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The publication dates of the parts-issue of Richard Thomas Lowe's *A Manual Flora of Madeira* (1857-1872), with a publishing history

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With 5 figures and 2 tables

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ABSTRACT: *A Manual Flora of Madeira and the Adjacent Islands of Porto Santo and the Desertas* by Richard Thomas Lowe, was published in demy duodecimo parts between 1857 and 1872 by John Van Voorst. It is a classic of careful botanical description, still relevant to modern research on the flora of the Madeiran Archipelago. Because of the inclusion in the work of new taxa and other valuable historical information, it is crucial to date as precisely as possible each of the six parts (publication of which was cut short by Lowe's death in April 1874), and to record the exact contents of each part; the work is not illustrated. The publication dates of the five parts comprising volume I were no later than: 16 November 1857 (pages [i-ii], [i]-xii, [1]-106); 31 January 1862 (pages [107]-262); 30 December 1863 (pages [263]-[378]); 4 February 1868 (pages [379]-522); 31 December 1868 (pages 523-618). Only the first part of volume II was published, no later than 31 March 1872 (pages [1]-[116]). The consolidated volume I was published in December 1868; it was subsequently combined with part I of volume II, and reissued in 1874 or later. Descriptions of the publisher's known cloth-case designs are presented. Comments on the general reception by fellow-botanists and the publishing history of the whole work are also provided. By 1884, Van Voorst had apparently sold the remaining stock to Bernard Quaritch, the London bookseller.

Keywords: Bernard Quaritch, bibliography, John Van Voorst, *Manual Flora of Madeira*, parts-issue, publication dates, publishing history, Richard Thomas Lowe.

RESUMO: A obra *A Manual Flora of Madeira and the Adjacent Islands of Porto Santo and the Desertas*, da autoria de Richard Thomas Lowe, foi publicada em demi-duodécimo partes entre 1857 e 1872, por John Van Voorst. Trata-se de um clássico com descrições botânicas cuidadas, ainda relevante para a investigação botânica atual do arquipélago da Madeira. Dado que contém novos taxa e valiosa informação histórica, torna-se crucial datar, o mais precisamente possível, cada uma das seis partes. A obra não é ilustrada. As datas de publicação das cinco partes que compreendem o volume I não são posteriores a: 16 de novembro de 1857 (páginas [i-ii], [i]-xii, [1]-106); 31 de janeiro de 1862 (páginas [107]-262); 30 de dezembro de 1863 (páginas [263]-[378]); 4 de fevereiro de 1868 (páginas [379]-522); 31 de dezembro de 1868 (páginas 523-618). Somente a primeira parte do volume II foi publicada não depois de 31 de março de 1872 (páginas [1]-[116]). O volume I consolidado foi publicado em dezembro de 1868 e foi subsequentemente combinado com a parte I do volume II, tendo sido lançado em 1874 ou depois. No presente trabalho é descrito o design das capas feitas pelo editor e são relatados comentários críticos acerca da obra, publicados por colegas botânicos da época. É também descrita a história da publicação de toda a obra. Em 1884, Van Voorst terá aparentemente vendido o restante stock da obra ao livreiro londrino Bernard Quaritch.

Palavras-chave: Bernard Quaritch, bibliografia, John Van Voorst, *Manual Flora of Madeira*, datas de publicação, história de publicação, Richard Thomas Lowe.

INTRODUCTION

The first book to describe fully all of the native vascular plants of the Madeiran and Salvage Islands was published in relatively recent times, *The Flora of Madeira* by PRESS et al. (1994): "It is 70 years since any comprehensive work devoted to the flora of the Madeiran islands has been produced" (page vii). Earlier contributions to Madeiran botany are widely scattered. Of these early works, the best-known is the incomplete flora by LOWE (1868 [1857-1872]), published by John Van Voorst of Paternoster Row, London; it is one of the classic unfinished works listed by CORNS & SPARKE (1915). Nevertheless, NORMAN (1887) alluded to it as the most complete flora up to 1887.

"From time to time, before the year 1857, fragmentary and intermittent notices of the flora of the island of Madeira, and lists of some of its plants, were published both in England and in Germany, but no serious attempt to produce a complete and systematic flora was made till that year, when the first number of *A Flora of Madeira and the Adjacent Islands of Porto Santo and the Desertas*, by the Rev. Richard Thomas Lowe, M. A., was brought out by Van Voorst of London."

The correct title of Lowe's work is *A Manual Flora of Madeira and the Adjacent Islands of Porto Santo and the Desertas*, referred to hereinafter simply as *The Flora*. Like many other Victorian natural history works it was published in separate parts, and ascertaining their precise publication dates has hitherto proved to be difficult

and uncertain. However, since *The Flora* contains newly published taxa and nomenclatural acts, as well as valuable natural history notes with important historical and biographical information (for instance, WILLIAMS, 2016), it is essential to analyse and date the page-gatherings of the letterpress more precisely than has hitherto been done. That is, therefore, the objective of the present paper.

PREVIOUSLY RECORDED DATES FOR THE PARTS OF *THE FLORA*

Whilst it may appear somewhat hypercritical and presumptuous to draw attention to the errors and omissions of dating committed by previous authors and in bibliographical catalogues, it is nevertheless necessary, in the light of the present research, to prevent their perpetuation. Thus, all the earlier references to the six individual parts that could be found, providing either incorrect or, at best, imprecise publication dates accurate only to a year, are given here.

For instance, PRITZEL (1872: 197), since his bibliography of botanical literature was finished in 1871, could include only the completed first volume, issued in 1868 (part I of volume II did not appear until 1872). Similarly, JACKSON (1881: 353) recorded only the date range for the parts of volume I, simply as 18[57]-68, and did not mention a publication date for part I of volume II. WOODWARD (1910) recorded, without evidence, just the year-dates of the parts in the

British Museum (Natural History) catalogue. MENEZES (1914) uncritically cited the date of the finally consolidated volume I plus volume II (part I) as 1868 (as it is incorrectly shown thus on the title-page). Even the renowned Victorian book seller Bernard QUARITCH (1881: 160) erroneously dated that consolidated volume, "*all that ever will be published*", as 1868-1871. The assertion (ANONYMOUS, 1874a) that two parts of volume II were published is wrong.

In the twentieth century, HANSEN (1968, 1969a, 1970) published year-dates for the five parts comprising the completed volume I. Overlapping these papers, he had also cited a range of year-dates from 1857 to 1872 for the work up to the final part published (HANSEN, 1969b, 1973), but did not identify the component letterpress except for the first part of volume II (HANSEN, 1971). Later, without providing any evidence, he again published year-dates of the six individual parts (HANSEN, 1974); and repeated, again without evidence, the same information in a bibliography (HANSEN, 1976). It seems most likely, since his last bibliography included an early obituary of Lowe providing the year-dates of each part (ANONYMOUS, 1874b), that Hansen's original source was that obituary.

Surprisingly, STAFLEU (1967) did not include *The Flora* in his first edition of *Taxonomic Literature* but in the second edition (STAFLEU & COWAN, 1981: 178, item 5049) brief references to ANONYMOUS (1874b) and HANSEN (1974) were made, simply restating the years given by HANSEN (1974, 1976). PRESS *et al.* (1994) unfortunately cited the dates of the consolidated parts as 1859-1872, apparently a *lapsus calami*.

PUBLICATION DATES OF THE PARTS

In the present study, the latest possible publication date, as near to the actual day as possible, has been established for each part. This dating is based upon a combination of sources, including any printed or manuscript dates given by the publisher on original wrappers; annotations by recipients of presentation copies; the accession dates of legal-deposit (copyright) copies received by the then British Museum (now the British Library); the publisher's own dated advertisements; and the earliest reviews found in periodicals. When only a month and year are ascertainable for the publication of a part, the last day of that month must be accepted as the earliest reliable date for the purpose of nomenclatural precedence. These procedures have established much more precise publication dates for the parts, including an earlier year than hitherto known for part III.

