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VOLUME TEN APRIL 2013
The Victorian Language of Flowers



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Cover illustration:

Frontispiece of Thomas Miller's *Poetical Language of Flowers*, 1847:
hand-coloured lithograph incorporating an outline of a Roman
statue of Cupid and Psyche in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.

Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library

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The Victorian language of flowers

BRENT ELLIOTT

c/o The Lindley Library, the Royal Horticultural Society, London

A century ago, the “Victorian language of flowers” seemed to have reached the end of its life. The torrent of new publications had dwindled to the point where it was no longer even a trickle, more a bit of damp sludge at the bottom of an abandoned watercourse. By 1935, when the reaction against all things Victorian was at its height, a writer in the *Gardeners’ Chronicle* remarked of the old language of flowers books “how antique in spirit they seem – how remote from the thought of the present age; far more so than many a book which, judged by the date on its title page, is three times as old” (Redgrove, 1935).

Fifty years later, the world had changed and the language of flowers was returning. Curiosity about the Victorian period had led to the republication of some of the more decorative manuals, and following Claire Powell’s *Meaning of Flowers* (1977), the number of new books on the subject had begun to multiply. By the early 1980s, every week brought further telephone calls to the library of the Royal Horticultural Society asking for the meaning of a flower, or for a flower that would symbolise a particular sentiment. I became so annoyed by the number of times I had to tell enquirers that there was no single consistent set of meanings of flowers, that I compiled a little card catalogue of plants, based on the dozen or so period works which we had in the library, so that if someone rang up to ask what was the meaning of, say, a crocus, I could quickly say: “Well, it depends on which book you consult; it could mean Youthfulness, Youthful Gladness, The Pleasures of Hope, Rashness, Impatience, or Abuse Not”. To which, all too often, came the further query, “But what is its *real* meaning?”, and somehow my standard reply, “Plants don’t have real meanings; it’s human beings who assign meanings to them”, was never perceived as adequate.

The frequency of such enquiries has dwindled, possibly because of the greater number of books available for consultation, and more recently because of the internet, which houses a multiplicity of websites about the language of flowers. Some of these websites have commentaries

that acknowledge the inconsistency of the various systems available, but others simply reproduce the directories of out-of-copyright books. We have recently read that the Duchess of Cambridge chose the flowers in her wedding bouquet for their meanings in a language of flowers system. So the subject is ripe for serious study, but as yet no comprehensive bibliography of the nineteenth-century literature has been compiled, and no comprehensive dictionary of the various suggested meanings. So, once more unto the breach: this is the fourth paper I have published on the subject, and with any luck it will be my last.¹ Thanks to the miracles of computerisation, my old card catalogue has been superseded by an Excel spreadsheet, and I have attempted to render this in print, later on in this article. In what follows, I shall confine myself to the French and English-language traditions; it is obvious that the German and Italian traditions offer their own distinct nuances.

Charlotte de la Tour

In 1819, a little book entitled *Le Langage des fleurs* was published at Paris by “Charlotte de la Tour”. For several years, the author’s identity remained a mystery. At least one edition (issued in Brussels) attributed the authorship to Aimé Martin. It wasn’t until much later that the author was identified as Louise Cortambert. Beverly Seaton has a good account of the history of the different attributions (Seaton, 1995: 70–72); the sources in which I originally found Cortambert’s identity asserted described her as the wife of the geographer Eugène Cortambert (1805–1881), but Seaton contacted the family, who made it clear that she was the geographer’s mother. This is confirmed by the family grave in the Cimetière de Passy in Paris, where her name (Louise Henriette Cortambert, née Delaistre) is first

¹ I first treated this subject in a lecture at a conference organised by the Folk-Lore Society, an abstract of which was published by Roy Vickery (Elliott, 1985). This was followed in 1993 by an article in *The Garden* (Elliott, 1993), and then by a longer piece published in French in the volume *L’Empire de Flore* (Elliott, 1996). Meanwhile the anthropologist Jack Goody had treated the language of flowers in his ambitious but inconclusive *Culture of Flowers* (Goody, 1993), and Beverly Seaton had published *The Language of Flowers: a History* (Seaton, 1995), which largely agreed with my conclusions, and had the advantage of dealing with a number of American versions of the language of flowers that were not included in the Lindley Libraries’ collection.

on the tombstone, and the names of Eugène *et al.* appended. Her dates are shown on the stone as 1782–1875, so she would have been in her late thirties at the time *Le Langage des fleurs* appeared. Seaton's contact in her family insisted that she was not the author of that work, but gave no evidence, so we can accept Seaton's verdict that she was the *probable* author.

The volume contained illustrations by Pancrace Bessa, and was arranged by season in chapters comprising a series of essays on different plants, each of which was assigned a meaning. At the end of the work was placed a "Dictionnaire du langage des fleurs", which listed in alphabetical order the messages which one could convey. Subsequent editions added an alphabetical list of plants as well. In total, the book proffered 330 different senses, but this number varied greatly over the course of the different editions. The range of notions allowed one to send messages of love, acceptance, and refusal, for the most part evoking an emotion or a psychological state (patience, persuasion, voluptuousness, coldness), but others gave instructions or precise replies (render me justice, my regrets accompany you to the grave, better to die than lose one's innocence).

Le Langage des fleurs may not have been the first language-of-flowers book – by one standard, that priority falls to Delachénaye's *Abécédaire de Flore* (1811), about which more later – but it was the first book to be devoted solely to that subject, and it was the one which would be translated into various languages and spread the idea of the language of flowers to other countries. Within the space of a decade, the fashion for the language of flowers spread. Many different works were published. By the 1850s, Charlotte de la Tour could flatter herself on the extraordinary popularity which her system had achieved in England (though not, as we will see, without numerous alterations).

In her preface, Charlotte de la Tour claimed to be following an ancient tradition:

Ce langage, mieux que l'écriture, se prête à toutes les illusions d'un coeur tendre et d'une imagination vive et brillante. Dans les beaux temps de la chevalerie, l'amour respectueux et fidèle emprunta souvent ce doux langage. Les livres gothiques sont pleins d'emblèmes



BRENT ELLIOTT



Figs 1, 2. The Cortambert tomb in the Cimetière de Passy, Paris, with Louise Cortambert's inscription first, and Eugène's the first on the left side beneath hers.

composés avec des fleurs: on voit dans le roman de Perceforêt qu'un chapeau de roses est un trésor pour les amants...

This language, more than writing, lends itself to all the illusions of a tender heart and lively and brilliant imagination. In the great days of chivalry, respectful and faithful love often made use of this sweet language. Gothic books are full of emblems composed of flowers: we can see in the romance of Perceforêt that a garland of roses is a treasure for lovers; we can read in that of Amadis that Oriane, imprisoned, unable to speak or write to her lover, alerted him to her plight by throwing down from a tower a rose bathed in her tears: charming expression of love and pain! The Chinese have an alphabet composed entirely of plants and roots; and again one reads on the stones of Egypt the ancient conquests of these people expressed using exotic plants. This language is therefore as old as the world; but it can never grow old, because each spring renews its characters, and nonetheless the freedom of our manners has relegated it to the



Fig. 3. Engraving from the 1819 edition of Charlotte de la Tour's *Langage des fleurs*. Engraving by Victor after Pancrace Bessa, showing a weeping willow, emblem of melancholy.

amusement of seraglios. The beautiful Odaliskes use it often to retaliate against the tyrant who outrages and scorns their charms: a simple spray of lily of the valley, dropped as if by chance, lets a young icoglan know that the favourite sultana, weary of a tyrannical love, wishes to inspire and partake of a lively and pure sentiment. If he sends in reply a rose, it's as if he tells her that rationality opposes her plans; but a tulip with a black centre and flame-like petals gives her the assurance that her desires are understood and reciprocated; this ingenious correspondence, which could never betray or reveal a secret, suddenly invests life, movement and interest in those sad places normally inhabited by indolence and boredom. For us, who live without constraint, and for whom cleverness is a charm, a virtue, and not a dire necessity, we have consecrated to love these sweet mysteries, and it is these which give them their loveliest attraction, for liberty, which this god pursues unceasingly, is its cruellest enemy.

Let us now look at these claims for the antecedents and origins of the language of flowers.

The fictions of orientalism

Among the sources Charlotte de la Tour listed, one was an alleged Turkish custom of using a flower code to pass secret messages in the harem. This became the opinion most tenaciously associated in France with the language of flowers; so let us examine what lay behind it.

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu travelled to Turkey. As a woman, she was able to gain access to the harem. Her letters describing her travels in the East were published posthumously in 1763, and were quickly translated into the various European languages. In a letter dated 16 March 1718, she announced that she was sending her correspondent a curiosity:

I have got for you, as you desire, a Turkish Love-letter, which I have put in a little Box, and order'd the Captain of the Smyrniote to deliver it to you with this letter. The Translation of it is literally [*sic*] as follows. The first piece you should pull out of the purse is a little Pearl, which is in Turkish call'd ingi, and should be understood in this manner:

Pearl Ingi	Sensin Uzellerin gingi Fairest of the young.
Caremfil a clove	Caremfilsen cararen Yok conge gulsum timarin yok Benseny chok tan severim Senin benden haberin Yok You are as slender as this clove; You are an unblown Rose; I have long lov'd you, and you have not known it.
Pul a Jonquil	derdime derman bul Have pity on my passion.
Kihat paper	Billerum sahat sahat I faint every hour.
ermut pear	ver bize bir umut Give me some hope.
sabun Soap	Derdinden oldum Zabun I am sick with Love.
chemur coal	ben oliyim size umur May I die, and all my years be yours!
Gul a Rose	ben aglarum sen gul May you be pleas'd, and all your sorrows mine!
Hazir a straw	Oliim sana Yazir Suffer me to be your slave.
Jo ha cloth	ustune bulunmaz Paha Your Price is not to be found.
tartsin cinamon	sen ghel ben chekeim senin hargin But my Fortune [Estate] is yours.

Gira esking-ilen oldum Ghira
 a match I burn, I burn, my flame consumes me.

Sirma uzunu benden ayirma
 Gold thread Don't turn away your face.

Satch Bazmazun tatch
 Hair Crown of my head.

Uzum Benim iki Guzum
 Grape My Eyes.

tel uluyorum tez ghel
 Gold wire I die – come quickly.

And by way of postscript:

Biber Bize bir dogru haber
 pepper Send me an answer.

You see this letter is all verses, and I can assure you there is as much fancy shewn in the choice of them as in the most study'd expressions of our Letters, there being (I beleive) a million of verses design'd for this use. There is no colour, no flower, no weed, no fruit, herb, pebble, or feather that has not a verse belonging to it; and you may quarrel, reproach, or send Letters of passion, freindship, or Civillity, or even of news, without ever inking your fingers. (Montagu, 1965: I 388–389; and see 464–465 for a version with the Turkish spelling, orthography, and translation corrected.)

One can easily perceive that the secret code described by Montagu was not a language of flowers. First of all, it was not “of flowers”, because it encompassed a wide range of inanimate objects; and it was not a “language”, because it did not attribute any significations to the objects, but used them simply as mnemonic devices, a handy way of memorising verses which rhymed with the names of the objects. None of those who actually visited Turkey spoke of this system as a language of flowers, but this fact did not stop the phrase from spreading. The orientalist Joseph

von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), who visited Istanbul for the first time in 1799, published in 1809 an article on the language of flowers, in which he denounced the exaggerations of Montagu’s letter. Not only was there no language of flowers, he declared, the mnemonic system was never used in Turkey outside the harem, nor could it be found in any other region of the orient; it was not used to arrange liaisons with male servants or lovers outside the harem, but, if it was anything more than a game, was more likely used for lesbian assignations among its occupants.

Hammer-Purgstall’s paper was written in French, and published twice within the same year (1809), in a German orientalist magazine and in the French periodical *Annales des voyages* (Hammer-Purgstall, 1809a and 1809b). In an appendix to his paper, Hammer-Purgstall provided a list of 107 rhymes associated with objects. Among them were not only several flowers, fruits and vegetables (pear, apple, fig, grape, quince, pepper, almond, bean, orange, lemon, cucumber, onion, pistachio, apricot, cherry, chestnut, chickpeas, carrot, pomegranate, jonquil, tuberose, lily, cypress, hyacinth, willow, violet, rose, myrtle – as well as a rosebud and carnation grouped together to accompany the only rhyme longer than a distich), but also objects ranging from foodstuffs (honey, tea, coffee, mussels), fabrics (thread, wire, silk, leather) and items of clothing (a turban, a skullcap, a slipper) to ornaments (feathers, coral, amber) and DIY materials (chalk, putty, brick, straw, quicklime), not to mention coins, needles, soap, tobacco, and an arrow. (Not all the items in Hammer-Purgstall’s list yield their identity readily: I assume, for example, that *Blanc* and *Jaune* mean egg white and egg yolk respectively.) And, just to show that the possibility of confusion existed even with this system of communication, some of the items had more than one possible verse attached to them. The rose, for instance: Hammer-Purgstall quotes two different verses that rhymed with “Ghul”, one that can be translated as “My torments have reduced me to ashes”, and the other as “I weep; you, laugh”. There are similarly two verses each for paper and pearl, and no fewer than four for hair.¹

This ought to have killed off the idea of a Turkish language of flowers,

¹ Despite his efforts at debunking a secret symbolism at the outset of his career, Hammer-Purgstall ended by becoming obsessed with the Knights Templars and their alleged secret symbolism.

but not everyone read Hammer-Purgstall. One who didn't was Sir Walter Scott, who extrapolated from Turkey to Moorish Spain. In chapter 20 of *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), Lady Hermione recalls her adventures while imprisoned there, and her attempts to escape: "I knew something of the symbolical language of flowers, once carried to such perfection among the Moriscoes of Spain; but if I had been ignorant of it, the captive would soon have caught at any hint that seemed to promise liberty." One day, an "old Moorish slave" says to her, *sotto voce*, "There is Heart's Ease near the postern", and on venturing there she hears her husband's voice. But this example contradicts the alleged Moorish origin of the custom: heartsease was very much an English name, without a counterpart in any of the languages spoken in the Iberian peninsula. Scott presumably based his notion of a "symbolical language of flowers" on Montagu, and supposed that it had a pan-Arabic distribution. But such was the reverence accorded Scott that his errors and inventions quickly became a part not only of British but also of European culture.

The attribution of a Turkish, or more generally oriental, origin for the language of flowers contributed significantly to its success in France. One nuance that accompanied the French versions but did not spread into England was the use of the word *sélam* as a name for the language. *Sélam* is fairly evidently a corruption of *salaam*, the standard Arabic word of greeting; I know of no evidence that this word or any variant of it was ever used in Turkey for the mnemonic system. I do not know who first coined *sélam* as a French word; it can be traced back to 1771, in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*,¹ where it was defined as "a bouquet of flowers whose disposition and arrangement express by agreement a sort of silent language". Balzac used the word in *Le Lys dans la vallée* (to be discussed later): "En savourant les voluptés que je rêvais sans les connaître, que j'avais exprimées dans mes sélams". And in 1834, an anthology, modelled on English keepsake annuals, was published in Paris under the title *Le*

¹ The *Dictionnaire universel français et latin*, commonly called the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, new edition, 1771. Beverly Seaton (Seaton, 1995: 61–64) gives some useful information on the history of the phrase without discovering its origin, and indeed follows the French habit of employing it as a synonym for the language of flowers, even when discussing writers like Hammer-Purgstall who did not use the phrase themselves.



GOOGLE BOOKS

Fig. 4. Frontispiece to *Le Sélam*, 1834.

Sélam, with a preface by Théophile Gautier, which muddied the waters still further by pointing to Byron as a source:

Sélam! – Qu’est-ce que cela veut dire, vont se demander les belles dames qui liront ce livre? Est-ce du grec, de l’hébreu, du chinois, du sanscrit, de l’iroquois? – est-ce un nom d’homme, un nom de femme, un nom de contrée? – Rien de tout cela. – Alors qu’est-ce donc? – Tout bonnement un honnête mot turc, et non autre chose. – Maintenant, que signifie ce mot turc, et pourquoi sert-il de titre à un livre qui, selon toutes les probabilités, doit être écrit en français? ... Cependant, grâce à une note de lord Byron, je suis en état de vous expliquer le sens de ce mot incongru.

Le *Sélam* est un bouquet de fleurs allégoriques que les odalisques font parvenir à leurs amants par l’entremise de quelque vieille, ou en le leur jetant à travers les treillis de leurs kiosques. Chaque fleur est une phrase; le fraisil veut dire: je brûle pour toi; ainsi du reste (Gautier, in Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, 1887, I: 53–55).¹

Sélam! – What does that mean, the lovely ladies who read this book will ask. Is it Greek, Hebrew, Chinese, Sanskrit, Iroquois? – the name of a man, of a woman, of a country? – None of the above. – So what is it then? – A good honest Turkish word, and nothing more. – Now, what does this Turkish word signify, and why should it form the title of a book which looks as though it’s written in French? ... Well, thanks to a note by Lord Byron, I am in a position to explain the meaning of this incongruous word.

The *Sélam* is a bouquet of allegorical flowers which odalisques manage to pass to their lovers by the medium of an old woman,

¹ I have not been able to see a copy of *Le Sélam*, but Gautier’s text is included in its entirety in Spoelberch de Lovenjoul’s bibliography, and this is what I have used. But the work is now available on Google Books, so I have at last been able to see the frontispiece, which is reproduced on p.13: an engraving of the presentation of a bouquet in a harem. Gautier concluded that the relation of the odalisque to the young man receiving the bouquet was analogous to the relation between England and France: England, “that beautiful odalisque of the north”, gave France the concept of the keepsake annual, which could be considered a bouquet of curious engravings.

or by tossing them across the trellis of their pavilions. Each flower is a phrase; the cinder says: I burn for you; and so on with the rest.

Gautier's assertion led certain writers to attribute the introduction of the word *sélam* into European usage to Byron, in whose works one will search for it in vain. (There is a note appended to "The Giaour" explaining the word *salaam* as a greeting, but no reference to floral symbolism.) In fact, Gautier was referring to Amédée Pichot's translation of a note drawn up by Byron in explication of the lines from his short poem "Maid of Athens, ere we part",

By all the token-flowers that tell
What words can never speak so well...

In the East (where ladies are not taught to write, lest they should scribble assignations) flowers, cinders, pebbles, &c. convey the sentiments of the parties by that universal deputy of Mercury – an old woman. A cinder says, "I burn for thee;" a bunch of flowers tied with hair, "Take me and fly;" but a pebble declares – what nothing else can.

Note that in citing this passage from Byron, in which a cinder and a pebble appear, Gautier contradicted the idea of a language of flowers. And neither Byron nor Pichot in his translation used the word *sélam*.

The word *sélam* never caught on in England or America, where the propaganda linking the language of flowers to an alleged Turkish origin was meagre, and where references to Mary Wortley Montagu were infrequent until a later generation. The reasons for this difference are not immediately apparent. It's not enough to invoke the different colonial interests of the countries – North Africa for France, India for England. The Turkish tales of Byron and the War of Greek Independence roused the same enthusiasm in both countries, and the years in which the language of flowers was in vogue brought a rich harvest of English poetry and fiction on Near Eastern themes, the major highlights of which were Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817), Thomas Hope's *Anastasius* (1819), *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) by James Morier, and George Meredith's *Shaving of Shagpat* (1855) – not to mention Torrens' and Lane's versions (1838, 1839–1841) of the *Arabian Nights*. I suspect

that the language of flowers was perceived in Britain as a French rather than an oriental invention, and the question of a Turkish origin was simply irrelevant.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and the literary origins of the language of flowers

The idea of a language of flowers, then, arose in France, against a cultural background that is strange and little known today. It is difficult now to appreciate the values of an age whose great literary figures were Rousseau, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Madame de Genlis, and the young Chateaubriand.

One significant literary trend that emerged in the late eighteenth century and carried on into the nineteenth, more in prose than in poetry, was what has been called in retrospect the *herbier sentimentale*: the detailed description of, and the ascription of great emotional value to, burgeoning vegetation – a key sign of the devotion to Nature with a capital N (Knight, 1986: 15–18). Rousseau was the most influential progenitor of this trend, with the rhapsody in *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) over the natural-looking garden, the account of his botanising in *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (1782), and his frequently republished and widely translated introduction to botany. In 1810, Madame de Genlis (1746–1830) produced *La Botanique historique et littéraire*, in which she reviewed various plants and their most familiar associations from classical and Christian mythology, and abstracted from them a range of current allusions. As for Chateaubriand, his lush descriptions of the American flora have already been the subject of an academic study (Gautier, 1951).

