

My wife found this image on the Internet; you will, of course, recognize that the photograph of Darwin has been Photoshopped! I like the image because it alludes to Darwin's ideas on human evolution. The topic of human origins, and human evolution remains central to my interest in Darwin and collecting, as it has evolved over my lifetime.

Reflecting upon my evolution as a collector, and my long experience buying and selling rare books, manuscripts, and related prints and material by Darwin and his contemporaries, has caused me to recollect about the beginning of my collecting experience over 55 years ago. I began collecting Darwin and the theory of evolution as a teenager, and even though I entered the rare book and manuscript business when I was 19, and have worked in that field ever since, I have always been as much a collector as a dealer. After 52 years in the trade, my interests have increasingly turned to collecting and writing about rare books and manuscripts, more than the process of selling *per se*. However, I am still very much in business: We just issued our 58<sup>th</sup> catalogue electronically, and finished exhibiting at the Oakland Antiquarian Book Fair on Sunday.

Besides continuing to buy and sell rare books and manuscripts, including the occasional rare Darwin item, and writing about the collections, about five years ago I began donating collections that I have formed. My aviation and aerospace library of two or three thousand items is going to The Huntington Library in San Marino, California in annual installments, and last year I also donated my much smaller Guglielmo Libri collection to The Grolier Club in New York.

Having collected books and manuscripts since I was around 15 years old, I believe that collections, whether they be of books or manuscripts, or art, or antiques, or what have you, often start with one significant purchase, or one book, or one group of books. In reviewing a collection once it has reached sufficient size to be called a collection rather than a small group, it is interesting to figure out how that first book or purchase inspired the collector to build a significant collection on a subject or author. Since my teens I have made collections on Darwin and evolution in the nineteenth century, on the history of computing, networking and telecommunications, on the history of molecular biology, on the history of aviation and aerospace, on the discovery of human origins, on the mathematician, paleographer and book thief Guglielmo Libri, and on the development of mass

media in the nineteenth century. And, if pressed one could also find some other smaller collections of books and art around my house, such as botanical prints from Thornton's *Temple of Flora*, native American art, the prints and gouaches on imaginary libraries by Eric Desmazières, designer bindings by Michael Wilcox, early maps, and landmarks in the history of information, photographic classics, etc. Besides building my own collections, I have worked with countless private collectors and institutions helping them build or add to private and institutional collections, and I have done hundreds of appraisals of collections and archives donated to institutional libraries.

One could reasonably say that I have collected my way through life, and that much of what I know about many subjects has come through the process of collecting books and data, and writing about books and manuscripts and other historical documents that I have collected. Indeed, I regard the process of writing history as a kind of collecting. The historian first collects information and then analyzes it and produces an historical narrative built

The screenshot shows the 'History of Medicine and Biology' website. At the top, it says 'An Interactive Annotated World Bibliography of the History of Medicine, Biology and Dentistry from Circa 2000 BCE to Circa 2010 by Fielding H. Garrison (1831-1933), Leslie T. Hartwig (1947-2004), and Jeremy M. Norman, continuously known as "norman@norman.com"'. Below this is a navigation bar with 'BROWSE BY' and tabs for 'Subject', 'Author', 'Entry Number', 'Title', 'Year', and 'Place of Publication'. A search bar is on the right. The main content area is titled 'Browse by Author' and shows a list of authors. 'DARWIN, Charles Robert' is selected, showing a list of 12 entries. The first entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The second entry is 'HENSLOW, John Stevens (1798 - 1861) Darwin Online'. The third entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The fourth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The fifth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The sixth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The seventh entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The eighth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The ninth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The tenth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The eleventh entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'. The twelfth entry is 'DARWIN, Charles Robert (1809 - 1882) Darwin Online'.

from the information collected. Besides writing a few books and bibliographies, I am now working on my online bibliography [www.HistoryofMedicineandBiology.com](http://www.HistoryofMedicineandBiology.com), which currently includes nearly 11,000 annotated entries by over 8600 authors and is indexed to over 800 subjects. It includes a considerable section on Darwin and evolution (see illustration at top left). The project, which is the current iteration of a bibliography that originated in 1915, is my effort to document historically significant sources in Western languages on the history of medicine worldwide, from the earliest records to the near present. It is admittedly an ambitious project, but seems achievable, given sufficient time.

This project and my other non-commercial websites, [www.HistoryofInformation.com](http://www.HistoryofInformation.com) (see illustration at bottom left) and [www.Bookhistory.net](http://www.Bookhistory.net), I regard as a process of collecting and documenting information on some of the wide range of historical subjects with which I am occupied. The process of writing these websites and offering them as a public service, is an ongoing process of self-education.

The screenshot shows the 'History of Information' website. At the top, it says 'Jeremy Norman's History of Information.com'. Below this is a navigation bar with 'Outline View', 'Expanded View', 'Map View', 'About the Database', and 'Narrative & Analysis'. The main content area is titled 'Darwin Predicts that Human Origins Will be Found in Africa (1871)'. Below the title is a world map with a red pin in Africa. The text below the map reads: 'Charles Darwin published a 2-volume work entitled *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*. Twelve years after the publication of *On the Origin of Species*, Darwin made good his promise to "throw light on the origin of man and his history" by publishing *The Descent of Man* in which he compared man's physical and psychological traits to similar ones in apes and other animals, and showed how even man's mind and moral sense could have evolved through processes of natural selection. In discussing man's ancestry, Darwin did not claim that man was directly descended from apes as we know them today, but stated that the extinct ancestors of *Homo sapiens* would have to be classed among the primates. This statement was widely misinterpreted by the popular press, and caused a furor second only to that raised by the Origin. Darwin also added an essay on sexual selection, i.e. the preferential chance of mating that some individuals of one sex have over their rivals because of special characteristics, leading to the accentuation and transmission of those characteristics. Darwin originated the single-origin hypothesis in paleoanthropology. In paleoanthropology, the recent African origin of modern humans is the mainstream model describing the origin and early dispersal of anatomically modern humans. The theory is called the (Recent) Out-of-Africa model in the popular press, and academically the recent single-origin hypothesis (RSOH), Replacement Hypothesis, and Recent African Origin (RAO) model. The hypothesis that humans have a single origin (monogenesis) was published in Charles Darwin's *Descent of Man* (1871). The concept was speculative until the 1980s, when it was corroborated by a study of present-day mitochondrial DNA, combined with evidence based on physical anthropology of archaic specimens' (Wikipedia article on Recent African origin of modern humans, accessed 03-15-2010). Darwin wrote in a section of *The Descent of Man* entitled "On the Birthplace and Antiquity of Man": "In each great region of the world the living mammals are closely related to the extinct species of

These days I mainly deal to support my habit, so to speak. Though I no longer remember what my first rare book by Darwin was, as I acquired it at least 55 years ago, it was presumably one of the minor first editions. I do recall the profound impression that reading *Darwin's Century* by the anthropologist and historian of science Loren Eiseley had on me when I read it in 1958 or 1959. This semi-popular and beautifully written book told the story of the revolution in biological theory that occurred, with Darwin at its center, roughly from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century. The bibliography of works cited by Eiseley as sources for his book, including works by Thomas Robert Malthus, Thomas Henry Huxley, Charles Lyell, William Dalton Hooker, Richard Owen,

Alfred Russel Wallace, as well as Darwin, became the foundation of my collecting ambitions in this field, and we might say this was the book that made me into a collector of books by Darwin and the theory of evolution.

As the son of a confirmed and intense book collector, I was encouraged by my father to start collecting early, and I started to buy minor first editions of Darwin and Wallace and other evolutionists, plus their opponents, in my teens. The cost of these books was a tiny fraction then of what it is today, in some cases only about 1% of present costs, so with some financial help from my father, and funds that I received when I was 18, it was possible for me to build a quite respectable collection by the time I was in my early 20s for what would be considered an exceptionally modest overall cost today—much less than the current value of a single fine copy of the first edition of *On the Origin of Species*.

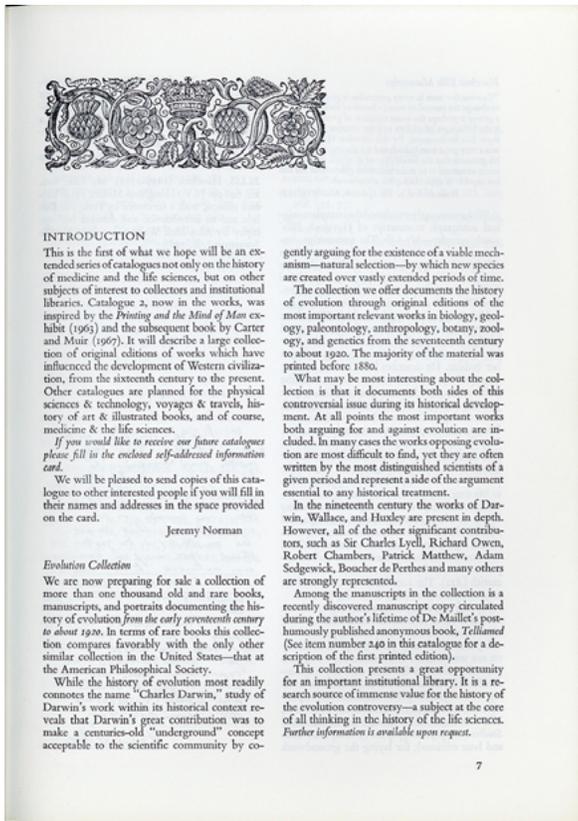
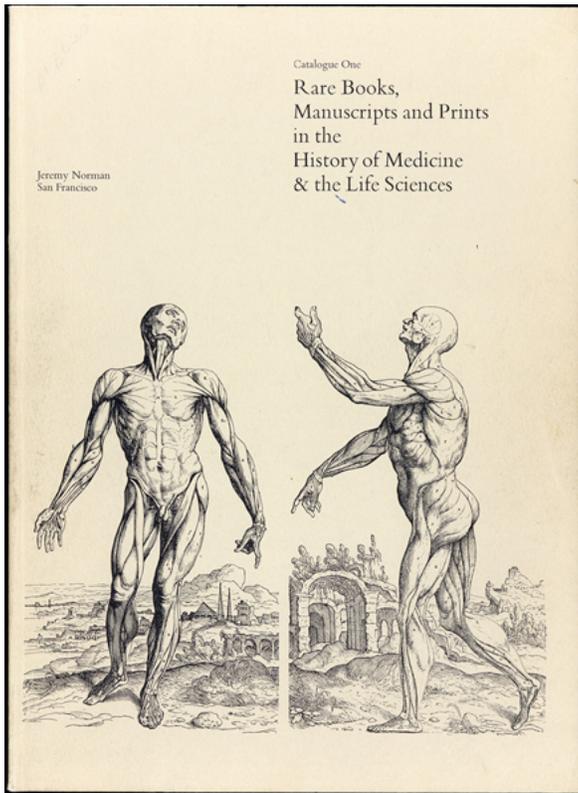
I spent a first year at college back east but had little sense of direction at the time, and at the age of 19 decided to drop out and return home. When I dropped out I had no plans for a career, but this changed when my father received a diagnosis of polyps in the intestinal tract. In those days, there was no gastroscopy and they didn't have the miniature tools to remove polyps through the endoscope, as is so often done today; it was necessary to cut into the gut, and complications of that surgery were common. My father, having survived two cases of polio including Bulbar paralysis which was nearly always fatal, was never in great health, and was always pessimistic about his life expectancy. Bearing this in mind, my father thought that I should get a job, especially in case he did not survive his surgery, or it turned out that he had cancer. So, as a favor to my father, Warren Howell hired me as the assistant to his packing clerk at John Howell—Books in San Francisco. My starting salary was the minimum wage, then \$1.10 per hour. Little did I know that this entry level job, which initially involved climbing up on high ladders to dust books as well as wrapping packages, would be the beginning of a career.

