

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES DARWIN 1865

From Joseph Dalton Hooker 1 January 1865

Kew Jany 1/65

Dear Darwin

I have told Mr Stainton that I have referred his letter to me to you— kindly answer it—if you can.1

I find plenty of Cucurbitaceæ to have sticking ends to their tendrils, & expect that it is a common enough phenomenon in the Order.² From what you say of the form of the cells in Hanburya I should have inferred something of the sort, as such cells are common on the undersurface of the leaves of various vines & you say they have sticking tendrils.³ Certainly the suppressed potentiality of so many organs of plants to play so many parts, is one of the most wonderful of your discoveries. The more I think of it, the more pregnant it is: one day it will itself play a prodigious part, in the interpretation of both morphological & physiological facts.

I have read Sabines complete address (I had seen only extracts before) & am indignant & disgusted at the mutilation & emasculation of what I wrote— Especially about *Lythrum* & *Linum*, which he has made nonsense of & the use your observations will be in interpreting, no end of phenomena not yet guessed at.⁴ Poor old man, he is ill still, & I am beginning to fear that my ill-natured prophecy, that the Presidentship would be the death of him, may come true.—⁵

Have you read Huxleys (I suppose) slashing leader in todays Reader.⁶ it is uncommonly able &c: but as usual with him, he goes like a desert whirlwind over the ground scorching blasting & suffocating all opposing objects, & leaving nothing but dry bones on the ground. The vegetation he withers was one of vile weeds to be sure, but vile weeds are *green*, & all is *black* after him

I have done little but dissect *Cucurbitacea* since I wrote last.⁷ I wish I had the energy when doing each Nat. Ord: to show how each prevalent & characteristic feature shades off at either end, or waxes & wanes in the series of Genera.⁸ An absolute character is very rare in an order. Cucurbi. is a very curious order—especially as to stamens.⁹

I will let you know if I hear of Hoffmeisters book, ¹⁰ or Hildebrands paper. ¹¹ & Oliver will keep you advised of Bot. Zeit. articles. ¹²

Tell me when you write how your health is.

My book on Geog. Distrib. is *nowhere*—13 I wish it were only begun.



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to the Correspondence 1822–1864
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The Reader seems to me dull & rather aimless—the articles too learned & heavy for men who work hard during the week, & want some enticement to read Science on Sunday. Huxley has taken the scientific Editorship I am told;¹⁴ but he never stuck to any thing of the kind long, & I have no hopes of it's succeeding under him— he is far too good for such work, & has no aptitude for it—: no man can write such good articles upon Science as he can, but he is no caterer for the public, & never can be: he wants breadth of sympathy

We are all well, & the children very happy— I have no news of any kind. Did I send you enclosed letter of Thwaites with a passage for you?¹⁵ Ever y^{rs} affec | J. D. Hooker.

[Enclosure]

Peradenia, Ceylon 28th Oct 1864

Dear Hooker,

The last mail brought a kind & most welcome letter from you and, in case I should omit to do so, will at once answer your question about *Nepenthes*: it certainly climbs by means of its tendrils and I enclose you the only example I happen to have of the tendrils firmly grasping any object but this will show you what they can do. ¹⁶ The plant is most common in open swampy ground but when it gets amongst bushes it takes to climbing & I have often been struck with its beauty under such circumstances. Nepenthes does not grow in this neighbourhood and I have never succeeded in keeping plants alive planted out in the Garden. ¹⁷ I will get M^r. W. Ferguson ¹⁸ to look at & gather a fine specimen illustrating its climbing propensities or capabilities & will send it to you another time.

I am glad to hear you have conquered Melastomads.¹⁹ It is certainly best to make several attacks at distant intervals, in order to overcome the difficulties of marshalling such a puzzling family as the *Melastomads*, as after periods of rest differences are better estimated as to their importance, and undue prominences get softened down in the more general view one is able to take some time after working at particular genera or groups.