But the most important of these figures for the development of the language of flowers was Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737–1814). A disciple of Rousseau, with whom he had gone on botanising expeditions, and the only literary figure of prominence to have served as the director of a botanical garden, Bernardin had travelled to Mauritius and written a travel book (translated into English in 1775) which concentrated heavily on the island's flora. During the 1780s he was engaged in publishing his multi-volume sequence *Études de la nature*, which included as one part (1788) his novel *Paul et Virginie*, which is still, sad to say, the French novel which has undergone the greatest number of editions and translations. He followed this in 1790 with an enchanting

fable, *La Chaumière indienne* (translated in 1797 as *The Indian Cottage*). This tells the story of an English philosopher-scientist who, while on an expedition in India, tries to find a sage who will instruct him about the source of Truth; rebuffed by a great Brahmin, he eventually discovers what he needs from a “pariah” (i.e., presumably, an untouchable), whose philosophical wisdom has been nurtured in the schools of nature and of hardship. The pariah describes how he met and courted his wife, the widow of a Brahmin, whom he first saw attending her husband’s grave; his first approach results in some fruit being left for him.

“I felt this token of humanity: but, instead of taking the fruit, I laid flowers upon it, as an expression of my respect for her filial offering. The flowers were poppies, which told the share that I took in her affliction.

“On the following night, I saw with joy that she had approved my homage: the poppies were watered, and she had placed another basket of fruit ... To obtain a hearing, I borrowed the language of flowers, according to the custom of India, by adding marigolds to my poppies. The night after, I perceived that my poppies and my marigolds had been watered. The night following I became more venturesome: I joined with the poppies and the marigolds a flower of the *fulsapat* (from which a black dye for leather is made), as an expression of humble and unfortunate affection. The next day, at dawn, I ran to the tomb, but found my *fulsapat* withered, because it had not been watered. At night, with trembling expectation, I placed a tulip (with red leaves and black heart were expressive of my passion); the next day my tulip was in the same state with my *fulsapat*. This overwhelmed me with grief: on the morrow, however, I carried a rose-bud with its thorns, as a symbol of my hopes surrounded by many fears! But what was my anguish, when the break of day discovered to me my rose-bud far from the tomb!” (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *The Indian Cottage* [1817 ed.]

Fulsapat (*foulsapatte* in Bernardin’s text) was a vernacular name for *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, while tulips and marigolds had become familiar in India as garden plants by the late eighteenth century; but there is no reason to believe in the “language of flowers” described here.



Fig. 5. Plate III from Delachénaye's *Abécédaire de Flore ou Langage des Fleurs*, 1811. Hand-coloured engraving by Louis Bouquet after Pierre Jean-François-Turpin and Pierre-Antoine Poiteau.



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Fig. 6. Colour plate from an 1842 Belgian edition of Charlotte de la Tour's *Langage des fleurs*, attributed on the title page to Aimé Martin.

So, in an India with a fancifully various flora, there was an alleged language of flowers. Perhaps Bernardin's readers were taken in by this; but his most significant reader, from our point of view, was not. This was a "former military pensioner of the government", B. Delachénaye,¹ who in 1811 published a little volume under the title *Abécédaire de flore ou langage des fleurs*, with illustrations by the great team of Pierre-Jean-François Turpin and Pierre-Antoine Poiteau. (The name of Redouté, their greatest rival, appears on the list of subscribers.) The greater part of this work is devoted to a system in which the vowels and consonants are represented by flowers (chosen often, but not always, because of their initial letters), so that a composition of plants could be read like words. This was literally a floral alphabet, with this difference: that diphthongs and the multiple pronunciations of certain words were represented by their own distinct flowers. Whether Delachénaye's alphabet had any progeny is unlikely: the book never went into a second edition. But to this abecedary was appended an essay on floral emblems, and a list of 124 plants with proposed meanings (Delachénaye, 1811: 133–155).

Delachénaye made the usual obeisance to the alleged Turkish precedent, using the word *sélam* (and quoting as his source the melodramatist Pixérécourt – *ibid.*: 142). But his primary acknowledgement was to Bernardin; he included an extended quotation from *La Chaumière indienne* (*ibid.*: 136–143), and lamented that

Il y a, dans la *Chaumière indienne* du sentimental Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, un épisode qui fait regretter que cet écrivain distingué n'ait pas entrepris de composer une méthode complète d'un langage si désiré (*sic*; *ibid.*: 137).

There is an episode in *The Indian Cottage* ... which makes us regret that this distinguished writer didn't undertake the creation of a complete system of such a desirable language.

¹ The family name would once have been de la Chénaye, but the French Revolution initiated a fashion among the more liberal-minded aristocracy for toning down their names by merging the appended articles into the domain names. Other examples include the philosophers Degérando and Laromigière.

This passage allows us to understand why some editions of Charlotte de la Tour's *Langage des fleurs* were attributed to Aimé Martin (1781–1844). Martin was one of many followers of Bernardin, but he followed him more closely than most, editing his works and marrying his widow – and doing everything he could to reinforce the connection between them in the public mind. It took a later generation of scholars to prise Bernardin back out of Martin's clutches; "Nous savons que Bernardin de Saint-Pierre est toujours victime d'Aimé Martin" (Mornet, 1907: 10). The consequence, naturally, has been that for the last century Martin has been a dismissed and neglected figure, for whom there isn't even a standard bibliography.

Delachénaye, then, saw himself as continuing the work of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in compiling his directory of floral emblems. For a significant proportion of his floral meanings he used popular or literary associations: eglantine = "Poésie"; cypress = "Mort ou deuil"; myosotis = "Souvenez-vous de moi". If we look at the plants used by Bernardin's pariah, we find that Delachénaye's meanings are reasonably consistent with his text, but not entirely so: poppies = "Repos" rather than shared affliction; marigolds = "Peine, chagrin"; tulip = "Honnêteté" rather than passion; rose-bud = "Coeur qui ignore l'amour" if white, otherwise we might have to fall back on rose = "Beauté passagère". (No attempt at *fulsapat*.) Of the 124 floral meanings proposed by Delachénaye, 27 were adopted at the end of the decade by Charlotte de la Tour; there are several other cases in which the senses are very close, such as "jasmine de Virginie", which Delachénaye renders as "Pays lointains" and La Tour as "separation", or the narcissus, which means "Amour de soi-même" for Delachénaye and "Égoïsme" for La Tour. Not a very large proportion of her 330 meanings, but sufficient for Delachénaye to stand as her only real predecessor.

Charlotte de la Tour alleged a variety of sources for her language of flowers, but, apart from the alleged Turkish connection, primarily French and classical literature. The age was considering with a new interest the literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance – without initially seeing anything but simple curiosities that could not yet rival the classical rules pronounced by Malherbe and Boileau. Among the works which profited from this renewed attention, one of the most significant was *Le Guirlande*

de Julie, a stunningly decorated manuscript from the seventeenth century. Containing a number of poems by different hands using flowers to symbolise psychological states, it was assembled, and contributed to, by the Marquis de Montausier, and presented to Julie d'Angennes, the daughter of the Marquise de Rambouillet, on her fête day in 1641 (Frain, 1991). A printed edition of the *Guirlande* was published by Didot in 1784, with further editions in 1818 and 1826, so it was quite topical at the time of La Tour's first publication.¹

There were in addition other influences, spiritual, philosophical and occult, which during the two decades after La Tour's publication were increasingly brought to bear on the literature of the younger generation, which raised in a still hesitant manner a rebellion against the Newtonian, mechanistic conception of nature and sought for other visions of the world: Chateaubriand's apology for Christianity, the influence of Swedenborg on authors like Balzac, or, in the case of Gérard de Nerval, oneiric visions in the manner of the German romantics. Alfred de Musset asked the flower:

Ta verdure est-elle un secret?
Ton parfum est-il un langage?

This invocation of secret languages was something entirely different from Charlotte de la Tour's code, but for much of the literary audience the boundary between the two ranges of interest was easily crossed. It is against this background that one should see the most famous invocation in French fiction of a language of flowers: Balzac's *Le Lys dans la vallée* (translated as *The Lily of the Valley*, a title so ambiguous that his English translator had to insert a note pointing out that Balzac meant an actual lily, not *Convallaria majalis*). Balzac used not only a language of flowers (to which he referred several times, sometimes calling it "le sélam", sometimes presenting it as a spontaneous invention of the narrator), but also the political symbol of the fleur-de-lis, along with allusions to Martinism

¹ *Le Guirlande de Julie* was also known in England. *The Poetic Garland*, a "homage" to it, was published around 1826 in association with Benjamin Maund's *Botanic Garden*, using images from the first instalment of that work, accompanied by newly composed poems. See p.108 for one of the entries.

and other symbolic systems. The language of flowers appeared as one code among many others.¹ The novel is cast in the form of a memoir and confession, as a young man entering upon the life of high society recalls his first loves and the enthusiasms of his youth, and it ends with a packet of advice from his correspondent advising him how to behave if he wants to get on. Rustic innocence versus urban cynicism. Here is the narrator's account of how he set about conveying his messages of love by flower arrangement:

I sat down on the lower steps of the terrace flight, where we spread out our flowers, and set to work to compose two nosegays, by which I intended to symbolise a sentiment.

Picture to yourself a fountain of flowers, gushing up, as it were, from the vase and falling in fringed waves, and from the heart of it my aspirations rose as silver-cupped lilies and white roses. Among this cool mass twinkled blue cornflowers, forget-me-not, bugloss – every blue flower whose hues, borrowed from the sky, blend so well with white; for are they not two types of innocence – that which knows nothing, and that which knows all – the mind of a child and the mind of a martyr? Love has its blazonry, and the Countess read my meaning. She gave me one of those piercing looks that are like the cry of a wounded man touched on the tender spot; she was at once shy and delighted. What a reward I found in that look! What encouragement in the thought that I could please her and refresh her heart!

So I invented Father Castel's theory as applied to love, and rediscovered for her a lore lost to Europe where flowers of language take the place of the messages conveyed in the East by colour and fragrance. And it was charming to express my meaning through these daughters of the sun, the sisters of the blossoms that open under the radiance of love. I soon had an understanding with the products of the rural flora...

¹ For the influence on Balzac of the genre of codes (such as those developed by his friend Horace Raïsson, and published as *Code des gens honnêtes*, 1825; *Code gourmand*, 1827; *Code civil*, 1828, etc.), see Barbéris, 1970, I: 699–703.

Twice a week... I carried out the long business of this poetical structure, for which I needed every variety of grass, and I studied them all with care, less as a botanist than as an artist, and with regard to their sentiment rather than their form...

You can imagine this enchanting communication through the arrangement of a nosegay, as you would understand Saadi from a fragment of his poetry... A small grass, the vernal *Anthoxanthum*, is one of the chief elements in this mysterious combination. No one can wear it with impunity. If you put a few sprays of it in a nosegay, with its shining variegated blades like a finely striped green-and-white dress, unaccountable pulses will stir within you, opening the rosebuds in your heart that modesty keeps closed. Imagine, then, round the wide edge of the china jar a border composed entirely of the white tufts peculiar to a *Sedum* that grows in the vineyards of Touraine, a faint image of the wished-for forms, bowed like a submissive slave-girl. From this base rise the tendrils of bindweed with its white funnels, bunches of pink rest-harrow mingled with young shoots of oak gorgeously tinted and lustrous; these all stand forward, humbly drooping like weeping willow, timid and suppliant like prayers. Above, you see the slender blossoming sprays, for ever tremulous, of quaking grass and its stream of yellowish anthers; the snowy tufts of feather grass from brook and meadow, the green hair of the barren brome, the frail *agrostis* – pale, purple hopes that crown our earliest dreams, and that stand out against the grey-green background in the light that plays on all these flowering grasses. Above these, again, there are a few China roses, mingling with the light tracery of carrot leaves with plumes of cotton grass, marabout tufts of meadow-sweet, umbels of wild parsley, the pale hair of travellers' joy, now in seed, the tiny crosslets of milky-white candy-tuft and milfoil, the loose sprays of rose-and-black fumitory, tendrils of the vine, twisted branches of the honeysuckle – in short, every form these artless creatures can show that is wildest and most ragged – flamboyant and trident; spear-shaped, dentate leaves, and stems as knotted as desire writhing in the depths of the soul. And from the heart of this overflowing torrent of love, a grand red double poppy stands up with bursting buds, flaunting its burning flame above starry jessamine and above the ceaseless shower of

pollen, a cloud dancing in the air and reflecting the sunshine in its glittering motes. Would not any woman, who is alive to the subtle perfume that lurks in the *Anthoxanthum*, understand this mass of abject ideas, this tender whiteness broken by uncontrollable impulses, and this red fire of love imploring joys denied it in the hundred struggles of an undying, unwearied, and eternal passion? (Balzac, 1897: 102–107).

What are we to make of this? How large is this “nosegay”? The whole thing sounds rather improbable, especially if it is considered as a message. Please note that there is no suggestion that the narrator was following any recognised code, and indeed the language of flowers crafted by Charlotte de la Tour seems to be explicitly rejected – as “flowers of language”, contrasted with the true oriental device of relying on scent as a means of communication. Note also that the interpretation of the message in the nosegay seems to be arrived at through instinct alone. None of Balzac’s other works is so suffused with an idealistic vision of nature, or indulges in such an elaborate celebration of innocence. Some critics (e.g. Borel, 1961: 82–121, esp. 99–107) have moved in the direction of seeing this burst of youthful nature-enthusiasm as a spoof, a parody of the lush botanical undergrowth of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and his coevals. What is undeniably Balzacian about it – what connects this passage to Balzac’s other intellectual interests – is the notion of codes and correspondences, coupled with an exploration of synaesthesia. Take the reference to “Father Castel’s theory”: this refers to Louis-Bertrand Castel (1688–1757), who proposed an association between the notes of the musical scale and different colours. (Just how one would re-invent his theory in relation to love is another matter.) So Balzac’s famous passage was written with one eye on the language of flowers as promulgated by Charlotte de la Tour and her imitators, but with the other eye on rather different matters, occasionally winking at his readers.

The reception of La Tour in England: assimilation and independents

The English translation of Charlotte de la Tour’s book appeared in 1834 and was speedily emulated by English authors. In 1839, when the young Mary Ann Evans (who would later become famous as George Eliot) received the nickname “Clematis”, signifying “Mental beauty” (because

of her lack of the physical sort; Haigh, 1954: 60–61),¹ the interest of the English in the language of flowers was already well established.

But the language of flowers did not need to wait for La Tour to be translated. The first English writer on the subject was Henry Phillips, who was already a well-established gardening writer, with books like *Pomarium Britannicum* and *A History of Cultivated Vegetables* behind him, when he published a book of *Floral Emblems* in 1825. It is worth looking in some detail at Phillips' work, not only because of its pioneering status as far as England was concerned, but because some of the ways in which he interpreted and altered La Tour's directory became characteristic of the English-language tradition.

Many of Phillips' definitions were adopted from Charlotte de la Tour, and he acknowledged "the author's obligation to Madame la Comtesse [*sic*] de Genlis, to Madame de Latour and also to the author of Parterre de Flore [i.e. Charles Malo]" (Phillips, 1825: vii). Out of the nearly 300 definitions offered by Phillips, 128 were straightforward translations from La Tour; and there were still others which were obviously suggested by La Tour, but not straightforwardly. Some were simple mistranslations. Privet, which for La Tour meant "Défence" (i.e. Prohibition), was anglicised by Phillips into meaning "Defence", giving also a horticultural reason, that it was planted in garden hedges to protect tender plants (*ibid.*: 113). In the same way, the meaning of the columbine was toned down from "Folie" (Madness) to "Folly". Yet other meanings were adopted by Phillips, but transferred to other plants (perhaps by unfamiliarity with French vernacular names, and confusion over which plant was intended). "Austerity", for La Tour the meaning of thistle, Phillips transferred to the teasel; "Beauty always

¹ In the accompanying table, the meaning "Mental beauty" does not appear in any book published before 1869. This highlights the fact that the Lindley Libraries' collection of language of flowers books is quite incomplete, even for titles published in England. It is doubtful that there were any books on the language of flowers in the Horticultural Society's library when it was sold in 1859; they would probably have been thought irrelevant, or beneath the dignity of the Society to collect. While some of the nineteenth-century works on the subject in the Lindley Libraries may have been sent to the Society for review, the majority have been added by later donations.

new”, from the damask rose to the China rose; “Elevation”, from fir to silver fir. Phillips followed La Tour in giving “Old age” as the meaning for “tree of life”, but apparently misunderstood which plant was involved: he identified the tree of life as *Guaiaacum vittatum*, whereas for La Tour it had meant arbor-vitae, *Thuja* (now *Platycladus orientalis* (224).

Phillips also resisted certain aspects of La Tour’s rhetoric. There were limits to the degree of sexual implication he could tolerate: “the author has carefully avoided all indelicate allusions or *double-entendre* that could be offensive to modesty” (vii). The value Phillips placed on modesty can be seen in his making marjoram emblematic of Blushes, “as when the blood is suddenly sent into the cheeks of youth” (80). And so “Aimabilité” (jasmine) was rendered by Phillips as “Amiability” – affability rather than loveliness. “Luxe” (chestnut) became “Luxuriancy” (and in later English books was further amended to “Luxury”). Again, religion proved a stumbling block to the acclimatisation of La Tour. Where she gave “Croyance” as the meaning of the passion flower, Phillips, as a good Protestant, substituted “Religious superstition” (262–263). In all these points the majority of Anglo-American books on the language of flowers followed Phillips’ example.

He also rejected the alleged Turkish language of flowers: “These are merely the remains of the ancient customs of the eastern nations, where all was symbol, emblem, and allegory, and it must not be supposed that emblems were invented for the purposes of intrigue, for we find the scriptures full of the most beautiful parables, moral symbols, instructive allegories, and poetical emblems, that have ever been composed or collected” (viii–ix). Phillips was determined to make a language of flowers that exhibited a continuity with the culture of the past, and was not merely a new invention: “the first care was to avoid perplexity, by creating new symbols, with such flowers as have been previously used in the hieroglyphics of the ancients or described in the verses of the poets. Therefore, when the compiler found the same plant made to represent more than one design, he selected the emblem of the greatest antiquity, or the one most established by custom” (v–vi). So he made the fig represent “Argument”, “from the circumstance of Cato’s taking a fig in his hand, when he stimulated the Roman senators to declare war against Carthage” (64), and tamarisk “Crime”, because “It was a custom with the Romans, to put wreaths of this flexible plant on

the heads of criminals" (102). Rhododendron is the emblem of "Danger", because "These purple flowers abound in a poisonous honey" (106) – I take it this is a reminiscence of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (IV: viii).

Shakespeare's floral references must not be ousted by French innovations: so rosemary must mean "Remembrance" as well as La Tour's suggestion of "Fidelity", and cardamine is made to mean Paternal error, "This flower being one which formed the crown of King Lear" (230); though Rue ("There's rue for you" – Ophelia to Claudius) was curiously made to represent "Grace" rather than "Disdain" (162), because of its use in sprinkling holy water in France. (Nor is this the only indication of that early nineteenth-century English fascination for things Catholic, which forms part of the theme of the second paper in this volume: rosebay willowherb, which for La Tour meant "Pretension", for Phillips represents "Chastity", because the French name for the plant was "laurier Saint Antoine", named after the founder of monastic institutions (86).) Hints at other English authors can be found: for La Tour, the periwinkle represented "Doux souvenirs", which Phillips rendered "Pleasures of memory" (a nod to Samuel Rogers' famous poem). Alleged floral traditions of Persia, Turkey, and the orient were called upon occasionally, without any citing of sources. Flax is made the emblem of "Fate because "We learn from *Pierius Valerianus*, that flax was the hieroglyphic of fate among the Egyptians" (139).

But when it came to "the numerous species of plants which Europe has received from China, America, and New Holland" (ibid.), Phillips was happy to innovate. The hydrangea was made to represent "Boaster", "because its magnificent flowers are never succeeded by fruit, thus resembling the vaunting words of a braggadocio, which are not followed by suitable results" (81). *Cobaea scandens* became the emblem of "Gossip", because its "flowers remind us the tea-table equipage, and whose tendrils, like the tongue of the gossip, lets nothing escape which it chances to meet with" (160–161). As this example shows, Phillips sometimes drove his fancy very hard, yet subsequent language of flowers books acquiesced, and *Cobaea* remained the emblem of "Gossip" right through the century.

A number of Phillips' emblems were derived from horticultural observation, and it is worth noting that Phillips was virtually the only author of a language of flowers book who was also a writer of practical gardening manuals. Great



CROCUS.

SAFFRON, BLUE CROCUS, CARTHAMUS, CARTHAMUS TINCTORIUS,
CARDUS SATIVUS, FLEUR DE SAFFRON, SAFFLOWER.

CLASS, Triandria, from *treis*, three, *aner*, stamen. ORDER, Monogynia, from *monos*, one, *gune*, pistil.
Because these flowers have *Three Stamens*, and *One Pistil*, and consequently are of the *Third Class* and *First Order* of Linnæus.

Crocus officinalis, Yellow Saffron.
— sativus, Blue Saffron.

The *Carthamus* and *Crocus* are different plants, though passing under the common name of Saffron.

THE EMBLEM OF YOUTHFUL GLADNESS.

A flowery crown I will compose,
I'll weave the *Crocus*, weave the rose,
I'll weave narcissus, newly wet,
The hyacinth, and violet,
And myrtle shall supply me green,
And lilies laugh in light between. *Meleager*.