Fortunately, my father survived his surgery, and despite his always questionable health, lived until the age of 83. And, because I was working at Howell's store, my father felt inclined to visit the shop more often, with the inevitable result, I guess, that he bought more from Howell, and because he increasingly visited the shop on Saturdays when I was working there, and business tended to be quiet, eventually the two men became very close friends.

Once I had a job at Howell's store my interest in book collecting and book dealing increased. For five and a half years, from the age of 19 to 25, I worked at John Howell-Books, for a year and half full-time and four years part-time while I went back to college at U. C. Berkeley, eventually graduating with a degree in history concentrating on the history of science. While at Berkeley I focused on the history of biology because of my preoccupation with the history of evolution, and continued to collect books and the occasional manuscript by Charles Darwin and other players in the 19<sup>th</sup> century drama, both in support of and in opposition to the theory of evolution by natural selection.

By the time I graduated from college I was determined to go into the rare book and manuscript business rather than continue my studies in graduate school. Had I gone to graduate school I think I would have focused on the history of biology, and might have pursued an academic career. Warren Howell offered me a partnership in his business, which I politely declined, as even though Warren and I always got along well, I was determined to go into business for myself. An argument that I made to Warren was that, considering our age difference was more than 30 years, even if I worked with him I would eventually be in business for myself anyway, and I preferred to take the risks when I was young and unencumbered with a wife and children. At least that was the argument I made to him; truth was I was of a particularly independent frame of mind, didn't want to remain in school, and wanted to be my own boss then, rather than later.

Memory is clouded after nearly 50 years so it is helpful to have my bookseller's catalogues for reference. In 1971, at the age of 26, I issued my first catalogue, shortly after I opened my first office in second floor space next door to Warren Howell's Union Square bookshop. Diplomatically, I dedicated my first catalogue to my father, "who inspired and encouraged my love of books, and for Warren R. Howell, from whom I was fortunate to learn the antiquarian book trade."



It was one thing to have worked for five and a half years for Warren Howell; it was another thing to have collected my library on Darwin and history of evolution in the nineteenth century; and it was still another thing to go into business for myself. I really didn't know what to expect when I started my business. As it happened, my shop was successful from the beginning. The initial rent on the second floor next to Howell's Union Square location was only \$200 per month, and I hired an inexperienced young secretary/assistant whom I believe I may have paid only about \$450 per month when we started. My initial goal was to sell \$10,000 worth of rare books per month, and I believe that we achieved that modest goal within a few months of opening for business. In the introduction to the first catalogue, which I reread in preparation for this lecture, I announced that intended to offer my evolution library for sale as early as 1971. And I was not modest in touting it, as these portions of the catalogue introduction state:

"We are now preparing for sale a collection of more than one thousand old and rare books, manuscripts, and portraits documenting the history of evolution from the early seventeenth century to about 1920....

"While the history of evolution most readily connotes the name 'Charles Darwin,' study of Darwin's work within its historical context reveals that Darwin's great contribution was to make a centuries-old 'underground' concept acceptable to the scientific community by cogently arguing for the existence of a viable mechanism—natural selection—by which new species are created over vastly extended periods of time....

"What may be most interesting about the collection is that it documents both sides of this controversial issue during its historical development....

I ended with the usual "Further information is available on request."

As I recall, no customer expressed a serious interest in the collection. We did not receive a single inquiry. But what surprises me after all these years was how advanced the collection already was. In any case, we were doing more than enough business selling other books, so I did not offer the collection for sale; instead I continued to add to it. I did offer duplicates for sale, however: Item 90 in Catalogue 1 was Darwin's *Descent of Man*, first edition, first issue, slightly rubbed but a fine set for \$175 (current value perhaps 40 or 50x). Item 91 was Darwin's *Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication*, first edition, first issue, a fine set \$125 (current value perhaps 20x).

Business went so well that I did not have time or feel the need to issue another catalogue until four years later, in 1975, and before then I got very lucky. I am a great believer that luck is a major contributor to success, and that is especially so for collectors and dealers in rare book and manuscripts; I have often been very lucky.

One day, out of the blue, I received a telephone call from someone who identified himself as a representative of the estate of Paul B. Victorius. From him I learned that Victorius, a print and framing shop owner in Charlottesville, Virginia, had been a pioneer Darwin collector. The representative, whose name escapes me, explained that the estate had a large Darwin collection for sale. Victorius had been a collector of Darwin in the 1940s and 1950s, long before it became fashionable. As soon as I could I traveled to Charlottesville, and bought one of the most remarkable collections of my entire career. It was the residue of one of the largest and most significant Darwin collections ever formed, some of which Victorius had sold to the University of Virginia before he died.

As I recall, it contained two copies of Darwin's first pamphlet, the *Letters to Henslow*, one of which was inscribed by Henslow, and as many as ten copies, each in the original printed wrappers, uncut, of the Darwin-Wallace papers of 1858. But there were many other items, including about 20 copies of the first edition of Darwin's *Descent of Man* and presentation copies of some of Darwin's works; usually if there was one copy of anything in the collection, there was more than one. There were also two or three copies of the first edition of *On the Origin of Species*, and as I recall there were two copies of James Hutton's *Theory of the Earth*. Hutton was the founder of the uniformitarian theory in geology, and one of the scientists written about by Loren Eiseley. One of my favorite items in the Victorius purchase, though by no means the most valuable, was a long autograph letter by Richard Owen, notorious to Darwin collectors as one of Darwin's most significant opponents. In this letter Owen, who outlived Darwin, had grown to appreciate Darwin's significance after Darwin's death; he called Darwin "the Copernicus of Biology" and recommended that Darwin be buried in Westminster Abbey, where Darwin's body is preserved today. The best of these items I added to my own collection, greatly improving it, but leaving perhaps a couple of hundred Darwin items that I could sell.

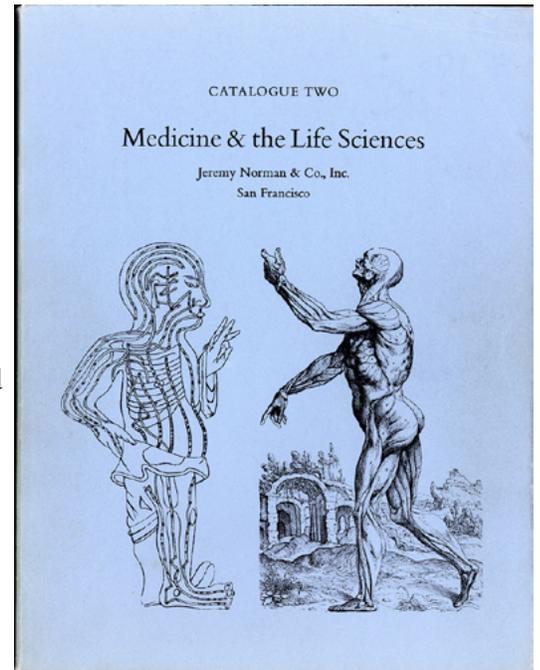
As I recall, I offered about \$14,000, possibly even less, for this incredible Darwin collection, thinking it had to be worth quite a few times that. After my offer was accepted, to my surprise the representative of Victorius's estate told me that I could have purchased the collection for even less! That may have been the only time I received such gratuitous advice after a purchase.

As much as that purchase was a great victory at the time, I am reminded of what I left behind in Charlottesville. Besides the fantastic Darwin collection, the Victorius estate had another collection to sell: a whole warehouse of prints—roughly 100,000 antique decorative and historical prints that could be purchased for \$100,000. Realistically this was probably a rock bottom price for a million dollars' worth of prints, even at that time. But prints were not my primary interest, and I had no idea what to do with so many prints. And where would I put them all even if I could have come up with the money?

The idea of wholesaling a lot of the prints to other dealers, or bringing in other dealers to divide up the purchase, simply did not occur to me at the time, so I never even took a look at that warehouse. Years later I learned that besides the prints someone bought a locked antique desk from Victorius's estate, and when they opened it upon receipt they found \$1,000,000 worth of old master prints inside the desk. So, whenever I get too proud of myself I remember how happy I was with that great Darwin purchase, but also remind myself of how much I overlooked at the time.

After purchasing the Paul B. Victorius Darwin collection we included around twenty Darwin items in our second catalogue, issued in 1975.

The illustration at right shows the cover of my second catalogue—kind of related to the first catalogue you saw earlier, except I thought it was pretty cool to face the Vesalian muscleman with a Chinese acupuncture woodcut from Cleyer's 17<sup>th</sup> century European book on Chinese medicine. The first catalogue I had designed and printed by the fine San Francisco printer Jack Stauffacher; and although the cat-



148. CUVIER, Georges L. D. (1769–1832). *Recherches sur les ossements fossiles de quadrupèdes*. 4 vols., 4to. With 153 fine copperplates (20 double-page folding), 1 large folding chart of sections of strata, and 1 large colored folding geological map of the environs of Paris by Cuvier and Brongniart. (For the complete pagination and collation see Horblit.) Contemporary half calf, paper covers of vol. 4 restored and dampstaining affecting final third of vol. 4, but a very good set. Paris: Deterville, 1812. \$1500

FIRST EDITION. "In the whole literature of comparative anatomy and paleontology there is scarcely any work that can rank with this masterpiece" (Zittel, p. 137; see also pp. 135–41).

By applying the principles of comparative anatomy to the elucidation of the remains of fossil vertebrates Cuvier in 1796 demonstrated scientifically where others such as John HUNTER had merely speculated, that certain fossil bones found in Ohio in the 1760's represented extinct species of elephants (i.e. mammoths). His epochal work on mammoths and other extinct species over the next 16 years was collected in the extraordinarily beautiful *Ossements fossiles*.

