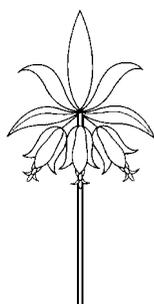


HUNTIA

A Journal of Botanical History



VOLUME 16 NUMBER 2
2018

Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation
Carnegie Mellon University

Pittsburgh

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Printed and bound by R.R. Donnelley,
Hoechstetter Plant, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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ISSN 0073-4071

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Wild and cultivated plants in Cambridge, 1656–1657: A re-examination of Samuel Corbyn's lists

C. D. Preston

Abstract

A letter sent by Samuel Corbyn of Trinity College, Cambridge, to an unknown correspondent and three associated plant lists dated 4 November 1656 and 20 May 1657 are printed in full for the first time. One list consists primarily of some plants growing wild about Cambridge and the other two of some plants grown in Cambridge gardens. The documents were acquired by G. C. Druce in 1899 with the papers of the botanist and bookseller William Pamplin. The handwriting does not match Corbyn's, and I suggest that the manuscripts are copies made by the botanist John Goodyer. The link with Goodyer is supported by an associated document acquired by Druce from Pamplin, written by John Mapletoft and transcribed by Goodyer into his copy of John Ray's Cambridge catalogue (1660). The wild plants on Corbyn's list are almost all species that could have been found growing in the immediate vicinity of Cambridge. The problems in identifying the garden plants are discussed. They include a range of species from natives of Cambridgeshire to introductions from North America but no members of the most fashionable ornamental genera of the day. Several of the species listed are known to have been grown by John Ray in Cambridge in the 1650s. The Corbyn documents are discussed in the light of the increasing evidence for collaboration between members of Trinity College in the study of the natural sciences in the 1650s. Ray's correspondence and publications also provide clues about the way in which Cambridge gardeners acquired their plants.

Introduction

The 1650s were a watershed in the history of English botany. Very few people who made a significant contribution to the subject in the 1640s or 1650s remained active after 1660. Thomas Johnson was killed in the

Civil War in 1644, the aged herbalist John Parkinson died in 1650 and William How, whose *Phytologia Britannica* (1650) summarised Johnson's records and updated them with subsequent observations, died prematurely in 1656. How's death broke the last link with Mathias de L'Obel, who had first botanised in England in the 1560s. Manuscripts from L'Obel had come into How's possession, and he had published some of them in the year before his own death (L'Obel 1655). The bibliophile John Goodyer, who had worked closely with Thomas Johnson, outlived most of his botanical contemporaries and thus came to acquire some books and manuscripts of L'Obel, Johnson, How and other botanists. On Goodyer's own death in 1664 these were bequeathed to Magdalen College, Oxford, where they survive as a unique source of information on the work of his contemporaries (Gunther 1922). Meanwhile, two botanists who were to become prominent after 1660 were starting their studies in the 1650s, Robert Morison in exile at Blois, France, and John Ray at Trinity College, Cambridge. The new era began with the publication of Ray's *Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam Nascentium* in 1660.

The manuscripts discussed in this paper are based on documents sent from Trinity College at the time when Ray and his colleagues were undertaking their first botanical work, the survey of the plants of Cambridgeshire. They were first brought to light by G. C. Druce (1910a, 1912) and comprise a letter and

associated lists of wild and cultivated plants sent in 1656 and 1657 to an unknown correspondent by Samuel Corbyn of Trinity College. Druce's second (1912) paper was more detailed and is the only one that has been cited subsequently by botanists. It included a partial transcript of the Corbyn manuscripts, including Corbyn's letter and his list of plants growing wild about Cambridge. Druce had obtained the Corbyn documents amongst "a considerable quantity of botanical correspondence," which came into his possession on the death of the "veteran botanist" William Pamplin (1806–1899). After Druce's death the manuscripts passed with his specimens, books and papers to the Botany School (now Department of Plant Sciences), University of Oxford, where the Corbyn manuscripts are bound as MS. Sherard 407.¹ They hitherto have been used primarily by Cambridgeshire botanists interested in the first records of wild plants in the county. Perring et al. (1964) extracted the records from Druce's second paper whereas Crompton (2001–2004) re-examined the original manuscripts and reassessed Druce's identification of the wild species. Although there are earlier published plant records from Cambridgeshire, Corbyn's manuscripts provide the first substantial list of plants found in the county. They are also of wider interest as they throw light on the activities of those members of Trinity College who were interested in natural philosophy in the 1650s and early 1660s. This is currently an area of active research: there are some recent publications centred on members of the college (e.g., Oswald and Preston 2011; Birkhead 2016) and a history of Trinity College is in preparation. As Druce's account of the documents is confusing in some respects, and as he made no attempt to deal with the cultivated plants listed by Corbyn, it seems appropriate to publish a complete transcript of the manuscripts and a reinterpretation of their contents.

Druce (1912) also provided details of a further document that he had obtained from Pamplin. This manuscript, dated 23 July 1659, is basically a list of personal names, most of them members of Trinity College. It is bound with the Corbyn manuscripts. I have also dealt with this in the text below. The first name on the list is John Mapletoft, so for convenience I will call it the Mapletoft manuscript.

Description of the manuscripts

The bound volume MS. Sherard 407 consists of 27 folios, listed below. The folios were numbered in the 20th century. Folios 1–6 are the 17th-century documents, and transcripts of these are provided later in this paper. The other folios consist of related material dating from the time when Druce owned the manuscripts.

- f. i: blank.
- f. ii: note in modern hand pasted onto recto, "Samuel Corbin, Vigorniensis. Admitted Pens. Jun. 18. 1648 [Tutor] M^r Templar" (this is an extract from the Trinity College Admissions Book, 1635–1740, p. 12); verso blank.
- ff. iii–iv: blank.
- f. v: recto blank; the verso has a brief note in Druce's hand.
- f. 1: list beginning "20 May 1657 / A Catalogue of Plants, first such as growe wild wth us about Cambridge, except those specified in Kent." starting on recto, ending on verso.
- f. 2: list beginning "Such as wee have in our gardens & can spare." starting on recto, ending on verso.
- f. 3: letter from Corbyn dated 4 November 1656 on recto, start of untitled list of garden plants also dated 4 November 1656 on verso.
- f. 4: end of list of garden plants on recto; verso blank.

- f. 5: “Mapletoft manuscript” dated 23 July 1659 on recto, with note added by Druce at foot of page; verso blank.
- f. 6: blank (same paper as ff. 1–5).
- f. 7, recto: transcript of the first half of Corbyn’s letter (f. 3r) in a modern hand, pasted on.
- f. 7, verso to f. 9, recto: reprint of Druce’s (1912) paper.
- f. 9, verso: transcript of the second half of Corbyn’s letter (f. 3r) in a modern hand, pasted onto the back of the Druce reprint.
- f. 10: brief note in Druce’s hand headed “1917” on recto; verso blank.
- f. 11: recto blank; verso with a page of *Country Life* (22 March 1913, p. 423), which has a photograph of the Courthope seat at Danny, Sussex, pasted on.
- ff. 12–22: blank.

Transcript of the Corbyn manuscripts

The papers in the Corbyn manuscripts are transcribed below in chronological order rather than in the order in which they are now bound. Expansions of abbreviations in the text are given in italics, so that ū is transcribed as *um*, ō as *non* etc., but the symbol resembling e but indicating es at the end of a word is transcribed as *es* without any italicisation. Deletions in the manuscripts are included in angled brackets < > with illegible letters indicated by a tilde (~). The abbreviations in the 1657 lists, G. and Ger. for Gerarde and P. and Park. for Parkinson, are retained. Some species names were preceded by a dash, and these dashes are included in the transcript. The current names of species are provided in square brackets after Corbyn’s names. Those species listed by Ray (1660) in *Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam Nascentium* as occurring in the wild in Cambridgeshire are indicated by ‡ (for those species for which there are one or more localities in Ray’s *Catalogus*), † (for those species that are listed without locality)

or * (for two species listed in the catalogue as reported by earlier observers but not known to Ray himself).

[f. 3r; see Fig. 1]
S^r

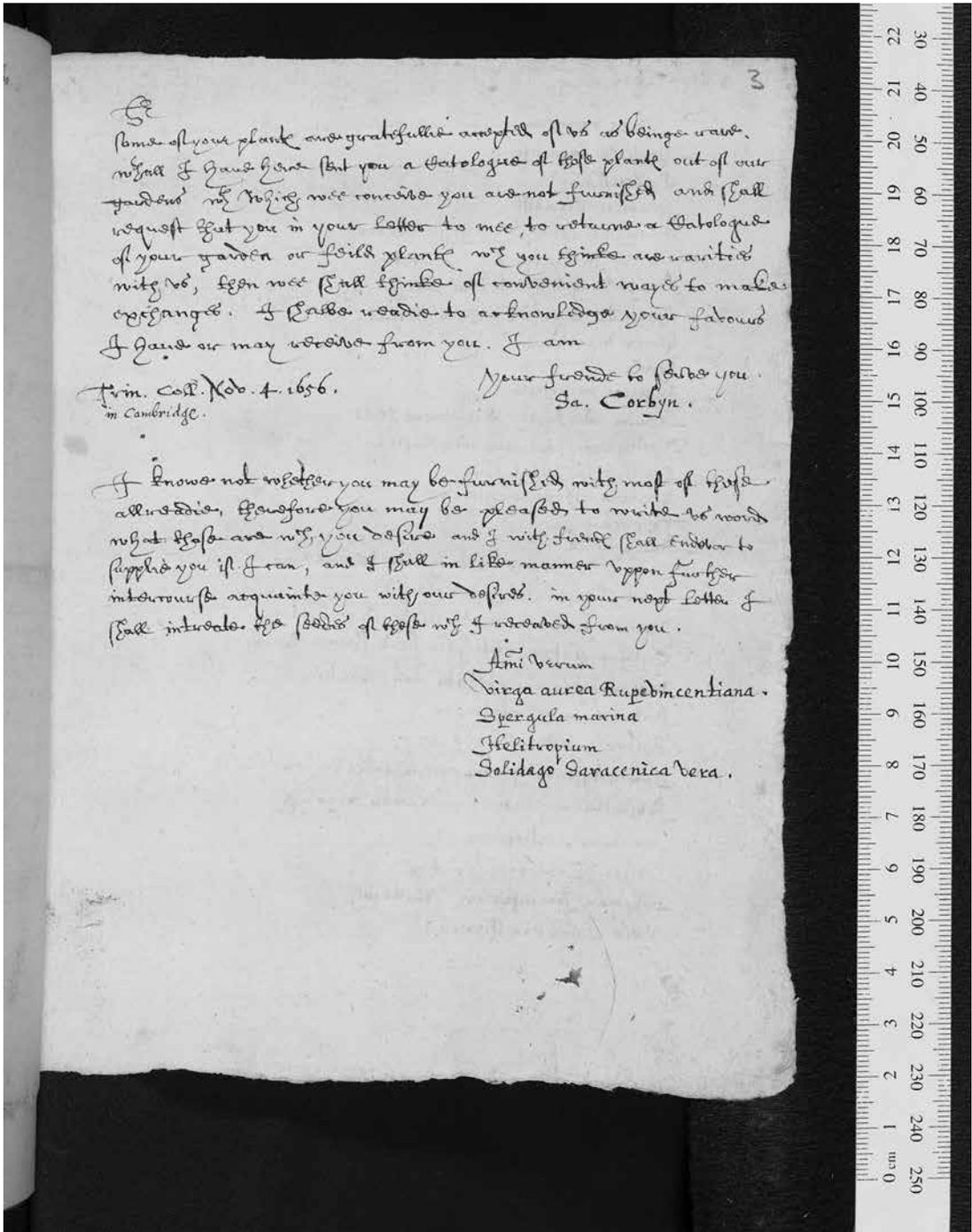
Some of your plantes are gratefullie accepted of us as beinge rare,² so shall I have here sent you a Catalogue of those plantes out of our gardens wth which wee conceive you are not furnished and shall request that you in your letter to mee, to returne a Catalogue of your garden or feild plantes w^{ch} you thinke are rarities with us, then³ wee shall thinke of convenient wayes to make exchanges. I shalbe readie to acknowledge youre favours I have or may receive from you. I am

Your frende to serve you
Sa. Corbyn.

Trin. Coll. Nov. 4. 1656.
in Cambridge.⁴

I knowe not whether you may be furnished with most of these⁵ allreadie, therefore you may be pleased to write us word what⁶ those are w^{ch} you desire and I with frendes shall endeavor to supplie you if I can, and I shall in like manner vppon further intercourse acquainte you with our desires. in youre next letter I shall intreate the seeds of those w^{ch} I received⁷ from you.

- Ammi verum [*Trachyspermum ammi* (L.)
Sprague]
Virga aurea Rupevincentiana. [*Solidago
virgaurea* L.]⁸
Spergula marina [*Spergularia marina* (L.)
Besser or *S. media* (L.) C. Presl]⁹
Heliotropium [*Heliotropium europaeum* L.]
Solidago Saracenicica vera. [*Senecio sarracenicus*
L.]¹⁰



3
 Some of your plants are gratefully accepted of us as being rare.
 and I have here sent you a Catalogue of these plants out of our
 garden, not being well conceiv'd you are not furnished, and shall
 request that you in your letter to mee, to returne a Catalogue
 of your garden or field plants, wch you thinke are wanted
 with us, then wee shall thinke of convenient wayes to make
 exchange. If I shall receive to acknowledge your favour
 I have or may receive from you. I am

Thm. Corb. Nov. 4. 1656.
 in Cambridge.

