited Orleans. In 1632 he published
 Descriptio 1 his two Kentish journals. In 1632 he published
 Excursus, & in his 1633 journal he included 2
 results of my then excursions. In these 3 works
 together he recorded > 120 plants

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not before so recorded by an author.
 2 & Mercurius he recorded as follows: 1. &
 Wang Eyed, & Dale Wyer & W. also, & the
 date: 1636 then he had determined "to travel"
 over the main parts of the King's dome

p 137

for the finding of more plants.
 John's Catalogue (- & Mercurius) could all in
 plants native growth, with their names, & help of
 my case with (scabrous), when his journals to help of
 find the books & authors had made known &
 their. Although in 1638 plants were enumerated,
 & 7 to what else 167 had not before been
 recorded. Botanicus?

p 138

The works of 1632 & 1632 were the first published in
 in Britain which described botanical gardens & enumerated
 the plants of any one well-defined area in
 this country.

Ray was ^{man} the ^{came} in
 to ^{work} when Johnson ~~was~~ ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{herb.} ^{insects.}
 His ^{Catalpa} ^{Plantain} ^{Any} ^{leaf} ²⁶ ^{years}
 of Johnson's ^{dest.}, ^{found} ^{with} ^{British}
 was ^{some} ^{found} ^{to} ^{native} ^{flora.} ^{But}
 even ^{the} ^{work} ^{contains} ^{as} ^{descriptions} ^{of} ^{herb.} ^{did} ^{not}
 meet ^{the} ^{need} ^{of} ^{explaining} ^{the} ^{herb.}
 flora ^{which} ^{had} ^{been} ^{recognized} ^{by} ^{Johnson} &
 Goodyer. ^{But} ^{Johnson} ^{expressed} ^{his}
 determination ^{to} ^{publish} ^{the} ^{flora} ^{as}
 soon ^{as} ^{possible} ^{and} ^{Goodyer} ^{was} ^{able} ^{to} ^{do} ^{so}
 very ^{early} ^{than} ^{as} ^{he} ^{was} ^{able} ^{to} ^{do} ^{it} ^{(but}
 in ^{the} ^{war}) ^{these} ^{two} ^{botanists} ^{would} ^{have}
 attempted ^{to} ^{write} ^{the} ^{herb.} ^{which} ^{was} ^{not}
 published ^{during} ^{their} ^{century}, ^{or} ^{for} ^{many} ^{years}
 later

John
He did of 5 affor of the women while assent "no
defect" & defend by Mary Han, the Rights, "no
lese eminent" & of James of his Volume & conduct
in a soldier, then famous the Pymon for is
excellency in Harbours - Pysin.

We kin no little of Johns pure life, for
know any minute but is woken, out in gleams &
can you. letter to him for Sir Henry Wotton
addressed "To my very loving & learned friend
Mr. Johnson Apothecarie, at his house on Snowe
hill, London", why then he could be bought
"one of your servants, well and strongly bound."
Next, when I may have for my money, all kinde of
dainties Pymon to sett in a quarter of my garden
to any such flowers as perfume the Ayre.

Good to find edit. / funds label here to
field with a comparison of more than a few
I know not until remains are than a certain John
Barnes would soon find out - never heard of

There is place, too the success of funds' aged public
was by the form of unduly. second edit. 2. 1632
they commenced John John, a well-known bank
apothecary balance, to say in the work, with precise
than a month ago and with the
task John accepted as marked success, even
address a comprehensive study on interest instead
understand. His ~~method~~ method works as an
editon four hundred mostly to test & degree
John's system allowed a rewrite funds' description &
John's editon unless an occur 2850 plants & a

~~searched by his~~ ~~value~~ ~~marked~~ used in the
value of the goods & value, found in rear
of the set of 2766 blocks, found in rear
books published by the funds' four over
for the fund volume seen from funds' four over
editon. ~~the~~ ~~was~~ ~~seen~~ ~~in~~ ~~us~~ ~~no~~
essence. ~~the~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~1636~~.

John's chief remark, ~~is~~ ~~also~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~is~~
honor of his independent balance work. His
accus) in plain hunt excess public in
Balancing ~~1636~~ ~~(1636)~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~process~~
for ~~John~~ or ~~other~~ ~~steps~~ ~~seen~~ ~~all~~ ~~the~~
plain John's in their localities, but of his early
death - to and where there's little doubt that he
would have come in his interest of part (a copy
in his first fund) - ~~the~~ ~~is~~ ~~an~~ ~~only~~ ~~one~~ ~~to~~
plan 1) ~~the~~ ~~is~~ ~~an~~ ~~only~~ ~~one~~ ~~to~~

Digitized by ~~the~~ ~~institute~~ ~~for~~ ~~Botanical~~ ~~Documentation~~

f. 1637 and

Thomas Johnson: Botanist and Royalist. By H. Wallis Kew and H.E. Powell.
Longmans, Green & Co. 1932. 8/6 net.