Original parts of *The Flora* are extremely rare; there appears to be no complete set available for examination of loose parts in wrappers, as individually issued. It has been necessary, therefore to assemble information from a number of bound-up examples, which are summarized in Table 1; none of them includes all of the complete wrappers. In any case, since the wrappers themselves provide scant printed information on dates of issue, the most valuable sources proved to be the bound British Museum legal-deposit volumes (recognized by their blue receipt-date stamps) now held by the British Library (BL); and Professor Charles Cardale Babington's (CCB) personal bound set of the parts now held in the Plant Sciences Library of the University of Cambridge. Babington's copy is inscribed "Prof. Babington. With kind regards, R. T. Lowe" and, although lacking wrappers, the letterpress of each part is annotated, with varying precision, with its date of receipt from Lowe. Disappointingly, no corroboration of any receipt-dates appears in Babington's published correspondence (see BABINGTON, 1897). The dates of receipt of the parts collected in these volumes, together with additional relevant information gleaned from other sources, are provided below. The combined information is summarized in Table 2, where the latest possible publication date of each part is indicated in bold type.

Part I of volume I

Wrapper date MDCCCLVII (printed); BL legal-deposit accession date, 16 November 1857; no CCB receipt date; earliest review, 5 December 1857 (ANONYMOUS, 1857a); earliest Van Voorst advertisement, December 1857; date according to HANSEN (1976), 1857.

Part II of volume I

Wrapper date MDCCCLXII (originally printed MDCCCLVII, but amended in manuscript), January (manuscript); BL legal-deposit accession date, 30 December 1863; CCB receipt, January 1862; earliest review, 1 March 1862 (ANONYMOUS, 1862a); no Van Voorst advertisements found; date according to HANSEN (1976), 1862.

Part III of volume I

Wrapper date 1864 (originally printed MDCCCLVII, but amended in manuscript); BL legal-deposit accession date, 30 December 1863; CCB receipt, January 1864; earliest review, 13 February 1864 (ANONYMOUS, 1864a); no Van Voorst advertisements found; date according to HANSEN (1976), 1864.

Table 1 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: examples examined during the present study.

Library	Shelf-mark	Contents	Provenance	Binding	Wrappers included
R. B. Williams	A	Volume 1 only	Unknown	Publisher's cloth	None
R. B. Williams	B	Volume 1 only	Unknown	Full calf	None
R. B. Williams	C	Volume 1 + 2 (part 1)	R. Milne-Redhead	Publisher's cloth	None
R. B. Williams	D	Volume 1 + 2 (part 1)	T. G. Tutin	Publisher's cloth	None
R. B. Williams	E	Volume 1 only	Herbier Boissier	Publisher's cloth	None
R. B. Williams	F	Volume 2 (part 1) only	Herbier Boissier	Library buckram	Volume 2 (part 1), front
Cambridge University, Cory Library	-	Volume 1 + 2 (part 1)	Unknown	Publisher's cloth	None
Cambridge University, Herbarium Archive	CGE 13.14	Volume 2 (part 1) only	Capt ⁿ Norman R.N.	Original wrappers	Volume 2 (part 1)
Cambridge University, Plant Sciences Library	HF 21	Volume 1 + 2 (part 1)	Presented by Lowe to Charles C. Babington	Library binding	None
Cambridge University Library	MD.30.35	Volume 1 only	Unknown	Library binding	Volume 1 (part 1)
Cambridge University Library	MD.30.36	Volume 2 (part 1) only	Unknown	Original wrappers	Volume 2 (part 1)
Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew	1	Volume 1 + 2 (part 1)	Charles Baron Clarke	Library binding	Volume 2 (part 1), front only
Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew	2	Volume 1 + 2 (part 1)	Unknown	Library binding	None
British Library	7032.c.31	Volume 1 only	Legal deposit (copyright)	Library cloth	Volume 1 (parts 1-5)
British Library	7032.c.31	Volume 2 (part 1) only	Legal deposit (copyright)	Library cloth	Volume 2 (part 1)
Instituto Botânico, University of Coimbra, Portugal	B-88/537	Volume 1 (part 1) only	Jardim Botânico (online digitized)	Original wrappers	Volume 1 (part 1)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Germany	Phyt. 411i	Volume 1 (part 1) only	Biblioteca Regia Monacensis (online digitized)	Original wrappers	Volume 1 (part 1)

Table 2 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: latest possible publication date of each part deduced from the earliest dates compiled from secondary sources.

Date sources	Vol I, part I	Vol I, part II	Vol I, part III	Vol I, part IV	Vol I, part V	Vol II, part I
Wrappers	1857	January 1862	1864	1868	Not dated	Not dated
British Museum legal-deposit receipts	16 November 1857	30 December 1863	30 December 1863	4 July 1868	Not recorded	11 May 1872
Babington's receipts of Lowe's presentations	Not known	January 1862	January 1864	4 February 1868	December 1868	March 1872
Earliest reviews in periodicals	5 December 1857	1 March 1862	13 February 1864	6 February 1869	6 February 1869	1 April 1872
Earliest Van Voorst advertisements	December 1857	None found	None found	May 1868	None found	None found
Hansen (1976)	1857	1862	1864	1868	1868	1872
Latest possible publication date	16 November 1857	31 January 1862	30 December 1863	4 February 1868	31 December 1868	31 March 1872

Part IV of volume I

Wrapper date 1868 (manuscript), no printed date; BL legal-deposit accession date, 4 July 1868; CCB receipt, 4 February 1868; earliest review, 6 February 1869 (ANONYMOUS, 1869a); earliest Van Voorst advertisement, May 1868; date according to HANSEN (1976), 1868.

Part V of volume I

Wrapper, no printed or manuscript date; BL legal-deposit accession date not recorded; CCB receipt, December 1868; earliest review, 6 February 1869 (ANONYMOUS, 1869a); no Van Voorst advertisements found; date according to HANSEN (1976), 1868. In the section of *Addenda et corrigenda*, LOWE (1868 [1857-1868]) referred (page 605) to "the present moment (Nov. 1868)", which is consistent with Babington receiving his copy in December of that year.

Part I of volume II

Wrapper, no printed or manuscript date; BL legal-deposit accession date, 11 May 1872; CCB receipt, March 1872; earliest review, 1 April 1872 (ANONYMOUS, 1872); no Van Voorst advertisements found; date according to HANSEN (1976), 1872.

PUBLICATION DATES OF THE CONSOLIDATED VOLUMES

Ideal copies (*sensu* GASKELL, 1974) of *The Flora* issued by the publisher as a single volume exist in two forms: the first (before Lowe's death) comprises parts I-V forming volume I; and the second (after Lowe's death) comprises volume I bound with the first and only part issued of volume II.

A common practice of Van Voorst (along with other Victorian publishers) was to issue the consolidated volume of a book that had been published in parts simultaneously with the appearance of the final separate part (see for instance, WILLIAMS, 2014, 2017). Regarding *The Flora*, volume I was therefore probably issued contemporaneously with publication of part V during December 1868 (see above), and its title-page indeed bears the year-date 1868. A review published between January and March 1869, of volume I only, noted that Lowe "a publié depuis, de 1857 à 1864, le *Manual Flora of Madeira*, qui à cette époque s'arrêtait au Araliacées [end of part III] et qui maintenant est plus avancé" (ANONYMOUS, 1869b). This suggests that the consolidated volume I was indeed issued simultaneously with part V and, if so, must have been published no later

than 31 December 1868 (see Table 2). There is therefore no apparent reason to dispute the date of 1868 on its title-page.

The final consolidation of volume I with the first part of volume II was a direct result of the death of Lowe, when Van Voorst was faced with the certainty that the monograph would never be finished, at least by its original author. The volume includes the same printing of the title-page as of volume I alone, and so the date of 1868 is, in this case, certainly spurious. The issuing of this volume was probably fairly soon after Lowe died in April 1874, but I have been unable to trace any contemporary advertisements for it.

Nevertheless, any uncertainty existing about the precise publication date of either of the consolidated volumes of *The Flora* is not crucial when considering nomenclatural precedence of new taxa. Dating of the parts adequately serves that purpose.

STUDY METHODS FOR ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

For the present bibliographical descriptions, the conventions published by GASKELL (1974) for collation formulae and for calculations of the sheet-sizes of paper were adopted. Sizes and nomenclature of Victorian English printing-paper are provided by GOULD (1876). Comparisons of type-settings in the parts and the consolidated volumes were made by MCKERROW's (1927) transect method. Descriptions of book-cloths conform to the system of KRUPP (2008). Pagination of wrappers follows the convention proposed by WILLIAMS (2005) thus: w[1] = recto (outer page) of front wrapper; w[2] = verso (inner page) of front wrapper; w[3] = recto (inner page) of back wrapper; w[4] = verso (outer page) of back wrapper.