Your friend to serve you
 Th. Corbyn.

If I knowe not whether you may be furnished with most of these
 allready, therefore you may be pleas'd to write to word
 what these are wch you desire, and I will surely shall endeavor to
 supplye you if I can, and I shall in like manner vpon further
 intercourse acquainte you with our desires. in your next letter I
 shall introduce the names of these wch I received from you.

- Ami verum
- Virga aurea Rupescentiana.
- Spergula marina
- Heliotropium
- Solidago Saracenicæ vera.

Figure 1. Samuel Corbyn's letter to an unknown correspondent, 4 November 1656 (MS. Sherard 407, f. 3r).
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Sherardian Library of Plant Taxonomy, One of the Bodleian Libraries of the
 University of Oxford.

[f. 3v]

4 Nov. 1656

- Sabina baccifera [*Juniperus sabina* L.]
 –Gratiola angustifolia [*Lythrum hyssopifolia* L.‡]
 Pulsatilla [*Pulsatilla vulgaris* Mill.‡]
 Gramen Parnassi [*Parnassia palustris* L.‡]
 Elæagnus Cordi sive Myrtus Brabantica.
 [*Myrica gale* L.‡]
 –Conyza Heleniensis folijs laciniatis. [*Tephrosieris palustris* (L.) Fourr.‡]
 Anagallis aquatica tertia Lobelij. [*Samolus valerandi* L.‡]
 Osmunda regalis (i) Flix¹¹ florida. [*Osmunda regalis* L.]
 Glaux maritima [*Glaux maritima* L.]
 –Pyrola. [*Pyrola rotundifolia* L.]
 –Angelica baccifera [*Aralia racemosa* L.]
 Lamium novæ Angliæ Parietariæ facie
 [entire-leaved variant of *Lamium purpureum* L.]¹²
 Nasturtium fruticans novæ Angliæ. [not identified]
 Persicaria Virginiana. [*Persicaria virginiana* (L.) Gaertn.]¹³
 Bardana altera Virginiana [not identified]
 Triorchis [*Spiranthes spiralis* (L.) Chevall. ‡]
 –Salix rosea. [*Salix* sp.(p.) with *Camellia* galls‡]
 –Salix folio Laureo Phytolog: Britannicæ.
 [*Salix pentandra* L.]
 Aria Theophrasti folijs obtusis. [*Sorbus aria* (L.) Crantz]
 Mentha hortensis verticillata Ocymi odore
 [*Mentha arvensis* L. or an *M. arvensis* hybrid]¹⁴
 Cytisus glaber pediculis brevissimis Bauhinj
 [*Cytisophyllum sessilifolium* (L.) O. Lang]¹⁵
 Melampyrum cristatum Joh. Bauhinj.
 [*Melampyrum cristatum* L.‡]
 Antirrhinum minimum [*Chaenorhinum minus* (L.) Lange‡]
 Rubeola arvensis repens. [*Sherardia arvensis* L.‡]

- Sphondylium Germanicum folijs laciniatis.
 [*Heracleum sphondylium* forma *angustisectum* Gremli or forma *stenophyllum* (Gaudin) P. D. Sell]
 Absinthium marinum Lavendulæ folijs
 [*Artemisia caerulea* L.]
 Halimus latifolius [*Atriplex halimus* L.]
 Seseli Æthiopicum frutex. [*Bupleurum fruticosum* L.]
 Solanum somniferum Matthiolj. [*Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal]
 Viola Lunuris¹⁶ Græca. [*Lunaria annua* L.]
 [f. 4r]
 Saxifraga Venetorum. [*Seseli libanotis* (L.) W. D. J. Koch]
 Rubia spicata Cretica. [*Crucianella latifolia* L.]
 Herniaria. [*Herniaria* sp.]¹⁷
 Psyllium semper virens. [*Plantago sempervirens* Crantz]
 Herba Paris. [*Paris quadrifolia* L.‡]
 Smyrniium Creticum [*Smyrniium perfoliatum* L. *sensu lato*]¹⁸
 Solanum Americanum ramosum. [*Phytolacca americana* L.]¹⁹
 Pes cati flo. albo (i) Gnaphalium mont: album.
 [*Antennaria dioica* (L.) Gaertn.‡]
 Jacobæa montana lanuginosa non laciniata.
 [*Tephrosieris integrifolia* (L.) Holub‡]
 Absinthium Alpinum vmbelliferum Clusij.
 [*Achillea clavennæ* L.]
 Pseudodictamnus. [*Ballota pseudodictamnus* (L.) Benth.]
 Capsicum Indum.²⁰ [*Capsicum annuum* L.]
 Eryngium marinum. [*Eryngium maritimum* L.]
 Eryngium montanum cæruleum. [*Eryngium amethystinum* L.]
 Calamintha montana minor. [unidentified species of Lamiaceae]²¹
 Thlaspi clypeatum maius Lobelij. [*Biscutella* sp.]²²
 Thlaspi folijs nasturtij hortensis. [*Iberis pinnata* L.]

[f. 1r; see Fig. 2]

20 May 1657 / A Catalogue of Plants, first such as growe wild wth us about Cambridge, except those specified in Kent.

- Sambucus aquatica. G. 1424 [*Viburnum opulus* L.‡]
 –Ribesium sylvestre, neither in Ger. nor Parkinson, found in Kent & Bedfordsheire [*Ribes nigrum* L.‡]²³
 Bifolium. [*Neottia ovata* (L.) Bluff & Fingerh.‡]
 Nummularia minor flo. purpurascete. G. 630. [*Anagallis tenella* (L.) L.‡]
 Polygala fl. cæruleo & purpureo. G. 563. [*Polygala vulgaris* L.‡]
 Valeriana sylvestris maior & minor. G. 1075 [*Valeriana officinalis* L.‡ & *V. dioica* L.‡]²⁴
 Viburnum. G. 1490 [*Viburnum lantana* L.‡]
 Anemone nemorum alba. G. 383. [*Anemone nemorosa* L.‡]
 Anagallis lutea nemorum. G. 618. [*Lysimachia nemorum* L.]
 Veratrum nigrum. i. Helleborastrum. G. 976. [*Helleborus viridis* L.‡]
 –Lysimachia lutea minor. G. 474 [*Lysimachia vulgaris* L.‡]²⁵
 Ranunculus flammeus maior. G. 961. [*Ranunculus lingua* L.‡]
 Brassica marina monospermos. 1. Anglica. G. 315. found at Hyde in Kent [*Crambe maritima* L.]
 Circaea Lutesiana.²⁶ [*Circaea lutetiana* L.‡]
 Linum catharticum. G. 550.²⁷ [*Linum catharticum* L.‡]
 –Linum sylvestre cæruleum. 1. angustifolium cæruleo flore maiore Park. 1335. [*Linum perenne* L.‡]
 Serratula. G. 713. [*Serratula tinctoria* L.‡]
 Cotyledon palustris. Park. 1214. [*Hydrocotyle vulgaris* L.‡]
 Lamium luteum. P. 606 [*Lamiastrum galeobdolon* (L.) Ehrend. & Polatschek‡]
 Lathyrus maior latifolia. G. 1229 [*Lathyrus sylvestris* L.‡]

Orchis serapias bifol. sive trifolia minor. P. 1350. [*Platanthera chlorantha* (Custer) Rchb.‡]²⁸

Coronopus Ruellij. G. 427 [*Lepidium coronopus* (L.) Al-Shehbaz‡]

Caucalis minor flore rubente. Park. 921. G. 1022. [*Torilis japonica* (Houtt.) DC.‡]²⁹

Conyza maior. Baccharis monspeliensium. G. 792. [*Inula conyzae* (Griess.) Meikle‡]

Trachelium minus. G. 449. [*Campanula glomerata* L.‡]

Eruca aquatica. G. 248. [*Rorippa sylvestris* (L.) Besser‡]

Raphanus aquaticus. P. 1226.³⁰ [*Rorippa amphibia* (L.) Besser‡]

Pinguicula. 1. Sanicula Eboracensis. G. 788. [*Pinguicula vulgaris* L.‡]

[f. 1v; see Fig. 3]

Gramen tomentosum. G. 29. [*Eriophorum angustifolium* Honck.‡]

Solanum lethale. [*Atropa belladonna* L.‡]

Helianthemum. i. Chamæcistus Anglica. G. 1281.³¹ [*Helianthemum nummularium* (L.) Mill.‡]

Serpillum <h~> hirsutum. G. 571. [*Thymus polytrichus* A. Kern. ex Borbás‡]

Euonymus Theophrastj. G. 1468. [*Euonymus europaeus* L.‡]

–Mollugo montana. G. 1127. [*Galium album* Mill.‡]³²

Ros solis folio oblongo. G. 1556. [*Drosera intermedia* Hayne‡]

Anthyllis leguminosa. G. 1240 [*Anthyllis vulneraria* L.‡]

Prunella flore albo. [*Prunella vulgaris* forma *leucantha* (Schur) Hegi‡]

Myrtus Brabantica. G. 1414 [*Myrica gale* L.‡]

–Millefolium aquaticum flo. luteo galericulato. P. 1258. [*Utricularia vulgaris* L.‡]

Nepeta maior. 1. Cattaria maior. G. 782.³³ [*Nepeta cataria* L.‡]

–Gnaphalium montanum album Lobelij. G. 640. It hath a false figure both in Gerard & Parkinson. [*Antennaria dioica* (L.) Gaertn.‡]

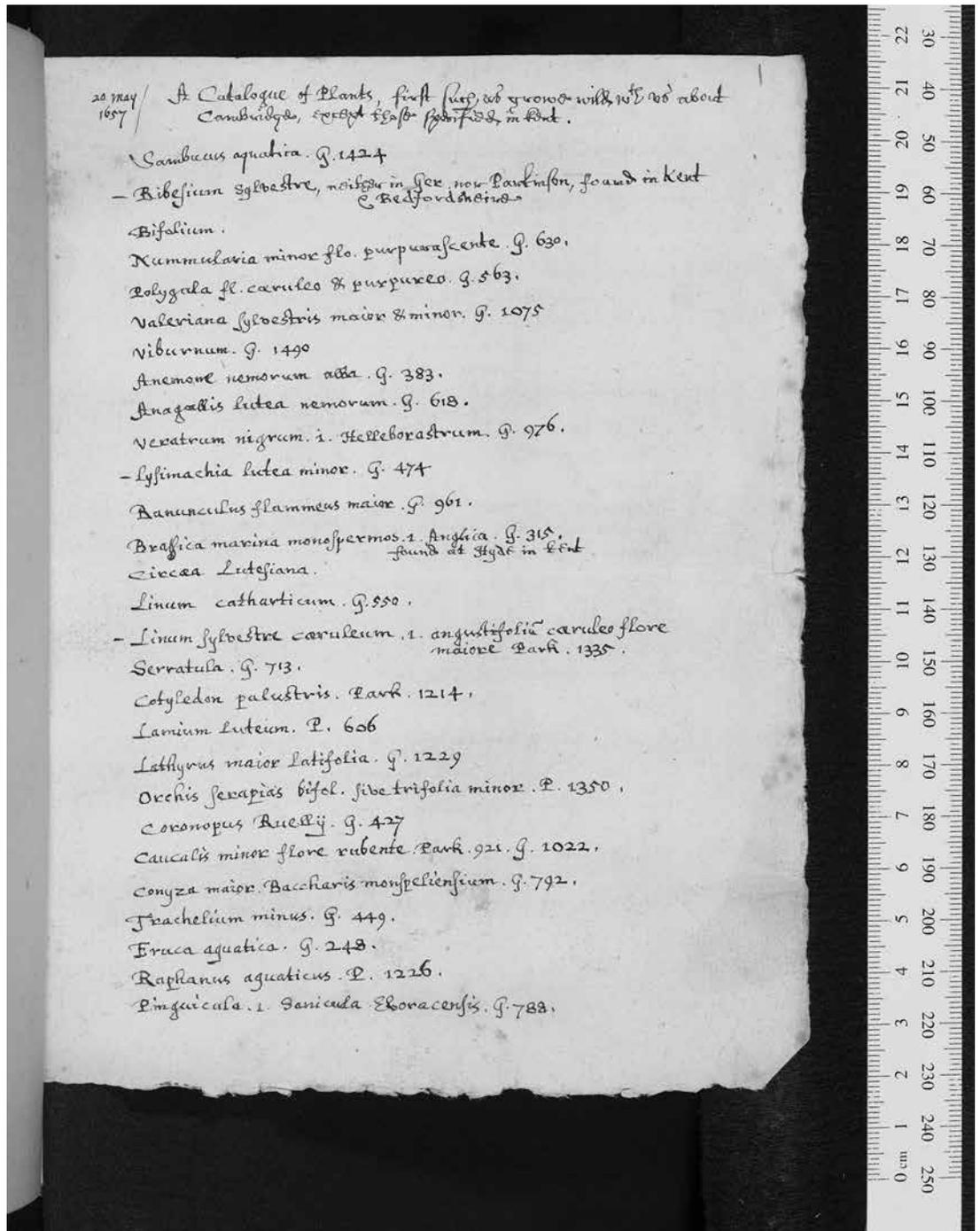


Figure 2. The beginning of Samuel Corbyn's catalogue of wild plants, 20 May 1657 (MS. Sherard 407, f. 1r). Reproduced by kind permission of Sherardian Library of Plant Taxonomy, One of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford.

