

Ruskin's Botanical Books: A Survey of Re-ordered Second Edition Volumes of *British Phaenogamous Botany* (W. Baxter, 1834-43) and *English Botany* (J. E. Smith, & J. Sowerby, 1832-1840).

D. S. Ingram

Two early nineteenth century illustrated botanical works, said to have been from the library of John Ruskin, came to light in private hands¹ early in 2015. These were later acquired by the Guild of St George² and were made available for study at the Ruskin Library, Lancaster University until late November 2015.³ This is a preliminary survey of the works, which are as follows:

W. Baxter, *British Phaenogamous Botany; or Figures and Descriptions of the Genera of British Flowering Plants*, 2nd edition (Oxford: published by the author, 1834-43). This comprises six volumes bound in green morocco, all lettered in gilt on the spine: *Island Plants*. Baxter. The individual volumes are also numbered and lettered on the spine, in the sequence: *Vol. 1.; Vol. 2.; Vol. 3.; Vol. IV. Foils.; Vol. V. Bells. Hoods.; Vol. VI. Waywards*. These volumes are hereafter referred to, collectively, as *Baxter*.

And

J. E. Smith & J. Sowerby, *English Botany; or, Coloured Figures of British Plants, With Their Essential Characters, Synonyms and Places of Growth. The Second Edition Arranged According to the Linnaean Method, With the Descriptions Shortened, and Occasional Remarks Added* (London: Printed by Richard Taylor, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, for the Proprietor, C. E. Sowerby, 3 Mead Place, Westminster Road, 1832-1840).

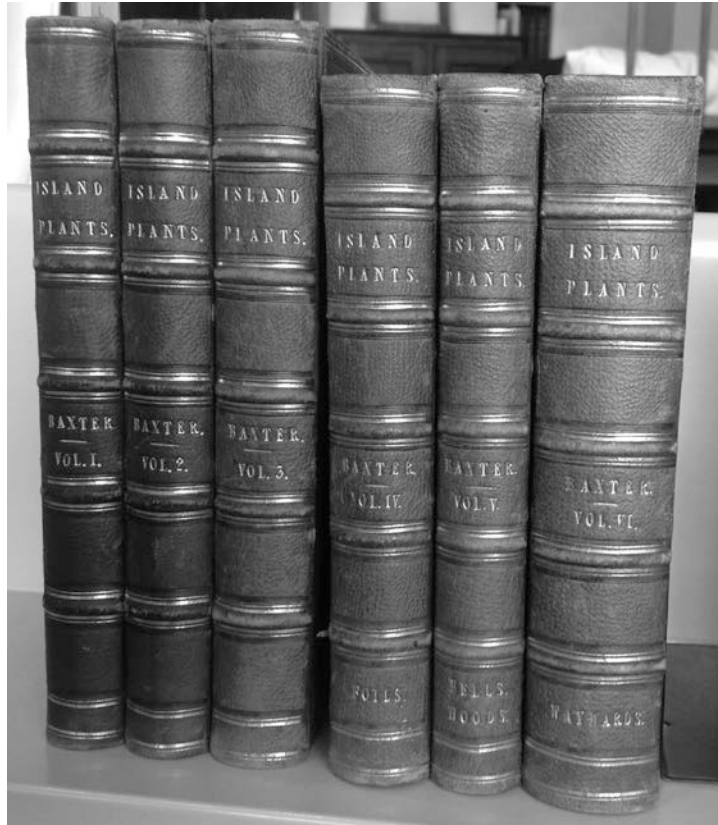
Bound together with:

The London Catalogue Of British Plants. Published Under The Direction Of The London Botanical Exchange Club. Adapted For Marking Desiderata In Exchange Of

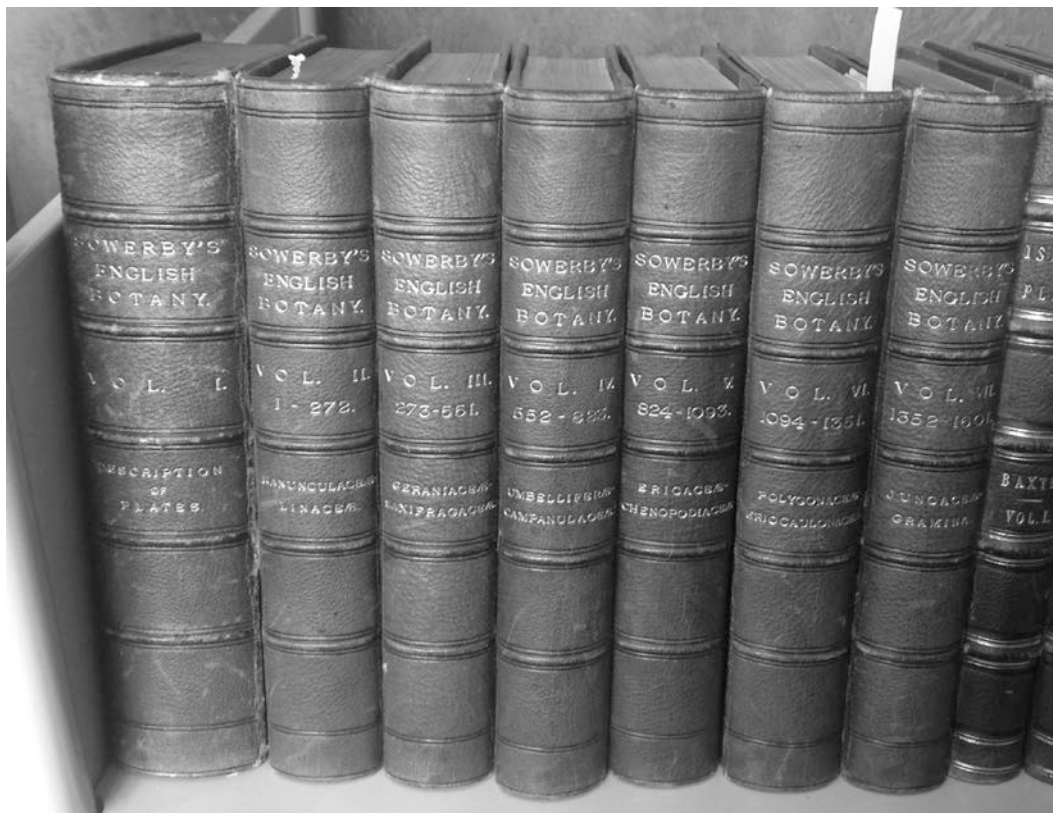
¹ E. and T. Heydeman, whom I thank for their kindness in allowing me to visit their home to examine the works before their sale and for providing information about them subsequently.

² Details may be found in a letter to Companions of the Guild of St. George from the Secretary, Dr. Stuart Eagles, dated 21st August 2015. I warmly thank Dr. Eagles for first drawing the volumes to my attention, the Managers of the Guild for agreeing to their purchase, and the Master, Clive Wilmer, and Secretary for facilitating their temporary transfer to the Ruskin Library, Lancaster.

³ I thank most warmly the staff of the Ruskin Library (Professor Stephen Wildman, Ms. Rebecca Patterson, Ms. Diane Tyler and Ms. Jennifer Shepherd) for their generous and unfailing support and advice throughout the period of study. The books have now been returned to the collection of the Guild of St. George, Sheffield, UK.



The six volumes of the re-ordered and rebound *Baxter*. Note that Volumes IV-VI are significantly smaller than Volumes 1 to 3.



The seven volumes of the re-ordered and rebound *Sowerby*.

Specimens; For An Index Catalogue To British Herbaria; For Indicating The Species Of Local Districts; And For A Guide To Collectors, By Showing The Comparative Rarity Or Frequency Of The Several Species, ed. by H. C. Watson, Seventh Edition [the date of publication, 1874, written in pencil after this]. (London: George Bell and Sons, 4, York Street, Covent Garden). This is referred to hereafter as *The London Catalogue*.

Together these comprise seven volumes, bound in green morocco, all lettered in gilt on the spine: *Sowerby's English Botany*. The individual volumes are also lettered on the spine, in the sequence: Vol. I. *Description of Plates* [including *The London Catalogue*]; Vol. II. 1-272. *Ranunculaceae-Linaceae.*; Vol. III. 273-551. *Geraneaceae-Saxifragaceae.*; Vol. IV. 552-823. *Umbelliferae-Campanulaceae.*; Vol. V. 824-1093. *Ericaceae-Chenopodiaceae.*; Vol. VI. 1094-1351. *Polygonaceae-Eriocaulonaceae.*; Vol. VII. 1352-1601. *Juncaceae-Gramina*. These volumes are hereafter referred to, collectively, as *Sowerby*.⁴

The inside front covers of the first volumes of *Baxter* and *Sowerby* indicate that they were once purchased from Heffers, Cambridge, at a price of £12-12-0 (*Baxter*) and £10-10-0 (*Sowerby*). This was probably c. 70 years ago, the purchaser being William Palmer (father of E. Heydemann¹), a botanist at Homerton College, Cambridge.⁵

Detailed Description of Baxter⁶

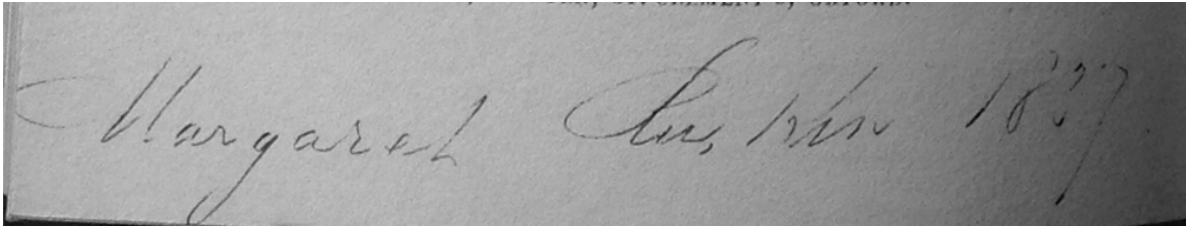
Each of the first three volumes of Ruskin's re-ordered and re-bound copy of *Baxter* comprises two volumes of the descriptions only of the plant species covered in the original work, each with its own index and numbered sequentially through all the original volumes, bound together as follows: Vol. 1, the original Volumes I (1834) and II (1835); Vol. 2, the original Volumes III (1837) and IV (1839); and Vol. 3, the original Volumes V (1840) and VI (1843). The pages have not been re-ordered or re-numbered.

⁴ The original 2nd edition included four additional volumes dealing with the non-flowering plants, but there is no evidence of these having been owned by Ruskin.