The most famous of the English herbals, that of John Gerard, appeared in 1597 and held the field without a competitor for more than a generation. Though the book was full of errors, no further edition appeared during this time; if was not until rumours arose that John Parkinson would soon produce a new herbal to take its place, that the successors of Gerard's original publisher were brought to the point of undertaking a second edition. In 1632 they commissioned Thomas Johnson, a well-known London apothecary and botanist, to carry out the work, with the proviso that it must be completed in a year. This was a heavy task. It not only included the correction of Gerard's frequent mistakes, and the incorporation of an entirely different set of over 2500 wood blocks from Antwerp (which had formerly illustrated the works of Dodoens, de l'Écluse and de l'Obel) but also the writing of a comprehensive historical introduction. Johnson achieved all this with remarkable success. His editorial methods show a scholarly feeling which strikes one as surprisingly modern; he evolved an elaborate system of marking the text to distinguish the degrees to which he had altered or rewritten Gerard's descriptions, while those accounts of plants which he had received from his friend Goodyer, were printed in a form which made them readily recognisable.

His edition of Gerard, alone, was sufficient to establish Johnson's reputation, but his independent botanical work was, in reality, even more significant. His accounts of his plant-collecting excursions are the earliest attempts to record all the plants of England and Wales with their localities, and, but for his early death in the Civil War, there is little doubt that he would have carried out his intention of writing (in conjunction with Goodyer) a descriptive and illustrated British flora, of a type which did not actually come into being until the eighteenth century.

The fact that Johnson has hitherto lacked an adequate biography, is partly accounted for by the extreme difficulty of tracking down the history

of a man with so indistinctive a name. Mr. Wallis Kew and Mr. Powell have earned the gratitude of botanists by the way in which they have tackled this and other problems, and by the labour they have expended in exploring systematically every direction which might be expected to yield facts about Johnson 's life. Though their researches have afforded little information about Johnson as a private individual, they have placed his botanical activity in a clear light. Those who are interested in the history of British botany, will be stimulated by the book to a renewed study of Johnson's own work, and to a renewed appreciation of the scientific character of the man, who, in Fuller's words, was "of such modesty, that knowing so Much, he would own the knowledge of Nothing".

A.A.

An 17

My mother produced
These notes ~~were produced~~ in reply to a query
from Miss Helen Gardner of Oxford in connection
with the quotation below.

Muriel A. Abber
November 19
1960

JOHN DONNE: 'The Extasie', lines 33- 48.

But as all severall soules containe
Mixture of things, they know not what,
Love, these mixt soules, doth mixe againe,
And makes both one, each this and that.
A single violet transplant,
The strength, the colour, and the size,
(All which before was poore, and scant,)
Redoubles still, and multiplies.
When love, with one another so
Interinanimates two soules,
That abler soule, which thence doth flow,
Defects of lonelinesse controules.
Wee then, who are this new soule, know,
Of what we are compos'd, and made,
For, th'Atomies of which we grow,
Are soules, whom no change can invade.

Poems of John Donne, ed. H.J.C.Grierson, 1912, i.53.

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1160 ed 1 p 30
Sharrock, R. 1672 ed. 2 (P. 60) History of Propagation
"And it is usually believed that divers single flowers may be
changed ^{into} double by frequent transplantations, made
into better grounds"
my copy ed 1 + Hh. 1907
ed. 2

Notes on The Extasie

(Agnes Arber, July 24, 1958)

In looking up references to violets in early literature, one has to remember that the name was formerly used widely for many different plants, especially the sweet-scented. The term *Violet* survives even today in a number of English compound names of flowers quite remote from the Violet family, e.g.. Water Violet (Hottonia, Primrose family), Corn Violet (a Campanula) Dames' Violet (Hesperis, a Crucifer), etc. William Turner, in The Names of Herbes (1548) (English Dialect Soc. Reprint, 1881) calls the Sweet Violet Viola nigra seu purpurea, but he also uses the term Violet for Wallflowers and Stocks.

But I do not think there is any reason to doubt that Donne was thinking of the sweet March Violet. Lyte's Herbal of 1578 says that "The sweete garden Violet, groweth under hedges, and about the borders of fieldes and pastures in good ground and fertile soyle, and it is also set and planted in gardens". And he also says, "Of this sorte, there is another kind planted in gardens, whose floures are very double, and full of leaves".