The copies of the parts-issue and the book-issues of *The Flora* examined for this study are listed in Table 1. They include two digitized examples of part I of volume I, both with exactly the same contents. One is held by the University of Coimbra, Portugal, and appears online at URL "http://bibdigital.bot.uc.pt/obras/UCFCTBt-B-88-5-37/UCFCTBt-B-88-5-37_item2/UCFCTBt-B-88-5-37_PDF/UCFCTBt-B-88-5-37_PDF_24-C-R0120/UCFCTBt-B-88-5-37_0000_capa-capa_t24-C-R0120.pdf" (accessed 22 January 2017). This copy is especially instructive for collation because it shows the actual appearance of the wrappers and leaves, revealing the original sewing of the gatherings. The other example is less useful for analytical bibliography, because its images

are cropped. It is held by the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Germany (accessed 22 January 2017), URL “http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10302419_00126.html”. The only other separate parts traced were two copies of part I (volume II) as separately issued in wrappers, and another two in library bindings (Table 1).

Except for the few individual parts in wrappers, some bound volumes of the letterpress with at least some of the wrappers included were available for examination. The British Library (previously the British Museum legal-deposit (copyright) repository for the United Kingdom), possesses a complete copy of volume I in a library binding with the wrappers sewn at the end, so the contents are not in their exact original order. Some other libraries also possess all of the letterpress bound with very few of the wrappers (Table 1). From these sources, I have been able to reconstruct the exact contents of each part, now dated as closely as possible to its actual day of publication.

COMPOSITIONS OF THE PARTS

The composition of each dated part is crucial for the correct application of publication dates to new taxa or historical facts. The copies personally examined for the present study include all the original parts-issues, most of which are now bound up, that could be found in the United Kingdom, supported by the two previously mentioned digitized copies of part I of volume I (see Table 1). The wrappers and the letterpress are now described. *The Flora* is not illustrated.

The wrappers

Only the British Library (BL) copy includes all of the front wrappers. They are of a dark buff colour, except those of part III, which are more yellowish. All bear various manuscript amendments and insertions; the prices in particular are always in manuscript. Such use of surplus wrappers of earlier parts, altered in manuscript, was not an unusual practice of Van Voorst. Examples are, for instance, *A History of British Molluscs and their Shells* (see FISHER & TOMLIN, 1935), and *A History of British Starfishes* (see WILLIAMS, 2014); other examples are also known (personal observations). The printing on page w[1] of the wrapper of part I is the most complete, excess stocks of which were modified for subsequent parts; pages w[2] and w[3] were blank in all parts examined of which front and back wrappers were intact. Their printing, which is corroborated

by the wrappers bound into various other library-copies, is described below (see also Fig. 1).

Volume I, part I. Most of the printing on the front wrapper (page w[1]) is within a single-ruled frame (151 × 87 mm), and is shown below in quasi-facsimile:

| A MANUAL FLORA | OF | MADEIRA | AND | THE
ADJACENT ISLANDS | OF | PORTO SANTO AND THE
DEZERTAS. | BY | RICHARD THOMAS LOWE, M.A. | [30 mm
rule] | DOMINI est terra, et plenitudo ejus.—Psal. xxiv. 1. |
LONDON : | JOHN VAN VOORST, 1 PATERNOSTER ROW. |
MDCCCLVII. |

In addition, immediately above the frame is printed: to the left, “Part I. Thalamifloræ.” and to the right “Price”. Immediately after “Price” appears “3/6” in manuscript (this was a short way of writing 3s. 6d. or three shillings and sixpence). Immediately below the frame appears “Printed by Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street”. Pages w[2] and w[3] are blank, and page w[4] lists 14 titles of “Books on Botany, Published by Mr. Van Voorst.”.

Volume I, part II. The printing of page w[1] is identical to that of part I, but there are further manuscript amendments. Thus, the “I” in “Part I.” is overwritten with a “2”. The price remains at 3/6 in manuscript. “Thalamifloræ.” is amended thus: “Thalamifloræ. Calycifloræ”. In the printed date “MDCCCLVII”, the “V” is altered in manuscript to “X”, and “January” is added, also in manuscript. Pages w[2] and w[3] are blank, and page w[4] lists 14 titles of “Books on Botany, Published by Mr. Van Voorst.”, the same as in part I.

Volume I, part III. The printing of page w[1] is identical to that of part I, with further manuscript amendments similar to those in part II. The “I” in “Part I.” is overwritten with “3”. The price remains at 3/6 in manuscript. However, “Thalamifloræ.” remains as in the original printing. The date “MDCCCLVII” is corrected thus: “MDCCCLVII. 1864.”. Pages w[2] and w[3] are blank, and page w[4] lists 14 titles of “Books on Botany, Published by Mr. Van Voorst.”, the same as in part I.

Volume I, part IV. The printing of page w[1] is almost identical to that of part I, with various manuscript amendments. For the part number, only “Part” is printed, and in the following space is inserted “4”. The price remains at 3/6 in manuscript. In the title, the “Z” previously printed in “DEZERTAS” is replaced with a printed “S” (a wrong fount). There is no printed date, but “1868” is given in manuscript. The back wrapper is missing.

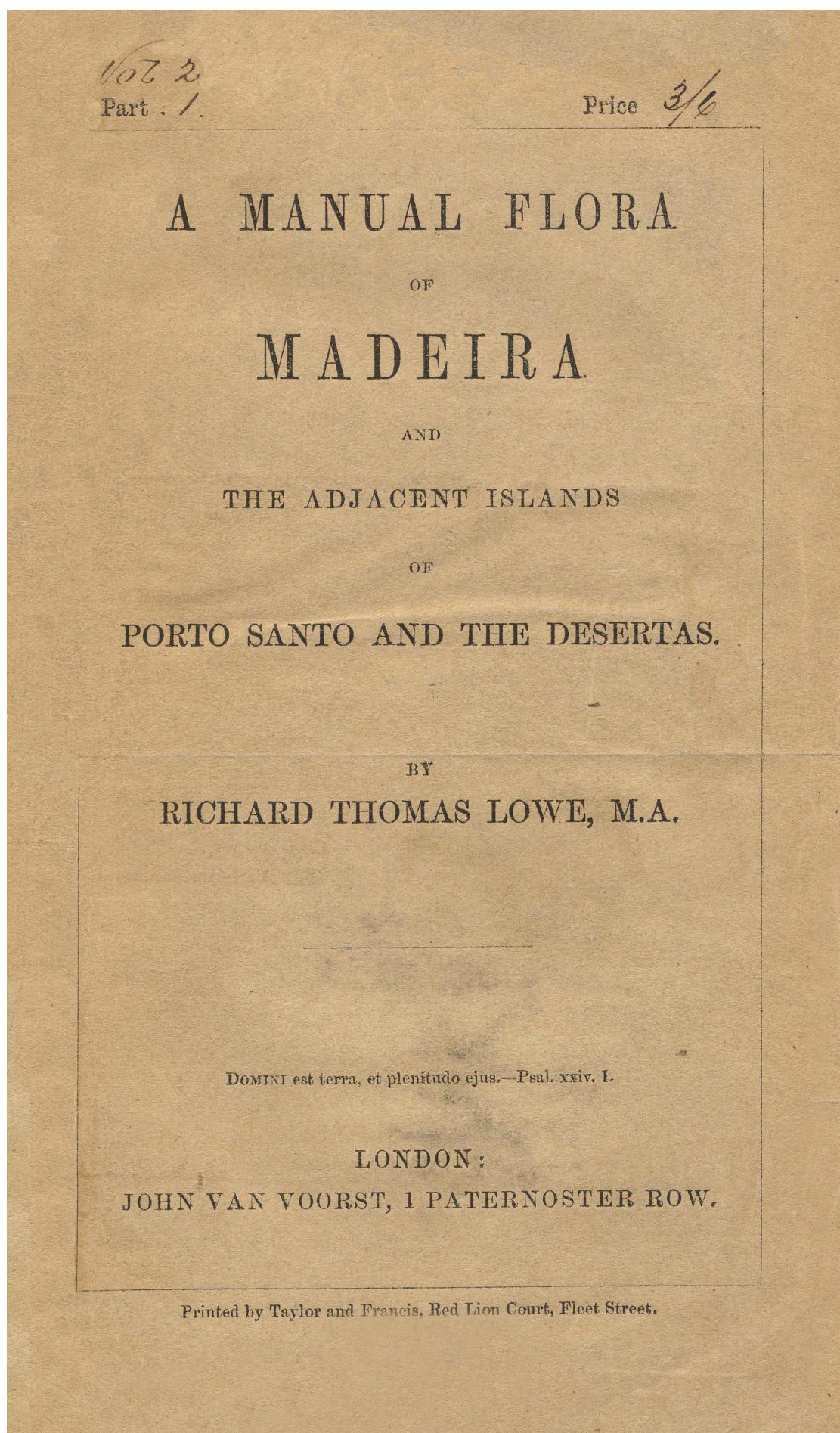


Fig. 1 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: front wrapper (page w[1]) of part I of volume II.