Command my slaves to lead me forth
I will; but they shall wear
The bridal saffron: all their locks shall bloom
With garlands; and their blazing nuptial torch
And hymeneal songs prepare the way. *Milman*.

The *Crocus* is found with flowers both yellow and blue, and sometimes with violet and white ones. Several of them are very

Fig. 7. An entry from the *Flores Poetici* of H. Bourne, 1833.



Fig. 8. Title page and frontispiece from *The Catholic Language of Flowers*, 1861.



Fig. 9. Colour plate from Robert Tyas, *The Language of Flowers*, 1869, depicting lilac, marvel of Peru and spiderwort with the collective caption “Youthful love is timid, and yields but transient pleasure”.

bindweed: “We have added this attractive wild flower... as the emblem of a dangerous insinuation, because when once permitted into the parterre it cannot easily be eradicated, and frequently causes destruction to its neighbouring plants” (107). Azalea: “They flourish in this country only when planted in poor heathy ground; for when fed by the richly manured earth of English gardens they sicken and decay... We have therefore made the Azalea emblematical of ‘Temperance’” (301). Mock orange: “made the emblem of memory, because when once we inhale its penetrating odour, it continues to dwell on the sense for a considerable time” (211). Yellow gentian means “Ingrate” because “The strictest care and the greatest art of the florist is seldom sufficient to make this plant thrive in the parterre” (187). Mossy saxifrage: “This plant, that so frequently clothes the naked rocks of Cheddar [*sic*], Snowdon, and Ben Lomond, is made symbolical of this instinctive love”, i.e. Maternal love (207). On one occasion, a knowledge of the history of plant collecting determined a meaning: *persicaria* signifies “Restoration” because Tournefort found seed of the plant near Mount Ararat, hence suggesting Noah and the restoration of life on earth (267–268).

Yet other emblems were chosen because of analogies with the anatomy of the plant. “Monkshood”: “We present this flower as the emblem of knight-errantry, because it rears its threatening helmet as if to protect the gayer favourites of Flora” (*ibid.*: 195). *Crepis* signifies “Protection” because “The flower-buds of this plant are protected by the linear leaves that form the beard” (250). The fig tree signifies “Prolific” because it is “distinguished from all others by its bearing two successive and distinct crops of fruit in one year” (249). *Solidago* signifies “Precaution”, “nature having so carefully enveloped these little florets in a silky down, as to shield their nectar from the ravages of the bee” (243). Most amusingly of all, *phlox* is made to signify “Unanimity”, “in allusion to the united forms of the flowers, whose clustered corymbs form an umbel; and also from the United States, from whence we procured them” (307).

Phillips’ coinages were by no means uniformly adopted by his successors. No one else adopted “Mirth or laughter” as the meaning for saffron, or “Uselessness” for *spiraea*, or “Dauntlessness” for *thrift*. But Phillips’ significations for such plants as *auricula*, *beech*, *blackthorn*, *elder*, *guelder rose*, *hemlock*, *hydrangea*, *lilac*, *lotus* displaced those proffered by Charlotte de la Tour, and became part of the Anglo-American tradition.

Phillips was not alone in coining new floral emblems. The earliest American book on the language of flowers in the Lindley Libraries' collection is *Flores Poetici. The Florist's Manual*, published in Boston in 1833 by one H. Bourne. Bourne, like Phillips, aimed at producing a set of meanings that related to existing literary traditions, but the consequence was a book full of arbitrary coinages: "Religious faith" for *Aster novae-angliae*, "Rural happiness" for the China aster, "Pride and elegance" for the auricula, "Malevolent aspersion" for *Lobelia cardinalis*, "Flattery" for the chrysanthemum, "Inconstancy" for the cistus, "Virtue in the shade" for the primrose (what had these Bostonians been getting up to?). None of these meanings were ever used by anyone else, as far as I have traced, and others of Bourne's coinages were only added to the general repertoire four decades later, during the period of syncretism.

After Phillips, the only important English compiler to proclaim independence from La Tour was Thomas Miller (1807–1874), the Poetical Basket-Weaver, who in 1847 published a *Poetical Language of Flowers* in which he declared that he would keep more closely to the English literary tradition for his associations. Despite this air of heroic defiance, most of his meanings were derived from La Tour or Phillips. Moss rosebud = "Confession of love"; buttercup = "Ingratitude"; convolvulus = "Repose"; crab apple = "Ill nature"; apricot blossom = "Doubt"; these are apparent coinages of Miller's that were later adopted by others. But, like Phillips before him, he introduced confusions; he gave "Elegance" as the meaning of acacia, presumably as a mistake for rose acacia (*Robinia hispida*). He also gave "Rudeness" (rather than Importunity) as the meaning of burdock, but this should be understood as meaning Rusticity rather than Impudence: "It is a favourite amusement amongst country girls to pelt their rustic swains with the burdock, and that coat must be very threadbare to which they will not adhere. It is a rude and rustic way of making love" (Miller, 1847: 187). Miller's work had only limited success, though a quarter-century later he collaborated with the artist and minor poet Anne Pratt on a further language of flowers book.

The development of the Anglo-American tradition

In attempting to give an outline of the development of the language of flowers in England and America, I am hampered by the fact that the resources necessary for a full account are nowhere collected in one



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Fig. 10. The decorative front board of John Ingram's *Flora Symbolica*, 1869.



Fig. 11. A double-page spread from Kate Greenaway's *Language of Flowers*, 1884. The illustration on the right depicts "Cheerfulness under adversity".

place. Seaton gives a good bibliography (Seaton, 1995: 202–209), which includes many American titles not accessible in English libraries. The Royal Horticultural Society has a collection of some thirty titles published before the end of the nineteenth century; a list is given here as Table 1. The British Library has several additional editions and titles, some but not all of which I have examined. Such are the raw materials on which the following discussion is based; many loose threads dangle annoyingly.

The hard core of entries in English and American books on the language of flowers was derived from Charlotte de la Tour, even though they were based on vernacular French names unrelated in meaning to their English names. Charlotte de la Tour gave “Amour caché” as the significance of a plant called “Clandestine”, and her description of its purple flowers misled English-language writers from Lucy Hooper on into identifying it as motherwort, *Leonurus cardiaca*, which thus came to signify “Concealed love” throughout the nineteenth century – though in fact La Tour’s plant was the parasitic *Lathraea squamaria*, the toothwort (Robert Tyas managed to get this identification right in one of his books, but no one else paid attention).

Where the Anglo-American tradition differed from La Tour, it was generally in the ways already manifest in Henry Phillips: (1) Emblematic significances consecrated by Shakespeare or by English usage were frequently substituted for La Tour’s meanings. (2) Sexual connotations were generally toned down. Charlotte de la Tour attributed to the tuberose the sense of “Volupté”, and was followed in this by Phillips, but several English renditions substituted “I have seen a lovely girl”. Heliotrope shifted from meaning “Enivrement: je vous aime” to “Devotion”. (3) The traditional Protestant distrust of the Roman Catholic Church led to the alteration of some associations of a religious character, most notably in the instance of the passion flower.

From the 1830s to the 1860s, the two compilers whom I see as the most important were Robert Tyas and Lucy Hooper: English and American respectively. Tyas (1811–1879), who also produced a volume on flowers in heraldry, contributed two major works to the language of flowers: *The Sentiment of Flowers* (first published 1836, and going through more than a dozen editions) and *The Language of Flowers* (1869); of all those

published in England, this last stuck the most faithfully to Charlotte de la Tour. Lucy Hooper (1816–1841) was an American poet, who in 1841 published an anthology entitled *The Lady's Book of Flowers and Poetry*, which included a floral dictionary and an early discussion of house plants. The Lindley Libraries' copy is an 1868 edition, which of course may differ from the original. But as early as 1844 the floral dictionary had been extracted and published in England under the title *The Ladies' Handbook of the Language of Flowers*. The work was printed on stereotyped plates, and in 1849 was re-issued by a different publisher under the title *The Language of Flowers, and Alphabet of Floral Emblems*, with Hooper's name omitted. (Seaton listed this title as appearing from a firm in Cincinnati in 1851: if it was the same work, this constitutes an interesting example of transatlantic literary piracy.) So far as I can tell from the resources available to me for study, Hooper was responsible for originating such meanings as "Rural happiness" for yellow violet, "I change but in dying" for bay leaf, "Transient beauty" for the night-blooming cereus, and "I am your captive" for peach blossom.

Some people are startled when they discover that the language of flowers could be used to send negative messages; no one says Yes all the time, and it makes sense to have a vocabulary for "Refusal", "Hypocrisy", "Perfidy", "Cold-hearted", and even "Death is preferable to dishonour". Some of the messages – "Your looks freeze me" – would be thought unmannerly today, though probably the most derogatory, in terms of assigned meaning, was "Grosseur" or "Bulk", which could be represented by pumpkins or watermelons (whole or sliced?). Other features unlikely to be met with in modern floristry include mushrooms ("Suspicion") and *Tremella nostoc* ("Resistance") – imagine throwing a sloppy handful of nostoc into your bouquet.

Not all the entries in language of flowers books were for particular species of plants. Branch of thorns was a frequent entry, meaning "Severity or rigour" in Phillips and Hooper, and reduced by their successors to mere "Severity"; Delachénaye had an entry for *épis* (ear, as in ear of corn); straw and cornstraw appear, meaning "Union" or "Agreement", with broken straw meaning "Quarrel" or later "Rupture of a contract"; Tyas gave an entry to thistle-down ("Treacherous insinuator"), while dead leaves ("Sadness"), lint ("I feel my obligations") and a bundle of tendrils ("Ties") appear in some later literature.

One unique experiment in England deserves to be noticed: a *Catholic Language of Flowers*, compiled by “the Young Ladies of Gumley House”, and published in 1861. Gumley House was a convent established in Isleworth in 1841 by the Fidèles Compagnes de Jésus, one of the many sodalities founded after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The book contained a dedication to Nicholas Wiseman, the first Catholic cardinal of England since the sixteenth century. But even these young ladies could not bring themselves to identify the passion flower with “Faith”, and instead assigned it to “Meditation”. Very occasionally, they offer a meaning close to that given in the purely secular books that had preceded it: apples mean “Temptation”, mesembryanthemum “Laziness”, prickly pear “Satire”. More often, the plants have been arbitrarily given new religious meanings: the white rose becomes “A holy death”, the moss rose “Holiness”, the hyacinth “St Joseph’s early life”. Where Tyas gave “Forsaken” as the meaning for the garden anemone, the Young Ladies adapted it to become “Jesus forsaken”, while arbor-vitae changes from “Eternal friendship” to “Desire for eternal life”, and veronica, naturally, stands for “Saint Veronica”. New plants were added, purely for the meanings suggested by word association: *Aloysia* could stand for St Aloysius, *Baptisia* for the sacrament of baptism; hellebores appear as the Christmas rose, and stand for the Nativity. One can’t help wondering: did the Young Ladies actually have specimens of *Aloysia* and *Baptisia* at hand to use in bouquets, or were they merely conducting a literary exercise? The most extraordinary item in their collection is upas, which is given the meaning “Vice”. No other language of flowers book lists the upas, which was most unlikely to be found in any glasshouse – not even the real upas, *Antiaris toxicaria*, the arrow-poison tree; much less the upas of the poets (as in Erasmus Darwin’s account, which imagines a tree that kills everything that approaches and blights the neighbouring landscape). And were these convent girls really giving people, or even each other, bouquets? I suspect that these floral emblems were matters of study and meditation, not practical flower arranging.

Beginning in 1869, a change came over the literature on the language of flowers. In that year one John Ingram, about whom I have been unable to find any biographical information, published in England a book entitled *Flora Symbolica*. This provided a precedent for a generation of eclectic publications which assembled all the emblematic significances proposed in the preceding literature. The compilers of such works were generally

hack writers – or, in the case of Kate Greenaway, illustrators – rather than gardeners, and did not realise that in many cases they were listing the same plant under different names.

These later works – most of them American – provide much longer lists of plants, and an increased range of meanings. In some cases, there was a genuine need to convey messages not thought of by earlier compilers. One can easily imagine that meanings like the following filled gaps in the market: “Your whims are quite unbearable” (*monarda*); “Rupture of a contract” (broken straw); “Unite against evil” (scarlet verbenas); “Keep this for my sake” (*Veronica speciosa*); “Will you accompany me to the East?” (*stephanotis*). (Some gaps remained unfilled: I have searched in vain for a flower that meant “Will you accompany me to Gretna Green?”) On the other hand, did anyone really need to send the following messages: “The colour of my fate” (coral honeysuckle); “Fairies’ fire” (*Chaenomeles*); “The witching soul of music” (oats); “Tribute to Linnaeus” (*Linnaea borealis* – though no doubt useful if you were courting a Fellow of the Linnean Society); “White man’s footsteps” (plantain, or plantago – perhaps a warning about love affairs that crossed the colour line); or “Bury me amid nature’s beauties” (persimmon) – surely no one ever sent instructions to the undertaker in the form of a bouquet.

As for the lengthier lists of plants, the new entries can be grouped into two categories. The first consists of exotic plants recently introduced: the increasing range of ornamental plants being added to the flower garden and the conservatory in the mid-nineteenth century. Take pelargoniums, for instance: before 1869 there are half a dozen sorts which appeared, whether species of cultivars; Ingram added seven, and the later literature copied him. Wisteria, veronicas or hebes, penstemons, nemophilas, lapagerias, eschscholzias, *stephanotis*, zinnias, and the multicoloured range of bedding verbenas all made their first appearance with Ingram or his successors, as did cattleyas, a nod to the growing fashion for orchids.

The second category resulted from the confusions provoked by the differing vocabularies of plant names in England and America. It is not uncommon for the same plant to be cited more than once under different names and given different meanings in the later works. Allspice and calycanthus; white dittany and *fraxinella*; chicory and endive; pitcher plant and *sarracenia*;

trumpet flower and bignonia; gorse and whin – did the compilers know that these names referred to the same plants? Lucy Hooper had included a plant called “Evergreen”, which presumably must have been something more specific than an evergreen shrub; some later volumes amended this to “Evergreen clematis” (presumably, at that date, *C. cirrhosa*). Amaranth had previously designated “Immortality”; Ingram transferred this meaning to the globe amaranth (*Gomphrena*), and was followed by the later books. The meaning of sage had been “Esteem”; Ingram transferred this to something called garden sage, while giving “Domestic virtue” as the meaning for ordinary sage; his successors continued to have entries for both sage and garden sage, but reversed Ingram’s epithets. “After-thought”, assigned to the Michaelmas daisy since La Tour, was assigned to the China aster by Ingram, though he also retained its original meaning of “Variety”, and the later books went on giving the China aster both meanings. Ingram was not always a bungler, however. Bladder-nut (*Staphylea pinnata*), for La Tour, meant “Amusement frivole”, but this meaning was transferred to the bladder senna (*Colutea arborescens*) by Phillips, followed by Hooper, before the original identification was restored by Tyas and Ingram.

But we must also note that some meanings were the result not of any process of conscious decision, but of printing and transcription errors. When Lucy Hooper gave “Business” as the meaning of dodder, while everyone else was giving “Baseness”, it was most likely the result of a mistranscription of handwriting. Ingram mistranscribed *Malva creana* (now *Sphaeralcea munroana*) as “Malon creana”, and this entry was copied by subsequent books. From Phillips on, “Religious enthusiasm” was given as a meaning for lychnis; Ingram transferred this meaning to schinus, presumably by mistranscription. One of Ingram’s misprints gives an insight into his working methods. Nasturtium was misspelled Austurtium, and appeared in the alphabetical sequence immediately after Auricula – suggesting the use of file cards, sorted alphabetically by someone who was unfamiliar with plant names. The further result was that the meaning of “Splendour” was also transferred to Auricula, Yellow. The meaning of germander speedwell started off as “Fidelity”; from Ingram on, it became “Facility” – again, easily interpreted as a result of sloppy handwriting. Errors of punctuation could also have a deleterious effect on communication: Ingram introduced a comma into the plant name rose campion, thus effectively turning it into campion rose. Ingram was by no

means alone in this capacity for error: the meaning assigned to turnip had been, from Phillips on, “Charity”; when we find a late work assigning that meaning to tulip, we may reasonably suspect sloppy handwriting. (The unfortunate tulip was also saddled with the meaning “Fame”, which had previously been the meaning of tulip tree.)

Table 2 shows a comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of the language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries. I have chosen those works that seemed to me to initiate significant trends, and a certain number of representative works to show the shifts in meanings over the decades. This is not to say that there are not further variations in the other works shown in Table 1, but there are limitations to what can be accommodated on the printed page. The books use primarily vernacular names for their alphabetical lists, but with a somewhat arbitrary addition of Latin names; I have followed their practice in this table. Where possible, I have given the current Latin names of the plants, but most books provide lists only, not discussions, and there are many unresolved ambiguities. When different vernacular names are used for the same plant in different works, I have not attempted to merge the entries. There are still a few plants whose identities I have not succeeded in ascertaining: abatina, acalia, belvedere, crowbill, hollyherb, imperial montague, watcher by the wayside.

Parlour game, board game

So by 1880 the number of English books on the language of flowers was decreasing, and the market was flooded with books of American provenance, with an increased range of plants and sentiments (but also an increased range of errors and possibilities of confusion). What is more, the rules for the arrangement of bouquets were becoming more complicated. For the most part, the creation of a floral message was originally a literary matter: the directory told one which plants meant which feelings. There were a very few instances in which the positioning or setting of a plant had a distinct meaning: a rosebud in a tuft of grass meant, for Charlotte de la Tour, “Il y a tout à gagner avec la bonne compagnie”; a rosebud with a full-blown rose placed over it meant “Secrecy” for Phillips. But by the 1850s elements of visual design in a bouquet were becoming steadily more prominent. Here is a list of general rules of presentation from the *The Language and Poetry of Flowers*, first published in Halifax in 1852 and quoted here from an edition of c.1865:



Fig. 12. Front wrapper of the board game “Das Reich der Blumenkönigin” (1860s–70s).



RHS, LINDLEY LIBRARY

Fig. 13. A floral arrangement made using the pieces of the board game. The plants used are: amaryllis (“Study your own heart”), auricula (“Raise thy longing eyes to heaven”), azalia [*sic*] (“Though all forsake thee, I will still be true”), butter-flower (“Misjudged by men, exposed to envy’s dart / Flee to the place of refuge – to my heart”), and passion flower (“Blessings flow from God”).



RHS, LINDLEY LIBRARY

Fig. 14. Undated decorative card, using affixed floral scraps to depict a flower arrangement, with the caption "Peace" – not a meaning particularly associated in the 19th century with any of the flowers shown.

1. A flower presented with leaves on its stem expresses affirmatively the sentiment of which it is the emblem; – stripped of its leaves it has a negative meaning: – if the plant be flowerless, the latter is expressed by cutting the tops off the leaves.
2. When a flower is given, the pronoun *I* is implied by inclining it to the *left*, and the word *thou* by inclining it to the *right*.
3. If an answer to a question is implied by the gift of a flower, presenting it to the right hand gives an affirmative, and to the left a negative reply.
4. The position in which a flower is worn may alter its meaning – on the head it conveys one sentiment, as *Caution*; on the breast another, as *Remembrance* or *Friendship*; and over the heart a third, as *Love*.
5. If the flower be sent, the knot of the ribbon or silk with which it is tied should be on the left as you look at the front of the blossoms, to express *I* or *me*; and on the front *thee* and *thou*.

But these rules were no more stable than the directory of meanings, for conflicting versions could be found in other versions. Here is a list of “Modifications of the flower language” from *The Language and Poetry of Flowers*, published in New York in the 1880s:

If a flower be given *reversed*, its original signification is understood to be contradicted, and the opposite meaning to be implied.

A rosebud divested of its thorns, but retaining its leaves, conveys the sentiment, “I fear no longer; I hope.” Thorns signifying fears, and leaves, hopes.

Stripped of leaves and thorns, the bud signifies, “There is nothing to hope or fear.”

The expression of flowers is also varied by changing their positions. Place a marigold on the head, and it signifies “Mental anguish;” on the bosom, “Indifference.”

When a flower is given, the pronoun *I* is understood by bending it to the right hand; *thou*, by inclining it to the left.

“Yes” is implied by touching the flower given with the lips.

“No,” by pinching off a petal, and casting it away.

“I am” is expressed by a laurel-leaf twisted round the bouquet.

“I have,” by an ivy-leaf folded together.

“I offer you,” by a leaf of the Virginian Creeper.

To win – a sprig of parsley in the bouquet.

“May,” or “I desire” – an ivy-tendrill round the bouquet.

So should one bend the flower to the right or the left to signify “I”? And does this mean the presenter’s left or the recipient’s left?

