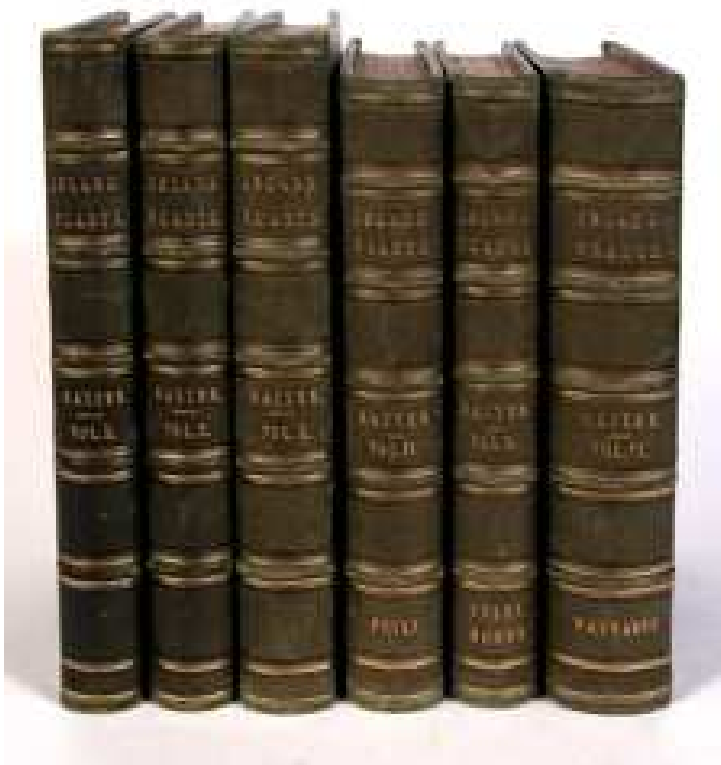


**Ruskin's Botanical Books:**  
**Re-ordered and Annotated Editions of**  
*Baxter and Sowerby*



**David Ingram**

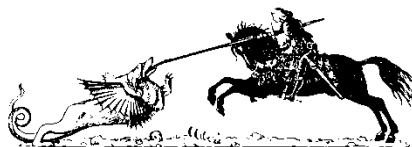
**The Guild of St George**

# Ruskin's Botanical Books:

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

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## Illustrations

### *Cover*

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

### *Back cover*

Fig. 2. The seven volumes of the re-ordered and rebound *Sowerby*.

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Fig. 10. Plate 495 (*Epilobium alsinifolium*, 'Chick-weed Willow-herb') of the re-ordered second edition of *Sowerby* that forms part of the present study. The plate is numbered in pencil, in Ruskin's hand, in the top right corner and is actually in Vol. 3, not 4, as Ruskin mistakenly wrote in his cross reference in *Baxter* (see Fig. 9). *Epilobium alsinifolium* is species number 495 in *The London Catalogue* (also part of the present study). The inserted slip of paper indicates that a previous owner of the books has also recognized the importance of this cross-reference – see text for details.

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Fig. 13. Extensively annotated Plate 9 in *Baxter*, showing *Tulipa sylvestris*, Wild Tulip.

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Fig. 14. Extensively annotated Plate 11 in *Baxter*, showing *Hyacinthus non-scriptus*, Hare-Bell (sic.). Note that Ruskin dedicated this species to St. George.

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Fig. 15. The first page of Ruskin’s hand written index to the re-ordered and rebound volumes of *Sowerby*.

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Fig. 16. *Anemone pulsatilla*, Pasque Lily, Plate 6 in the re-ordered and rebound *Sowerby*. Faintly visible at the top of the page is a pencil note indicating that this species was observed on the chalky dyke of the Devil’s Ditch, an ancient earthwork near Cambridge. The hand written plate number may be seen in the top right corner of the plate.

All the photographs reproduced as Figures 1 – 16 were taken by  
Hazel Drummond.

## Preface

This monograph is based on my studies of two sets of early botanical books, namely 2<sup>nd</sup> editions of W. Baxter's *British Phaenogamous Botany* (1834-43) and J.E. Smith & J. Sowerby's *English Botany* (1832-40), once the property of John Ruskin and re-ordered and annotated by him. The volumes were purchased by the Guild of St George in 2015. The monograph comprises two papers that document my researches.

The first paper, originally published in the Guild's journal *The Companion* (2016), is a relatively short, non-technical account of the research and serves as an accessible summary of the detailed paper which follows.

The second paper, originally published in the *Ruskin Review and Bulletin* (Vol. 12, no. 1, 2016), documents a detailed survey carried out in the Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster, where the books were housed temporarily during 2015.

Minor corrections and editorial changes have been made to the two papers before publication here and new Figures, commissioned from the photographer Hazel Drummond to illustrate both papers, have been placed between them.

David Ingram

Lancaster & Edinburgh, 2016

## Acknowledgements

I thank: Stuart Eagles who, while Secretary of the Guild of St George, first drew these books to my attention; the Master of the Guild, Clive Wilmer and the Directors of the Guild, for agreeing to the purchase of the books for the Guild's Collection and for agreeing to their temporary transfer to the Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster to enable me to study them; and the many Companions and friends of the Guild who contributed to the purchase of the books.

I also thank the Staff of the Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster (Stephen Wildman, Rebecca Patterson, Diane Tyler and Jennifer Shepherd) for their generous and unfailing support and advice throughout the period of study; and James Dearden and Henry Noltie for discussion of various matters relating to the research.

I am most grateful to Stuart Eagles, as Editor of the *Companion* and Alan Davis and Jennifer Shepherd, Editor and Managing Editor, respectively, of the *Ruskin Review and Bulletin*, for allowing me to republish here edited and updated versions of the two papers first published in the journals for which they are responsible. I thank James Dearden for first suggesting that the Guild republish the material in booklet form and Peter Miller, Guild Publisher, for his excellent editorial work in preparing the manuscripts for press.

I am also grateful to Hazel Drummond, freelance photographer, Sheffield, for preparing the splendid new photographs used to illustrate the booklet and to Hannah Brignell, temporary Curator of the Ruskin Collection and



Visual Art, the Graves Gallery, Sheffield, for making the arrangement for the photography.

I thank the Staff of the Library of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh for providing access to the collection of early botanical books housed there and for advice.

Finally, I wish to record my immense debt of gratitude to The Lancaster Environment Centre (LEC), University of Lancaster, and Science, Technology and Innovation Studies (STIS), School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh, for providing stimulating intellectual environments for my research during recent years.

## **John Ruskin's Botanical Books - New discoveries and work in progress: a summary**

*(The following short account, first published in The Companion, No. 16, 2016, pp. 7- 11, is republished here, with new figures and minor editorial changes and corrections, to serve as an accessible summary of the detailed survey which follows. I thank the Editor of The Companion for granting permission to reprint the article.)*

In August 2015 the Secretary wrote to Companions with the exciting news that the Guild had purchased two sets of botanical books, which had once belonged to John Ruskin. The books were subsequently transferred, temporarily, to the Ruskin Library in Lancaster [1] to enable me to carry out a preliminary survey, but they are now permanently housed in the Guild's Ruskin Collection in Sheffield.

The first set turned out to be a missing link in the chain of Ruskin's botanical studies, which ultimately found full, idiosyncratic expression in the two volumes of *Proserpina* (Works 25). It comprised the six volumes of a 2nd edition of *British Phaenogamous Botany* [Flowering Plants], by William Baxter (Curator, Oxford Botanic Garden), published between 1834 and 1843.