Volume I, part V. The printing of page w[1] is identical to that of part IV, with similar manuscript amendments. For the part number, only "Part" is printed, and in the following space is inserted "5 (Completing Vol 1)". The price remains at 3/6 in manuscript. The printed correction of "DEZERTAS" to "DESERTAS" is repeated. There is neither a printed, nor a manuscript, date. The back wrapper is missing.

Volume II, part I. The printing of page w[1] is identical to that of part V, with similar manuscript amendments. "Part" is printed, and in the following space is inserted "1", with "Vol 2" above it. The price remains at 3/6 in manuscript. The printed correction of "DEZERTAS" to "DESERTAS" is also repeated. There is neither a printed, nor a manuscript, date (see Fig. 1). Pages w[2], w[3] and w[4] are blank.

The letterpress

For each demy duodecimo part, the collational formula, pagination and number of leaves are given, with further notes on supplementary matter printed on the wrappers or inserted advertisements. Numbered pages are paginated at the top, outer corner (except for the second page ii at top centre). Pages shown in square brackets here are not numbered.

Volume I, part I: π1 a⁶ B–E¹² F⁴ (F4+χ1); pages [i-ii] [i] ii-xii [1] 2–106; 60 leaves. [Leaf π1 bears a temporary title-page for this part only, with the printer's imprint on the verso. The first three leaves of gathering a⁶ are signed (the third misleadingly) a, a₂, a₅. Gatherings of twelve leaves are signed on the first, second and fifth; but F⁴ is signed only on the first two.]

The temporary title-page reads (in quasi-facsimile):

| A MANUAL FLORA | OF | MADEIRA | AND | THE
ADJACENT ISLANDS | OF | PORTO SANTO AND THE
DEZERTAS. | BY | RICHARD THOMAS LOWE, M.A. | [30
mm rule] | PART I. THALAMIFLORÆ. | RANUNCULACEÆ—
PITTOSPORACEÆ. | [31 mm rule] | DOMINI est terra et
plenitudo ejus.—Psal. xxiv. 1. | LONDON : | JOHN VAN
VOORST, 1 PATERNOSTER ROW. | MDCCCLVII. |

There is an advertisement leaf tipped-in at the end, printed on the recto "NATHANIEL HASLOPE MASON F.L.S. 3, Red Lion Square, London, W. C.", offering natural history collections from Madeira, Porto Santo and the Dezertas of dried and living plants, wood samples, land shells and marine invertebrates (the verso is blank).

Volume I, part II: G–M¹² N⁶; pages [107] 108–262; 78

leaves. [Gatherings of twelve leaves are signed on the first, second and fifth; N⁶ is signed on the first three.]

Volume I, part III: O–R¹² S⁶ T⁴; pages [263] 264–377 [378]; 58 leaves. [Gatherings of twelve leaves are signed on the first, second and fifth; S⁶ is signed on the first three; T⁴ is signed on the first two. Page [378] is blank.]

Volume I, part IV: U–2A¹² 2B–2C⁶; pages [379] 380–522; 72 leaves. [Gatherings of twelve leaves are signed on the first, second and fifth; gatherings of six leaves are signed on the first three.]

Volume I, part V: 2D–2F¹² 2G–2H⁶; pages 523–582 [583] 584–613 [614–615] 616–618; 48 leaves. [Gatherings of twelve leaves are signed on the first, second and fifth; gatherings of six leaves are signed on the first three.]

Volume II, part I: B–E¹² F¹⁰; pages [1] 2–113 [114–116]; 58 leaves. [All gatherings are signed on the first, second and fifth leaves.]

The number of leaves in the five parts of volume I is 316, and in the first part of volume II is 58, totalling 374. Leaf size of original parts, all edges uncut: 188 × 112 mm (shape ratio 1.68). Following GASKELL'S (1974) method for estimating the sheet size of gatherings signed in twelves, the full size is estimated to be 564 × 448 mm, corresponding to a Victorian demy sheet of 22½ × 17¾ inches as given by GOULD (1876), which confirms the format as duodecimo.

COMPOSITION OF THE CONSOLIDATED VOLUMES

The present description is based upon detailed examination of copies of the book-issues included in Table 1. They comprise three copies of volume I only, and three copies of volume I cased with part I of volume II. The title-page of the consolidated five parts of volume I (LOWE, 1868 [1857–1868]), completed during Lowe's lifetime, is dated 1868 (see Fig. 2). After Lowe's death, before which he had published part I of volume II, Van Voorst issued a final consolidation of all six parts with a title-page identical to that of volume I alone (see Fig. 2). It reads (in quasi-facsimile):

| A MANUAL FLORA | OF | MADEIRA | AND | THE
ADJACENT ISLANDS | OF | PORTO SANTO AND THE
DESERTAS. | BY | RICHARD THOMAS LOWE, M.A. | [27 mm
rule] | VOL. I. | DICHLAMYDEÆ. | [27 mm rule] | DOMINI est
terra et plenitudo ejus.—Psal. xxiv. 1. | LONDON : | JOHN
VAN VOORST, 1 PATERNOSTER ROW. | MDCCCLXVIII. |