Was the language of flowers ever anything more than a parlour game? If it had been taken as seriously as some modern commentators suggest, one would have expected to find, as a situation occurring in at least a few Victorian novels, a love affair or engagement thrown into uncertainty by a misconstrued floral message. (The problem of conflicting meanings for plants does indeed appear as a theme in a novel – Valerie Diffenbaugh’s *Language of Flowers* – but that wasn’t written until 2010.) I have seen no evidence that the language of flowers was regarded, for most of its history, as more than an amusing pastime.

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the language of flowers made the logical transition from parlour game to board game. The RHS Lindley Libraries hold a copy of a game, undated but announced as being in its fourth edition, with instructions and dictionary in three languages (French, German, and English), entitled “Das Reich der Blumenkönigin. Sinnige Unterhaltung. / L’empire de la reine des fleurs. Récréation raisonnée. / The realm of the queen of flowers. Rational entertainment.” It consists of a portfolio containing six leaves of text, with

four chromolithographic plates, perforated so as to allow the insertion of “scraps” (the generic name for chromolithographic illustrations that have been cut into shapes for various purposes) in the shape of flowers. The plates depict vases, and the players would insert the flowers into the perforations to create bouquets that would spell out meanings according to the text provided. No publication data appear on the RHS copy, but I have seen booksellers’ websites which advertise other editions of the same game as published by the firm of Jansky, in Neuhaus. One edition (but which one?) appeared in 1865. The English text is full of errors, indicating that the English market was not the primary one; so for *Amaryllis* the French text reads:

Si tu veux comprendre les autres,
C’est ton coeur qu’il faut étudier!

The German reads:

Willst Du die Andern versteh’n,
Blick’ in Dein eigenes Herz!

And the English:

Thou wouldst know others? – to attain the art
Thou needest only study own heart.

I take it that the texts were composed in German, and translated with greater or lesser efficiency into the other languages. Since the meanings of the flowers are given in verse, a general looseness of fit with standard definitions could be expected; pansy, for instance, is rendered:

A sweet remembrance and a truthful thought
Are fairest treasures meted to our lot!

Close enough to “Thoughts”. But in most cases the meanings given are different from those of the major French or English traditions. A few examples: hyacinth, which for Charlotte de la Tour meant “Jeu”, and “Games” or play for most English sources, is rendered by:

Softly through my breast are stealing
 Sounds which waken tenderest feeling.

And tulip, which was most commonly taken as “Declaration of love”, is rendered by “Proudly despise the proud vain fool”.

In its first appearances, the language of flowers was directed at a mature audience: the language of “Volupté” and “Enivrement” suggests a world of adult love affairs. By the middle of the century, it seems to have functioned as an adolescent ritual, a form of play-acting at courtship, channelling the need filled in a later generation by fantasies about pop stars.

Decline and revival

With the end of the nineteenth century, the interest in floral symbolism gradually declined in the more cultivated milieu which had previously greeted it with such enthusiasm. In France, the language of flowers was partially integrated into the occultist currents associated with Papus and Éliphas Lévi; the author who wrote under the pseudonym of Sirius de Massilie published a “hermetic” language of flowers shortly after the turn of the century (Sirius de Massilie, 1902?). In England and America, where it had never been much more than a parlour game, it became a practical theme for the publishers of greeting cards and picture postcards, genres of publishing that operated at a cultural level below the horizon of educated audiences. It trickled into the publicity brochures of American and English monumental masons, who offered an attenuated range of flowers as suitable for carving on gravestones to indicate love, remembrance, and religious sentiment. From the First World War until the 1970s, new publications on the meaning of flowers generally issued from small-scale religious publishers, and concentrated on Christian meanings only: two examples in the Lindley Libraries are Daphne Hammonde’s *Angel of the Flowers* (Protestant: Stirling Tract Society, 1920s-30s) and *Our Lady’s Flowers*, by Beldy (Catholic: Dublin, 1958), illustrated with drawings that would have made the artist’s father squirm.¹

¹ Beldy (Mabel Frances Hardy, 1874–1961) was the daughter of the history painter Heywood Hardy; her pseudonym was put together from the final syllables of her first and family names.

All this began to change in the 1960s and 1970s. Various forces converged to encourage a revival of interest in Victorian culture, on a range of levels from serious scholarship to Camp. The early phases of the Victorian revival concentrated, as far as the general public was concerned, on matters of costume, decoration, and surface mannerism: perfect for the language of flowers. Mrs Burke's *Language of Flowers*, which had been republished in 1920 as a last gasp of the tradition, was reprinted in facsimile in 1963, and again a decade later; Kate Greenaway's *Language of Flowers* was republished in 1978. In 1968 Michael Joseph issued a facsimile of an anonymous and undated language of flowers book, which had been printed in chromolithographic fashion; the copy used for the facsimile bore a manuscript inscription dated 1913. These things were followed by a range of anthologies and gift books which found the language of flowers a useful device for organising collections of illustrations; by books on flower arranging that included a chapter on floral emblems; and by newly researched compilations, of whatever degree of historical accuracy, like Claire Powell's *Meaning of Flowers* (1978), the late Rob Cassy's *Ultimate Language of Flowers* (2000), which did not prove ultimate at all, and Shane Connolly's *Language of Flowers* (2004). And, as mentioned above, there is now finally a novel in which the question of the correct interpretation of a floral arrangement forms part of the plot: Valerie Diffenbaugh's *Language of Flowers* (2011), which was published with an accompanying directory of the "language of flowers", described on the label as the "Official companion to *The Language of Flowers*" (Kirkby, 2011).

Eventually, an awareness of the multiplicity of versions of the language of flowers became apparent, as academic studies appeared (Goody, 1993; Donzel, 1997: 101–105; Seaton, 1995; my own papers). So where does this leave us? Perhaps it is time to start over again from scratch. I look forward to seeing the New Language of Flowers, with a range of plants chosen from what is available in garden centres and messages appropriate to the present day: when a dried white rose, instead of meaning "Death is preferable to dishonour", might mean "Don't put that photo on Facebook", and Surfinia petunias might mean "I've drawn up a pre-nuptial agreement".

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Table 1. Language of flowers books in RHS Lindley Libraries

Date	Author	Title	Publisher
1811	Delachênaye, B.	<i>Abécédaire de Flore ou langage des fleurs</i>	Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'Aîné
[1819]	La Tour, Charlotte de	<i>Le Langage des fleurs.</i>	Paris: Audot
1825	Phillips, Henry	<i>Floral Emblems</i>	London: Saunders and Otley
1836	Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell	<i>The Book of Flowers</i> by Mrs Hale ¹	London: Saunders and Otley
1842	La Tour, Charlotte de [attrib. Aimé Martin]	<i>Le Langage des fleurs</i> , par M. Aimé Martin. Ornée de 16 nouvelles planches. 12 ^{me} édition	Bruxelles: Société Typographique Belge, Adolphe Wahlen et Compagnie
1842	Tyas, Robert	<i>The Hand-book of the Language and Sentiment of Flowers; containing the Name of Every Flower to which a Sentiment has been Assigned, with Introductory Observations</i> , by the Author of "The Sentiment of Flowers".	London: Robert Tyas
1844	Hooper, Lucy	<i>The Ladies' Hand-book of the Language of Flowers</i> . Edited by Lucy Hooper.	London: H.G. Clarke and Co.
c.1845	Griffin, Mary M.	<i>Drops from Flora's Cup. Or the Poetry of Flowers, with a Floral Vocabulary</i> . By Miss Mary M. Griffin	Boston: G.W. Cottrell & Co. / New York: T.W. Strong ²
1847	Anon.	<i>The Language of Flowers: with Illustrative Poetry, and Introductory Observations</i> ³	London: James White
1847	Miller, Thomas	<i>The Poetical Language of Flowers; or the Pilgrimage of Love</i>	London: David Bogue
1848	Bacon, Mary Ann	<i>Flowers and their Kindred Thoughts</i> (Poetry by Mary Ann Bacon, designs by Owen Jones) ⁴	[London]: Longman & Co.
1849	[Hooper, Lucy]	<i>The Language of Flowers, and Alphabet of Floral Emblems</i> [Apart from its title-page and plates, this is a stereotype reprint of Lucy Hooper's <i>Ladies' Hand-book</i> (1844)]	London: T. Noble
1851	[Partridge, Samuel William]	<i>Voices from the Garden; or, the Christian Language of Flowers</i>	London: Partridge and Oakey
1853	Tyas, Robert	<i>The Sentiment of Flowers: or, Language of Flora</i> by Robert Tyas. 11th ed.	London: Houlston and Stoneman

Table 1. Language of flowers books in RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Date	Author	Title	Publisher
1857	Freeling, Arthur	<i>Flowers: their Use and Beauty, Language and Sentiment.</i> Edited by Arthur Freeling	London: Darton and Co.
1861	Gumley House, The Young Ladies of	<i>The Catholic Language of Flowers</i>	London: Burns and Lambert
[1860s]	La Tour, Charlotte de	<i>Le Langage des fleurs</i> , par Mme Charlotte de la Tour. 10. édition, augmentée de plusieurs chapitres	Paris: Garnier Frères
[c.1865, <i>crede</i> Smithsonian catalogue]	Anon.	<i>The Language and Poetry of Flowers</i>	London: Milner and Company
1866	Burke, Anna Christian	<i>The Illustrated Language of Flowers</i> , compiled and edited by Mrs L. Burke	London / New York: George Routledge and Sons
1868	Hooper, Lucy	<i>The Lady's Book of Flowers and Poetry; to which are added a Botanical Introduction, a Complete Floral Dictionary and a Chapter on Plants in Rooms.</i> Edited by Lucy Hooper [First ed. 1841]	Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger
1869, or later reprint[s]	Ingram, John	<i>Flora Symbolica; or, the Language and Sentiment of Flowers. Including Floral Poetry, Original and Selected</i>	London / New York: Frederick Warne and Co. / New York: Scribner, Welford, and Co.
1869 and later editions or reprints	Tyas, Robert	<i>The Language of Flowers; or, Floral Emblems of Thoughts, Feelings, and Sentiments</i>	London / New York: George Routledge and Sons
[c.1870]	Valentine, Laura	<i>The Language and Sentiment of Flowers. With Floral Records and Selected Poetry, and Original Illustrations Printed in Colours</i> , compiled and edited by L.V.	London: Frederick Warne and Co. / New York: Scribner and Co.
[1870s?]	Pratt, Anne, & Thomas Miller	<i>The Language of Flowers; the Associations of Flowers; Popular Tales of Flowers</i>	London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. / Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison
[1876]	Anon. [ed. by J.H.S.]	<i>Floral Poetry and the Language of Flowers. With Coloured Illustrations</i> ⁵	London: Marcus Ward & Co. Printed in Belfast

Table 1. Language of flowers books in RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Date	Author	Title	Publisher
[c.1877] ⁶	Anon.	<i>The Language of Flowers; with a Complete Vocabulary, and a New Selection of Quotations from the English Poets, illustrating the Sentiment and Meaning attached to the Various Flowers and Plants, together with Flower Language in Bouquets, &c., &c.</i>	London: Ward, Lock, & Co.
[c.1880?]	Anon.	<i>The Artistic Language of Flowers</i>	London / New York: George Routledge and Sons
[1880s]	Anon.	<i>The Language and Poetry of Flowers, and Poetic Handbook of Wedding Anniversary Pieces, Album Verses, and Valentines. Together with a Great Number of Beautiful Poetical Quotations from Famous Authors</i>	New York: Worthington Co. ⁷
[1880s]	Anon.	<i>The Language of Flowers, including Floral Poetry</i>	London: Frederick Warne and Co.
1884	Greenaway, Kate	<i>The Language of Flowers</i>	London: George Routledge and Sons
[1899, <i>crede</i> British Library catalogue]	Klickmann, Flora	<i>The Language of Flowers: a Journal and Record for Birthdays</i> ⁸	London / Melbourne: Ward, Lock & Co.

¹ Seaton cites this and gives the date as unconfirmed, but she also cites American editions under the title *Flora's Interpreter; or, the American Book of Flowers and Sentiments*, 1832 and later.

² A subsequent edition – possibly a reprint with new title page, and with altered board decorations – was published in 1852 by the firm of Charles B. Strong, Boston, with a floral frontispiece.

³ After the prelims, the text is divided in two sections: The poetry of flowers, an anthology (pp. 1–52), including an introduction dated from Upper Stamford Street, 11 May 1845, on a leaf inserted between pp. iv and 5; and The language of flowers (pp. 53–104), including a preface dated from Pera of Constantinople, the 10th day of the month Moharem, in the 1255th year of the Hegira (i.e. 1839). This preface refers to the “late lamented John Galt”, who died in April 1839. The author has not so far been identified.

⁴ Owen Jones and the publishers Longman were pioneers of illuminated gift books in the 1840s; this copy shows similarities to their papier-maché bindings of the same period, examples of which may be seen in Ruari McLean's *Victorian Publishers' Book-bindings in Paper* (1983).

⁵ The Lindley Library copy formerly belonged to John Wright, the editor of the *Journal of Horticulture*, and the half-title bears an inscription: “With the Editor's kind love, J.H.S., Nov. 27, 1876”. The identity of J.H.S. has not been discovered, but at least we are now a step nearer to an identification.

⁶ The book must have been published no earlier than 1876. At the end of the volume is a set of publishers' advertisements, and the latest that can be unambiguously traced is James Mason's *Ice World Adventures* (1876).

⁷ Seaton cites this title as published by Hurst, New York, n.d. – Is it the same book?

⁸ Flora Klickmann (Mrs Ebenezer Henderson-Smith) was the editor of *The Girl's Own Paper* from 1908 to 1931.

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries

Most of the headings in this table are unambiguous, and can be identified from Table 1. Hooper = 1844; Tyas 1 = 1853; Tyas 2 = 1869; Anon 1 = *The Language of Flowers, with a Complete Vocabulary* [c.1877]; Anon 2 = *The Language and Poetry of Flowers* [1880s].

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Abatina										Fickleness	Fickleness	Fickleness	Fickleness
Abecedar	1				Volubility					Volubility	Volubility	Volubility	Volubility
Acacia	2	Mystère	Amour platonique	Chaste love	Chaste love	Elegance [mistake for Rose acacia]	Platonic love	Devotion to Mary		Friendship	Friendship	Friendship	Friendship
Acacia, rose	3		Élégance	Elegance		Elegance [as Pink acacia]	Elegance	True merit		Elegance		Elegance	Elegance
Acacia, thorn	4							Revenge					
Acacia, yellow	5									Secret love	Secret love	Secret love	Secret love
Acala					Temperance					Temperance		Temperance	Temperance
Acanthus	6	Noeuds indissolubles	Arts	Art		The arts [& as Bear's-breech, Art]	The arts			The fine arts. Artifice	Arts or artifice	The fine arts. Artifice	The fine arts. Artifice
Achimenes	7									Such worth is rare			Such worth is rare
Adonis	8		Douloureux souvenirs	Sorrowful remembrances		Sorrowful remembrance [or, as Pheasant's eye, Remembrance]		Sorrowful remembrances	Beauty	Sad memories [as Flos adonis]; Remembrance [as Pheasant's eye]	Painful recollections [as Flos adonis]	Painful recollections; as Pheasant's eye; Remembrance	Sad memories [as Flos adonis]
Agrimony	9		Reconnaisances				Gratitude	Thankfulness		Gratitude	Thankfulness	Thankfulness. Gratitude	Thankfulness. Gratitude
Aigrette	10	Désir de plaire											
Allspice	11					Benevolence [as Calycanthus]	Benevolence	Wit		Compassion; or, as Calycanthus, Benevolence	Compassion	Compassion; or, as Calycanthus, Benevolence	Compassion; or, as Calycanthus, Benevolence
Almond	12	Imprudence	Étourderie	Heedlessness		Heedlessness		Indiscretion	The merits of St Joseph	Thoughtlessness	Stupidity. Indiscretion	Stupidity. Indiscretion	Stupidity. Indiscretion
Almond, flowering	13									Hope	Hope	Hope	Hope
Aloe	14	Botanique	Amertume, douleur	Acute sorrow, or affliction	Religious superstition	Acute sorrow or affliction	Bitterness, grift	An obliging disposition			Religious superstition	Grief. Religious superstition. Bitterness	Grief. Superstition. Bitterness
Aloysia	15							St Aloysius [or, as Lemon verberna, Charity]					
Althaea frutex	16			Persuasion		Persuasion		Persuasion		Persuasion; as Syrian mallow, Consumed by love	Persuasion; Consumed by love	Persuasion; as Syrian Mallow, Consumed by love	Persuasion; Consumed by love
Alyssum	17		Tranquillité			Tranquillity		Tranquillity					

1 *Splianthus* - *Acmella oleracea*? 2 *Robinia pseudacacia* 3 *Robinia hispida* 4 *Gleditsia sinensis* or *triacanthos* 5 *Acacia* spp. 6 *Acanthus mollis* 7 *Achimenes cupreata*? 8 *Adonis autumnalis* 9 *Agrimonia eupatoria* 10 *Celosia cristata*? 11 *Calycanthus floridus* 12 *Prunus communis* 13 *Prunus glandulosa*? 14 *Aloe* spp. 15 *Aloysia citriodora* 16 *Hibiscus syriacus* 17 *Alyssum saxatile*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Alyssum, sweet	1				Worth beyond beauty					Worth beyond beauty	Worth beyond beauty	Worth beyond beauty	Worth beyond beauty
Amaranth	2	Indifférence	Immortalité	Immortality	Immortality, Unfading love	Immortality	Immortality, unfading			Foppery, affectation		Foppery, affectation	
Amaranth, globe	3			Constancy	Unchangeable					Immortality, Unfading love	Immortality	Immortality, Unfading love	Immortality, Unfading love
Amaryllis	4	Femme coquette	Fierté	Pride	Pride			Haughtiness, pride			Timidity, Splendid beauty, Pride	Pride, Timidity, Splendid beauty	Pride, Timidity, Splendid beauty
Ambrosia	5				Love returned		Love returned			Love returned	Love returned	Love returned	Love returned
Amethyst	6						Admiration			Admiration	Admiration	Admiration	Admiration
Amorium	7	Flatterie											
Andromeda	8					Pity				Self-sacrifice			Self-sacrifice
Anemone, garden	9	Abandon	Abandon				Forsaken	Jesus forsaken		Forsaken	Forsaken	Forsaken	Forsaken
Anemone, field or wood	10	Maladie	Maladie	Sickness	Sickness		Sickness	Gaiety	Forlornness	Sickness, Expectation	Sickness, Expectation	Sickness, Expectation [as Anemone (Zephyr Flower)]	Sickness, Expectation
Anemone, field or meadow	11								Sickness				
Anemone, double	12			Anticipation, or expected pleasure									
Angelica	13	Inspiration	Inspiration		Inspiration		Inspiration	The guardian angels		Inspiration, or Magic	Inspiration	Inspiration, or Magic	Inspiration, or Magic
Angrec	14				Royalty					Royalty		Royalty	Royalty
Apple	15				Temptation			Temptation		Temptation	Temptation	Temptation	Temptation
Apple blossom	15	Préférence			Fame speaks him great and good	Preference	Preference			Preference, Fame speaks him great and good	Fame speaks him great and good	Preference, Fame speaks him great and good	Preference, Fame speaks him great and good
Apple, crab	15						Ill nature			Ill nature		Ill nature	Ill nature
Apple, crab, Siberian					Deeply interesting								
Apricot blossom	16						Doubt			Doubt			Doubt
Arabis	17							Hope					
Arbor vitae	18	Vielliesse	Old age		Unchanging friendship; as Tree of life, Old age		Unchanging friendship; old age	Desire of eternal life		Unchanging friendship. Live for me; as Tree of life, Old age	Unchanging friendship. Live for me; as Tree of life, Old age	Unchanging friendship. Live for me; as Tree of life, Old age	Unchanging friendship. Live for me; as Tree of life, Old age