Ruskin's copy, which is listed in James Dearden's catalogue of Ruskin's Library (2012), and mentioned by Collingwood in *Ruskin Relics* (1903), is also referred to by Ruskin in a letter dated 1855, to Jane Carlyle, in which he says that while writing *Modern Painters* '... I became dissatisfied with the Linnaean, Jussieuan, 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...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...'

The copy of *Baxter* I studied (**Fig. 1, front cover**) was indeed bound in green half-calf, the individual volumes being numbered and lettered in gilt on the spine. The contents, if not 'backside foremost', were certainly not as Baxter intended. His original six volumes included all the plates, arranged in the random order in which they had been produced, with each being followed by a description of the species illustrated. A series of indexes in the final volume then unified the whole work, taxonomically and alphabetically. In Ruskin's copy, all the descriptions had been separated from their corresponding plates and bound together in Volumes 1 to 3, in their original order and with their original page numbering. The coloured plates were bound separately, in Volumes IV to VI (*sic*), and had been completely re-ordered and re-numbered.

It was evident that the volumes had once belonged to Ruskin's mother, Margaret, since several of the early pages of Volume 1 had been signed by her in black ink and dated 1837 (**Fig. 3**). Some of the signatures show evidence of cropping, which presumably occurred during Ruskin's rebinding of the work. The signatures were confirmed to be those of Margaret Ruskin by the author, Stephen Wildman and James Dearden, by comparison with signatures on two letters in the Ruskin Library, written during the 1860s. Although the *Baxter* was signed over thirty years previously, there is no doubt that the signatures were by the same hand. The date 1837 is significant (Henry Noltie has suggested) since Ruskin went up to Oxford in that year and it is possible that he and his mother purchased the volumes together during his first year as an undergraduate.

Ruskin clearly intended that the re-ordered *Baxter* should be put to good use, for he took great care in numbering and cross-referencing the descriptions and plates. He retained the original page numbers of the descriptions of genera and species in Volumes 1 to 3, which were sequential throughout, but gave each a two-part cross-reference number comprising the new volume and plate number for the illustration of the genus or species referred to. Moreover, since the plates in volumes IV to VI had been re-ordered, each was given a new plate number and a two-part cross-reference number, the latter leading the reader back to the relevant volume and page in Volumes 1 to 3.

Thus, for example, page 1 in Ruskin's Vol. 1 of *Baxter*, which carries the description of Fritillary, has the cross-reference number 5.8. This leads the reader to Ruskin's Volume V, Plate 8, which is a coloured engraving of the typical chequer-patterned flowers of Snake's Head Fritillary (**Fig. 4**). The accompanying cross-reference number 1.1 then leads the reader back to the description of Fritillary on page 1 of Volume 1.

For me, the most thrilling discovery was that the plates in Volumes IV to VI had been re-arranged by Ruskin into entirely new Classes and Orders with interleaved sheets of pale blue foolscap paper cut to size, just as he says in his letter to Jane Carlyle. Although he had retained the Linnean genus and species names (the binomials) used by Baxter, he completely ignored existing taxonomies for the higher levels of classification and grouped the plates into five Classes of his own devising: I. Foils (flowers with un-joined petals); II. Bells (with bell-like flowers); III. Hoods (with hooded flowers); IV. Grasses (true grasses and plants that look like grasses); and V. Waywards (plants which he could not fit into the previous four classes). Each of these Classes was then subdivided into 'Orders', the equivalent of modern plant Families, on the basis of a variety of unrelated, idiosyncratic and subjective criteria including, variously: petal number, shape and colour; plant size or form; habitat (dry/wet land or water); flower form or similarity to the apparel of particular people; inflorescence structure; uses, especially as medicines or food; undesirable properties (e.g.

poisonous, weedy, spiny); and supposed representation of particular human traits or conditions (e.g. chattiness, spitefulness, gender or old age). Explicitly male (stamens) and female (pistil) characters, which were used in most scientific classifications at the time, were completely ignored.

Most of Ruskin's criteria (characters) were too variable, too subjective and therefore too unreliable to be used as the basis of a scientific classification that takes proper account of biological relatedness among families, genera and species. Nevertheless, the scheme does provide a witty and picturesque, rough and ready set of criteria that a non-scientist wishing to put a name to an un-named plant specimen might find useful.

It is not possible to reproduce the details of the whole of Ruskin's new classification scheme here, but **Fig. 5**, which is the page describing his 'Class 1 (Foil), Order 1: Land Cinq-foils' gives a sense of how the descriptions were laid out on the pale blue interleaved pages, **Fig. 6** shows a plate of 'Trailing dog-rose', a typical example of a 'Land Cinq-foil', and **Fig. 7** shows a plate of 'Ragged Robin', a more unusual example. The following transcription of the Orders included in the class 'Hoods', however, gives a glimpse of Ruskin's medieval fantasy (and sometimes offensive) taxonomic language of knights, dragons and monks.

### **Class 3. Hoods**

#### **Orders:**

1. *Monk's Hoods*. 'Apt to be dangerous, and connected with Snaps of Dragons, and Gloves of Foxes. Type, the Arum; when ... [unreadable word] ... and well hooded as the Arum, very beautiful.' [E.g. Monk's-hood and Purple Foxglove.]

2. *Knight's Hoods*. 'Known by the attached Spurs.' [E.g. Columbine].

3. *Sailor's Hoods*. 'Arranged in clusters on Masts, above leaves set like Mast heads on "Tops".' [E.g. White dead-nettle].

4. *Monkey's Hoods*. 'Having a strange gift of Imitation.' [Mainly Orchid family; e.g. Bee Orchid and Monkey Orchid.]

5. *Clustered Hoods*. [E.g. Blue-bottle (now Cornflower).]

6. *Branching Hoods*. [Common Marjoram.]

7. *Old Ladies' Hoods*. 'Generally stooping or creeping; and very good for making tea, or medicinal draughts.' [E.g. Wild Thyme.]

8. *Young Ladies' Hoods*. 'Generally pleasant to behold, and serviceable in households [e.g. Dyer's Green-weed]; but apt to be very

troublesome in the form of Tares [e.g. Prickly Rest-harrow]. Sometimes showing inclinations towards gay bonnets' [e.g. Everlasting Pea].

The pages of *Baxter* are also scattered with cross-references and marginal and textual notes written in black ink in Ruskin's unmistakable hand. The most common, over forty, are cross-references to what is cryptically referred to as 'F' (**Figs. 8 & 9**). These are always in the form of a number sequence, but written in various ways, including, for example: F.6.922; F. V. 722; F.972 (6); F. 758/V; F.V.722; F. 7. 1/90 [=1090]; and F. 8. 1266. The identity of 'F' was a puzzle to begin with, for it could refer to any one of a number of floras and other botanical books in Ruskin's library, but by a process of elimination I found that it always referred to a plate in *Flora Danica*, a flora of great beauty in which most of the plants illustrated are reproduced life-size. I was able to find a copy of this enormous, classic work, edited by G. C. Oeder between 1776 and 1865, in the Library of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh. Moreover, the plates in this copy were grouped in exactly the same volumes as in Ruskin's own copy.

The reasons for these cross-references were rarely given, but most were to a plant of the same genus as that described in *Baxter*. 'Conf.' and 'conf.', which sometimes precede 'F', presumably mean 'Confirmed', referring maybe to an identification, etymological derivation or idea. Since Ruskin did not acquire his copy of *Flora Danica* until 1866, it is presumed that these



cross-references were inserted during or after 1866, more than ten years after the volumes were re-ordered and rebound. The cross -referencing may have occurred during a period of feverish botanical activity following Ruskin's acquisition of such an important and exciting work as *Flora Danica*.