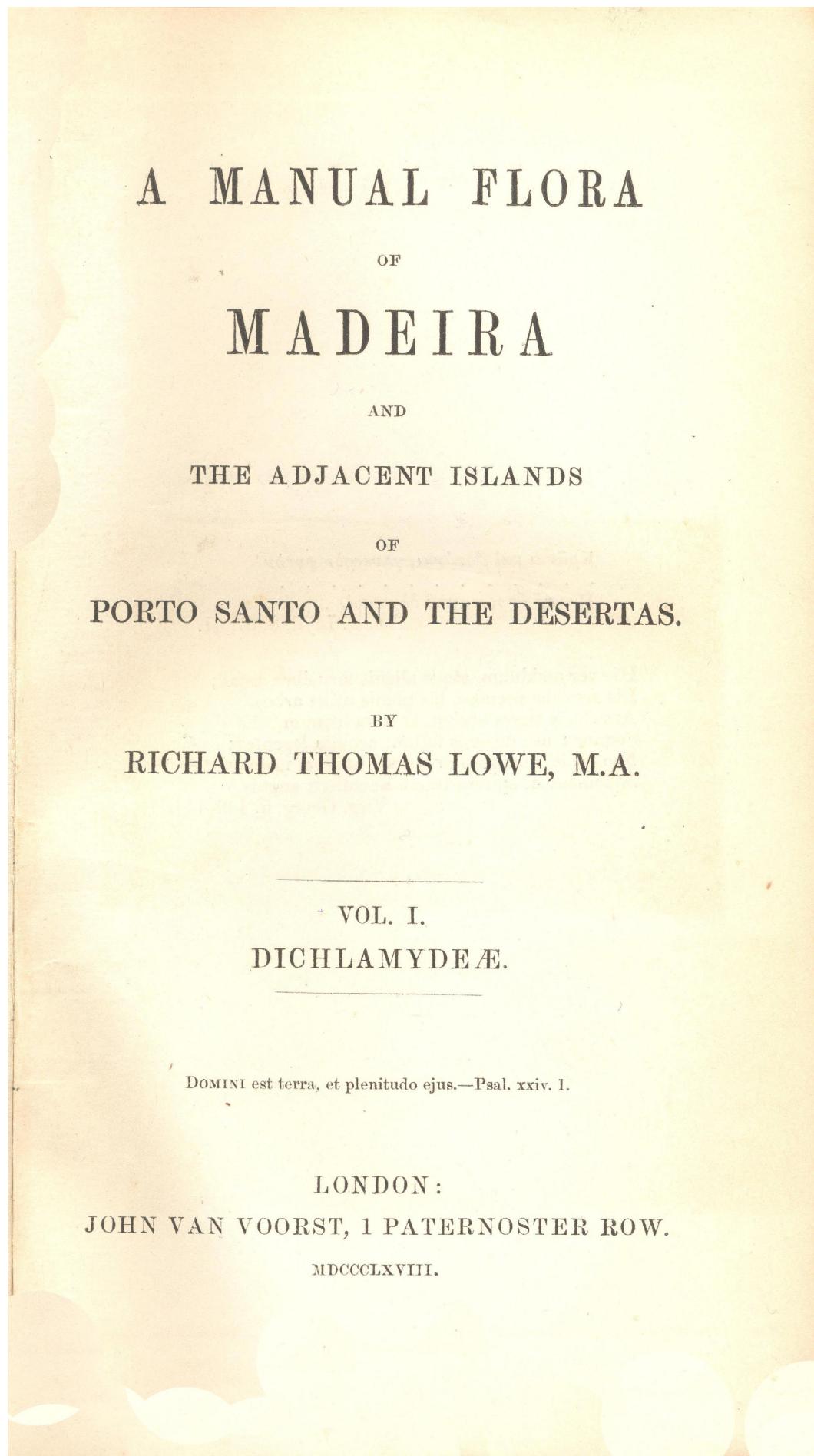


Fig. 2 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: title-page common to the consolidated volume I, and to volume I plus part I of volume II.

Volume I alone

The collation formula for publisher's ideal copy (*sensu* GASKELL, 1974: 315) of volume I (LOWE, 1868 [1857-1868]) cased alone is:

Demy duodecimo: $\pi 1 (-\pi 1) 2\pi^2 a^6 B-E^{12} F^4 (F4+\chi 1)$
 $G-M^{12} N^6 O-R^{12} S^6 T^4 U-2A^{12} 2B-2C^6 2D-2F^{12} 2G-2H^6$ [\$1, 2, 5 signed (-2 π 1, 2 π 2, a5; a3 signed 'a5'; \$3 for gatherings of six; \$2 for gatherings of four)]. The temporary title-page of part I (leaf $\pi 1$) is excised. Total 317 leaves. Leaf size, all edges uncut: 188 × 112 mm (shape ratio 1.68).

The composition is:

iv + xii + 618 pages; [i-iv] [i] ii-xii [1] 2-106 [107] 108-262 [263] 264-377 [378-379] 380-582 [583] 584-613 [614-615] 616-618. Paginated at top, outer corners of pages, except for the second page iii, which is at top centre. Pages shown in square brackets here are not numbered.

All the copies of volume I alone in publisher's cloth that were examined had the same content, which is as follows:

[i] title-page; [ii] two-line Greek and six-line Latin quotations; [iii] dedication to T. V. Wollaston; [iv] blank; [i]-ii notice; iii-xii explanations and abbreviations; [1] Class I. Exogens or Dicotyledons; 2-106 Subclass I. Thalamifloræ; [107]-262 Subclass II. Calycifloræ; [263]-377 Subclass II (continued); [378] blank; [379]-582 Subclass III. Corollifloræ; [583]-613 *Addenda et corrigenda* for parts I-V; [614] blank; [615]-618 Index of families and genera in vol. I; 618 printer's imprint; [1]-113 Subclass III. Corollifloræ (continued); [114] blank; [115-116] 'Books on Botany, Published by Mr. Van Voorst' and 'Students' Class-Books'.

iv + xii + 618 + 116 pages; [i-iv] [i] ii-xii [1] 2-106 [107] 108-262 [263] 264-377 [378-379] 380-582 [583] 584-613 [614-615] 616-618 [1] 2-113 [114-116]. Paginated at top, outer corners of pages, except for second page iii, which is at top centre. Pages shown in square brackets here are not numbered.

The contents are as follows:

[i] title-page; [ii] two-line Greek and six-line Latin quotations; [iii] dedication to T. V. Wollaston; [iv] blank; [i]-ii notice; iii-xii explanations and abbreviations; [1] Class I. Exogens or Dicotyledons; 2-106 Subclass I. Thalamifloræ; [107]-262 Subclass II. Calycifloræ; [263]-377 Subclass II (continued); [378] blank; [379]-582 Subclass III. Corollifloræ; [583]-613 *Addenda et corrigenda* for parts I-V; [614] blank; [615]-618 Index of families and genera in vol. I; 618 printer's imprint; [1]-113 Subclass III. Corollifloræ (continued); [114] blank; [115-116] 'Books on Botany, Published by Mr. Van Voorst' and 'Students' Class-Books'.

The Van Voorst advertisement leaf (F10) lists 30 titles on recto and verso; a longer list than that on page w[4] of the wrappers of parts I-III.

TYPOGRAPHY

The Flora was printed by the highly-respected firm of Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London (see BROWN, 1982); they specialized in printing and publishing scientific literature (and still do), and often produced books for Van Voorst (BROCK & MEADOWS, 1984). The printer's imprint is rather obscure in the consolidated volumes, occurring only at the foot of page 618 of volume I. However, in the parts, it is found on all of the front wrappers and on the verso of the temporary title-page of part I of volume I.

The letterpress of the parts is essentially the same as that of the consolidated volumes (*q.v.*). There are no cancellations of leaves, except for the excision of the temporary title-page of part I (leaf $\pi 1$) from the consolidated volumes. Random transects (McKERROW, 1927: 183) of pages in the parts-issue are identical to transects of the same pages in the consolidated volume(s); hence, there is only one edition. Imposition was confirmed as a common duodecimo by the occurrence of point-holes at the heads of leaves (see GASKELL, 1974: Figure 55). The work was printed on only one paper size.

Considering the high reputation of Taylor and Francis as printers, the 30 pages of *Addenda et Corrigenda* to parts I-V are, at first sight, quite startling. In fact, a reviewer (ANONYMOUS, 1869a) wryly observed that "The list of

Volume I bound with volume II (part I)

The collation formula for publisher's ideal copy of volume I cased with volume II, part I (LOWE, 1868 [1857-1872]) is:

Demy duodecimo: $\pi 1 (-\pi 1) 2\pi^2 a^6 B-E^{12} F^4 (F4+\chi 1)$
 $G-M^{12} N^6 O-R^{12} S^6 T^4 U-2A^{12} 2B-2C^6 2D-2F^{12} 2G-2H^6 B-E^{12}$
 F^{10} [\$1, 2, 5 signed (-2 π 1, 2 π 2, a5; a3 signed 'a5'; \$3 for gatherings of six; \$2 for gatherings of four)]. The temporary title-page of part I (leaf $\pi 1$) is excised. There is no separate title-page for volume II; below the dropped-head title on page [1] (see Fig. 3), the text simply continues from page 582 of volume I as in the separate part I of volume II. Total 375 leaves. Leaf size, all edges uncut: 188 × 112 mm (shape ratio 1.68). All the copies in publisher's cloth that were examined had the same content, except that Van Voorst's integral advertisement leaf at the end may have been excised; in such cases, the final gathering is F^{10} (-F10).