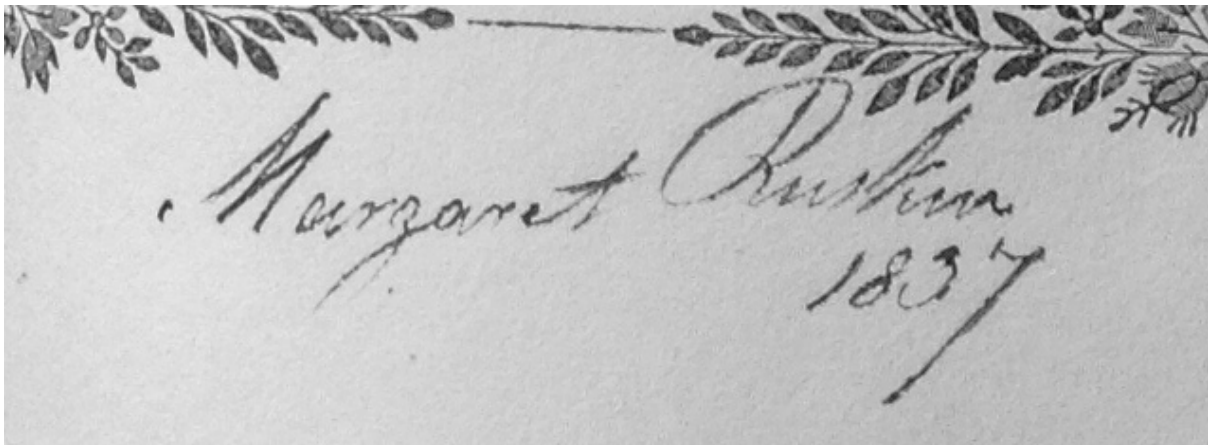
⁵ E. & T. Heydemann, personal communication.

⁶ An unaltered 2nd edition of *Baxter* (I thank the staff of the Library of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh for allowing me to examine a copy there) comprises six volumes of engraved plates of British flowering plants arranged in a numbered sequence, but in random taxonomic order. Each plate is followed by a single page printed on the front and verso with the author's taxonomic description of the plant depicted. The facing pages of the descriptions are numbered in sequence with the same numbers as the plates to which they relate, but the versos are un-numbered. The Linnean Class, Order and Latin binomial of the plant described is given at the head of each page of text, together with the name of the natural Order (equivalent to the modern Family) to which the plant belongs and the names of the authorities relating to this. Each volume has indexes of Latin and English names. The final volume has an index for all six volumes, giving volume and folio (plate) numbers of genera, arranged according to the Linnean System of plant classification. There are also overarching alphabetical indexes of Natural Orders, genera, species and synonyms, and English common names, respectively. Thus the indexes of the final volume unify the contents of all six volumes, taxonomically and alphabetically.

The title-page of Volume I of the original work is signed at the top right with the name Margaret Ruskin, in black ink. The final page of this volume is similarly signed (bottom left), together with the date 1837, as are the title-page (bottom), the dedication page (top right) and the final page of descriptions (bottom left) of Volume II. The date beside the first signature in Volume I appears to have been cropped completely during subsequent rebinding and two of the other signatures show evidence of slight cropping. None of the subsequent volumes is signed.



Photographs of two pages of *Baxter* signed by Margaret Ruskin. The signature on the above shows evidence of slight cropping of the 'M' and 'g'.



The signatures have been confirmed⁷ to be those of Margaret Ruskin by comparison with her signatures on two letters,⁸ and although the *Baxter* was signed over thirty years previously, the signatures are clearly by the same hand. It is likely, therefore, that the edition of *Baxter* re-ordered and rebound by Ruskin was once owned by his mother (see footnote 16).

Volumes IV, V and VI of *Baxter* include all the coloured Plates of the plant species referred to in the rebound Volumes 1-3 (i.e. the six original Volumes), but these have been re-ordered and divided up into entirely new 'Classes' and 'Orders', presumably devised by Ruskin, by interleaved pages of wide-lined blue paper (some with evidence of a Britannia [foolscap]

⁷ By the author and Professor Stephen Wildman.

⁸ To Mrs. Richardson, one with the address Norwood and dated 21st June 1862 and the other from Denmark Hill and dated 25th Nov. 1864; Ruskin Library, Lancaster University (L6).

watermark), each bearing a manuscript⁹ description of the appropriate category in black ink (see below). However, significantly, the original genus and species binomials used by Baxter have been retained throughout. These volumes are slightly smaller than Volumes 1-3 and have clearly been significantly cropped during binding (see footnote 12).

Other manuscript annotations in black ink in Ruskin's hand¹⁰ are: page and plate numbers and cross-reference numbers; marginal cross references to pages in the same work and to other works, mainly in Ruskin's own Library,¹¹ and marginal and textual notes and comments. It seems likely that the page and plate numbers and the details of the new classification of the plates were inserted at the time of re-binding, but there are clear indications (see below) that some, perhaps most, of the other annotations were inserted later and possibly at different times.

The volumes of *Baxter* are almost certainly the ones referred to by Ruskin in a letter to Thomas or Mrs. Carlyle,¹² probably written in 1855, in which he states that: '... ... During the above mentioned studies of Horticulture [in connection with writing *Modern Painters*] I became dissatisfied with the Linnaean, Jussieuan,¹³ and Everybody-elsian arrangement of plants, and have accordingly arranged a system of my own; and unbound my botanical book, and rebound it in brighter green, with all the pages through other, and backside foremost – so as to cut off the old paging numerals; and am now printing my new arrangement in a legible manner, on interleaved foolscap. I consider this arrangement one of my great achievements of the year... ... ' This letter clearly fixes the date of the re-ordering and re-binding as being during or immediately before 1855.

Collingwood also mentions *Baxter* in *Ruskin Relics*,¹⁴ where he writes (my italics): '... The rest of his library represents *not so much his professed occupation as what you might call his hobbies*. To the left, within reach of the writing-table all is Botany, and [significantly] not very modern botany either. Opposite you find more botany; the nineteen massive folios of *Florae Danicae Descripto*, [referred to extensively in Ruskin's annotations of *Baxter* – see

⁹ Confirmed to be in the hand of John Ruskin by Professor Stephen Wildman and Dr. James Dearden.

¹⁰ Confirmed by Professor Stephen Wildman.

¹¹ James Dearden, *The Library of John Ruskin* (The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2012).

¹² This letter is quoted in the Introduction to Volume V of the *Library Edition*, page xlix, as being to Mrs. Carlyle and is also referred to as being to Mrs. Carlyle in Volume XXXVI, page 183, in the introductory remarks to the letters written from Denmark Hill in 1855. A transcript is also included in *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin*, ed. by George Allan Cate (Stanford University Press, 1982), where it is said to be from 'Ruskin to Carlyle' and dated 'ca. October 1855'.

¹³ Carolus Linnaeus, *Species Plantarum* (1753); Antoine Laurent de Jussieu, *Genera Plantarum, secundum ordines naturales disposita juxta methodum in Horto Regio Parisiensi exaratam* (1789).

¹⁴ W.G. Collingwood, Ruskin's Library, Chapter XII in *Ruskin Relics* (London: Ibister & Co., 1903) p. 188.

below]...the three dozen volumes and index of Sowerby's *English Botany*, [but not the edition that forms part of the present study - see *Sowerby*, below], the six volumes of Baxter's *Island Plants*, and so forth; all showing his purely artistic and "unscientific" interest in natural history.'

Baxter was described by Dearden (2012),¹⁵ and in his 2015 Supplement¹⁶ following the emergence of the Volumes in private hands. He notes: the Carlyle letter; the mention in *Ruskin Relics*; and a reference in a letter to Lady Trevelyan¹⁷ dated 1865 (in which Ruskin indicates a desire to turn botany upside down). He further suggests that an entry in John James Ruskin's account book in 1844 for £2 2s. could refer to the final Volume of the set [i.e. the original Vol. VI, including plates].

Numbering and Re-numbering of the Pages and Plates in Baxter

Each of the facing pages of the descriptions of genera and species in Ruskin's Vols. 1-3 of *Baxter* retains the original page number, printed in parentheses near the top. These pages were numbered sequentially throughout all of Baxter's original six volumes and, since they were not re-ordered by Ruskin, did not require new manuscript page numbers. Each of the pages of descriptions has also been given a two-part manuscript cross-reference number,¹⁸ immediately above the printed page number. This comprises the new (i.e. assigned by Ruskin) volume and plate numbers for the illustration(s) of the genus or species referred to.

Each of the re-ordered plates in Ruskin's Vols. IV-VI has also been given a manuscript plate number and a two-part, manuscript cross-reference number. The latter leads the reader back to the volume and page for the descriptions of the appropriate genus and species in Ruskin's Vols. 1-3.

Thus, for example, page (14) in Ruskin's Vol. 1 of *Baxter* (this page being in *Baxter's* original Vol. I), which carries the descriptions of the genus *Epilobium* and the species *E. angustifolium* (French Willow [herb]), has been given the manuscript cross reference number 4.88. This leads the reader to Ruskin's Vol. IV, Plate 88, the latter number being written close to the top of the plate. This is the plate for *E. angustifolium*. The manuscript number on this plate has another manuscript, cross-reference number, 1.14, immediately below it, which leads the reader back to page (14) of Vol. 1, which carries the

¹⁵ See note 11, No. 170.

¹⁶ James Dearden, First Supplement to *The Library of John Ruskin. The Ruskin Review and Bulletin* Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 2015.

¹⁷ *Reflections of a Friendship: John Ruskin's Letters to Pauline Trevelyan, 1848-66*, ed. by Virginia Surtees (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), p. 248.

¹⁸ Which appears to be in Ruskin's hand.

descriptions of *Epilobium* and *E. angustifolium*.

Re-classification of the Plants Illustrated in Baxter

Although Ruskin retains the binomials used by Baxter, he completely ignores existing plant taxonomies for the higher levels of classification and re-groups the plates into five Classes: I Foils [plants having flowers with unjoined petals]; II Bells [plants with bell-like flowers]; III Hoods [plants with hood-like flowers]; IV Grasses [true grasses¹⁹ and plants that look like grasses]; Waywards [plants which, for various reasons, he cannot fit into the previous four classes]. Each of these Classes is subdivided into what Ruskin calls 'Orders', perhaps and attempt to create new groups equivalent to Natural Orders or modern Families. This is done on the basis a variety of unrelated, idiosyncratic and subjective criteria including, variously: petal number and shape; flower colour; plant size; habitat (dry land, wet land, water); flower form or similarity to the supposed apparel of particular groups of people (monk's hoods, knight's spurs, young ladies' hoods or bonnets); inflorescence form; whole plant form; use to humans, especially as folk medicines or for food; undesirable properties from the human standpoint (e.g. poisonous, weedy, spiny, ugly); and supposed representation of particular human conditions or traits (e.g. old age, chattiness, spitefulness, tiresomeness and power of mimicry). Except for petal numbers, flower form and the presence of spurs containing nectaries for attracting insect pollinators, explicitly male (stamens) and female (pistils) characters are completely ignored. Most of the characters used are too disparate and many too variable, too subjective and therefore too unreliable to be used as the basis of a scientific classification. Nevertheless, Ruskin's scheme does provide a delightfully witty and picturesque, rough and ready set of criteria that a non-scientist or young person trying to put a name to an un-named plant specimen might use to reduce to a manageable level the number of illustrations to be looked at for comparison. It is not, however, a classification with a sound scientific basis that takes account of natural affinities among species or groups and has little value other than as an aid to identification.