Most other cross-references and annotations in *Baxter* were to other botanical or Classical works in Ruskin's Library (as listed by Dearden, 2012) or are comments on the text, sometimes in Greek script (**Figs. 11 & 12**). Most concern the origins of botanical names or terms, a popular subject of study at the time, as evidenced by the large number of Baxter's own etymological footnotes. Others concern the medicinal or practical uses of various species or are aesthetic observations. I will quote just a few that stand out in my mind.

A typical etymological cross reference may be seen on the plate of *Andromeda polifolia*, Marsh Andromeda, where Ruskin has written ' ... Named Andromeda by Linnaeus, because its haunts [mountain marshes] are so exposed and desolate ... For account of it, see Loudon's Arboretum p. 1105.' [In Greek mythology, Andromeda was the daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia. Her mother having said she was more beautiful than the Nereids, Andromeda was chained to a rock to be ravaged by a sea monster, in order to placate Poseidon. She was, however, delivered from this awful fate by the hero Perseus, who subsequently married her.

After death Andromeda was placed among the stars.]

A most delightful non-etymological cross-reference is to Ruskin's first edition of *Gerarde's Herball*, published in 1597. On page 334 of *Baxter*, which deals with the genus *Rubus* (Blackberry [*R. fruticosus*] and Raspberry [*R. idaeus*]), Ruskin has written: '... Gerarde 1089. Note his odd taste 1090. 1.' (Fig. 8). Again I located a copy in the library of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh and much enjoyed the privilege of looking up Ruskin's reference in this legendary herbal. On Page 1089, Gerarde refers to 'Of the Bramble or black Berrie Bush' and '*Rubus ideus* (*sic*) The Raspis bush, or Hindberrie.' In the first note, on p. 1090, he alludes to the taste of 'Bramble' as being 'between sweet and sower, 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.

The most intriguing cross-reference is to 'My Flora 1.21', on the page of *Baxter* that deals with the Genus *Delphinium*. No reason for the cross-reference is given. The fact that no author is mentioned suggests a personal collection of pressed plants or botanical drawings. It is not, however, the *Flora of Chamouni*, the only book of pressed plants by Ruskin that I know of, nor, so far as can be ascertained, to his *Savoy Flora*, referred to in the diary notebook for 1856-9. The identity of this work therefore remains a mystery.

An example of an internal cross-reference forms part of the description on p. 201 of the genus *Drosera* –

the Sundews – which are insectivorous (i.e. carnivorous) plants. Beside Baxter’s footnote about the [protein degrading enzyme] exudates from their leaves Ruskin has written in the margin ‘Conf 209’, a reference to a page concerned with another genus of insectivorous plants, *Pinguicula*—the Butterworts. At the top of this page Ruskin has written ‘Conf. Drosera. 201’, taking him back to *Drosera*. This is notable for being one of the very few annotations suggesting any scientific curiosity and also because several plants of *Pinguicula*, one with characteristic violet flowers, appear in the bottom right foreground of the portrait of Ruskin by John Everett Millais, started in 1853 during their ill-fated trip to Scotland and completed in 1854.

A nicely calculated insult to an artist occurs on p. 177, verso, where a footnote marked by Ruskin 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 canvas being eaten by a passing donkey. The writer suggested that Le Brun well deserved this high praise from nature, but Ruskin clearly disagreed and added: ‘!! Of Le Brun of all men! The least able or willing to do a bit of still life.’

In addition to the annotations on the text, twenty-four plates are annotated to greater or lesser extent, in particular the first few plates in Volume IV. Ruskin’s hand-written notes and comments are fitted around the illustrations and mainly relate to the habitat, the origins of names or uses. Typical examples are shown in **Figs.**

**13 & 14.** It seems that having written comments on these few plates Ruskin lost interest in the enterprise or found another, more attractive project to absorb his energies.

Conspicuous by their absence in the annotations and cross-references in the re-ordered *Baxter*, or in the new classification itself, are any references to the works of the many eminent late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century plant taxonomists. By turning his back on earlier classification schemes and the work of contemporaries, and by failing to recognise and build on their strengths, Ruskin missed the opportunity, both in re-classifying the plants illustrated in *Baxter* and later in writing *Proserpina* (1875-86), to make an enduring contribution to plant taxonomic study. However, as Collingwood observes in *Ruskin Relics*: '[His botanical books all showed] his purely artistic and unscientific interest in natural history', and it is Ruskin's plant classification from the point of view of a nineteenth-century artist, art critic, social thinker and reformer, and writer, rather than a scientist, that makes the re-ordered *Baxter*, like the two volumes of *Proserpina*, so fascinating and revealing.

The most significant cross-reference of all appears on p. 14 of the descriptions, which is devoted to the Willowherbs, where Ruskin has written 'Sowerby 4. 495 ... '(**Fig. 9**). This leads us to the second set of books purchased by the Guild: the first seven volumes (dealing with flowering plants) of a second edition of J. E. Smith & J. Sowerby's *English Botany*, published in parts

between 1832 and 1840, and usually known simply as *Sowerby* (**Fig. 2, back cover**). Ruskin is known to have owned first and third editions of *Sowerby*, but this second edition has not previously been listed. Bound with the *Sowerby* is a seventh edition of *The London Catalogue Of British Plants*, published in 1874 by The London Botanical Exchange Club, showing that the *Sowerby* cannot have been re-ordered before this date. This short work of only 32 pages, with each species listed being numbered in sequence, was edited by the great taxonomic editor, H. C. Watson, and was intended as a standard for botanists, especially amateurs, assembling and classifying their own herbaria and collections and exchanging specimens with fellow enthusiasts.

Volume I of the re-ordered and re-bound *Sowerby* comprises, firstly, the unaltered *London Catalogue*, followed by the descriptions of the genera and species of all the flowering plants included in the first seven volumes of *Sowerby*, in the order in which they were originally printed, but with all the plates removed. 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.

Volumes II-VII contain all the plates of the flowering plants described in Volume I, but rearranged in the order in which the species are listed in *The London Catalogue*. Each plate has been given a number, in pencil, this being the number in *The London Catalogue*

of the species illustrated. The numbers appear to be in Ruskin's hand, the distinctive sevens and eights being particularly useful in coming to this conclusion.

Bound in at the end of Volume I are several narrow-lined manuscript pages divided into columns with faint pencil lines. Listed in these, in black ink, in 'Ruskin's best hand writing' (according to Stephen Wildman) are all the Genera, in alphabetical order, together with the number of the Volume in which the plates for the genus may be found, the plate number of the first or most familiar species of that genus illustrated and the page number in Volume I where the genus is described (**Fig. 15**).

There are also numerous, scattered marginal annotations written lightly in pencil in Volume I and on the plates in Vols. II-VII. Many of these refer to places close to Cambridge and appear to be in the hand(s) of someone other than Ruskin (**Fig. 16**).

Perhaps, by 1874, all Ruskin's creative and critical botanical energies had been exhausted in the writing of *Proserpina* and by 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 in his *London Catalogue*. 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 neatly written index to facilitate the

use of the volumes. In short, the re-ordered *Sowerby* seems to provide a gentle and clear end point to Ruskin's botanical explorations.