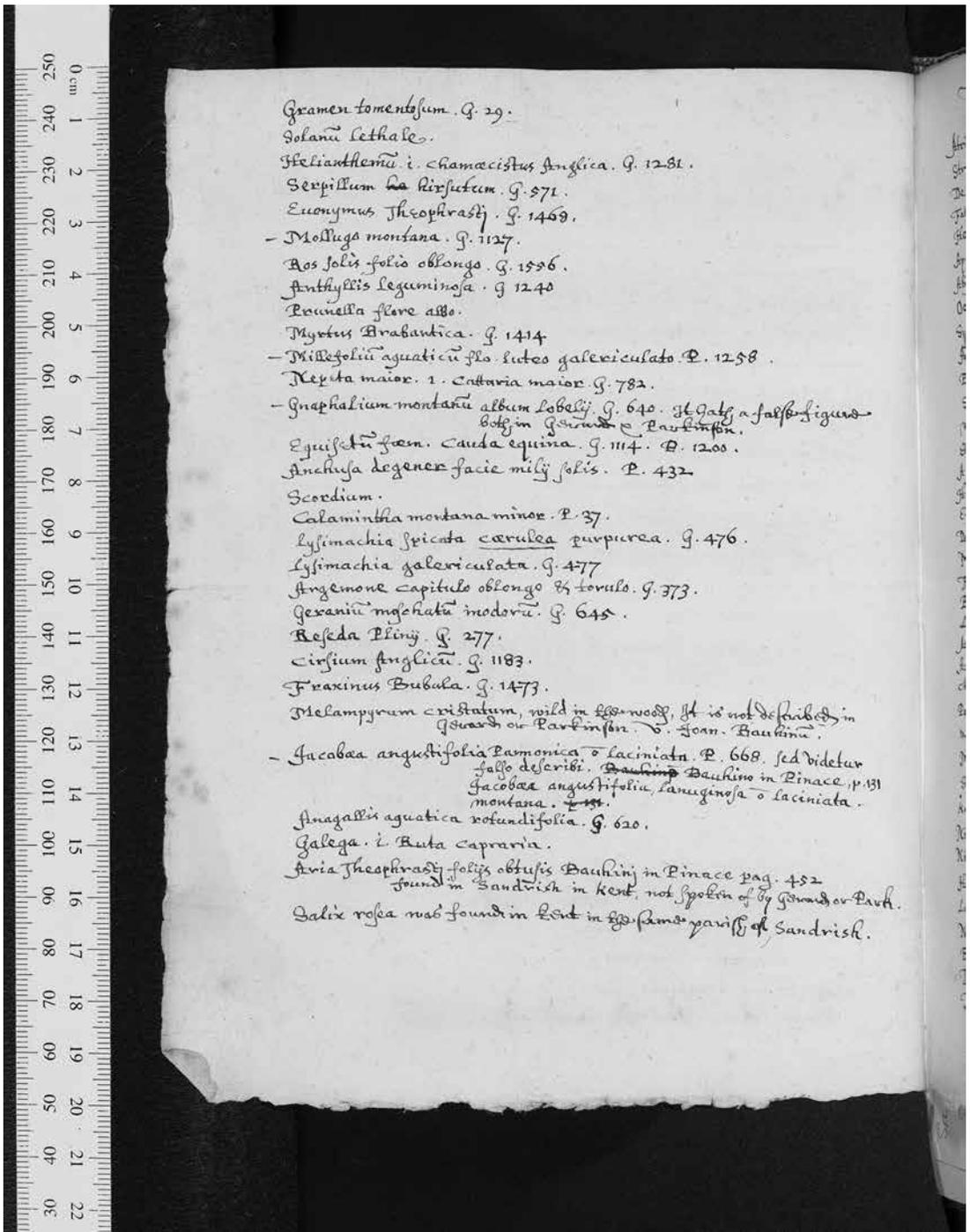


Figure 3. The end of Samuel Corbyn's catalogue of wild plants, 20 May 1657 (MS. Sherard 407, f. 1v). Reproduced by kind permission of Sherardian Library of Plant Taxonomy, One of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford.

- Equisetum* fœm. Cauda equina. G. 1114.
P. 1200. [*Hippuris vulgaris* L.‡]
- Anchusa* degener facie milij solis. P. 432
[*Lithospermum arvense* L.‡]
- Scordium*. [*Teucrium scordium* L.‡]
- Calamintha montana minor*. P. 37.
[unidentified species of Lamiaceae]³⁴
- Lysimachia spicata* cærulea purpurea. G. 476.
[*Lythrum salicaria* L.‡]³⁵
- Lysimachia galericulata*. G. 477 [*Scutellaria galericulata* L.‡]³⁶
- Argemone capitulo oblongo*³⁷ & torulo.
G. 373. [*Papaver argemone* L.‡ & *P. hybridum* L.‡]
- Geranium moschatum inodorum*. G. 645.³⁸
[*Erodium cicutarium* (L.) L'Hér.‡]
- Reseda* Plinij. G. 277. [*Reseda lutea* L.‡]
- Cirsium Anglicum*. G. 1183. [*Cirsium dissectum* (L.) Hill‡]³⁹
- Fraxinus* Bubula. G. 1473. [*Sorbus aucuparia* L.]
- Melampyrum cristatum*, wild in the woods,
It is not described in Gerard or Parkinson.
v. Joan. Bauhinum.⁴⁰ [*Melampyrum cristatum* L.‡]
- Jacobæa angustifolia* Pannonica non laciniata.
P. 668. sed videtur falso describi.⁴¹
<Bauhin~> Bauhino in Pinace, p. 131⁴²
- Jacobæa angustifolia*, lanuginosa non
laciniata. montana. <p. 131>. [*Tephrosieris integrifolia* (L.) Holub‡]⁴³
- Anagallis aquatica rotundifolia*. G. 620.
[*Samolus valerandi* L.‡]
- Galega*. i. Ruta capraria. [*Galega officinalis* L.‡*]
- Aria* Theophrastj folijs obtusis Bauhinj in
Pinace pag. 452 found in Sandrish in Kent,
not spoken of by Gerard or Park. [*Sorbus aria* (L.) Crantz]⁴⁴
- Salix rosea* was found in Kent in the same
parish of Sandrish. [*Salix* sp(p.) with
Camellia galls‡]⁴⁵
- [f. 2r; see Fig. 4]
- Such as wee have in our gardens & can
spare.
- Atriplex mori fructu Bauhino*. 1. baccifera
rubra. P. 748. [*Chenopodium foliosum*
(Moench) Asch.]
- Stramonium purpureum* [*Datura stramonium*
forma *tatula* (L.) Danert]⁴⁶
- Delphinium surrectum* flo. variegato duplici
nondum descriptum. [a variant of *Consolida*
ajacis (L.) Schur?]⁴⁷
- Faba veterum*. P. 1054. [*Vicia narbonensis* L.]
- Herniaria*. G. 569 [*Herniaria* sp.]⁴⁸
- Apocynum rectum syriacum* G. 899. [*Asclepias syriaca* L.]
- Absinthium album vmbeliferum*. P. 99
[*Achillea clavennae* L.]
- Ocymastrum valerianthos*. 1. valeriana rubra
Dodonæi. G. 678 [*Centranthus ruber* (L.)
DC.]
- Syring*. alba. G. 1399 [*Philadelphus coronarius*
L.]
- Anthora*. P. 314. [*Aconitum anthora* L.]
- Papaver corniculatum*. P. 261. wilde by the
sea. [*Glaucium flavum* Crantz]
- Stachys* Fuchsij. G. 695 [*Stachys germanica* L.]
- Viola mariana*. [*Campanula medium* L.]
- Salvia Germanica maior*. [not identified]⁴⁹
- Aristolochia Clematidis*. i. Saracenic Gerardj.
[*Aristolochia clematidis* L.]
- Herba Doria vulgaris*. P. 541 [*Senecio doria* L.]
- Epimedium vulgare*. P. 1365. [*Epimedium alpinum* L.]
- Digitalis ferruginea*. [*Digitalis ferruginea* L.]
- Nux vesicaria*. i. Staphylodendron. G. 1437.
[*Staphylea pinnata* L.*]
- Fragaria hirsuta*. [*Fragaria vesca* L. 'Muricata']⁵⁰
- Pomum amoris maius*. P. 353. [*Solanum lycopersicum* L.]
- Linum vmbilicatum*. Fig. est in appendice.
P. 1687. [*Omphalodes linifolia* (L.) Moench]
- Aster caulifoliosus* [not identified]

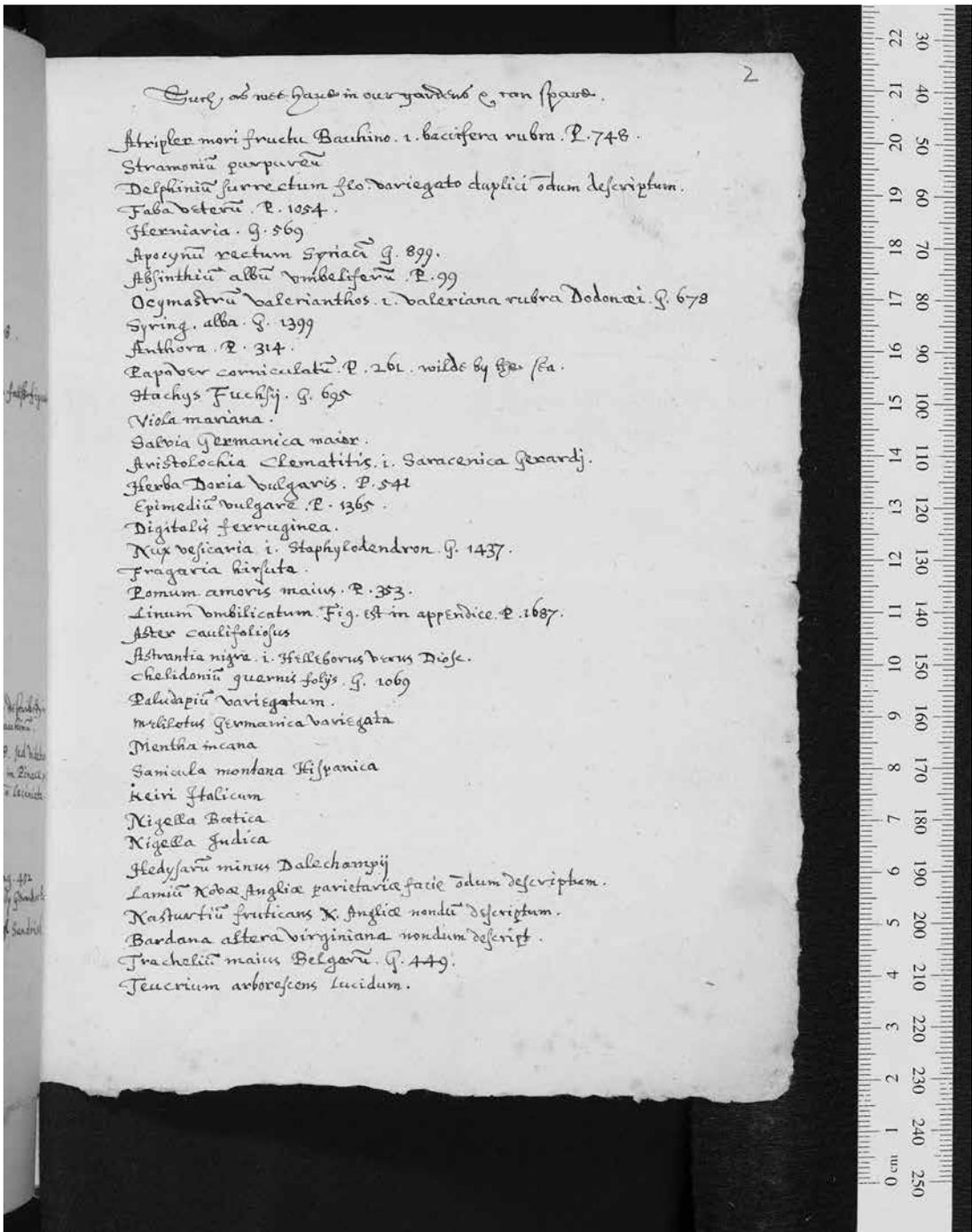


Figure 4. The beginning of Samuel Corbyn's first list of plants "Such as wee have in our gardens & can spare" (MS. Sherard 407, f. 2r). Reproduced by kind permission of Sherardian Library of Plant Taxonomy, One of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford.