The approach to plant classification bears some similarities to the approach used in *Proserpina* – particularly the rejection of overtly sexual characters, the use of characters relating to utility and undesirability, and the use of subjective characters. It differs from it, however, in that the binomials are left unchanged, in the omission of moral characteristics and in the use of English, almost Medieval-sounding nomenclature, derived from a world of knights, dragons, monks, bells, sailing ships, hoods and bonnets, rather than

¹⁹ Modern family Poaceae (syn. Gramineae).

names based on the Classical languages. The nomenclature used might easily provide the basis for a humorous, cartoon-based book of plant identification for children.

The initial, hand-written pages of Ruskin's taxonomic groups are transcribed below, with Ruskin's punctuation, or frequent lack of it, spelling and use of capitals/lower case, but not with his original, erratic spacing. I have emboldened some of the headings to aid the reader with navigating the text. Most of the nomenclature used is self-explanatory, but where I feel that a comment or explanation might be useful, this is given in square brackets. Where I give examples, also in square brackets, these have been chosen mainly to illustrate the range of species involved and for their probable familiarity to readers. The names and spellings used by Baxter on his plates have been given, for the scientific and common names of the examples.

Vol. IV. FOILS.

Class 1 Foils

Order 1 Land Cinq-foils [land plants with five petals].

Round leaved [i.e. petalled]

Represented by the Wild rose. Distinguished from Star-foils by having their petals rounded or blunted at the extremity.

Arranged in order of colour.

1. White. [E.g. *Rosa arvensis*, Trailing Dog-rose.]
2. Yellow. [E.g. *Ranunculus acris*, Acrid Crowfoot [now Meadow Buttercup].]
3. Lilac [E.g. *Polymonium caeruleum*, Blue Jacob's Ladder.]
4. Red. [E.g. *Dianthus caryophyllus*, Clove Pink.]
5. Blue. [E.g. *Myosotis palustris*, [Water] Forget-me-not.]

The pinks especially the Ragged Robin [*Lychnis flos cuculi*], are exceptional in form, but would not go into any other class [Ruskin has drawn, in black ink, a rough pentagon around one of the 'ragged-petalled' flowers of this species in the illustration.].

[This is a large and wide-ranging Order, including species from various dicotyledonous [dicot.]²⁰ families.]

Order 2. Starfoils.

Have petals sharp at the ends; so as to look like a star [e.g. *Borago officinalis*, Common Borage; *Allium ursinum*, Ramsons]; some of their petals cloven at the ends so as to form double points. Or else they have more than five petals (as anemone nemorosa [*Anemone nemerosa*, Wood Anemone]) so as to approximate to a starshape.

[Includes species from a range of both dicot. and monocot. [see note 19] families.]

²⁰ The dicotyledons (dicots.) are plant species in which the embryos have two cotyledons (seed leaves) - mainly 'broad-leaved' plants. They have traditionally constituted one of the two major groupings of flowering plants, the other being the monocotyledons (monocots.), in which the embryos have one cotyledon - mainly narrow-leaved plants such as the bulb-forming species and grasses. See D.S. Ingram, D. Vince-Prue, & P.G. Gregory *Science and the Garden* 3rd edition (Oxford: Wiley, Blackwell, 2015) Chapter 1 and Glossary.

Order 3 Quatre-foils

All flowers in this order have four petals [includes species from a range of dicot families, especially the Brassicaceae [syn. Cruciferae]; e.g. *Exacum filiforme*, Least Gentianella; *Capsella bursa pastoris*, Common Shepherd's Purse; *Epilobium angustifolium*, French Willow [now Rosebay]]; but the largest, and smallest examples are kept out, and put in orders 6th or 7th.

Order 4. Reverted Foils [i.e. plants with reflexed petals]

[Includes plants from various dicot. and monocot. families; e.g. *Solanum dulcamara*, Woody Nightshade, *Lilium martagon*, Martagon Lily; *Cyclamen hederacifolium*, Ivy-leaved Sow-bread.]

Order 5. Green Foils [i.e. plants with greenish petals]

[Includes plants from various dicot. and monocot. families; e.g. *Ruscus aculeatus*, Butcher's-broom; *Paris quadrifolia*, Herb-Paris; *Viscum album*, Mistletoe [sic.].]

Order 6 Smallest Land-Foils

[Small herbaceous plants from mainly dicot. families; e.g. *Coronopus ruellii*, Common Wart-cress [now *C. squamatus*, Swine-cress]; a small 'Quatre-foil', *Spergula arvensis*, corn spurry [a small 'Cinq-foil'.]

Order 7. Largest Foils.

Both land and Water, Foils, connecting the two classes.

[Large herbaceous plants from mainly dicot. families; e.g. large Land Foils - *Paeonia corallina* [now *P. mascula*], Entire-leaved Peony; large Water Foils - *Nuphar lutea*, Yellow Water-lily.]

Order 8 Water Cinq-foils

[Mainly dicot. water plants; e.g. *Hottonia palustris*, Water Hottonia [now Water Violet] and *Parnassia palustris*, Grass of Parnassus]

Order 9. Water-Tre-foils.

[Mainly monocot. water plants; e.g. *Hydrocharis morsus ranae*, Common Frog-bit and *Iris pseudacorus*, Yellow Water-iris.]

Order 10th. Smallest Water-foils.

[Small dicot. and monocot. water plants; e.g. *Samolus valerandi*, Water Pimpernel [now Brookweed] and *Lemna minor*, Lesser Duckweed.]

Vol. V. BELLS, HOODS.

Class II Bells

Order 1 Crocus Bells

[Monocot. and some dicot. herbaceous plants with bell-shaped flowers; e.g. *Gentiana pneumonanthe*, Marsh Gentian; *Crocus nudiflorus*, Naked- flowering Crocus [now Autumn Crocus]; *Tulipa sylvestris*, Wild Tulip.]

Order 2 Hyacinth Bells

Differ from Crocus Bells by being arranged in clusters.

Class 1

Foils

Order 1.

Land Cinq-foils. Round-leaved.

Represented by the Wild rose. Distinguished from Star-foils by having their petals rounded or blunted at the extremity.

Arranged in order of colour

1. White.
2. yellow.
3. Lilac
4. Red.
5. Blue.

The pinks especially the Ragged Robin, are exceptional in form, but would not go into any other class.

Ruskin's intercalated, hand-written page from *Baxter* describing his Class 1 (Foils), Order 1: Land Cinq-foils.

[Includes dicot. and monocot. species; e.g. *Muscari racemosum*, Grape-hyacinth, *Campanula rotundifolia*, Round-leaved Bell-flower [now Harebell] and *Primula veris*, Common Cowslip.]

Order 3 Heather Bells

Several forms, such as that of *Frankenia laevis* [Common Sea Heath] are included in this class, not properly Bell shaped, but yet so connected with the true heather as to be better placed here than in any other class.

[Dicots., especially but not exclusively members of the family Ericaceae [Heaths]; e.g. *Erica tetralix*, Cross-leaved Heath; *Linnaea borealis*, Northern Linnaea [now Twinflower]; *Scrophularia nodosa*, Knotted Figwort [now Common Figwort].]

Order 4 Bad Bells

[Mainly herbaceous, poisonous or ugly dicots.; e.g. *Datura stramonium*, Thorn-apple; *Helleborus foetidus*, Stinking Hellebore; *Hyascyamus niger*, Black Henbane; *Atropa belladonna*, Deadly- nightshade.]

Class 3. Hoods

Order 1. Monk's Hoods.

Apt to be dangerous, and connected with Snaps of Dragons, and Gloves of Foxes. Type, the Arum; when...[unreadable, probably a single word]..., and well hooded as the Arum, very beautiful

[Dicot. and monocot. herbaceous species with hood-shaped flowers; e.g. *Arum maculatum*, Cuckowpint [sic.]; *Aconitum napellus*, Monk's-hood; *Digitalis purpurea*, Purple Foxglove; *Cypripedium calceolus*, Lady's Slipper.]

Order 2. Knight's Hoods

Known by the attached Spurs.

[Herbaceous dicots. with flowers having one or more spurs containing nectar; e.g. *Viola canina*, [Heath] Dog's-violet; *Delphinium consolida*, Field Larkspur; *Aquilegia vulgaris*, Common Columbine.]

Order 3. Sailors Hoods

Arranged in clusters on Masts, above leaves set like Mast heads on "Tops"

[Herbaceous dicots. with clusters of flowers up the stems, mainly members of the family Lamiaceae [syn. Labiateae]; e.g. *Ajuga reptans*, Common Bugle; *Lamium album*, White dead-nettle; *Echium vulgare*, Viper's Bugloss.]

Order 4 Monkey's Hoods

Having a strange gift of Imitation.

[Mainly members of the family Orchidaceae; e.g. *Corallorrhiza innata* [now *C. trifida*], Spurless Coral-root; *Ophrys apifera*, Bee orchid; *Orchis tephrosanthos* [now *O. simian*], Monkey Orchis; *Aceras anthropophora* [now *Orchis anthropophorum*], Green Man-orchis.]

Order 5. Clustered Hoods

[Herbaceous plants, from various dicot. families, with hooded flowers in clusters at the top of the flower stalk; e.g. *Centaurea cyanus*, Blue-bottle [now Cornflower]; *Scabiosa succisa* [now *Succisa pratensis*], Devil's-bit Scabious; *Trifolium pratense*, Common Purple Trefoil [now Red Clover].]

Order 6 Branching Hoods

[Herbaceous dicots. with hooded flowers arranged in branched inflorescences, from various families; e.g. *Veronica chamaedrys*, Germander Speedwell; *Origanum vulgare*, Common Marjoram; *Verbena officinalis*, Common Vervain.]

Order 7. Old Ladies' Hoods

Generally Stooping or creeping; and very good for making tea, or medicinal draughts.