To return to the significance of the *Sowerby* cross-reference in *Baxter*, which had been re-ordered in 1855 or earlier: this is a reference to Plate 495, of Chickweed Willow-herb (actually in Volume 3, not 4 as Ruskin mistakenly wrote) in the re-ordered second edition of *Sowerby* purchased by the Guild (**Fig. 10**). The cross-reference in *Baxter* must have been inserted after 1874, the earliest date for the re-binding of the *Sowerby*, and provides strong evidence to support the assumption 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.'

Finally, and intriguingly, slipped into one of the volumes of *Sowerby* was a separate, four-page, hand-written letter, dated 'October 3rd 1920', addressed to 'Dear Frank' (who seems to have been a Cambridge botanist) and signed 'W.G.R.', of Aston Botterell, Salop. Most of the text is taken up with lists of plants, which were found while the writer was with the recipient between 'Aug 26 and Sept 11'. Some species are marked with a 'w', which the writer says 'stands for Wicken' (the fen near Cambridge). It is possible that 'Frank' was responsible for some or all of the pencil annotations in *Sowerby*, many of which link particular species with

locations close to Cambridge, but this cannot be concluded with certainty. The identities of ‘W.G.R.’ and ‘Frank’ (there were at least four eminent botanists named Frank with Cambridge connections alive in 1920) remain to be discovered, as does the authorship of the pencil annotations in *Sowerby*—work still in progress.

### **Note**

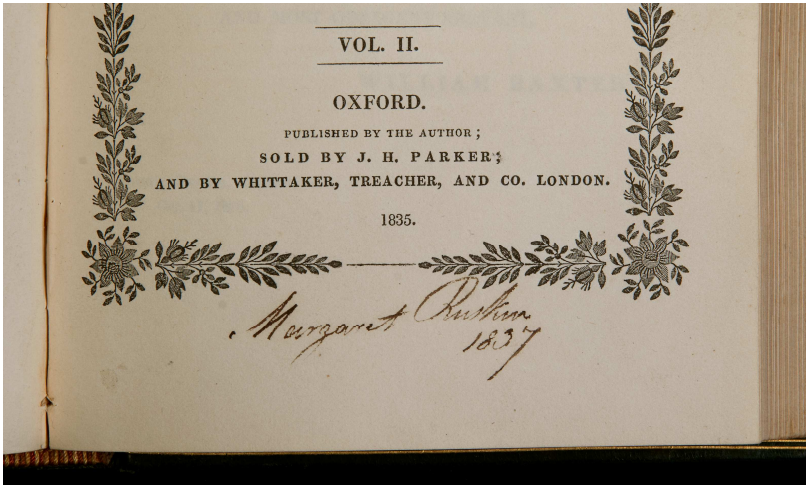
I thank the Master, Clive Wilmer, and former Secretary, Stuart Eagles, for making the transfer possible and the staff of the Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster, for their invaluable help and support throughout the period of study. I also thank the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh Library for providing access to the early botanical books mentioned. A full account of the research was published in the Spring 2016 issue of the *Ruskin Review and Bulletin*.

*David Ingram is Honorary Professor, Edinburgh and Lancaster Universities.*



## Illustrations

Fig. 3.



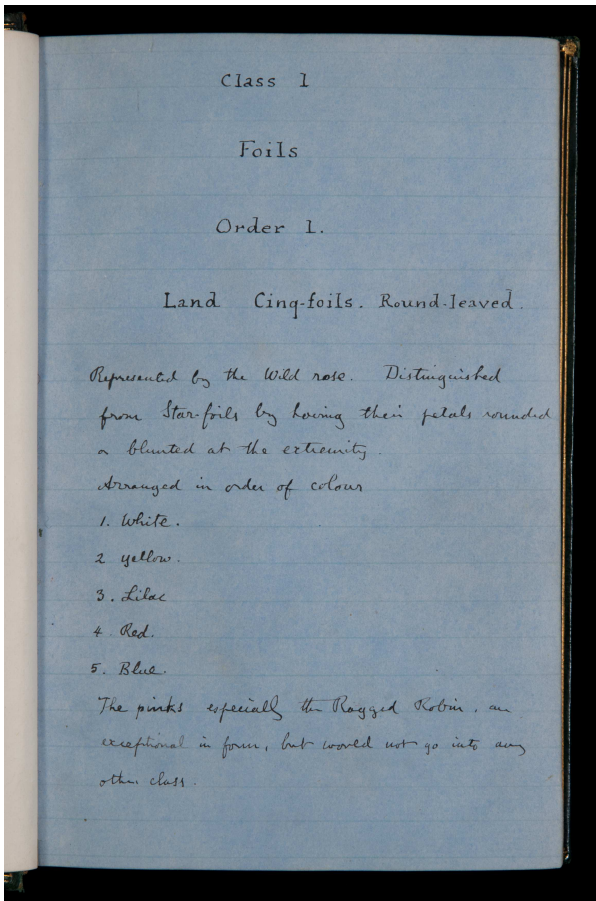
Margaret Ruskin's signature and the date, 1837, on the title page of the original Volume II of *Baxter*, now part of the rebound and re-ordered Volume 1.

Fig. 4.



Annotated Plate 8 in *Baxter*, showing *Fritillaria meleagris*, Snake's Head (Fritillary). Note the cross reference, indicating that the description of this species may be found on page 1 of Volume 1 (sic.), and the hand written plate number in the top right hand corner.

Fig. 5.



The first of Ruskin's intercalated, hand written (on blue foolscap) pages from Baxter. This page introduces his Class 1 (FoiIs), Order 1: Land Cinq-foils.

Fig. 6.



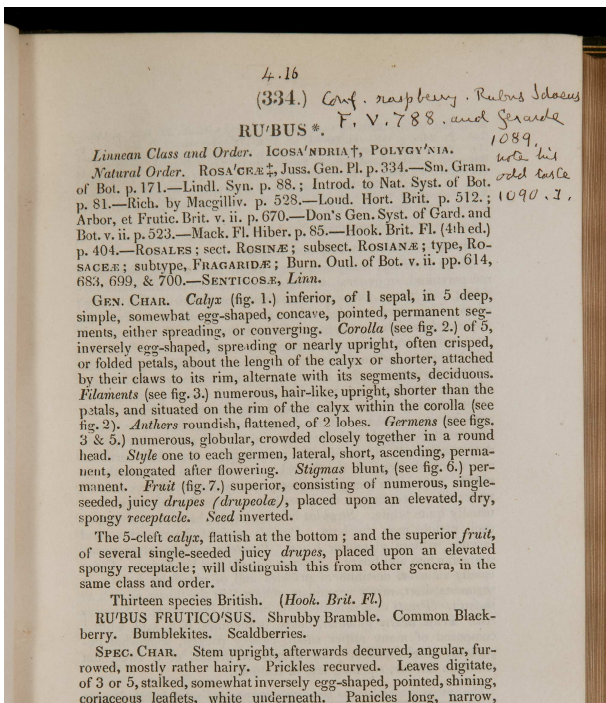
*Rosa arvensis*, Trailing Dog-rose (now Field Rose), a typical 'Land Cinq-foil', Plate 1 (Volume IV) of Ruskin's reworked and rebound Baxter.