Astrantia nigra. i. *Helleborus verus* Diosc.
 [*Astrantia major* L.]
Chelidonium quernis folijs. G. 1069
 [*Chelidonium majus* var. *tenuifolium* Liljeblad]⁵¹
Paludapium variegatum. [*Apium graveolens*
 L.]⁵²
Melilotus Germanica variegata [*Melilotus*
altissimus Thuill.]⁵³
Mentha incana [*Mentha* sp.]⁵⁴
Sanicula montana Hispanica [*Saxifraga*
umbrosa L. or an *S. umbrosa* hybrid]⁵⁵
Keiri Italicum [not identified]⁵⁶
Nigella Bœtica [*Nigella ?hispanica* L.]⁵⁷
Nigella Indica [*Nigella* sp.]⁵⁸
Hedysarum minus Dalechampij [*Astragalus*
hamosus L.]
Lamium Novæ Angliæ parietariæ facie
nondum descriptum. [entire-leaved variant
 of *Lamium purpureum* L.]⁵⁹
Nasturtium fruticans N. Angliæ nondum
 descriptum. [not identified]
Bardana altera Virginiana nondum descript.
 [not identified]
Trachelium maius Belgarum. G. 449.
 [*Campanula latifolia* L.]
Teucrium arborescens lucidum. [*Teucrium*
flavum L.]⁶⁰
 [f. 2v]
Aster Virginianus angustifol. serotinus flore
parvo albo. [*Symphotrichum* sp.]⁶¹
 latifol. serotinus flore parvo
 purpur. [*Symphotrichum* sp.]⁶¹
Ascalonitis G. 170. [*Allium cepa* var. *proliferum*
 (Moench) Targ.-Toz.]
Angelica lucida. [*Angelica lucida* L.]
Rhabarbarum monachorum verum. [*Rumex*
patientia L.]⁶²
Doronicum Americanum [*Rudbeckia laciniata*
 L.]
Plumbago Plin. i. *Dentellaria Rondeletij*.
 [*Plumbago europaea* L.]
Allium sylvestre German. *nucleis rubentibus*.
 [*Allium ?oleraceum* L.]⁶³
Glans terræ. [*Lathyrus tuberosus* L.]⁶⁴

Cardamine impatiens. [*Cardamine impatiens*
 L.]⁶⁵
Sambucus folijs laciniatis [*Sambucus nigra*
forma laciniata (L.) Zabel]
Malva horaria. [*Hibiscus trionum* L.]
Rhus coriariorum. [*Rhus coriaria* L.]

Transcript of the Mapletoft manuscript

The Mapletoft manuscript (f. 5f; see Fig. 5) is transcribed below.

July. 23. 1659.

Julij 23. 59. /

John Mapletoft.
John Snagge

M^r John Nid. M^r John Wray. M^r Thomas
 Pockly
 Francis Willughby Esq. M^r Peter Courthop
 of Trinity Colledg in Cambridg.

Francis Willughby Esq. of Middleton neere
 Coleshill
 in Warwickshire. S^r Francis Willughbys Son.

M^r Peter Courthop of Danny in Sussex on
 this side Lewes.

Origin and provenance of the Corbyn manuscripts

Samuel Corbyn

Druce (1912) could obtain little information about Corbyn, but it is now possible to piece together rather more details of his life. Samuel Corbyn of Worcestershire was admitted to Trinity College as a pensioner on 18 June 1648 and became a scholar on 26 April 1650.⁶⁶ He obtained a B.A. in 1652 and an M.A. in 1655 and became one of the four

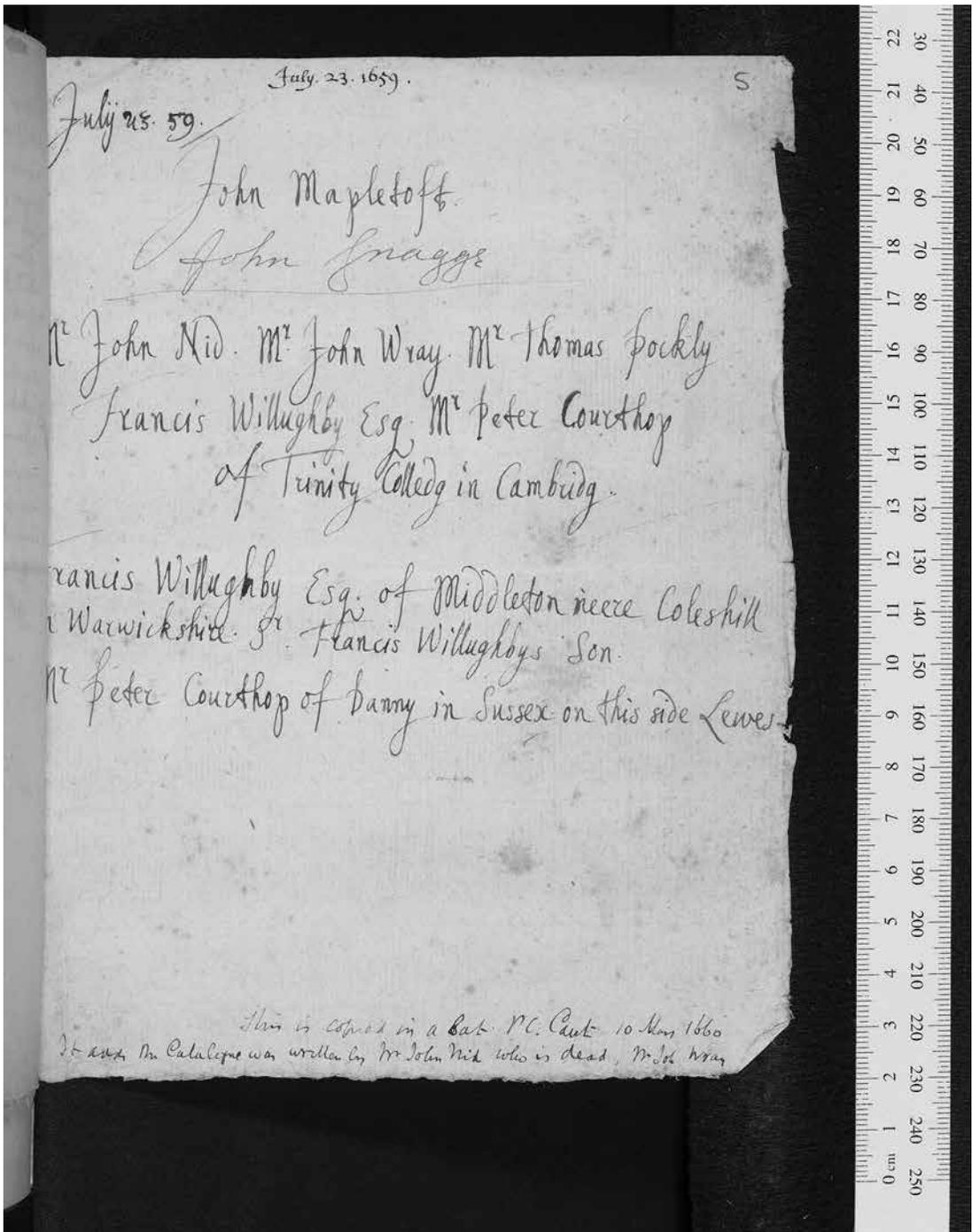


Figure 5. The “Mapletoft manuscript,” dated 23 July 1659 (MS. Sherard 407, f. 5r). The note at the bottom of the page is by G. C. Druce. Reproduced by kind permission of Sherardian Library of Plant Taxonomy, One of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford.

chaplains at Trinity in 1655 (Ball and Venn 1911–1916, 2:xiv; Venn and Venn 1922–1927, 1:397). He had left the college by December 1662.⁶⁷ A passing reference to him in Ray's correspondence, "Mr Corbyn hath recovered his ague again, & truly it's but fitting he should have some distemper or other alwaies to keepe him doing, & the pipkin going" (Gunther 1934; Thompson 1974),⁶⁸ suggests that he was a hypochondriac, and in the one surviving letter from him that I have traced, to Richard Baxter, he indeed mentioned his ague more than once.⁶⁹ In this letter Corbyn wrote that "For 6 years past I have had scarce a comfortable thought" (Keeble and Nuttall 1991, 1:220), and Calamy (1713, 1:88) described him as "A very Melancholy Man." After he left Trinity College he suffered in the early years of the Restoration as a nonconformist who was unwilling to accept the new religious settlement (Matthews 1934, pp. 136–137). In 1665 he was imprisoned in Worcester as a "head and leader of conventicles." By 1669 he had returned to Cambridge, and he was licensed under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 as a Congregational "teacher" at Elizabeth Pettit's house in Green Street, Cambridge, and in his own house at Aldersgate Street, London (Matthews 1934, p. 137; Nutter 1912, pp. 58, 77). Corbyn published his first book in 1669, a pamphlet with 13 pages of text, *Advice to Sinners under Convictions ...* (Corbyn 1669). A more substantial book followed, *An Awakening Call from the Eternal God to the Unconverted ...* (Corbyn 1672), which was divided into four parts, the last being a revised version of the 1669 work. A further book, published under his name five years later (Corbyn 1677), was a second edition of the latter, although not described as such on the title page. Copies of these works are extremely rare.⁷⁰ Corbyn died in London in 1673; the cause of his death was described as "feaver," suggesting that the ague might finally have got the better of him.

Druce (1912) described the list of Cambridge plants as "in the handwriting of Samuel Corbyn," but it seems very unlikely that he was able to test this assumption against any independent examples of Corbyn's hand. I have traced two such samples. The first is the single line entry in the Trinity College Admissions Book marking Corbyn's admission as a scholar in 1650, "Samuel Corbyn Wigorniensis."⁷¹ The second is the long letter to Baxter mentioned above. Keeble and Nuttall (1991, 1:220) suggested an approximate date of August 1656 for this undated letter, and it must certainly have been written between 1656 (the date of publication of Baxter's *Gildas Salvianus: The Reformed Pastor*, which Corbyn mentioned) and 1662, the last year he might have written from Trinity. It was therefore written at approximately the same time as the garden lists. It was almost certainly a letter written by Corbyn himself rather than a scribal copy, as there is no evidence that Corbyn and his colleagues had a secretary to write their letters, and the letter to Baxter has clearly been through the post (G. Clarke, pers. comm.). The writing in the Admissions Book and that of the letter to Baxter are not especially close, though the sample in the Admissions Book is of course a very small one. Neither bears any resemblance to the writing in the manuscripts acquired by Druce. It therefore appears that the latter must be copies of documents originally written by Corbyn.

The copyist

If the Corbyn manuscripts are copies, who was the copyist? The letter from Corbyn, the headings of the plant lists and the longer notes attached to species names on the 1657 list of wild plants were written in a secretary hand, whereas the plant names at the foot of the letter and on the lists are written in an italic hand (Figs. 1–4). "By 1650 relatively few men,

and those mainly of advanced years, were writing pure secretary” as italic had overtaken secretary hand in popularity, and the latter was “well on its way toward extinction” (Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton 1968, pp. 8–9, 12). The letters of the Corbyn manuscript were written with a slight quaver, which also suggests that the writer was relatively old. To the modern reader, the secretary hand is less legible, and this is presumably why Druce had a transcript of Corbyn’s letter prepared for him (f. 7r, f. 9v). The small, neat handwriting closely resembles that of John Goodyer (ca.1592–1664), who also wrote in both secretary and italic hands (for published examples of his handwriting see Gunther 1922, pp. 169, 223; and Edgington 2007), and the paper is similar to that of many of his surviving documents.⁷² Druce also realised the similarity of the handwriting of the lists to Goodyer’s, as his note on the verso of f. v reads “This writing closely resembles Goodyer’s,” but this was presumably written after he published his papers on the manuscripts. There is a further link to Goodyer in that the record of *Aria Theophrasti foliis obtusis Bauhini* from Kent in the 1657 list of wild plants (f. 1v) was published as Goodyer’s by Merrett (1666; see note 44). The Mapletoft manuscript is also closely related to Goodyer, as described below.

John Goodyer (ca.1592–1664) worked as steward (estate manager) for the Bilson family of Mapledurham, Hampshire. He was described by Thomas Johnson as his “onely Assistant” in the revision of Gerarde’s *Herball*, first published in 1633 and reissued in 1636. He was most active as a field botanist in his youth (Allen 2004, 2010, pp. 42–44), but he maintained his interest in the subject into old age, surviving long enough to correspond with Ray.⁷³ Goodyer was certainly interested in cultivated as well as wild plants, and his papers contain several handwritten lists of garden plants (Gunther 1922).

The recipient

Corbyn did not name the addressee of his letter. Druce speculated that it might have been written to William How (1620–1656), but he can almost certainly be eliminated as the intended recipient. How died on 31 August 1656, and, even if Corbyn was unaware of his death when he wrote the letter on 4 November 1656, it seems most unlikely that he would have followed it with a list dated 20 May 1657. This admittedly assumes that the two lists were sent to the same correspondent. We do not know whether the letter and lists were sent by Corbyn to Goodyer, who then forwarded a copy to a colleague, or whether Goodyer was able to see and copy papers sent to another botanist.

William Pamplin

William Pamplin (1806–1899), from whom Druce obtained the Corbyn and Mapletoft manuscripts, was born in Wandsworth, Surrey. His father was a nurseryman, and William had a lifelong interest in botany. His own work was as a botanical publisher and bookseller (Phillips 1899). As a publisher he produced some well-known botanical books,⁷⁴ but it was presumably as a bookseller that he obtained the Corbyn and Mapletoft papers. He would certainly have been able to appreciate their interest, as he published notes on annotated copies of Ray’s *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae* (1670) and Blackstone’s *Specimen Botanicum* (1746) (Pamplin 1848, 1852). In his paper on the annotated copy of Ray’s *Catalogus* (1852, p. 744), he explained that “in the course of my business I often meet with such things.”