[Low-growing, herbaceous dicots. with hooded flowers, from various families, with medicinal or restorative properties; e.g. *Ornithopus perpusillus*, Common Bird's-foot; *Polygala vulgaris*, Common Milkwort; *Thymus serpyllum*, Wild Thyme.]

Order 8 Young Ladies' Hoods

Generally pleasant to behold, and serviceable in households [e.g. *Fumaria officinalis*, Fumitory [medicinal], *Genista tinctoria*, Dyer's Green-weed [yellow flowers produce green dye when combined with Woad]]; but apt to be very troublesome in the form of Tares [e.g. *Ononis antiquorum* [now *O. spinosa*], Prickly Rest-harrow]

Sometimes showing inclinations towards gay bonnets [eg. *Lathyrus latifolius*, Everlasting Pea].

[Herbaceous dicot. species, from various families, with hooded flowers.]

Vol. VI. [Grasses and] Waywards

Class 4 Grasses

Order 1 Reed Grasses

[Monocots. from various reedy [but not true grass] families; e.g. *Sparganium simplex* [now *S. emersum*], Burr-reed; *Myriophyllum verticillatum*, Whorled Water-milfoil; *Potamogeton natans*, Broad Leaved Pond-weed; *Typha angustifolia*, Narrow Leaved Reed-mace.]

Order 2. Spike and Plume Grasses

[Monocots. from mainly true grass [Poaceae; syn. Gramineae] families and some grass-like families; e.g. *Melica nutans*, Mountain Melic Grass; *Spartina stricta*, Twin-spiked Cord-grass; *Zostera marina*, Common Grass-wrack [now Eelgrass].]

Order 3 Simple Plantain Grasses

[Mainly true grasses [Poaceae] and plants from other monocot. and dicot. grass-like families with flowers in a simple spike, e.g. *Ammophila arundinacea* [now *Ammophila arenaria*], Common Sea-reed [now Marram Grass]; *Alopecurus pratensis*, Meadow Fox-tail Grass; *Carex recuva* [now *Carex flacca*], Glaucous Heath Sedge; *Plantago major*, Greater Plantain.]

Order 4. Complex Plantain Grasses

[Mainly grasses [monocots., Poaceae; e.g. *Lolium perenne*, Perennial Ryegrass; *Setaria verticillata*, Rough Bristle-grass; *Panicum crus-galli* [now *Echinochloa crus-galli*], Loose Panic-grass [now Cockspur Grass] and one anomalous dicot.[*Salicornia herbacea* [now *S. europaea*], Herbaceous Glasswort.]

Order 5. Branching Grasses

[True grasses (monocots., Poaceae) with branched flower heads; e.g. *Arrhenatherum avenaceum* [now *A.*

elatus], Oat-like Grass [now Tall Oat Grass]; *Briza media*, Quaking-grass; *Dactylis glomerata*, Cock's-foot-grass.]

Class V Waywards

Order 1 Chatty Waywards

Small flowers, that have got together to talk; surrounded by leaves somewhat of the shape of tongues: When these are whole; it may be gathered that the talk is profitable; but when divided, scandalous. They nearly always are divided.

[Herbaceous dicots., mainly members of the family Asteraceae [syn. Compositae]; e.g. *Bellis perennis*, Common Daisy; *Matricaria chamomilla*, Wild Chamomile; *Leontodon taraxacum* [now *Taraxacum officinale*], Common Dandelion.]

Order II. Spiteful Waywards

Closely connected with the preceding family: but given to more wicked scandal: sticking as Burs; and lacerating, as thistles.

[Herbaceous dicots. from various families with clustered flower heads, spiny or burred; e.g. *Carlina vulgaris*, Common Carlina Thistle; *Arctium lappa*, Burdock; *Eryngium maritimum*, Sea-holly; *Polygonum bistorta*, Bistort or Snake-weed; *Jasione montana*, Sheep's-bit Scabious.]

Order 3. Useful Waywards.

Including carrots [*Daucus carota*], parsnips [*Pastinaca sativa*], and parsleys [various species]; mixed with some dangerous pretenders, as hemlock [*Conium maculatum*].

[Mainly members of the largely aromatic dicot. family Apiaceae [syn. Umbelliferae.]

Order 4 Tiresome Waywards.

Do not seem to have made up their mind what they would like to be, or what would be their wisest way of life. Most of these running into seedy spikes.

[A catch-all group of herbaceous, dicot. species from various families that Ruskin was not able fit easily into any of his other categories; e.g. *Hypericum perforatum*, Common St John's-wort; *Eupatorium cannabinum*, Hemp Agrimony; *Valeriana rubra*, Red Valerian; *Beta maritima*, Sea Beet; *Asparagus officinalis*, Common Asparagus; *Urtica dioica*, Great Nettle.]

Order 5th. Climbing Waywards

[Climbing dicots. from various families; e.g. *Aristolochia clematidis*, Common-birthwort; *Clematis vitalba*, Common Traveler's-joy; *Humulus lupulus*, Common Hop; *Hedera helix*, Common Ivy, *Bryonia dioica*, Red Berried Bryony [now White Bryony]; *Tamus communis*, Black Bryony; *Lonicera periclymenum*, Common Woodbine [now Honeysuckle], *Convolvulus arvensis*, Corn Bindweed]

Order 6 Greater Waywards

[Large woody dicot. shrubs and trees, including flowering and coniferous families; e.g. *Quercus robur*, Common [now Pedunculate] Oak; *Betula alba*, White Birch; *Corylus avellana*, Hazel-nut; *Prunus cerasus*, Wild cherry; *Crataegus oxycantha*, Hawthorn; *Ilex aquifolium*, Holly; *Cotoneaster vulgaris*, Common Cotoneaster; *Pinus sylvestris*, Scotch Fir; *Juniperus communis*, Common Juniper.]

Examples of cross-references in Baxter:

Cross references to F

The most common cross-references take the form of number sequences prefixed by the letter F (more than 40 in total). These are written in various ways, including, for example: F.6.922; F.4.642; F. V. 722; F.972 (6); F. 758/V; F. 7. 1/90; F. 8. 1266; Conf. F.3. 378; conf. F. 687. IV.; and F. 7. 1/81. By process of elimination I have determined that these and two references to 'FD' (on page 149 and Plate 61) are all to plates in *Flora Danica*,²¹ presumably Ruskin's own bound copy. This work, although an important work of great beauty and distinction, was already out of date in 1855. Also, and of great significance, according to Dearden, it was not acquired until 1866, more than ten years after the re-ordering of the Baxter plates. Unless Ruskin used a library copy of *Flora Danica*, it must be assumed that the cross-references were inserted during or after 1866, perhaps as part of a period of excited botanical activity following his acquisition of the work.

The single Roman or Arabic numerals (shown here in bold, for clarity) following F, e.g. F. **V**. 722 and F. **6**. 922, or in parentheses at the end of the complete number, e.g. F. 972 (**6**), refer to specific numbered volumes, presumably to help Ruskin locate particular plates rapidly in his own bound copy of the flora (the volume numbers are, in fact, irrelevant, except for convenience, since all *Flora Danica* plates are numbered sequentially, no matter how many volumes they are bound together as). The second number following the Volume number, or following F, usually of two, three or four digits (here shown in bold), refers to a specific plate in *Flora Danica* (e.g. F. V. **722**). Numbers over 1000 are sometimes written as a fraction (e.g. **1/81** = 1081; **1/90** = 1090).

Such references are usually to a plate of a plant of the same genus or species as that described or illustrated by Baxter, or to a plant of a different species in the same genus or, rarely (as in the case of the species *dioica* - see below) to a plant(s) in a different genus, but with the same species name.

Conf. and conf., which sometimes precede F, are presumed to be abbreviations of the word Confirmed (confirming, for example, an identification or idea).

²¹ See note 14 re. *Ruskin's Relics*; presumed to be G. C. Oeder *et al*, *Icones Plantarum sponte nascentium in regnis Daniae et Norvegiae*, 1776-1823; 10 Vols + Supplement of 9 volumes (1829-65), with some loose plates, etc., Dearden 2012, No. 1907; see also *Icones Florae Danicae*, Dearden, No.1908. I thank the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh for allowing me to consult the bound copy there.

Sometimes, two F cross-references close to one another appear from the handwriting to have been inserted at different times. Thus on page 390 of the descriptions (relating to the genus *Tragopogon*), the cross reference to F. 6. 906 (referring to plate DCCCCVI [906] of *Flora Danica*, i.e. *Tragopogon pratense*) is written more heavily (and probably with a different pen), than the cross reference to Conf. V. 797 (referring to plate FD DCCLXXXVII [797], i.e. *Tragopogon porrifolium*).

The only example of the use of a cross-reference to *Flora Danica* relating to non-taxonomic scientific curiosity is on page 298, which deals with the genus *Urtica*. The paragraph beginning: '*Urtica dioica*. Dioecious Nettle. Great Nettle. Common Stinging-Nettle.' has the word Dioecious (meaning, in botany, having male and female flowers on different plants) underlined in Ruskin's hand, followed by 'Why. conf. F. 687. IV. and 792. V'. These numbers refer, respectively, to the *Flora Danica* plates depicting *Valeriana dioica* – Marsh Valerian (687) and *Lychnis dioica* (modern synonym *Silene dioica*) – Red Campion (792), both dioecious species but unrelated to one another or to *U. dioica*. Ruskin is clearly musing about the meaning or significance of the word Dioecious, a point emphasized by his having written on the inside cover of Vol. IV 'Dioecious plants. 298.'

Other cross-references:

Most other cross-references in Baxter, which are all far less frequent than the cross-references to F and in most cases mentioned only once or twice, are presumed to be other books in Ruskin's library (as listed by Dearden, 2012). These include:

Gerarde (*Gerarde's Herball*, 1st edition, 1597);²² c. four instances. For example, on page 334, which deals with the genus *Rubus* (Blackberry [*R. fruticosus*] and Raspberry [*R. idaeus*]), Ruskin has written: 'Conf. raspbury. Rubus Idaeus F. V. 788 and Gerarde 1089. Note his odd taste 1090. 1.' Thus Plate 788 (DCCLXXXVIII) of *Flora Danica* Vol. 5 is of *Rubus idaeus*; page 1089 of *Gerarde* refers to 'Of the Bramble or black Berrie Bush' and *Rubus ideus* (sic.) The Raspis bush, or Hindberrie.' In the first note on page 1090 *Gerarde* refers to the taste of Bramble as being 'between sweet and sower [sic.], very soft and full of grains' and the taste of Raspis or Framboise as 'of taste not very pleasant'. Odd taste indeed, as Ruskin suggests.

Encycl. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd edition, 18 volumes, 1797).²³ For

²² See Dearden, 2012, No. 1011.