Fig. 7



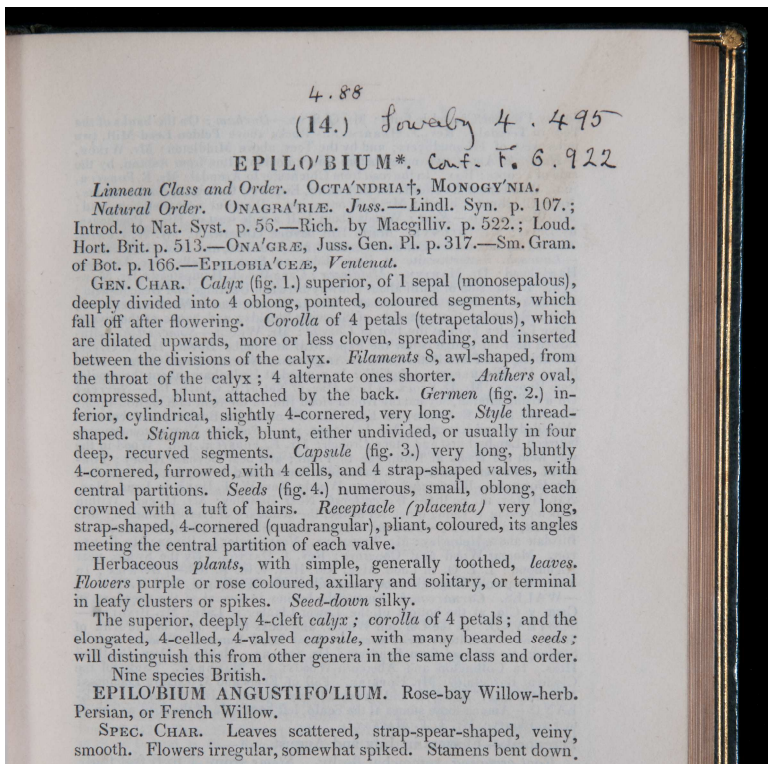
Plate 20 of *Baxter* showing *Lychnis flos-cuculi*, Ragged Robin, which, according to Ruskin, 'is exceptional in form [for a Cinq-foil] but would not go into any other class'. One of the flowers has been outlined with a pentagon, presumably to emphasize its five-petal form.

Fig. 8.



Cross-references on page '334' of *Baxter*, to 'F.V. 788' (Ruskin's copy *Flora Danica*, Volume V, Plate 788 [*Rubus idaeus*, Raspberry]) and the 1st edition (1597) of *Gerarde's Herball*, concerning 'Bramble or Black Berrie Bush' and '*Rubus ideus*' (sic.) the 'Raspis bush or Hindberrie'. See text for details. Note that the hand written cross-reference '4.16' above the page number refers the reader to Plate 16 in volume IV of *Baxter* ('*Rubus fruticosus*, Shrubby Bramble. Common Blackberry. Bumblekites. Scaldberries').

Fig. 9.



Cross-reference on page (14) of Baxter, (which deals with the genus *Epilobium*, Willowherbs), to 'Sowerby' and 'F' (*Flora Danica*). Significantly, the reference to 'Sowerby' is to Plate 495 in the re-ordered and rebound 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of *Sowerby* that forms part of the present study (see caption to Fig. 10 for further details). The cross-reference to 'F. 6. 922' is to Volume 6, Plate 922 of Ruskin's copy *Flora Danica*, which is of *Epilobium montanum* ('Broad-leaved Willow-Herb').

Fig. 10.



Plate 495 (*Epilobium alsinifolium*, 'Chick-weed Willow-herb') of the re-ordered second edition of *Sowerby* that forms part of the present study. The plate is numbered in pencil, in Ruskin's hand, in the top right corner and is actually in Vol. 3, not 4, as Ruskin mistakenly wrote in his cross reference in *Baxter* (see Fig. 9). *Epilobium alsinifolium* is species number 495 in *The London Catalogue* (also part of the present study). The inserted slip of paper indicates that a previous owner of the books has also recognized the importance of this cross-reference – see text for details.



Fig. 11.

Fl. Scot. p. 77.—Grev. Fl. Edin. p. 52.—Walk. Fl. of Oxf. p. 60.—Mackay's Catal. of the Plants found in Ireland, p. 23.—*Viola Martia inodora sylvestris*, Ray's Syn. p. 364.—*Viola canina sylvestris*, Johnson's Gerarde, p. 851.

LOCALITIES.—In woods, thickets, hedge-banks, and heathy ground.—Very common.

Perennial.—Flowers in April and May.

Root somewhat woody. Stem at first none, or very short; afterwards rising to the height of from 6 to 8, or 10 inches; it is some-

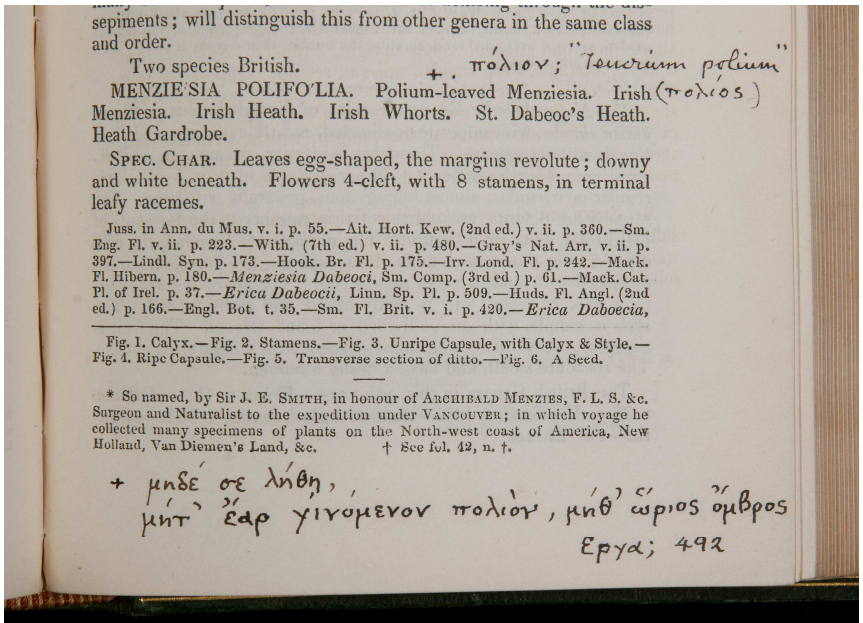
Fig. 1. The five converging Anthers and two Spurs.—Fig. 2. The Calyx, unripe Capsule, and Style.—Fig. 3. Ripe Capsule, showing the three Valves, and the Seeds.

\* “According to some, from *Ion*, (being the food of the metamorphosed *Io*;) the Greek appellation.—‘*A vi olendi*,’ (from the power of its scent,) according to others.—And again, ‘quod juxta vias nasci amat;’ because it loves to grow by way-sides, where it introduces itself to the notice of passengers.”  
Dr. HOOKER.

Digamated from  $\iota\alpha\nu$ . the dark violet.  $\iota\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$   
Hom. always of sea. though  $\iota\alpha\nu$  itself is both Homeric  
but deriv. quite doubtful.  $\iota\alpha\sigma$ . an arrow. — rest a  
poison.

The Greek/English manuscript annotation concerning ‘*Viola canina*, [Heath] Dog’s Violet’, on page 4 of *Baxter* – for explanation, see text.

Fig. 12.



The Greek manuscript annotations concerning *Menziesia polifolia*, 'Polium-leaved Menziesia' (a Heath), on page 449 of Baxter – for explanation, see text.

Fig. 13.



Extensively annotated Plate 9 in *Baxter*, showing *Tulipa sylvestris*, Wild Tulip.

Fig. 14.



