

## LAMBETH GARDENERS

By Jennifer Potter

**B**uried though not born in the capital, the John Tradescants (father and son) must count among London's most famous gardeners. While much of their story is familiar to garden historians, a new biography to be published next year sets out to re-examine the contribution they have made to British gardens and British cultural life, and makes some unexpected conclusions.<sup>1</sup> In particular, it finds that the reputations of the two John Tradescants have blended into one, as if the son were simply his father's clone when the truth is necessarily more complex and more interesting. So what were they like, as gardeners, and how did their tastes and skills compare?

One way to answer this is to examine their garden at South Lambeth, begun by John Tradescant the elder who moved here in late 1628 or 1629, leasing one half of a property that had previously belonged to the Dutch ambassador, Sir Noel Carol.<sup>2</sup> South Lambeth was then an area of fields and open country, where barber-surgeon John Gerard had rambled in search of herbs and simples, spotting a kind of rocket close to where Tradescant would settle, 'as yee go from Lambithe bridge to the village of Lambithe, under a small bridge that you must passe over hard by the Thames side'.<sup>3</sup> It also supported a burgeoning community of market gardeners, including many Dutch gardeners who had moved there around 1600 when the '*Art of Gardening*' had begun to creep 'into Sandwich and Surrey, Fulham, and other places'.<sup>4</sup>

Lambeth was a good choice in other ways, too: close to the river and the horseferry which brought the fashionable world to his door, yet beyond the worst of London's sea-coal smogs that would blight a garden's

growth. Only with the opening in 1750 of a second bridge across the Thames at Westminster would the area lose its rural aspect, captured by Jean Rocque in his map of the environs of London (surveyed 1741-45) on which the Tradescants' old property still marked the boundary between cultivated garden land and fields.<sup>5</sup> (fig. 64)

Tradescant worked hard and quickly to get his garden established, jotting down new plantings in the back pages of his own copy of friend John Parkinson's great book on plants for the garden of delight: ranunculus, anemones, tulips, iris and other showy flowers from his Parisian contacts, the Robins and the Morins; the oriental plane tree and the smoke bush from merchant Humphrey Slaney; more tulips, anemones, ranunculus and flowering bulbs from the British ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Peter Wyche. 1632 was especially busy, when he recorded 87 different plants, including 16 tulips from Brussels and exotica such as 'Caradache Americana' (identified by Dr John Harvey as the New World bromeliad, *Bromelia karatas*) and a clump of giant reed, *Arundo donax* from southern Europe.<sup>6</sup>

That same year he clearly felt his garden was sufficiently advanced to receive a visit from apothecary Thomas Johnson, then embarked on the massive task of revising John Gerard's *Herbal*. Many new plants had entered the country in the intervening three and a half decades and Gerard's original (charming as it was) contained many errors and passages lifted uncritically from earlier authors, like many books of the time. The plants noted by Johnson (who came to Lambeth in July 1632) tended towards the rare, the unusual, the quirky, or the downright new, like the sad

1. Jennifer Potter's new biography will be published in October 2006 by Atlantic Books.

2. For a full history of the property, see David Sturdy, 'The Tradescants at Lambeth', *Journal of Garden History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-16.