It gratifies me much to learn that Müller thinks well of my arrangement of the Ceylon Euphorbs, as they cost me much labour & thought²⁰

I have heard nothing yet of the box of seeds you mention as sending through M^{ssr} . David Power, ²¹ so I suppose it will come by the next mail steamer.

In travelling here the other day I was particularly struck with the resemblance in colour the natives exhibit to different varieties of soil here. It was curious to observe, sometimes, how precisely of one colour were the native & the ground upon which he was sitting or lying. I wonder whether this colour served at one time as a protection from his enemies whether wild beasts or men—& that so it originated— ask Darwin what he thinks of this view of the matter, when you write to him.



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I am glad to see that Colenso [showed] himself at the meeting of the Association at Bath and was so well received.—22 I have been greatly delighted with the perusal of his work.23 A true & safe reformer he appears to me to be. It is curious how long the world has been taking things on trust in matters of such immense importance & it is well that the change of opinion is coming on so gradually, or what a smash there would be!

Always my dear Hooker | Your affectionate friend | G. H. K. Thwaites P.S. Will you kindly send this little note to Berkely when you next write to him: it contains a curious /Sphæria/ upon a Fly—²⁴

DAR 102: 1-3; Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, DC vol. 162 doc. 224

- ¹ The letter from Henry Tibbats Stainton has not been found; however, CD's reply to Hooker of 7 January [1865] indicates that Stainton's letter concerned a translation of Karl Friedrich von Gärtner's Versuche und Beobachtungen über die Bastarderzeugung im Pflanzenreich (Gärtner 1849) that was to be undertaken by the Ray Society. Stainton was secretary of the Ray Society, which was founded in 1844 with the object of printing works of natural history and had produced a number of translations of foreign works (see Curle 1954). CD had recommended Gärtner 1849 for translation in his letter to the Ray Society, [before 4 November 1864] (Correspondence vol. 12; see also letter to J. D. Hooker, [c. 23 September 1864]). Hooker also supported the proposed translation; however, it was not undertaken (see Correspondence vol. 12, letters from J. D. Hooker, 16 September 1864 and [28 September 1864], and Curle 1954, pp. 25–6). A heavily annotated copy of Gärtner 1849 is in the Darwin Library–CUL (see Marginalia 1: 256–98). It is cited extensively in Origin, Variation, and Forms of flowers on the subject of hybrid sterility. For a discussion of the importance of Gärtner's work to CD's research, see Correspondence vol. 10, Appendix VI.
- ² CD included Hooker's comment in 'Climbing plants', p. 78.
- ³ See Correspondence vol. 12, letter to J. D. Hooker, 10 December [1864] and n. 6. As part of his research on climbing plants, CD had observed the development of discs at the tips of tendrils in different families, including Cucurbitaceae. He noted that these discs had a variety of adhesive properties, enabling the plants to climb in different conditions (see Correspondence vol. 12, letter to Asa Gray, 28 May [1864], letter from Asa Gray, 11 July 1864, and letter to J. D. Hooker, 4 December [1864]). From his observations of Hanburya mexicana, a species of Cucurbitaceae, CD inferred that the plant might be an incipient form, since the adhesive discs were of no apparent use (see letter to J. D. Hooker, 10 December [1864], and 'Climbing plants', p. 78). In 'Climbing plants', p. 104, CD concluded that three genera of the Cucurbitaceae presented 'a nearly perfect gradation from a common tendril to one that forms an adherent disk at its tip'. CD's notes on this subject are in DAR 157.1: 140, DAR 157.2: 52 and 65-7, and DAR 187: 2. CD recorded in his Journal for 1864 (Correspondence vol. 12, Appendix II) that he had finished the paper on climbing plants on 15 September; however, he continued his observations and made small changes to the manuscript until it was sent to the Linnean Society of London on 18 January (see letter to J. D. Hooker, 19 January [1865]). The paragraphs on adherent discs in Hanburya, and on the development of discs in Cucurbitaceae, are inserted in CD's working copy of the manuscript in DAR 18.1: 146d-e and DAR 18.2: 199 v., 199a v.
- ⁴ Hooker refers to the anniversary address written for the 30 November 1864 meeting of the Royal Society by its president, Edward Sabine. At the meeting, George Busk accepted the Copley Medal on CD's behalf. Sabine's address described the grounds on which the award had been given, and included a discussion of CD's 'Two forms in species of *Linum*' and 'Three forms of *Lythrum salicaria*' (see Sabine 1864, p. 510). Hooker had provided information on CD's botany to assist Sabine in composing this portion of the address (letter from Edward Sabine to J. D. Hooker, 14 November 1864, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, letters to J. D. Hooker, vol. 18, letter 218). Hooker had previously expressed