1 *Lobularia maritima* 2 *Amaranthus* spp. 3 *Gomphrena globosa* 4 *Hippeastrum* spp.? 5 *Ambrosia artemisiifolia* 6 *Amethystea caerulea* 7 *Sison amorium* 8 *Andromeda polifolia* 9 *Anemone coronaria* 10 *Anemone nemorosa* 11 *Anemone pratensis* 12 *Anemone hortensis* 13 *Angelica archangelica* 14 *Angreicum* spp. 15 *Malus pumila* 16 *Prunus americana* 17 *Arabis* sp. 18 *Platycladus orientalis*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Arbutus	1							Devotedness to God		They only do I love			They only do I love
Archangelica	2	Bonheur						The angel Gabriel					
Argentine	3	Timidité											
Artemisia	4	Bonheur						Female heroism					
Arum, spotted	5	Ardeur	Ardour	Ferocity & deceit	Ardour		Ardour		Warmth	Ardour, Zeal	Ardour	Ardour [also as Cuckoo plant]	Ardour, Zeal
Asclepias	6				Cure for the heart-ache								
Ash	7	Exercice	Grandeur		Grandeur		Grandeur			Grandeur	Grandeur	Grandeur	Grandeur
Aspen	8	Gémissement	Lamentation		Lamentation		Lamentation	Purity of conscience	Moaning [as Trembling poplar]	Lamentation, or fear	Lamentation	Lamentation, or fear	Lamentation, or fear
Asphodel	9	Mes regrets vous suivent au tombeau	My regrets will follow you to the grave		My regret will follow you to the grave	Regret (regret & sorrow for the dead)	My regrets follow you to the grave			My regrets follow you to the grave	My regrets follow you to the grave	My regrets follow you to the grave	My regrets follow you to the grave
Aster	10			Religious faith									
Aster, China	11	Automne	Variété	Variety	Rural happiness & pious enjoyment		Variety	St Margaret of Scotland; [as Aster, Delay]		Variety, Afterthought	Afterthought, Variety	Variety, Afterthought	Variety, Afterthought
Aster, China, double	11									I partake your sentiments	I partake of your sentiments	I partake of your sentiments	I will partake your sentiments
Aster, China, single	11									I will think of it	I will think of it	I will think of it	I will think of it
Aucuba	12							Misanthropy					
Auricula	13	On cherche à vous séduire	Painting	Pride & elegance	Painting		Painting	True happiness		Painting	Painting	Painting	Painting
Auricula, scarlet	13									Avarice	Avarice	Avarice	Avarice
Auricula, yellow	13									Splendor		Splendor	Splendor
Azalea	14		Temperance		Temperance		Temperance	Zeal		Temperance	Temperance	Temperance	Temperance
Bachelor's buttons	15				I with the morning's love hath oft made sport		Hope in love			Celibacy		Celibacy	Celibacy
Balm	16	Plaisanterie	Plaisanterie	A cure	Social intercourse	A cure	Social intercourse		Pleasantry	Sympathy; as Gentle balm, Pleasantry	Sympathy	Sympathy; as Gentle balm, Pleasantry	Sympathy; as Gentle balm, Pleasantry

1 *Arbutus menziesii*? 2 *Angelica archangelica* 3 *Potentilla anserina* 4 *Artemisia vulgaris*? 5 *Arum maculatum* 6 *Asclepias* spp. 7 *Fraxinus excelsior* 8 *Populus tremula* 9 *Asphodelus lutea* 10 *Aster novae-angliae* 11 *Callistephus chinensis* 12 *Aucuba japonica* 13 *Primula auricula* 14 *Rhododendron luteum*? 15 Grigson's *Englishman's Flora* (1975) alone lists 16 different plants to which this name may be applied 16 *Melissa officinalis*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Balm of Gilead	1	Guérison					Healing	The heavenly consoler [as Balsamo-dendron]		Cure, Relief	Cure, Relief	Cure, Relief	Cure, Relief
Baptisia	2							The grace of baptism					
Basil	3	Courage	Haïne	Hatred		Hatred	Hatred	Friendship		Hatred	Hatred	Hatred	Hatred
Basil, bouquet of	3	J'en suis fâché											
Basil, sweet	3									Good wishes	Good wishes		Good wishes
Bay, red	4				Love's memory								
Bay-berry	5				Instruction								
Bay-leaf	6				I change but in dying					I change but in death	I change but in death	I change but in death	I change but in death
Bedstraw	7	Patience	Rudesse					Rudeness [as Galium]	Hardness				
Beech	8	Trahison	Prospérité	Grandeur		Grandeur	Prosperity	Time		Prosperity	Prosperity	Prosperity	Prosperity
Begonia	9									Deformity			Deformity
Belladonna	10						Imagination			Silence, Hush!		Silence	Silence, Hush!
Bellflower	11	Élégance; as Pyramidale, Constance	Constance	Constancy		Constancy	Constancy	Gratitude	Constancy	Constancy; as Campanula pyramida, Aspiring		Constancy	Constancy; as Campanula, Aspiring
Bellflower, small white	12				Gratitude		Gratitude			Gratitude	Gratitude	Gratitude	Gratitude
Belvedere			Je vous déclare la guerre			I declare against you				I declare against you	I declare against you	I declare against you	I declare against you
Berberis	13	Remords	Aigreur ["Épine-Vinette"]	Sourness		Sourness		Sharpness, tauness, sourness	Courage	Sharpness of temper	Sharpness; sourness of temper	Sourness of temper; as Barberry tree, Sharpness	Sourness of temper
Betony	14			Surprise		Surprise				Surprise		Surprise	Surprise
Bignonia	15		Séparation	Separation		Separation [as Ash-leaved trumpet flower]		Separation				Separation, as Ash-leaved trumpet flower; or, as Trumpet-flower, Fame	Separation; or, as Trumpet-flower, Fame
Bilberry, Whortleberry	16		Trahison	Treason		Treason		Treachery		Treachery; as Whortleberry, Treason	Treachery	Treachery; as Whortleberry, Treason	Treachery, treason
Bindweed	17	Instabilité, ou inconstance	Humilité [Liseron des champs]			Insinuation	Humility	Truth [as White convolvulus]		Bonds	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds

1 *Commiphora gileadensis* 2 *Baptisia* spp. 3 *Ocimum basilicum* 4 *Persea borbonia* 5 *Myrica* spp. 6 *Laurus nobilis* 7 *Galium verum* 8 *Fagus sylvatica* 9 *Begonia* spp. 10 *Amaryllis belladonna*? 11 *Campanula pyramidalis* 12 *Campanula cochleariflora*? 13 *Berberis vulgaris* 14 *Stachys officinalis* 15 *Bignonia radicans* 16 *Vaccinium myrtillus* 17 *Convolvulus arvensis*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Bindweed, blue	1			Extinguished hopes		Extinguished hopes [as <i>Convolvulus major</i>]			Recollection	Extinguished hopes	Extinguished hopes	Extinguished hopes	Extinguished hopes
Bindweed, great	2			Dangerous insinuation		Dangerous insinuation			Detachment	Insinuation, importunity	Insinuation [as <i>Bindweed</i>]	Insinuation	Insinuation, importunity
Bindweed, night-flowering or minor	3	Nuit	Night		Night	Repose [as <i>Convolvulus</i>]	Night			Repose. Night	Humility	Night [as <i>Night convolvulus</i>]; Humility [as <i>Small bindweed</i>]	
Bindweed, pink	4									Worth sustained by judicious and tender affection		Worth sustained by judicious and tender affection	
Bindweed, small	5	Coquetterie [as <i>Belle-de-jour</i>]		Obstinacy [C. arvensis]	Affectionate attachment	Obstinacy			Truth [White <i>convolvulus</i> , C. arvensis]	Humility			
Birch	6					Gracefulness			Gracefulness	Meekness	Meekness	Meekness	Meekness
Blackthorn	7	Insouciance		Difficulty		Difficulty	Difficulty	Ambition		Difficulty	Difficulty	Difficulty	Difficulty
Bladder-nut	8		Amusement frivole				Frivolous amusement			Frivoly. Amusement		Frivoly. Amusement	Frivoly. Amusement
Bladder senna	9	Paresse		Frivolous amusement		Frivolous amusement							
Bluebell	10								Kindness	Constancy. Sorrowful regret	Constancy	Constancy. Sorrowful regret	Constancy. Sorrowful regret
Bluebells	11			Gratitude				Aspirations towards God [as <i>Canterbury bell</i> , but some binomial <i>Persecution</i>]					
Bonapartea	12							Vicissitude					
Borage	13	Brusquerie	Brusquerie	Bluntness or roughness of manners		Bluntness or roughness of manners	Bluntness, rudeness	Bluntness		Bluntness	Bluntness	Bluntness	Bluntness
Box	14	Solidité, ancienneté	Stoicisme	Stoicism		Stoicism	Stoicism	Mirth		Stoicism	Stoicism	Stoicism	Stoicism
Bramble	15	Soucis, jalousie	Envie	Envy; or as <i>Bramble</i> , <i>Rubus</i> , <i>Remorse</i>		Remose	Envy	Envy		Lowliness, Envy, Remorse	Envy, Remorse	Lowliness, Envy, Remorse	Lowliness, Envy, Remorse
Broom	16	Propreté	Propreté [Genet]	Humility [Spartium]			Humility	Neatness		Humility. Neatness	Humility. Neatness	Humility. Neatness	Humility. Neatness
Browallia	17									Could you bear poverty?			Could you bear poverty?

1 *Ipomoea purpurea* 2 *Calystegia sepium* 3 *Convolvulus atriplicifolius*? 4 *Convolvulus erubescens* 5 *Convolvulus arvensis* or *tricolor*? 6 *Betula pendula* 7 *Prunus spinosa* 8 *Staphylea pinnata* 9 *Colutea arborescens* 10 *Hyacinthoides non-scripta* 11 *Campanula rotundifolia* 12 *Tillandsia juncea* 13 *Borago officinalis* 14 *Buxus sempervirens* 15 *Rubus fruticosus*, now several spp. 16 *Cytisus scoparius* 17 *Streptosolen jamesonii*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Bryony, black	1	Soyez mon appui										Be my support	
Bryony, or white bryony	2				Prosperity								
Buckbean	3		Calm repose		Calm repose		Calm repose		Calm repose	Calm repose	Calm repose	Calm repose	Calm repose
Bugloss	4	Mensonge	Falsehood		Falsehood		Falsehood		Falsehood			Falsehood	Falsehood
Bulrush	5											Dolcily	Dolcily
Burdock	6	Importunité				Rudeness	Importunity			Importunity. Touch me not. Also, as Burr: Rudeness. You weary me	Importunity	Importunity. Touch me not. Also, as Burr: Rudeness. You weary me	Importunity. Touch me not. Also, as Burr: Rudeness. You weary me
Buttercup	7	Franchise		Riches	Childishness. Riches	Ingratitude	Ingratitude	Recollections of childhood	Cheerfulness	Riches		Ingratitude. Childishness	Ingratitude. Childishness. As Buttercups, Riches
Butterfly weed	8									Let me go	Let me go	Let me go	Let me go
Cabbage	9	Profit	Profit		Profit				Profit	Profit	Profit	Profit	Profit
Cacalia	10						Adulation	Heroism		Adulation	Adulation	Adulation	Adulation
Cactus	11		I burn		I burn [Common cactus or Indian fig]			Self-denial [Cereus speciosissimus]		Warmth		Warmth	Warmth
Calceolaria	12							Modesty		I offer you pecuniary assistance, or I offer you my fortune			I offer you pecuniary assistance
Calla	13				Feminine modesty		Magnificent beauty			Magnificent beauty	Magnificent beauty [as Callia Aethiopica]	Magnificent beauty	Magnificent beauty
Carmelia	14			Unpretending excellence			Unpretending excellence	Chastity			Excellence		Perfected loveliness
Carmelia, white	14									Perfected loveliness	Perfected loveliness	Perfected loveliness	
Carmelia, red	14									Unpretending excellence	Unpretending excellence	Unpretending excellence	Unpretending excellence
Camphire	15									Fragrance		Fragrance	Fragrance
Campion, rose	16		You are without pretension				Gentility			Only deserve my love [as "Rose, Campion" sic]	Only deserve my love	Only deserve my love [as "Rose, Campion" sic]	Only deserve my love

1 *Tamus communis* 2 *Bryonia dioica* 3 *Mercurialis trifoliata* 4 *Lycopus arvensis* 5 *Scirpus* spp. 6 *Arctium lappa* 7 *Ranunculus acris* 8 *Asclepias tuberosa* 9 *Brassica* cvs 10 *Emilia flammula*? 11 *Opuntia humifusa* 12 *Calceolaria* cvs 13 *Zantedeschia aethiopica* 14 *Camellia japonica* 15 *Lawsonia inermis* 16 *Lychnis coronaria*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Candytuft	1		Architecture		Architecture	Indifference	Indifference	Concord (Iberis umbellata)		Indifference		Indifference	
Candytuft, ever-flowing [sic = ever- flowering]	1		Indifference		Indifference					Indifference	Indifference	Indifference	Indifference (as Ever- blowing candytuft [sic])
Canterbury bells	2				Gratitude		Constancy			Acknowledg- ment	Acknowledg- ment	Acknowledg- ment	Acknowledg- ment
Cardamine	3		Paternal error		Paternal error			Gratitude for the gifts of God		Paternal error	Paternal error	Paternal error	Paternal error
Cardinal flower	4		Distinction	Malevolent aspersion	Distinction		Distinction	The priesthood		Distinction	Distinction	Distinction	Distinction
Carnation	5			Pride & beauty				Maternal affection		Make haste [as Dianthus]; Woman's love [as Carnation pink]		Woman's love (as Carnation pink)	Woman's love (as Carnation pink)
Carnation, red	5	Fidélité à toute épreuve						Divine love		Alas! For my poor heart	Alas! For my poor heart	Alas! For my poor heart	Alas! For my poor heart
Carnation, striped	5	Refus d'amour								Refusal		Refusal	Refusal
Carnation, yellow	5		Dédain	Disdain			Disdain			Disdain	Disdain	Disdain	Disdain
Carnation, white	5	Jeune fille											
Carnation d'Inde		Peinture											
Carnation de Chine	6	Aversion											
Cashew	7						Perfume						
Catalpa	8				Beware of the coquette								
Catchfly	9			Allurement & destruction	Youthful love	Deceit	Snare			Snare	Snare	Snare	Snare
Catchfly, red	10									Youthful love	Youthful love	Youthful love	Youthful love
Catchfly, white	11									Betrayed	Betrayed	Betrayed	Betrayed
Cattleya	12									Mature charms			Mature charms
Cattleya pinellii	13									Matronly grace			Matronly grace
Cedar	14	Majesté		Strength [Pinus cedrus = libani]		Strength				Strength	Strength	Strength	Strength

1 *Iberis semperflorens* 2 *Campanula medium* 3 *Cardamine pratensis* 4 *Labella cardinalis* 5 *Dianthus caryophyllus* 6 *Dianthus sinensis* 7 *Anacardium occidentale* 8 *Catalpa bignonioides* 9 *Silene anglica* 10 *Silene dioica* 11 *Silene latifolia* 12 *Cattleya* spp.
13 *Cattleya pumila* 14 *Cedrus libani*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Cedar leaf										I live for thee		I live for thee	I live for thee
Cedar of Lebanon	1	Majesté		Incorruptible		Incorruptible	Incorruptible	Union with God		Incorruptible	Incorruptible	Incorruptible	Incorruptible
Celandine, lesser	2									Joys to come	Joys to come	Joys to come	Joys to come
Centaurea	3	Délicatesse; as Barbeau-bleu des jardins, éducation	Délicatesse [Bluet]; Félicité [Centauree]	Delicacy		Delicacy	Delicacy		Delicacy	Delicacy	Delicacy	Delicacy	Delicacy
Cereus, creeping	4		Horreur	Horror		Horror	Horror			Modest genius; also Horror	Modest genius	Modest genius; as Serpentine cactus, Horror	Modest genius
Cereus, night-flowering	5					Transient beauty; Wealth of true affection		The faithful companions of Jesus		Transient beauty	Transient beauty	Transient beauty	Transient beauty
Chamomile	6	Amertume				Energy in adversity	Energy in adversity				Energy in adversity	Energy in adversity	Energy in adversity
Chaste tree	7		Froideur, vivre sans aimer				Coldness. To live without love	The Lamb of God	Chastity	Coldness. Indifference	Coldness	Coldness. Indifference	Coldness. Indifference
Cherry	8		Bonne éducation	Good education			Good education	Thoughtfulness (as Double cherry-tree)			Good education [tree]	Good education [as White cherry tree]	Good education [as White cherry tree]
Cherry blossom	8	Ne m'oubliez pas				Spiritual beauty				Insincerity			Insincerity
Cherry, bird	9					Hope							
Cherry, winter	10			Deception		Deception				Good education		Deception	Deception
Chervil	11			Sincerity		Sincerity				Sincerity	Sincerity		Sincerity
Chestnut, horse	12		Luxe [Maron d'Inde]	Luxuriancy		Luxuriancy	Luxury	Fraternal affection		Luxury	Luxury		Luxury
Chestnut	13	Génie	Rendez-moi justice	Render me justice		Render me justice	Do me justice			Do me justice. Luxury		Do me justice. Luxury	Do me justice
Chickweed	14									Rendezvous	Rendezvous	Rendezvous	Rendezvous
Chickweed, mouse-eared	15									Ingenuous simplicity		Ingenuous simplicity	
Chickwood, mouse-eared	16					Ingenuous simplicity				Simplicity		Simplicity	Simplicity
Chorizema	17									You have many lovers			You have many lovers
Christmas rose	18							The Nativity of our Lord		Relieve my anxiety	Tranquillize my anxiety; Relieve my anxiety	Tranquillize my anxiety; Relieve my anxiety	Tranquillize my anxiety; Relieve my anxiety

1 *Cedrus libani* 2 *Ranunculus ficaria* 3 *Centaurea cyanus* 4 *Disocactus flagelliformis* 5 *Selenicereus grandiflorus* 6 *Anthemis nobilis* 7 *Vitex agnus-castus* 8 *Prunus cerasus* 9 *Prunus padus* 10 *Physalis alkekengi* 11 *Anthiscus cerefolium* 12 *Aesculus hippocastanum* 13 *Castanea sativa* 14 *Stellaria* spp. 15 *Cerastium* spp. 16 *Cerastium* spp.? 17 *Chorizema varium* 18 *Helleborus niger*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Chrysanthemum or Chinese chrysanthemum	1	Difficulté		Flattery	Cheerfulness under adversity		Cheerfulness under adversity	Farewell		Cheerfulness under adversity	Cheerfulness under adversity	Cheerfulness under adversity	Cheerfulness under adversity
Chrysanthemum, red	1									I love	I love	I love	I love
Chrysanthemum, white	1									Truth	Truth	Truth	Truth
Chrysanthemum, yellow	1									Slighted love	Slighted love	Slighted love	Slighted love
Cineraria	2									Always delightful			Always delightful
Cinnamon	3	Chasteté											
Cinquefoil	4		Fille chérie				Beloved daughter	Childhood		Maternal affection	Maternal affection	Maternal affection	Maternal affection
Circaea	5									Spell	Spell	Spell	Spell
Cistus	6		Sûreté	Popular favour	Inconstancy	Popular favour	Popularity	St Rose of Lima	Safety	Popular favour	Popular favour	Popular favour	Popular favour
Cistus, gum	7									I shall die tomorrow	I shall die tomorrow	I shall die tomorrow	I shall die tomorrow
Citron	8						Beauty with ill humour			Ill-natured beauty	Ill-natured beauty	Ill-natured beauty	Ill-natured beauty
Clarkia	9									The variety of your conversation delights me			The variety of your conversation delights me
Clematis	10		Artifice	Artifice		Artifice	Artifice	Perseverance		Mental beauty. Artifice	Mental beauty	Mental beauty. Artifice	Mental beauty. Artifice
Clematis, see also Virgin's bower													
Clematis, evergreen	11			Poverty						Poverty		Poverty	Poverty
Clianthus	12									Worldliness. Self-seeking			Worldliness. Self-seeking
Clochette	13	Prairie											
Clotbur	14						Rudeness			Rudeness, pertinacity	Rudeness, pertinacity	Rudeness, pertinacity	Rudeness, pertinacity
Clove	15		Dignité						Dignity	Dignity	Dignity	Dignity	Dignity
Clove, four-leaved	16									Be mine	Be mine	Be mine	Be mine
Clove, red	17									Industry	Industry	Industry	Industry
Clove, white	18									Think of me. Promise		Think of me. Promise	Think of me. Promise
Clover, purple	19			Provident		Provident				Provident		Provident	Provident

