



THE

LINNEAN

Newsletter and Proceedings of
THE LINNEAN SOCIETY OF LONDON
Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1J 0BF



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THE LINNEAN SOCIETY OF LONDON

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THE LINNEAN

*Newsletter and Proceedings
of the Linnean Society of London*

Edited by B. G. Gardiner

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Editorial

Our Picture Quiz for July 2003 featured Joseph Paxton who was responsible for the erection of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. In this issue is an article concerning the conservation/preservation of both Paxton's railway tunnel and the Dulwich Woods (the Great North Wood) through which it ran. The person to whom we are indebted for saving Dulwich Woods and Paxton's railway tunnel (in which bats now roost) from the developers was our President Gordon MacGregor Reid who successfully had the whole area declared a Site of Special Scientific Interest. At that time Gordon was employed by the Horniman Museum where he developed, on the main staircase, a futuristic waterfall which descended in a series of pools from fresh to brackish to salt water, culminating in a saltwater aquarium. It is possible that he took his inspiration for this aquarium from Paxton who had designed and built an aquarium, the foundations of which still exist close to the Crystal Palace and are marked by an impressive notice. Apparently Paxton had used the London Zoo aquarium and that down at Brighton as models from which he developed, using plate glass and cast iron, what was to become the World's first large marine aquarium.



An interested visitor to the Crystal Palace and the aquarium was the artist Camille Pissarro whose nearby studio is marked by a blue plaque. Pissarro painted many of the scenes around Crystal Palace including the train's departure from Lordship Lane station en route to the Crystal Palace via Dulwich Woods (Reference: REED, N. 1987. *Camille Pissarro at the Crystal Palace*. London Reference Books, London).

A major contribution to this issue is a remarkable story by Robert Peck of how a number of Audubon's famous bird paintings came to be cut up and used for various purposes, both scientific and decorative. If only the owners had known what those original prints were to be worth in the future they would surely not have been so cavalier in their treatment of them. We are grateful to Professor Peck for sending us this article, including the stunning pictures which illustrate it.

A short article by Jeremy Franks, on Braad, is the first in a series of three. The next two instalments will appear in the next two issues of *The Linnean*.

Some readers may notice minor adjustments to the layout of *The Linnean*, particularly in the library donations and correspondence sections. These are an attempt to fit more content on each page and thus economise on the number of pages in each issue, without making major changes.

BRIAN GARDINER

Society News

The Society's Premises. Although we reached broad agreement with the landlord in March it is proving harder than anticipated to translate this into a lease acceptable to all sides so the negotiations continue – we are now on our third draft of the lease. We hope that we shall overcome the difficulties but I stress again that finding the extra money we shall have to pay after 2006 will be a big challenge, and fundraising will be a major pre-occupation for us over the next few years.

Meanwhile we are beginning our refurbishment programme, starting with the replacement of the air-conditioning system for the Linnean store, for which we have just awarded a contract. Soon after we hope to start work to improve the flat which we are converting for other purposes. This will have some impact on our ability to host events over the coming eighteen months, though less than the external refurbishment of Burlington House. That will be a big project, funded by the Government – if you arrive here in a few months' time you may well find the whole building scaffolded, and echoing to the sound of hammers and drills.

Meetings. We continue to be fortunate in our speakers. John Pearn from Australia not only gave a most interesting presentation in September about Australian Ethno-botany, but also honoured the Society by presenting a medal struck to commemorate the centenary of the Australian forces medical services. We had a busy October, starting with an illuminating presentation on recent developments in our understanding of animal body plans by Professor Peter Holland.

An occasion of real significance to many Fellows was the talk on the life of Irene Manton, our first and only female President: Barry Leadbeater brought vividly to life an important personality in the Society's history. Barry has written a biography of Irene Manton which we are pleased to publish as Special Issue No. 5 of *The Linnean*.

Hot on the heels of this was our first collaboration with the our near neighbours, the Royal Institution, on 3rd November, when Professor Steve Jones gave a masterly presentation

Fellowship Dues and new Journal charges for 2005

It was agreed at the Anniversary Meeting in May 2004 that the Annual Membership fee for a Fellow in 2005 should be set at £45.00. This is the first rise for three years. The fee for Associates was set at £26 and Students at £10.

The cost of the Society's paper and electronic Journals has also been held for three years, as was promised when the Society moved over to our new publishers. The special arrangement whereby Fellows may receive the Electronic form of all three Journals for £15 will be extended for a further three years. Sadly however the price of the paper edition of the Journals, that some Fellows preferred to retain, will have to be increased to £55.00 per Journal. Again this price will be held for three years.

GREN LUCAS,
Treasurer, September 2004.

Examples of new costs for 2005

Standard Fellowship Fee (Includes the Linnaean)	£45.00
Plus Electronic Journal package	£45.00 + £15.00 = £60.00
Plus one Paper Journal	£45.00 + £55.00 = £100.00

on human genetics to an audience of nearly 400. Our own meeting room was almost full on 18th November when we were guided through to the pristine wilderness of Kamchatka by Aljos Forjon.

Forthcoming Meetings. Full details of the 2005 programme will be on the lecture card, which should be enclosed with this issue of *The Linnean*. As you will see there is a busy programme planned, starting on **25th January** when Dr Pat Morris will speak on Taxidermy: science, art and bad taste. **Please note the change of date** since publication of the last Linnean.

A major conference early in the year will be the International Symposium on the Biology of the Palm Family, which is intended particularly to honour John Dransfield, who received the Linnean Medal for Botany at the Anniversary Meeting this year.

Honorary Membership. At the beginning of November we were very sad to learn of the death of HE Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, who was not only the Ruler of Abu Dhabi, but also President of the United Arab Emirates. As everyone will know Sheikh Zayed was elected an Honorary Member of the Society in May. He thus joined members of the British, Swedish or Japanese royal families in a group of only eight Honorary Members. This honour reflected the Society's admiration for the work that Sheikh Zayed had done to protect and promote the wildlife, plants and environment of the United Arab Emirates – one of the many fine achievements for which he will be remembered.

We hope that we shall still be able to maintain a connection with the conservation work being done in Abu Dhabi.

ADRIAN THOMAS
Executive Secretary

Library

Some changes will be made to the web interface to make access to the Library catalogue easier. Please let us have feedback on whether it is working or not and what might make it easier for you and others to use. Many of our Fellows are still unaware that the catalogue can be searched via the web so, if you have web access, try looking at the Linnean Society Library pages and report back on any problems to *library@linnean.org* as that is the general address for any library. It only holds records for book materials and some portraits at the moment but serials will be added eventually.

The previous report focussed on changes made during the summer of 2004 but did not give any of the usual statistics and reports on Library use. During the period from the end of April to 30 September, the Library was open for 108 days during which 239 visitors (135 FLS) were recorded. This gives a visitor/day figure of 2.21 a day as compared to the previous figure of 3, but summer months always have lower numbers. The percentage of Fellows among those using the library was 56%, slightly higher than previously (53%). Loans during this period were 54 and the usage slip records tell us that 50 readers consulted 115 books, 38 journals and 26 manuscripts. These are records for items not borrowed but consulted in the Reading Room. Visits to access manuscripts numbered 17, including several visitors from Australia working on Thylacine records.

General Library use included displays for Society general meetings, especially the Lily Symposium in early July. Visiting groups came from the Grant Museum at University College London, two groups from Fortnum and Mason in connection with possible Tercentenary co-operation, a group from the Swedish Embassy, history of science students with Dr Janet Browne, a group of American students from the University of Maryland, a group of retired Librarians from CILIP, culminating in an evening tour by a group of the Patrons of the Royal Academy on 29th September. London Open House brought 410 people from 17 countries through the Rooms on Saturday 18 September.

The delay in resolving the Burlington House court case has resulted in a number of tours of the building by representatives from the Office of the Deputy Prime-Minister, DTZ and potential contractors for outstanding work. Plans for the building have been increasingly in demand.

On the staff side, in early November we lost Lynn Crothall to London Metropolitan University where she has taken up a new appointment in their Library. We were very sorry to lose her but she has promised to keep in touch. Cathy Broad's work on the Linnaeus Link project (see p.) is now being drawn to the attention of a wider range of institutions and libraries. Matthew Derrick continues as Library Assistant three days a week and has been invaluable in catching up with some of the accumulated donations and bequests, as well as in preparing journals for binding. Although Janet Ashdown is now working full time on herbarium conservation, she is still managing to undertake some emergency library repair and conservation work including simple light card fold-over "binders" for many of the smaller paper-bound items that easily get damaged.

Users of the on-line catalogue will now find an increasing number of entries for our portraits holdings. These have been added thanks to Prof. Arthur Bells' weekly volunteer efforts. Val Vivekananda has now returned from her family commitments to use her sorting

and filing skills to our benefit and Iris Hughes is still an occasional visitor. Jeanne Pingree and Enid Slatter, have both been less evident than normal during recent months because of the need to cope with health, family or redecoration problems.