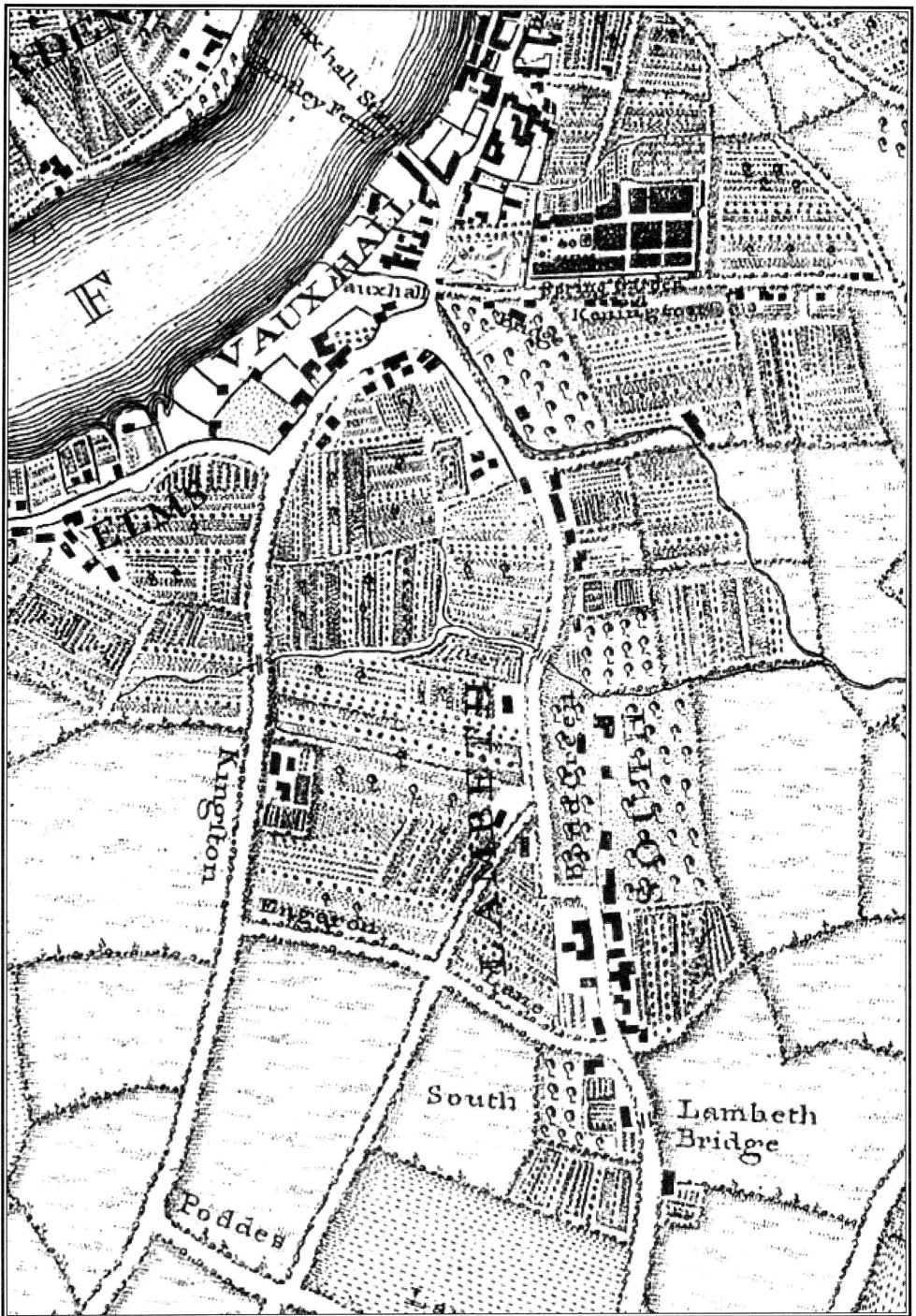
3. John Gerard, *The herball or Generall historie of plantes* (London, 1597), p. 192.

4. Samuel Hartlib (ed), *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie: or an Enlargement of the discourse of husbandry used in Brabant and Flaunders* (London, 1651), p. 11.

5. Jean Rocque, *An Exact Survey of the City's of London Westminster ye Borough of Southwark and the Country near ten miles round begun in 1741 & ended in 1745 by John Rocque Land Surveyor and engrav'd by Richard Parr* (London, 1751-54), Sheet 7. For the development of the parish of St Mary Lambeth see *Survey of London*, Vols. 23 (London, 1951) and 26 (London, 1956).

6. John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris* (London, 1629), Bodleian Library ANTIQ. c. E.1629/1. For plant identifications, see Prudence Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants, Gardeners to the Rose and Lily Queen* (London: Peter Owen, 1984). In the appendices (pp. 197-202) she reproduces the Tradescant plant lists together with modern plant names where known, many supplied by the late Dr John Harvey working largely from the illustrations in Thomas Johnson's revised edition of John Gerard's *Herbal* and from Parkinson's *Paradisus*. A revised edition of Prudence Leith-Ross's biography is currently in preparation.