The composition is:

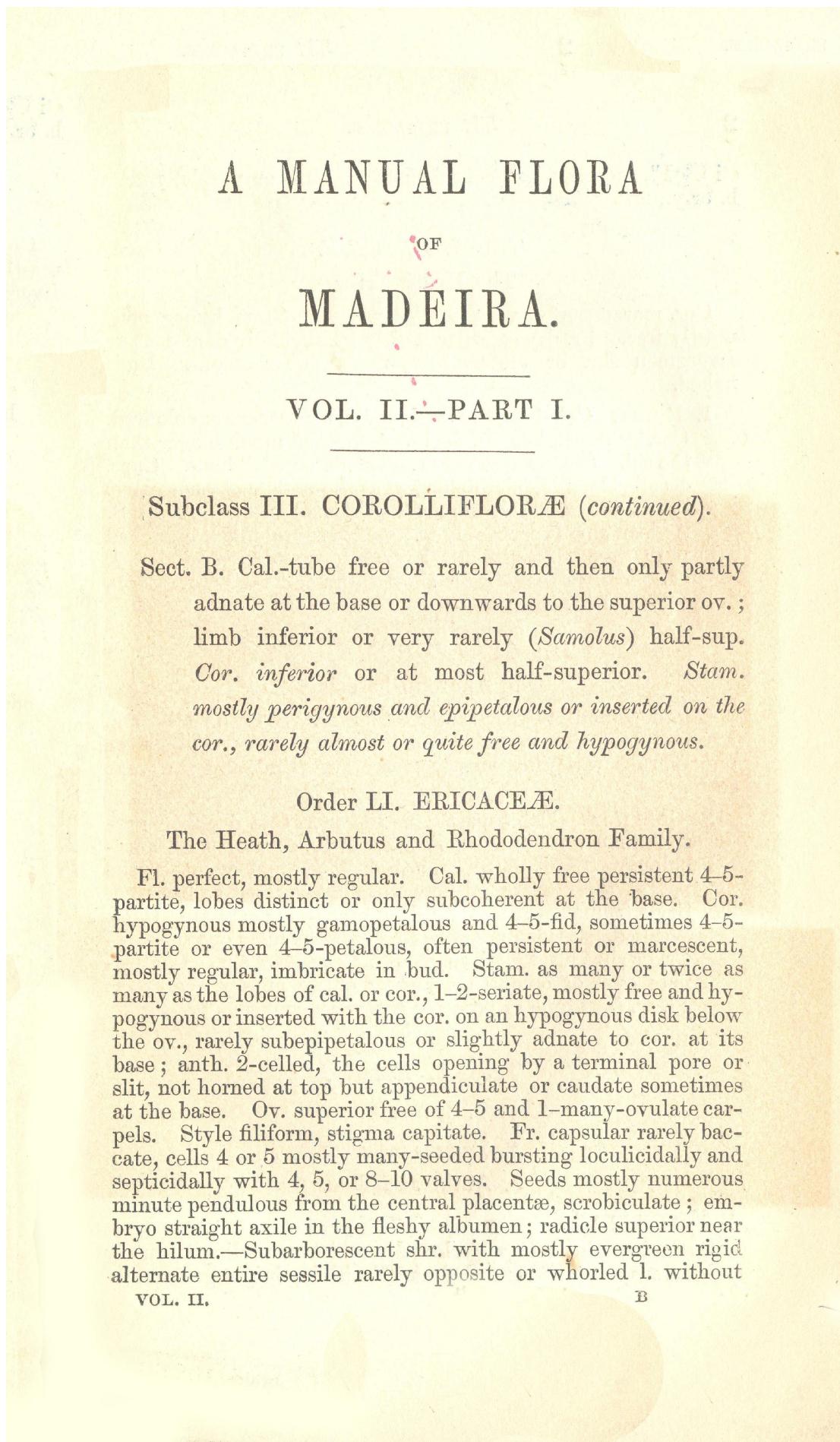


Fig. 3 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: dropped-head title (page [1]) of part I of volume II.

corrigenda is woefully long. Let us hope that in succeeding parts more careful revision will take place, or a separate part will be needed to contain the *corrigenda*". However, examination of these pages ([583]-613) reveals that few, if any, of the corrections are of printing errors; in fact, they comprise mainly Lowe's changes of opinion on taxonomic points, with some quite lengthy additional notes on various species. Although Lowe delayed publication of these amendments to the first five parts for so long, the criticism of the anonymous reviewer was perhaps rather unfair. In fact, it appears from the content of the *Addenda et Corrigenda* section that information received from fellow-botanists such as J. M. Moniz, F. M. Norman and others (see WILLIAMS, 2016), as well as his continued botanizing trips to Madeira and other Macaronesian islands were what stimulated changes of his taxonomic opinions and swelled his original text during a period of eleven years, all published finally in 1868. The number of pages of addenda and corrigenda for each of the five parts (about 14, 12, 2½, 1 and ½ pages, respectively) are directly associated with the time elapsed since their publication, lending some support for this speculation.

PUBLISHER'S CLOTH-CASE DESIGNS

The issues of the consolidated volumes (see above) exhibit differences between the gilt lettering and ornamentation on the spines and between the blind blocking of the boards of the cloth cases. In addition, there is an obvious difference between the thicknesses of the text-blocks. Only two variants of the casing for volume I alone, and two of that for the final consolidation have been discovered. Considering the rarity of this book, that may not be surprising (see later). Part I of volume II was apparently never issued on its own in publisher's cloth, but it may be found separately bound in library cloth. Coloured illustrations of the publisher's cloths are provided here in order to avoid any uncertainties about differences between the designs. Cloth-grains are classified according to KRUPP (2008). The descriptions are given in their likely chronological order of issue. In general, the colours of the cases are green, varying slightly in tone, possibly depending on the degree of exposure to light in the past.

Volume I alone

Case **a** (Fig. 4). Perhaps the primary case (provenance ex-Bibliothèque de l'Herbier Boissier, Geneva). Bright green sand (cloth-grain Krupp San1); front board with

blind blocking (border and fancy frame); back board the same as front. The gilt lettering on the spine reads "MANUAL | FLORA | OF | MADEIRA. | [14 mm plain rule] | LOWE.", and lower down, "VOL. I." (with all the full stops spaced widely). Decorative bands in blind at the head and tail (Fig. 4). Boards 195 × 111 mm. All edges uncut. Text-block ca 37 mm thick. The advertisement for the naturalist Mason originally inserted at the end of the separate part I is discarded; no other advertisements present; endpapers brown; no binder's ticket.

Case **b** (cf. Fig. 4). Dark green pebble (cloth-grain Krupp San5). Design and size of both boards the same as primary case **a**. Gilt lettering on spine also as for case **a**, except that the lettering is very slightly more spaced out vertically, the plain rule measures 11 mm and each full stop almost touches the preceding letter; blind, decorative bands also the same as for case **a**. Mason's advertisement discarded; no other advertisements present; endpapers cream; no binder's ticket.

Volume I bound with part I of volume II

Case **c** (Fig. 5). Dark green sand (cloth-grain Krupp San1); front board with blind blocking (oval central device and border); back board the same as front. The gilt lettering on the spine reads only "MANUAL | FLORA | OF | MADEIRA | [9 mm rule] | LOWE", with a gilt decorative band immediately below. Also decorative bands in gilt at the head and tail (Fig. 5). Boards 196 × 111 mm. All edges uncut. Text-block ca 42 mm thick. Mason's advertisement discarded; last leaf is integral Van Voorst advertisement; endpapers cream; no binder's ticket.

Case **d** (cf. Fig. 5). Dark green sand (cloth-grain Krupp San1); front board with blind blocking (oval central device and border); back board has same border but lacks central device. The gilt lettering and decoration on the spine the same as case **c**; also the same decorative bands in gilt at the head and tail (Fig. 5). Boards 195 × 111 mm. All edges uncut. Mason's advertisement discarded; last leaf is integral Van Voorst advertisement; endpapers cream; no binder's ticket.

THE GENERAL RECEPTION OF THE FLORA AND ITS PUBLISHING HISTORY

The Rev. Richard Thomas Lowe (1802-1874) was, from 1833 to 1852 the chaplain of the English Church in Madeira, but he had resided there from 1828. His chaplaincy was a

troubled one for many reasons (NASH, 1990), the details of which need not concern us here, but during that period and later, when time allowed, he travelled over the Madeiran Archipelago and wider Macaronesia, collecting plants, fishes and terrestrial invertebrates in particular. Whilst he published a few botanical papers in various journals (LOWE, 1830, 1831, 1834, 1838, 1851, 1856, 1857, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1869), he had long intended to write a comprehensive flora of the Madeiran Archipelago. However, it was not until 1852, when he resigned his chaplaincy in Madeira that he was able to begin work on *The Flora*.