Library Donations

Apart from the as yet unlisted additional material sifted from book sale offerings, and the list of donations which follows, we have recently also added two special collections to the Society. Mrs Topsy Grice has passed on to us three boxes of material from her late husband Bill Grice, most of which will add substantially to the Inch tea Library. He spent some time at the Tocklai Experimental Station in India and also worked on tea estates in Sri Lanka and Malawi. His copies of annual reports, conferences, advisory bulletins, reports and memoranda, together with some books and video material, will substantially update our holdings on tea.

One of the unexpected outcomes of London Open House this year was contact with Christopher Browning, the grandson of the late Dr J.C. Willis, FRS, FLS. As a result the Society has been given several boxes of family papers, together with annotated copies of Willis' publications. These are being sorted and listed and we are in touch with the Archivist at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, which also holds Willis papers. As one of those botanists who relied on Willis' *Dictionary of the flowering plants* as a primary source of information I hope that the availability of this material may encourage a historian of science to make his life and work more widely known.

The list below is for the period from mid August to the end of October, with a few that missed being included for one reason or another. Thank you all for your generosity, it really does help to keep the Library of service to everyone. The style in which the list is presented has been changed to save space, with the names of donors given in bold.

Dr J. Barnes: Barnes, Joanna, Anderson, Linda A. & Phillipson, J. David *Herbal medicine, a guide for healthcare professionals*. 530 pp., London, Pharmaceutical Press, 2002 ISBN 0 85369 474.

Dr Christopher Browning: Burnet, Gilbert Thomas, *The floral keepsake*, London, George Willis, nd. unpagged, colour plates.

Hamilton, Edward, *Flora homœopathica* 2 vols., col. pl., London, H. Baillieur, 1853.

Natusch, Sheila & Swainson, Geoffrey M. ed. *William Swainson, the anatomy of a Nineteenth century naturalist*. 202 pp. illustr. Palmerston North NZ., privately, [1987] ISBN 0-473-00480-1.

Swainson, Geoffrey M. ed. *William Swainson, naturalist & artist, diaries 1808–1818*. 182 pp. illustr. some col., Palmerston North NZ., privately, 1989.

Swainson, Geoffrey M. ed. *William Swainson, naturalist & artist, family letters and diaries 1809–1855*. 182 pp. illustr., Palmerston North NZ., privately, 1992.

B.H. Harley FLS: Davies, Cynthia E. (and others) eds. & compilers, *Freshwater Fishes in Britain, their species and distribution*. 176 pp., illustr., maps. Colchester, Harley Books, 2004. ISBN 0-946589-76-3.

Harley, Basil, *Lovell Reeve (1814–1865) and his company*. Br. J. Ent. Nat. Hist. pp. 77–99, col. illustr., Royal Entomological Society, 2003 Presidential Address.

Dr R.M. Harley FLS: Harley, R.M. & Ana-Maria Giulietti, *Wild flowers of the Chapada Diamantina/ Flores Nativas da Chapada Diamantina, illustrated walks in the mountains of NE Brazil/ Trilhas botânicas ilustradas nas montanhas do Nordeste do Brasil*. (Bilingual English/ Brazilian Portuguese) 319 pp., col. illustr., maps, RiMa, São Carlos, 2004. ISBN 85-7656-001-1.

Dr S.M. Haslam FLS: Haslam, S.M., Borg, J. & Psaila, J.M., *River Kbir, the hidden wonder*. 142 pp. illustr., some col.. Zabbas, Veritas Press, 2004.

Prof. J.G. Hawkes: Hawkes, J.J., *Hunting the wild potato in the South American Andes, memories of the British Empire potato collecting expedition to South America 1938–39*. 224 pp. illustr., Boskoop, privately, [2004] ISBN 90-9018021-4.

Dr D.M. John: John, D.M., Whitton, B.A & Brook, A.J., *The freshwater algal flora of the British Isles, an identification guide to freshwater and terrestrial algae*. 702 pp., illustr., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, reprinted 2003. ISBN 0-521-77051-3.

John, David M., Lawson, George & Ameka, Gabriel K., *The marine macroalgae of the Tropical West Africa subregion*, 217 pp., illustr. some col., map, (Nova Hedwigia Beih. 125) Cramer, Stuttgart, 2003. ISBN 3-443-51047-7.

Prof. H.W. Lack: Lack, H. Walter, *Jardin de Malmaison, Empress Josephine's Garden*. 327 pp. col. illustr., plans, Munich, Prestel, 2004. ISBN 3-7913-3185-X.

Mrs C. Lamb: Lamb, Christian, *From the ends of the earth, passionate plant collectors remembered in a Cornish garden*. 25 pp., col.illustr., Honiton, Bene Factum publishing, 2004. ISBN 1-903071-08-9.

David T. Moore: Moore, D.T., *The botanist William Curtis (1746–1799) and St Mary's Battersea*. 23 pp., col. illustr., privately, 2004.

Dr P.A. Morris FLS: Morris, P.A., *Edward Gerrard & Sons, a taxidermy memoir*. 128 pp. illustr., Ascot, MPM, 2004. ISBN 0-9545596-1-4.

Michael Pearson FLS: Pearson, Michael, *Richard Spruce, Naturalist and explorer*. 100 pp. illustr., map, Settle, Hudson History, 2004 ISBN 1-903783-28-3.

Research Inst. of Forests & Rangelands, Tehran, Flora of Iran: Vols. 40,41,42,43 & 44. *Iranian Journal of Botany* Vol. 10(1).

G.B. Ritchie: Fisher, R.A. & Bennett, J.H. (ed.) *The genetical theory of natural selection, a complete variorum edition*, 818 pp., illust., Oxford, OUP, 1999. ISBN 0-19-85440-3.

Martin Martin, *A voyage to St. Kilda ...* 4th edn., corrected. 79 pp., illust., map, London, Dan. Browne & Lockyer Davis, 1753.

Dr F. Schram: Scholtz, Gerhard Ed., *Evolutionary developmental biology of Crustacea*. (Crustacean Issues No. 15) 285 pp., illustr. some col., Lisse, Balkema, 2004. ISBN 90-5809-637-8.

Dr R. Slotten: Slotten, Ross A., *The heretic in Darwin's court, the life of Alfred Russel Wallace*. 602 pp., illustr., New York, Columbia University press, 2004. ISBN 0-231-13010-4.

GINA DOUGLAS

Librarian and Archivist

The Linnaeus Link Project

I am currently on a two-year secondment to the Natural History Museum to catalogue the Linnaean material in the NHM libraries, for a special web-based cataloguing project.

The Linnaeus Link Project is an international collaboration aimed at producing an online union catalogue of Linnaean material. The Project is supported by a consortium of museums, archives, libraries and other institutions in Europe and the United States.

A union catalogue is one that tells you which library has a copy of a particular book. The Linnaeus Link catalogue will be based on a bibliography of Linnaean material held by the NHM, which was compiled in the 1930s by Basil Soulsby, a former NHM Librarian. Although the Linnean Society has Linnaeus' original material, the NHM collection will form the core of the union catalogue, because the Museum has a lot more post-Linnaeus material.

Soulsby's work is a valuable starting point for researchers, but the catalogue records he produced were to British Museum standards of the 1930s, which are not of sufficient detail to meet current international rare book cataloguing standards. Furthermore, Soulsby's records are often incomplete, sometimes inconsistent, and are occasionally duplicated, as works were classified under each heading to which they were relevant.

The core catalogue will correspond approximately to the works listed by Soulsby. It is estimated that this initial database will contain around 4,000 records. Some records already exist and need only the addition of information specific to that particular copy of the work. Some items have been catalogued, but very briefly – often only author, title and publication details – and need more extensive amplification. Many works have been catalogued only on cards, which have not been converted into electronic format. These need to be catalogued from scratch.

Once this core catalogue is established, libraries around the world will be able to add their holdings information to the records, providing researchers with a vast warehouse of resources on Linnaeus and his times. A new staff member will be recruited to develop the system for the technical architecture of the catalogue. This post, like mine, will be funded by the Society and located at the NHM.

My job is to tease out of a book all of the information that makes that particular copy of the work individual and marks it out from any other copy in any other library. Such copy-specific information can relate to provenance, acquisition, binding, annotations or any of the different insertions in a volume. The term 'insertions' is used to describe those things that were not intrinsic to the book when it was published, but have been added later.



An unidentified bookplate

Some detective work is required in identifying unnamed bookplates and trying to decipher illegible handwriting. So far, I have found two unidentified bookplates. I have asked for help from the Bookplate Society but it has not been able to identify either bookplate. I have also found something that is possibly

a stamp of ownership, in the form of a monogram, which also remains unidentified.