²³ Ibid. No. 843.

example, on page 118 (which concerns the genus *Crataegus* – Hawthorn and relatives), referring to the Greek origin of *Crataegus*, as *cratos*, meaning strength, Ruskin writes: ‘Conf. Encycl. 16. 798. B.’

Herod. (*Herodotus, Historia*, the 7 volume edition of 1816, Gr. Et Lat.²⁴; the only other edition of *Herodotus* in Ruskin’s library was in only 2 volumes²⁵ and Ruskin’s reference is to Vol. 4). For example, on page 135 (which describes the genus *Rubia* and the species *R. peregrina*, *Wild Madder*), referring to a footnote concerning the Greek derivation of *Rubia*, Ruskin writes ‘*ereuthédanon* Herod. 4. 189’.²⁶

Liddell (presumably, Henry George Liddell, and Robert Scott *A Greek-English Lexicon, Based on the German work of Francis Passow*, 6th edition, Oxford, 1869).²⁷ For example, on page 272 (which describes the genus *Scandix* and the species *S. pectin-veneris*, *Venus’ Comb*), concerning a footnote referring to Hooker’s comments on the Greek meaning of the name *Scandix* as being to prick, the footnote has been bracketed by Ruskin, with the comment: ‘!, ? !! But Liddell gives no deriv.’ Since the date of publication of this edition is 1869, it is possible that the reference to it was made after that date, unless Ruskin owned an earlier edition, which he subsequently replaced.

Loudon (John Claudius Loudon *Arboretum et Fructicetum Britannicum, or the Trees and Shrubs of Britain, Native and Foreign*. London, 1838, 1st edition).²⁸ For example, on Plate 21 (3. 361 text reference), concerning *Andromeda polifolia*, Marsh *Andromeda*, Ruskin has written ‘May to September; in mountain marshes. Named *Andromeda* by Linnaeus, because its haunts are so exposed and desolate. Sometimes called Marsh Holy Rose. For account of it, see Loudons *Arboretum* p. 1105’.

My Flora For example, on page 297 (dealing with the Genus *Delphinium*), there are cross-references to *Flora Danica*, as F. 4.683 (which is the plate for *Delphinium consolida*) and ‘*My Flora* 1. 21.’ No reason for the cross-references is given. The fact that no author is given suggests that the reference is to a personal collection of pressed plants or botanical drawings. The reference is not, however, to the *Flora of Chamouni*,²⁹ the only book of pressed plants by Ruskin that I know of, nor so far as can be ascertained, to his Savoy Flora.³⁰

²⁴ Ibid. No. 1250.

²⁵ Ibid. No. 1249.

²⁶ I thank Professor Geoff Horrocks, St John’s College, Cambridge, who writes: ‘*ereuthédanon* = madder’ [*Rubia tinctorum*] - he cites a reference to its use by the historian Herodotus in Book 4 of the ‘Histories’, Ch. 189.

²⁷ See Dearden, 2012, No. 1545.

²⁸ Ibid, No. 1600.

²⁹ Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster (Ms 65).

³⁰ Professor Jim Spates, personal communication, recalled that one of Ruskin’s diaries from the late 1850s had

Pliny (the Elder, probably, 1723).³¹ For example, on page 149 Ruskin has written, in connection with a footnote concerning *Polymonium* (Jacob's Ladder) as a cause of war: 'From Polemonium in Pauliis. Pliny, Vol II, p. 368. note to 28'.

Also, in *Baxter's* notes following the description of *Ornithogalum umbellatum* on pages 124 and the unnumbered reverse, there is a reference to Dioscorides and Pliny referring to the fact that the word ornithogalum means Bird's-milk and that *O. umbellatum*, when boiled, was eaten by the poorer inhabitants of Palestine, leading to its common name being Star of Bethlehem. In the margin, Ruskin has underlined 'Pliny' and has written 'Vol II p 251. l[ine]. 16'.

Salmon (William Salmon *Botanologia: The English Herbal*, 1710).³² For example, on page 149 Ruskin has written, with reference to the shape of the leaves of *Polymonium caeruleum*, Jacob's Ladder: '(Salmon, 1211. Not much.)'.

Sowerby (James Sowerby (with J. E. Smith) *English Botany...36 Volumes*, 1790-1814.³³) For example, on the verso of page 1, as a reference to a footnote dealing with the family Liliaceae, Ruskin writes: 'Liliaceae, all altered since then. See Sowerby. Page 128'. This is not a reference to the re-ordered 2nd edition dealt with below.

Sowerby (The re-ordered 2nd edition which forms part of the present study). For example, at the head of page 14 (which deals with the genus *Epilobium* – Willowherbs) Ruskin has written 'Sowerby 4. 495 Conf. F. 6. 922'. The F reference, to *Flora Danica*, is to plate 922, which is of *Epilobium montanum* (Broad-leaved Willow-Herb). The reference to *Sowerby* is to Plate 495 of the re-ordered second edition, numbered in pencil in Ruskin's hand; actually in Vol. 3, not 4, which is of *Epilobium alsinifolium*, Chickweed Willow-herb, species number 495 in *The London Index*, also part of the present study.

Thus, this cross-reference in *Baxter* (presumably re-ordered before 1855 – see note 12) must have been inserted after 1874, the date of publication of the 7th edition of *The London Catalogue*, which is bound in with Ruskin's re-ordered 2nd edition of *Sowerby* and was used as the basis for the re-ordering and re-numbering the *Sowerby* plates (see below). The cross reference also

the word Flora on the cover, but knew of no Ruskin book in America with that kind of focus. Professor Stephen Wildman, personal communication, commented: 'This must refer to the diary notebook MS 11 (1856-59) which has at the bottom of the upper cover: "The botany cut out was my 'Savoy Flora' done chiefly at Mornex." But your example, of 'My Flora 1.21', doesn't fit since page 21 carries journal entries for 1856.'

³¹ See Dearden, 2012, No. 2027.

³² Ibid. No. 2358.

³³ Ibid. No. 2542.

provides strong evidence to support the assumption made throughout this paper that Ruskin owned and re-ordered the Volumes of both *Baxter* and *Sowerby*. A previous owner of the books has noted this important cross-reference, for a note on a slip of paper has been inserted at plate 495 of *Sowerby*, which reads 'Cross-ref. from Baxter 1.14.'

Internal Cross-references

There are scattered internal cross-references, two examples being as follows.

Page 201, verso (which is part of a description of the genus *Drosera* – the *Sundews*, carnivorous plants), the footnotes dealing with the properties of the [protein degrading, enzymatic] exudates from the leaves have been marked by Ruskin, who has written in the margin 'Conf 209', which is an internal cross-reference to page 209, concerned with another genus of carnivorous plants, *Pinguicula* – the Butterworts. At the top of page 209 Ruskin has written 'Conf. Drosera. 201', taking him back to *Drosera*. A second cross-reference on page 209 is to 'Conf. F. 6. 1/21', this being *Flora Danica* plate 1021, of *Pinguicula vulgaris*. This is one of the very few annotations suggesting any scientific curiosity, other than those concerning taxonomy and nomenclature. It is interesting to note that plants of *Pinguicula*, one with characteristic blue flowers, appear in the bottom right foreground of the portrait of Ruskin painted by John Everett Millais in 1853/4.³⁴

Page 273 describes *Onopordum acanthium*, Common Cotton Thistle. Ruskin has written 'Conf. Ononis. 289 [Rest-harrow]', near a footnote attributed to Hooker that refers to the origin of the name being the Greek word *onos*, an ass + the Latin word *perdo*, Greek *pedere*, meaning a fart, this being the effect, according to Pliny, on the ass who eats it. Whether Ruskin intended to confirm the effect by experiment is not stated!

Marginal and textual annotations

There are more than 45 in total, especially in the descriptions of plates in Vols. 1-3. Very few, like most of the cross references, suggest scientific curiosity. Many relate to the (often Classical) origins of either the scientific or common names of plants, a popular subject of study at the time, as evidenced by the numerous footnotes concerning etymology in Vols. 1-3. Others, often witty, are simply comments on the printed descriptions or are aesthetic comments of one kind and another. In some cases there are crossings out,

³⁴ Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; drawn to my attention by Dr. Henry Noltie.

suggesting that Ruskin disagreed, sometimes violently, with what is printed, although the reasons for his disagreement are only occasionally detailed. A few of the annotations are in Greek script. Some examples, chosen to illustrate the diversity of the annotations, are given below.

Page 1 describes *Fritillaria meleagris*, Fritillary, Chequered daffodil, Snake's-head. Ruskin has underlined the alternative species name, *tesselata*, and written in the margin 'This better', presumably as a description of the chequer-patterned flower. At the bottom of the page, again referring to the shape of and pattern on the flower, he has written 'I can't find derivation of Meleagris. Snake's head. Dicebox. For as pretty a flower!' [In fact, the name is said to mean³⁵ 'spotted like the guineafowl' (*Numida meleagris*).]

Page 3 carries a description of *Geum rivale*, Water Avens. Ruskin has underlined Avens and has added a + sign, with the footnote '+ From *aveo*? To desire fervently. Bloom. – *auet immolato. spargier agno*'.³⁶

Page 4, verso includes a reference to *Viola lutea* having no scent, with a footnote giving a poem by Chauncey Hare Townsend, that begins 'Deceitful plant!' and continues for three stanzas to denigrate *V. lutea* for having no scent. Ruskin was clearly so angry about this poem that he has scribbled all over it!

Page 7, verso suggests that *Adonis autumnalis*, the red-flowered Pheasant's Eye, Adonis-flower, Flos-adonis, is a very pretty annual for the flower border and gives an alternative common name as being Rose-a-rubie. Ruskin has marked this and written 'Pretty French name Rose-a-rubie'.

Page 13: from one of the common names for *Bupleurum rotundifolium*, Thorow-wax, Ruskin has drawn a line with a question mark leading to a footnote suggesting that the name derives from the stem waxing, or growing through (thorow) the leaves. The leaves of *B. rotundifolium*, now extinct in the wild, were indeed perfoliate, i.e. encircling the stem, giving the impression that it had grown through them. Ruskin also encircled and put a question mark against a footnote attributed to Hooker that suggests that the genus name, *Bupleurum*, derives from the Greek words, *bos*, an ox and *pleuron*, a rib, these referring together to the ribbed leaves of some species.

³⁵ W. T. Stearn., *Stearn's Dictionary of Plant Names for Gardeners* (London: Cassell, 2004).

³⁶ I thank Professor G. Horrocks of St John's College, Cambridge for the comment: 'Ruskin is speculating that *avens* is simply the participle of the verb *avere* "to long for", = "the one that pines", and quotes from poem 11 of Book IV of Horace's *Odes* (lines 7-8), which was composed for the birthday of his patron Maecenas: "(the altar) ... longs to be sprinkled with (the blood of) a sacrificed lamb".'