The issuing of the parts of *The Flora* was a protracted affair, interrupted by Lowe's other interests and responsibilities, and was terminated in 1874 by his premature death at sea during yet another voyage to Madeira (NORMAN, 1887; NASH, 1990). Part I is best introduced in his own words from the Notice (page [i]):

"Impeded by graver avocations, and in prospect of being obliged shortly to suspend altogether further progress by the necessity of leaving England for the benefit of health, I have decided on publishing at once the following portion of the Flora of Madeira."

One perceptive reviewer, whilst generally appreciative of Lowe's botanical work, interpreted his introduction rather pessimistically (ANONYMOUS, 1857a), which, unfortunately, probably did little to encourage current and potential subscribers:

"The experience of the author in Madeiran vegetation is greater than any other person's, and a complete work from such a hand would be of very great interest. We fear, however, from what is said in the preface, that there is small hope of the present publication being continued, although what lies before us is called Part I. In the meanwhile we gladly accept the present instalment, which, as far as it goes furnishes the botanist with all that he can require."

Nevertheless, Lowe's otherwise enthusiastic Notice continued (page ii),

"On my return to England it is my purpose, if life be spared, not only to complete the present little publication, but to follow it up, as health and leisure may permit, with a series of similar Manuals on the Ferns and other Cryptogamic plants, the Birds and Fishes, Shells or Mollusks, marine and terrestrial, of the island; such as, in conjunction with the elaborate and admirable works of Mr. Wollaston on

the Insects, may furnish together a tolerably complete Natural History of the Madeiran group."

Although Lowe had already reported some of his work on this grand scheme, in publications issued by Van Voorst on ferns and terrestrial molluscs (LOWE, 1851) and the fishes (LOWE, 1843-1860) of the Madeiran Archipelago, no further development of his plan ever materialized. He wrote nothing about birds. The pessimistic reviewer for the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (ANONYMOUS, 1857a) was clearly quite aware of Lowe's slow rate of publication, and had apparently observed how his initial efforts on ferns, molluscs and fishes had come to naught, long before he reiterated his intentions in 1857.

With regard to *The Flora*, however, Lowe was nevertheless quite sanguine about an ultimate completion (Notice, page ii), opining that:

"In the mean time, no further inconvenience than delay will accrue to the purchasers of the present instalment, in itself complete, of the Phænogamic Flora, by its separate publication. When its sequel is carried through the press, care will be taken to make the paging continuous with that of the part now published, so that the whole may be ultimately bound up in one volume, for which a fresh title-page, with other introductory or prefatory matter, tables, indices, &c., will be supplied."

However, even when volume I was completed in 1868 after a further eleven years, the preliminary matter failed to materialize, except for a title-page and a dedication to his close friend Thomas Vernon Wollaston (1822-1878). In the interim, successive parts met with a mixture of praise for their botanical accuracy and disappointment over their protracted appearance.

The initial pessimism of the *Gardeners' Chronicle* reviewer regarding the likely continuation of the work (ANONYMOUS, 1857a) was balanced somewhat by the review in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* (ANONYMOUS, 1857b), thus:

"The author seems to have spared no labour requisite to render his book complete. It is arranged somewhat on the plan of Babington's 'Manual of British Botany,' although usually rather fuller in detail than that work, and containing many more critical remarks than were there requisite ... We have only to add a strong recommendation of this book to the notice of botanists."

Lowe's assiduous attention to descriptive details of each species, with his additional notes on localities and

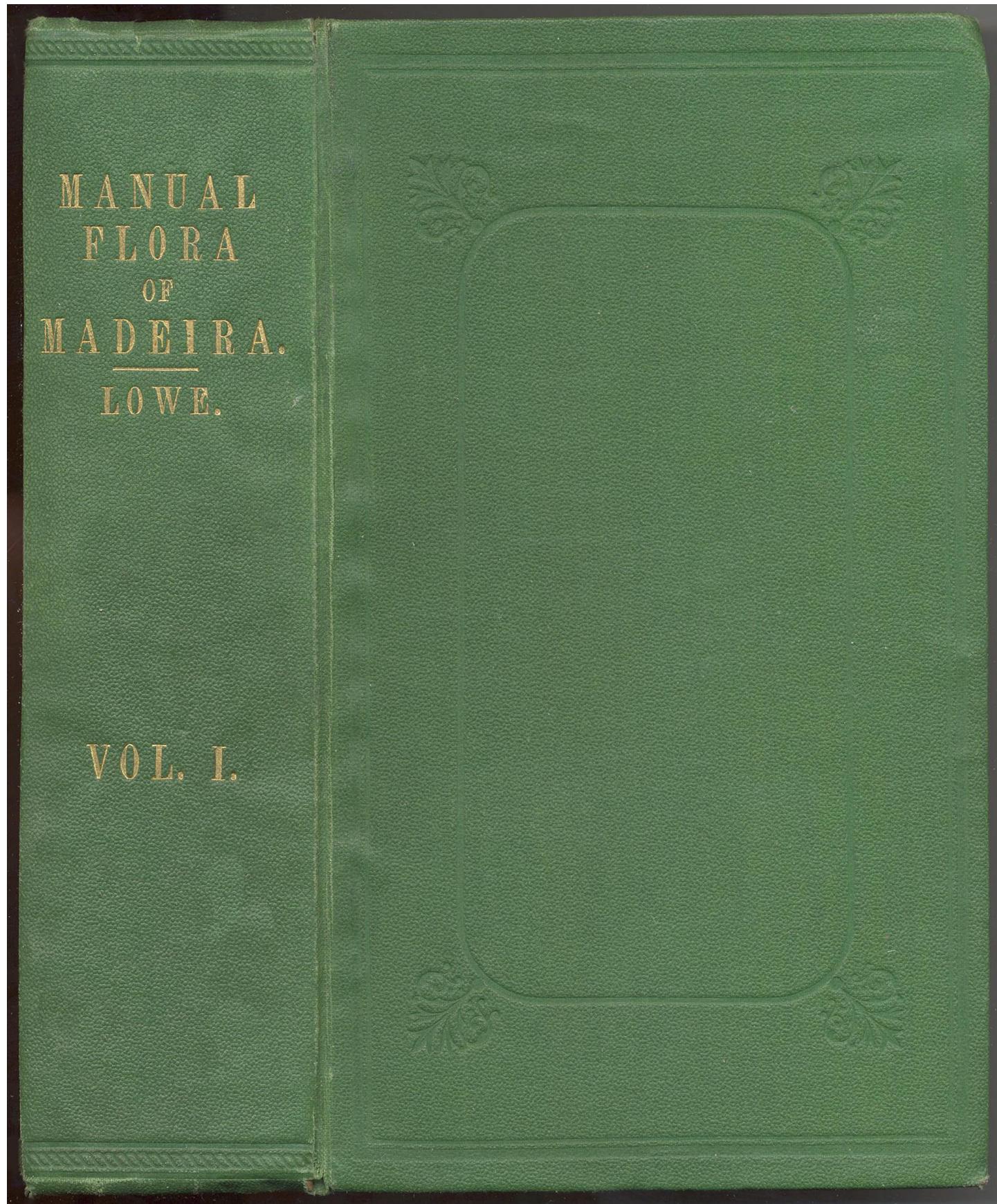


Fig. 4 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: front board and spine of the consolidated volume I (case a).