Handwriting is an altogether different matter. Often all it requires is a plea for help from my NHM colleagues, but if no one can decipher the handwriting, it is a matter of making an educated guess at what the difficult words might be. Signatures can be even more problematic, but unfortunately, there is no time to check reference books in an effort to match the handwriting.

On the plus side, cataloguing these works can mean the discovery of some interesting annotations, exquisite drawings, beautiful bindings, or insertions of many and varied kinds, including dried plants (which thrills the Botany Department, especially if there are labels associated with the plant material). I have found dried plant material in four books, including, very appropriately, a nice little *Linnaea borealis*, complete with handwritten label, signed and dated 1837.



Dried *Linnaea borealis*, with label

The job can also produce some puzzling questions that are crying out for further research. Why, for instance, is there a pencilled note on the back endpaper of Ebenezer Sibly's *An Universal System of Natural History* (1794) that reads "Copper filing for the Cure for the Bite of a Mad Dog. Times 20 July 1843"? Would that there were time to do a little more delving!

The NHM has several libraries, so when I have finished cataloguing the books in the General Library (the largest one), I will then have to make the rounds of the smaller libraries to note the copy-specific information on the Linnaean duplicates held in these smaller libraries, and in some departmental libraries as well.

Part of my remit is to publicise the Project, to which end I have given presentations at two recent librarianship conferences, and a web version of the presentation is on the Linnaeus Link Project website (<http://www.nhm.ac.uk/library/linn/>). I have also written an article

have been published in the NHM's staff and members' magazine, the SHNH Newsletter and the Swedish Linnean Society's Yearbook. Another article will appear in Notes and Records of the Royal Society later this year. I have given short talks to groups of library students who visit the NHM Library during their course of study, and conducted tours of the Museum's Rare Books Room.

CATHY BROAD
Linnaeus Link Project Officer

Picture Quiz

Johann Christian Fabricius
(17th January 1745 to 3rd March 1808)

Johann Christian Fabricius (also known as J.C. Fabricius or in the Latinised form of I.C. Fabricius) a Danish entomologist born in Tønder (Schleswig), Denmark, is generally regarded by historians of entomology as the founder of the science of entomology. He was also a professor of Natural History and Economics, first at the University of Copenhagen and later at the University of Kiel (now in Germany, but before 1848 a part of the Danish Kingdom). He initially studied under Linnaeus in Uppsala during 1762-1764 when, as a 17 year-old student, he accompanied him on one of his botanical forays, pointing out that those who had found the rarer plants sat with the Master at his table, while the rest ate standing up!

Later he attended Linnaeus' lectures, remarking that during the winter "he came in his red dressing gown and green fur cap, his pipe in his hand". Fabricius also noted that his ambition was boundless and his motto, *Famen extendre factis** was the true mirror of his soul.

Later, recalling Linnaeus' lectures on natural classification Fabricius wrote "his greatest asset was the co-ordinated arrangement which his thoughts took. Everything which he said and did was orderly and systematic; I can hardly believe that Europe will produce a more systematical genius."

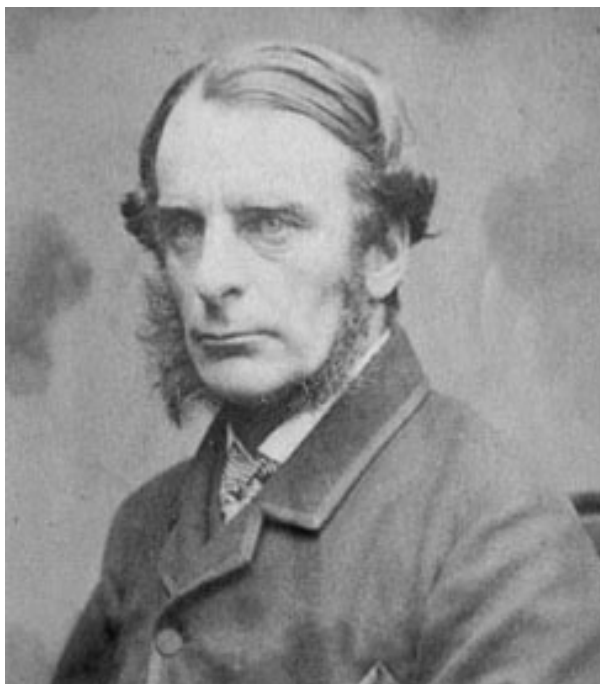


Between 1775 and 1808 Fabricius described and published some 10,000 insects, belonging to every order then known, of what he thought were new to science. His name is (and was) familiar to almost all serious entomologists. He also spoke and wrote in four languages: Danish, German, Latin and English. He visited and became friends with almost all the serious naturalists of his day and studied almost all the important collections.

His portrait was published for the first time in 1805 and is from the book, and is an original print of the copperplate: *Lahde's Portraeter med Biographier af Danske, Norske og Holsteener. Hæfte, 4:1-31 sider, med stik. 1805, Copenhagen.*

*[The task of the brave is] to spread his fame by deeds. (From Virgil)

The portrait was based on a drawing done by Lahde in Kiel around 1802 who visited Fabricius for including it in his book on prominent Danes, Norwegians and Holsteiners. The drawing was made into a copper plate and printed along with Fabricius' famous autobiography, which originally came out in 1805. Although we have not been able to find out exactly how many copies were printed, the late S.L. Tuxen of the Zoological Museum, Copenhagen told us that there would have been less than twenty-five or so. The portrait plates from this book were taken out and sold my booksellers for a price far more than the book itself could have been sold.



Clue: Wrote on botanical gardens and bio-geology.

The portrait was given to Harish by the late S.L. Tuxen in 1979, who had hoped that the portrait might eventually inspire him to find out more about Tuxen's insects, their collectors and the Latinised exotic localities, like "in India Orientali.... Nova Hollandia" etc. and thus bring some order into the early history of taxonomy.

There are only two known portraits of Fabricius, one from 1797 in the 18th century enlightenment style, where he was wearing a wig. However, the romantic movement introduced a new style, and according to the contemporary accounts of his students, this one from 1805 resembles him more than the other one. The 18th century portrait was reproduced in Zimsen (1964) and both portraits were reproduced in Tuxen (1966).

HARISH GAONKAR and BRIAN GARDINER

TUXEN, S.L. 1966. Linnes danske arvtager. J.C. Fabricius. En randnote til det XVII arhundreds zoologiske historie, *Naturens Verden*, 1966: 337–346.

ZIMSEN, E. 1964. The type material of I.C. Fabricius. Copenhagen.

Correspondence

From: P. GEOFFREY MOORE, FLS

20th October 2004

I am sure that your article on Sir William Abbott Herdman (*The Linnean*, 20) will provoke many responses from Liverpoolians, particularly ex-Port Erin-ites, but I thought you might still be interested in this little aside. I had known of Herdman in several guises (ascidian specialist, fisheries scientist, educator), not least during my own researches on his fellow Liverpool Marine Biological Committee member, Alfred Osten Walker (referred to by John Marsden; thanks for the plug, John). Herdman's only son, George Andrew (1895-1916), was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant into the 15th King's Liverpool Regiment, 'the pals', on

12 January 1915. He was tragically killed, aged not yet 21 years old, along with nearly 20,000 others in the horrendous slaughter that was the opening day of the Battle of the Somme (1st July 1916; total casualties that day 57,470). Herdman wrote (and privately published) a poignant account of his son's brief flowering (Herdman, 1917) and, with his wife, endowed the George Herdman Chair of Geology in the University of Liverpool in his son's memory (recall that his second wife was a shipping heiress). Some years ago, I managed to acquire a presentation copy of that book (not many were produced methinks) inscribed by Herdman to "Dr J. Sampson - with thanks for kind advice from W. A. Herdman". Tucked inside it was a hand-written note on headed paper, which reads:

Nov. 22. 1917

Croxteth Lodge, Ullet Road, Liverpool

My dear Sampson,

Here is a copy of the little book - which I hope you may care to have in memory of George.

I am very grateful for all the kind advice you gave & I hope you will be satisfied with the appearance.

Now Michael is the person of all others whom George (we may be certain) would have wished a copy to go to - but we don't want to trouble him with one now when he has more important matters to attend to.

What shall we do? Shall I send you another copy, inscribed to him, for you to keep until he comes home? That is what I am inclined to do, but thought I had better ask you first.

Yours ever, W.A.Herdman

John Sampson was the Librarian at the University of Liverpool. Michael Sampson had been George's best boyhood friend, with whom, in 1905, he had worked out a new language; 'Hostian', a language with 'more logically perfect grammar' than any other (nouns having eight declensions in Hostian). I assume that Michael too was, at the time of Herdman's writing, engaged in military action. In 1915, John Sampson had produced a satirical skit (with the polymath Edward Heron-Allen) on W. A. Herdman, a copy of which has yet to come my way. Does anyone out there have one?