The Mapletoft manuscript

The date at the top of the single folio of the Mapletoft manuscript (Fig. 5), “July. 23. 1659.”, is in Goodyer’s handwriting and

illustrates his habit of meticulously dating documents. With one exception, the rest of the document, including the second date at the start, “Julij 23. 59.”, is in a characteristically large, upright hand, which matches that of John Mapletoft, the first name on the list. The second name on the list, “John Snagge,” is in a different hand, which is presumably that of Snagge himself. Other examples of Mapletoft’s hand, which appears to be easily recognisable, are in the Trinity College archives.⁷⁵ The paper closely resembles that of the Corbyn manuscripts in size and appearance, although the ink of Mapletoft’s text is browner.

The long and varied career of John Mapletoft (1631–1721) is summarised by Wallis (2004). He entered Trinity College from Westminster School as a pensioner on 20 May 1648 and was admitted as a scholar on 13 April 1649, obtaining his B.A. in 1652 and his M.A. in 1655. He was elected a fellow of Trinity on 1 October 1653 but left Cambridge in 1658 to become tutor to Jocelyn, only son of the 10th Earl of Northumberland, at Petworth, Sussex. However, he was amongst those fellows who had been appointed during the Interregnum and formally admitted at Trinity in 1660,⁷⁶ and the last recorded payment to him as a fellow was in 1662 (Innes 1941). After the Restoration he took an M.D. degree in 1667 and developed a successful practice as a London physician, becoming Gresham Professor of Physic in 1675. He was an active fellow of the Royal Society from 1676. In 1683 he was ordained and switched professions from physician to clergyman, acting from 1686 until his death as Vicar of St Lawrence Jewry, London. He became a D.D. in 1690.

There is a striking similarity between the Mapletoft manuscript and an inscription in John Goodyer’s copy of Ray’s *Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam Nascentium* (1660). This inscription was reproduced by Gunther (1922, p. 223). Goodyer’s inscription was headed

“23 July 1659. Received this instruction⁷⁷ of M^r John Mapletoft tutor to the Earle of Northumberland’s son and of M^r John Snagge an Apothecarie of Petworth.”. The text of the Mapletoft manuscript is then copied with only minor variations in spelling and wording. This suggests that the Mapletoft manuscript is the original “instruction” received by Goodyer and copied into the *Catalogus*. Notes by G. C. Druce added to the foot of the folio, and an additional note headed “1917” on f. 10r, show that Druce identified this link with Goodyer’s copy of the *Catalogus* five years after publishing his 1912 paper.

The Mapletoft manuscript would be difficult to interpret in isolation; Druce’s comment that the list of names “rather suggests the roll of a club” perhaps provides more insight into his social world than into the origin of the manuscript. However, the fact that Goodyer copied it into his *Catalogus* suggests that Mapletoft was briefing him about the active botanists at Trinity. The inclusion of Thomas Pockley in the list is noteworthy; he was another fellow of Trinity and a “very good friend” of Ray and his circle who shared Ray’s interest in chemistry (Gunther 1928, pp. 17, 27). He died of disease while serving the British troops as a physician at Dunkirk in 1661. Like Corbyn, he was not mentioned in Ray’s *Catalogus*.

Identification of the plants listed by Corbyn

The problems involved in the identification of the wild plants in John Ray’s *Catalogus* (1660) have been discussed by Oswald and Preston (2011, pp. 113–116). Almost all the wild species listed by Corbyn were included in the *Catalogus* and have already been identified in this work. There is one wild species on Corbyn’s list, *Calamintha montana minor*, that I have failed to identify.

By contrast, there is no easily accessible source for the identification of the cultivated plants, and this is intrinsically more difficult than that of the wild species. Many were listed by Corbyn without any reference to the author of the name, and no descriptions other than the phrase name were provided for those species that were labelled “nondum descriptum” (not yet described). In identifying the cultivated plants my approach was to try to relate each name to a taxon listed by Bauhin (1623), initially by looking it up directly in Bauhin or, if this failed, by using the synonymy in works such as Gerarde (1636), Parkinson (1629, 1640) and Ray (1686–1688). It was then often possible to find the Linnaean name of the plant from the works of Linnaeus himself, especially Linnaeus (1753), as he usually cited Bauhin’s name in his synonymy, and then to look up the modern name in Jarvis (2007). Another approach was to relate the name to an entry in Morison’s *Historia Plantarum* (1680, 1699) that can be interpreted with reference to the herbarium specimens identified by Vines and Druce (1914). The resulting identifications, however they were reached, could then be checked by comparing the plant to 16th- or 17th-century descriptions and illustrations.

Although it was often easy to match the name of a plant on Corbyn’s list with a taxon listed by Bauhin (1623), there were cases such as *Glans terrae* (see note 64) where the Corbyn name appears to have been used more frequently by lay authors (such as apothecaries or gardeners) than in the formal academic literature.

Even if plants can be identified using the process outlined above, there is more uncertainty about the identity of cultivated than wild plants. We have to assume that Corbyn identified the plant correctly according to the taxonomy of the time and that the plant he knew can be related unambiguously to a modern taxon. For wild plants there is usually

a great deal of independent evidence about the plants that grow in Cambridgeshire, and in nearby counties, against which the identifications of 17th-century names can be assessed. There is no such independent evidence for plants grown in Cambridge gardens in the 1650s. In some genera (e.g., *Biscutella*, *Herniaria*) the species concept is now very much narrower than it was in the mid-17th century. There must be particular doubt about critical groups, such as the Michaelmas Daisies, *Symphotrichum* spp., as even the identification of living plants is fraught with problems.

I have identified 78 of the 93 cultivated plants on Corbyn’s 1656 and 1657 lists to species level (3 of them only tentatively) and 9 to genus, leaving 6 that I have not identified even to genus. In some cases the reason for my failure to identify the plants precisely is clear, such as those that are labelled “nondum descriptum” and those in critical groups, but in other cases I have simply failed to find any mention of apparently distinctive names such as *Aster caulifoliosus* in any other source. It is possible that clues to the identity to some of these plants might lie in historic herbaria. I have been unable to trace their names in the detailed account of the Morisonian Herbarium, Oxford (OXF), by Vines and Druce (1914). The massive Sloane herbarium at the Natural History Museum, London (BM), was described in outline by Dandy (1958), but searching for a specimen labelled with an unpublished name would require a detailed search of potentially relevant *Horti Sicci*, a search that I have been unable to undertake. I hope that, once the names of the unidentified species are published, others using the Sloane herbarium will encounter them serendipitously. The collection could also be used to confirm, or refute, the identifications proposed here for other species.

Significance of the plants listed

Cultivated plants

Neither of the lists of cultivated plants in the Corbyn manuscripts are complete garden catalogues. The 1656 list covered those plants that Corbyn thought that his correspondent might lack, and the 1657 list comprised those that the Cambridge gardeners could spare. This selective nature of the lists limits the conclusions that can be drawn from them. However, it is clear that a wide range of species was grown in Cambridge, and the 93 species listed by Corbyn can be divided into 5 groups.

Native Cambridgeshire species. The 1656 list included a number of native Cambridgeshire species, which were probably not easily accessible to botanists or gardeners further south in England. Two have primarily East Anglian distributions (*Melampyrum cristatum*, *Tephrosia palustris*), and others, although not primarily East Anglian, are nevertheless rather uncommon species throughout England (e.g., *Lythrum hyssopifolia*, *Pulsatilla vulgaris*, *Tephrosia integrifolia*) or are predominantly northern species, which are less frequent in the south (e.g., *Antennaria dioica*, *Myrica gale*, *Parnassia palustris*). Some are more widespread (e.g., *Paris quadrifolia*, *Sherardia arvensis*). It is notable that these species come from a range of habitats, from dry grassland to calcareous wetland, and from open habitats to woodland. There are no Cambridgeshire natives on the 1657 list and rather few other British natives.

Other native British species. A few species are British though not Cambridgeshire natives, such as the coastal plants *Eryngium maritimum* and *Glaucium flavum*, the eastern *Pyrola rotundifolia* and the northern *Campanula latifolia* and *Salix pentandra*.

Other European natives. A large group of species are not British natives but occur as natives elsewhere in Europe. Some of these

are from the mountains of central Europe or of central and southern Europe (*Achillea clavennae*, *Aconitum anthora*, *Juniperus sabina*), but many are from lowland habitats in southern Europe (e.g., *Atriplex halimus*, *Crucianella latifolia*, *Iberis pinnata*, *Plumbago europaea*). Some, such as *Campanula media* and *Lunaria annua*, were very familiar as garden plants by the end of the 16th century (Gerarde 1597, pp. 363, 378).

American natives. A relatively small but notable group of species are natives of the New World. Most of these come from eastern North America, namely *Angelica lucida*, *Aralia racemosa*, *Asclepias syriaca*, *Persicaria virginiana*, *Phytolacca americana*, *Rudbeckia laciniata* and the two *Symphotrichum* species. This is probably also the case for the unidentified species *Nasturtium fruticans novae Angliæ* and *Bardana altera Virginiana*, judging by their names (although sometimes such imputed origins were false, as was almost certainly the case for *Lamium novae Angliæ Parietariæ facie*). *Capsicum annum* and *Solanum lycopersicum* originate from warmer areas in Central and South America.

Variants and monstrosities. Several of the listed plants are unusual variants. The narrow-leaved variant of *Heracleum sphondylium* and the white-flowered *Prunella vulgaris* occur relatively frequently in the wild, and the latter was known to Ray (1660, p. 126) from Cambridgeshire. *Chelidonium majus* var. *tenuifolium*, *Fragaria vesca* ‘Muricata,’ the entire-leaved *Lamium purpureum* and *Sambucus nigra* forma *laciniata* are rarer plants, which had certainly been spread in horticulture.

The lists of plants cultivated in Cambridge lack several groups of herbaceous plants, which, judging by the evidence of Parkinson (1629), Paulli (1653), Jackson (1876), Gunther (1922) and Leith-Ross (1984), were prominent in 17th-century gardens. These include ornamental bulbs and corms, particularly in the genera *Crocus*, *Hyacinthus*, *Lilium*, *Narcissus* and *Tulipa*, as well as species and garden

variants of *Anemone*, *Dianthus* (treated in contemporary catalogues as *Caryophyllus*) and *Iris*. These are the “beautiful flower plants, fit to store a garden of delight and pleasure,” which Parkinson (1629) “severed... from the wilde and unfit” for inclusion in his book. However, the absence of such garden favourites does not necessarily mean that they were not grown in Cambridge. It might simply indicate that there was no surplus material of these plants or that Corbyn thought that they would not interest his correspondent.

I do not know the significance of the dashes in front of the names of some of the plants on the 1656 list of garden plants and 1657 list of wild plants (see Figs. 2, 3). These are in the same ink as the rest of the list and appear to have been part of Goodyer’s original transcriptions.⁷⁸

Wild plants

There are 60 taxa on Corbyn’s list of wild plants, including 56 that “growe wild wth us about Cambridge.” The remaining four are reported from Kent. Of the 56 Cambridge plants, 53 were subsequently listed amongst the 630 species in John Ray’s *Catalogus* (1660). One of these was not known to Ray (*Galega officinalis*, discussed below), leaving a total of 52 species known to both Corbyn and Ray in Cambridgeshire.

Ray provided localities for only some of the species that he listed from Cambridgeshire; in general he gave localities for the less frequent plants. Of the 52 species on the Corbyn list, Ray provided localities for 40 (77%). There is a much higher proportion of localised species on the Corbyn list than in Ray’s *Catalogus* (41%). This suggests that the species listed by Corbyn are a selection of the less common Cambridgeshire plants. None of the plants described by Ray as occurring *passim* (“generally”) or *ubique* (“everywhere”) appear

on Corbyn’s list. In some cases Ray’s localities in the *Catalogus* are examples, but in others the localities appear to be all those known to him. There is little difference between Corbyn’s list (47%) and Ray’s *Catalogus* (45%) in the proportion of localised species for which Ray provided examples of sites rather than a list of all known sites.

The other notable feature of the Corbyn list is that it does appear, on the whole, to be a list of plants that grow near the city of Cambridge. In this it differs from Ray’s *Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam Nascentium* (A catalogue of plants growing around Cambridge), which, despite its title, covers the county of Cambridgeshire (Oswald and Preston 2011, pp. 64–65). There are localities in Cambridge or sites immediately around Cambridge (Chesterton, Cherry Hinton, Coton, Fen Ditton, Fulbourn, Gog Magog Hills, Histon, Madingley, Teversham, Trumpington) in the *Catalogus* for 36 of the 40 Corbyn species for which Ray provided localities, and it is highly likely that the other 12 species also grew in this area. In addition, one of the four species for which Ray failed to list a locality near Cambridge, *Galium album*, described as growing “In the hedges in many places, especially about Linton,” could almost certainly have been found near Cambridge as well. This leaves just 3 of the 52 species as certainly unknown to Ray from the immediate vicinity of Cambridge. *Antennaria dioica* was reported by him from Newmarket Heath, *Inula conyzae* from Abington and Hildersham, south of Cambridge, and *Myrica gale* from the Isle of Ely, whence it had been reported earlier by Gerarde (1597, p. 1228). The first two were found near Cambridge by later botanists, but *Myrica* has never been seen in Cambridgeshire outside the Fens.