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dissatisfaction with Sabine's account of CD's botany after reading a shortened and edited version of the address in the 3 December 1864 issue of the *Reader*, pp. 708–9 (see *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, [6 December 1864]). Hooker probably refers to the publication of Sabine's address in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 13 (1864): 497–517. Individual numbers of the journal were issued to fellows of the Royal Society at intervals during the year. The portion of Sabine's address on the Copley award is reproduced in *Correspondence* vol. 12, Appendix IV.

Sabine had contracted influenza prior to the 30 November meeting of the Royal Society (see Correspondence vol. 12, letter from Elizabeth Juliana Sabine, 7 December [1864]). For a discussion of Sabine's presidency, see M. B. Hall 1984, pp. 104–8.

⁶ The reference is to Thomas Henry Huxley's unsigned article 'Science and "Church policy", which appeared in the 31 December 1864 issue of the *Reader*, p. 821 ([T. H. Huxley] 1864b). The attribution is based on the letter from T. H. Huxley, 15 January 1865. The article criticised 'leading statesmen' and 'ecclesiastical dignitaries' for their lack of regard for science, and addressed in particular the remarks on science made by Benjamin Disraeli in his recent speech on church policy (Disraeli 1864). For a discussion of Huxley's article, see A. Desmond 1994–7, 1: 331–2.

⁷ Hooker was preparing an account of the family Cucurbitaceae for *Genera plantarum* (see Bentham and Hooker 1862–83, 1: 816–41). See *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, [6 December 1864].

8 Hooker had expressed similar frustrations with regard to his exclusively descriptive taxonomic work for *Handbook of the New Zealand flora* (Hooker 1864–7); having accumulated a large number of facts on variable genera and species, he had intended to write a theoretical introduction to the book (see *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, [26 or 27 April 1864]).

⁹ For CD's interest in transitional forms in the family Cucurbitaceae, see n. 3, above. See also letter to J. D. Hooker, 19 January [1865]. For Hooker's description of the stamens of Cucurbitaceae, see Bentham and Hooker 1862–83, 1: 816.