My impression is that Donne's comparison is not precise, for there is no indication that he was thinking of two plants, or two seeds, intermingling in any way. Indeed if wpi would be scarcely possible that he should have realised the existence of sex in plants. This was not understood until quite the end of the 17th century, and even after this it was much disputed. The use of the terms 'male' and 'female' by sixteenth-century herbalists bore no relation to sex; they

called plant varieties characterised by strong colour, male, and paler ones female. Otto Brunfels, ^{and William Turner} for example (following Dioscorides) called the scarlet Pimpernel, male, and the blue variety, female. The first statement that the stamens were male organs came in 1682 from Nehemiah Grew, who quotes a conversation in which Sir Thomas Millington had suggested this to him, thus confirming an unpublished view which Grew himself already held. But it was long before the idea was proven, ^{or} ~~and~~ so far accepted as to become part of the intellectual background of the period. My own tentative opinion is that the suggestion for Donne's analogy in The Extasie must have come to him, not through any idea of sex in plants, but because he was misled by a mistaken bit of terminology which has found its way from common speech into botany — I mean the use of 'single' and 'double' for normal flowers on the one hand, and, on the other hand, flowers in which, (in botanical jargon) the petals are monstrously increased at the expense of other organs especially the stamens'. It is easy to see how inadequate the expressions 'single' and 'double' are, when we compare the 5-petalled briar rose and the 'cabbage' rose, with its appropriate Latin name, centifolia. But to Donne who (I imagine) was more interested in language than in natural objects, the expressions 'single' and 'double' would call up primarily the 'one' and 'two' idea, which at the moment dominated his mind, and he might easily overlook the fact that his analogy (though ~~presenting~~ ^{symbolizing} an enlargement and enrichment of singleness implemented by an improved environment) was based merely on changes of outward circumstances and not on the union of two beings.

'Violet' was formerly used very widely as the name of many different plants, especially the sweet-scented.

The typical one is certainly Viola odorata, wee-wee or Maids Violet, but even today there is Holtonia Water Violet (Pumblum), Corn Violet, Campanula hybrida L (Campanulaceae) & Dame's or Damask Violet, Heperis matronalis, a crucifer.

See R. C. A. Prior, Popular Names of British Plants
1879

William Turner. The Names of Herbs. 1548

Reprint English Dialect Society 1881.

calls the Violet, Viola nigra see purpurea

in the calls White flowers & storks also Viola in

The Sex in plants was not understood probably until quite the end of 17th century. Presumably the 18th century herbarists called the plants with stamens (male). Bremers (following Dioscorides) called scarlet pimpernel, male & the blue, female, the colic purple-red dead nettle male, & white, female. More first definite statement than the stamens were male eyes came in 1682 from Natural History, the first reference to Sex in Plants was made by Sir Thomas Mullethorpe who suggested the idea at which from himself heppes do to have arised. Some in 18th century the idea of sex in plants was very made in way was difficult.

Dykes' Herbal 1578

There be two sortes of Violets: the garden and the
wilde Violet. The garden violets are of a fayre
darke or shining deepe blew colour, and a very
pleasant & amiable smell. The wilde Violets are
with our savour, & of a fainte blew or pale colour

The sweete garden Violet, groweth under hedges,
& along the borders of fieldes & pastures in good ground
& fertile soyle, & it is also set & planted in gardens.

Of this sorte, there is another kind planted in
gardens, whose flowers are very double, &
full of leaves.

I think that Dinnie was probably led away into by
a bad piece of ~~botanical~~ terminology such as found
it very far common speak me better: it is the
use of "single" & "double" for normal flowers on the
one hand, & flowers ^{which} ~~the~~ petals ~~of~~ are
monstrously increased on the expense of their organs
especially the stamens. The "one" & "two" symfony
of "single" & "double" is but single when double flowers
are spoken of..

Apples

In looking up references to Violets in early literature one
has to remember that the name was found used widely for many
different plants, especially the sweet-scented. The ^{Latin} ~~name~~ ^{name} has
even survived in a number of English Compend names for
flowers quite remote from the Violet family e.g. Holtornia
Water Violet (Holtorn) (Pond-tail) Corn violet (a Campanula type) Darnel violet
(Hesperis, a Crucifer) etc.

William Turner in The Names of Herbs (1548)
(English Dialect Soc. Pap. 1881) calls the sweet violet
Violeta nigra seu purpurea but he also calls Wallflowers,
Ibexes, ~~violet~~ etc. ^{it is pretty well known}

~~There is little doubt~~ ^{from} ~~Donne~~ ^{was} ~~to say~~ / ^{of}
Sweet Marsh violet.