Finally, many will know that Tony Rice penned an 'affectionate poke' at Herdman in the centenary booklet of the Port Erin Marine Laboratory which included the legend about the circumstance of the sudden death (from a heart attack) of this sea-squirt aficionado aged only 66 years old. The story involved a 'woman', a 'small hotel' and 'London' (Rice, 1992) but on this I couldn't possibly comment further.

HERDMAN, W.A., 1917. *George Andrew Herdman (1895-1916): the record of a short but strenuous life*. Printed for private circulation, Liverpool, 147pp.

HERON-ALLEN, E., 1915. *The life and times of William Abbott Herdman.. compiled from highly original sources by E. H-A. [i.e. Edward Heron-Allen] and J.S. [i.e. John Sampson] [a satire skit, purporting to be the prospectus of a biography]*. London: Pettitt, Cox & Bowers.

RICE, T. [A. L.], 1992. Sir William Herdman: an affectionate poke at a Port Erin sacred cow. In, *Dredging up the past*, edited by Andy Brand and Steve Hawkins, *Port Erin Marine Laboratory Centenary Booklet*, pp. 22-24.

From: RON CLEEVELY

South Molton, Devon. 19 October 2004

As usual you have succeeded in producing an issue of *The Linnean* that is stimulating and full of interest, especially to someone who now is rather out of touch with the metropolis and the 'cutting-edge' in all the natural sciences.

However, as you know, one of my own involvements is with those individuals active in the past, especially the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Consequently, the articles on the founders of the R.H.S., Darwin's fossils and Seymer's butterfly paintings have prompted me to respond in a small way.

Firstly, although he did not participate in the meeting on the 7th March 1804, John Hawkins is also acknowledged to have been one of the founders of that Society, through his joining the others for the second meeting a week later. The Minutes of that meeting record that he was considered one of the Founders and on 30th May he was elected to the first Council of the Society. This is recorded in the entry of the New DNB, in Sir Arthur Russell's brief paper on Hawkins in the *Jl of the R. Inst. Cornwall*, 1954;, which referred to an article in the *Jl. of the R.H.S.*, 79:461 published that year; and subsequently quoted by Francis Steers in the Preface (1959:p. xii) to his '*I am, my Dear Sir*' a selection of letters from the Hawkins archive, and the more recent histories of the R.H.S.

Hawkins had met John Wedgwood on his journey home from studying geology and mining in Germany, when the latter was on a fashionable tour of the continent. For a few years Wedgwood became very interested in mineralogy, but eventually turned to horticulture. Hawkins too, after his expedition to the Levant and involvement with Sibthorp, the subsequent responsibility for publishing *The Flora Graeca* [see Lack. 1999], then settling in Sussex in the early 1800s, relinquished mineralogy for botany and arboriculture, – although still maintaining a link with geology through local stratigraphical research and Cornish mining. As yet, my own work with the Hawkins Archive has not come across anything directly related to the Horticultural Society.

Regarding Darwin's South American fossils – you will know of the existence of many of the invertebrate specimens in the collections of the Natural History Museum, most of them obtained when the foreign collections of the Museum of Practical Geology were transferred in 1882. Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify all the material originally figured by Forbes and G.B. Sowerby. Perhaps these are not as significant as the vertebrate specimens that you describe, but they did assist his geological observations and interpretation of age and habitat. I should also mention that thanks to Lord & Lady Lyell, Darwin's 'Beagle' shell collection given to Charles Lyell, was donated to the B.M.(N.H.) in 1976 and has since been catalogued.

Having used the Seymer letters in the Pulteney Correspondence a few years ago when seeking information on 18th-century conchology, it was intriguing to see their value in the investigation by Dick Vane-Wright & his co-author. But even more so to see the evidence of the artistic skill of father and son which revealed the nature of the 'drawing and colouring' mentioned occasionally in these letters. Perhaps a volume of shell paintings has survived somewhere for Seymer questioned Pulteney as to the features and colour of some of his specimens and borrowed books from various sources to establish this and determine their identity.

From: JOHN MARSDEN FLS

Tunbridge Wells, 4th September 2004.

Further to the piece on Linnaeus' discovery of pearl culture in the last issue of *The Linnean*, I recently obtained a jeweller's opinion of a small collection of 'pearls' I purchased in an old-fashioned matchbox some years ago. Some of this, and the matchbox, are illustrated below.

The jeweller informed me that the collection consists of hollow glass spheres (some of them now broken) covered in the scales of bleak (*Alburnus alburnus*), a silvery fish common in freshwater in the UK. An encyclopaedia published in 1913* describes an alternative process for producing artificial, or false, pearls from fish scales as follows:

"..... the scale of freshwater fish is digested in ammonia and injected into thin glass balls, till the film forms on the inner surface; wax or gum is then injected to give a solid interior, while the glass is removed by hydrofluoric acid."



Both processes must have been pretty labour-intensive and the use of hydrofluoric acid suggests the latter method was hazardous as well. Can readers supply any additional information – for example, where was this carried on? Were there any notorious cases of people being "had"?

**The Everyman Encyclopaedia*, edited by Andrew Boyle, London: J.M. Dent.

Joseph Paxton and the Crystal Palace

Originally built as the Pavilion of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park where it attracted over 6 million visitors between May and October 1851, the it was re-erected by Paxton on Sydenham Hill, Penge Place, on a great sloping park, where it became the Crystal Palace. Paxton's intention was to create a Winter Park and gardens displaying rare plants and trees and to include copies of the world's finest statuary. The new Palace was intended to open May 1st 1854. However, in the event this was delayed for a month while the male statues had their private parts removed and replaced with fig leaves to satisfy the Victorian sensibilities. The Crystal Palace rapidly became what we today would consider to be a theme park, where the working class for a shilling could obtain not only a day's entertainment but also erudition and enlightenment with the Park and the Palace together forming a virtual illustrated encyclopaedia. Access to the Crystal Palace was afforded by the construction of a new railway with stations at Lordship Lane, Dulwich etc., and which terminated at the Low Level Station. A 720ft long glass covered colonnade to the Palace sheltered passengers in bad weather.

Ten years later in 1865, a new station, the High Level with an alternative line was built.



A postcard of the Crystal Palace. The message and postmark are dated 1903 and it was sent from Brixton Hill, London SW to Baroness C de Smissen in Nice, France for one penny.

The new terminus built by Italian bricklayers in Gothic style to Charles Barry's design soon rivalled the old Low Level line. However, there was never enough business for them both and the result was that both lines ran at a loss.

Close to the terminus and at either end of the Crystal Palace stood two mighty water



The remains of Paxton's aquarium as it is today.

towers of square glass designed by Paxton to hold the water to power the fountains in the grounds, but, when they were first filled, there were ominous gratings and groanings, so much so that Paxton brought in Brunel, on whose advice the water towers were demolished and rebuilt using brick and concrete. When finally completed, Paxton's fantastic waterworks even out did those at Versailles.

The new High Level line ran from Nunhead to the Parade and went through Sydenham Hill Wood and the Dulwich Wood via two tunnels. Coincidentally the original route of Paxton's railway was also through the ancient Great North Wood (Sydenham Hill Wood and Dulwich Wood) where it entered a single tunnel and eventually terminated at the Low Level Station.

When Gordon MacGregor Reid worked at the Horniman Museum in the 1980's the whole of these ancient woodlands came under attack from housing developers against whom Gordon led a campaign. To this end he organised the Sydenham Hill Wood Committee of the London Wildlife Trust. So successful were they that they succeeded in getting the entire woodland designated as a nature reserve and a site of special scientific interest. The result was that not only were Paxton's railway tunnel and the surrounding woodland saved for posterity but also the roosting place for the numerous bats.

Camille Pissarro, an early impressionist painter, has left us visual images of Paxton's railway. In particular, Lordships Lane Station, the painting of which hangs in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, while his local views of Fox Hill and Upper Norwood can be viewed in the National Gallery.