The "Discours préliminaire" in vol. 1 (later published as *Discours sur les révolutions du globe*) is Cuvier's famous exposition of his theory of "catastrophism," a belief widely accepted until it was superseded by Lyell's version of "uniformitarianism."

The "Essai sur la géographie minéralogique des environs de Paris" by Cuvier and Brongniart (1808) reprinted in vol. 1 is the earliest application of the science of stratigraphical paleontology in France. Horblit 208.

149. DABRY [de THIERSANT], P[ierre]. *La médecine chez les chinois. Corrigé et précédé d'une préface par M. J. Léon Soubeiran. Orné de planches anatomiques*. 8vo. xii, 580 pp., 1 large folding acupuncture plate with numerous figures, [pp. 561–62 bound in upside down]. Half morocco, gilt, original printed wrappers bound in, uncut. Fine copy. Paris: Henri Plon, 1863. \$250

FIRST EDITION of the best general treatise on Chinese medicine published in Europe during the 19th century, discussing Chinese treatments for virtually all types of diseases and including a very important eighty-page section on acupuncture illustrated with an unusual large folding plate. As French consul at Hang-Keou, Dabry recognized the significance of Chinese medicine and translated into French the main medical works in use in China during his tenure. Not being a physician Dabry turned over his translations to Soubeiran, a physician and professor at the Ecole de Pharmacie for the preparation of the above work.

See Cordier, *Bibliotheca sinica*, for other works by Dabry. Wellcome Library, *Chinese medicine* (n.d.) 249 (with erroneous pagination).

#### Darwin's First Publication Excessively Rare

151. DARWIN, Charles (1809–82). For private distribution. The following pages contain extracts from letters addressed to Professor Henslow by C. Darwin, Esq. 8vo. 31 pp. New antique style gray paper wrappers, in a cloth case. Fine copy. Cambridge, Dec. 1, 1835. Sold

FIRST EDITION. FREEMAN 1. The privately printed *Letters to Henslow* has for many years been considered one of the greatest rarities in the history of science. Estimates of the number of copies printed vary from as low as twenty-five to about two hundred. The survival rate for such an ephemeral item would have been very low. Until the appearance of 2 copies at Sothesby's 2 years ago, no copy had ever appeared in Book Auction Records.

#### The Most Influential of Scientific Voyages

152. DARWIN. [1] *Journal of researches into the geology and natural history of the various countries visited by H.M.S. Beagle*. 8vo. xiv, 615 pp., 16 pp. adverts. dated August 1839. With 2 folding maps. Original blind-stamped cloth, uncut, skillfully recased. Bookplate of Robert Shuttleworth. Fine copy. London: Henry Colburn, 1839. [2] Narrative of the surveying voyages of His Majesty's ships Adventure and Beagle, between the years 1826 and 1836 describing their examination of the southern shores of South America and the Beagle's circumnavigation of the globe [edited by Robert FITZ-ROY]. 3 vols., 8vo. With 4 charts and maps bound in and 6 charts and maps loose in pockets in front boards. 44 plates. Original blind-stamped cloth, uncut. Fine set. (Lacks Appendix advertisements called for by Freeman. However these would have been identical to advertisements present in Darwin vol. [1].) London: Henry Colburn, 1839. The 4 vols.: \$1500

FIRST EDITION. A complete set comprising [1] the separate issue of Darwin's journal with different spine lettering and pp. i–vi cancelled, published simultaneously with the general narrative and [2] the companion volumes to Darwin's journal. Freeman 4 & 5.

In the history of ideas the voyage of the Beagle occupies a position analogous to the first voyage of Columbus in the history of exploration. Just as Columbus' discovery of the New World produced revolutionary changes in the old world, Darwin's experiences on the Beagle inspired him to revolutionize our understanding of nature.

ologue looked professional, in my youthful arrogance or ignorance, I thought I could dispense with a designer, and save some money; the results, however, were just not the same! The lack of design skill is evident.

Both my first and second catalogues were printed letterpress at The Trade Pressroom in San Francisco, the last of the commercial letterpress operations in the city. Soon after 1975 the Trade Pressroom closed, and their huge letterpresses, weighing hundreds of tons, went to a landfill.

You will see that I pretty much paid for the whole Paul Victorius Darwin collection by selling items in that Catalogue Two. Here is our description of the incredibly rare *Letters to Henslow*. I think I sold that one for about \$3500. Today it would be worth \$100,000 or more. Next to that you see the full set of the H.M.S. Beagle circumnavigation reports, of which Darwin's *Beagle* journal comprises a volume, at \$1500. Today it would be worth around \$50,000 or more.

I think there are several observations to be made in retrospect. In total, there are about 25 Darwin items in this catalogue, and I simply incorporated them, without any fanfare, into a larger medical catalogue. This was because at the time I did not regard them as especially remarkable. I had kept the best items in the Victorius collection for myself. Darwin material then turned up regularly at reasonable prices—prices that were shockingly reasonable compared to the prices of today. Today if a group of Darwin items comparable to what I had in that modest catalogue was available it would be considered a major find, and of course, the prices could be 20 to 50 to 100 times as much. An extreme example was just offered at the Oakland book fair: The three volumes of Darwin's geological reports on the *Beagle* voyage, one of which was rebound, for \$75,000.

153. DARWIN. Journal of researches into the geology and natural history of the various countries visited by H.M.S. Beagle. . . 8vo. xiv, 615 pp., 16 pp. adverts. dated Aug. 1839. With 2 folding maps. Original blind-stamped cloth, uncut, hinges and spine repaired. Good copy. London: Henry Colburn, 1840. \$150

Second issue of the separate version, with the preliminary leaves cancelled and a cancelled title. Freeman 6.

154. DARWIN. The structure and distribution of coral reefs. Being the first part of the geology of the voyage of the Beagle, under the command of Capt. Fitzroy, R.N. During the years 1832 to 1836. 8vo. xii, 214 pp., 16 pp. adverts. dated May 1842. With 3 large folding maps (2 partially hand-colored). Original blue cloth, skillfully recased, endpapers raveled. Upper margin of title skillfully repaired with no loss of text. Very good copy. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1842. \$450

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's rarest and most important geological work which with slight modification "will remain the accepted explanation" (de Beer) for these phenomena. For the best concise account of the contents of this work see Sir Gavin de Beer's article on Darwin in D.S.B.

"Even if he had written nothing else, the theory of the coral islands alone would have placed Darwin in the very front of investigations of nature" (Geikie). Freeman 83.

155. DARWIN. Geological observations on the volcanic islands, visited during the voyage of the H.M.S. Beagle, together with some brief notices on the geology of Australia and the Cape of Good Hope. Being the second part of the Geology of the Voyage of the Beagle. 8vo. vii, 175 pp., 24 pages adverts. With 1 folding map. Original pebbled cloth, spine skillfully repaired but a fine copy. London: Smith, Elder, 1844. \$375

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's second geological work resulting from the Voyage of the Beagle. See the best summary of its contents by Sir Gavin de Beer in D.S.B. Freeman 84.

156. DARWIN. A monograph on the sub-class Cirripedia, with figures of all the species. The Lepadidae; or pedunculated Cirripedes. 8vo. xi, 400 pp., With 9 plates by George Sowerby and 1 folding plate in the text. Original cloth, gilt, t.e.g. Binding rubbed and faded but a good copy, internally very good. London: Ray Society, 1831. \$150

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's first monograph on barnacles—a taxonomical work which has not yet been superseded. Published in an edition probably limited to 800 copies, and now one of his rarest works. A second volume on the *Balanidae* (or sessile Cirripedes) was published in 1833. However, the above work is complete in itself. Freeman 103. Curk, *Ray Society bibliography* (1954), pp. 48-49.

*The Darwinian Revolution Begins*

157. DARWIN & WALLACE, Alfred Russel (1823-1913). On the tendency of species to form varieties; and on the perpetuation of varieties and species by natural means of selection . . . Communicated by Sir Charles Lyell . . . and J. D. Hooker . . . In: *J. Proc. Linn. Soc. III* (1859) No. 9, pp. 45-62. 8vo. 62 pp., 1 blank. Original buff printed wrappers, uncut and unopened. A superb copy in a cloth drop-box. London: Longman . . . 1858. \$2000

tion . . . Communicated by Sir Charles Lyell . . . and J. D. Hooker . . . In: *J. Proc. Linn. Soc. III* (1859) No. 9, pp. 45-62. 8vo. 62 pp., 1 blank. Original buff printed wrappers, uncut and unopened. A superb copy in a cloth drop-box. London: Longman . . . 1858. \$2000

FIRST EDITION, 1858. The complete separate issue for August 20, 1858 in the original printed wrappers, uncut & unopened. The first printed exposition of the "Darwinian" theory of evolution by natural selection, the "Darwin-Wallace papers" are a cornerstone of my Darwin collection second only to *On the Origin of Species*. Had not Wallace independently discovered the theory of natural selection, it is possible that the extremely cautious Darwin might never have published his evolutionary theories during his lifetime. However, Wallace conceived the theory during an attack of malarial fever in Ternate in the Moluccas (February 1858) and sent a manuscript summary to Darwin, who feared that his discovery would be pre-empted. In the interest of justice Hooker and Lyell suggested joint publication of Wallace's paper together with 2 hastily written summaries by Darwin.

A printed "List of the Linnean Society of London, 1858" in our possession indicates that the Society included 522 members of all classes in 1858. According to the late Paul B. Victorius, a life-long student of the history of evolution and its bibliography, the Linnean Society printed a total of 1000 copies of the *Journal* in 1858. 730 copies containing both the zoological and botanical papers were issued in blue wrappers (62 pp., 1 blank, 64 pp.). An additional 270 copies containing the zoology paper only were issued in buff printed wrappers, as above. No priority in these issues has been established. Both versions were made available simultaneously, the issue in blue wrappers selling for 3 shillings; that in buff, for 2 shillings. (Horlick describes only the issue in buff wrappers, and his copy, identical to ours, sold for \$1292.00 at Sotheby's on Nov. 11, 1974.)

Horlick 234. See Dübner 190. See Freeman 106 (describing only the complete journal volume dated 1859). 0-M 219.

157A. Same as above, but the issue containing both the botanical and zoological papers, in original blue printed wrappers, uncut & unopened. In this copy the botanical papers have been removed leaving a text (62 pp.) identical to the issue in buff wrappers. Edges of spine a little chipped but a fine copy in a cloth drop box. London: Longman . . . 1858. \$1250

158. DARWIN. On the origin of species by means of natural selection, or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life. 8vo. ix, 502 pp., 1 folding chart, 32 pp. adverts. dated June 1859. Original blind-stamped cloth, uncut. Edmonds & Remnants binders' ticket on rear paste-down. Skillfully tightened in case but a fine copy, in 2 half-morocco slipcase. London: John Murray, 1859. \$3000

FIRST EDITION. 0-M 220, 1944 34th. Although the theory of evolution can be traced to the ancient Greek belief in the "great chain of being," Darwin's greatest achievement was to make this centuries-old "underground" concept acceptable to the scientific community by cogently arguing for the existence of a viable mechanism—natural selection—by which new species evolve over vast periods of time.