7. John Gerard, *The herball or Generall historie of plantes* (London, 1633). For references to some of Tradescant's plants, see pp. 948, 848, 135, 443, 998, 1427 and 1443. René Morin had sent him the sad geranium the previous year.



64. *An Exact Survey of the City of London Westminster ye Borough of Southwark and the Country near ten miles round begun in 1741 & ended in 1745 by John Rocque Land Surveyor and engrav'd by Richard Farr (1751-54)*  
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)



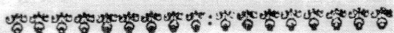
*Anagr:*

JOANNES TRADESCANTUS.

Arte notus, annis cedas.  
Natura, instans es: cedo.

Natura.—Senex.  
DIALOGUS.

Nat. *UT*rique NOTUS ARTE jam satis polo;  
    *Ut*rinque deliciis satur;  
    *Favore* maximi beatus Principis;  
    *Amore* cultus omnium:  
    *Quid* queris ultra, terra quod donet, Senex.  
    *Famam* quod ornent insuper?  
CEDAS, molestis ne fient, ANNIS libens;  
    *Linguae*q, *linguentem* domum.  
Sen. NATURA, ES INSTANS: CEDO. Nec ver-  
    *Stator* supremi Numinis; (si possest  
    *Sed* nec timere debet, *immemis* beatus  
    *Brevem* dolorem gaudis.



A 3



To John Tradescant the young-  
ger, surviving.

*Anagr:*  
JOHN TRADESCANT.  
*Cannot hide Arts.*

Heire of thy Fathers goods, and his good parts,  
Which both preservest, & augment 't his store,  
Tracing th' ingenuous steps he trod before:  
Proceed as thou begin'st, and win those hearts,  
With gentle cur'tsie, which admir'd his Arts.  
Whilst thou conceal'st thine own, & do'st deplore  
Thy want, compar'd with his, thou shew'st them  
Modesty clouds not worth; but hate diverts, (more.  
And shames base envy, ARTS he CANNOT  
(HIDE  
That has them. Light through every chink is  
spy'd.

*Ngas* has ego, *pessimus* Poëta,  
*Plantarum* tamen, *optimique* amici  
*Nusquam* *pessimus* *assimato*, egi.

GUALTERUS STONEHOUSUS  
*Theologus servum natum.*

65. John Tradescant the Elder by Wenceslaus Hollar, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 1656  
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

66. John Tradescant the Younger by Wenceslaus Hollar, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 1656  
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

geranium (*Pelargonium triste*), 'of late brought into this kingdome, and to our knowledge, by the industry of Mr. *Iohn Tradescant*'.<sup>7</sup> Although Johnson forgot to take a sketch of this rarity he remembered enough to describe its yellowish petals each painted with a large purple-black spot 'which gives the floure a great deale of beauty, and it also hath a good smell'.

Tradescant compiled his own plant list in 1634. Only one copy is known to have survived, among botanist John Goodyer's papers at Magdalen College, Oxford in a small leather-bound volume containing several other short works including Hugh Platt's *Floraes Paradise* of 1608 and Thomas Johnson's botanising journeys into Kent and Hampstead Heath of 1632. The title page gets Tradescant's name wrong (calling him 'Iohannem Tradescanti' instead of 'Iohannis') suggesting this copy was a printer's proof, although the fault could equally lie with Tradescant himself.<sup>8</sup>

From the list we know that Tradescant planted his garden with some 770 separate varieties (both genus and species). Like his French contacts, he was particularly strong on flowering bulbs and herbaceous plants: anemones, auriculas, narcissi, tulips, crocus and colchicums, hyacinth, iris, and lilies. In season, his garden would have been a riot of colour and smells despite its regimented appearance. He could also offer visitors 27 different varieties of rose, including two new introductions to England: *Rosa virginiana* and the Muscovy rose he named 'Rosa Muscovitica' which he had doubtless brought back from Archangel, and a fine collection of sun roses (*Cistus*), including several not seen before in England. Many more fruits grew in his orchard: nearly 170 different varieties, among them many apples, pears, plums, cherries, apricots, nectarines, peaches and vines. Visiting the garden in 1634 (the same year as the plant list), East India Company employee Peter Mundy was particularly struck by its exoticism - its 'divers outlandish herbes and flowers, whereof some that I had nott seene elsewhere but in India'.<sup>9</sup>