BRIAN GARDINER AND MATILDA PYE



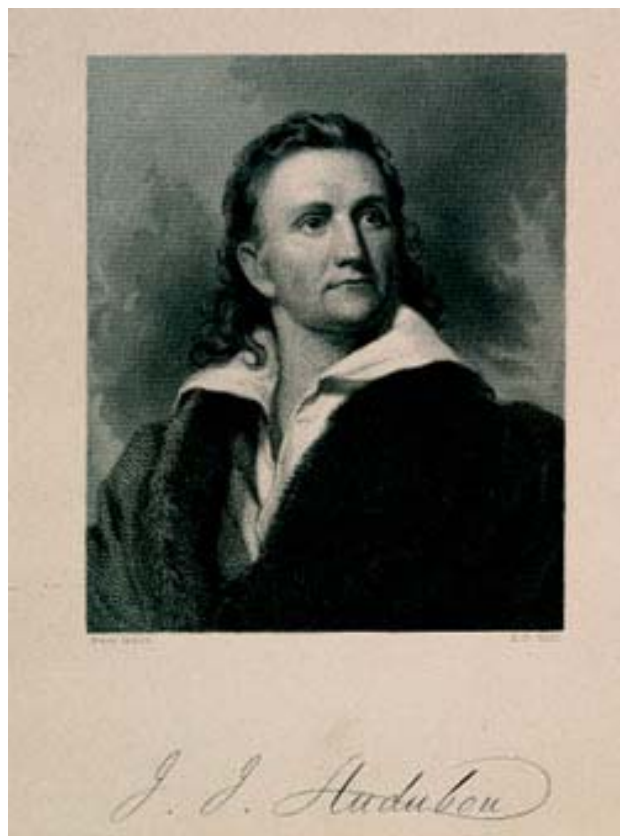
The railway tunnel which is now a bat roost

Cutting up Audubon for Science and Art

by

Robert McCracken Peck

In 1826, John James Audubon, the self-styled “American Woodsman,” left his adopted homeland and travelled to Great Britain with the intention of publishing a book on the birds of America. For the next twenty years, he devoted his attention to completing the paintings for, and overseeing the engraving and hand-colouring of, the 435 plates that would come to be known as the “double elephant folio of *The Birds of America*. He also spent time preparing the text for his *Ornithological Biography* (published separately), and seeking subscribers to support his costly enterprise.¹ Through the strength of his personality and the astonishing quality of his work, Audubon successfully attracted nearly 200 subscribers from Britain, Europe and North America, despite (or in some cases because of) the hefty thousand-dollar price-tag. To Audubon’s frustration, some subscriptions lapsed or were canceled, even as he was struggling to secure more. Given this attrition, it is unlikely that there were ever more than 175 complete sets of *The Birds of America* sold. Of these, fifty or more have since been lost to fire, flood, war-time bombing, or the print-dealer’s knife.²



John James Audubon (1785–1851), by Charles Wands after John Syme. Photograph courtesy of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Stewart Library [provided in digital form]

Given the enormous prices realized by the sale of Audubon's opus in recent years (\$8.3 million for a single copy in London in 1999), there is understandable interest in the status of the remaining copies and in accounting for the disappearance of the rest. Of the latter, four have particularly interesting histories, for unlike most of the other "lost" copies, these were intentionally cut up by their owners and survive today, at least in fragments, in recognizable, if dramatically altered, form; three as parts of contemporary (19th century) scientific reference works, and one as wallpaper in the Chinese drawing room of an English country estate.

Because of their prominence in scientific and/or social circles at the time, John Gould (1804-1881), Thomas Campbell Eyton (1809-1880), Edward Smith Stanley (later the 13th Earl of Derby) (1799-1869) and the Marchioness of Hertford (1759 -1834) were figures whose names Audubon was particularly pleased to count among owners of his work.³ Little did he know that the magnificent 39 1/2 x 26 1/2 inch plates he sold them would soon be snipped apart and the birds they contained removed from their carefully constructed settings to serve the disparate purposes of their various owners.

In 1835, the Scottish naturalist Sir William Jardine (1800-1874) wrote to his friend, and fellow Linnean Society member John Gould to report that, because "wading through the numerous orn[ithological] works, and Transactions in search of a single bird will often take some days," he had decided to create "something for my own use that would save time and labour," and enable him to have at his fingertips "the greater part of what is known on almost any species" of bird.⁴ It is not known what became of Jardine's homemade reference book, or whether it contained any illustrations from Audubon's *The Birds of America*, but whatever its fate, the idea appears to have inspired John Gould to create a similar reference tool of his own.

Gould was then "curator and preserver" (i.e. taxidermist) for the museum of the Zoological Society of London and an independent publisher of fine books on ornithology. He shared Jardine's passion for knowing all that he could about birds.⁵ At a time when he and other ornithologists were publishing monographs on birds of one family (toucans, parrots, and so forth) or from a particular geographical location (such as *The Birds of Australia*, *The Birds of Europe*, and *The Birds of America*), Gould recognized the value of having a single comprehensive reference book in which he could have visual records of birds of all kinds and from every part of the world.

John Gould's Clippings

His solution, like Jardine's, was to buy as many ornithological publications as he could afford and to cut from their pages the diagnostic images that would help him to differentiate between species. Gould believed that heads were the most important features for identifying birds. He used them as the primary illustrations in his book *A Synopsis of the Birds of Australia and the Adjacent Islands* (1837-1838) before returning to the more aesthetically appealing full-bodied bird plates with landscape or floral settings that characterize his most popular books.⁶ And so, as he assembled his clip-book of birds of the world, it was the heads on which he focused his attention.

Gould may have started by cutting up unsold or imperfect lithographs of his own making, but as his scope of interest grew, as his available resources expanded, and as more images of birds became available through the burgeoning publication of ornithological books in the

1830's, he added the work of others to his collection. Among these were the exquisitely printed and hand-colored aquatints from Audubon's *The Birds of America*, which were issued in 80 parts of five each between 1827 and 1838 and which Gould was able to obtain in exchange for copies of his own books.⁷

While Gould admired the artistry of Audubon's illustrations, he valued their scientific content even more. The birds illustrated in *The Birds of America* represented species he wished to include in his ever-growing reference collection, and so from the unbound plates of Audubon's "double elephant folio" Gould carefully cut birds' heads (and in some cases other body parts) from their surroundings and mounted them onto separate sheets of paper. If space permitted, he applied males and females of the same species to the same sheet. Sometimes juveniles were included. With the larger birds, he restricted each sheet to a single bird.

With every bird cut from *The Birds of America*, an abbreviated "Aud" was noted in the lower left corner of the supporting sheet. Other artists were similarly credited. Beneath each bird, Gould, or his secretary, Edwin Charles Prince (ca. 1810-1874), also carefully wrote a list of synonymous names that had been applied to the species by other authors. Sometimes the titles of other books and precise page or plate numbers were recorded so that Gould could quickly see where else the species had been described or illustrated.

Lord Derby's "Book-Boxes"

In August, 1841 Gould wrote to the 13th Earl of Derby, a great patron of science, a long-time member of the Linnean Society (1807-1851) and former President of the Zoological Society, to describe his unusual collection and to explain that he no longer needed it.

"If I mistake not," he wrote,

"your Lordship is aware that I have for some years past been collecting information and drawings from various sources - published works, etc. - for a general history of Birds as well as to assist me in my duties as ornithologist to the Zool. Society. As I am no longer officially attached to that institution and my late very very heavy loss [the death of his wife Elizabeth (1804-1841)] has entirely changed my views and intentions respecting such a work[,] I have determined upon disposing the vast material I had collected and to beg permission to give your Lordship the first offer of them, as one truly devoted to this branch of natural science and in whose hands I am most desirous of seeing them placed."⁸



Belted Kingfisher, paper collage made by John Gould after 1830 from Plate 77 in Audubon's *The Birds of America*, London 1827-1838, © Copyright The Right Hon. The Earl of Derby.

By then, the collection consisted of more than 1200 unbound sheets of paper measuring 250 x 365mm (9 7/8 by 14 3/8 inches). They were kept in what Gould described as “Book-boxes” with roughly 100 sheets per box. To each sheet Gould had affixed one or more hand-coloured engravings and lithographs of birds cut from some of the most important (and today the most valuable) scientific publications of the nineteenth century.

In his letter to Lord Derby, Gould explained that the sheets, arranged in taxonomic order, “commence with the *Raptores* and terminate with the *Natatores*; and form the most complete illustration of the modern genera extant.” The clipped prints included, among others, the works of George Louis le Clere Buffon, Sir William Jardine, Edward Lear, Rene Primevere Lesson, Edward Ruppell, and Prideaux John Selby, as well as some from two of John Gould’s own books: *The Birds of Europe* (1832-1837) and *A Synopsis of the Birds of Australia* (1837-1838).



American Oystercatcher, paper collage made by John Gould after 1834 from Plate 223 in Audubon’s *The Birds of America*, London 1827–1838. © Copyright The Right Hon. The Earl of Derby.

Given today’s market value for any one of the clipped plates in Gould’s assemblage, it is stunning to think that he sold the entire thirteen-box set to Lord Derby for twelve pounds per box. “I never, for a moment, expect to realize a tithe of the value of the books employed,” wrote Gould at the time of his offer, “as however valuable the collection may be, the expense of its formation has been enormous.” Lord Derby not only agreed to buy the book-boxes as they had been assembled, but appears also to have taken up Gould’s offer to “continue them with other works not at present contained therein.”