The above work was originally intended as a mere summary of a multi-volume encyclopedic study of natural selection, for which Darwin was accumulating enormous quantities of evidence. However, the dramatic reception which greeted the *Origin* caused Darwin to abandon his "encyclopedic" plans and to publish the rest of his data in subsequent separate works.



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I would also comment that my placement of the images in the catalogue seems pretty dumb in retrospect. Look at the image of the Tagliacozzi book on plastic surgery next to the Darwin items! I also found an image of the cover of the Darwin-Wallace papers way in the back of the catalogue next to completely unrelated material. In my defense, if there is any, this was a catalogue set in hot type on a Monotype machine and the images were line cuts; the typesetting was very expensive, and changing anything was also costly, so I think I may have given the cuts to the typesetters and asked them to place them, or something. I should add that at the time the book business was very different from what it is today. There was a much greater supply in general, there were more customers, and of course, prices were significantly lower relative to the cost of living. Therefore, more people could afford to make significant collections, and some college professors could easily afford to collect all or nearly all of Darwin's works on a professor's salary. This is definitely not true today.

There is a copy of the Darwin-Wallace papers for \$2000. This would probably be worth \$60,000 or so today. Notice the copy of the first edition of *On the Origin of Species*. That was a nice copy, and it would be worth about \$100,000 to \$150,000 now, an appreciation of up to 50 times. Related to this, I sold my first copy of the 1859 *Origin* for \$1000, probably in 1971. At that time the book was considered common and some dealers had several copies in stock at a time. In those days, it was also very easy to sell, and affordable to almost any science collector. At \$150,000 the book is affordable only to a few.

The next image shows the following page in the same catalogue: no fanfare, just a listing of major Darwin items at prices that might seem incredible today, but it was only 42 years ago. That was certainly a long time in the Darwin market.

There were so many duplicates of so many rare items in the Paul Victorius collection that even after I creamed it for my own collection I was selling off material profitably for more than twenty years. I would estimate that

For numerous reasons the so-called "Darwinian revolution" was the first scientific revolution experienced by society at large. Because of its enormous social impact, the Origin was probably the most influential single book in the entire history of the life sciences.

The literature on Darwin's role in the history of the life sciences is rapidly assuming proportions in the historiography of science relative to the vast work on Shakespeare in English studies. Recent, relatively brief and especially recommended are [1] Mayr, "The nature of the Darwinian revolution," *Science*, Vol. 170 (1972), pp. 981-992 [2] De Beer, "Charles Darwin," article in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (1971).

There is only one issue of the first edition. While a binding and advertisement variants have been identified, no priority has been established. See Freeman, "On the origin of species 1859," *Book Collector*, XVI (1972), pp. 241-44.

Freeman, *Darwin bibliography* (1956) 112. *Dibnet* 190. *Hobbit* 238.

159. DARWIN. On the origin of species... fifth thousand. 8vo, ix, 501 pp., 1 folding chart. Contemporary half morocco, gilt, marbled edges. Fine copy. London: John Murray, 1860. \$150

Second edition, published late in 1859 to meet the ever-increasing demand. Although Darwin later referred to this edition as "little more than a reprint of the first edition," the text contains significant changes, the most famous of which is the modification of the California whale passage on p. 144. Darwin later regretted this revision but never restored the original text. Freeman 113. See 1940 133-68.

160. DARWIN. On the origin of species... Third edition, with additions and corrections. (Seventh thousand.) 8vo, xix, 538 pp. Original cloth, gilt, uncut. Slightly loose in case but a fine copy. London: John Murray, 1861. \$200

Third edition, extensively revised, and the first edition to include the "historical sketch" which Samuel Butler and others accused Darwin to prefix to the work. Freeman 114.

161. DARWIN. On the various contrivances by which British and foreign orchids are fertilised by insects, and on the good effects of interesting. 8vo, vi, 165 pp., 12 pp. adverts. dated Dec. 1861. Text illustrations. Original maroon cloth, gilt, rubbed. Spine skillfully repaired. Good copy. London: John Murray, 1862. \$125

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's first work on plant fertilization, and the first volume of evidence intended to support the theories advanced in *On the origin of species*. Freeman 208.

162. DARWIN. On the movements and habits of climbing plants. In: *Lin. Soc. IX* (1865), nos. 23 & 34, pp. 1-118, 8vo, 128 pp. Original blue printed wrappers, uncut. Very good copy in a cloth slipcase. London: sold at the Society's apartments... and by Longman & Co., 1865. \$300

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's book-length paper on climbing plants which contains the essence of his highly interesting discoveries concerning the adaptive value of the habit of climbing. The book-form second edition published 10 years later, by which Darwin's work on this subject is generally known, is essentially a revision and enlargement of the above paper.

See the excellent summary of contents by Sir Gavin de Beer in D.S.B. Freeman 219.

163. DARWIN. On the movements and habits of climbing plants. (Continued) from the *Journal of the Linnean Society*, 8vo, Title leaf, 118 pp. Old vellum-backed cloth boards. Bookplate and inscription on free endpaper. Fine copy. London: Sold at the Society's Apartments... 1864. \$375

The extremely rare offprint with separate titlepage of Darwin's initial monograph on climbing plants. Aside from the separate titlepage the true offprint can be distinguished by the fact that it has no extraneous matter from the text article in the *Journal* on p. 118. The original journal part extended to p. 128. See Freeman 219 (facing journal part only) and p. 26.

164. DARWIN. The variation of animals and plants under domestication. 2 vols. 8vo, viii, 411 pp., 12 pp. adverts. dated April 1867; viii, 486 pp., 1 leaf adverts. dated Feb. 1868. Text illustrations. Original cloth, the first issue bindings with the words "London, John Murray" in a line at the foot of spines. Vol. 2 recased, retaining original endpapers but a fine set. Bookplates. London: John Murray, 1868. \$250

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE of the second work to incorporate notes and material which Darwin had intended to include in his projected multi-volume work of which *On the origin of species* was a mere summary. Aside from the work's importance as a mine of data on its subject, it contains Darwin's most important work on genetics—his provisional hypothesis of pangenesis. Although invalid, this is of prime importance in the history of genetics. Freeman 232.

165. DARWIN. The descent of man, and selection in relation to sex. 2 vols. 8vo, viii, 413 pp., 16 pp. adverts. dated Jan. 1871; viii, 1 leaf, 425 pp., 16 pp. adverts. Jan. 1872. Text illustrations. Original cloth, recased, retaining original endpapers. Slightly rubbed but a fine set. London: John Murray, 1871. \$400

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE with "transmission" as first word on p. 297 of vol. 1, errata on verso of title in vol. 2, and pointer leaf tipped in (pp. ix & x) in vol. 2. 6-8M 170. In the Origin Darwin had written on man only with the pregnant remark: "Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." This he accomplished in the above work. *The descent of man* caused repercussions second only to the Origin, however, "contrary to popular error, prevalent now as well as then, Darwin never said that man was descended from apes, let alone monkeys; what he claimed was that man's ancestors at one time would have to be classified among the Primates" (De Beer, *Charles Darwin*, pp. 210-11). Freeman 242.

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168A. DARWIN. Charles (1809-82). Autograph manuscript, signed, of one page of the *Descent of man* (1871). Folio (13 x 20 cm.). On blue paper, in ink on recto only. With autograph heading: "Ch. I. Descent of Man [folio] 1" and signed "Ch. Darwin" in upper left corner. Folded, but very fine condition. [Down, before 1871]. \$1500

Very desirable manuscript page of Darwin's second most important work. 6-8M 170. From Chapter 1, "The evidence of the descent of man from some lower forms," sections on rudimentary structures. This manuscript contains "the including membrane, or third eyelid, with its accessory muscles and other structures..." and the importance of the sense of smell in mammals. Published on pp. 23-24 of the first edition.

166. DARWIN. The expression of the emotions in man and animals. 8vo, vi, 374 pp., 4 pp. adverts. With seven heliotype plates (1 folding) reproducing photographs by Duchenne de Boulogne and Oscar J. Rejlander. Original cloth, uncut. Very good copy. London: John Murray, 1872. \$150

FIRST EDITION, 6-8M 4972. The foundation of the sciences of animal behavior and communication theory. "... The Expression of the Emotions..." contains studies of facial muscles and means of expression in man and mammals, emission of sounds, erection of hair, and its force, and their correlation with suffering, sobbing, anxiety, grief, despair, joy, love, devotion, reflection, meditation, sulking, hatred, anger, pride, disdain, shame, surprise, fear, horror, acceptance (affirmation), and rejection (negation). With this book Darwin founded the study of ethology (animal behavior) and conveyance of information (communication theory) and made a major contribution to psychology" (Sir Gavin de Beer in D.S.B.). The only work of Darwin illustrated with photographs. Freeman 218.

167. DARWIN. The movements and habits of climbing plants. Second edition, revised. 8vo, vii, 206 pp., 12 pp. adverts. dated January 1875. Text illustrations. Original cloth, uncut, a little rubbed. Skillfully tightened in case. Very good copy. London: John Murray, 1875. \$85

Revised second edition, and first edition in book form. This edition, published 10 years after the first, includes important data published by Fritz Müller and Hugo de Vries as well as Darwin's own follow-up research. The illustrations were drawn by the author's son, George. The definitive edition. Freeman 220.

168. DARWIN. The variation of animals and plants under domestication. Second edition revised, fourth thousand. 2 vols. 8vo, xiv, 471 & 494 pp., 36 pp. adverts. dated 1876. Text illustrations. Original cloth, uncut. Skillfully tightened in case. Library stamp on titles. Very good set. London: John Murray, 1875. \$85

Second and definitive edition, considerably revised. Freeman 214.

169. DARWIN. The effects of cross and self fertilisation in the vegetable kingdom. 8vo, viii, 482 pp., 4 pp. slip before p. 1. (No adverts. were issued with this edition.) Original cloth, uncut. A little rubbed but a very good copy. London: John Murray, 1876. \$125

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's report on over 12 years of experimentation with cross and self-fertilization on 59 species. In these experiments Darwin discovered and demonstrated the concept of hybrid vigor or heterosis. "The demonstration of the advantage that accrues from cross-fertilization explains not only why several reproduction (as distinct from asexual heredity) increases heritable variation (through recombination of genes), but also reveals the basis for the survival value conferred by the existence of different sexes in species. This adaptation is one that what it is a very old one, for it was inherited by plants and animals before they diverged from one another" (Sir Gavin de Beer in D.S.B.). Freeman 207.