Extensively annotated Plate 11 in *Baxter*, showing *Hyacinthus non-scriptus*, Hare-Bell (sic.). Note that Ruskin dedicated this species to St. George.

Fig. 15.

	Vol	Page	Page	Vol	Plate	Page
- A						
Acer	3	298	240	Artemisia	2	212 271
Aceras	6	1261	542	Armeria	5	1055 1079
Achillea	4	694	530	Armeria	2	114 403
Aconitum	2	44	334	Artemisia	4	746 493
Aconitum	6	1210	210	Artemisia	7	1531 43
Aconitum	2	45	322	Artemisia	4	674 507
Achillea	6	1258	220	Artemisia	6	1211 592
Achillea	1	1300	319	Arundo	7	1577 44
Adonis	2	10	340	Asarum	6	1129 287
Adonis	4	618	246	Asparagus	6	1324 208
Egopodium	4	585	157	Asparagus	5	1027 197
Elæagnus	4	585	166	Asplenium	4	641 70
Agrimonia	3	307	208	Aster	4	730 579
Agrimonia	7	1507	67	Asparagus	3	349 457
Agrimonia	2	193	380	Astragalus	4	533 "
Agrimonia	7	1506	97	Atriplex	5	1004 644
Atriplex	7	1500	40	Atriplex	5	895 126
Atriplex	5	996	357	Betula	7	1526 61
Alchemilla	3	392	89	Azalea	5	830 115
Alchemilla	6	1253	288			
Allium	II	96	418	B		
Allium	6	1330	201	Ballota	5	977 359
Allium	1	1976	313	Barbarea	2	105 413
Allium	6	1161	502	Barbarea	5	922 374
Allium	7	1491	34	Bellis	4	734 524
Allium	2	218	271	Beberis	2	46 195
Allium	2	260	434	Beta	5	1072 445
Allium	2	124	407	Betonica	5	970 364
Allium	6	1210		Betula	6	1192 590
Anacardium	5	1049	114	Bidens	4	725 203
Anacardium	5	1019	103	Blyssum	7	1507 23
Anacardium	5	851	257	Borrago	5	1022 106
Anemone	2	7	338	Borkhausia	4	767 491
Anemone	4	592	171	Blackthorn	7	1585 68
Anemone	4	710	509	Brassica	2	75 421
Anemone	4	690	507	Briar	7	1020 52
Anemone	7	1430	45	Bismuth	7	1574 58
Anemone	4	604	79	Bismuth	3	572 507
Anemone	3	310	445	Burium	4	569 161
Anemone	5	890	383	Bupleurum	4	574 163
Anemone	4	757	483	Bulmus	6	1257 248
Anemone	7	1506	37	Buxus	6	1132 583
Anemone	4	530	153			
Aquilegia	2	42	335	C		
Aquilegia	2	90	411	Calce	2	67 394
Aquilegia	5	830	252	Calamagrostis	7	1544 64
Aquilegia	4	672	494	Calamagrostis	5	942 369
Aquilegia	5	829	252	Callitriche	3	527 561

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

Fig. 16.



*Anemone pulsatilla*, Pasque Lily, Plate 6 in the re-ordered and rebound *Sowerby*. Faintly visible at the top of the page is a pencil note indicating that this species was observed on the chalky dyke of the Devil's Ditch, an ancient earthwork near Cambridge. The handwritten plate number may be seen in the top right corner of the plate.



## Ruskin's Botanical Books: A Detailed Account

Two early nineteenth century illustrated botanical works, said to have come from the library of John Ruskin, came to light in private hands<sup>1</sup> early in 2015. These were later acquired by the Guild of St George<sup>2</sup> and were made available for study at the Ruskin Library, Lancaster University, until late November 2015.<sup>3</sup> 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford: published by the author, 1834-43). This comprises six volumes bound in green half-calf, 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.*[sic. Arabic numerals]; *Vol. IV. Foils.*; *Vol. V.*

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Details may be found in a letter to Companions of the Guild of St. George from the then Secretary, Dr. Stuart Eagles, dated 21<sup>st</sup> 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 Dr. Eagles for facilitating their temporary transfer to the Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster.

<sup>3</sup> 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.



*Bells. Hoods.; Vol. VI. Waywards* [sic. Roman numerals]. These volumes are hereafter referred to, collectively, as *Baxter* (Fig.1; front cover).

Also

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 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 half-calf, 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* (Fig. 2; back cover).<sup>4</sup>

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 about 70 years ago, the purchaser being William Palmer (father of E. Heydeman<sup>1</sup>), a botanist at Homerton College, Cambridge.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Detailed Description of Baxter***<sup>6</sup>

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

<sup>5</sup> E. & T. Heydeman, personal communication.

<sup>6</sup> An unaltered 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

Each of the first three volumes of Ruskin's re-ordered and re-bound copy of *Baxter* comprises two volumes of the descriptions only (all of the plates having been removed) 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.

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 (Fig. 3). 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.

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(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 signatures have been confirmed<sup>7</sup> to be those of Margaret Ruskin by comparison with her signatures on two letters,<sup>8</sup> 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). The date 1837 is significant (drawn to my attention by Henry Noltie) since Ruskin went up to Oxford in that year and it is possible that he and his mother purchased the volumes together during his first year as an undergraduate.

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] watermark), each bearing a manuscript<sup>9</sup> 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 smaller than Volumes 1-3 and have clearly been significantly cropped during binding (see footnote 12).

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<sup>7</sup> By the author, Professor Stephen Wildman and Dr. James Dearden.

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

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

Other manuscript annotations in black ink in Ruskin's hand<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>11</sup> 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,<sup>12</sup> 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,<sup>13</sup> and Everybody-elsian arrangement of plants, and have accordingly arranged a system of my

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<sup>10</sup> Confirmed by Professor Stephen Wildman.

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

<sup>12</sup> 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'.

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

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*,<sup>14</sup> 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 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),<sup>15</sup> and later in his 2015 Supplement<sup>16</sup> following the emergence

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<sup>14</sup> W.G. Collingwood, ‘Ruskin’s Library’, Chapter XII in *Ruskin Relics* (London: Ibister & Co., 1903) p. 188.

<sup>15</sup> See note 11, No. 170.

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

of the volumes in private hands. He notes the Carlyle letter, the mention in *Ruskin Relics* and a reference in a letter to Lady Trevelyan<sup>17</sup> dated 1865. (I presume that the letter referred to is the one dated ‘Summer 1865’, in which Ruskin asks for Lady Trevelyan’s opinion on a variety of ‘Golden rod’, stating that: ‘I can’t find it in Sowerby. Baxter says the stem of G.R. is angular. This is round and the leaves are jagged – not smooth-edged in his drawing and Sowerby’s’. It is interesting to note that in a previous letter to Lady Trevelyan, dated ‘End of May 1865’ [also see Note 17] which does not refer to Baxter, Ruskin nevertheless states that: ‘I want to turn botany upside down – it is so stupid as it is’.). 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

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<sup>17</sup> *Reflections of a Friendship: John Ruskin’s Letters to Pauline Trevelyan, 1848-66*, ed. by Virginia Surtees (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), letter no. 197, p. 248 (see also earlier no. 196, pp. 247-8).

descriptions has also been given a two-part manuscript cross-reference number,<sup>18</sup> 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 (1) in Ruskin's Vol. 1 of *Baxter*, which carries the description of the genus *Fritillaria*, has been given the manuscript cross-reference number 5.8. This leads the reader to Ruskin's Vol. V, Plate 8 (Fig. 4), the plate number being written close to the top of the plate. This is the plate for *Fritillaria meleagris*, Snake's Head (Fritillary). The manuscript number on this plate has another manuscript cross-reference number, 1.1, which leads the reader back to page (1) of Vol. 1, which carries the descriptions of *Fritillaria* and *F. meleagris*.