Page 18 describes the *Cuscuta europaea*, great Dodder, Hellweed, a parasitic plant. Ruskin has marked and underlined the sentence that states that the embryo of *Cuscuta* species is without cotyledons and that Gertner observes that it is 'filiform, spiral and monocotyledonous'. The word bractea (structures which form part of the flower) is underlined and the common name Hellweed has been marked and given two exclamation marks.

Page 22, verso: Ruskin has marked a paragraph suggesting that *Teucrium scorodonia*, Wood Sage, Sage-leaved Germander has a sweet scent, that it could therefore be used as an alternative to hops in brewing and that in Jersey an alternative name is Ambroise and that on that island, when cider, the usual beverage, had failed, malted barley was brewed with Ambroise being substituted for hops. To this Ruskin has appended the note 'Ambrosia, note'.

Page 24 of *Baxter* describes *Tanacetum vulgare*, Common Tansy. Ruskin has marked the genus name, written beside it 'Most notable' and then inserted a line to the footnote suggesting that the name is altered from *Athanasia: a*, Greek 'not' plus *thanatos*, 'death', thus 'that which does not easily die'. Another note by Ruskin, linked to the main line by a branch line, reads 'Conf next page. 1' and refers to a footnote dealing with the medicinal properties of Tansy.

Page 28 describes the *Aristolochia clematitis*, Common Birthwort. Ruskin has underlined and question marked the footnote that suggests that the name derives from the Greek words *aristos*, best, and *lochero*, to bring forth, in allusion to the supposed value as an aid in childbirth. On the verso he has marked long sections dealing with the aspects of the flower structure which ensure cross-pollination by insects.

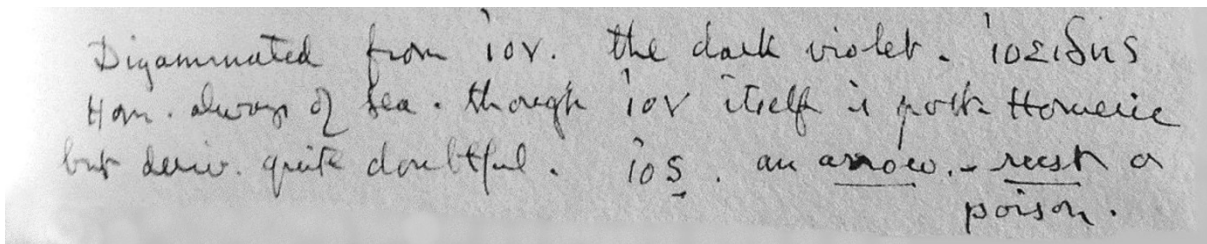
Page 139 describes *Petasites vulgaris*, Butterbur. Markings and a linking line in Ruskin's hand emphasise the footnotes dealing with Greek origin of the name being *pétasos*, a covering to the head or umbrella, relating to the large size of the leaves; and to the leaves being used formerly to wrap butter in.

Page 177 verso includes a footnote marked by Ruskin, which tells the story of how the seventeenth century French artist Charles Le Brun left a painting with a thistle in the foreground to dry outdoors, resulting in the plant being eaten by a passing donkey. It was suggested by the writer that Le Brun well deserved this high praise from nature. Ruskin clearly disagreed and added '!! Of Le Brun of all men! The least able or willing to do a bit of still life'.

Extended Greek annotations³⁷

There are only two, as follows.

Page 4, which describes *Viola canina*, [Heath] Dog's Violet. Ruskin has marked and given three exclamation marks to the footnote proposing possible Classical origins for the names and has written, close by, the sentence shown below. Professor Horrocks writes: 'the first word is *ίον* (=violet), the second is *ioeidés* (= violet coloured/violet looking); and the third is *ίος* (= arrow or rust/poison). He is considering the possibility of a connection?'



Page 449 describes *Menziesia polifolia*, Polium-leaved Menziesia (a Heath). Ruskin has marked and annotated this as shown below. Professor Horrocks writes: 'The sentence at the bottom is a quotation from Hesiod's poem *Works and Days*, lines 491-2 (a "literary" didactic poem dealing with the farmer's lot): "Don't fail to note grey spring as it comes, and seasonal rain". Ruskin seems to playing with the idea that there may be a connection between *poliós* = "grey", and *πόλιον* = "Teucrium polium", a pungent herb (literally "Trojan polium"). The colour, presumably, of the leaves...'.
+ μηδέ σε λήθη,
μήτ' ἔαρ γιγόμενον πολίον, μήθ' ὥριος ὄμβρος
ἔργα; 492

Extended annotations on plates

Only a small number of plates are annotated, most being the first few plates in Vol. IV. It seems that having written comments on these Ruskin lost interest in the enterprise or found another, more attractive project. Most of the annotations relate to the habitat of the species depicted, the origin of its name(s) or its uses to humankind. Ruskin's hand-written notes and comments were fitted around the illustrations (not shown) and are given here verbatim, with original punctuation, but without the original spacing.

³⁷ I thank Professor G. C. Horrocks of St John's College, Cambridge for the notes on the Greek annotations.

At the top of each section, in square brackets, are Baxter's original plate numbers and the name of species illustrated (accents omitted). Below these I have given Ruskin's hand-written plate number (originally at top right of the plate) and beside it (originally in the centre of the page) his cross-reference to the appropriate description in Vols. 1 -3. I have emboldened some of the headings to help the reader navigate the text.³⁸

Class 1 Foils
Order 4 Reverted Foils

[9; *Circaea lutetiana*, Enchanter's Nightshade.]
92; 1.9

June to August
2 petalled corolla - note

Class II Bells
Order 1 Crocus Bells

[185; *Gentiana pneumonanthe*, Marsh Gentian.]
1; 2.185
August & September .

[137; *Crocus nudiflorus*, Naked-flowering Crocus.]
2; 1. 137

October. Sandy wet meadows
Capsule ripens in May.

[17; *Colchicum autumnale*, Meadow Saffron.]
3; 1. 17

September, October.
Acrid. Bad for Cattle?

[202; *Trichonema bulbocodium*, Channel-leaved Trichonema.]
4; 2. 202

March. April
Rare in England.
Grows about Fountain of Egeria

[464; *Anthericum serotinum*, Mountain Spiderwort]
5; 3. 464
June. Only on high mountains.
Wales: Switzerland.
It is one of the asphodels.
Anthérikos. Fruit - a stalk of Asphodel!

[33; *Galanthus nivalis*, Snowdrop.]
6; 1. 33

³⁸ I thank Alison Ingram for making the initial transcript.

Galanthus; (milk flower). Dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin.
It is an Amaryllis.

[1. 55; *Leucojum aestivum*, Summer Snowflake.]
7; 1. 55

In moist meadows. May and June.

[Greek text³⁹ *leukós* [white] *íon* [violet] *leukóion* [literally white-violet]: (but the Greeks called wallflower *leukóion*)

It is an Amaryllis."

[1.1; *Fritillaria maleagris*, - Snake's Head.]
8; 1.1

April and May. In moist meadows.

Liliaceae. (This order contains only two British genera. *Fritillaria* and *Tulipa*)

[2; *Tulipa sylvestris*, Wild Tulip.]
9; 1.2

April. In old chalk-pits & limestone quarries.

(Liliaceae). *Tulipa* Named from *toliban*, persian [sic.] for a turban .

Contains in winter the entire flower of next summer, fertile stamens and all, shut up in its root, and visible with a low power magnifying glass.

Flower does not open till ten in the morning

[Ruskin has also marked this information in the text, Vol. 1. page 2.]

Order 2 Hyacinth Bells

[92; *Muscari racemosum*, Starch Grape-hyacinth.]
10; 1.92

April. In fields and among ruins.

(Asphodeleae)

Muscari , from [Greek] *móschos* [= 'young/fresh shoot'], in its sense of musk , because the scent of one kind is said to be musky.

[74; *Hyacinthus non-scriptus*, Harebell [now *Hyacinthoides non-scriptus*, Bluebell or, in Scotland, Wild Hyacinth].]

11; 1.74

May and June.

(Asphodeleae). The roots when fresh, poisonous

Dedicated to St George

Non-scriptus, because it has not on its leaves like other Hyacinths, the initials of the youth's name

Our cultivated Hyacinths species from *Hyacinthus Orientalis* not from this.

[78; *Convallaria majalis*, Lily of the Valley.]
12; 1.78

May. Whence its name, May - valley flower .

³⁹ I thank Professor G. C. Horrocks, St John's College, Cambridge, for the translations in this table.

(Smilacaceae)

Very medicinal

When dried is reduced to powder its flowers excite sneezing

An extract from them, or the roots, has the qualities of Aloes .

A beautiful and durable green colour may be got by lime from the leaves.

[61; *Campanula rotundifolia*, Round-leaved Bell-flower [now Harebell or, in Scotland, Bluebell].]

13; 1.61 [In this case the number was off-centre, to the right and below the text; the 1 appeared to be in Ruskin's hand and the 61 printed on the plate, i.e. the original plate number.]

(Campanulaceae) June to September

True Bluebell . and Harebell.

Sometimes called in England Witches Thimble.

The note on its name in the text of Vol 1 is useful

[507; *Cucubalus baccifer*, Berry-bearing Campion.]

14; 3.507 [In this case the number was off-centre, to the right and below the text; the 3. appeared to be in Ruskin's hand and the 507 printed on the plate, i.e. the original plate number.]

(Carophylleae) May to July. Woods & Hedges.

Name altered from *cacobolus* [Ruskin gives two Greek words that are compounded as *cacobolus*, the Latin spelling of a Greek word: *kakós* = bad and *bolé* = throw/strike/glance.]

(Bad sprig), as a troublesome weed.

Grows from two to five feet long.

Berries said to be poisonous

[89; *Primula veris*, Common Cowslip.]

15; 1.89

(Primulaceae)

Primula; because so early in flower ; so also Primrose .

Cowslip. Some think from resemblance of scent to breath of a cow.

[101; *Symphytum officinale*, Common Comfrey.]

16; 1. 101

(Boragineae) May to September. In moist fields and by river banks .

Symphytum from [Greek] *sumphúo* [= [cause to] grow together] because of supposed healing powers over wounds.

The mucilage of its root, good for coughs.

[301; *Lithospermum purpuro-caeruleum* , Purple Gromwell.]

17; 2. 301

(Boragineae) April and May .

In mountain and woody pastures

Rare

Lithospermum

From its hard & stonelike seed.

[102; *Pulmonaria officinalis*, Common Lungwort.]