1 *Chrysanthemum indicum* cvs 2 *Sinningia* cvs 3 *Cinnamomum verum* 4 *Potentilla reptans* 5 *Circaea* sp. 6 *Cistus villosus* 7 *Cistus ladanifer* 8 *Citrus medica* 9 *Clarkia pulchella* 10 *Clematis* spp. 11 *Clematis cirrhosa* 12 *Clianthus puniceus* or *Clianthus formosus* 13 *Campanula* sp. 14 *Xanthium strumarium* 15 *Eugenia aromatica* 16 *Trifolium* 17 *Trifolium pratense* 18 *Trifolium repens* 19 *Trifolium purpureum*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Cobaea	1		Gossip		Gossip		Gossip			Gossip	Gossip	Gossip	Gossip
Cochlearia	2	Utilité											
Cockscomb or Crested amaranth	3		Singularity		Singularity		Singularity	Vainglory		Foppery; Affectation, Singularity	Foppery; or, as Cockscomb Amaranth, affectation	Foppery; Affectation, Singularity	Foppery; Affectation, Singularity
Colchicum	4	Mes beaux jours sont passés	My best days are past		My best days are past		My best days are gone			My best days are past; My happiest days are past	My best days are past	My best days are past; My happiest days are past	My best days are past; My happiest days are past
Coltsfoot	5	On vous rendra justice	You shall have justice		Maternal care		Justice shall be done you		We will do you justice	Justice shall be done you [as Tusillage, sweet-scented]	Justice shall be done to you	Justice shall be done you [as Tusillage, sweet-scented]	Justice shall be done
Columbine	6	Hypocrisie	Folie	Folly	Desertion	Folly	Folly	Gentleness		Folly	Folly	Folly	Folly
Columbine, purple	6									Resolved to win		Resolved to win	Resolved to win
Columbine, red	6									Anxious and trembling	Anxious and trembling	Anxious and trembling	Anxious and trembling
Corchorus	7				Impatience of absence					Impatient of absence	Impatience of absence	Impatient of absence	Impatience of absence
Coreopsis	8			Cheerfulness	Love at first sight		Always cheerful			Always cheerful	Always cheerful	Always cheerful	Always cheerful
Coreopsis arkansa	9									Love at first sight		Love at first sight	
Coriander	10	Mérite caché	Concealed merit		Concealed merit		Hidden merit			Hidden worth	Hidden worth	Hidden worth	Concealed merit
Corncockle	11									Gentility	Gentility	Gentility	Gentilitymy love
Cornelian cherry	12			Durability			Durability		Duration	Duration	Duration	Duration	Duration
Cornstraw										Agreement		Agreement	Agreement
Coronella	13	Durée [Coronille sauvage]	Success crown your wishes		Success crown your wishes		Success crown your wishes			Success crown your wishes	Success crown your wishes	Success crown your wishes	Success crown your wishes
Cosmella subra	14									The charm of a blush			
Costmary	15												
Cowslip	16		Pensiveness		Pensiveness, Attractive grace	Pensiveness	Pensiveness	Simple pleasures	Early joys	Pensiveness; winning grace; youthful beauty	Winning grace	Pensiveness, Winning grace	Pensiveness

1 *Cobaea scandens* 2 *Cochlearia officinalis* 3 *Celosia cristata* 4 *Colchicum autumnale* 5 *Tussilago farfara* 6 *Aquilegia vulgaris* 7 *Corchorus olitorius*? 8 *Coreopsis* spp. 9 *Coreopsis lanceolata*? 10 *Coriandrum sativum* 11 *Agrostemma githago*? 12 *Cornus mas* 13 *Coronilla glauca*? 14 *Cosmella rubra* 15 *Chrysanthemum balsamita* 16 *Primula veris*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Cowslip, American	1				Pensiveness		You are my divinity		You are my angel	Divine beauty. You are my divinity	You are my divinity; Divine beauty	Divine beauty. You are my divinity	Divine beauty
Cranberry	2				Hardiness					Cure for heartache		Cure for heartache	Cure for heartache
Crepis, bearded	3		Protection		Protection						Protection	Protection	Protection
Cress	4									Stability. Power	Power	Stability. Power	Stability. Power
Cress, Indian	5				Resignation					Warlike trophy	Warlike trophy	Warlike trophy	Warlike trophy
Crocus	6			Youthful gladness	Smiles, cheerfulness	Youthfulness	Pleasures of hope	Rashness	Youthful gladness	Abuse not, Impatience; as Spring crocus, Youthful gladness	Abuse not	Abuse not, Impatience; as Spring crocus, Youthful gladness	Abuse not, Impatience; as Spring crocus, Youthful gladness
Crocus, saffron	7		Do not abuse		Mirth					Mirth; cheerfulness	Mirth	Mirth	Mirth, cheerfulness
Cross of Jerusalem	8	Douleur ou voyages			Devotion			Thoughts of the Holy Land					
Crowfoot, aconite-leaved	9		Lustre		Lustre		Lustre	Recollections of Joan of Arc		Lustre	Lustre	Lustre [as Aconite, Crowfoot]	Lustre
Crowfoot, celery-leaved	10		Ingratitude [Wild ranunculus]						Ingratitude	Ingratitude	Ingratitude [as Crowfoot]	Ingratitude	Ingratitude
Crowfoot, sweet-scented	11				You shall have justice						Justice shall be done to you		Justice shall be done to you
Crown imperial	12	Puissance	Puissance	Majesty and power	Majesty and power	Power	Majesty	Sovereignty	Power	Majesty. Power	Majesty. Power	Majesty. Power	Majesty. Power
Crowsbill										Envy		Envy	Envy
Cucumber, squirting	13		Critic		Critic				Criticism				
Cudweed, American	14									Unceasing remembrance	Unceasing remembrance	Unceasing remembrance	Unceasing remembrance
Currant	15		You please all [branch]		You please all [branch]					Thy frown will kill me; Branch of currants: You please all	Thy frown will kill me; Branch of currants: You please all	Thy frown will kill me; Branch of currants: You please all	Thy frown will kill me; Branch of currants: You please all
Cyclamen	16		Diffidence		Diffidence		Diffidence	Confidence in Mary		Diffidence		Diffidence	Diffidence
Cypress	17	Mort ou deuil	Deuil	Death and eternal sorrow	Despair		Mourning	Sorrow		Death. Mourning	Death. Despair	Death. Mourning	Death. Mourning
Daffodil	18		Deceitful hope		Deceitful hope		Delusive hope [as False narcissus]	Folly	Disdain [as Yellow narcissus]	Regard. Unrequited love	Regard	Regard	Regard. Unrequited love

1 Dodecatheon meadia 2 Vaccinium oxycoccus 3 Tolpis barbata 4 Lepidium sativum 5 Tropaeolum majus 6 Crocus vernus 7 Crocus sativus 8 Lychnis chalcedonica 9 Ranunculus plataniifolius 10 Ranunculus sceleratus 11 Ranunculus asiaticus 12 Fritillaria imperialis 13 Ecballium elaterium 14 Gnaphalium purpureum 15 Ribes cvs. 16 Cyclamen spp. 17 Cupressus sempervirens 18 Narcissus pseudonarcissus

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Dahlia	1	Ma reconn- aissance compasse vos soins			Instability		Instability	Ornament		Instability. Pomp	Instability	Instability. Pomp	Instability. Pomp
Daisy, double	2	Je songerai vos sentiments	Participation, or, I partake our sentiments		I partake your sentiments				I reciprocate your affection				
Daisy, garden	2	Patience, tristesse	Innocence	Innocence	Simple & unaffected beauty & fondness	Beauty and innocence	Innocence	Innocence; as Garden daisy, I partake of your sentiments	Simplicity	Innocence and hope; as Garden daisy, I share your sentiments	Innocence	Innocence and hope; as Garden daisy, I partake of your sentiments	Innocence and hope; as Garden daisy, I partake of your sentiments
Daisy, oxeye	3				A token								
Daisy, parti- coloured	3									Beauty	Beauty	Beauty	Beauty
Daisy, white	4	Autorité; j'y songerai	J'y songerai [Marguérite des prés]		Innocence [as Wild daisy]		I will think of it		I will think of it [as Wreath of white daisies]	I will think of it [as Wild daisy]	I will think of it [as Wild daisy]	I will think of it [as Wild daisy]	I will think of it [as Wild daisy]
Dandelion	5	Vous perdez le temps	Oracle	Oracle	"one of Flora's time-keepers"	Oracle	Foresight	Oracle		Rustic oracle; and, as Dandelion or Thistlehead, Depart	Rustic oracle	Rustic oracle; and, as Dandelion or Thistlehead, Depart	Rustic oracle; and, as Dandelion or Thistlehead, Depart
Daphne	6		Coquetterie, Désir de plaisir						Coquetry, desire to please	Glory, immortality			Glory, immortality
Daphne odora	7				Sweets to the sweet					Painting the lily	Painting the lily	Painting the lily	Painting the lily
Darnel	8	Vice	Vice	Vice	Vice		Vice			Vice [also as Ray grass]	Vice	Vice [also as Ray grass]	Vice
Daylily, yellow	9		Coquetterie [Belle-de-jour]	Coquetry		Coquetry	Coquetry	Coquetry		Coquetry	Coquetry	Coquetry	Coquetry
Dead leaves													Sadness
Delphinium	10	Légèreté											
Dewplant	11									A serenade		A serenade	A serenade
Diosma	12				Inutility					Your simple elegance charms me		Your simple elegance charms me	Your simple elegance charms me
Dipladenia	13									You are too bold		You are too bold	You are too bold
Diptera- canthus spectabilis	14									Fortitude		Fortitude	Fortitude
Dittany [of Crete]	15		Naissance	Birth		Birth		Birth		Birth		Birth	Birth
Dittany, white	16	Feu						Passion; also, as Fraxinella, Fire		Passion	Passion	Passion	Passion

1 Dahlia cvs 2 *Bellis perennis* 3, 4 *Leucanthemum vulgare* 5 *Taraxacum officinale* 6 *Daphne lanceolata* 7 *Daphne odora* 8 *Lolium temulentum* 9 *Hemerocallis lilloosphodelus* 10 *Consolida regalis* 11 *Aptenia cordifolia?* 12 *Diosma vulgaris* 13 *Mandevilla maritima* 14 *Ruellia simplex* 15 *Origanum dictamnus* 16 *Dictamnus albus*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Dodder	1									Meanness	Meanness	Meanness	Meanness
Dodder [of thyme]	2	Bassesse			Business		Baseness			Baseness	Baseness	Baseness	Baseness
Dogsbane	3				Falsehood		Deceit, falsehood			Deceit, Falsehood	Deceit	Deceit, Falsehood	Deceit, falsehood
Dogwood	4		Durability		Durability					Durability	Durability	Durability	Durability
Dragon plant	5		Snare		Snare – The Betrayer					Snare	Snare	Snare	Snare
Dragonwort	6									Horror	Horror	Horror	Horror
Ebony	7	Souplesse, grâce	Noirceur	Blackness	Blackness		Blackness			Blackness	Blackness	Blackness	Blackness
Echites	8									Be warned in time			Be warned in time
Elder	9	Bienfaisance		Zealousness	Zealousness		Compassion	Docility		Zealousness	Zealousness	Zealousness	Zealousness
Elm	10	Vigueur			Dignity			Genius		Dignity		Dignity	Dignity
Elm, American	11				Patriotism						Patriotism	Patriotism	Patriotism
Endive	12		Frugalité	Frugality			Frugality			Frugality (also as Chicory)	Frugality (also as Chicory)	Frugality (also as Chicory)	Frugality (also as Chicory)
Épis [ears of corn]		Moisson											
Eschscholtzia	13							Desire of riches		Do not refuse me			Do not refuse me
Eugenia	14							Compassion					
Eupatorium	15				Delay					Delay	Delay	Delay	Delay
Euphorbia	16							The advantages of adversity					
Euphrasia	17							Consecration to God					
Evergreen					Poverty					Poverty [as Evergreen clematis]	Poverty [as Evergreen clematis]	Poverty [as Evergreen clematis]	Poverty [as Evergreen clematis]
Everlasting	18	Amour sans fin		Never-ceasing remembrance	Never-ceasing remembrance			Virtue		Never-ceasing remembrance	Never-ceasing remembrance	Never-ceasing remembrance	Never-ceasing remembrance
Fennel	19		Force		Worthy all praise		Strength			Worthy all praise, Strength	Worthy all praise, Strength	Worthy all praise, Strength	Worthy all praise, Strength
Fern			Sincérité		Fascination	Sincerity	Sincerity	Prudence [as Nephrodium]		Fascination, Magic, Sincerity	Fascination	Fascination, Magic, Sincerity	Fascination, Magic, Sincerity
Fern, adder's-tongue	20							Detraction					
Fern, flowering	21						Reverie			Reverie	Reverie	Reverie	Reverie
Fig	22		Argument		Argument		Argument	Patriotism		Argument	Argument	Argument	Argument
Fig-marigold	23				Idleness		Idleness			Idleness		Idleness	Idleness
Fig tree	24		Prolific		Prolific					Prolific	Prolific	Prolific	Prolific

1 *Cuscuta* spp. 2 *Cuscuta europaea* 3 *Apocynum venetum* 4 *Cornus sanguinea* 5 *Dracaena draco* 6 *Arisaema* spp. 7 *Diospyros ebenum* 8 *Dipladenia atropurpurea* 9 *Sambucus nigra* 10 *Ulmus* spp. 11 *Ulmus americana* 12 *Cichorium endivia* 13 *Eschscholzia californica* 14 *Syzygium jambos?* 15 *Eupatorium* spp. 16 *Euphorbia* spp. 17 *Euphrasia officinalis* 18 *Gnaphalium* spp. 19 *Foeniculum vulgare* 20 *Ophoglossum vulgatum* 21 *Osmunda regalis* 22 *Ficus carica* 23 *Mesembryanthemum tricolor* 24 *Ficus* spp.

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Fig-sycamore	1							Desire of holy communion					
Filbert	2		Reconciliation		Reconciliation			Hidden merit		Reconciliation	Reconciliation	Reconciliation	Reconciliation
Fir	3	Fortune	Élévation		Time		Elevation			Time; as Fir-tree, Elevation		Time; as Fir-tree, Elevation	Time; as Fir-tree, Elevation
Fir, silver	4		Elevation		Elevation					Elevation	Elevation		Elevation
Fir, Scotch	5		Elevation		Elevation								
Flag, sweet	6				Fitness							Resignation (as Sweet sedge)	Resignation (as Sweet sedge)
Flax	7	Simplicité	Je sens vos bienfaits	Fate	Fate		I feel your kindness	Domestic industry	I am sensible of your kindness	Domestic industry, Fate. I feel your kindness	Domestic industry, I feel your kindness	Domestic industry, Fate. I feel your kindness	Domestic industry, Fate. I feel your kindness
Flax, dried	7			Utility	Utility					Utility		Utility	Utility
Fleur-de-lys	8							France		Flame. I burn; as Fleur-de-luce, Fire	Flame; as Fleur-de-luce, Fire	Flame. I burn; as Fleur-de-luce, Fire	Flame. I burn; as Fleur-de-luce, Fire
Flower of an hour	9				Delicate beauty					Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty
Forget-me-not	10	Souvenez-vous de moi	Souvenez-vous de moi; ne m'oubliez pas	Forget me not	True love	Forget me not	Forget-me-not	Affection		Forget-me-not	Forget-me-not, True love	True love. Forget me not	Forget-me-not
Foxglove	11	Salubrité		Youth	Insincerity	Youth	Insincerity	Insincerity		Insincerity	Insincerity	Insincerity	Insincerity
Franciscea	12									Insincerity			Beware of false friends
Frankincense	13				The incense of a faithful heart								
Fritillary, chequered	14			Persecution	Persecution					Persecution	Persecution	Persecution	Persecution
Fuchsia	15			Taste	Taste	Taste	Taste	Popularity					Taste
Fuchsia, scarlet	16									Taste	Taste	Taste	
Fumitory	17	Dessin	Fiel	Spleen	Spleen		Hatred	Discontent		Spleen	Spleen	Spleen	Spleen
Funkia	18							Fragility					
Gardenia	19									Refinement			Refinement
Genista	20			Neatness	Neatness			Royalty					
Gentian	21				Virgin pride								I love you best when you are sad
Gentian, yellow	22			Ingratitude	Ingratitude								

¹ *Ficus sycamore* ² *Corylus maxima*? ³ *Picea abies* ⁴ *Abies alba* ⁵ *Pinus sylvestris* ⁶ *Acorus calamus* ⁷ *Linum usitatissimum* ⁸ *Iris sambucina*? ⁹ *Hibiscus trionum* ¹⁰ *Myosotis palustris* ¹¹ *Digitalis* spp. ¹² *Brunfelsia latifolia* ¹³ *Boswellia carteri*? ¹⁴ *Fritillaria meleagris* ¹⁵ *Fuchsia* cvs ¹⁶ *Graptophyllum excelsum* ¹⁷ *Fumaria officinalis* ¹⁸ *Hosta* spp. ¹⁹ *Gardenia jasminoides* ²⁰ *Genista* spp. ²¹ *Gentiana verna* ²² *Gentiana lutea*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Geranium, see also Pelargonium	1	Estime		Gentility									
Gillyflower	2	Beauté durable [Giroflée des jardins]	Lasting beauty			Lasting beauty	Lasting beauty	Unpretending merit [as Cheiranthus cheiri]		Bonds of affection [as stock, Lasting beauty]	Bonds of affection [as stock, Lasting beauty]	Bonds of affection [as Stock, Lasting beauty]	Bonds of affection [as Stock, Lasting beauty]
Gladiolus	3									Ready armed			Ready armed
Glory-flower	4				Glorious beauty					Glorious beauty	Glorious beauty	Glorious beauty	Glorious beauty
Glycine	5	Votre amitié m'est douce et agréable							Your friendship is pleasing and agreeable to me				
Golden rod	6		Precaution		Precaution			Eloquence		Precaution	Precaution	Precaution	Precaution
Goldilocks, flax-leaved	7		Tardiness		Tardiness		Tardiness			Tardiness	Tardiness		Tardiness
Good King Henry	8	Bonté			Goodness		Goodness				Goodness	Goodness	Goodness
Gooseberry	9				Anticipation					Anticipation	Anticipation	Anticipation	Anticipation
Goosefoot, grass-leaved	10						I declare war against you						
Gorse	11					Anger	Enduring affection	Grateful admiration of the works of God					Love for all seasons
Grammanthus	12									Your temper is too hasty			Your temper is too hasty
Grape	13	Ivresse	Drunkenness		Drunkenness		Intoxication	Our divine Lord			Intoxication		Intoxication
Grape leaves	13							Benevolence					
Grape, wild	13				Charity					Charity		Charity	Charity
Grass	14	Récompense de la valeur	Utilité				Utility, usefulness	Utility		Submission; utility	Submission, utility	Submission, Utility	Submission, utility
Grass, Canary	15		Perseverance		Perseverance		Perseverance			Perseverance		Perseverance	Perseverance
Grass, scorpion, mouse-eared	16				Forget-me-not					Forget-me-not		Forget me not	Forget-me-not
Grass, foxtail	17									Sporting	Sporting	Sporting	Sporting
Grass, quaking	18	Frivolité					Agitation [as Quaking grass]	Timidity	Frivolty	Agitation			Agitation
Grass, ribbon	19							Justice					
Grass, vernal	20											Poor, but happy	

1 *Geranium robertianum* 2 *Matthiola incana* 3 *Gladiolus communis* 4 *Eccremocarpus scaber?* Or *Ipomoea* sp.? 5 *Wisteria sinensis* 6 *Solidago virgaurea* 7 *Aster linosyris?* 8 *Chenopodium bonus-henricus* 9 *Ribes grossularia* 10 *Chenopodium altissimum* 11 *Ulex europaeus* 12 *Grammanthus chloriflora* 13 *Vitis vinifera* 14 *Poa* spp. 15 *Phalaris canariensis* 16 *Myosotis scorpioides?* 17 *Alopecurus* spp. 18 *Briza media* 19 *Phalaris arundinacea* 1, picta 20 *Anthoxanthum odoratum*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Gelder rose	1 Naïveté de l'enfance	Bonne nouvelle	Winter of age		Winter or age		Winter of age		Good news	Winter, age	Age, Winter	Winter, Age	Winter, Age
Handflower tree	2									Warning		Warning	Warning
Harebell	3				Delicate and lonely as this flower. Submission	Happy retirement	Grief			Submission, grief	Submission, grief	Submission, Grief	Submission, grief
Hawkweed	4		Quick-sightedness		Quick-sightedness		Quick-sightedness	Censoriousness		Quick-sightedness	Quick-sightedness	Quicksightedness	Quick-sightedness
Hawthorn	5 Prudence	Espérance	Hope		Hope	Hope	Hope	Offerings to Mary		Hope	Hope	Hope	Hope
Hazel	6	Réconciliation			Reconciliation	Reconciliation	Reconciliation		Peace	Reconciliation	Reconciliation	Reconciliation	Reconciliation
Heath	7 Solitude	Solitude	Solitude		Solitude	Solitude	Solitude	Solitude, or, as Heather, Erica vulgaris; Penitence		Solitude	Solitude	Solitude	Solitude
Heather, white	7								Good luck				
Helenium	8	Pleurs	Tears		Tears		Tears			Tears	Tears	Tears	Tears
Heliotrope	9 Attachement violent, aimer plusque soi-même				Devoted to you	Devoted attachment		Piety		Devotion, or I turn to thee	Faithfulness	Devotion, Faithfulness	Devotion; or, I turn to thee
Heliotrope, Peruvian	10	Enivrement, je vous aime	Intoxicated with pleasure		Intoxicated with pleasure; Devotion		Infatuation, I love you			Devotion	Devotion	Devotion	Devotion
Hellebore	11 Folie				Calumny					Scandal, Calumny	Calumny	Scandal, Calumny	Scandal, calumny
Hemlock	12 Mauvaise conduite		You will cause my death		You will cause my death		You will cause my death	Death		You will be my death	You will cause my death	You will be my death	You will cause my death
Hemp	13				Fate					Fate		Fate	Fate
Henbane	14	Défaut	Imperfection		Imperfection		Imperfection		Fault	Imperfection	Imperfection	Imperfection	Imperfection
Hepatica	15 Apathie	Confiance	Confidence		Confidence		Confidence			Confidence	Confidence	Confidence	Confidence
Hibiscus	16				Delicate beauty			Painting		Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty
Hoarhound	17				Frozen kindness			Censure					Frozen kindness
Holly	18	Prévoyance	Foresight		Foresight		Foresight		Forethought	Foresight	Foresight	Foresight	Foresight
Hollyherb					Enchantment					Enchantment	Enchantment	Enchantment	Enchantment
Hollyhock	19 Persuasion [as Althéa]; Mère de famille [as Rose trémière]		Fecundity	Ambition	Fecundity		Fruitfulness	Order		Ambition, Fecundity	Fecundity	Ambition, Fecundity	Ambition, fecundity
Honesty	20		Honesty		Honesty		Honesty			Honesty, Fascination	Honest, Fascination	Honesty, Fascination	Honesty
Honeyflower	21				Love, sweet and secret					Love sweet and secret		Love sweet and secret	Love sweet and secret