The plants listed by Corbyn are drawn from a range of the habitats then found near

Cambridge, including woodland, hedges, chalk grassland, calcareous mires (“moors”) and arable fields. The only aquatic plant is *Utricularia vulgaris*, a contrast to Ray’s *Catalogus* in which aquatic species were notably well treated (Oswald and Preston 2011, p. 43). None of the species restricted to the acidic habitats near Gamlingay, a species-rich area on the county boundary that features prominently in the *Catalogus*, appear on Corbyn’s list. Several of the groups that Ray later regarded as difficult—including *Atriplex* spp., *Rumex* spp. and grasses—are also absent from the Corbyn list.

Galega officinalis is a surprising species to find on Corbyn’s list, as Ray (1660, p. 59) knew it only from Parkinson’s record (1640, p. 418) from Linton. He commented sceptically that “we could not find it there, and do suspect that it is not there to be found.” Three of the species listed by Corbyn as occurring wild near Cambridge cannot be matched to species in Ray’s (1660) *Catalogus*. One is the plant that I cannot identify, *Calamintha montana minor*, which may well appear in the *Catalogus* under another name (see note 21). *Lysimachia nemorum* is an enigmatic species; it was included by Ray (1660(2), p. 18) in his Index of English names but not listed in the main catalogue or in either of the appendices to the *Catalogus* (Ray 1663; Ray and Dent 1685). Finally, *Sorbus aucuparia* was not recorded by Ray (1660, 1663), but it was reported from Gamlingay by Ray and Dent (1685).

Ribes nigrum, reported from Bedfordshire and Kent by Corbyn, was also known to Ray (1660, p. 139) from Cambridgeshire and indeed Ray’s reference to it is the first published British record (Clarke 1900, p. 54). The three species reported solely from Kent are unexceptional.

Collaborative networks in Cambridge and further afield

Recent studies (Roos 2016; Serjeantson 2016) have produced conclusive evidence to support Raven’s view (1942, pp. 43–57) that in the 1650s there was a group centred on Trinity College who collaborated in studies of natural philosophy. The Corbyn manuscripts add some further evidence to support this interpretation, as opposed to Hammond’s (1985) view that there was no evidence for such collaboration.

Corbyn’s title of the 1657 list of garden plants, “Such as wee have in our gardens & can spare,” indicates that it covers more than one garden. That this is more than a self-aggrandising use of the plural is supported by the evidence of John Worthington, then vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge. In a report to Samuel Hartlib, which Hartlib passed on by Robert Boyle on 2 February 1658, Worthington wrote that “divers fellows of colleges... have got together many hundreds of plants in several gardens here” (Boyle 1744, 5:272). The title of a catalogue of garden plants prepared by Ray but now lost was given by Bernard et al. (1734–1741, 8:692) as *Catalogus Plantarum non domesticarum, quæ aluntur Cantabrigiæ, in hortis Academicorum & Oppidanorum* (Catalogue of the non-native plants which are cultivated in Cambridge, in the gardens of Members of the University and Townspeople); this shows that the collaboration extended (or was intended to extend) beyond the university.

It is difficult to identify the gardens that might have contributed plants to Corbyn’s lists, and we cannot be certain that the owners of the gardens were all members of Trinity College. Corbyn’s colleague John Pratt, fellow of Trinity, had a garden about which little is known.⁷⁹ There is rather more information about John Ray’s garden at Trinity, derived from scattered references in his publications

that have been summarised by Raven (1942, pp. 38–39, 108–110). Seven of the cultivated plants listed by Corbyn are known to have been grown by Ray in Cambridge, *Cardamine impatiens*, *Cytisophyllum sessilifolium*, *Datura stamonium* forma *tatula*, *Lamium purpureum*, *Persicaria virginiana*, *Phytolacca americana* and *Saxifraga* cf. *umbrosa*.⁸⁰ As there is no surviving list of the plants that Ray grew, but merely occasional references to individual species in his publications, this is a significant number of plants in common.

Ray's letters and publications throw some light on how the plants for his garden were assembled. At least some of the native species were collected directly from the wild, although Ray's only explicit reference to this in the Cambridge catalogue or its 1663 appendix concerned the rather unusual case of *Geum* × *intermedium* (Ray 1663). Ray's friends, such as Peter Courthope, were enlisted to help collect material from further afield (Gunther 1934; Thompson 1974). Plants of European and American origin could be obtained from other horticulturists, and Corbyn's letter is clear evidence that he hoped to be able to exchange plants with his unknown correspondent. The parliamentarian soldier John Lambert requested some plants from Cambridge in 1657 when he left politics (temporarily) in order to spend more time cultivating his garden (Webster 2002, p. 151; Farr 2004).⁸¹ Ray (1686–1688, 1:183) received *Persicaria virginiana* for his Cambridge garden from Edward Morgan (see note 13). Morgan was well known as a botanist as well as a horticulturist (Gunther 1922, pp. 351–354; Jeffers 1953), so his garden at Westminster was just the sort of place from which Ray might have obtained interesting species.⁸² Ray is known to have made “an exact survey” of this garden in the spring of 1662 (Gunther 1934, 1937, p. 375), but the *Persicaria* must have been obtained before then as Ray grew it in

Cambridge.⁸³ The inclusion of this species in Corbyn's list must increase the probability that Corbyn was drawing in part on plants from Ray's garden. (The alternative explanation is that Ray was obtaining his plants from the same Cambridge sources drawn on by Corbyn). Another “beautiful & rare” North American plant grown by Ray in Cambridge, *Pseudocostus Virginiana* (*Parthenium integrifolium* L.), was obtained “from a certain Walker, a London gardener, whose son brought it from Virginia with other rarities” (Ray 1686–1688, 1:363).⁸⁴

The relationship of the wild plants on Corbyn's list to the work of Ray and his colleagues in compiling the Cambridge catalogue has been discussed by Oswald and Preston (2011, pp. 15–16). The main question is whether Corbyn's list is independent of Ray's work. The discrepancies between Corbyn's list and the *Catalogus*, including the inclusion in the former of *Lysimachia nemorum* and *Sorbus aucuparia*, are outlined above. To set against these are the overwhelming similarities of the species reported, including the inclusion of *Melampyrum cristatum* and *Tephrosia integrifolia*, for which the *Catalogus* provides the first published British records (Clarke 1900, pp. 78, 107). In addition, Corbyn's comments on the absence of *Melampyrum cristatum* from Gerarde and Parkinson and on the defective figure of *Antennaria dioica* in both these works are also similar to comments in the *Catalogus*. The presence of records from Sandrish, Kent, is also interesting. If Sandrish is Sundridge (see note 44), the records may have been contributed by John Nidd, a senior fellow of Trinity who was thanked by Ray in the preface to the Cambridge catalogue for his contribution to the work but who died, in 1659, before it was published. Nidd came from Sundridge and appears to have maintained his links with the parish, judging by the bequests in his will to Samuel Sharpe, “minister” of the parish.⁸⁵ In

my view, it is much more likely that Corbyn's list is based on the collective knowledge of the Trinity College botanists than that it is based on his research alone.

Druce (1912) noted the absence of any reference to Corbyn in Ray's *Catalogus* (1660). "Whether religious differences, which then ran high, was the cause," he commented, "can only be surmised." Although both Corbyn and Ray left Trinity in the wake of the religious changes following the Restoration, their religious outlook does appear to have differed. Corbyn's letter to Baxter suggests a man dominated by a tortured nonconformity and deeply unhappy with the religious outlook of his university colleagues. He urged Baxter to write about "the monstrous sin of takinge up the ministry without experimental acquaintance with Christ,⁸⁶ tis the cryinge sin of the University: for which I who see it could even breake my heart. Men make no conscience of an inward call, but if they be formal proffesours & of parts, they intrude inconsiderately: divinity is made a superstructure, & the work of nature the foundation: but discourse with such, theres more of god will appear in a christian of the weakest capacity then in them, who abounde with seraphical contemplations."⁸⁷ This appears to be, in part, a criticism of the natural theology associated with *An Antidote against Atheisme* by Henry More (1653) of Christ's College, Cambridge, expounded by Ray in Trinity College chapel at unknown dates before 1662 and later developed by him in *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation* (Ray 1691). Unlike Ray, Corbyn spent his career after he left Trinity College firmly outside the Church of England. However, it seems very unlikely that Ray would have excluded his name from the *Catalogus* for religious reasons. It is much more likely that he was omitted because he played only a minor part, if any, in its preparation (which, according to Ray's account in the preface, began ca.1657). From

the little that we know of him, Corbyn seems to have been one of the less likely members of Trinity College to have been drawn into the study of the natural sciences.

Acknowledgments

I thank Richard Serjeantson of Trinity College, Cambridge, for his assistance in tracing examples of Corbyn's and Mapletoff's handwriting in the College archives, as well as for allowing me to use his unpublished transcript of Ray's early letters, for his advice on 17th-century handwriting and for commenting on a draft of the paper. I am also grateful to Anne Catterall (Department of Plant Sciences, Oxford), Robin Darwall-Smith (Magdalen College, Oxford) and Sandy Paul and his colleagues (Trinity College, Cambridge) for help on my visits to see the manuscripts in their care. Gavin Clarke (Dr Williams's Library, London) kindly provided me with a copy of Corbyn's letter to Richard Baxter and investigated whether it might be a scribal copy, and John Edgington reviewed my suggestion that the handwriting of the Corbyn manuscripts was Goodyer's. David Cram alerted me to the American editions of Corbyn's books, and he and John Walsh also advised me on the interpretation of Corbyn's religious discontents. I have discussed several aspects of the paper with Philip Oswald, who helped to research some of the plant identifications and provided detailed comments on more than one draft. Sachiko Kusakawa drew my attention to the link between Trinity College and Westminster, and Clive Lovatt and David Pearman provided information on other matters. Finally, I thank Duncan Porter and Mark Spencer for their comments as reviewers.

Notes

1. Druce gave two papers to the British Pharmaceutical Conference in 1910, one on the Corbyn manuscripts (1910a) and the other on John Ray's life and work (1910b). In the discussion of the latter he said that "as far as the [Corbyn] manuscript was concerned, if Trinity College wanted it, when he died they should have it" (Druce 1910b), but this remark was presumably long forgotten by the time Druce left his papers to Oxford.
2. Druce (1912) had "accepted of to us as being rare," but the transcription prepared for him and preserved with the Corbyn ms agrees with my interpretation.
3. Druce (1912) had *soon*, but *then* appears to be the correct reading.

4. "in Cambridge." appears to have been added later and is in an italic hand rather than the secretary hand of the letter above.
5. Druce (1912) had *those*, but *these* appears to be the correct reading.
6. Druce (1912) had *that*, but the transcription prepared for him is clearly correct in reading *what*.
7. This word caused Druce's transcriber considerable problems; he or she initially wrote *received* then *reserved* before settling for *indicated*, which Druce (1912) accepted. It is difficult to read, but I think that *received* is the correct reading.
8. *Virga aurea* is the current *Solidago virgaurea*; *Rupevincentiana* presumably refers to St Vincent's Rocks, then as now a famous botanical site in the Avon Gorge, Bristol. I cannot find any evidence that the Bristol plant was ever treated as a separate taxon, and indeed Dr C. M. Lovatt (pers. comm.) informed me that there was no published reference to the species in the Avon Gorge until the late 18th century, even though it is something of a feature of the flora there. It therefore seems that *Rupevincentiana* must simply indicate the site of origin of the material.
9. These two maritime *Spergularia* species were not distinguished at this time.
10. This identification is rather uncertain as there was considerable early confusion between *S. sarraenicus* and *S. ovatus* (P. Gaertn., B. Mey. & Scherb.) Willd., and some of the synonyms cited by Linnaeus (1753, 2: 841) in his description of *S. sarraenicus* are actually referable to *S. ovatus* (Calvo and Aedo 2015).
11. The name was clearly written as *Flix*, although *Filix* must have been intended.
12. This was listed as "nondum descriptum" in Corbyn's 1657 list below. It was listed by Ray (1686–1688, 1:560) as *Lamium Novae Angliae parietariae foliis* with the note "Cantabrigiae olim in hortulo nostro coluimus" (We formerly cultivated this in Cambridge in our little garden). As Boulger (1903) pointed out, Ray stated that it was close to the small (annual) *Lamium* species, and I agree with him that it represents the entire-leaved variant of *L. purpureum*. This was known to Morison (1699, p. 386) as *Lamium annuum rubrum Parietariae foliis*, and his material came from Edward Morgan's garden at Westminster (Vines and Druce 1914, p. 149). There has been some confusion between this taxon and more or less entire-leaved variants of *Lamium album* L. as the leaves of the latter have also been compared to those of *Parietaria* and both have been supposed (almost certainly erroneously) to be American in origin.
13. In his account of this plant in *Historia Plantarum*, Ray (1686–1688, 1:183) commented "Plantam hanc Cantabrigiae in hortulo nostro aluimus, ab Edvardo Morgano Londino missam" (We cultivated this plant, sent by Edward Morgan from London, in Cambridge in our little garden).
14. The cultivated mints represent a complex group of species and hybrids, which can be difficult to separate. *M. arvensis* L. and its hybrids have all their flowers in whorls, rather than the upper flowers aggregated into a terminal head or spike. Corbyn's name comes from Bauhin (1623, p. 227), who cited Gerarde's illustration of *Ocymoides repens* (1597, p. 549) in synonymy. Bauhin's name was cited by Linnaeus (1753, 2: 577) as a synonym of *M. gentilis* L., a plant that was long taken to be the hybrid *M. arvensis* × *M. spicata* L. but is actually based on a specimen of a red-stemmed clone of *M. arvensis*, which is frequently found in cultivation (Tucker et al. 1980). It seems possible that more than one plant was grown in Britain under Bauhin's name in the 17th century, as Ray (1686–1688, 1:531) described its whorled flowers whereas Parkinson (1640, p. 34) said that, despite Bauhin's name, it has spiked heads. In the absence of a specimen it seems impossible to say whether Corbyn's plant was similar to that of Linnaeus or whether it was a hybrid between *M. arvensis* and *M. aquatica* or *M. spicata*.
15. After noting that he had seen this growing wild on maritime slopes near Salerno, Ray (1686–1688, 1:973) wrote "Cantabrigiae in hortulo nostro aliquot annos coluimus" (we cultivated it for several years in Cambridge in our little garden).
16. *Lunuris* is presumably an error for *Lunaria* or *Lunaris*.
17. Gerarde (1636, p. 569) described a plant with a very slender single root, which must therefore be an annual and could well have been *H. glabra* L., but the taxonomy of *Herniaria* was not resolved until much later. Ray (1686–1688, 1:214), for example, included two entities under *Herniaria*, which he had seen in the wild, glabrous plants from Lizard Point, which must have been the perennial species now called *H. ciliolata* Melderis, a famous Lizard rarity, and hairy plants from mainland Europe, which were almost certainly the annual *H. hirsuta* L.
18. *Smyrniium perfoliatum sensu lato* includes *S. perfoliatum* subsp. *rotundifolium* (Mill.) Hartvig. The latter is often treated as a species, *S. rotundifolium* Mill., but it intergrades with *S. perfoliatum* in Greece (Hartvig 1986). The Cretan plant is subsp. *rotundifolium*, which has