170. DARWIN. The different forms of flowers on plants of the same species. 8vo, viii, 254 pp., 12 pp. adverts. dated March 1877. Original cloth, uncut. A little rubbed but a very good copy. London: John Murray, 1877. \$125

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's continuation of his study on adaptations for cross-pollination being in his book on the fertilization of orchids (1866). Freeman 209.

171. DARWIN. The various contrivances by which orchids are fertilised by insects. Second edition, revised. 8vo, xvi, 300 pp. Text illustrations. Contemporary calf, elaborately gilt, g.e. by Rivière. Fine copy. London: John Murray, 1877. \$200

Revised second edition of Darwin's celebrated book on orchids (1865), his first study of plant adaptations. The definitive edition. Freeman 209.

172. DARWIN. Preliminary notice. In: *Erasmus Darwin by Ernst Krause*. Translated from the German by W. S. Dallas, pp. 1-127. 8vo, iv, 216 pp. With frontispiece portrait reproducing the painting by Wright of Derby and text illustrations. Contemporary half morocco, gilt. Bookplate. Fine copy. London: John Murray, 1879. \$125

FIRST EDITION. "Krause's short biography had originally appeared in the German evolutionary periodical *Kosmos* in February 1879, but in this translation, by W. S. Dallas, Darwin adds a biographical contribution which is longer than Krause's... [i.e. 127 pp. by Darwin versus only 89 pp. by Krause]. It was this edition which so upset Samuel Butler when he found that additions had been made to Krause's text which were not in the original German without his being stated by the translator" (Freeman, p. 32).

Became Darwin's "preliminary notice" duart Krause's biography, this must be appreciated as an important Darwin first edition, and not just the typical introduction to another author's work. Freeman 209.

173. DARWIN. The formation of vegetable mould, through the action of worms, with observations on their habits. 8vo, vii, 126 pp., 1 leaf adverts. Original cloth, uncut. Fine copy. London: John Murray, 1881. \$125

FIRST EDITION of Darwin's last book, published only 6 months before his death, but reporting on a subject that he had studied for more than 20 years. "He showed the services performed by earthworms in eating leaves and grinding earth in their gizzards and turning it into fertile soil, which they constantly stir and turn over down to a depth of twenty inches from the surface of the earth, aerating it. He calculated from the weight of worms brought up that one acre in one year's time eighteen tons of soil are crating up to the surface by worms. This was a pioneer study of quantitative ecology" (Sir Gavin de Beer in D.S.B.). Freeman 317.

174. DARWIN. Posthumous essay on instinct. In: *Mental evolution in animals by George John Romanes* (1848-94), pp. 353-84, and separate index (pp. 403-11). 8vo, 2 leaves, 411 pp., 12 pp. adverts. With erratum slip before p. 111, folding chart before title, and text illustrations. Original cloth, recased, endpapers removed. Spine faded but a very good copy. London: Kegan Paul... 1883. \$175

ONLY EDITION of Darwin's essay on instinct originally intended as part of a multi-volume *On the origin of instinct* but which was suppressed in 1859 in order to condense the work into one volume. Romanes' book also contains approximately 30 pages of "numerous disjointed paragraphs and notes" on psychology from among

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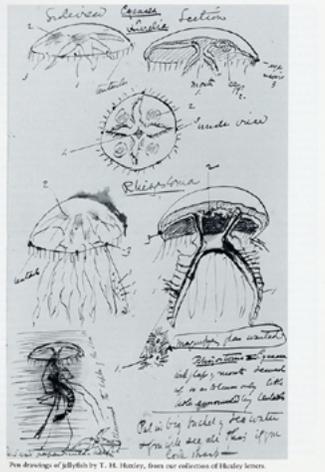
the profit on this collection was around \$200,000 or ten times or more than my cost. Probably we still have a few minor items left after more than forty years, and it reinforced my position as a specialist in the history of evolution, including Darwin.

In continuing to go through my old catalogues I notice that in 1980 we had the opportunity to buy and sell no fewer than 82 Thomas Henry Huxley letters, many illustrated. The selling price was only \$12,000.

The catalogue it was in, number eight, entitled *Twelve Manuscripts*, contained some of the best finds of my entire career, but to discuss those would be to digress.

At this point I want to discuss my collection, much of which was dispersed in December 1992, and then I will comment on some more recent developments and experiences with collecting the books and manuscripts of Charles Darwin and his contemporaries.

It is hard to accept how much time has passed, but by 1992 I had been buying, selling and collecting Darwin and the history of evolution for around 30 years. As my business had grown my interests had expanded deeply into the history of medicine and science. In 1991 I had issued the fifth edition of what was then the leading bibliography of the history of medicine, "Garrison-Morton."



Pen drawings of jellyfish by T. H. Huxley, from our collection of Huxley letters.

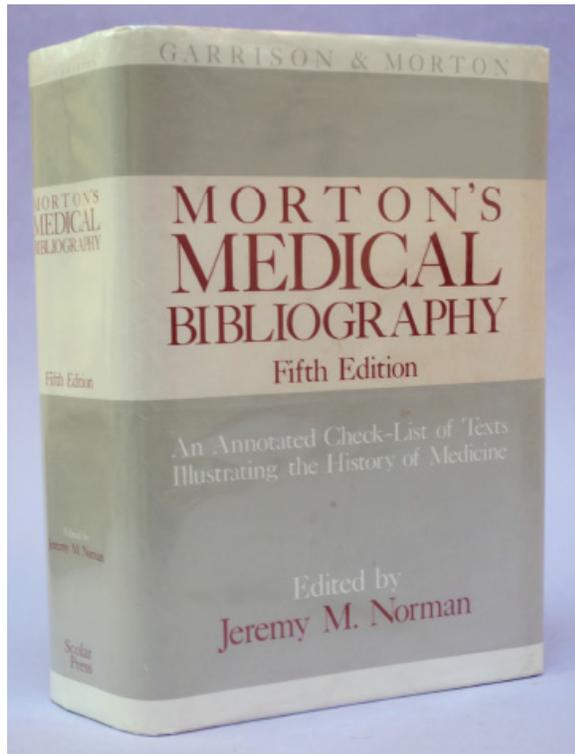
82 Huxley Letters, mostly Unpublished Some with Sketches 9

HUXLEY, Thomas Henry (1825-95). (1) Group of 47 A.L.S. to his daughter Ethel (called "Babs"; b. 1866), including 3 letters to her husband John Collier (1850-1934). Mostly 8vo, c. 175pp. Sketches by Huxley in 6 letters. Written from Europe & England, mostly 1884-95, with few undated, perhaps earlier. (2) Group of 29 A.L.S. to Sir James Thomas Knibbles (1831-1908). 8vo, c. 300pp. Written from various locations in England, 1869-76, with 3 undated. (3) Group of 6 A.L.S. to various parties & D.S. Mostly 8vo, c. 20pp. Written from various locations in England, 1863-94. Total collection of 82 letters, amounting to nearly 300pp. in Huxley's hand, in overall fine condition. 1863-95.

Huxley was undoubtedly the greatest English exponent of the cultural implications of modern biology. This is readily acknowledged by the title "Darwin's bulldog," which he earned by championing the theory of evolution, and in the widespread recognition of his many efforts as "popularizing science." The depth of his commitment to understanding human culture and the human predicament in the light of evolutionary theory is perhaps just beginning to be appreciated with a fullness equal to the task. His writings on these subjects bear direct comparison with the major cultural theories of our age.

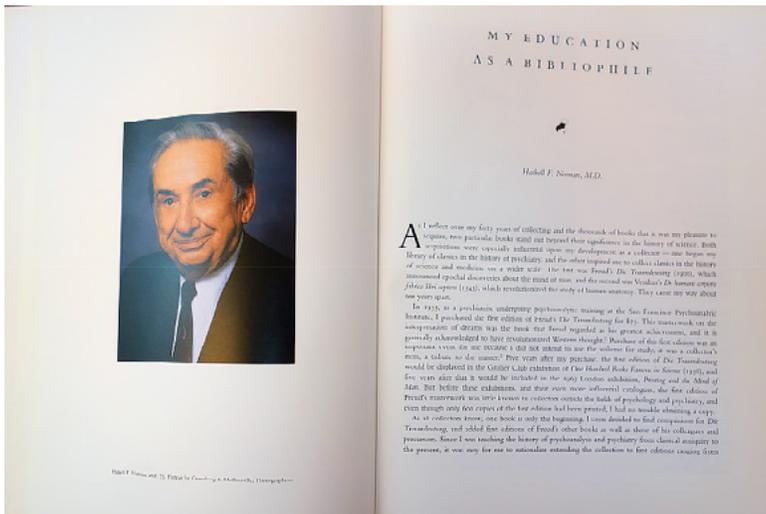
In the light of Huxley's concern with human affairs that the letters in group (1) of the above collection are especially significant. These are letters written to his youngest and favorite daughter, Ethel, known affectionately as "Babs." A brilliant personality in her own England and while he traveled abroad. Thus, some 21 letters to Babs present in the above 1903. Some were chosen because they were the only primary documentation of Huxley's activities abroad in 1884-85, when he traveled for his health in Italy and Switzerland. Others were chosen to epitomize what Leonard Huxley saw as the human manner in which his son just the published notes, are engagingly written, eminently quotable, full of verve, and playful and not playful irony—the very quintessence of Huxley the man of letters. The topics touched on are various education, fossils, Babs' career and the role of her father in it, the agonies of controversy (an apparently unpublished letter), politics (in another apparently unpublished letter), zoology (the letters were published but not the accompanying full-page narrative of his attendance at an Academy dinner in June, 1890), personal affairs (from the meeting of the family, including hilarious unpublished sketches of the animal, to a bad bout of illness in Mrs. Huxley in 1892).

There is extensive Huxley correspondence extant, but mostly in the context of exchanges with other personalities of the age. A series of family correspondence, the large archive of the Imperial College of Science as described by Dawson in 1966 contained



This then-standard reference work, which I expanded from around 7500 to around 8900 entries, sold around 2500 copies at \$245 dollars each; I earned about \$50,000 from that reference work. The website that I showed at the beginning of this talk is my public service expansion of that book, with many new interactive bells and whistles.

In the same year, 1991, we also issued the bibliographical catalogue of my father's library. This was a bibliography that I conceived, planned, and co-authored with my long-time associate Diana Hook. It took Diana and me seven years to write that long catalogue.