In light of this continuing arrangement, and Gould’s frequent visits to Lord Derby’s estate in Lancashire, it is very likely that some of the clipped Audubon images contained in Gould’s book-boxes were extracted from Lord Derby’s own set of *The Birds of America* and added to the collection after Lord Derby acquired the latter from Gould in 1841. This might explain why, when Lord Derby’s original subscription copy of *The Birds of America* was

sold to an American print dealer in 1966, it was missing 35 of its original 435 plates.⁹ Unfortunately, the record of which plates were missing has been lost, or we might be able to match the list with the contents of the still-extant “book boxes” of Gould’s creation. As it is, the clipped images contained in this extraordinary collection represent the only traceable remains of either John Gould’s or Lord Derby’s copies of *The Birds of America*.

Thomas Eyton’s Clippings

At the same time John Gould was making his collection of ornithological cuttings in London and Liverpool, another British ornithologist was creating a similar amalgamated dictionary of his own in Shropshire. Thomas Campbell Eyton, a Linnean Society member since 1835, was a specialist in ducks with several highly acclaimed books of his own.¹⁰ He travelled in much the same circle as Gould and Jardine and could have been given the idea of creating a visual reference collection by either or both of them. In any case, he drew upon them and their associates (including Prideaux John Selby (1788-1867) and Edward Lear (1812-1888)) when gathering the prints he needed for a cutting collection of his own.

Unlike Gould, Eyton preferred to leave the plates he collected intact. He had dozens of large matching albums made in which he could safely keep the prints he acquired. Used as a sort of shelvable filing cabinet, his books were specifically designed to hold the full “imperial folio” sheets created by Gould, Lear, and other artists for their respective publications. Only Audubon’s plates were too large to fit the standard size of the albums. These he handled in one of several ways: either by cutting out the individual birds, or by cutting the birds with a small piece of background. Each cutout was then pasted to a blank sheet. The birds were arranged in taxonomic order before being inserted in his albums. When Audubon’s birds were too big for this selective cropping (which was often the case, as Audubon had painted and published them all life-size), Eyton would trim and then fold the entire plate to make it fit within the prescribed dimensions of his collection.

To Eyton, like Gould, Audubon’s masterpieces were useful pieces of information to be employed as scientific references rather than preserved as great works of art. Since Eyton was not a subscriber to Audubon’s double elephant folio, it is impossible to know where he acquired his prints. Perhaps he bought them directly from a subscriber who no longer wanted them, or purchased them, piecemeal, from print-dealers in London or elsewhere.

William Jardine recorded a day he spent with Eyton in London in 1842 during which Eyton purchased “prints and boxes by the hundred” as the two men explored print shops and “every place that appeared to contain anything out of the way... He purchased almost a cart load,” reported Jardine, “but I, whether having more sense or less of the ready, was content to look on and make notes.”¹¹ One wonders if some of the plates acquired by Eyton during his day with Jardine were plates from Audubon’s *The Birds of America*. In any case, whatever his source, dozens of Audubon’s images eventually entered Eyton’s collection in cut-down form.

The British art critic, artist, and writer John Ruskin (1819-1900), who showed equal interest in the aesthetic and analytical aspects of ornithology, purchased Eyton’s entire print collection in 1881, the year after the naturalist’s death. By this time it had grown to contain some 7000 images. What he thought of the cut and pasted Audubon illustrations the collection contained, we do not know.



Barn Owl by Robert Havell, Jr. after John James Audubon, Plate 171 in Audubon's *The Birds of America*, London 1827-1838. Photograph courtesy of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Stewart Library



Barn Owl, paper collage made by T. C. Eyton after 1833 from Plate 171 in Audubon's *The Birds of America*, London 1827-1838. Photograph courtesy of Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust, Ruskin Collection.

Audubon at Temple Newsam House

Of the 175 or so copies of *The Birds of America* printed by Robert Havell Jr. and sold by Audubon during the late 1820s and early 1830s, the one with the most extraordinary and unexpected afterlife is that which was acquired by the Marchioness of Hertford.¹² While the sets discussed previously were cut up in the interests of science, hers was clipped for purely aesthetic reasons.

Despite her marriage to Francis Seymour (1743-1822), the eldest son of the first Earl of Hertford, in 1776, Lady Hertford spent a great deal of time in the intimate company of the Prince Regent, later George IV (r. 1820-1830).¹³ So close was her association with the prince - and so influential was her role in the politics of the court - that she was maliciously dubbed the "Queen of the Regency"¹⁴ and was frequently lampooned by George Cruikshank (1792-1878) and other contemporary cartoonists.¹⁵ Before and after her association with the prince, Lady Hertford (nee Isabella Ann Shephard Ingram) lived at Temple Newsam House, her family's country estate near Leeds. The property, now owned and operated by the Leeds City Council, is an ancient and venerable one. It was first mentioned in the Domesday Book in 1086, and was owned at various times by the Knights Templars, Edward II, Edward III, Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth I, and James I. The model for "Templestowe" in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, it was purchased by Lady Hertford's ancestors in 1622.¹⁶ Some two centuries later, John James Audubon visited Temple Newsam and convinced its famous owner to become a subscriber to his great work. Following his visit in September 1827, Audubon gleefully wrote to his engraver and printer, Robert Havell, Jr. in London:

"In the course of yesterday I had the good fortune to procure the Patronage of the Marchioness of Hertford and also that of Mr. Benjn Gott Esqr of this place [Leeds]. I wish you, on the receipt of this [letter], to prepare two complete copies [of volume 1 of *The Birds of America*], and to spare no pains to render them as perfect as possible. The Marchioness of Hertford received me with great kindness, desired me to call upon her when in Town and has promised to recommend My Work to her large & valuable circle of acquaintances."¹⁷

It is not known whether Lady Hertford had a sincere interest in birds, or was just demonstrating her legendary hospitality and charm when she received Audubon and offered to help promote his work. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that she delivered on her promise. In fact, to Audubon's disappointment, she canceled her subscription shortly after receiving the first one hundred of his prints as unbound folios. This is not to say she did not admire Audubon's work, however, for she soon found a surprising way of incorporating parts of it into her daily life.

The story begins on September 28, 1806. Then, according to family tradition, during his first visit to Temple Newsam House, the Prince of Wales presented Lady Hertford's mother with several rolls of Chinese wallpaper as a token of his esteem for her daughter. These were very likely part of the large order of hand-painted wallpaper he had acquired four years earlier through the decorating firm of Crace and Son for use in the Royal Pavilion at Brighton.¹⁸ The royal gift remained unused until Lady Hertford herself employed it in a redecorating scheme sometime in the late 1820s, probably at about the same time as her purchase of Audubon's bird prints.¹⁹ As Christopher Gilbert has observed,

"Lady Hertford probably felt that the lofty, somewhat austere suite of reception rooms [at



Chinese Drawing Room at Temple Newsam House, in Leeds, showing eighteenth century hand-painted Chinese wallpaper to which illustrations of birds cut from John James Audubon's double elephant folio of *The Birds of America* were applied by Isabella, Marchioness of Hertford some time in the late 1820's. Photograph courtesy of Temple Newsam House (Leeds Museums and Art Galleries) and The Bridgeman Art Library.

Temple Newsam] created when her mother remodelled the south wing in the 1790's, lacked the gaiety and variety to which Court life in London had accustomed her for she converted one of them into a glamorous drawing room in the Chinese and Louis Quatorze styles favoured by the sovereign. ... Wall cabinets incorporating scenic panels of glossy Japanese lacquer were set up in sumptuous mirror-lined recesses and richly carved and gilt pilasters evidently acquired from a French chateau were employed for the door cases and in the construction of display cabinets."²⁰

Some of Lady Hertford's rococo embellishments which were removed from the room in the 1930s were restored in the 1980s. The Prince Regent's Chinese wallpaper, which she installed at the time of her remodeling, was removed and restored in the 1980s.²¹ It depicts a fanciful landscape seen over a low balustrade, with flowering trees, potted shrubs, lanterns, birdcages, birds and butterflies deftly integrated into the composition.

Despite the unusual beauty of the wallpaper, evidently Lady Hertford did not feel that the artists who created it were generous enough with the distribution of the decorative wildlife in their designs. To counteract their restraint and increase the festive air of the room, she decided to add extra birds to the areas they had left empty. To this end, she turned first to unused pieces of wallpaper (cut out to accommodate the various room openings such as doors, windows and a fireplace). Still not satisfied, she turned next to the prints she had just acquired from Audubon. Lady Hertford, or someone in her employ, carefully cut from their original compositions two Yellow-billed Cuckoos, three Baltimore Orioles, five Red-headed Woodpeckers, a Coopers Hawk, a Bluebird, four Yellow-shafted Flickers, four Red-wing-blackbirds, a Swallow-tailed Kite, three Belted Kingfishers, two Florida Scrub Jays, and two Magpie Jays. In all, there are twenty-eight individual birds cut from ten of Audubon's plates.²² These were skillfully integrated into the wallpaper design creating an almost seamless composition. The birds appear to have been carefully chosen for their compatible scale and colors. While most of the Audubon additions grace the main walls of the drawing room, some spill over into a small side room or lobby. This, in turn connects to what is now an Edwardian library, but what, in Lady Hertford's day, was a large withdrawing room.