Lyte's Herbal 1578 says that - "The sweet garden
Violet, groweth under hedges, & about the borders of fields -
pastures in good ground & fertile soyle, & is also set
planted in gardens." And he also says "Of this sorte,
there is another kind planted in gardens, whose flowers
are very double & full of leaves."

^{It then} ^{is not} ^{precise} ^{the} ^{existence} ^{of} ^{sex} ⁱⁿ ^{plants} ^{was} ^{not} ^{understood} ^{properly} ^{until} ^{quite} ^{late} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ¹⁷
^{century} ^{is} ^{even} ^{now} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{most} ^{disputed}
^{the} ^{distinction} ^{made} ^{between} ^{the} ^{male} ^{and} ^{female} ^{plants}
^{is} ^{not} ^{clear} ^{at} ^{all} ⁱⁿ ^{many} ^{cases}
^{is} ^{not} ^{precise} ^{the} ^{existence} ^{of} ^{sex} ⁱⁿ ^{plants} ^{was} ^{not} ^{understood} ^{properly} ^{until} ^{quite} ^{late} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ¹⁷
^{century} ^{is} ^{even} ^{now} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{most} ^{disputed}
^{the} ^{distinction} ^{made} ^{between} ^{the} ^{male} ^{and} ^{female} ^{plants}
^{is} ^{not} ^{clear} ^{at} ^{all} ⁱⁿ ^{many} ^{cases}

+ those ^{higher} ~~modern~~ color female
Durois) called to 5 color purple, white, & to blue
vamp, female, & he ^{also} analyzed purple red Kadnettle, & the
white saw nettle, or ^{perhaps} male female. The few flowers on
to stems were male eyes com in 1682 f Richard Green,
who ^{found} - commends in Jan Lii. These subject led
sugars ^{and} stems were male eyes. Thus confounding on
seen at which few hours had 'almost arrived'.
But it was long before the idea was proven ^{correctly},
except ^{for} is very not ^{of} ^{the} ^{male} ^{female} ^{stems} ^{of} ^{the} ^{same} ^{plant}.

I think that the reputation of the embryos
must have come to Donne, not by any idea sex in
plants, but because he was misled by ^{the} ^{male} ^{female} ^{stems} ^{of} ^{the} ^{same} ^{plant}
femininity which has found its way for common speech into
botany - I mean the use of 'single', 'double' for
most flowers in both kinds, 'flowers in which the corolla
layers) 'the petals are numerous, unrecalled on the expense
of other eyes especially to stems'. It is easy to see how
abstract ^{unintentionally} the expression 'single' + 'double' ^{are} ^{used}
see an ^{unintentional} ^{error} to 5-petals ^{is} ^{used} ^{more} ^{often} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{more} ^{modern}
high cultivated modern garden use in numerous petals.

Donne who (Donne) was more ^{unintentionally}
than in other days, ^{the} ^{expression} ^{'single'} ^{'double'} ^{could} ^{well} ^{call}
up ^{the} ^{'one'} ^{'two'} ^{idea}, ^{the} ^{expression} ^{'single'} ^{'double'} ^{is} ^{used} ^{more} ^{often} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{more} ^{modern}
his analysis did not include ^{the} ^{expression} ^{'single'} ^{'double'} ^{is} ^{used} ^{more} ^{often} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{more} ^{modern}
represent an embryo & evolution for 'single', ^{the} ^{expression} ^{'single'} ^{'double'} ^{is} ^{used} ^{more} ^{often} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{more} ^{modern}
The ^{difference} ^{is} ^{not} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{expression} ^{'single'} ^{'double'} ^{is} ^{used} ^{more} ^{often} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{more} ^{modern}
men differ in ^{the} ^{expression} ^{'single'} ^{'double'} ^{is} ^{used} ^{more} ^{often} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{more} ^{modern}

Why was Donne
misled by the
stems of the
same plant?

Donne
was misled by
the stems of
the same plant
(Donne was misled by
the stems of the same plant)

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July 25. 58
I suggest in my notes of Mrs. Sargent
that either The Extatic was inspired by The Phoenix &
Turtle, or that Donne and Shakespeare wrote
the Phoenix, Turtle, probably between 1598 & his marriage in
1601.

July 24
1958
Suggests to
Helen Gardner
who actually denied
that Donne could
have written
the Phoenix & Turtle
- 3.