1 *Viburnum opulus* 2 *Chiranthodendon pentadactylon?* 3 *Campanula rotundifolia* 4 *Hieracium* spp. 5 *Crataegus oxycantha* 6 *Corylus avellana* 7 *Calluna vulgaris* 8 *Helenium autumnale* 9 *Heliotropium europaeum?* 10 *Heliotropium peruvianum* 11 *Helleborus orientalis?* 12 *Conium maculatum* 13 *Cannabis sativa* 14 *Hyoscyamus niger* 15 *Hepatica triloba* 16 *Hibiscus* spp. 17 *Marubium vulgare* 18 *Ilex aquifolium* 19 *Alcea rosea* 20 *Lunaria annua* 21 *Protea mellifera?*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Honeysuckle	1 Liens d'amour	Liens d'amour	Bond of love		Bond of love, Sweetness of disposition	Devoted affection	Bonds of love			Generous and devoted affection		Generous and devoted affection	Generous and devoted affection
Honeysuckle, coral	2									The colour of my fate	The colour of my fate, the colour of my life	The colour of my fate	The colour of my fate
Honeysuckle, French	3		Rustic beauty		Rustic beauty		Rustic beauty			Rustic beauty	Rustic beauty, Generous and devoted affection	Rustic beauty	Rustic beauty
Honeysuckle, wild					Inconstancy in love								
Hop	4 Injustice	Injustice	Injustice		Injustice		Injustice			Injustice		Injustice	Injustice
Hornbeam	5	Ornament	Ornament		Ornament		Ornament		Ornament [as Yoke-elm]	Ornament		Ornament	Ornament
Houseleek	6 Esprit		Vivacity		Vivacity, Domestic industry		Vivacity			Vivacity, domestic industry		Vivacity, domestic industry	Vivacity, domestic industry
Houstonia	7			Meek & quiet happiness & content	Content		Content, Quiet happiness			Content		Content	Content
Hoya	8		Sculpture		Sculpture		Sculpture		Submission		Sculpture	Sculpture	Sculpture
Hoyabella	9									Contentment			Contentment
Humble plant	10				Despondency					Despondency	Despondency	Despondency	Despondency
Hyacinth	11 Amour, chagrin. Vous m'aimez, et me donnez la mort	Jeu	Play, or games	Constancy	Play or games	Truth	Game, play	St Joseph's early life [Hyacinthus nutans]		Sport, games, play		Sport, Game, Play	Sport, games, play
Hyacinth, purple	11									Sorrowful, I am sorry			Sorrowful, I am sorry
Hyacinth, white	11									Unobtrusive loveliness		Unobtrusive loveliness	Unobtrusive loveliness
Hydrangea	12 Femme courageuse	Vous êtes froid	Boaster		Boaster		You are cold		Boaster	A boaster; as Hortensia, You are cold	Boaster [or, as Hortensia, You are cold]	A boaster, Heartlessness [or, as Hortensia, You are cold]	Boaster [or, as Hortensia, You are cold]
Hyssop	13				Cleanly			Purity of heart		Cleanliness	Cleanliness	Cleanliness	Cleanliness
Ice plant	14	Vos yeux me glacent	You freeze me	Old beau	You freeze me	Your looks freeze me	Your looks freeze me		Avarice	Your looks freeze me	Your looks freeze me	Your looks freeze me	Your looks freeze me
Imbricata	15									Uprightness, Sentiments of honor			Uprightness, Sentiments of honor
Impatiens	16	Impatience			Impatience	Impatience; irritation, ingratitude	Impatience	Unwillingness to bear reproof			Impatience [as Yellow Balsam]	Impatience [as Yellow Balsam]	Impatience [as Yellow Balsam]

1 *Lonicera* spp. 2 *Lonicera sempervirens* 3 *Centranthus ruber* 4 *Humulus lupulus* 5 *Carpinus betulus* 6 *Sempenivum tectorum* 7 *Houstonia caerulea* 8 *Hoya carnosa* 9 *Hoya lanceolata* 10 *Mimosa pudica* 11 *Hyacinthus orientalis* 12 *Hydrangea hortensis* 13 *Hyssopus officinalis* 14 *Mesembryanthemum crystallinum* 15 *Fabiana imbricata* 16 *Impatiens noli-tangere*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Impatiens	1 Jeunesse		Impatience								Impatient resolves [as Red Balsam]	Touch me not. Impatient resolves [as Red Balsam]	Touch me not. Impatient resolves [as Red Balsam]
Ipomoea	2	Je m'attache à vous	Attachment		Attachment [as Scarlet Flowered Ipomoea]		I attach myself to you			Attachment	Attachment	Attachment; I attach myself to you [as Indian Jasmine]	Attachment, I attach myself to you
Iris	3		Flamme	Eloquence; [as Pseud-acorus] Flame, or passion of love	Flame of love		Ardour, flame				Flame [as Fleur-de-lis, Iris]	Flame [as German Iris]	Flame
Iris	4 Message [Iris]	Message	Message		Message	Messenger	Message	Messages from Heaven			Message	Message	Message
Ivy	5 Tendresse réciproque	Amitié	Fidelity in friendship		Fidelity	Friendship	Friendship	Fidelity			Marriage, fidelity	Marriage	Friendship, fidelity, marriage
Ivy, sprig of, with tendrils	5										Assiduous to please	Assiduous to please	Assiduous to please
Jacob's ladder	6							Prayer			Come down	Come down	Come down
Jasmine	7 Candeur	Amabilité	Amiability	Elegance & grace		Amiability	Amiability	Amiability			Amiability; as White jasmine, Amiability	Amiability; as White jasmine, Amiability	Amiability
Jasmine, Cape	8									Transport of joy; I am too happy	Transport of joy; I am too happy	Transport of joy; I am too happy	Transport of joy; I am too happy
Jasmine, Carolina	9									Separation	Separation	Separation	
Jasmine, Spanish	10 Sensualité		Sensuality		Sensuality					Sensuality	Sensuality	Sensuality	Sensuality
Jasmine, yellow	11 Première langueur d'amour									Grace and elegance	Grace and elegance	Grace and elegance	Grace and elegance
Jasmine, Virginian	12 Pays lointains												
Jonquil	13 Désirs, jouissances	Désir	Desire		Desire	Desire	Desire				I desire a return of affection	I desire a return of affection	I desire a return of affection
Judas tree	14							Unbelief			Unbelief	Unbelief	Unbelief, betrayal
Julienne, white	15										Despair not; God is everywhere		Despair not; God is everywhere
Juniper	16 Ingratitude	Asile, secours	Asylum, or succour		Asylum		Asylum, protection		Asylum, succour	Succour, Protection	Succour	Succour, Protection	Succour, protection
Justicia	17				The perfection of female loveliness					The perfection of female loveliness	The perfection of female loveliness	The perfection of female loveliness	The perfection of female loveliness

1 Impatiens balsamina 2 Quamodit cocinea 3 Iris germanica 4 Iris versicolor 5 Hedera helix 6 Polemonium caeruleum 7 Jasminum officinale 8 Gardenia jasminoides 9 Gelsemium sempervirens 10 Jasminum grandiflorum 11 Jasminum humile 12 Campsis radicans 13 Narcissus jonquilla 14 Cercis siliquastrum 15 Malcolmia maritima? 16 Juniperus communis 17 Justicia spp.

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Kennedia	1				Mental beauty					Mental beauty	Mental beauty	Mental beauty	Mental beauty
Kingcup	2				I wish I was rich					Desire of riches		Desire of riches	Desire of riches
Laburnum	3			Pensive beauty	Pensive beauty			Gratitude [as Cytisus laburnum]		Forsaken. Pensive beauty	Forsaken; Pensive beauty	Forsaken. Pensive beauty	Forsaken; Pensive beauty
Lady's mantle	4						Fashion	Protection					
Lady's slipper	5				Capricious beauty		Fickleness			Capricious beauty; Win me and wear me	Capricious beauty; Win me and wear me	Capricious beauty; Win me and wear me	Capricious beauty; Win me and wear me
Lagerstroemia, Indian	6									Eloquence	Eloquence	Eloquence	Eloquence
Lantana	7		Rigour				Sharpness			Rigor	Rigour	Rigour	Rigor
Lapageria	8									There is no unalloyed good		There is no unalloyed good	There is no unalloyed good
Larch	9	Audace					Boldness			Audacity, boldness	Audacity	Audacity, Boldness	Audacity, boldness
Larkspur	10	Légèreté	Lightness, levity, fickleness	Haughtiness & fickleness	Levity		Levity, lightness	Discretion	Swiftness	Lightness, levity	Lightness, levity	Lightness, Levity	Lightness, levity
Larkspur, pink	10									Fickleness	Fickleness	Fickleness	Fickleness
Larkspur, purple	10									Haughtiness	Haughtiness	Haughtiness	Haughtiness
Laurel	11	Triomphe, gloire	Gloire	Glory	Immortality	Glory	Glory	Glory	Glory	Glory [also as Bay-tree]	Glory [also as Bay-tree]	Glory [also as Bay-tree]	Glory [also as Bay-tree]
Laurel, cherry	12							Victory					
Laurel flower	13	Félicité assurée											
Laurel wreath	13					The reward of merit					The reward of merit	Reward of merit [as Bay wreath]	Reward of merit
Laurel, almond	14	Perfidie	Perfidy		Perfidy [as Common laurel in flower]		Perfidy			Perfidy	Perfidy	Perfidy	Perfidy
Laurel, ground	15									Perseverance		Perseverance	Perseverance
Laurel, mountain	16						Ambition			Ambition		Ambition	Ambition
Laurustinus	17	Pureté	Je meurs si on me negligé	I die, if I am neglected	I die if I'm neglected	Neglected love	I die if neglected	Generous fidelity to God		A token	I die if neglected	A token. I die if neglected	A token
Lavender	18	Méfiance	Assiduity		Assiduity		Acknowledgment	The memory of the dead	Distrust	Distrust	Distrust	Distrust	Distrust
Lemon	19	Correspondance	Zest		Zest		Zest	Duty		Zest	Zest	Zest	Zest

1 Kennedyia coccinea 2 Caltha palustris 3 Laburnum anagyroides 4 Alchemilla vulgaris 5 Cypripedium calceolus 6 Lagerstroemia indica 7 Lantana cammaria 8 Lapageria rosea 9 Larix decidua 10 Consolida spp. 11 Laurus nobilis 12 Cerasus lauro-cerasus 13 Laurus nobilis 14 Prunus laurocerasus 15 Epigaea repens 16 Kalmia latifolia 17 Viburnum tinus 18 Lavandula spica 19 Citrus limon

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Lemon blossoms	1									Fidelity in love	Fidelity in love	Fidelity in love	Fidelity in love
Leschenaultia	2									You are charming		You are charming	You are charming
Lettuce	3		Refrondissement							Cold-heartedness	Cold-heartedness	Cold-heartedness	Cold-heartedness
Lichen										Dejection. Solitude	Dejection. Solitude	Dejection. Solitude	Dejection. Solitude
Lilac	4	Première émotion d'amour	Première émotion d'amour			Forsaken	Forsaken	First emotions of love	First emotion of love	Meekness		First emotions of love [as Purple lilac]	First emotions of love [as Purple lilac]
Lilac, field										Humility	Humility	Humility	Humility
Lilac, white	5		Jeunesse				Youth	Purity		Youthful innocence	Youthful innocence	Youthful innocence	Joy of youth
Lily	6	Condeur, pureté, grandeur	Majesté		Purity & beauty	Purity and modesty	Purity and majesty	Mary immaculate	Majesty	Purity and modesty [as White lily]	Modesty and purity [as White lily]	Majesty [as Imperial lily]; Purity and modesty [as White lily]	Purity, sweetness [as White lily]
Lily, yellow	7	Inquiétude			Moral excellence					Falsehood. Gaiety	Falsehood, gayety	Falsehood. Gaiety	Falsehood, gayety
Lily, Japanese	8									You cannot deceive me		You can not deceive me	You can not deceive me
Lily, orange	9							A passionate disposition					
Lily of the field	10							Trust in Providence					
Lily of the valley	11		Retour du bonheur	Return of happiness	Simplicity & modesty	Return of happiness	Return of happiness	Return of happiness	Reserve	Return of happiness; Unconscious sweetness	Return of happiness	Return of happiness; Unconscious sweetness	Return of happiness; Unconscious sweetness
Lily, rose [lis rose]		Rareté											
Lime	12		Amour conjugal	Conjugal fidelity		Conjugal fidelity	Conjugal love	Reward		Conjugal love	Conjugal love	Conjugal love	Conjugal love
Linden, American	13					Matrimony					Matrimony	Matrimony	Matrimony
Linnaea	14							Tribute to Linnaeus					
Lint										I feel my obligations	I feel my obligations	I feel my obligations	I feel my obligations
Liquorice, wild	15									I declare against you	I declare against you	I declare against you	I declare against you
Liverwort	16									Confidence	Confidence [as Hepatica]	Confidence	Confidence
Labelia	17							Gossip		Malevolence	Malevolence	Malevolence	Malevolence
Locust	18							Vicissitude		Elegance	Elegance	Elegance	Elegance

1 *Citrus limon* 2 *Lechenaultia loricata* 3 *Lactuca sativa* 4 *Syringa vulgaris* 5 *Syringa villosa* 6 *Lilium candidum* 7 *Lilium auratum* 8 *Lilium japonicum* 9 *Lilium bulbiferum* 10 *Lilium chalcedonicum* 11 *Conwallia majalis* 12 *Tilia europaea* 13 *Tilia americana* 14 *Linnaea borealis* 15 *Glycyrrhiza foetida* 16 *Hepatica nobilis* 17 *Labelia cardinalis* or other spp. 18 *Robinia* spp.

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Locust, green	1									Affection beyond the grave	Affection beyond the grave	Affection beyond the grave	Affection beyond the grave
London pride	2			Alove match		Frivolity		Frivolity		Frivolity	Frivolity	Frivolity	Frivolity
Loosestrife	3	Force sacerdotale [as Bâton-des-bergers]						Retribution					
Lote-tree	4									Concord	Concord	Concord	Concord
Lotus	5	Eloquence		Silence		Silence				Eloquence [flower; estranged love; leaf; recantation]	Estranged love [flower]; Recantation [leaf]	Eloquence [flower; estranged love; leaf; recantation]	Eloquence; repose [flower; estranged love; leaf; recantation]
Love-in-a-mist	6					Perplexity				Perplexity	Perplexity	Perplexity	Perplexity
Love-in-a-puzzle	6			Embarrassment		Embarrassment							
Love-les-bleeding	7			Constancy		Hopeless not heartless	Desertion	Jesus suffering		Hopeless, not heartless	Hopeless, not heartless	Hopeless, not heartless	Hopeless, not heartless
Lucerne	8	Vie		Life		Life	Life	Liberty		Life	Life	Life	Life
Lunaria	9	Oubli					Forgetfulness			Forgetfulness	Forgetfulness	Forgetfulness	Forgetfulness
Lupin	11			Voraciousness		Voraciousness	Dejection	Fickleness		Voraciousness	Voraciousness, Imagination	Voraciousness, Imagination	Voraciousness
Lychnis	12			Religious enthusiasm		Religious enthusiasm		Evening prayer					
Lychnis, meadow	13									Wit		Wit	
Lychnis, scarlet	14									Sunbeaming eyes	Sunbeaming eyes	Sunbeaming eyes	Sunbeaming eyes
Lythrum	15			Pretension		Pretension							
Madder	16		Calomnie [Garance]	Calumny		Calumny	Calumny			Calumny	Calumny	Calumny	Calumny
Magnolia	17							Lively faith		Love of nature; Magnificence		Love of nature; Magnificence	Love of nature; Magnificence
Magnolia, laurel-leaved	18			Dignity		Dignity				Dignity	Dignity	Dignity	Dignity
Magnolia, swamp	19									Perseverance	Perseverance	Perseverance	Perseverance
Mahonia	20							Suspicion					
Maidenhair fern	21	Parure	Discretion [Capillaire]				Discretion, secrecy		Discretion				
Maize	22					Plenty							
Mallow	23	Humanité		Sweet or mild disposition		Sweet disposition	Mild or sweet disposition	Kindness		Mildness	Mildness	Mildness	Mildness
Mallow, Venetian	24									Delicate beauty		Delicate beauty	Delicate beauty

1 *Robinia pseudacacia* 2 *Saxifraga umbrosa* 3 *Lysimachia vulgaris* 4 *Zizyphus lotus*? 5 *Nymphaea lotus*? 6 *Nigella damascena* 7 *Amoranthus gangeticus*? 8 *Medicago sativa* 9 *Lunaria annua*? *biennis*? See Honesty 10 *Pulmonaria officinalis* 11 *Lupinus* spp. 12 *Lychnis coelestis*? 13 *Lychnis flos-cuculi* 14 *Lychnis chalcedonica* 15 *Lythrum salicaria*? 16 *Rubia tricolor* 17 *Magnolia* spp. 18 *Magnolia grandiflora* 19 *Magnolia virginiana* 20 *Mahonia aquifolium* 21 *Adiantum capillus-veneris* 22 *Zea mays* 23 *Malva sylvestris* 24 *Malva arborea*?