18; 1. 102

(Boragineae) May .

In woods and thickets. Rare.

Used for consumption, because its spotted leaves were thought to resemble the lungs .

When burnt, said to give more ashes than any other vegetable

[279; *Cotyledon umbilicus*, Wall Navelwort.]
19; 2.279

(Crassulaceae)

June to October. On damp rocks and old walls.

Cotyledon, from [Greek] *kotúle* [= 'cup [shaped cavity]'], the leaves resembling generally a cup, umbilical because in this species they are like the navel.

Whole plants succulent & smooth.

Order 3 Heather Bells

[449; *Menziesia polifolia*, Polion-leaved Menziesia.]
20; 3.449

(Ericaceae)

June to August, on the Irish mountains - only?

[361; *Andromeda polifolia*, Marsh Andromeda.]
21; 3.361

(Ericaceae)

May to September; in mountain marshes.

Named Andromeda by Linnaeus, because its haunts are so exposed and desolate.

Sometimes called Marsh Holy Rose.

For account of it, see Loudons *Arboretum* p. 1105.

[Ruskin has also noted this information in the text, Vol. 3, page 361.]

Class 3

Order 3 Sailor's Hoods

[169; *Antirrhinum majus*, Great Snapdragon.]
42; 2.169.

'Toad flax' 'Bulldogs.'

[16; *Stachys palustris*, Clown's Allheal.]
61; 1.16

note peculiarity of root.

F. D. 1103 not the least like [I agree!]

Concluding remarks

The re-ordered and annotated *Baxter* is a fascinating and important work. There emerges from my examination of it a picture of Ruskin, an immensely intelligent, yet decidedly amateur botanist (see Collingwood, footnote 14), fascinated with his chosen subject, but endlessly frustrated by the rapidly evolving, and therefore bewilderingly confusing and often incomprehensible (to the outsider at least) classification schemes of the professionals. This frustration and Ruskin's solution to it was ultimately to find full, idiosyncratic

expression in *Proserpina*.⁴⁰ In *Baxter* he provides an early, partial solution in an entertaining, yet relatively unsophisticated scheme, based on a simple re-arrangement of the illustrations in a standard botanical work of the day. In his attempt to revolutionise plant taxonomy, however, Ruskin loses much of the sophistication of existing classifications, which he clearly despises ('Linnean, Jussieuan and Everybody-elsian'-see footnote 13), especially in the choice, ordering and weighting of the characters chosen to define and describe his new Classes and Orders. Moreover, he stops short of his ultimate objective in leaving the Linnean binomials unchanged, a step that in *Proserpina* he did not shy away from. The classification scheme in *Baxter*, with all its deficiencies, is a step on the road to *Proserpina*, which presumably provided Ruskin with an opportunity to bring to bear his own sophisticated and acute powers of observation and analysis as a way of gaining a deeper understanding of his chosen subject.

Conspicuous by their absence in the annotations and cross reference in the re-ordered *Baxter*, or in the new classification itself, are any references to the works of Linnaeus, well represented in Ruskin's library,⁴¹ whose sexual system of classification, based on stamens and pistils, set the pattern for the next century and whose *Species Plantarum*⁴² gave every species a binomial. Nor is there mention of Bernard de Jussieu, his nephew Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu,⁴³ or Michel Adanson,⁴⁴ who all greatly extended and elaborated on the work of Linnaeus. By the early nineteenth century, thanks to their efforts and the work of others, there was already in place a precise binomial system for naming plants, an approach to classification based on natural affinities and a clear delineation of the major natural orders (or families). The work of such significant plant taxonomist was further consolidated and extended by Ruskin's contemporaries, again unmentioned, not least the distinguished botanist Sir Joseph Hooker, F.R.S. (1817-1911), whose edited version of *Genera Plantarum*, originally written by the gifted amateur plant taxonomist George Bentham, F.R.S. (1800-1884), later became the standard botanical work for the next century, usually referred to simply as *Bentham and Hooker*.⁴⁵ By turning his back on earlier and of classification and the work of his contemporaries, and by failing to recognise and build on their strengths, Ruskin missed the opportunity, both in re-classifying the plants illustrated and described in *Baxter* and in writing *Proserpina* (by this time even with the advice of 'good Mr Oliver', his 'botanical friend' from Kew⁴⁶), to make the enduring and

⁴⁰ *Proserpina*, Introduction, Vol. 1 (*Works*, 30, 197-206).

⁴¹ See Dearden, 2012.

⁴² See footnote 13.

⁴³ See footnote 13.

⁴⁴ *Familles naturelles des Plantes* (1763).

⁴⁵ Published by A. Black, London (1862-83).

⁴⁶ Professor Daniel Oliver, F.R.S., see *Proserpina*, Vol. 2, p. 331.

widely acceptable contribution to plant taxonomic study which, it might be argued, he was eminently capable of.

But why should he, it might reasonable be argued? As Collingwood, with all the insight of a secretary, observes (see footnote 14): '[His botanical books all showed] his purely artistic and unscientific interest in natural history'. It is thus plant classification as seen through the eyes of a nineteenth century artist, rather than of a scientist, that makes the re-ordered *Baxter* and later, the two volumes of *Proserpina*, so fascinating and revealing.

With the rest of the cross references, the marginal and textual annotations and the annotations to some of the plates, probably added during the years following the re-ordering, there emerges a picture of Ruskin gradually extending his studies of plants as he gathers material for *Proserpina*. He brings to bear all his observational and aesthetic gifts in comparing the illustrations of Baxter with those of earlier Flora writers. In addition, his linguistic skills and knowledge of the classics are used to great effect in analysing and probing the precise meanings and origins of the terms and plant names used by the professionals. He finds both delight and fault in the many footnotes on these topics and on the use of plants in the service of humankind, especially as herbal remedies or ancient sources of food. In all this he looks back to older botanical and Classical works, ignoring the great advances being made in, for example, geographical botany by Joseph Hooker, experimental plant physiology by Julius von Sachs (1832-1897),⁴⁷ evolution by Charles Darwin,⁴⁸ or even his own insightful work in *Modern Painters* on plant form and development, which, when developed further in *Proserpina*, in some senses anticipated the later work D'Arcy Thomson (1860-1948).⁴⁹ But there is again no reason to be surprised at these omissions, for once more it is precisely because they are the botanical thoughts of Ruskin the *artist*, not the scientist, that they are so interesting

*Sowerby*⁵⁰

Three editions of *Sowerby* were published during the 18th/19th centuries.

⁴⁷ *Lehrbuch der Botanik* (1868).

⁴⁸ Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, was to be published by John Murray, London, in 1859.

⁴⁹ *On Growth and Form* (1917), Cambridge University Press; see also D.S. Ingram & S. Wildman, *Ruskin's Flora* (Lancaster: Ruskin Library and Research Centre, 2011) pp. 14-18.

⁵⁰ An un-altered 2nd edition of *Sowerby* (I thank the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh for allowing me to examine a copy there) comprises seven volumes devoted to flowering plants. The contents of the seven volumes are arranged systematically and follow the Linnean classification scheme sequentially throughout the series, although the pages of each volume are numbered separately. Each volume begins with the descriptions of the species, followed by the relevant plates arranged in the same order as the descriptions. Each description includes the name of the Linnean Class, Order and Genus of the species described, followed by the Natural Order (equivalent to the modern Family). Each volume has separate indexes of Latin and English names.

Thirty-seven volumes of the first edition, published between 1790 and 1814, formed part of Ruskin's library⁵¹ and were quoted in his writings about plants (often referred to as 'old Sowerby'). I believe this is the edition referred to by Collingwood in *Ruskin Relics* as: '...the three dozen volumes and index of Sowerby's "English Botany," ...' (see footnote 14). Eleven volumes of the inferior third edition, edited by J.T.B. Syme, and published between 1863 and 1872, also formed part of Ruskin's library.⁵² The present second edition, sometimes referred to as 'the small edition', has not previously been included in any catalogue of Ruskin's library, so far as I am aware.

Volume I of the edition of *Sowerby* presumed to have been re-ordered and re-bound by Ruskin comprises, firstly, the unaltered *London Catalogue*, which lists genera and species of British flowering plants, the individual species being provided with a single number in the sequence in which they are printed and an indication of their rarity or frequency. The catalogue also includes two lists of 'Excluded Species': 'A. Aliens; Casuals; Waifs of Cultivation, Etc.'; and 'B. Ambiguities; Errors; Impositions; Extinctions'.

The London Catalogue is followed by the descriptions of the genera and species of all the flowering plants included in the first seven volumes of the unaltered 2nd edition of *Sowerby*, but does not include any of the plates. The order of the descriptions is unchanged and each volume group retains its original English and Latin indexes. Each of the pages of descriptions has been numbered, in pencil, in a hand that resembles that of Ruskin, in sequence up to number 646. Bound in at the end of Volume I are several, narrow-lined manuscript pages. The facing sides of most of these are each divided, by a faint pencil line, into two broad columns, with a list of genera, written in black ink, in alphabetical order, on the left side of each column. The genera in each column are then assigned, also in columns separated by faint pencil lines, Volume, Plate and Page Numbers. The writing on these pages has been confirmed to be that of John Ruskin.⁵³

Volumes II-VII contain all the plates of the flowering plants described in the first seven volumes of *Sowerby*, but rearranged in the order in which the species are listed in *The London Catalogue*. Each plate has been given a number, in pencil, in the top right hand corner, this being the number in *The London Catalogue* of the species illustrated. The numbers appear to be in the same hand that compiled the index, the distinctive forms of the 7s and 8s being particularly useful in coming to this conclusion.

⁵¹ Dearden (2012), catalogue number 2542.

⁵² Ibid, catalogue number 2543.

⁵³ By Professor Stephen Wildman and described by him as 'Ruskin's best handwriting'.

Thus in the hand-written index, for each genus listed, the Volume number refers to the Volume in which the plate(s) for the genus occurs; the Plate number refers to the plate for the *first* species of that genus illustrated; and the Page number refers to the page in Volume I on which the genus is described.⁵⁴ For example, *Hedera helix* (Ivy) appears in the manuscript as follows: Vol 4; Plate 614; Page 139. *Hedera helix* is species 614 in *The London Catalogue*. The *Sowerby* plate of this species may be found in Volume IV of and has the manuscript number 614 in the top right hand corner. Finally, the description of the Genus *Hedera* and of the species *H. helix*, appear on the page in Volume I given the manuscript number 139 in the top right corner.

In the case of a genus with several species, such as *Geranium* (the Cranesbills), only the number of the first species of this Genus mentioned in the London Catalogue, 273 (*G. sanguineum*), is listed in the manuscript Index against Geranium, as: Vol. 3; Plate 273; Page 428. The first Plate of a *Geranium* species in Volume III is thus *G. sanguineum*, and has the manuscript number 273; and the page in Volume I on which the Genus *Geranium* is first described has the manuscript number 428.