- ¹⁰ In his letter to Hooker of 10 December [1864] (Correspondence vol. 12), CD reported having seen a foreign advertisement for 'Handbuch zur Physiologie' by Wilhelm Hofmeister. The advertisement has not been found; it evidently referred to Handbuch der physiologischen Botanik, a series of monographs to be published under the general editorship of Hofmeister (Hofmeister ed. 1865–77). Hofmeister wrote two monographs in the series, Die Lehre von der Pflanzenzelle (Hofmeister 1867), and Allgemeine Morphologie der Gewächse (Hofmeister 1868). CD's copy of Hofmeister 1867 is in the Darwin Library–Down.
- 11 CD had informed Hooker in his letter of 10 December [1864] (Correspondence vol. 12) that he expected to hear of a paper on dimorphic Pulmonaria by Friedrich Hildebrand. CD had corresponded with Hildebrand about dimorphism in P. officinalis in June 1864 (see Correspondence vol. 12, letter from Friedrich Hildebrand, 21 June 1864, and letter to Friedrich Hildebrand, 25 June [1864]). Hildebrand sent CD a copy of his paper 'Dimorphismus von Pulmonaria officinalis' in February 1865 (Hildebrand 1865, pp. 13–15; see letter to J. D. Hooker, 15 [February 1865]). CD's annotated copy of the paper is in the Darwin Pamphlet Collection—CUL. It is discussed in 'Illegitimate offspring of dimorphic and trimorphic plants', pp. 430–1, and Forms of flowers, pp. 101–3.
- ¹² In his letter to Hooker of 10 December [1864] (Correspondence vol. 12), CD had asked Daniel Oliver to check Botanische Zeitung for references to material on dimorphism.
- CD had asked about Hooker's proposed book on geographical distribution in his letter of 10 December [1864] (Correspondence vol. 12). Hooker and CD had a long-running interest in the geographical distribution of plants (see, for example, Hooker 1853, and Correspondence vol. 6, letter from J. D. Hooker, 9 November 1856). Hooker is cited extensively in the chapters on geographical distribution in Origin. Although he never wrote a general book, he continued to publish articles and addresses on the subject (see, for example, Hooker 1867 and Hooker 1881).
- ¹⁴ The *Reader*, a weekly review of literature, science, and art, was started in January 1863 (see Sullivan ed. 1984 and North 1997, pp. 4066–8). CD was enthusiastic about the journal (see, for example, *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter to J. D. Hooker, 26[-7] March [1864]). In 1864, editorial control passed increasingly into the hands of Huxley, Joseph Norman Lockyer, and other scientific practitioners (see Barton 1998, pp. 439–40). Near the end of 1864, the journal was purchased and reorganised by a



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consortium that included CD's friend, John Lubbock. To help support the journal, CD bought shares in the Reader Limited Company in November 1864 (CD's Account book-banking account (Down House MS); see also *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter to John Lubbock, 19 November [1864]).

 $^{\rm 15}$ See enclosure. The reference is to George Henry Kendrick Thwaites.

- ¹⁶ In the spring of 1864, CD had asked Hooker on several occasions to observe the climbing habit of the pitcher plant Nepenthes (see Correspondence vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, 9 [March] 1864, n. 22; see also letter to Daniel Oliver, [22 July 1864]). Hooker evidently passed CD's query to Thwaites; however, CD's description of two Nepenthes species in 'Climbing plants', pp. 46–7, is based largely on specimens that he obtained from the nursery firm of James Veitch (see Correspondence vol. 12, letters to J. D. Hooker, 10 June [1864] and [28 September 1864]). CD classified Nepenthes among the leaf-climbers, concluding that, at least when young, the tips of the leaves coil around a stick in order to support the pitcher with its load of secreted fluid. His notes on the genus are in DAR 157.1: 111–12 and DAR 187: 1. At some point, CD appears to have inserted the paragraph on Nepenthes into his working copy of the manuscript (see DAR 17.2: 90, 90a, and 90 v., and in 'Climbing plants', p. 46).
- Thwaites refers to the Peradeniya botanic gardens, Ceylon, of which he was director (DNB).

¹⁸ William Ferguson.

- Hooker had been working on the taxonomy of the Melastomaceae, a family of tropical and subtropical plants, for *Genera plantarum* (Bentham and Hooker 1862–83, 1: 725; the Melastomaceae correspond approximately to the modern family Melastomataceae). See *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, [26–7 April 1864].
- Thwaites probably refers to Johann Müller and to his own description of the Euphorbiaceae in Thwaites 1858–64, 4: 268. Müller visited Hooker at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, in September 1864 (see Correspondence vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, 16 September 1864).
- 21 David Edward Power was a merchant with premises at 110 Fenchurch Street, London (Post Office London directory 1865).
- ²² The reference is to John William Colenso's reception at the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Bath on the evening of 14 September 1864. See Cox 1888, 1: 257, for Colenso's account of the meeting, and Barton 1998, p. 437. See also *Correspondence* vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, [19 September 1864].
- 23 Thwaites refers to the first parts of Colenso 1862-79, a work of biblical criticism that had led to religious controversy (see Guy 1983 and Correspondence vol. 12, letter from E. A. Darwin, 1 February [1864] and nn. 3 and 5; see also Correspondence vol. 12, letter from J. D. Hooker, 16 February 1864).