### ***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

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<sup>18</sup> Which appears to be in Ruskin's hand.



plates into five Classes: I Foils [plants having flowers with un-joined petals]; II Bells [plants with bell-like flowers]; III Hoods [plants with hood-like flowers]; IV Grasses [true grasses<sup>19</sup> 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 an attempt to create new groups equivalent to Natural Orders or modern Families. This is done on the basis of 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). With the exception of general characters relating to pollination, such as petal number and colour, flower form and the presence of spurs containing nectaries for attracting insects, 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 wishing to

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<sup>19</sup> Modern family Poaceae (syn. Gramineae).

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 the unchanged binomials, the omission of moral characteristics and the use of English, almost medieval-sounding nomenclature, derived from a world of knights, dragons, monks, bells, sailing ships, hoods and bonnets, rather than 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 upper/lower case, but not with his original, erratic spacing. I have emboldened some of the headings to aid the reader in 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; Fig. 5.]

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; Fig. 6.]
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; Fig. 7.]

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

**Order 2.** Starfoils.

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<sup>20</sup> The dicoityledons (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*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford: Wiley, Blackwell, 2015), Chapter 1 and Glossary.

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 20] families.]

### **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 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup>.

### **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 hederifolium*, 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*, Misseltoe [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 coralline* [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 10<sup>th</sup>.** 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.

[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; *Hyoscyamus 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. elatius*], 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 Carline 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 to 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 maritime*, Sea Beet; *Asparagus officinalis*, Common Asparagus; *Urtica dioica*, Great Nettle.]

### **Order 5<sup>th</sup>.** Climbing Waywards

[Climbing dicots. from various families; e.g. *Aristolochia clematitis*, Common-birthwort; *Clematis vitalba*, Common Traveler's-joy [sic.]; *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; see Figs. 8 and 9). 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*,<sup>21</sup> presumably Ruskin's own bound copy. This work, although an important work of

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<sup>21</sup> 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.

great beauty and distinction, was already out of date in 1855. Also, and of great significance, according to Dearden (2012), 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, regardless of how many volumes are bound together). 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 plants in different genera, 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).

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 to other books in Ruskin's library (as listed by Dearden, 2012). These include:

*Gerarde (Gerarde's Herball, 1st edition, 1597);*<sup>22</sup> c. four instances. For example, on page 334 (Fig. 8), 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, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 18 volumes, 1797).*<sup>23</sup> For 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.'

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<sup>22</sup> See Dearden, 2012, No. 1011.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* No. 843.

*Herod.* (*Herodotus, Historia*, the 7 volume edition of 1816, Gr. Et Lat.<sup>24</sup>; the only other edition of *Herodotus* in Ruskin's library was in only 2 volumes<sup>25</sup> 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'.<sup>26</sup>

*Liddell* (presumably, Henry George Liddell, and Robert Scott, *A Greek- English Lexicon, Based on the German work of Francis Passow*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford, 1869).<sup>27</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid. No. 1250.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. No. 1249.

<sup>26</sup> I thank Professor G. 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.

<sup>27</sup> See Dearden, 2012, No. 1545.

edition).<sup>28</sup> 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*,<sup>29</sup> the only book of pressed plants by Ruskin that I know of, nor, so far as can be ascertained, to his Savoy Flora.<sup>30</sup>

*Pliny* (the Elder, probably, 1723).<sup>31</sup> For example, on page 149 Ruskin has written, in connection with a footnote concerning *Polymonium* (Jacob’s Ladder) as a

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, No. 1600.

<sup>29</sup> Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster (MS 65).

<sup>30</sup> Professor Jim Spates, personal communication, recalled that one of Ruskin's diaries from the late 1850s had 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.’

<sup>31</sup> See Dearden, 2012, No. 2027.



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 verso, 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[in]. 16’.

*Salmon* (William Salmon *Botanologia: The English Herbal*, 1710).<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>) 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 2<sup>nd</sup> edition dealt with below.

*Sowerby* (A most important cross-reference since it refers to the re-ordered 2<sup>nd</sup> edition which forms part of

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. No. 2358.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. No. 2542.

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’ (Fig. 9). 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 (Fig.10) of the re-ordered second edition, numbered in pencil in Ruskin’s hand; actually in Vol. 3, not 4 (as Ruskin mistakenly wrote), 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 7<sup>th</sup> edition of *The London Catalogue*, which is bound in with Ruskin’s re-ordered 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of *Sowerby* and was used as the basis for re-ordering and re-numbering the *Sowerby* plates (see below). The cross reference also 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 the importance of this 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.

On 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 violet flowers, appear in the bottom right foreground of the portrait of Ruskin painted by John Everett Millais in 1853/4.<sup>34</sup>

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***

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<sup>34</sup> Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; drawn to my attention by Dr. Henry Noltie.

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 or another. In some cases there are crossings out, 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 mean<sup>35</sup> 'spotted like the guineafowl' (*Numida meleagris*).]

Page 3 carries a description of *Geum rivale*, Water Avens. Ruskin has underlined Avens and has added a +

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

sign, with the footnote ‘+ From *aveo*? To desire fervently. Bloom. – *auet immolato. spargier agno*’.<sup>36</sup>

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

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<sup>36</sup> 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”.’

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.

Page 18 describes *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 since *Teucrium scorodonia*, Wood Sage, Sage-leaved Germander, has a sweet scent, it could be used as an alternative to hops in brewing, that in Jersey an alternative name is Ambroise and that on that island malted barley was brewed with Ambroise being substituted for hops when cider, the usual beverage, had failed. 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 branching line, reads 'Conf

next page. 1' and refers to a footnote dealing with the medicinal properties of Tansy.

Page 28 describes *Aristolochia clematitis*, Common Birthwort. Ruskin has underlined and put a question mark by 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 the 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 annotations***<sup>37</sup>

There are only two, as follows.

Page 4, which describes *Viola canina*, [Heath] Dog's Violet (Fig. 11). 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 *íon* (= violet), the second is *ioeidés* (= violet coloured/violet looking); and the third is *íos* (= arrow or rust/poison). He may be considering the possibility of a connection'

Page 449 describes *Menziesia polifolia*, Polium-leaved Menziesia (a Heath). Ruskin has marked and annotated this as shown (Fig. 12). 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 be playing with the idea that there may be a connection between *poliós* (grey), and *pólion* (Teucrium polium, a pungent herb - literally Trojan polium). The colour, presumably, of the leaves...'

### ***Extended annotations on plates***

Only a small number of plates are annotated, most

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



being the first few plates in Vol. IV (Figs. 4, 13 and 14). 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.

At the top of each section, in square brackets, are Baxter's original plate numbers and the name of the 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.<sup>38</sup>

**Class 1 Foils**

**Order 4 Reverted Foils**

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

92; 1.9

June to August

2 petalled corolla – no

---

**Class II Bells**

**Order 1 Crocus Bells**

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<sup>38</sup> I thank A. I. for making the initial transcript

[185; *Gentiana pneumonanthe*, Marsh Gentian.]

1; 2.185

August & September .

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[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

Galanthus; (milk flower). Dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin.

It is an Amaryllis.

---

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

7; 1. 55

In moist meadows. May and June.