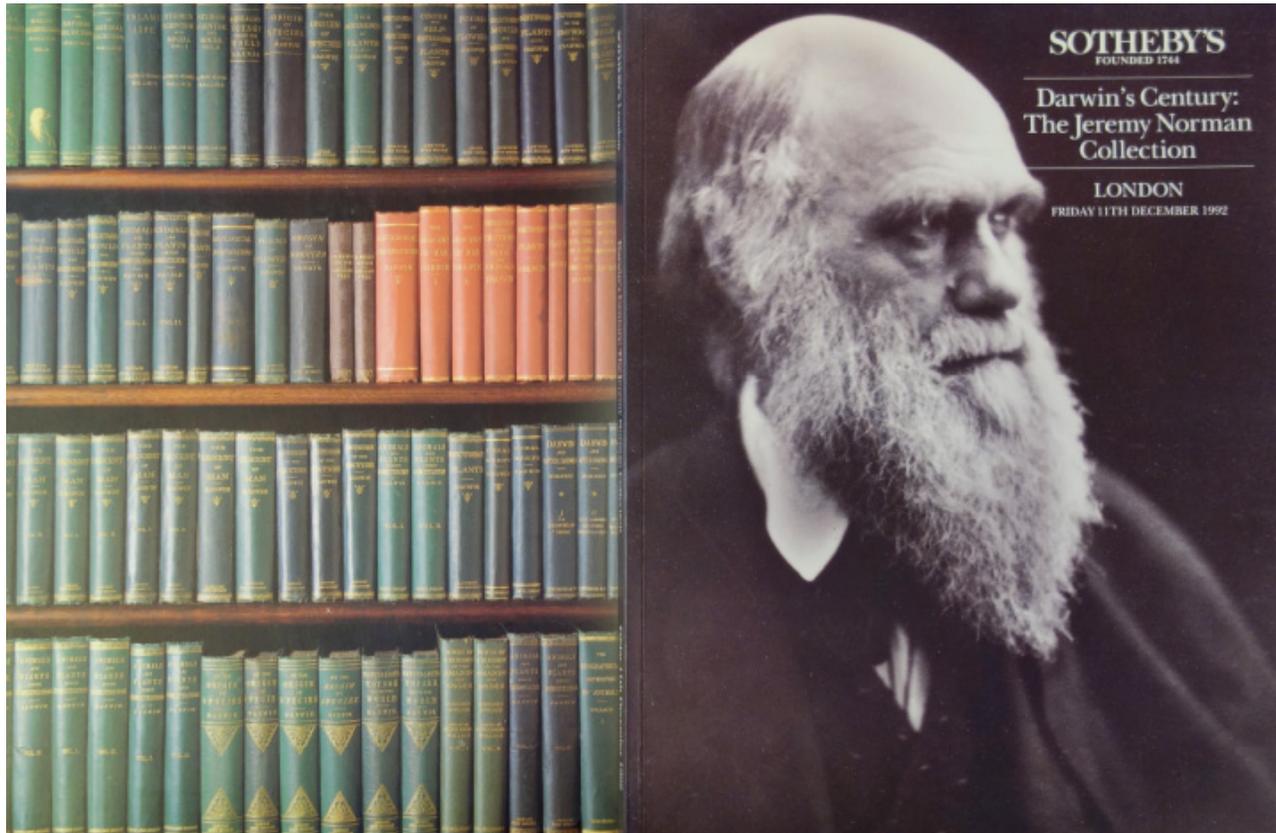
Here is a picture of my father next to his introduction to the catalogue. Actually, I wrote both his and my introductions; his introduction reflects his viewpoint very accurately.

As much as I liked selling books I also like writing bibliographies, and I have always been conscious of the ephemeral nature of booksellers' catalogues versus the more permanent attributes of certain bibliographies if they become established as reference works.

In 1991 I had young children and I bought a bigger house, and in view of the cash involved in that transaction, felt that I needed to recoup some liquidity. There was also the excitement of

the young family looking toward the future, versus the feeling that the Darwin and evolution collection was out of my childhood and my past. So, I decided to offer my collection at auction at Sotheby's

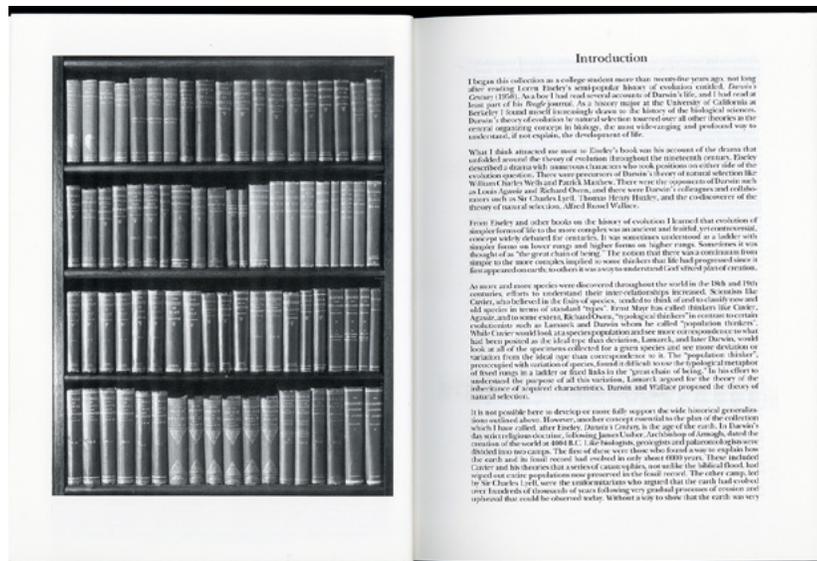
Taking my inspiration from Loren Eiseley's book of that title, I called my collection "Darwin's Century," and I contributed a long introduction to the catalogue which I believe is still worth reading (a digital version of the catalogue can be found on our [historyofscience.com](http://historyofscience.com) website). The photograph of Darwin on the cover is a



famous one by Julia Margaret Cameron. It did not sell in the auction; I sold it to a private collector a few years later. Note the fine bright condition of the copies. In those days, it was possible to be very particular and I kept upgrading my copies.

Inevitably I had some seller's remorse after the sale, partly because only about half of the books sold. In retrospect, of course, virtually every price in the auction was a bargain, but I got around half of the books back, and I sold those individually over the next five years or so, sometimes at higher prices than had been estimated in the catalogue. From the economic standpoint, I had purchased the books at such low prices that the items sold in the auction typically sold for about ten times my cost. The seller's regret is that a lot of those items are now worth ten times the prices for which I sold them.

From the [table of contents](#), you can see roughly how the auctioneers presented the collection. And I wrote a fairly long [introduction](#) for the [auction catalogue](#) (large file).



**Principal Contents**

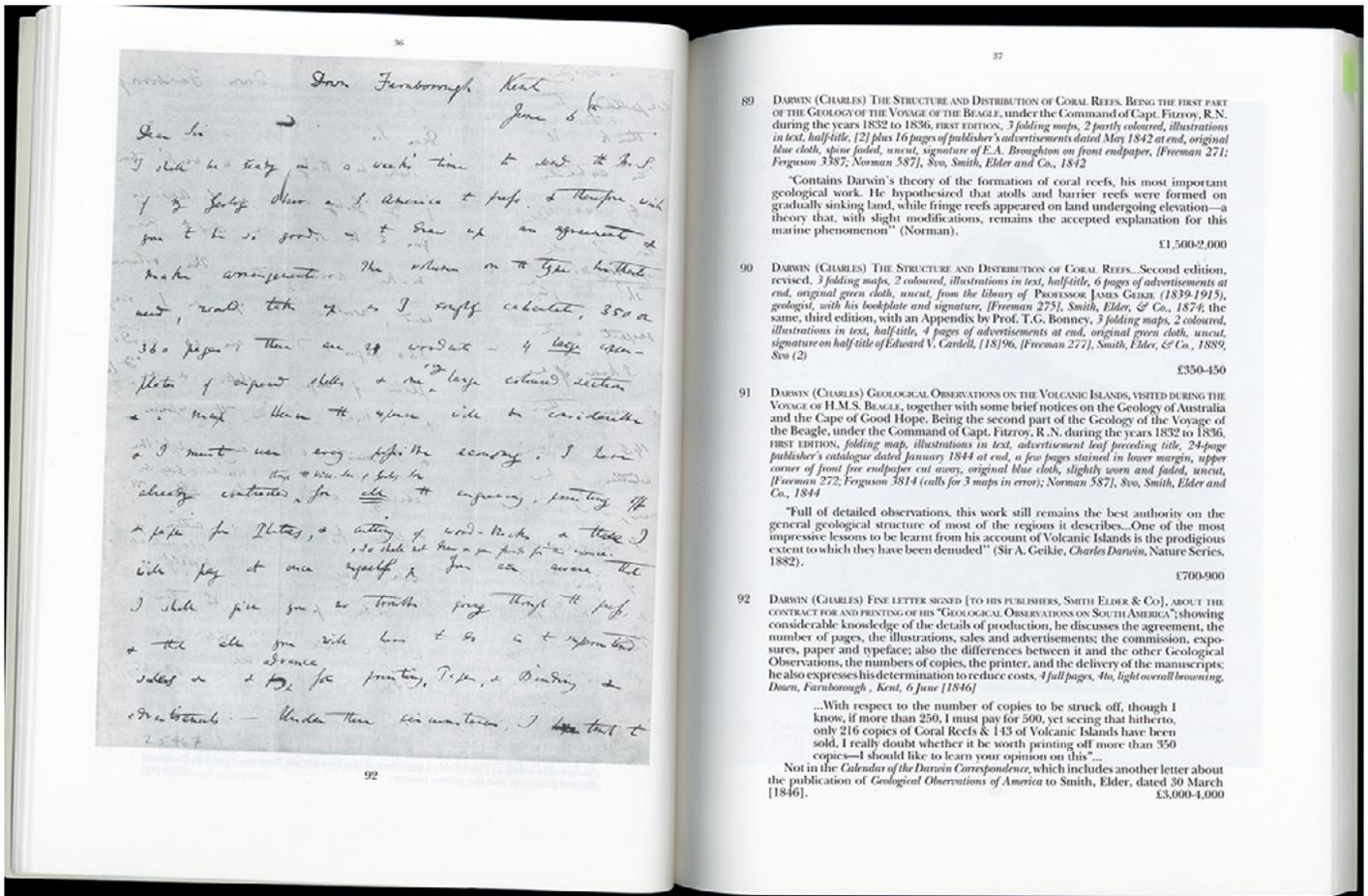
FRIDAY 11TH DECEMBER 1992

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FIRST SESSION AT 11.00 AM	<b>1.201</b>
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**Important notice**  
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**Acceptance of any bid by the auctioneer is conditional upon the above being acceptable.**  
 For more information on these details, please contact a member of the Legal Department or the Legal Department PROXY on bidding.