This was the garden the younger John Tradescant inherited when he came back from Virginia in 1638 around the time of his father's death, bearing at least 200 new plants new to this country.<sup>10</sup> Parkinson just had time to include 11 new varieties in the herbal he published in 1640.<sup>11</sup> Most are plants that thrive in damp woods, woodland fringes and alongside streams in north-east America. All can be found in the areas immediately north of Jamestown (now James City County) and south across the James River (now Surry County). They included the swamp cypress (*Taxodium distichum*), American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), Carolina Jessamine (*Gelsemium sempervirens*), the Virginian bladder-nut (*Staphylea trifolia*), a strange maiden-hair (*Adiantum pedatum*), and the carnivorous pitcher plant (*Sarracenia purpurea*). Although Parkinson was happy to applaud Tradescant's introductions, he doubted some of his botanical labels and only reluctantly classed the Carolina Jessamine among the jasmines as Tradescant proposed, wanting further examination 'before I would certainly give my consent'. Two more trees were later credited to Tradescant by other authors: the red maple (*Acer rubrum*), according to the Chelsea Physic Garden's Philip Miller;<sup>12</sup> and the tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), recorded by John Evelyn in *Sylva*.<sup>13</sup>

Keeping a watchful (and also sometimes reproving) eye on the younger Tradescant's progress was his father's old friend, John Morris, Keeper of the Watermills, who had inherited his lucrative business supplying water to much of London from his Dutch-born father.<sup>14</sup> From the late 1630s and throughout the turbulent civil war years, Morris wrote to his friend Johannes de Laet in Leiden, exchanging thoughts on plants, books, people, ailments, weather and portents, and the dete-

10. A.F. Bekkers, *Correspondence of John Morris with Johannes de Laet (1634-1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1970), pp. 2-3.

11. John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (London, 1640). See pp. 1050, 1206, 1235, 1368, 1417, 1427, 1465, and 1477. For help in tracking down where Tradescant might have hunted for plants in Virginia I am indebted to ethnohistorian Helen C. Rountree.

12. Philip Miller, *The Gardeners Dictionary* (London, 1731) alphabetical listing under 'Acer'.

13. John Evelyn, *Sylva, or a discourse of Forest Trees* (London, 1679), 2nd edition, p. 79.

14. Short biographies of John Morris and his friend Johannes de Laet appear in J.A.F. Bekkers, *op. cit.*, pp. xii - xxvii. For letters mentioned in this paragraph, see pp. 3, 10, 18, 20-21. I am indebted to J.B. Jonas for translating the Latin originals, and for help from David Storey.

8. *Plantarum In Horto Iohannem Tradescanti nascentium Catalogus* (London, 1634). See also R.T. Gunther, *Early British Botanists and their Gardens* (Oxford, 1922) pp. 333-345.

9. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, Vol 3, Travels in England, Western India, Achin, Macao, and the Canton River, Part I* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1919) Second series no 45, pp. 1-3.



riorating political situation. From Morris we learn that Tradescant shut himself away at Oatlands Palace immediately on his return from Virginia, canvassing for his father's old job as Keeper of the royal gardens, vines and silkworms. Morris had to pester him for a promised catalogue of Virginian plants, produced eventually in the summer of 1639 with help from John Parkinson and Morris himself. Morris considered Tradescant the son to be 'unschooled and obviously unpolished' but 'nonetheless extremely skilled in gardening matters'. His opinion of Tradescant's competence was hardly improved by an unfortunate mix-up over some distinctly coloured anemones which Morris had asked to be put aside for him but Tradescant had somehow allowed their marker sticks to be disturbed by careless workmen or weeder-girls. The incident does at least indicate that Tradescant was operating a nursery business as well as a show garden and probably selling more widely than his father. (Thomas Johnson recommended John Millen of Old Street as a supplier of fruit trees, for instance, and makes no mention of Tradescant.<sup>15</sup> Morris wrote to de Laet about a single plant he had received from the father, as opposed to the bulk supplies sought from the son.)