²⁴ Miles Joseph Berkeley was an expert on British fungi. *Sphaeria* is a fungal parasite.

From Henrietta Anne Huxley 1 January 1865

Dear M^r. Darwin

Hal¹ has just brought me your note containing your slyly disparaging remarks on my beloved Tennyson—& quoting "as a gem"

'And he meant, he said he meant, Perhaps he meant, or partly meant you well.'2

In the first place it was very mean of you to give the lines without the context shockingly $Owenlike^{3}\,$



6 January 1865

Secondly. The lines only convince me more than ever that Tennyson is quite master of his situation. Could you better render In words, the desire in the wife's mind to do justice, to—her enemy I suppose for I have not read "Sea Dreams", together with the conflicting feeling which yet possessed her of his insincerity? I am very pleased that Tennyson accredits the feminine mind with such a strong sense of justice.

I now refer to the book— I am grieved to find that a philosopher of your repute—should have damaged your reputation for accuracy so greatly as to tell me that the quotation was from "Enoch Arden" whereas it was from "Sea Dreams"— If the "facts?!" in the Origin of Species are of this sort—I agree with the Bishop of Oxford—⁴

Yours too sincerely | Henrietta Huxley love to your dear wife & ask her for a screed.

New Year's Day | 1865.

DAR 166: 284

¹ Thomas Henry Huxley

² In the letter to T. H. Huxley, 5 November [1864] (Correspondence vol. 12), CD had quoted this passage from 'Sea Dreams', by Alfred Tennyson. CD had remarked, 'Such a gem as this is enough to make me young again & like poetry with pristine fervour'. The poem appeared in the volume Enoch Arden, etc (Tennyson 1864), p. 105.

³ CD had protested to Huxley and others about the 'false & malignant' review of *Origin* by Richard Owen ([Owen] 1860): 'I never saw such an amount of misrepresentation' (see *Correspondence* vol. 8, letter to T. H. Huxley, 9 April [1860]; see also letter to Charles Lyell, 10 April [1860]).

⁴ The reference is to Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford, who had criticised *Origin* in his article in the *Quarterly Review* ([Wilberforce] 1860). See also *Correspondence* vol. 8, Appendix VI.

From Thomas Henry Huxley 1 January 1865

Jany 1. 1865

My dear Darwin

I cant do better than write my first letter of the year to you—if it is only to wish you and yours, your fair share (& more than your fair share if need be) of good for the New year— The immediate cause of my writing however, was turning out my pocket & finding therein an unanswered letter of yours containing a scrap on which is a request for a photograph¹—which I am afraid I overlooked— At least, I hope I did and then my manners wont be so bad— I inclose the latest version of myself (N.B. another will be shortly published by my wife but the likeness is not warranted to be so accurate)²

I wish I could follow out your suggestion about a book on Zoology³ (By the way please to tell Miss Emma that my last *is* a book.⁴ Marry come up! Does her ladyship call it a pamphlet?)



January 1865

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But I assure you that writing is a perfect pest to me unless I am interested—and not only a bore but a very slow process— I have some popular lectures on Physiology which have been half done for more than a twelvemonth & I hate the sight of them because the subject no longer interests me & my head is full of other matters⁵

So I have just done giving a set of Lectures to working men on the various Races of Mankind which really would make a book in Miss Emma's sense of the word & which I have had reported—But when am I to work them up?⁶ Twenty four Hunterian Lectures loom between me & Easter—⁷ I am dying to get out the second volume of the book that is not a book but in vain.⁸

I trust you are better though the last news I had of you from Lubbock was not so encouraging as I could have wished—9

With best wishes & remembrances to Mrs Darwin

Ever yours | T H Huxley

Thanks for 'für Darwin'—10 I had it—

DAR 166: 304

¹ See Correspondence vol. 12, letter to T. H. Huxley, 5 November [1864].