- a more southerly distribution in Europe than subsp. *perfoliatum* (Turland et al. 1993), and earlier authors have treated *Smyrniium Creticum* as *S. rotundifolium* (Gunther 1922, p. 318; Leith-Ross 1984, p. 288).
19. Of this species, Ray (1686–1688, 1:662) commented “E Virginia & Nova Anglia delata est hæc planta: nos eam in hortulo nostro Cantabrigiæ aliquot annos aluimus” (This plant was brought from Virginia & New England: we cultivated it for several years in our little garden in Cambridge).
 20. *Indum* is presumably an error for *Indicum*.
 21. The name *Calamintha montana minor* does not correspond with any in Parkinson’s account of *Calamintha* (1640, pp. 36–38), and I have not traced it elsewhere. One would expect the species to match one reported by Ray (1660), and the most likely candidate is *Calamintha ascendens* (Jord.) Samp., which Ray (1660, p. 25) listed as *Calamintha vulgaris* Park. with the synonym *Calamintha montana vulg[aris]* Lob. One of his sites for this was in Cambridge, “on a bank near the hedge in a close by the high way side adjoining to S. Johns Colledge walks.” The epithet *minor* may simply distinguish this species from *Calamintha montana præstantior*, described and illustrated by Parkinson (1640, p. 37), which is the southern European *Clinopodium grandiflorum* (L.) Kuntze. However, Parkinson (1640, p. 36) noted under *Calamintha vulgaris* that there was “another of this sort which is like unto it in all things, but somewhat lesser, differing chiefly in the flowers which are not so large by the halfe, which noteth it to be a differing species,” although he equated this to *Calamintha vulgaris exiguo flore*, described by Bauhin (1620, p. 110) from Savoy.
 22. The modern species concept in *Biscutella* is much narrower than it was in the 17th century. Ray (1673(2), p. 104), for example, reported seeing this species, which he called *Thlaspi clypeatum hieracifolium majus* Park., “In Germania, Italia, Sicilia & Gallia variis in locis” (In various places in Germany, Italy, Sicily & France), but none of the species currently recognised has as wide a range as this (Jalas et al. 1996).
 23. Druce (1910a, 1912) identified this as *Ribes rubrum* L. Bauhin (1623, p. 455) listed *Ribes syl.* Matth. Ges. app. Lon. Cast. Cam. as a synonym of *X. Grossularia syl. rubra* (which is not *Ribes rubrum*, as Bauhin’s species *V. Grossularia multiplici acino sive non spinosa hortensis rubra, sive Ribes officinarum* is *R. rubrum* according to the synonymy given by Linnaeus (1753, 1:200)) and *Ribes sylvestre* Trag. Thal. as a synonym of *XI. Grossularia non spinosa fructu nigro* (which is *R. nigrum* L.). Furthermore, Ray (1670, p. 264) recorded *R. nigrum* from a number of sites including Blunham in Bedfordshire, but he did not list *R. rubrum* as a British plant. Gerarde (1636, pp. 1593–1594) had a clear entry and illustration of *Ribes rubrum* but only a brief unillustrated mention of a plant, his third *Ribes*, which Ray (1670, p. 264) interpreted as *R. nigrum*; he said that both species grew in many gardens but not in the wild in Britain. Parkinson (1640, p. 1562–1563) illustrated *Ribes nigrum* but did not report it from the wild either.
 24. Druce (1910a, 1912) identified these species as *Valeriana sambucifolia* J. C. Mikan ex Pohl and *V. officinalis* L. respectively, two taxa now regarded as separate subspecies of *V. officinalis*, but the illustration of *Valeriana minor* in Gerarde (1636, p. 1075) clearly shows the entire basal leaves of *V. dioica* L., and the information provided for *Valeriana minor* by Ray (1660, p. 173) supports this identification.
 25. Gerarde’s *Lysimachia lutea minor* (1636, p. 474) is *Lysimachia punctata* L., but the plant recorded in the wild in Cambridgeshire was presumably his *Lysimachia lutea*, now *L. vulgaris* L., which is illustrated on the same page. How (1650, p. 72) presumably made the same mistake in reporting Richard Heaton’s record of *Lysimachia lutea minor* from Shirley Pool, Yorkshire. *Lysimachia vulgaris* was recorded in Cambridgeshire as *Lysimachia lutea* by Ray (1660, pp. 92–93) whereas *L. punctata* was not recorded as a garden escape in Britain until 1853 (Preston et al. 2002).
 26. The name is clearly written as *Lutesiana*, although *Lutetiana* must have been intended.
 27. The page number 550 is an error for 560.
 28. The two British species of *Platanthera* were not distinguished in Britain until the end of the 17th century, when the observations of Samuel Dale allowed Ray (1696, p. 238) to separate them. Druce identified the Cambridgeshire plant as *P. bifolia* (L.) Rich. (*Habenaria bifolia* (L.) R. Br.), but I have identified it as *P. chlorantha* (Custer) Rchb. on the basis of the habitat and locality given by Ray (1660, p. 109), “In Madingley and other woods and bushie places.” There are 19th-century herbarium specimens of *P. chlorantha* from Madingley Wood (Rackham and Coombe 1996) whereas there are no reliable records of *P. bifolia* from Cambridgeshire.
 29. Druce (1910a, 1912) identified this as *Torilis arvensis* (Huds.) Link (as *Caucalis arvensis* Huds.). Ray does not appear to have separated this species from *T. japonica* (Houtt.) DC. during his time in Cambridge, though his description of his

- plant occurring *Juxta sepes et etiam inter segetes* (Alongside hedges and even among standing corn; Ray 1660, p. 30) suggests that he regarded the plant of hedges, *T. japonica*, as the commoner one. He later separated *T. arvensis* as *Caucalis segetum minor Anthriscio hispido similis* (Ray 1670, pp. 61–62; cf. Oswald and Preston 2011, pp. 178, 464–465).
30. The page number 1226 is an error for 1228.
 31. The page number 1281 is an error for 1282.
 32. The identification of this plant as the calcifuge *Galium saxatile* L. (*G. hercynicum* Weigel) by Druce (1910a, 1912) is clearly erroneous.
 33. This is the page number in Gerarde (1636), but it is a printing error, and the page is actually 682. As this page is correctly numbered in Gerarde (1633), Corbyn must have been using the 1636 edition. The correct page number given for *Anthyllis leguminosa*, 1240, may also indicate the use of the 1636 edition, as this page was erroneously numbered 1204 in 1633, but this is less convincing evidence as Corbyn could have noticed the mistake and corrected it.
 34. See note 21.
 35. Gerarde's name is *Lysimachia purpurea spicata*, which is *Lythrum salicaria* L.; the significance of *cærulea* (underlined in the Corbyn manuscript) is unclear, but Druce (1910a, 1912) suggested that it indicates a form of *L. salicaria*. On the facing page Gerarde (1636, p. 477) illustrated *Lysimachia cærulea*, which is a species of *Veronica*. Thomas Lawson recorded *Lysimachia cærulea spicata* in the Westminster Physic Garden in 1677, a species that Jeffers (1953) interpreted as *Veronica maritima* L. (but see Trávníček et al. (2004) for an account of the taxonomic confusion between *V. maritima* and *V. longifolia* L. *sensu stricto*). In any event, the reference to page 476 of Gerarde appears to exclude a *Veronica* species as an option for the Cambridge plant.
 36. This species was omitted by Druce (1910a, 1912).
 37. *oblongo* is apparently a slip for *longiore*, as Gerarde's (1636, p. 373) two species are *Argemone capitulo longiore* and *A. capitulo torulo*.
 38. The correct page number in Gerarde (1636) is p. 941. It is difficult to account for this error, unless an entire line has been omitted by eye-skip and the page number stated applies to the omitted species.
 39. Druce's (1910a, 1912) identification of this as *Cirsium britannicum* Scop. was correct according to his taxonomic treatment (Druce 1908) although this name is now regarded as a synonym of *C. vulgare* (Savi) Ten. rather than of *C. dissectum*. However, Perring et al. (1964) interpreted Druce's name as *C. eriophorum* (L.) Scop., presumably because they confused *C. britannicum* Scop. with the British race of *C. eriophorum*, subsp. *britannicum* Petr.
 40. The reference is to Bauhin and Cherler (1650–1651, 3(2):440). This was transcribed as "... wild in our woods, it is not described in Gerard, Parkinson, or Joan. Bauhinum" by Druce (1910a, 1912). Oswald and Preston (2011, p. 16) copied this, but this reading is incorrect. Druce's "or" is "v." (for *vide*), and the plant was in fact attributed to Bauhin in Corbyn's earlier (1656) list.
 41. "... but it seems to be wrongly described."
 42. The reference is to Bauhin (1623).
 43. The identification of this plant as *Senecio paludosus* L. by Druce (1910a, 1912) is clearly erroneous.
 44. The reference is to Bauhin (1623). Compare the entry in Merrett's *Pinax* (1666, p. 10), "**Aria* Theoph. fol. obtusis. Pin. 452. At *Sandrish* in *Kent*, Mr. *Goodyer*." This record apparently came from Goodyer's papers and was included by Merrett with the permission of Edmund Yalden, Goodyer's nephew and heir (Gunther 1922, p. 195). The asterisk denotes a plant that was not reported by Gerarde (1636) or How (1650). I have not found any reference to this plant in Goodyer's surviving manuscripts. I cannot trace *Sandrish* in Kent; it may be a variant of, or an error for, *Sundrish*, the former name of *Sundridge* (Glover 1976, p. 184). The name *Sundrish* certainly survived into the 17th century although Hasted (1778–1799, 1:367) later noted that it was "now vulgarly called, *Sundridge*." Hanbury and Marshall (1899, p. 139) interpreted the locality as *Sandwich*, but *Sandrish* is not recorded as an earlier variant of this name, and *Sandwich* is a less likely locality for *Sorbus aria* than *Sundridge*.
 45. This name was applied to *Salix* plants with the *Camellia* gall (Oswald and Preston 2011, p. 287).
 46. *Datura stramonium* forma *tatula* has purplish flowers, as opposed to the white flowers of forma *stramonium*. In *Historia Plantarum*, Ray (1686–1688, 1:748) included this as *Stramonium majus purpureum* Park. parad. and commented "Hanc plantam in hortulo nostro Cantabrigiæ unâ cum proximè præcedente [*Stramonium majus album* Park.] aliquot annos coluimus, nec tamen, quantum observavi, semine satæ unquam speciem mutârunt, sed suum singulæ genus semper propagârunt, quo fit ut specie distinctas existimem" (We grew this plant for several years in our little garden in Cambridge in the same place as the plant immediately above [*Datura stramonium* forma *stramonium*], but, as far as I observed, they did not ever change species when