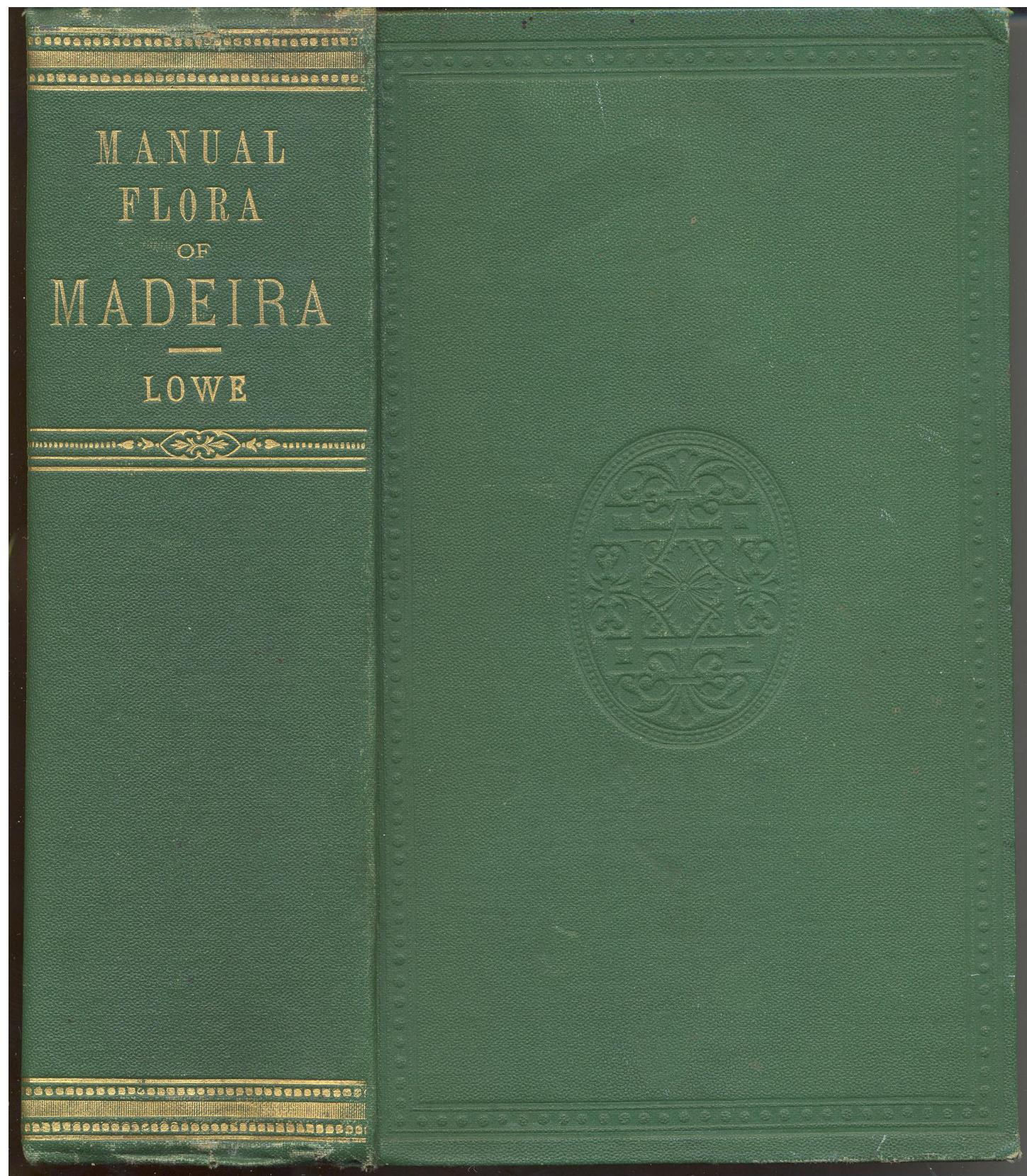


Fig. 5 – *A Manual Flora of Madeira*: front board and spine of the consolidated volume I plus part I of volume II (case c).

natural history, was often favourably remarked upon, although it resulted in a somewhat lengthy text. This prolixity was ameliorated to some degree by his extensive use of abbreviations for a multitude of topics, carefully explained on pages iii-xii. The reviewer for *The Athenaeum* was nevertheless most enthusiastic (ANONYMOUS, 1858):

"It is not a list of the plants of Madeira, with their localities, but a description of every species, with the character of the genera, orders and classes. The descriptions of the plants are fuller and more complete than is usual in manuals of botany, hence it will be found of greater service to those who are entering on the study of botany, or who do not possess in other works an account of the plants referred to."

Part I gained praise as much in Paris as in London, and for similar reasons (ANONYMOUS, 1869b):

"Cet ouvrage est écrit d'une manière spéciale et pratique; négligeant presque la diagnose des genres, suffisamment connus des botanistes auxquels s'adresse son livre, et décrits ailleurs, il insiste longuement sur chaque espèce. Il la caractérise et la commente longuement; il en fait connaître avec soin les synonymes et les localités."

Part II was likewise well-received (ANONYMOUS, 1862b), but again tempered by implied criticism of the delay in publication:

"At length we have a second part of Lowe's Manual Flora of Madeira (Van Voorst) ... Independent of its valuable information on technical Botany, this little volume contains much interesting discussion upon subjects of another kind. Of the latter we give a few examples." They included "Geological Accuracy", "The Wild Parent of the Apple", "The Portugal Laurel" and "Madeira Wood Strawberries"."

However, one reviewer of part III could barely conceal his increasing irritation over its tardy publication, but was nevertheless obliged to accept that the painstaking preparation was a contributory factor, and so softened his criticism by a plea for a wider readership (ANONYMOUS, 1864b):

"How long, alas! may we have to wait for the completion of a book of the utmost importance to botanists who are interested in what is sometimes called the Atlantic Flora! ... The necessity even now of being absent from England during the early part of each year is one cause of the small progress made with his Flora; but another is the great care and caution exercised in the preparation

of every part of it ... Happily in this case we can dispense with the recognized privilege of reviewers, and make only one complaint, – viz. again[s]t the very slow rate of publication. We fear that this delay in the issue of the Parts is unavoidable; for Mr Lowe has now again started for a southern climate ... We sincerely hope that our recommendation of this book will lead [to] an extensive sale. No student of the botany of South-western, or even Western, Europe ought to be without it."

Of all the biological monographs that Van Voorst published, *The Flora* seems to be one of the rarest. It is rather difficult to account for this, since it generally attracted good reviews, though not entirely without criticism. The number printed is not known; but there may have been fewer of the later parts than the first, if early subscribers had lost patience with its tardy production. Furthermore, at 3s. 6d. per part, it may appear to have been rather expensive, particularly for an unillustrated work. However, since each part was quite long, the price was not quite so excessive as it at first appears, being one penny for 3 pages. Comparative costs for the parts-issues of Philip Henry Gosse's *Actinologia Britannica* (1s. 6d. per part with coloured plates) and Edward Forbes's *History of British Starfishes* (2s. 6d. per part with wood engravings) were one penny for 1.9 or 1.6 pages, respectively (see WILLIAMS, 2014, 2017).

Volume I, complete in publisher's cloth, was priced at 15s. which was a saving of 2s. 6d. compared to the purchase of the five parts separately. Furthermore, the final consolidation with part I of volume II in cloth was offered at the same price, 15 years after publication commenced. In France, where the work was available from two Paris booksellers, F. Klincksieck and J. Rothschild, volume I was sold for 20 francs (ANONYMOUS, 1869b), equivalent at that time to about 16s. sterling (see R. Edvinsson, URL <http://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>, accessed 14 February 2017).

Unfortunately, it seems likely that *The Flora* was not a commercial success – its protracted publication and premature curtailment would certainly have militated against it. Van Voorst apparently sold the stock remaining after Lowe's death to Bernard Quaritch, the well-known London bookseller. This is evidenced by the rather blunt manuscript note inside the front wrapper (page w[2]) of the separate part I of volume II held by Cambridge University Library (shelf-mark MD.30.36): "Note from Publisher | 'Lowes [sic] Flora of Madeira' | Pt. I of vol II was the last published. Author dead. | Quaritch has the stock. | 31. 10. '84".

QUARITCH (1881: 160) opined in his catalogue: "A more correct and complete detailed catalogue of the living plants, actually or heretofore existing in the Madeiras, than has been made; it is the fruit of twenty-six years' labour in the Islands. The Botany of this group, traced by a skilled hand, is of the greatest importance as a test of the variations between the Floras of the great continents of which the Madeiras are the visible connecting links". Admittedly, as Quaritch ultimately obtained the remainder stock, he may have had a vested interest in this fulsome assessment, although it is not known whether he had already acquired the stock as early as 1881. However, perhaps he had, because Gurney & Jackson (the successors to Van Voorst), did not include *The Flora* in their list of Van Voorst titles still available in 1888 (Gurney & Jackson advertisement in RUDOLF, 1889).

As one obituarist of Lowe observed, "His book is a remarkably accurate and minutely painstaking account of the vegetation of the group. It is greatly to be regretted that it is left thus unfinished, as there is probably no botanist with the knowledge of the Madeiran flora which was possessed by Mr. Lowe" (ANONYMOUS, 1874b).

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