From Morris' letters it is clear that Tradescant kept his head down for much of the civil war, unlike his father who had followed his employer Buckingham to war against the French on the Ile de Ré, digging trenches and earning respect as one of the campaign's best engineers.<sup>16</sup> (As the new biography will show, the son almost certainly never made the two further journeys to Virginia claimed for him in the 1640s and 1650s.) By April 1642, as England descended into chaos, Morris had begun to despair. 'Hope of Tradescant is in vain,' he wrote to de Laet, 'he is altogether not taking after his father, nor does he have in him one single vein of his father's testicle etc.' He even deserted gardening for a time, turning himself into a Canary merchant.<sup>17</sup>

But whatever Morris thought of the

younger Tradescant's character and organisational skills, he rarely doubted his ability as a gardener. Tradescant amply demonstrated his credentials by the plant list he appended to the museum catalogue begun in 1652 (with help from Elias Ashmole and Dr Thomas Wharton) although not published until 1656.<sup>18</sup> The catalogue illustrates his success in adapting his father's garden of rarities to the new political climate of Commonwealth England, and shows off the range of his abilities. Although direct comparisons are hampered by double-entries and shifting, pre-Linnean plant names, his plant list represents an extraordinary expansion of his father's 1634 list. According to one count, the number of different varieties had more than doubled, from the elder Tradescant's 768 to a massive 1,701 plants under his son.<sup>19</sup> Of even more interest is how the garden had changed in the intervening 20 years.

Overall, in his choice of plants for the Lambeth garden, Tradescant was switching from beauty to utility, opting for plants that could be used by physicians and apothecaries rather than simply admired by other 'curious' gardeners. Yes, he was still growing all his father's favourite flowers and for whole groups he simply copied out his father's lists with one or two additions, most obviously with anemones, auriculas, *Cistus*, crocuses, irises, and daffodils. He also had all his father's 27 old roses (among them the *Moscovie Rose* and *Rosa virginiana*) plus a few additions including two very simple forms, the single musk rose (*Rosa moschata*) and the single dog rose (*R. canina*). Sadly we can't tell what happened to the Tradescants' tulips, as both father and son had too many to list separately and anyway, the best kept mutating. In general, however, Tradescant had simply maintained his father's stocks of decorative flowers without attempting to keep pace with the many new varieties appearing in the gardens of the curious, or breeding new varieties himself.

He was nonetheless continuing to introduce new ornamental plants on a fairly small scale. More than twenty plants were labelled 'Morini', indicating that they came from the