If, recognising that I am an ignoramus in these studies, I may venture an opinion on the whole poem, it is that it is inspired by Shakespeare's The Phoenix and Turtle (1601), or alternatively, that The Phoenix and Turtle was written, probably between 1598 (his marriage in 1601), by Donne/ not Shakespeare (-

An 18

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in page referens

NEHEMIAH GREW

(1641-1712)

By Dr Agnes Arber

Nehemiah Grew will always be held in honour by botanists, as the co-founder with Marcello Malpighi of the science of plant anatomy. It is true that in his ideas about plant cells he did not advance much beyond Robert Hooke, who, in 1665, figured and named these units; but, as regards knowledge of vascular structure, the position is very different. Grew and Malpighi not only initiated the study of the bundle system of the flowering plants, but carried it to a surprisingly high level, considering that they had to start from the very foundations. Grew's first book, "The Anatomy of Vegetables Begun" (1672), contains the earliest printed illustration showing vascular bundles as seen in section under the microscope. He followed up this work in 1673 and 1675 by treatises on the detailed anatomy of roots and of stems. Finally he brought all his results together in 1682 in a ^{pleasantly} finally illustrated folio, "The Anatomy of Plants", which included improved second editions of his first three ^{books}, as well as much additional matter. The excellence of Grew's botanical morphology and anatomy has been fully recognised; indeed his reputation in this line is so deservedly great that it has tended to overshadow the other facets of his output. It seems worthwhile, therefore, in this, his tercentenary year, to draw attention to certain less specialised aspects of his scientific work.

Grew's general attitude towards ^{biology} ~~science~~ cannot be understood unless one realises how deeply he was committed to a mechanistic view of the universe. It seems likely that Hooke, and ^{also} Descartes, had to some extent turned his mind in this direction, though in the seventeenth century such ideas were so much in the air that it is hardly necessary to look for specific sources. It was owing to the mechanistic view - point of that period, that the microscope, for instance, was hailed as an instrument which ^{was destined to} ~~would~~ clear away all inconvenient mysteries.

Hooke hoped that by the help of glasses "we may perhaps be ^{enabled} ~~enabled~~ to dis-

Micrographia p. 20
II 2

enabled
re

cern all the secret workings of Nature, almost in the same manner as we do these that are ^{the} productions of Art, and are manag'd by Wheels and Engines, and Springs, that were devised by ^{humane (via)} human Wit." Grew enlarges upon this analogy between the world and a man-made machine, and seems to find it entirely satisfying. He says that "all Nature is as one great Engine made by and held in" the hand of God. He regards this engine as having been set in motion by the ^C Great First Cause, to which all subsequent effects can be traced back; he considers that the original causation was all that was necessary, and that, in the normal course of events, no subsequent interference has occurred. "And as it is the watch-maker's Art," he says, "that the Hand moves regularly from hour to hour, although he put not his finger still to it: so it is the demonstration of Divine Wisdom, that the Parts of Nature are so harmoniously contrived and set together as to conspire to all kind of natural motions and effects without the extraordinary-immediate influence of the Author of it". This particular philosophy led Nehemiah Grew to regard it as a pious duty to discover a mechanistic "cause" for each phenomenon, ~~or effect~~^S; he defined "an intelligible account" as "such as is grounded upon the Notions of Sense, and made out Mechanically". This mental bias gave him an ever-simplified conception of causation, and a "cause" became to him almost something tangible and visually imagable. He thought that "one property agreeing to divers Vegetables should have one cause: for although the scope and end may vary, yet the cause, as it is the cause of that property, must be one". His reasoning thus induced him to underestimate the ~~cause~~^{force & intricacy} and difficulty which always pervades the realm of causes, and which was ^{indeed} even more impenetrable in those days, when bio-chemistry and biophysics were non-existent. Grew was ~~unduly~~^{presumptuously} sanguine, and he was liable to believe that he had succeeded in solving problems of causation before which the boldest spirits might quail even today. As an example we may take his answer to the question of why

167 > 1101

1682⁶
p22⁶
167³
p11¹167³
p11¹

certain elements of plant tissues are elongated and cylindrical. "Succiferous vessels", he says, "from their Sal Alkali grow in length; for by that dimension chiefly this salt always shoots... And as by the saline Principles the Vessels are long, so by the oleous ... they are Cylindrical"; but for the "oleous Principle" they would be flat or angular "as all sacline Shoots of themselves are, as those of Alum". The striking point about this explanation is not that it happens to be itself a failure, but that Grew at that early date should have made such a valiant effort after a causal-mechanical interpretation of form.