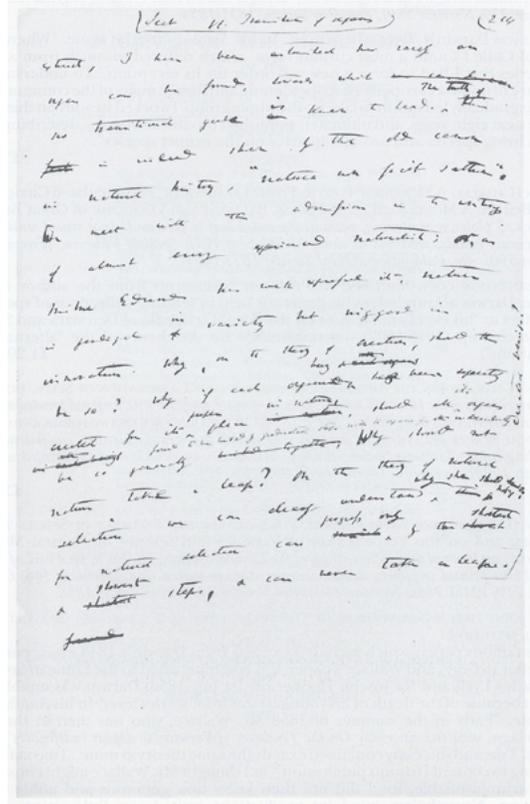
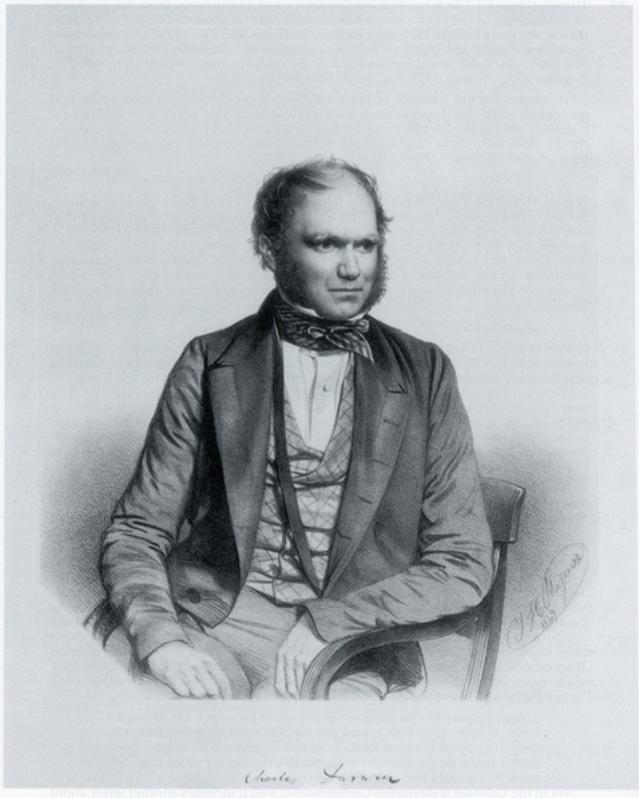


Item 92 in the sale, which is illustrated in the catalogue, contains some unusual information about the publication of Darwin's three-volume series of volumes on the geology of the *Beagle* voyage.

First we learn that Darwin paid for the publication, and that 500 copies each of *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* and *Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands* were issued; we also learn that by 1846 only 216 copies of *Coral Reefs* and 143 copies of *Volcanic Islands* had sold. Perhaps more significantly, we learn why the last volume of the series, *Geological Observations on South America*, is so much scarcer than the first two: Darwin suggests here that only 350 copies of the last volume should be printed due to the mediocre sales of the first two volumes. This does confirm experience over the years that the last volume of the series is by far the hardest to find. After initial sales the publisher must have had a fair number left over since they later collected all the first editions into a remainder volume.

The letter also raises another question: Did Darwin pay for the very fancy, beautiful and expensive *Zoology of the Beagle*? That set was issued by the same publisher at the same time. The letter would imply that Darwin did underwrite the cost of the more expensive set, and if so, we are left with the conclusion that coming from a wealthy family did have its advantages in the early part of Darwin's scientific career, before the publication of *On the Origin of Species*. Many people have drawn attention to the economic contrast between Darwin and the co-discoverer of natural selection, Alfred Russel Wallace, who came from a comparatively poor, working class family.

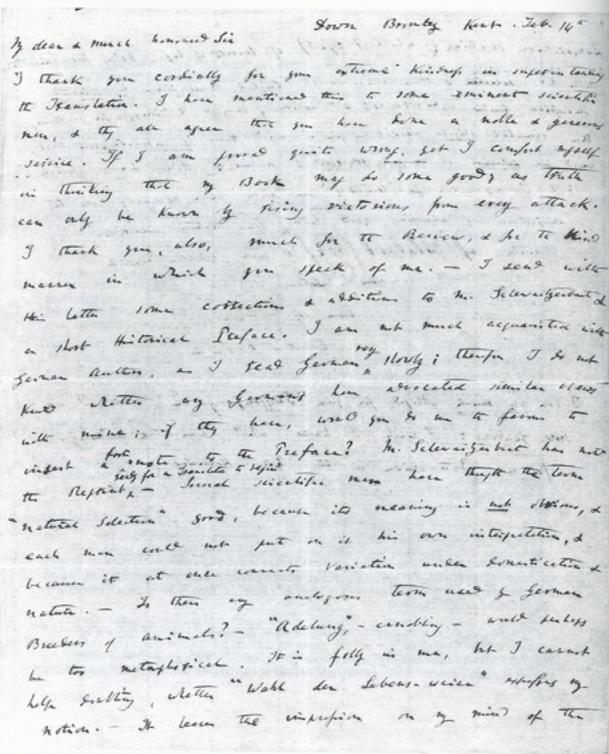
Continuing through the auction catalogue, here is one of my favorite portraits of Darwin (next page, top right). I have only owned one copy of the original of this print in more than fifty years. It is the only large format



lithographed portrait of Darwin published before he reached old age. Parenthetically, when I was young I disliked the portraits of Darwin with the long gray beard, which are so often seen. Naturally, as I have grown older my taste for those older portraits of Darwin has increased.

Item 110 in the sale (top right) was a leaf from the original manuscript of *On the Origin of Species*. This leaf concerned both creation and natural selection. I doubt if a more significant leaf of *On the Origin of Species* has

appeared for sale since. Perhaps some of you know that Darwin was not possessive or protective of his autograph manuscripts after a book was published, and manuscripts of his works were distributed around his house and sometimes doodled on by his children, so 30 or 40 years ago individual sheets tended to turn up. Another point to keep in mind here is that in the 1970s and 1980s several pages of Darwin's manuscript of *On the Origin of Species* came on the market through the late dealer Eric Korn, who had some contacts with members of the Darwin family. It was hard to know at the time, but those were for the most part the last to appear on the market. Those that have appeared since then are basically the same leaves being recycled.



The next slide (bottom) is an incredible letter in which Darwin defined the meaning of natural selection. I have never heard of a more significant letter by Darwin being sold.

And the next slide (facing page, left) is a set of Hallam's book on the history of literature in Europe, with Darwin's signature and notes. Note the very early version of Darwin's



Whereas our British 'Officers of Biology' merit the  
 the manifestation of gratitude and the honours which the Empire  
 confers by a statue in Westminster Abbey.  
 In the British Museum sculptural Memorials have  
 been accorded to meritorious Officers; - to Paracelsus in relation to  
 the Department of Printed Books; to John Edward Gray,  
 in relation to the Department of Zoology.  
 Whether the colonization of Scientists at home or abroad  
 of Charles Darwin's claims to posthumous honours, be met  
 or their expectations fulfilled, by placing a statue in  
 the Museum of Natural History may be a question  
 for 'Administration'.  
 Believe me,  
 faithfully yours  
 Rich. Owen.  
 Rt Hon. James Herbert Walpole, M.P.

Below left are some very rare photographs of figures in Darwin's century that remain in my collection today. In the first row are two photographs of Darwin; the middle row shows Huxley (left) and geologist Charles Lyell (right); the bottom row shows naturalists Philip Gosse (left) and Richard Owen (right).

As a dealer, I am expected to be an expert on the pricing of books, so let's take a look at some of the auction records for the first edition of *On the Origin of Species*:

The website Rare Book Hub now offers auction records on books going back into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Recent records for the first edition of the *Origin* show auction prices ranging between \$25,000 and \$298,000 in 2015 and 2016.

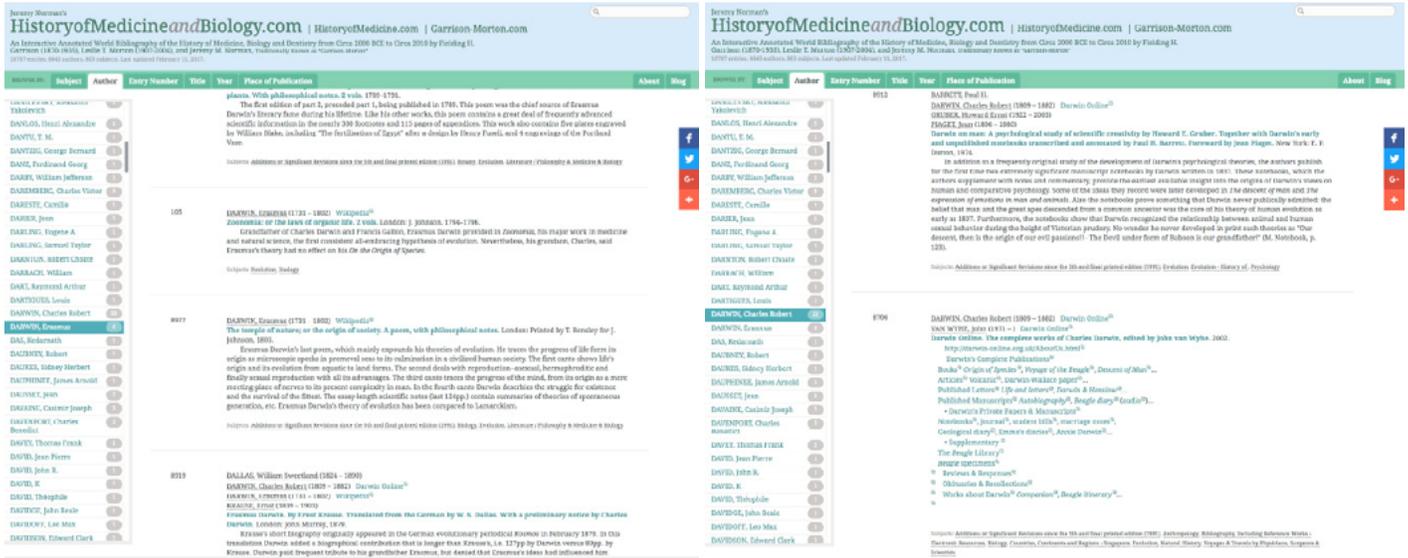
It appears that the *Origin* may not have been sold at auction until the 1930s. Rare Book Hub's earliest records for the first edition show copies auctioning for between 12 and 38 GBP in 1931 and 1934. From old dealer's catalogues, which I saw in the past, I noted that dealers like Bernard Quaritch were offering the first edition of the *Origin* for nominal prices of say 5 GBP or less around 1900, reflecting that the subject was not fashionable to collect so close in time to the Darwinian revolution in biology. There have been 153 recorded auction sales of the *Origin* since the 1930s. This is probably greater than any other classic in science. This exceptionally large number of sales probably reflects the fame of the work, and the fact that most of the 1250 copies of the first edition were saved, either in libraries or private hands, leaving a significant number to sell and recycle through the marketplace.