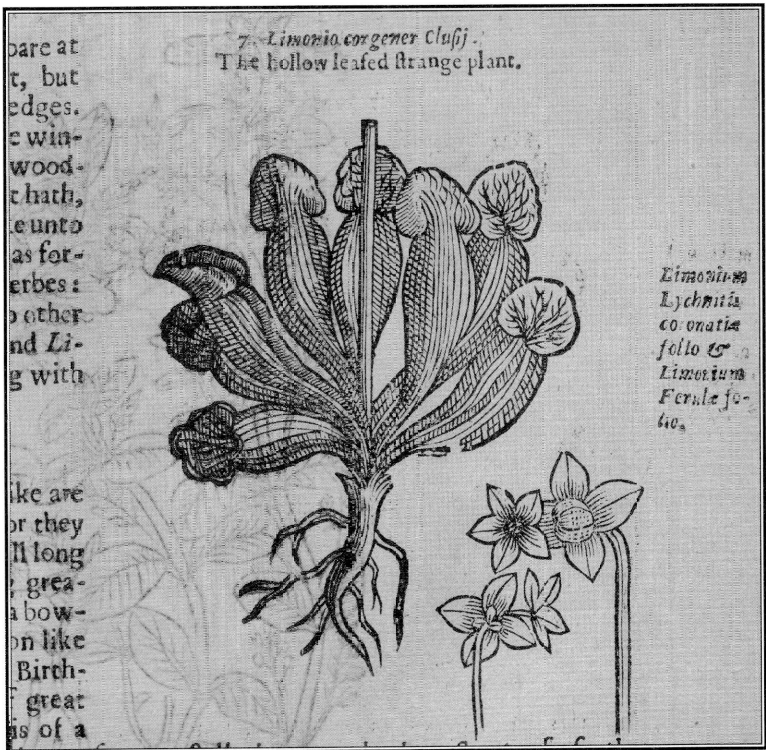
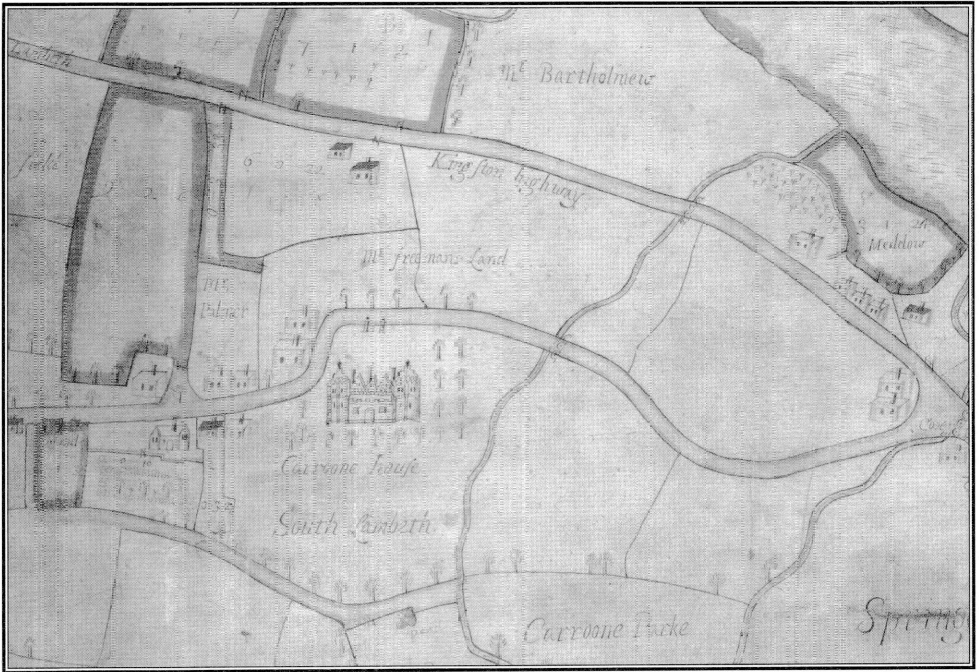
15. John Gerard, *The herball or Generall historie of Plantes*. Enlarged and amended by Thos Johnson (London, 1633), p. 1506.

16. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, Charles I, 1627-1628 (London, 1858), p. 390.

17. J.A.F. Bekkers, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 117, letters of 18 April 1642 and 11 June 1646.

18. John Tradescant, *Museum Tradescantianum* (London, 1656).

19. P. J. Jarvis, 'The introduced trees and shrubs cultivated by the Tradescants at South Lambeth, 1629-1679', *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1979) pp. 223-264.



67. Detail of Thomas Hill's map of 'Faux Hall Manour' (1681).  
The Tradescants' nursery is located to the left of 'Corroone house'  
(COURTESY LEAN & CHAPTER, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL)

58. 'Hollow Strange-leaved Plant' from John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, 1640  
(COURTESY ROYAL HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY, LINDLEY LIBRARY)

Morins (probably Pierre) in Paris. From the Morins, too, came peppers and beefsteak tomatoes (he called them 'love apples', *Pomum amoris fructu*, *Phoeniceo rubro*, *Morini*) and two real exotics that would have tested all his skills as a gardener: the Turk's cap cactus from the West Indies (*Melocactus intortus*), of a beauty verging on the grotesque; and the prickly custard apple from Barbados.