Grew's mechanistic theory of the universe had the very great advantage that it opened his mind to the mathematical aspects of biology. In 1620 Francis Bacon had lamented that "Nothing in Natural History is found to be ... numbered up, nothing weighed, nothing measured", and Nehemiah Grew, in his Catalogue of the Royal Society's Museum, published more than sixty years later, reiterates the same complaint; for after noting that he had included in his descriptions the "just Measures", he adds, "Much neglected by writers of Natural History". Grew certainly took great trouble to give the exact dimensions of the specimens he studied, and many of the plates in this book are accompanied by a line divided into inches to show the degree of reduction. Elsewhere he made the suggestion that the figures in herballs ought all to be "drawn by one Scale; or at most, by Two; one for Trees and Shrubs; and another for Herbs." He realised that, for general descriptive purposes, words of more exact connotation that the "great" and "small", of the usage then current, were needed; he proposed that leaves 5 in. or over in length should be called "great"; 1 - 5 in., "mean"; and 1 in. or less, "small".

When objects of microscopic size were in question, the biologists of the seventeenth century were faced with the difficulty of not having any adequate standards of measurement. Grew observed, for in-

1673
p 117
17.10.17 L
Hemlock
p 80

IV 37
Preface line 84

IV 45

1682
I. 11. 12
17. 11. 17

IV 27
1682 p 175

X
p 4

lyf p 45, 50

stance, that the vessels of roots showed a range of about 20 degrees in size, but he had no means of ~~g~~ assessing for these degrees individually, and all he could say was that "Some of these in the Vine, being of the greatest size; appearing through a good glass, at least one third of an Inch in Diametre". When dealing with things seen through the microscope, Grew is indeed often reduced to naming some object the size of which was recalled by the size of the image as he saw it in its magnified form. For instance, he describes the spore-case of the hart's-tongue-fern, when seen through the good glass, as being "about the bigness of a cherry-stone". ^{the term, compare which uses a} ~~In other glasses he uses~~ ^{the same term, compare which uses a small obj. as!}

"about $\frac{1}{5}$ part as big as a Cheese-Mite, and "the breadth of a Marsh-

mallow-Seed or little Spangle", as terms of comparison. From a twentieth-century standpoint, units of this kind may seem laughably futile, but we have to remember that, when people are forced to use them for lack of a more advanced technique, a certain degree of accuracy can be achieved. When the original pennyweight was defined in terms of grains of wheat, an effort was made to secure uniformity in the grains. A grain of sand, again, sounds to us ^{too} completely indefinite as a standard, but ^{for heat} Debell has shown that Leeuwenhoek, had in mind

a grain of about 100 in. in diameter, when he spoke of a "fine sandgrain, while a "coarse grain was about $\frac{1}{30}$ in. ^{In the case of object seen through the microscope, the difficulty of measuring is even greater.} 3-4

Grew not only ^{measured} measured the objects he describes, but

he recognised that "The Arithmetick of Nature is "every where suitable to Her Geometry"- ^{then from facts then by form & comb.} an idea which gave him an interest in computations.

He came to realise that the permutations and combinations of a few characters might open up a range of differences comparable with the great "Variety, a few Bells, in the ringing of Changes, will produce".

In discussing the tastes of plants, to which great attention was then paid ^{as applying clues to} ~~in connection with~~ their medicinal virtues, he ~~made a mathematical analysis of possibilities, and~~ gave a table showing how many three-fold tastes would arise by the combination of ten simple tastes, each

1682 p 72
IV 18

When he calls
an ordinary "Glass"
as above
his magnifying glass
1682 p 210

1682 p 200

1682 p 211

1682 p 211
p. 6.

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every where
two separate
words

1682
p 165
IV 15

IV 17
1682
p 176

IV 34, 35
1682 p 274
p 282

of which ^{must present} ~~had~~ at least five distinguishable degrees of strength. He calculates that this would lead altogether to 1800 "sensible and defineable Variations of Taste".

Grew did not rest content with mere measurement and numbering; he also thought of these relations in more general terms. He speaks, for instance, of the parts of the plants as being "as punctually, for their Place and Number, composed together; as all the mathematical Lines of a Flower or Face".

1675
delectabil II

His mechanistic theory of the universe not only inclined Grew to mathematical interpretations, but it led directly to his wholehearted adoption of the atomic theory. He uses the word "principles" as synonymous with "atoms", which he regards as being indivisible, immutable, and of diverse kinds. He says that "in the self same analogous way, as the Letters of the Alphabet, are the Principles of Words; so Principles are the Alphabet of Things." He draws the logical conclusion that, if such unchangeable atoms are the structural basis of the world, "the Formation and Transformation of all Bodies, can be nothing else, but the Mixture of Bodies."