- sown by seed, but each always reproduced its own kind, and so it comes about that I consider them separate species).
47. Ray (1686–1688, 1:709) said that he grew *Consolida regalis serotina flore albo multiplici & simplicis* in his garden with *Delphinium surrectum*, but the latter is not a name that he used for any of the *Delphinium* species he described, and I have not found it in any other publication. It seems most likely to be the plant called by Ray (1686–1688, 1:708) *Delphinium elatius flore simplicis diversorum colorum* Park. parad. and *Delph. elat. flo. pleno divers. colorum* ejusdem, the modern *Consolida ajacis*. Corbyn's plant is clearly a horticultural variant, and Ray listed numerous flower colour variants of *C. ajacis*, including some with bicoloured flowers.
 48. See note 17.
 49. I have not traced this name. *Salvia major* of Bauhin (1623, p. 237) is the common herb *Salvia officinalis* L., and *Stachys major Germanica* of Bauhin (1623, p. 236) is *Stachys germanica* L. The latter is listed as *Stachys Fuchsij* two lines above the entry for *Salvia Germanica maior*.
 50. This is a mutant of *Fragaria vesca*. John Tradescant the elder told Thomas Johnson that he had discovered the plant in a woman's garden in Plymouth (Gerarde 1636, p. 998); Leith-Ross (1984, p. 84) dated this to his return from the failed military expedition to La Rochelle in 1627, and it was described and illustrated by Parkinson (1629, pp. 527–528).
 51. This variant with lacinate leaves, also known as var. *laciniatum* (Mill.) Koch, was first described in 1601 from plants that arose spontaneously in a garden in Heidelberg (Widder 1953; Karlsson 2001).
 52. *Paludapium* is *Apium graveolens* L., so this was presumably a variegated variant of that species.
 53. *Melilotus Germanica* is the current *M. altissimus* Thuill., so this must presumably be a variegated variant of that species. Ray (1670) listed *Melilotus* amongst plants with variegated leaves, although I can find no evidence for the existence of such plants in recent times.
 54. This name does not appear in the works of Gerarde (1636), Parkinson (1629, 1640), Ray (1686–1688) or Morison (1699), although "*Mentha Rom[ana] incana*, hoary spearmint" is listed in Bobart's (1648, p. 34) catalogue of the Oxford Physic Garden and republished by Paulli (1653, p. 368). Corbyn's name presumably indicates a hairy mint, a description that could cover several taxa including the species and hybrids in the *M. longifolia* (L.) Huds./*M. spicata* L. complex.
 55. The plant listed here is presumably that described by Ray (1686–1688, 2:1047–1048) as *Sanicula montana rotundifolia minor Hispanica*, of which he said "Cantabrigiæ per multos annos hanc plantam alui quæ umbrosis delectatur, hortis facile assuescit & se propagat, nec hyemes nostras reformidat, quamvis ex nomine Hispanicæ originis sit" (For many years in Cambridge I cultivated this plant, which delights in shady places, settles easily into gardens and spreads itself, and it does not shrink from our winters, although it is, from its name, of Spanish origin). It is a member of a closely related group of saxifrages (section *Gymnosperma* D. Don), which includes *Saxifraga umbrosa* and its hybrids. Webb and Gornall (1989, p. 68) suggested that *S. umbrosa* might have been in cultivation in Britain by 1640. Its hybrid with *S. spathularis* Brot. (*S. × urbium* D. A. Webb) had originated in cultivation by the 17th century (Webb and Gornall 1989, p. 69); it rarely sets seed, but it is a vigorous perennial, which spreads vegetatively and became very popular as the garden plant London Pride. A fertile hybrid with *S. hirsuta* (*S. × geum* L.) also occurs in the wild and was grown in British gardens by the 18th century. Raven (1942, p. 110) commented that Ray's plant was "presumably the familiar London Pride," and the vigour described by Ray certainly suggests that it might have been this hybrid, but on current evidence it seems impossible to be certain.
 56. *Keiri* is the name normally applied to the cultivated wallflower (*Erysimum cheiri* (L.) Crantz) and certain wild relatives, but I have not traced any reference elsewhere to *Keiri Italicum*.
 57. This identification is somewhat speculative. I have not traced the name in major 17th-century botanical works, although it appears in Spottswood's list of the plants of Tangier, drawn up in 1673 although not published until later (Spottswood 1696) and, as *Melanthium Bæticum*, in two of the lists published by Paulli (1653) of plants grown in Paris (p. 149) and Leiden (p. 530). *Melanthium Bæticum* is clearly the same plant, as *Melanthium* was an alternative name for *Nigella* at this time. Unfortunately the lists are of little help in interpreting the name. The epithet *Bætica* indicates a plant from Andalusia, so it is tempting to suggest that this is *Nigella hispanica* L. This is supported by Bradley (1728), who listed it as *Nigella Bætica*, sive *Hispanica flore amplo*. However, he confusingly gave it the same English name as *Nigella Romana*, sive *sativa*, which is *N. sativa* L.
 58. I have failed to find this name in contemporary botanical works. *Nigella indica* Roxb. ex Fleming appears to be a later, unrelated homonym.

59. See note 12.
60. The only mention of this name that I have traced is in Ray's (1673, p. 284) list of plants seen in Sicily in the narrative of his European tour, but he did not include the name in the accompanying systematic catalogue. However, it appeared as *Teucrium vulgare* in his later list of plants seen in Sicily (1694, p. 276), and this is sufficient to identify it as *Teucrium flavum*.
61. *Symphotrichum* species, Michaelmas Daisies, are native to North America and widely cultivated and naturalised in Europe. They were previously included in the broadly defined genus *Aster*. Their taxonomy is difficult both in the native range and in Europe (Brouillet et al. 2006; Sell and Murrell 2006; Dirkse et al. 2014), and it seems unlikely that taxa reported in the 17th century can be identified with certainty unless supported by herbarium specimens. The first of Corbyn's species is doubtless *Aster Virgineus angustifolius serotinus parvo albente flore* of Parkinson (1640, pp. 132–133) and Ray (1686–1688, 1:270) and *Aster Virginianus ramosissimus serotinus parvis floribus albis Tradescanti* of Morison (1699, p. 121), who cited Parkinson's name as a synonym. Parkinson reported that this originated in Canada and was sent to him from France. Ray described a late-flowering species with a much-branched inflorescence and small flowers with white ray florets and disc florets, which become purple. It may have been a species such as *S. lateriflorum* (L.) Á. Löve & D. Löve, *S. ontarionis* (Wiegand) G. L. Nesom or *S. tradescantii* (L.) G. L. Nesom. I have not been able to match Corbyn's second species with a plant in the contemporary literature, and it cannot be identified as a modern species from his brief phrase-name.
62. Parkinson (1640, p. 155) distinguished True Rubarbe (*Rheum rhaponticum* L.) from Monks Rubarbe. However, the distinction implied by *Rhabarbarum monachorum verum* ("True Rhabarbarum of the monks") is that between *Rumex patientia* L. (which Ray (1686–1688, 2:171) called *Hippolapathum sativum* Ger., Monks Rhubarb or Garden Patience) and *Rumex alpinus* L. (Ray's *Lapathum folio rotundo Alpinum* J.B., Bastard Monks Rhubarb or Great round-leaved Dock). Ironically, the latter is the plant that is now often known as Monk's Rhubarb.
63. I have not traced this name, but *Allium oleraceum* was illustrated by Plantin (1591, 1:158) as *Allium rubentibus nucleis*; Bauhin's (1623, p. 74) name was *Allium syl[vestre] bicorne flore obsoleto*. For the pre-Linnean synonymy of this variable species, see Don (1832).
64. The name *Glans terrae* ("Acorn of the earth") seems to be used more frequently in culinary and medical than in botanical contexts. For its identity as *Lathyrus tuberosus* L., see Bergius (1778, 2:611).
65. "Hanc plantam Cantabrigiæ olim in hortulo nostro coluimus, postea in rupibus quibusdam udis propè Rhenum in Germania invenimus spontaneam" (We formerly grew this plant in Cambridge in our little garden; afterwards we found it wild on some moist rocks near the Rhine in Germany; Ray 1686–1688, 1:815).
66. Corbyn's admission was recorded in the Trinity College Admissions Book, 1635–1740, p. 12, and his admission to a scholarship in another Admissions Book, 1645–1659, p. 83.
67. The Senior Bursar's Audit Books at Trinity College show that Corbyn received his last payment as a scholar in the second quarter of 1655 and took over one of the four chaplains posts sometime in the same year (though his name was initially misspelled as "Corbey"). His last payment as a chaplain was made in the final quarter of 1660. The entries in the Upper Buttery Book, 1658–1660/61 suggest that he was still at Trinity in March 1661, but Upper Buttery Book records for the following years do not survive, and I do not know when he left the college. In a book-keeping exercise on 22 December 1662 it was agreed to write off the arrears owed to the Steward by Corbyn and 15 others (Conclusion Book, 1646–1811, p. 71), but this does not necessarily mean that he had remained in college until 1662, as Thomas Pockley, whose arrears were also written off, had died at Dunkirk in 1661.
68. Letter of John Ray to Peter Courthope, 9 November 1658. This and subsequent extracts from Ray's letters are based on unpublished transcripts kindly made available to me by Dr Richard Serjeantson.
69. For a précis of the letter see Keeble and Nuttall (1991, 1:220). The original letter is held in Dr Williams's Library, London (Baxter correspondence, vol. 220).
70. The only copies known to Wing (1972–1998, 1:643) were in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (1669, 1677), the Congregational Library, London (1672, 1677) and Boston Public Library, Massachusetts (1677, an imperfect copy). Corbyn's longer book was reprinted in Scotland and London in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in both English and Gaelic, initially by John Brown of Haddington, minister of the Secession Church and prolific author (Brown 1784);

- Corbyn's emphasis on the wrath of God was clearly palatable to the Scottish Presbyterians. There were also editions including two or three of the four component parts of the longer work published in 1702, 1741 and 1759 in Boston, Massachusetts.
71. Admissions Book, 1645–1659, p. 83. In this entry all the names of the scholars are in different hands, suggesting that they signed the book individually, whereas in the entry listing Corbyn's admission to the college, in Admissions Book, 1635–1740, p. 12, all the names are listed in a single hand. *Wigorniensis* means "of Worcester."
 72. The identification of Goodyer's handwriting is based on a comparison of the Corbyn manuscripts with the Goodyer manuscripts at Magdalen College, Oxford, listed by Gunther (1922, pp. 229–232) as MS 1, 6, 9, 11 and 18. The papers in MS 11 cover a wide range of dates from the start to the end of Goodyer's botanical activity, whereas the other volumes date from the 1650s. The writing of Goodyer's rough notes differs slightly from that of his neater papers, and the Corbyn manuscripts are good examples of his neat style. The combined use of secretary and italic hands can be found, for example, in MS 11, ff. 29, 31, 33 and MS 18, p. 54. I am grateful to John Edgington for comparing the Corbyn manuscripts with the samples of Goodyer's writing that he knows best and confirming this identification. The paper of the Corbyn manuscripts looks as if it could have been obtained by dividing the paper of MS 9 into two.
 73. No correspondence is known to survive, but Ray (1663) cites information from Goodyer under *Chamædrys spuria foliis pediculis oblongis insidentibus*.
 74. Examples include the first four volumes of W. J. Hooker's *Species Filicum* (1846–1862; the fifth was published in 1864 by Dulau & Co.), W. A. Bromfield's *Flora Vectensis* (1856) and the first three (of the four) parts of F. M. B. Boott's *Illustrations of the Genus Carex* (1858–1862). Pamplin was also responsible for rescuing the *Phytologist* magazine when its publication was suspended in 1854, and he kept it going (as the "new series") from 1855 until his retirement in 1863, when it finally folded.
 75. Trinity College Admissions Book, 1645–1659, pp. 32, 82; Trinity College Admissions and Conclusions Book, 1660, p. 9.
 76. Trinity College Admissions and Conclusions Book, 1660, p. 9.
 77. The *OED* records a meaning of the word *instruction*, "Knowledge imparted concerning a particular fact or circumstance; information," which was current in the middle of the 17th century but is now obsolete.
 78. Lists with similar dashes can be found in Goodyer's manuscripts, e.g., MS 11, f. 28.
 79. John Nidd made notes on a plant of *Veratrum album* L. growing in Pratt's garden in his copy of Paulli (1653), which he purchased in 1657 and bequeathed to Trinity College in 1659 (Trinity College library classmark Q.14.18).
 80. The detailed evidence for each species is given in the appropriate note above.
 81. The actual garden from which Lambert sought material is unclear, as the request is known from an entry in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for 1657, "Botanical Garden of Cambridge already in such request that Lord Lambert sent for some Plants out of it" (<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib>, HP 29/6/9A). The next entry, "Also a Græcian there is there to teach the Greeke Tongue and to erect a Laboratory," is almost certainly a reference to the activities at Trinity of Constantine Rhodocanacis, recently explored by Roos (2016).
 82. The close link between Trinity College and Westminster School perhaps increased the possibility that members of Trinity College would be aware of the garden.
 83. The Westminster garden was well established by 1657 (Jeffers 1953). In July 1661 Ray wrote to Courthope "My garden I have in a great measure this yeare neglected, & have gotten in few or no new plants. I cannot look upon my selfe as settled heer, & am therefore more regardlesse" (Gunther 1934; Thompson 1974).
 84. "Hanc plantam aliquot annos Cantabrigiæ in hortulo meo alui: habui autem à quodam Walker, hortulano Londinensi, cujus filius eam cum aliis rarioribus è Virginia attulit" (I cultivated this plant for several years in Cambridge in my little garden and I had it from a certain Walker, a London gardener, whose son brought it from Virginia with other rarities; Ray 1686–1688, 1:363).
 85. Cambridge University Archives VCCT. [Original] Wills 14, reproduced by Oswald and Preston (2011, p. 104). Nidd left Samuel Sharpe his silver tobacco-box and books by Origen and Epicteus.
 86. For the experiential or experimental knowledge of Christ in 17th-century English theology, see MacCulloch (2004, p. 390). The phrase "experimental knowledge" was used by the influential Cambridge Calvinist and Puritan William Perkins (1601, p. 106) and became associated with the more extreme Protestants, who regarded themselves as the elect and believed that they could distinguish themselves from other

Protestants who lacked this basis for their faith.
87. Baxter correspondence, vol. 220, Dr Williams's Library, London; quoted by Keeble and Nuttall (1991, 1:220).

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