Tradescant's real innovation lay not in exotics, however, but in the many herbs, simples and native plants he introduced to Lambeth. Take what happened to his collection plants grouped as 'Ranunculus'. He still had his father's great showy Persian buttercups but had just about doubled the varieties stocked by introducing their humbler cousins (not all of them classed with the buttercups today) right down to creeping buttercup, the bane of any temperate gardener trying to work a damp, heavy soil.<sup>20</sup> This new emphasis on herbs and simples supports a possible link between the garden and the medical profession. In 1649 Hatton Garden physician, Dr George Bate offered to give £400 to endow a botanical garden, 'which they designe to bee Iohn Tradescen, or the Ld. Arundel house over the waters'.<sup>21</sup> Whether any money was actually paid to Tradescant isn't known. Although he dedicated his museum catalogue to the College of Physicians (with which Bate was closely associated), the College itself could afford neither to stock a garden nor pay gardeners' wages, making an institutional link highly unlikely.<sup>22</sup> Nor do any of Tradescant's contemporaries refer to Lambeth as a physic garden.

But however Tradescant funded his garden at Lambeth, weeds and 'worts' were its new watchwords. A close comparison between the catalogues of 1634 and 1656 reveals whole new classes of herbs and simples ignored by the elder Tradescant – more than a hundred in all, plants like mugwort, stinking black Horehound, burdock, cannabis, poison hemlock, meadow thistle, dog's mercury, cancerwort, eyebright, butcher's broom, patience dock (he called it '*Monks Rubarbe*'), hedge mustard, common nipplewort, perennial rye-

grass, creeping Jenny, Jack-go-to-bed-at-noon, feverfew, Venus' comb or shepherd's needle (both names current, then as now), little hogweed, groundsel, ragwort and deadly carrot.

It was a fine list, organised by Latin names and giving common ones wherever possible, many still much the same today. Either Tradescant had become a real expert at naming his weeds and wildflowers or he received help, most probably from his cataloguer Elias Ashmole whose ability to soak up facts and arrange them into classification systems was becoming legendary. Ashmole had also taken up simpling, and would later count Jacob Bobart the elder of the Oxford Physic Garden among his friends.<sup>23</sup> In the same year that Tradescant brought out his catalogue, 'herbarist' William Coles published an introduction to simpling or the art of gathering plants dedicated to Ashmole ('the most Exquisite Lover of Plants') even though the two had not yet met.<sup>24</sup> He went on to praise Ashmole's famous support for all those dedicated to advancing learning of any kind, and flattered him for his addiction to the 'exquisite formes, and wonderfull varieties of those vegetable Creatures'. The following year, Coles brought out a much larger herbal which also gave a passing nod to Tradescant's gardening skills, noting that two rare forms of 'the Savine-Tree or Bush' (the juniper, *Juniperus sabina*) were to be found 'in some of our more curious Gardens, as in that of *John Tradescants Garden at Lambeth*'.<sup>25</sup>

As well as herbs and weeds, Tradescant planted many more food crops than his father had done and found room for the new exotic crops like rhubarb and tobacco, adding an occasional new variety to his father's range of soft fruits. In other areas, too, the younger Tradescant was developing the garden, planting mosses and ferns for the first time (the fern varieties identified include the royal fern, male fern, maidenhair, adder's tongue, hart's tongue, rustyback, hard or deer fern, and bracken). He was also extending the range of trees. The elder Tradescant had grown relatively few (apart from fruits in his orchard),

20. Tradescant's variety did at least have a double flower, *Ranunculus repens* 'Flore Pleno'.

21. *Ephemerides* 1649 Part 3 (July/August – Dec) 28/1/32A.

22. See Sir George Clark, *A history of the Royal college of Physicians of London* Vol 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Royal College of Physicians, 1964) p. 256, and BL Ms Sloane 55 f.4

23. See C.H. Josten, *Elias Ashmole, 1617-1692* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), Vol. 1, pp. 57, 60 and 167-8.

24. William Coles, *The art of simpling, an introduction to the Knowledge and Gathering of Plants* (London, 1656), letter of dedication dated 22 February 1655/6, Putney.