but if small is mechanism

1682
p223

1682
p216
Notes
p215
beginning of chapter

Whenever Grew grasped an idea, he pondered it until he had wrung from it everything that, for him, it contained. The idea of atomicity, and the consequent significance of mixture, led him to certain conclusions which bore no fruit at the time, but which foreshadowed developments in science which did not actually come into being until the nineteenth century. One of these developments, of which Grew had a premonition, was the production of organic compounds in the laboratory. "Art it self", he says, "may go far in doing what Nature doth. And who can say, how far? For we have nothing to Make; but only to mix these Materials, which are already made to our hands. Even Nature her self, ... Maketh nothing new; but only mixeth all things. So far, therefore, as we can govern Mixture, we may do what Nature doth". In another passage he is more specific about this hope: "we

and not how far

he says
it self
separations

1682
p220

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may be taught to Imitate the Productions of Nature...of Vegetables, ...
 to Imitate
 ...a Milk, Mucilage, Rosin, Gum ... I do not say I can do all this;

1602
p. 254
 yet if, upon good Premises, we can conclude this possible to be done; it is one step to the doing of it."

1602
p. 227
 Another corollary, which Grew derived from his notions about atomicity and mixture, related to the sexual process. Though he had never heard of a nucleus, and could not have had any conception of the exact nature of fertilisation, he anticipated on general grounds the independence of the parental contributions in the fertilised egg. He emphasizes that "the most perfect Mixture of Bodies, can go no higher than Contact. For all Principles [i.e. atoms] are unalterable; and all Matter is impenetrable... In the most visible, and lax Mixture, there is Contact; and in the ^{most} subtile and perfect, as in Generation it self, there is nothing more". Nehemiah Grew's philosophy is sometimes dismissed as though it were merely secondhand Cartesianism; but though he was influenced by Descartes to some extent, it is doubtful if this influence went at all deep. ^{never} Grew parted company with Descartes altogether on the question of the structure of the universe. He was, as we have just seen, a confirmed atomist, whereas Descartes held ^{the} view that atoms do not exist.

1603
p. 65, 66
I see
the
17
 Grew's whole personality seems to have been so closely integrated that his biological work, and his attitude to philosophical problems, were ^{inseparably} intimately knit together. Great as were his specific contributions to the actual knowledge of plant structure, we are at least as much in his debt for his analysis of the relation between thought and observation, and ⁱⁿ his recognition that the disse- ^{tion} of the two is fatal to scientific work. In his own words: "Thoughts cannot work upon nothing, no more than hands; he that will build an house, must provide Materials. And on the contrary, the Materials will never become an house, unless by certain Rules he joyn them all together. So it is not simply the knowledge of many things, but a multifarious copulation of them in the mind, that becomes prolifick of further knowledge".

Ry loc 126 K

The two refs in book checked before returning R.S.
(~~But has - Concurrance copy?~~)
concurrance is l.c.

(2) 26 notes for ed 2. x.l., which is
transfers of this case
V. 11
described as
much earlier

1st ed. Oxford. Printed by A. Lichfield, Printer to
the University, of Tho. Robinson. 1660

R. Sharrock. Fellow of New College.

Contents of Chap VIII & pp 1-4, Preface missing; R.S.
copy of Sharrock 1st ed 1660

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300

Sharrock, R. (1660) ~~X~~ The History of the Pro-
pagation and Improvement of Vegetables By
the ^CConcurrance of Art and Nature. Oxford.

V 11

Sharrock, R. (1660). The History of the Propagation and Improvement of Vegetables By the Concurrence of Art and Nature. Oxford. [p. 211]

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Ryl. Inc. 126 K

The two refs in book checked before using R.S.
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in text) ~~Does my phrasing show it?~~
Concurrence; L.C.

5.6.
IX. 3.

See Mpt 226 of notes from
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2:ed transferred to two cases

wrote: "everything, in so far as it is simple and undivided, remains, as much as in it lies, in the same condition, and suffers no change except from external causes"¹. But SPINOZA's manner of dealing with the subject in the Short Treatise is decidedly unlike this highly generalised statement by DESCARTES, and in fact ^{shows more about with} comes much nearer to the words of BOETHIUS. The rather startling association of "Providence" with self-preservation - which is scarcely characteristic of SPINOZA, and produces what POLLOCK has called the "curious" Chapter V of ^{Part I of} the Short Treatise - ^{may} ceases to be puzzling if we ^{possibly} take it to represent a connexion of ideas carried over from BOETHIUS, which did not harmonise altogether perfectly with SPINOZA's general scheme. When he laid his predecessors under contribution, SPINOZA recalls SHAKESPEARE in his capacity for transmuting what he took into something of far greater value. Whereas in the Short Treatise his account of the principle of self-maintenance remains much at BOETHIUS' level, in the work of his maturity, the Ethics, he expressed it in this form: "conatus, quo unaquaeque res in suo esse perseverare conatur, nihil est praeter ipsius rei actualem essentiam"³; that is to say, "the striving by which each thing endeavours to persevere in its own being, is nothing else than the actual essence of the thing itself". This formulation becomes of great importance in its application to living creatures, ^{since} SPINOZA does not stop at the idea ^{of} self-maintenance as merely one of