 $^{2}\,$ The photographs have not been found.

- ³ In his letter to Huxley of 5 November [1864] (*Correspondence* vol. 12), CD encouraged him to write a 'Popular' treatise on zoology.
- ⁴ In his letter to Huxley of 5 November [1864] (Correspondence vol. 12), CD included some remarks by Emma Darwin on Huxley's recently published Lectures on the elements of comparative anatomy (T. H. Huxley 1864a): 'I don't call that a Book . . . I want something that people can read . . .'
- ⁵ Huxley had given a Friday evening course on physiology at the School of Mines in 1863 (see L. Huxley ed. 1900, 1: 246, and Correspondence vol. 11, letter from T. H. Huxley, 2 July 1863). These lectures were eventually published as Lessons in elementary physiology (T. H. Huxley 1866).
- ⁶ Huxley's lectures 'On the various races of mankind' were delivered at the end of 1864 as part of a regular series of evening courses for 'working men' at the School of Mines (see L. Huxley ed. 1900, 1: 249, and Bibby 1959, pp. 97–100). The lectures were not published. No report of the lectures has been found. Huxley had also discussed human races in two lectures of his Hunterian course, 'On the structure and classification of the Mammalia', delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons at the beginning of 1864. Abstracts of these lectures appeared in the Medical Times and Gazette, 26 March 1864, pp. 343–4, and 2 April 1864, pp. 369–70. The lectures were also reported in the Reader, 27 February 1864, pp. 266–7. Huxley's work on human races is discussed in Di Gregorio 1984, pp. 160–84.
- Huxley was required to deliver an annual course of twenty-four lectures as Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons (see L. Huxley ed. 1900, 1: 234-6).
- 8 T. H. Huxley 1864a. A second volume was not published.
- ⁹ CD had reported on his poor health in his last two letters to John Lubbock (see *Correspondence* vol. 12, letters to John Lubbock, 19 November [1864] and 21 December [1864]). Although CD's health had improved for some of 1864, he still suffered intermittently from sickness and weakness (see *Correspondence* vol. 12).
- The reference is to Für Darwin (Müller 1864), a developmental history of the Crustacea, presented as a validation of CD's theory of transmutation. CD had received the book from Fritz Müller in 1864 (see Correspondence vol. 12, letter to Ernst Haeckel, 21 November [1864]). A lightly annotated copy is in the Darwin Library—CUL (see Marginalia 1: 609). CD later helped to finance an English translation, which was published in 1869 (see letter to Fritz Müller, 16 March [1868] (Calendar no. 6014), and Möller ed. 1915—21).



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From Henry Holland 2 January 1865

Brook Street.
Jan^y. 2^d. | 1865

My dear Charles,

First, let this note convey to yourself, & to all your family, my earnest good wishes for the year just begun, & for all & many years succeeding it. Receive these wishes as equally cordial & sincere; but do not occupy your time in answering them. I shall understand the reciprocity of kind feeling, without troubling you to write it.

January 1865

Next, let me thank you for the paper on the 3 forms of the Lythrum Salicaria & their sexual relations²—a most curious research; & showing further (if further proof were needful) that it is to the *primal mystery of Generation* that we must look for explanation of the phenomena of Life, & the succession of Life on the Earth.— It is hard to say how far we can ever get into this mystery; but your researches run in the right road.—³

I despair of being ever told, in the shape of a physical law, why the nose of the Grandson is a copy of the Grandfathers, with another configuration of nose between.