[Greek text<sup>39</sup>] *leukós* [white] *íon* [violet] *leukóion* [literally white-violet]: (but the Greeks called wallflower *leukóion*)

It is an Amaryllis.

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[1; *Fritillaria meleagris*, - Snake's Head; Fig. 4.]

8; 1.1

April and May. In moist meadows.

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

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[2; *Tulipa sylvestris*, Wild Tulip; Fig. 13.]

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.]

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## ***Order 2 Hyacinth Bells***

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[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.

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

[74; *Hyacinthus non-scriptus*, Harebell [now *Hyacinthoides non-scriptus*, Bluebell or, in Scotland, Wild Hyacinth]; Fig. 14.]  
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 .  
(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 Bluebel . and Harebell.  
Sometimes called in England Witches Thimble.  
The note on its name in the text of Vol 1 is useful

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[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.

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[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.

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[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

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

(Crassulaceae)

June to October. On damp rocks and old walls.

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

Whole plants succulent & smooth.

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### **Order 3 Heather Bells**

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

(Ericaceae)

June to August, on the Irish mountains - only?

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[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.]

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### **Class 3**

#### **Order 3 Sailor's Hoods**

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[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!]

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### ***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 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*.<sup>40</sup> 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

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<sup>40</sup> *Proserpina*, Introduction, Vol. 1 (*Works*, 30, 197-206).

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 extensive references to the works of Linnaeus, well represented in Ruskin's library,<sup>41</sup> whose sexual system of classification, based on stamens and pistils, set the pattern for the next century and whose *Species Plantarum*<sup>42</sup> gave every species a binomial. Nor is there mention of Bernard de Jussieu, his nephew Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu,<sup>43</sup> or Michel Adanson,<sup>44</sup> 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 taxonomists was further consolidated and extended by Ruskin's contemporaries, again unmentioned, not least

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<sup>41</sup> See Dearden, 2012.

<sup>42</sup> See footnote 13.

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Familles naturelles des Plantes* (1763).



the distinguished botanist Sir Joseph Hooker, F.R.S. (1817-1911); his 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*.<sup>45</sup> By largely turning his back on earlier classification schemes and the work of his contemporaries, and by failing to recognise and build on their strengths, Ruskin missed the opportunity, 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 Kew<sup>46</sup>), to make the enduring and widely acceptable contribution to plant taxonomic study of which he was capable.

But why should he, it might reasonably 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, art critic, social thinker and reformer, and writer, 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

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<sup>45</sup> Published by A. Black, London (1862-83).

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

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 mainly looks back to older botanical and Classical works, largely ignoring or rejecting the great advances being made in, for example, geographical botany by Joseph Hooker, (Humboldt's pioneering work is, however, mentioned in *Proserpina*<sup>47</sup>), experimental plant physiology by Julius von Sachs (1832-1897),<sup>48</sup> evolution by Charles Darwin,<sup>49</sup> 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 of D'Arcy Thomson (1860-1948).<sup>50</sup> But there is no reason to be surprised at these omissions, for again it is precisely because they are the botanical thoughts of Ruskin the *artist*, not the scientist, that they are so interesting

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<sup>47</sup> See Dearden, 2012; No. 1365.

<sup>48</sup> *Lehrbuch der Botanik* (1868).

<sup>49</sup> Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, was to be published by John Murray, London, in 1859.

<sup>50</sup> *On Growth and Form* (1917), Cambridge University Press; see also D. Ingram & S. Wildman, *Ruskin's Flora* (Lancaster: Ruskin Library and Research Centre, 2011) pp. 14-18.

## *Sowerby*<sup>51</sup>

Three editions of *Sowerby* were published during the 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thirty-seven volumes of the 1st edition, published between 1790 and 1814, formed part of Ruskin's library<sup>52</sup> 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 3rd edition, edited by J.T.B. Syme, and published between 1863 and 1872, also formed part of Ruskin's library.<sup>53</sup> The present 2nd 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

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<sup>51</sup> An un-altered 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

<sup>52</sup> Dearden (2012), catalogue number 2542.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, catalogue number 2543.

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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 (Fig. 15). 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.<sup>54</sup>

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

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<sup>54</sup> By Professor Stephen Wildman and described by him as 'Ruskin's best handwriting'.

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 (Fig. 10). 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.

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.<sup>55</sup> 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

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<sup>55</sup> There are, however, occasional errors or inconsistencies.

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 hand other 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 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 is Ruskin is not clear. These annotations give marginal numbers for specific species, note which species appear in the lists of exclusions or are extinct, or indicate where particular species were observed or collected. Sometimes they refer to broad geographical areas such as Ireland, N. Wales, Yorkshire & Scotland, and South & Western coasts of England, sometimes to specific places within easy reach of Cambridge, such as Devil's Ditch (Fig. 16), Fulbourn & Linton, West Fen Ely, Wicken &

Bottisham Fens, 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 simply give the Latin name of the plant depicted, if this is not printed on a plate or if 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 may have been cropped during re-binding, as in the case of the Latin name *Fraxinus heterophylla* written at the top of Ruskin’s Plate 847a (original Plate number 2476). 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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/she 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. Identifying the full name of W.G.R., the name of the recipient of the letter and whether the latter owned the volumes of *Sowerby* after Ruskin's death requires further research.

### ***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 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 plant classification, 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 carefully 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 hands other than that of Ruskin and by 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 owners may have been a distinguished botanist with Cambridge connections provides impetus for further study of the work.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> At least four distinguished botanists with Cambridge connections and known informally as 'Frank' were alive in 1920: Sir Francis Darwin, F.R.S., Charles Darwin's son; Sir Frank Engledow, F.R.S.; Francis Wall Oliver, F.R.S., son of Daniel Oliver, F.R.S., Ruskin's 'botanical friend', and Francis Kingdon Ward.

## Ruskin Lectures

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## **Guild of St George publications**

The Guild currently publishes two or three lectures each year. These include the annual Ruskin Lecture, the annual Whitelands Ruskin Lecture and other occasional publications.

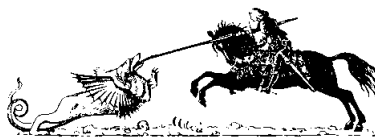
The Guild also publishes a wide range of cards based on images from the Ruskin Collection in Sheffield. Full details of all these cards and publications can be viewed on the Guild's website [www.guildofstgeorge.org.uk](http://www.guildofstgeorge.org.uk) or send a self-addressed stamped envelope for a fully illustrated coloured brochure to:

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The Guild of St George was formally established by John Ruskin in 1878. Through the Guild, Ruskin strove to make Britain a pleasanter and happier place in which to live. His aims and aspirations for the Guild are contained in the ninety six “Letters” of his *Fors Clavigera*.

Today the Guild is a charitable Education Trust which tries to put Ruskin’s hopes into practice through its collection at the Ruskin Gallery in Sheffield and its other activities. It can offer scholarships and awards across a range of subjects close to Ruskin’s heart, including the practice of crafts and scholarly work in agricultural science and economics, education, industry and the social sciences. The Guild awards an annual John Ruskin Prize in conjunction with The Big Draw and is in the second year of Ruskin-in-Sheffield – a community based project focusing on Ruskin’s heritage in Sheffield. The Guild publishes *The Companion*, an annual newsletter, which details events and activities of the guild over the previous year. The Guild is also supporting work on the regeneration of old orchards and hay meadows in the Wyre Forest, Worcestershire.

An exhibition on Ruskin and Science is planned for the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ruskin’s birth in 2019.





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