When word of this unusual use of his pictures eventually reached Audubon, he characteristically exaggerated the size of the enterprise and gave it the most positive possible interpretation: "The Marchioness of Hertford ... has the whole of the first volume cut out and pasted on the walls of one of her Superb Rooms!" he enthused in a letter to his wife.²³

Audubon's detractors seized on news of this use of his plates as a humiliating confirmation of the low regard with which the artist's work was held by others. George Ord (1781-1866), the irascible American naturalist (and member of the Linnean Society 1828-1866) who was among Audubon's most outspoken critics, probably heard about the Temple Newsam wallpaper from his friend and fellow Audubon detractor Charles Waterton (1782-1865), whose country estate was not far from Lady Hertford's in West Yorkshire. In a letter to the Scottish-American engraver Alexander Lawson (1772-1846), who had refused to engrave Audubon's work when he was in Philadelphia, Ord oozed his usual venom in discussing Audubon and his paintings, then made what may have been an oblique reference to the Temple Newsam wallpaper while allegedly quoting the prominent British naturalist and (later) Linnean Society member John Edward Gray (1800-1875):

"...I wonder that this infatuated man's [Audubon's] engravers cannot perceive the folly of the undertaking [*The Birds of America*] and do not refuse to sink their reputation in works which must become the subject of derision, for whatever interested critics with their nauseous puffs may say to the contrary, no one of taste and knowledge can behold those monstrous engravings without feelings of dissatisfaction, if not of contempt.... J.E. Gray of the British Museum... told me that when Audubon first appeared with his drawings, and was the subject of universal talk, he [Gray] provoked ill will by venturing an opinion that these drawings, so far from being representations of nature, of extraordinary merit, were fit only for paper hangings! an opinion, by-the-by, which others venture to entertain as well as Mr. Gray."²⁴



Detail of wallpaper at Temple Newsam House showing *Golden-winged Woodpecker* [now known as the *Northern Flicker*] by Robert Havell, Jr. after John James Audubon, cut from Plate 37 in Audubon's *The Birds of America*. Note also **Florida Jay** [now known as **Florida Scrub Jay**] in upper right cut from plate 87 in *The Birds of America*. Photograph courtesy of Temple Newsam House (Leeds Museums and Art Galleries) and The Bridgeman Art Library.

Since George Ord frequently attributed his own opinions to others, it is possible that he invented or at least embellished Gray's comments to include the wallpaper reference. If the quotation is accurate, Gray was either prescient in his thinking, or also aware of Lady Hertford's ornithological additions to the Chinese Drawing Room at Temple Newsam.

George Ord's opinion of Audubon's paintings was never in doubt to anyone who would listen, but what Lady Hertford thought of them is hard to know. Was her decorative use of his pictures a reflection of her low regard for them, as Ord would like to have believed, or was it the ultimate compliment to his artistry? While she did not offer Audubon's plates the respect of frames and glazing, she was among the first of his patrons to put them on public display and did so in one of her most important rooms. One would love to know what she said about her unusual wallpaper when visitors came to call.

Like John Gould, Lord Derby and Thomas Eyton, Lady Hertford found a use for Audubon's birds that the artist could never have anticipated. The unusual actions of all four collectors demonstrates how differently each person perceived Audubon's great work and how each found a use for it that the artist himself might never have imagined.

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ENDNOTES

1. Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* (1831-1839) in five volumes was published separately from his double elephant folio in order to provide text to accompany his ornithological plates on a scale that could be easily handled by a reader. There was also a financial incentive for separating the two publications. The British copyright act of 1709 required that copies of all domestically published books be deposited gratis in each of nine officially designated libraries throughout Great Britain. Because *The Birds of America* was published unbound, in parts, and without text, it did not qualify as a book under the strict definition of the law. Thus Audubon was able to save the enormous cost of making multiple deposits of his plates. He did deposit the much less expensive text volumes as required.
2. For a comprehensive (if somewhat dated) discussion of the fate of many of the subscription copies of Audubon's book, see Waldemar H. Fries, *The Double Elephant Folio: The Story of Audubon's Birds of America*, Chicago: American Library Association, 1973. See also Bill Steiner, *Audubon Art Prints*, Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
3. John Gould, Lord Stanley and the Marchioness of Hertford were all listed by Audubon as subscribers to *The Birds of America*. Thomas Eyton was not.
4. Letter from Sir William Jardine to John Gould, 10 February, 1835, Natural History Museum, London, discovered and transcribed by Christine Jackson. For more information on Jardine, see: Christine E. Jackson and Peter Davis, *Sir William Jardine: A Life in Natural History*, London: Leicester University Press, 2001.
5. Gould held the post of "curator and preserver" at the Zoological Society from the date of its founding in 1827 until 1838 when he and his wife Elizabeth, nee Coxen (1804-1841), traveled to Australia to research the birds of that continent. For a full chronology of Gould's life, see Gordon C. Sauer, *John Gould, the Bird Man: A chronology and Bibliography*, Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1982.
6. Gould's *Synopsis* contained 73 plates representing the heads of 168 birds.
7. In a letter of December, 1833, Audubon records obtaining three of Gould's books in exchange for his own. They were: *The Birds of Europe* (1832-1837), *A Century of Birds hitherto unfigured from the Himalaya Mountains* (1830-1833), and *A Monograph of the Ramphastidae or Family of Toucans* (1833-1835). Obviously neither Audubon's *The Birds of America* nor two of Gould's three books were complete at the time. How long their exchange continued is not known. The letter is quoted in Fries, p. 88.
8. Letter from John Gould to Lord Derby, August 26, 1841, Derby Collection, 920 DER (13). National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool.

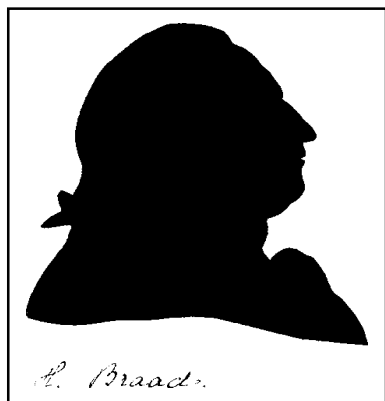
9. Fries, The Double Elephant Folio, pp. 182, 186. The Knowsley Hall copy of The Birds of America was purchased by subscription directly from Audubon from 1827 to 1838 by the then Lord Stanley. It is highly unlikely that Audubon would have sold his work to so prominent an discerning a patron in incomplete form.
 10. Eyton's most important publication was A Monograph of the Anatidae, or Duck Tribe, London, 1838.
 11. Quoted in Christine Jackson and Peter Davis, Sir William Jardine: A Life in Natural History, London: Leicester University Press, 2001, pp 93-94.
 12. Born Isabella Ann Shephard Ingram on June 10, 1759, she was the eldest daughter of the Hon. Charles Ingram and his wife Frances (nee Shephard). After her father inherited from his uncle and succeeded as ninth Viscount Irwin in 1763, she became known as The Honourable Miss Ingram. In 1776 she married Francis Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (pronounced "Beecham"), eldest son of the first Earl of Hertford (created first Marquess of Hertford in 1793), and she became known as Lady Beauchamp. When her husband inherited from his father and succeeded as second Merquis in 1794, she became known as the Marchioness of Hertford, or Lady Hertford. On the death of her husband in 1822, she became known as the Dowager Marchioness of Hertford. I am indebted to James Lomax, Curator of Decorative Art at Temple Newsam House for this information and for his permission to examine the wallpaper in the Chinese Drawing Room at Temple Newsam.
 13. The Prince of Wales ruled as Regent from 1811-1820.
 14. In this scurrilous pun, the title for the king's wife, queen, was intentionally replaced by the word for a disreputable woman or prostitute, *quean*.
 15. Christopher Gilbert, "Lady Hertford, John James Audubon and the Chinese Drawing Room at Temple Newsam," Leeds Art Calendar, No. 61, 1968, p. 14.
 16. Peter Furtado, et. al., The Country Life Book of Castles and Houses in Britain, New York: Crescent Books, 1986, p. 207.
 17. John J. Audubon to Robert Havell, Jr., 3 Sept. [1827], Audubon papers (bMS AM 1482-23), Houghton Library, Harvard University.
 18. S. A. Byles, "Temple Newsam and Its Art Collections," Magazine of Art, 1893, p. 211.
 19. Anthony Wells-Cole, Historic Paper Hangings from Temple Newsam and other English Houses, Leeds City Art Galleries, 1983, p. 9.
 20. Gilbert, "Lady Hertford," p. 14.
 21. The paper was removed and restored in the 1980s. See Anthony Wells-Cole, "Another Look at Lady Hertford's Chinese Drawing Room," Leeds Art Calendar, No. 98, 1986, pp. 16-22.
 22. These are from Audubon/Havell plates 2,12,27,36,37,67,72,77,87, and 96.
 23. John J. Audubon to Lucy Audubon, 22 Sept., 1834, John James Audubon papers, The American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
 24. George Ord to Alexander Lawson, no date (1830?), bMS AM 1482 (365), Houghton Library, Harvard University.
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Reports to the Swedish East India Company: the Indian and eastern years (1748–62) of Christopher Henrik Braad

I: Peering over their shoulders

This article and the two that follow it consider material relevant to Carl Linnaeus and others that is not hinted at in the biography of the botanist by Wilfrid Blunt. Peering, as it were, over his shoulder, one sees that Blunt's Swedish was not enough to let him find, look

into or read this material: manuscripts containing some 300,000 words that are the still unpublished Indian and eastern papers from 1748 to 1762 of Christopher Henrik Braad (1728–81). Indeed, until the mid 1990s, some had been examined only cursorily and some not at all, so Blunt, if no-one else, might be surprised by the following views of mid 18th-century events and persons that are derived from it.