You have probably seen Cobbold's curious statement (in his book on Entozoa) of the 4 successive stages of development, & successive habitats, of the tape-worm species⁴

The allusion to these things carries me back in memory, to your capital monograph on the Cirripeds, & their parasitic & bi-sexual peculiarities.⁵

I write hastily, but ever, my dear Charles, your's affy | H Holland

P.S. I gladly see that you are inducting your Son into your researches⁶

The D. of Argyll sent me a few days ago his Address as President of the R Society of Edinburgh—chiefly occupied with the question of Origin of Species⁷

DAR 166: 245

¹ Holland occasionally served as a physician to CD, and had been consulted on the illnesses of CD's children, Henrietta and Horace (see, for example, *Correspondence* vol. 8, letter to J. D. Hooker, 5 June [1860], and *Correspondence* vol. 10, letter from Henry Holland, 26 March [1862]).

² 'Three forms of *Lythrum salicaria*'. Holland's name appears on CD's presentation list for the paper (see *Correspondence* vol. 12, Appendix III).

³ Holland had reviewed scientific works for the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* for many years. He revised his 1859 article 'Life and organisation' to include a commentary on *Origin* (see Holland 1859 and Holland 1862, pp. 98–9). CD was highly critical of Holland's reviews (see, for example, *Correspondence* vol. 4, letter to J. D. Hooker, [18 April 1847], and *Correspondence* vol. 11, letter to J. D. Hooker, 23 [June 1863]). In the letter to Charles Lyell, 25 October [1859] (*Correspondence* vol. 7), CD expressed his hope that Holland would not be chosen to review *Origin* for the *Quarterly Review*, although he later noted that Holland went an 'immense way' with CD and his supporters (*Correspondence* vol. 7, letter to Charles Lyell, [10 December 1859]). For Holland's views on *Origin*, see also *Correspondence* vol. 7, letter from Henry Holland, 10 December [1859].

⁴ Holland refers to the discussion of the development of the common tapeworm (*Taenia solium*) by Thomas Spencer Cobbold in his monograph on internal parasites (Cobbold 1864, pp. 220–2). Cobbold



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described the life-cycle of the tapeworm as it migrated from its parent colony in the bowel of the host, through drains and ditches, until it was ingested first by pigs, and then, in the form of 'measly pork', by humans. A review of Cobbold 1864 had appeared in the 26 November 1864 issue of the *Reader*, pp. 668–70; CD was a regular subscriber to the journal (see letter from J. D. Hooker, 1 January 1864 and n. 14).

- ⁵ The reference is to CD's work on 'complemental males' in barnacles. In several species of Cirripedia, CD had observed minute males attached to the bodies of hermaphrodites, and differing greatly from them in size and structure (see *Living Cirripedia* (1851), pp. 23–30, and Newman 1993, pp. 377–81). In his letter to J. D. Hooker, 10 May 1848 (*Correspondence* vol. 4), CD remarked that the discovery was suggestive of the development of separate sexes, and thus of significance for his theory of species (see also *Correspondence* vol. 4, Appendix II, pp. 399–400). CD later suggested that complemental males may have developed in Cirripedes to enable intercrossing between two hermaphrodites (see 'On the males and complemental males of certain cirripedes, and on rudimentary structures', *Nature* 8 (1873): 431–2; *Collected papers* 2: 177–82).
- ⁶ In 'Three forms of *Lythrum salicaria*', pp. 172, 174, CD referred to observations and camera-lucida drawings made by his son William (see *Collected papers* 2: 108–9, 110; for William's work with *Lythrum*, see *Correspondence* vols. 10 and 11). William also made extensive observations for CD on dimorphism in *Pulmonaria* and other genera in 1862, 1863, and 1864 (see *Correspondence* vols. 10–12).
- ⁷ The reference is to the opening address delivered to the Royal Society of Edinburgh by its president, George Douglas Campbell, eighth duke of Argyll (G. D. Campbell 1864). See letter from Charles Lyell, 16 January 1865.

From Hugh Falconer to Erasmus Alvey Darwin 3 January 1865

21 Park Crescent N.W. 3^d. Jan^y 1865

My Dear M^r. Darwin

D^r. Sharpey called today and brought the letter about which I spoke to you.¹ I send it enclosed—and should like your Brother to see it—as he has seen the other notes—and may think from Sabines citation of my words in one of them, that I was hard upon the "Origin".²

You will see—taking the whole passage—that I stuck up staunchly for the "Book"—and urged it as an additional claim³—and I should be sorry that Charles Darwin should think otherwise.