The book remains, I believe, the most widely known and appreciated first edition in the entire history of science. As a result, every collector wants to own it, and if this trend continues, we will in time see even higher prices for it than we see today. Whether this trend will continue for other writings by Darwin is less clear. Supply of many is very limited, and because the prices are at very high levels, it is possible that the prices of some might level off or even decline. There is no law of nature that book prices must always go up, though many antiquarian booksellers would like to promote that mythology.

And now, in keeping with the title of my talk, *A Collector's Evolution*, I would like to talk about my Darwin-related projects, as they have evolved over the past more than fifty years.

First here are screenshots of the online version of *Morton's Medical Bibliography*, or Garrison-Morton, which last appeared in book form in 1991. For the past year or so I have been editing and expanding this as an interactive





an annotated bibliography online ([www.historyofmedicine.com](http://www.historyofmedicine.com)). Darwin and evolution and biology form a major component of this very large online bibliography, which links to other online references and to digital facsimiles of many books and papers. As I mentioned earlier in this talk, I regard this huge online bibliography as a process of collecting and organizing information, including bibliographical citations and links to digital facsimiles of books and scientific papers, when possible.

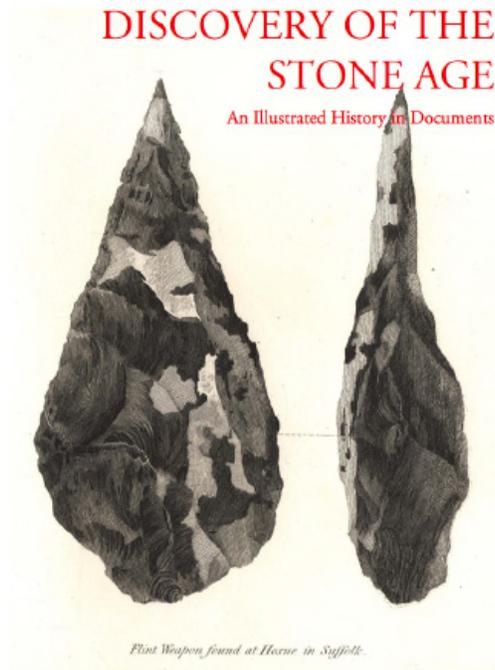
Relating more directly to physical books, if we go back to the auction catalogue of my *Darwin's Century* Library in 1992, we find that I included the following statement in my introduction.

“While many others have collected first editions of Charles Darwin, I believe that I was one of the first collectors to form a private library around the theme of the history of evolution in general. I was also one of the first to form a sub-collection on human prehistory, or the antiquity of man. I was able to find first editions of works on such notable fossils finds as Neanderthal Man, Pithecanthropus Erectus, and even the historic hoax, Pilt-down Man. Prior to Neanderthal Man there were other discoveries of human fossils recorded in such memorable books as the color-plate atlas by Esper and the very rare treatise by Schmerling. This subject is a relatively new field in collecting but one of great interest.”

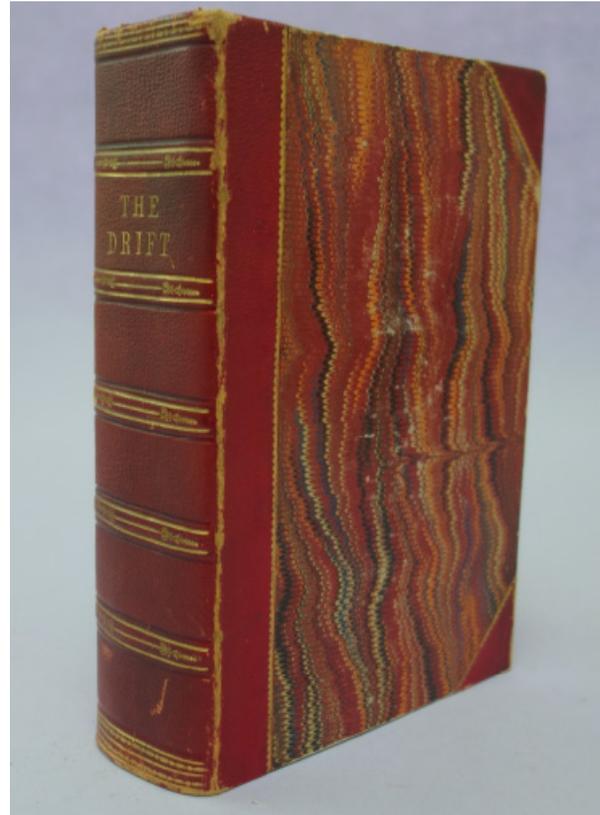
As it turned out, few shared my interest in the classics of what came to be called human origins, and when most of those items came back from the auction unsold I set them aside. The handful of other human origins related material that was bought in at the auction was the beginnings of a collection, but for years it was very difficult to add to it because science dealers were not interested in the topic. Almost no one offered anything on the subject for sale in a catalogue, of if they did, it was always pretty much the same thing: Darwin's *Descent of Man*, Boucher de Perthes' three-volume set, sometimes Charles Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, etc.

Then came the Internet.

By 2005, after reading every reference work on the subject that I could find and scouring the Internet, I had assembled a collection on what I then called *Discovery of the Stone Age*, as the collection of books and manuscripts was mainly on human fossils as from the Paleolithic as they were discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. When Diana Hook and I drafted this text in 2005 I had 288 items, including many very remarkable inscribed books, association copies, letters and manuscripts. Since then the collection has grown to around 2500 items, including books, pamphlets, hundreds of letters, and even manuscripts of a few complete books, in one case showing how the book was revised and expanded through three editions. This collection is very comprehensive for the history of human physical anthropology and Paleolithic art, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; it is, I believe, the most in depth collection on a significant scientific subject formed by an individual during



Diana H. Hook and Jeremy M. Norman



the past 50 years or more. So, my goal here is to issue an annotated descriptive bibliography, organized chronologically so the annotations to the publications will tell a story. Hopefully Diana Hook and I will get this book done in the next two or three years. The current working title is *Discovery of Human Origins*. It is likely to be a two-volume set.

In the beginning of this lecture I mentioned that large collections often start with one purchase, sometimes one book, and I said that I no longer remember the first purchase that got me started collecting Darwin and evolution. Perhaps there was no single book; perhaps the real impetus was reading Eiseley's *Darwin's Century*. With respect to my Human Origins collection I truly can trace it back to one book that I purchased from Richard Gurney in the 1960s. For some reason, when I consigned my *Darwin's Century* collection to Sotheby's I held back one book. I am not sure why; partly it was an unsolved mystery, I was intrigued by it but didn't understand it, and I knew that it wouldn't sell for much at the time.

The volume that I couldn't bring myself to part with was a volume of miscellaneous early pamphlets assembled by an English newspaper publisher named James Wyatt in the 1860s. This volume intrigued me sufficiently that even though I did not understand it at the time I decided to set it aside, and not include it in the auction sale.

This unique volume of thirty pamphlets and news clippings on prehistory was formed by Wyatt from 1860 to 1864. On the flyleaf of this volume Wyatt had written a note that would intrigue any collector: "These pamphlets are very scarce. They are all presentation copies from the authors." This volume, poetically entitled "The Drift" on its spine, captured my imagination. "Drift" was a Victorian term for alluvial deposits, in which flint implements were sometimes found. So, even though I parted with my *Darwin's Century* collection I kept the seed of my present *Discovery of Human Origins* library.

In 1974 Howard Gruber published a volume called *Darwin on Man: A Psychological study of Scientific Creativity*. This contained the first publication of two very significant manuscript notebooks by Darwin written in 1837. These notebooks, which the authors supplemented with notes and commentary, provided the earliest available insight into the origins of Darwin's views on human and comparative psychology. Some of the ideas they

recorded were later developed in *The Descent of Man* and *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals*. Also, the notebooks prove something that Darwin never publicly admitted: The belief that man and the great apes descended from a common ancestor was the core of his theory of human evolution as early as 1837. Furthermore, the notebooks show that Darwin recognized the relationship between animal and human sexual behavior during the height of Victorian prudery. No wonder he never developed in print such theories as “Our descent, then is the origin of our evil passions!!— The Devil under form of Baboon is our grandfather!” (M. Notebook, p. 123).

In the *Descent of Man* Darwin also predicted that because of the population of anthropoid apes on that continent man’s ancestors would be found in Africa. Though he never wrote much about human origins himself I think Darwin would have been interested in my human origins library if he were alive today.

Within *The Discovery of Human Origins* is a certain amount of material by Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, Lyell, and other actors and contributors to the theory of evolution in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Also in that library are works by scientists and amateurs who collected artifacts such as flint instruments or even human fossils but did not necessarily subscribe to the theory of evolution by natural selection. In much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the study of physical anthropology was quite distinct and somewhat parallel to research on the theory of evolution. To me, collecting the story of the discovery of human origins, the history of physical anthropology such as the early fossil finds of the Neanderthals, the Australopithecines, and other hominins, and recording the opposing side of the arguments, better reflects the development of scientific evidence and its interpretation, as it occurred. From more than fifty years in the book business I know that most collectors only focus on the side of the scientific argument that they support—the Darwinian side—and this concentration has driven up the prices of Darwin first editions and the few Darwin letters in private hands to the level they have reached today. This pattern has been true for as long as I can remember. It has been true even though the opposition can be just as interesting, but for different reasons, and of course the opposition always sells for a fraction of the price.

Here are a couple more items relating to human origins that I retained. At the top is the only poster I have ever seen that refers to the missing link concept. I believe that this poster dates from the 1830s, around the time that Darwin became interested in the relationship of man to the great apes.

Below that is a cartoon published probably around 1870 or so caricaturing the widespread misconception that Darwin argued that humans are descended from present-day apes. As we know, Darwin believed that we are descended from species of apes or hominins that became extinct long ago. Since Darwin’s time the fossil record has enabled us to continue to fill in the predecessors of *Homo* in our evolutionary chain.



As I reflect on my memories that go back at least 55 years, I remember how, influenced by Loren Eiseley, and other historians of the time, I decided to collect the history of the evolution controversy, with Darwin and its center, but including the other major figures, and the religious and scientific opposition to the theory of evolution by natural selection. Little did I know then that the debates that sparked so much controversy in the nineteenth century, and were so well-publicized in cases like the Scopes trial in the 1920s, but seemed for the most part to have been resolved in the 1960s, would still be raging in our political discourse today.