The hand-written numbers of *Sowerby* plates illustrating species in *The London Catalogue* list A of Excluded Species (Aliens, etc.) are given the London Catalogue number of the species that would have been positioned immediately before it prior to re-ordering, together with (usually) a lower case letter a, possibly in Ruskin's hand, but this is not certain since the volumes of *Sowerby* include numbers and annotations in at least one more hand than that of Ruskin. Thus the plate of *Staphylea pinnata*, European Bladdernut, an alien species naturalised in the UK, is given the number 295a and the Genus is not included in Ruskin's hand-written index. The number is, however, indicated in pencil against the name of this species in list A on page 29 of *The London Catalogue*, although the hand in this case may not be that of Ruskin. The plate itself is placed immediately following the plate numbered 295, of *Euonymus europaeus*, Spindle, since it would have been positioned close to this plate in the original second edition of *Sowerby* (i.e. before re-ordering). The suffix 'a' is also sometimes used to denote anomalies.

The plates of species in *The London Catalogue* list B of excluded species (Extinctions, etc.) are usually left un-numbered, but are nevertheless included in the volumes of plates in the position they would have occupied if they had been numbered. Thus the plates of *Vicia hybrida*, Hairy-flowered Yellow Vetch, and *Vicia laevigata*, Sea Vetch, both of which occur in list B, have not been given numbers. However, beside the name of *V. hybrida* in list B itself is

⁵⁴ There are, however, occasional errors or inconsistencies.

	Vol	Plate	Page		Vol	Plate	Page
- A							
Acer	3	298	240	Artemisia	2	212	271
Aceras	6	1261	542	Armeria	5	1055	109
Achillea	4	694	530	Artemisia	2	114	403
Aconitum	2	44	334	Arnosensis	4	746	493
Acorus	6	1210	210	Artematherum	7	1531	43
Actaea	2	45	322	Artemisia	4	696	507
Actinocarpus	6	1256	228	Arum	6	1211	592
Adiantum	1	1300	319	Arundo	7	1517	64
Adonis	2	10	340	Asarum	6	1129	287
Adoxa	4	618	246	Asparagus	6	1324	208
Egopodium	4	565	159	Asperugo	5	1027	107
Aethusa	4	585	166	Asperula	4	641	70
Agrimonia	3	387	288	Aster	4	730	579
Agropyrum	7	1587	67	Astragalus	3	349	457
Agrostemma	2	193	280	Astrantia	4	533	"
Agrostis	7	1506	37	Altriplex	5	1084	644
Aira	7	1520	40	Atropa	5	875	126
Ajuga	5	996	357	Avena	7	1526	61
Alchemilla	3	392	89	Azaha	5	830	115
Alisma	6	1253	288				
Alliaria	II	96	418	B			
Allium	6	1338	201	Ballota	5	977	359
Allosorus	1	1276	313	Barbarea	2	105	413
Alnus	6	1161	582	Barbarea	5	922	374
Alpestrum	7	1491	34	Barbarea	4	734	524
Alsine	2	218	271	Berberis	2	46	195
Althaea	2	260	434	Beta	5	1072	145
Alyssum	2	124	407	Betonica	5	978	364
Anacallis	6	1260		Betula	6	1192	598
Anagallis	5	1049	114	Bidens	4	725	503
Anchusa	5	1019	103	Blysmus	7	1387	23
Androsace	5	831	257	Borago	5	1022	106
Anemone	2	7	338	Borkhansia	4	767	491
Angelica	4	592	171	Brachypodium	7	1585	68
Antennaria	4	710	509	Brasica	2	75	421
Anthemis	4	690	527	Briza	7	1520	52
Anthoxanthum	7	1488	45	Bromus	7	1574	58
Anthriscus	4	604	179	Bryonia	3	513	587
Antyllus	3	310	445	Burnium	4	569	161
Antirrhinum	5	890	383	Bupleurium	4	574	163
Apargia	4	757	483	Butomus	6	1257	248
Apera	7	1506	37	Buxus	6	1132	583
Apium	4	538	156				
Apulegia	2	42	335	C			
Aradis	2	98	411	Cakile	2	67	394
Arbitus	5	830	252	Calamagrostis	7	1514	64
Arctium	4	672	494	Calamintha	5	962	369
Arctostaphylos	5	828	252	Callitriche	3	507	561

The first page of Ruskin's hand-written index to the re-ordered Sowerby.

written the number 367a, and beside *V. laevigata*, the number 367B, but there is no clear evidence that these letters are in Ruskin's hand. The number 367 itself is used for *Vicia bithynica*, Rough-podded Purple Vetch, while 368 is used for the related species *Lathyrus Aphaca* (Yellow Vetchling). Thus, in the re-ordered Volume III, the plates for *V. hybrida* and *V. laevigata* are included, in that order, between the plates of *V. bithynica* and *L. Aphaca*. In Ruskin's Index the genus *Vicia* is given as Vol 3, Plate 356 (this being the plate number of *V. hirsuta*, the first *Vicia* species listed in *The London Catalogue*). The genus *Lathyrus* is given as Vol 3, Plate 368 (the plate for *L. Aphaca*, this being the first *Lathyrus* species mentioned).

Annotations in Sowerby

In addition to the page and plate numbers, and the hand-written Index, there are numerous, scattered marginal annotations written lightly in pencil in Volume I and on the plates in Vols. II-VII. These are in the hands of at least two different people. Whether one of these hands is that of Ruskin is not clear. These notes give marginal numbers for specific species, note which species appear in the lists of exclusions or are extinct, and others indicate where particular species had been observed or collected. Many of the latter refer to broad geographical areas such as Ireland, N. Wales, Yorkshire and Scotland and South and Western coasts of England, while others refer to specific places close to or within easy reach of Cambridge, such as Devil's Ditch, Fulbourn & Linton, Barton, West Fen Ely, Wicken and Bottisham Fens, Wisbech, Brandon, and even 'Doubtful if in the county at all' (this of *Geranium rotundifolium*), suggesting that the writer had some connection with Cambridge or its county. Some indicate flowering times or information about the types of habitats in which species are thought to grow, such as Woods & thickets, Chalk & Limestone, mountain & sea coast or Highest Mountains of Scotland Blue rock [sic.]. Some are simply the Latin name of the plant depicted, if this is not printed on a plate or the printed name has been superseded. A few of the annotations are written very close to the top of the page and in a small number of cases it appears that they might have been cropped during re-binding, for example, the Latin name *Fraxinus heterophylla* written at the top of Ruskin's Plate 847a (original Plate number 2476), which carries no printed name. In such cases the annotations may have been inserted by Ruskin, or his secretary or a helper, but at this stage there is no proof of this.

It is concluded that the hand writing of the index, page numbers and annotations of the *Sowerby* volumes requires further careful comparative study, ideally by someone who, unlike this author, is very familiar with the writing of John Ruskin and his later secretaries and helpers.

Separate letter

The volumes of *Sowerby* also include a separate, four-page, hand-written letter in blue-black ink, dated 'October 3rd 1920'. It is addressed to 'Dear Frank' and signed 'W.G.R.' and comprises four sides of lists of plants which, the writer says, were found while he/she was with the recipient between 'Aug 26 and Sept 11'. Some species are marked with a cross, and the writer says he/she also found these at 'Aston Botterell, Salop in the preceding fortnight.' Some are marked with a "w" which the writer says 'stands for Wicken' (a fen near Cambridge). The letter goes on to say that 'this is only a list compiled by an amateur botanist', implying that the recipient might be a professional botanist. Finally, he notes that he/she was 'reading up' the Labiatae [syn. Lamiaceae] at Aston Botterell and that 'next year if possible I will go for the Umbelliferae' [syn. Apiaceae]. It would appear from the mention of Wicken, that the recipient had a connection with Cambridge and could have been the author of some of the pencil annotations in *Sowerby* linking particular species with locations close to Cambridge, but this cannot be concluded with certainty. The identity of W.G.R. and whether he/she actually lived in Aston Botterell or simply visited that small village is not known and requires further research. It is tempting to speculate that the Frank to whom W.G.R.'s letter was addressed was either Sir Francis 'Frank' Darwin, F.R.S. (1848-1925), Charles Darwin's son, or Professor, Francis 'Frank' Wall Oliver, F.R.S. (1864-1951)⁵⁵, of University College, London and Keeper of the Herbarium at Kew, as was his father before him (Professor Daniel Oliver, F.R.S., Ruskin's 'botanical friend'⁵⁶). Darwin was certainly a distinguished botanist who lived and was buried in Cambridge, , although by 1920 he was getting rather old;⁵⁷ Oliver was equally distinguished⁵⁸ and considerably younger than Darwin in 1920, but so far as I am aware did not live in Cambridge other than as an undergraduate. To establish whether or not either Darwin or Oliver owned the volumes after Ruskin would require further research, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Concluding remarks

It is not known exactly when the re-ordering and indexing of *Sowerby* was undertaken, except that it must have been during, or, more probably, some time after 1874. Perhaps, by this time, all Ruskin's creative and critical botanical energies had been exhausted in the writing of *Proserpina* and by

⁵⁵ I thank Professor Peter Ayres for pointing out that he was usually addressed as Frank by friends.

⁵⁶ *Proserpina*, (*Works*, 30, 331).

⁵⁷ See Gwen Raverat. *Period Piece: A Cambridge Childhood*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1952), pp.188-195. Also, P. G. Ayres *The Aliveness of Plants: The Darwins at the Dawn of Plant Science*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

⁵⁸ Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society, Vol. 8 (1952), No. 21, pp. 229-240.

illness, so that he was willing to accept without challenge H. C. Watson's elegantly uncomplicated and pragmatic, but certainly not simplistic 1874 scheme of classification of plants, intended to be used by both amateur and professional botanist alike. Whatever the reason, he was apparently prepared to re-order a second edition of *Sowerby* according to its recommendations and to devote considerable time and energy to compiling a detailed, comprehensive and both carefully and neatly written index to facilitate the use of the re-ordered volumes. In short, the re-ordered *Sowerby* seems to provide a gentle and clear end point to Ruskin's botanical explorations. However, judging by the many annotations in a hand(s) other than that of Ruskin on the pages of *Sowerby* and the fact that the cover of the first volume has become partially detached from the text, the work probably had considerable use by an owner or owners after Ruskin's death. That one of these might just possibly have been either Francis Darwin or Francis Wall Oliver must provide impetus for further study of the work.



Anemone pulsatilla, from *Sowerby*