Silhouette portrait of Braad, courtesy of the National Museum of Finland.

Braad is known in his native Sweden for little more than having compiled five volumes in manuscript, *OstroGothia Literata*, on the men of letters of his eastern-Swedish province. This work occupied him after his eastern years, when his 'travels in Asia' were more extensive in time, space and documentation than those of any Linnaean 'apostle'. Unlike these volunteers, Braad travelled in 1753–58 under orders (see the third article).

The key to the still unpublished state of his papers is a note he made in 1767. It is the first of two on the second copy of his Surat journal of 1750–52. He compiled it on his second voyage as a SEIC ship's clerk. After five and a half agreeable months (September to February) spent partly working out of rooms rented in Surat while the ship was at anchor six kilometres down river, he sailed to Canton and probably completed this 400-page work in the Whampoa anchorage. He presented it – thirty-seven chapters and many illustrations and maps – to his pleasurably astonished directors on his return to Sweden in June 1752.

Knowing a good thing when they saw one, they promptly had it copied and got Braad to replicate its maps and illustrations. The copy he signed on 5 March 1753 must then have been complete. Lacking any signature and with maps and illustrations showing signs of rushed work, the second copy was probably 'completed' only after he had sailed east again in April 1753; it was on this copy that, fourteen and a half years later, he wrote – improperly, it must be admitted, for it was owned by the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm – a note on the dedication page that reads in translation (emphasis added) as follows:

In reading through this account of travel that is a copy of the original that I delivered in 1752 to the directors of the East India Company, I have noticed not only many clerical errors but also in many places usages especially in style that discover a young man's work. As I later had opportunities during a stay of several years in the places described to examine matters more closely and obtain information about matters that escaped my notice on my first visit, *I hope in*

future, should the Almighty grant me health, to be able to communicate a more reliable account of my travels in Asia, In the meantime may I remark that the errors in this book do not materially run counter to truth; but every traveller ought to be able to attest to the general truth that one ought later to see a matter otherwise than on the first hurried occasion.

Braad was 39. He had lost the original of his journal in a shipwreck in 1758; had left the service of the company in 1762 after declining a directorship in favour of retiring on the modest competency he had gained through private trading while in its service; had begun (and continued until he died in 1781) to acquire newly-published books about India and the east: in a word, he had all he needed to realise his hope of publishing a revised text, except the permission of the owner of the second copy to use it for this purpose.

Having no 'literary property' in a text on a manuscript owned by another, he responded as a modern author might by using this manuscript, if improperly, to express his opinion. His notes (the second is discussed in the third article) suggest what his travels in Asia make clear: that he was no stranger to the jealousy, small-minded obstructions and underhand dealings that were endemic among his fellow-countrymen and other Europeans in the east. He would scarcely be surprised by what has happened after his death.

The article about him in the 1920s national dictionary of biography, for example, cites no source for a "note made in 1767 [in which] he characterised [the Surat journal] as the work of a youth, particularly as regards style." Having had this assertion in mind through years of work on the text of the first copy, I compared the manuscript with that of the second to see which had been made first, and so by chance found this note. I was shocked to see how thoroughly the dictionary had misrepresented what Braad had written. While this



Drawing of the Dutch burial ground at Surat, by Braad.

suggested why no-one had bothered very much about the papers¹, it said nothing as to why the dictionary's editors and the author of this article, Carl Erik Naumann ('unusually competent and conscientious', according to a contemporary encyclopaedia), should let it mislead those who might seek its guidance. The article is a hazard to navigation in the waters of 18th-century Swedish encounters with the world outside Europe.

The attractive subject of Swedish travel by land and sea to enlarge botanical and other knowledge thus resembles a stretch of poorly charted coastline where the prudent navigator relies on alert lookouts. As if in a variant of the flying Dutchman myth, any report of the Stellan Ahlström edition (1961) of Olof Torén's letters to Linnaeus about his voyage to India and Canton in 1750–52, for example, as having successfully navigated these waters must be discounted, for Ahlström ran his vessel onto quite visible hazards.

She seems first (p.7) to have struck on Torén's first voyage, when he was ship's pastor and Braad was ship's clerk, not 'a scientific reporter for Linné' (p.129). Not knowing what Braad found among the captain's books, Ahlström could not read Torén's letters in light of it (see the next article). His praise of the 9,000 unillustrated words Torén had written at Linnaeus' request was unqualified by any knowledge of Braad's 140,000-word journal; or the possibility that Torén's sixth letter may have derived from the first copy of Braad's work (completed some weeks earlier) some of its data about the author of *Hortus Mala-*



Epitaph of Hendrik Adriaan Baron van Reede tot Drakesteyn

¹For example, correctly to identify in the 1909 (Stockholm) edition of Linné's correspondence the unexplained 'Brad' whom Clas Alströmer told Linné would be profitable company for a natural-history collector on a voyage to Surat. Dated 7 November 1759, this letter is L2621 in the edition of the letters now in preparation. I am grateful to its editor, Tomas Anfält, for bringing it to my attention.

baricus, 'Hendrik Adriaan Baron van Reede tot Drake-steyn', as he is named on the tablet in his splendid tomb in the Dutch burial ground at Surat.

Torén's sixth letter mentions the tomb was locked on his first visit and his companions were impatient on his second, which perhaps explains why he reproduced less than half the text on the tablet. Braad reproduced it in full (with discrepancies that may be not his but the copyist's) as well as those of a number of other Dutch graves; sketched the Dutch and English burial grounds; and wrote up the tomb. Whoever compares the two accounts may determine which author made better use of his time in Surat; as we shall see, Torén's two visits to the tomb took up about one tenth of the time he was on shore.

Wrecks are ugly but the timbers of this one suggest why Braad got no help, as discussed above, when he wished to publish his travels in Asia. Had they reached print, they would have eclipsed Torén's letters or nullified any intrinsic reason for publishing them. I would suggest their function was to allow Linnaeus to create an 'apostle' and forestall Braad as an author. No-one who has run in the publish-or-perish rat race should raise an eyebrow at evidence that a celebrated historical personage has elbowed his way around a lap or two.

JEREMY FRANKS

This article and the two which follow on Christopher Braad will be set in context by the April Editorial where the implications of Braad's Surat journal of 1750–52 on the 'apostle' Olof Torén, and on Linné himself are discussed. Ed.

The Linnean Society

Programme

2005

20-21st Jan.		The New Phytologist Conference THE ROLE OF EXTRA-CELLULAR MATRIX IN CONTROLLING PLANT DEVELOPMENT
25th Jan.	6pm*	TAXIDERMY: ART, SCIENCE AND BAD TASTE Pat Morris FLS (NB CHANGE OF DATE)
17th Feb	6pm	WILDLIFE CRIME
17th March	6pm	Book launch – <i>Huxley and 'The Rattlesnake'</i>
6-8th April		THE PALMS: AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE BIOLOGY OF THE PALM FAMILY With RBG Kew † William Baker FLS
14th April	6pm	POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON BRITISH FLORA AND FAUNA John Good
26th April		The Linnean Society Paleobotany group THE STUDY OF FOSSIL PLANTS † Jason Hilton FLS
27th April		Linnean Society Palynology Group † Carol Furness
28th April		ARE SNAIL BORNE DISEASES STILL A THREAT TO GLOBAL HEALTH? With the London Malacological Society Russell Stothard FLS
5th May	6pm	CURRENT PRIORITIES IN TROPICAL FOREST MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION Jane Thornback
24th May	*	Anniversary Meeting

Unless stated otherwise, all meetings are held in the Society's Rooms.

* Election of Fellows

For further details please contact the Society office or consult the website
– address inside the front cover.