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1. "namquamque rem, quatenus est simplex et indivisa, manere quantum in se est in eodem semper statu, nec unquam mutari nisi a causis exter-
nis". R. DESCARTES, Principia Philosophiae, Amsterdam, 1644, Part II, Cap. xxxvii, p. 54; see also F. POLLOCK, l.c. p. 108.
2. F. POLLOCK, l.c., p. 109.
3. Ethics, III, Prop. vii, p. 132.

Shannon. hys (2) 26 to.

Mowdylyly, frame
note on this

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Here Grew indicates, if somewhat confusedly, the existence of the pericyclic corky layers which so commonly occur in the root, and outside which the tissues exfoliate. He recognises that the shelling off of these tissues may leave the xylem close to the root surface; as he says, "the very Vessels themselves, in many Roots, coming under an apparent view, and standing in the utmost surface of the Root.

He also had an accurate idea of the main anatomical differences between the ^{not in 15}centralised vascular core of the root and the ^{short note 15}more disseminated bundle system of the ^{shoot}stem "in the ^{shoot}root the Lignous Body [vascular cylinder] being in proportion with the Cortical, but ~~not~~ little, and all lying close within its center", while ^{leaves and stem}in the leaves and stem "it is comparatively of greater quantity, and also more dilated, ... divers of its Branches standing more abroad towards the Circumference". As a corollary to his general idea of root structure,

he recognised the endogenous origin of ^{lateral}lateral roots.

The growth of stems in thickness naturally engaged Grew's attention, and he reached a sound general conception of the secondary development of wood, though he could not get at the details with the ^{means}tools at his command, neither did he realise that there was an increase of phloem as well as xylem. In his own words: "Every year there ^{grow}grows a new Ring of Sap-vessels on the inner margin of the Bark. Which Ring, hardening by degrees, at the latter end of the year, is turned into a dry and hard ring of perfect wood... the inmost portion of the Bark, is annually distributed and added to the Wood: the Parenchymous part thereof making a new addition to the Insertions [rays] within the Wood; and the Vessels, a new addition to the Lignous pieces betwixt which the insertions stand" [i.e. the wood's secondary wood]

It was not only root and stem anatomy which interested Grew; he also examined leaf structure, and arrived at a distinct

X
2
the Root with laudable and sufficient aliment". What we, by a luckless misnomer, call the "vascular system" of the seed, he names the "inner body". He describes the way it branches within the cotyledon, and uses the term "seminal root" for the brush of bundles, saying that the parenchyma is related to the "seminal root" as the earth is related to the plant root itself. This extended use of the term "root" is somewhat startling, but it is of course true that ^{part of} the function of the veins in the cotyledon is to draw supplies from it and pass them to the young plumule, as the roots in a pot of mould absorb water and salts, and pass them on to the growing regions.

167² p 18
When Grew ~~leaves the seedling and turns~~ ^{from the seedling} to the construction of the mature plant, we find that he has a perfectly clear idea of the nature of buds, and the process of their development into sheets; "the germen", as he says "being prolonged, and so displaying its several parts, as when a Prospective of Tuberosity is drawn out, thus becomes a Branch". He notices with interest the precocious development of leaves in the bud. The "Buds of all Trees", he writes, "consist of a great number of Leaves, all perfectly formed to the Centre; where, notwithstanding, they are sometimes, not half so big as a Cheese-Mite. So that all the Leaves which stand upon a Branch ... of one whole Years Growth, were actually existent in the Bud". How pleased he would have been with the twentieth-century discovery that in the horse-chestnut winter-bud, not only are all the leaves of next season formed, but also the two first bud scales of the ^{successively produced} year after. Grew observed also how long before their appearance the development of flowers ^{may} occur. For instance he noticed and figured next

1682 p 157
IV. 22
Mons. E. (1527)
(11) 88
b
year's flower in a tulip bulb in September, with the perianth, stamens and gynaecium already in being. Such ^{facts} observations suggested to him that, since flowers are ^{already} in existence in the winter, they might be forced to expand in the cold season, "by keeping the Plants warm, and thereby enticing the young lurking flowers to come abroad".

1684
96-174