25. William Coles, *Adam in Eden: or, Natures Paradise* (London, 1657) p. 592.

concentrating on rarer or more ornamental species like the Italian cypress, the false acacia (eventually named *Robinia pseudoacacia* after the Robins in Paris) and a probable new introduction, the 'Turpentine tree' (*Pistacia terebinthus*, still rare enough for Hartlib to remark on one seen at 'Mr Cupid the Earl of Arundels Gardiner' in his Southwark garden).<sup>26</sup> His son planted many more, not just his new Virginian introductions and new ornamental shrubs from Europe but the common trees of the English landscape – beech, birch, hornbeam, common oak, limes, blackthorn, white and black poplars, mountain ash and the wild service tree. And he was still growing his father's sun-seeking bulbs and flowers, including his favourite pinks and gillyflowers, geraniums, peonies, hyacinths, wallflowers, lilies, daylilies and sweet Williams.

Altogether, the younger Tradescant's plant catalogue represented an extraordinary range of plants. Bobart at the Oxford Physic Garden could match him for simples, perhaps, but his garden lacked many of the tender exotics and star performers collected by both Tradescants over many years.<sup>27</sup> Only his father's orchard fruits were missing, presumably because he was running the orchard as a nursery business and therefore planting stock in considerable quantities rather than single specimens.

Yet when John Evelyn visited Tradescant's museum in September 1657, he noted only 'the chieftest rarities' in his museum, ignoring Tradescant the man and his Lambeth garden. His silence tantalises. Was it because Tradescant's manners were too rough and boorish, his conversation too unlettered? Did Evelyn's own preferences for rare plants and continental garden design get in the way? Was the garden impressive only on paper? Or was it just a case of faulty memory, as Evelyn wrote up or altered his diary entry several years after the event?<sup>28</sup> These are questions the new biography will attempt to answer: even silences must be interrogated.

## ANOTHER GLIMPSE of BROOKES'S VIVARIUM

By Tim Knox

Veteran readers of *The London Gardener* may recall in volume III (1997–98) my article entitled 'Joshua Brookes's Vivarium: an Anatomist's Garden in Blenheim Street, w1'. Here I presented the story of the remarkable menagerie-garden of the anatomist Joshua Brookes (1761–1833), who ran a private anatomical academy for medical students in Blenheim Street, off Oxford Street, from 1786 to 1830. My article was illustrated with a reproduction of an original watercolour by George Scharf in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, depicting Brookes's garden. The principal feature of this strange elysium was the 'vivarium', a sort of rockery especially constructed to display Brookes's collection of living birds and animals, garnished with shells, plants and architectural fragments, and topped by a sprightly fountain. Nearby was a Gothick hermitage, its arched front formed from the immense jaw bones of a whale. The watercolour view is relatively well-known, as it was engraved by C Hullmandel and published in 1830. My article also reproduced a detail of Horwood's *Map of London* (1813 ed.) showing the site of Brookes's Museum and garden, and a drawing by Appleton of 1888 showing what I thought was its exterior. However, it is now clear that this view depicts Brookes's house at no. 13 Great Marlborough Street and its household offices. Brookes's Museum lay further north, towards Oxford Street, and is not visible in Appleton's view.

Thanks to Dr Simon Chaplin, Senior Curator of the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, I can now offer readers an actual view of Brookes's Museum and garden. 'Sketched on Wednesday 25th June 1817', the watercolour, possibly by Robert Blemmel Schnebbelie, depicts the 'beautiful new apartment' which stood behind Brookes's house, built by the natural philosopher, Henry Cavendish, who used it as his laboratory.<sup>1</sup> It is a curious structure, built of red brick and of two storeys, the upper being a lofty windowless apartment,

26. *Ephemerides* 1653 Pt 4, 2 September – 31 December, 28/2/75B.

27. See Jacob Bobart's first catalogue for the Oxford Botanic Garden, *Catalogus Plantarum Horti Medici Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1648).

28. William Bray (ed), *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, FRS (London, 1906), p. 222, entry for 17 September 1657. Evelyn's reference to John Tradescant's 'widow' means that the published entry was written or altered after Tradescant's death in 1662.

1. Royal College of Surgeons of England, catalogue no. RCSSC/P 320.