Ask him to return the note—as it belongs to D^r. Sharpey—being the original, and I shall have to send it back to him.

Yours very Sinly | H. Falconer

P.S. on second thoughts—you need not trouble your Brother—with the note.⁴ It will be sufficient for me that you have seen what I have said.

ΗF

DAR 164: 23

¹ See Correspondence vol. 12, letter from Hugh Falconer to William Sharpey, 25 October 1864. In his letter to Sharpey, Falconer gave the grounds on which he supported CD for the Royal Society's Copley Medal. Falconer had seconded George Busk's nomination of CD for the medal at the meeting of the Royal Society Council on 23 June 1864; however, he was unable to attend the meeting at which the



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discussion of the award of the medals was to begin. The Council voted to award CD the medal on 3 November 1864 (Royal Society, Council minutes).

- ² The president of the Royal Society, Edward Sabine, had written an address for the 30 November 1864 meeting of the Society, based in part on information he received from Falconer (letter from Edward Sabine to William Sharpey, 29 December 1864, Royal Society, Misc. Mss. 19, no. 41). The address contained the remark that *Origin* had not been included among the grounds of the Copley award. A controversy arose over whether Sabine's address had misrepresented the views of the Council (see *Correspondence* vol. 12, Appendix IV). Hooker had written to CD in his letter of 2 December 1864 (*Correspondence* vol. 12) about the 'small breeze' at the anniversary meeting, noting that Falconer was 'grievously put out' and had written a letter to Sabine on the subject. The 'other notes' to which Falconer refers have not been identified; no letter in which Falconer's words are cited by Sabine has been found.
- ³ In the letter to William Sharpey, 25 October 1864 (Correspondence vol. 12), Falconer urged the Council of the Royal Society to consider Origin as 'a strong additional claim on behalf of Mr. Darwin for the Copley Medal'. In his letter of 3 November 186[4] (Correspondence vol. 12), Falconer wrote: 'Your friends—including myself did not fail to stand up for "the Origin of Specs"—as establishing a strong claim'
- ⁴ Despite Falconer's concerns, reiterated in his letter to E. A. Darwin of 5 January [1865], the enclosed letter was forwarded to CD (see letter to Hugh Falconer, 6 January [1865]).

From Ludwig Rütimeyer 3 January 1865

Dear & much respected Sir

Adding to the answer of your letter from Dec. 13¹ my best thanks for the highly interesting memoir, in the meantime arrived, on Lythrum,² I must begin with lamenting that I have not been able till today to promote very much the proposed monograph about wild oxen,³ to which you have so largely contributed by sending me one of the most interesting types.⁴ Yes the Plates destined to that memoir are all finished since long and also a great deal of Wood-engravings and the text for the european Species. But having perhaps inconsiderately extended my purpose over the Linnean Genus Bos in general, I have much been arrested by the necessity of seeking the materials for foreign species in the different museums of the continent, and also by the unevitable consequence to compare the fossil species. Nevertheless I am as much at the work as the many incumbent other obligations permit,⁵ so that I hope, that before the end of the year we just began, the labour will be done.

As to the skull from Lord Tankerville, I received from you, it is indubitable, that it is the *purest descendant* known of the fossil Bos primigenius, be it a remnant of the extinct wild race, as I presume, or a flock grown wild (Verwildert) of a formerly tamed breed;⁶ certainly the flock of Lord Tankerville, the very allied *Pembroke*-breed and the predominant type in our lake-habitations of the stone age do not differ otherwise from the extinct primigenius than by Minor Size; yet the eminent size of the archetype has not seldom been reached by single Individuals in Seedorf, Robenhausen and other Swiss lake localities.⁷

I do not know the white cattle of the King of Sardinia otherwise than by the drawings given by different illustrated papers f. e. in the Field (the Country

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