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Malon crecana [sic = Malva crecana]	1									Will you share my fortunes?			Will you share my fortunes?
Manchineel	2	Fausseté					Falsehood		Duplicity	Falsehood	Falsehood	Falsehood	Falsehood
Mandrake	3	Rareté	Rarity, or extraordinary		Rarity		Rarity			Horror	Horror	Horror	Horror
Maple	4	Réserve	Reserve		Reserve		Reserve			Reserve	Reserve	Reserve	Reserve
Marianthus	5									Hope for better days			Hope for better days
Marigold	6	Peine, chagrin	Despair		Despair	Grief or pain	Inquietude	Jealousy [as Bidens]	Pain, chagrin	Grief	Grief	Grief	Grief
Marigold, African	7		Vulgar minds				Vulgar minds			Vulgar minds	Vulgar minds	Vulgar minds	Vulgar minds
Marigold, French	8		Jealousy	Jealousy	Jealousy					Jealousy	Jealousy	Jealousy	Jealousy
Marigold, garden	9		Uneasiness and jealousy		Uneasiness					Uneasiness			Uneasiness
Marigold, small Cape	10	Présage					Presage		Omen	Prediction [as Prophetic marigold]	Prediction [as Prophetic marigold]	Prediction [as Prophetic marigold]	Prediction [as Prophetic marigold]
Marigold & cypress		Désespoir					Despair			Despair		Despair	Despair
Marjoram	11	Tromperie	Blushes		Blushes		Blushes			Blushes	Blushes	Blushes	Blushes
Marsh mallow	12	Bienfaisance	Humanity		Humanity		Beneficence			Beneficence	Beneficence	Beneficence	Beneficence
Marvel of Peru	13	Fuir, redouter l'amour	Timidité	Timidity	Timidity		Timidity			Timidity	Timidity	Timidity	Timidity
Meadowsweet	14	Inutilité			Uselessness		Uselessness			Uselessness	Uselessness	Uselessness	Uselessness
Mercury	15		Goodness		Goodness					Goodness	Goodness	Goodness	Goodness
Mesembry-anthemum	16		Idleness		Laziness			Laziness		Idleness	Laziness	Idleness	Laziness
Mezereon	17		Desire to please		Desire to please. Coquette		Desire to please	Repose		Desire to please	Desire to please	Desire to please	Desire to please
Michaelmas daisy	18	Arrière-pensée [Aster à grandes fleurs]	Cheerfulness in old age		Cheerfulness in old age	Afterthought	Afterthought	Cheerfulness in adversity		Farewell, or Afterthought	Afterthought, Farewell	Farewell; also, Afterthought	Farewell, or Afterthought
Mignonette	19	Bonheur d'un instant	Vos qualités surpassent vos charmes	Your qualities surpass your charms	Meekness & affection	Your qualities surpass your charms	Unconscious beauty [admittedly idiosyncratic]	Your qualities surpass your charms	Contentment	Your qualities surpass your charms	Your qualities surpass your charms	Your qualities surpass your charms	Your qualities surpass your charms

1 *Sphaeralcea munroana* 2 *Hippomane mancinella* 3 *Mandragora officinarum* 4 *Acer* spp. 5 *Marianthus ringens?* 6 *Calendula officinalis* 7 *Tagetes erecta* 8 *Tagetes patula* 9 *Tagetes* spp. 10 *Calendula pluvialis* 11 *Origanum majorana* 12 *Althaea officinalis* 13 *Mirabilis jalapa* 14 *Filipendula ulmaria?* 15 *Mercurialis perennis* or *annua* 16 *Mesembryanthemum* spp. 17 *Daphne mezereum* 18 *Aster amellus* 19 *Reseda odorata*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Milfoil	1		War		War			Fame		War	War	War	War
Milkvetch	2		Your presence softens my pains		Your presence softens my pain					Your presence softens my pain	Your presence softens my pain	Your presence softens my pains	Your presence softens my pain
Milkwort	3		Ermitage				Hermitage			Hermitage	Hermitage	Hermitage	Hermitage
Mimosa	4	Sensibilité secrète et profonde	Pudeur	Bashful modesty	Prudery, timidity, & courtesy	Sensitiveness; also Bashful modesty, Delicate feelings	Timidity	Timidity	Seclusion [M. pudica]	Sensitiveness, Sensibility	Sensitiveness	Sensitiveness	Sensitiveness, Sensibility
Mint	5	Chaleur		Virtue		Virtue		Sincerity		Virtue	Virtue	Virtue	Virtue
Mistletoe	6		Je surmonte tout	Obstacles, to overcome, or surmount		Obstacles to be overcome or surmounted	I surmount all difficulties	Reverence	I rise above all	I surmount difficulties	I surmount difficulties	I surmount difficulties	I surmount difficulties
Mitraria	7									Indolence. Dullness			Indolence. Dullness
Mitrewort	8							The episcopacy					
Monarda	9									Your whims are quite unbearable			Your whims are unbearable
Monkshood	10			Knight errantry	Deceit	Knight-errantry	Knight errantry	The religious life		Chivalry, knight-errantry; also, A deadly foe is near	Knight-errantry, Chivalry	Chivalry, Knight-errantry	A deadly foe is near; as Monkshood (Helmet-flower), Chivalry, knight-errantry.
Montague, imperial										Power		Power	
Morning glory	11			Repose (blue), Worth sustained by tender affection (pink)						Affectionation	Affectionation	Affectionation	Affectionation
Moschatel	12			Weakness		Weakness	Weakness	Weakness		Weakness	Weakness	Weakness	Weakness
Moss			Amour maternal			Recluse	Maternal love	Maternal love	Filial affection	Maternal love; plural, Ennui	Maternal love	Maternal love; plural, Ennui	Maternal love; plural, Ennui
Moss, Iceland	13					Health				Health	Health	Health	Health
Motherwort	14		Amour caché [Clandestine]			Concealed love		Secret love		Concealed love	Concealed love	Concealed love	Concealed love
Mourning bride	15									Unfortunate attachment, I have lost all	Unfortunate attachment, I have lost all	Unfortunate attachment, I have lost all	Unfortunate attachment, I have lost all
Moving plant	16					Agitation		Agitation		Agitation	Agitation	Agitation	Agitation
Mudwort	17									Happiness; tranquility		Tranquility	

1 *Achillea millefolium* 2 *Astragalus* spp. 3 *Polygala vulgaris* 4 *Mimosa sensitiva* 5 *Mentha piperita* 6 *Viscum album* 7 *Mitraria coccinea* 8 *Mitella* spp. 9 *Monarda aplexicaulis* 10 *Aconitum napellus* 11 *Ipomoea purpurea* 12 *Adoxa moschatellina* 13 *Centraia islandica* 14 *Leonurus cardiaca* 15 *Scabiosa atropurpurea* 16 *Desmodium gyrans* 17 *Limosella aquatica*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Mugwort	1								Happiness		Tranquillity	Happiness	Happiness, tranquillity
Mulberry, black	2	Je ne vous survivrai pas					I will not survive you			I shall not survive you	I shall not survive you	I shall not survive you	I shall not survive you
Mulberry, white	3	Sagesse	Wisdom		Wisdom [also as Red mulberry]		Wisdom	Luxury		Wisdom		Wisdom	Wisdom
Mullein, white	4	Santé		Good-nature							Good nature	Good nature	
Mushroom	5	Fortune rapide	Suspicion	Suspicion		Suspicion	Suspicion	Caprice		Suspicion [also as Champignon]; I can't entirely trust you	Suspicion	Suspicion [as Champignon]	Suspicion, or, I can't entirely trust you
Musk plant	6						Weakness [as Musk crowfoot]	Hidden kindness		Weakness	Weakness	Weakness	Weakness
Mustard	7							Irony		Indifference [as Mustard seed]	Indifference [as Mustard seed]	Indifference [as Mustard seed]	Indifference [as Mustard seed]
Myrobalan	8		Privation				Privation			Privation	Privation	Privation	Privation
Myrrh	9									Gladness	Gladness	Gladness	Gladness
Myrtle	10		Amour	Love	Hope & love	Love	Love	Liberality		Love	Love	Love	Love
Narcissus, see also Daffodil													
Narcissus	11	Amour de soi-même	Égoïsme	Egotism and self-love	Self-love & egotism	Egotism	Egotism	Self-love		Egotism		Egotism	Egotism
Nasturtium	12	Raillerie			Wit	Patriotism	Patriotism	The applause of the world		Patriotism	Patriotism	Patriotism	Patriotism
Nasturtium, scarlet	12			Splendour		Splendour					Splendour		
Nemophila	13							Thoughts of heaven		Success everywhere			Success everywhere
Nettle	14		Cruauté	Cruelty				Cruelty			Conceit		
Nettle, burning	14									Slander		Slander	
Nettle, dead	15	Sobriété						Idleness					
Nettle, stinging	16				Cruelty	Cruelty	Scandal			You are spiteful			You are spiteful
Nettle tree	17									Conceit		Conceit [sic]	Conceit
Nightshade, bitter-sweet	18	Verité	Vérité		Suspicion & dark thoughts	Truth	Truth	Disappointment			Truth	Truth	Truth
Nightshade, deadly	19						Falsehood	Sin			Falsehood		Falsehood
Nightshade, enchanter's	20		Sortilège	Witchcraft		Witchcraft		Fascination		Witchcraft	Witchcraft	Witchcraft, Sorcery	Witchcraft, sorcery

1 *Artemisia vulgaris* 2 *Morus nigra* 3 *Morus alba* 4 *Verbascum lychnitis* 5 *Agaricus campestris* 6 *Mimulus moschatus* 7 *Sinapis nigra* 8 *Prunus cerasifera*? 9 *Myrrhis odorata* 10 *Myrtus communis* 11 *Narcissus poeticus* 12 *Tropeolum* spp. or cvs 13 *Nemophila menziesii*? 14 *Urtica urens* 15 *Urtica urens* 16 *Lamium album* 17 *Urtica dioica*? 18 *Celtis* spp. 19 *Solanum dulcamara* 20 *Atropa belladonna* 20 *Circaea lutetiana*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Oak	1 Amour de la patrie, ou force et protection	Hospitalité	Hospitality		Hospitality	Hospitality	Hospitality	Fortitude		Hospitality	Hospitality	Hospitality	Hospitality
Oak leaves	1									Bravery	Bravery	Bravery	Bravery
Oak, Live-	2				Liberty					Liberty	Liberty	Liberty	Liberty
Oak, white	3									Independence		Independence	Independence
Oats	4				The witching soul of music, hers					The witching soul of music	The witching soul of music	The witching soul of music	The witching soul of music
Oleander	5 Beauté et honté							Divine love overcomes all difficulties [as Rose laurel]		Beware	Beware	Beware	Beware
Oleander, white [Laurier blanc]	5 Candeur												
Olive	6 Paix; as Olivier, Charité	Paix	Peace		Peace	Peace	Peace	Peace		Peace	Peace	Peace	Peace
Orange (flowers)	7 Générosité, magnificence	Chasteté	Chastity		Chastity, Bridal festivity	Chastity (a wedding flower)	Chastity	Virginity		Chastity. Bridal festivities; as Orange blossom, Your purity equals your loveliness	Your purity equals your loveliness	Chastity, Bridal festivities; as Orange blossom, Your purity equals your loveliness	Chastity, Bridal festivities; as Orange blossom, Your purity equals your loveliness
Orange (tree)	7 Douceur [Orange]	Générosité	Generosity		Generosity		Generosity			Generosity	Generosity	Generosity	Generosity
Orchid					A belle		A belle			A belle	A belle	A belle	A belle
Orchid, bee	8	Erreur	Industry		Industry		Error	Industry		Industry; also, Error		Industry	Industry
Orchid, butterfly	9		Gaiety		Gaiety		Gaiety			Gaiety	Gaiety	Gaiety	Gaiety [sic]
Orchid, fly	10		Error		Error					Error	Error	Error [also as Bee Ophrys]	Error
Orchid, frog	11		Disgust		Disgust					Disgust	Disgust	Disgust	Disgust
Orchid, spider	12	Adresse	Adroitness		Adroitness			Perseverance Skill		Adroitness	Adroitness	Adroitness	Adroitness
Osier	13 Docilité	Franchise	Frankness		Frankness		Frankness			Frankness	Frankness	Frankness	Frankness
Osmunda	14	Rêverie								Dreams		Dreams	Dreams
Ox-eye	15		Obstacle		Obstacle					Patience	Obstacle	Patience	Obstacle
Oxlip	16												Speak out
Paliurus	17							The passion of our Lord					
Palm	18 Dignité		Victory		Victory		Victory	Triumph		Victory	Victory	Victory	Victory
Pancratium	19							Martyrdom					

1 *Quercus pedunculata* 2 *Quercus virginiana* 3 *Quercus alba* 4 *Avena sativa* 5 *Nerium oleander* 6 *Olea europaea* 7 *Citrus aurantium* 8 *Ophrys apifera* 9 *Habenaria bifolia* 10 *Ophrys muscifera* 11 *Dactylorhiza viridis* 12 *Ophrys sphegodes* 13 *Salix viminalis* 14 *Osmunda regalis* 15 *Buphthalmum salicifolium* 16 *Primula acaulis* x vers 17 *Paliurus spino-christi* 18 *Phoenix dactylifera* 19 *Pancratium maritimum*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Pansy	1 Je partage vos sentiments		Thoughts. You occupy my thoughts; or, Pensez a mal	Remembrance	You occupy my thoughts	Thought	Think of me	Thought		Thoughts	Thoughts	Thoughts	Thoughts; thought
Pansy, wild	1							Mary's modesty and seclusion					
Papyrus	2							Knowledge					
Parsley	3	Festin	Feast, or banquet		Feast of [sic] banquet		Entertainment, feasting		Feast, banquet	Festivity	Festivity	Festivity	Festivity; to win
Parsley, fool's	4									Silliness	Silliness	Silliness	Silliness
Pasque-flower	5	Vous êtes sans prétention					You are without pretention	The resurrection of our Lord		You have no claims	You have no claims	You have no claims	You have no claims
Passion-flower	6 Douleur cuisante d'amour	Croyance	Religious superstition	Hope	Religious superstition	Belief; faith		Meditation	Christian faith	Religious superstition, when reversed, or Faith, if erect	Religious superstition	Religious superstition	Superstition, when reversed, or Faith, if erect
Passion-flower, purple	7							Sufferings of our Lord [as P. kermesina]					
Patience dock	8	Patience	Patience		Patience	Patience	Patience			Patience	Patience	Patience	Patience
Pea	9				An appointed meeting								An appointed meeting
Pea, everlasting	10		Lasting pleasure		Lasting pleasure		Lasting pleasure			An appointed meeting. Lasting pleasure	Lasting pleasure	An appointed meeting. Lasting pleasure	Lasting pleasure
Peach blossom	11 Constance				I am your captive	Love's captive	I am your captive			I am your captive	I am your captive	I am your captive	I am your captive
Peach	11							Obedience [as Peach tree]		Your qualities, like your charms, are unequalled	Your qualities, like your charms, are unequalled	Your qualities, like your charms, are unequalled	Your charms are unequalled
Pear	12							A virtuous soul		Affection	Affection	Affection	Affection
Pear tree	12									Comfort	Comfort	Comfort	Comfort
Pelargonium	13							Variety		Deceit			Deceit
Pelargonium, dark										Melancholy	Melancholy	Melancholy	Melancholy
Pelargonium, horsehoe-leaf	14									Stupidity			Stupidity
Pelargonium, ivy	15									Bridal favor	Bridal favor	Bridal favour	Bridal favor
Pelargonium, lemon	16									Unexpected meeting	Unexpected meeting	Unexpected meeting	Unexpected meeting

¹ *Viola tricolor* ² *Cyperus papyrus* ³ *Petroselinum crispum* ⁴ *Aethusa cynapium* ⁵ *Pulsatilla vulgaris* ⁶ *Passiflora caerulea* ⁷ *Passiflora kermesina* or *raddiana* ⁸ *Rumex patientia* ⁹ *Pisum sativum* ¹⁰ *Lathyrus latifolius* ¹¹ *Prunus persica* ¹² *Pyrus communis* ¹³ *Pelargonium* spp. or cvs ¹⁴ *Pelargonium zonale?* ¹⁵ *Pelargonium peltatum* ¹⁶ *Pelargonium graveolens?*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Pelargonium, oak-leaved	1									True friendship	True friendship	True friendship	True friendship
Pelargonium, pencilled										Ingenuity	Ingenuity	Ingenuity	Ingenuity
Pelargonium, wild										Steadfast piety	Steadfast piety	Steadfast piety	Steadfast piety
Pelargonium, nutmeg	2				An unexpected meeting					Expected meeting	Expected meeting	Expected meeting	Expected meeting
Pelargonium, pink					Preference								
Pelargonium, rose-scented	3	Préférence	Preference [scarlet]				Preference			Preference		Preference	Preference
Pelargonium, scarlet	4	Sottise			Comforting; Preference		Folly	Beauty without amiability		Comforting	Comforting	Comforting; Stupidity	Comforting
Pelargonium, silver-leaved	5				Recall					Recall	Recall	Recall	Recall
Pelargonium, sorrowful, OR night-smelling	6	Esprit mélancolique			Sorrowful remembrance [as Sorrowful geranium]; Melancholy [as Dark geranium]		Melancholy spirit						
Pelargonium, white	7							Devotion					
Pennyroyal	8				Flee away					Flee away	Flee away	Flee away	Flee away
Pentstemon	9									High-bred			High-bred
Peony	10	Pesanteur	Honte	Bashful shame	Anger	Shame	Shame	Pride [Red peony; Angel]		Shame, Bashfulness	Shame, Bashfulness	Shame, Bashfulness	Shame, Bashfulness
Pepper	11				Satire								
Peppermint	12								Warmth or sentiment	Warmth of feeling	Warmth of feeling	Warmth of feeling	Warmth of feeling
Periwinkle	13	Amitié pour la vie	Doux souvenirs	Pleasures of memory	Sincere & early friendship	Pleasures of memory	Sweet remembrances	Interior peace [as Vinca major]	Pleasing remembrances	Pleasures of memory [as White Periwinkle]	Pleasures of memory [as White periwinkle]	Pleasures of memory [as White Periwinkle]	Pleasures of memory [as White Periwinkle]
Periwinkle, blue	14									Early friendship	Early friendship	Early friendship	Early friendship
Persicaria, oriental	15	Vigilance [?]		Restoration		Restoration	Restoration			Restoration	Restoration	Restoration	Restoration
Persimmon	16				Bury me amid Nature's beauties					Bury me amid Nature's beauties	Bury me amid Nature's beauties	Bury me amid Nature's beauties	Bury me amid Nature's beauties
Petunia	17							Weakness		Your presence soothes me			Your presence soothes me

1 *Pelargonium quercifolium* 2 *Pelargonium x fragrans* 3 *Pelargonium graveolens?* 4 *Pelargonium inquinans* 5 *Pelargonium gibbosum?* 6 *Pelargonium triste?* 7 *Pelargonium album?* 8 *Mentha pulegium?* 9 *Penstemon azureus* 10 *Paeonia officinalis* 11 *Piper nigrum?* 12 *Mentha piperita* 13 *Vinca minor* 14 *Vinca major* 15 *Persicaria chinensis* or *orientalis* 16 *Diospyros virginiana* 17 *Petunia* spp. & cvs

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Philadelphus	1				Counterfeit		Fraternal love	Hypocrisy	Fraternal affection	Counterfeit	Counterfeit	Counterfeit	Counterfeit
Phlox	2		Unanimity		Unanimity		Unanimity			Unanimity	Unanimity	Unanimity	Unanimity
Phlox, white	3							Candour					
Pigeon-berry	4									Indifference	Indifference	Indifference	Indifference
Pimpernel	5	Rendez-vous	Assignment		Assignment	Assignment, or change	Assignment	Cowardice		Change, Assignment	Change, Assignment	Change, Assignment	Change, Assignment
Pine	6	Lumière	Hardiesse	Boldness		Pity	Daring	Patience		Pity	Pity	Pity	Pity
Pine, pitch	7									Philosophy		Philosophy	Philosophy
Pine, spruce	8									Hope in adversity		Hope in adversity	Hope in adversity
Pineapple	9	Vous êtes parfaite	You are perfect		You are perfect		You are perfect			You are perfect	You are perfect	You are perfect	You are perfect
Pink	10	Amour vif et pur	Lively and pure love	Aspiration	Live and pure love [as Red pink]	Pure love	Lively and pure affection	Boldness; as Dianthus. Make haste		Boldness	Boldness	Boldness	Boldness
Pink, red double										Pure and ardent love	Pure and ardent love	Pure and ardent love	Pure and ardent love
Pink, single										Pure love	Pure love	Pure love	Pure love
Pink, variegated			Refusal [as Striped pink, or carnation]		Refusal [as Striped Pink]					Refusal	Refusal [as Striped carnation]	Refusal	Refusal
Pink, white			Talent							Ingeniousness, Talent	Ingeniousness, Talent	Ingeniousness, Talent	Ingeniousness, Talent
Pink, China or Indian	11	Dédaïn	Aversion	Kindness & dignity	Aversion		Aversion			Aversion	Aversion	Aversion	Aversion
Pink, double Indian	12									Always lovely	Always lovely	Always lovely	Always lovely
Pink, clove	13							Confidence					
Pink, maiden	14												
Pink, mountain	15						Aspiring			Aspiring		Aspiring	Aspiring
Pitcher plant	16							Assistance; or, as Sarracenia purpurea, Hospitality					
Plane	17	Ombrage	Génie	Genius		Genius	Genius	Fortitude in adversity		Genius	Genius	Genius	Genius
Plantain	18									White man's footsteps			White man's footsteps
Plum (tree)	19	Tenez vos promesses	Independence		Independence		Keep your promises			Fidelity	Fidelity	Fidelity	Fidelity
Plum, Indian	20									Privation	Privation	Privation	Privation
Plum, wild	21	Indépendance				Indépendance	Indépendance			Indépendance	Indépendance	Indépendance	Indépendance
Plumbago larpentae	22									Holy; vicious			Holy; vicious

1 *Philadelphus coronarius* 2 *Phlox paniculata*? 3 *Phlox candidum*? 4 *Phytolacca americana* 5 *Anagallis arvensis* 6 *Pinus sylvestris* 7 *Pinus rigida* 8 *Pinus glabra*? 9 *Ananas comosus* 10 *Dianthus plumarius*? 11 *Dianthus chinensis* 12 *Spigelia marilandica*? 13 *Dianthus caryophyllus* 14 *Dianthus deltoideus* 15 *Dianthus armeria*? 16 *Nepenthes distillatoria* 17 *Platanus orientalis* 18 *Plantago* spp. 19 *Prunus domestica* 20 *Flacourtia* sp.? 21 *Prunus domestica* or *institia* 22 *Ceratostigma plumbaginoides*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Polyanthus	1					Confidence		Pride of riches		Pride of riches		Pride of riches	Pride of riches
Polyanthus, crimson	1									The heart's mystery	The heart's mystery	The heart's mystery	The heart's mystery
Polyanthus, lilac	1									Confidence	Confidence	Confidence	Confidence
Polygala, see also Milkwort	2							A contented heart					
Pomegranate	3	Union; [fruit:] Amitié parfaite	Fatuité	Foolishness, or simplicity		Foolishness	Foolishness		Foppishness	Foolishness; as Pomegranate flower, Mature elegance	Foolishness	Foolishness; as Pomegranate flower, Mature elegance	Foolishness; as Pomegranate flower, Nature, elegance
Poor Robin	4									Compensation; or an equivalent			Compensation; or an equivalent
Poplar, black	5		Courage	Courage		Courage	Courage	Integrity		Courage, affliction	Courage	Courage	Courage, affliction
Poplar, white	6	De la jeunesse	Temps	Time		Time	Time			Time	Time	Time	Time
Poppy, or Corn poppy	7	Repos	Consolation	Consolation to the sick	Evanescent pleasure	Oblivion; Consolation to the sick	Consolation	Consolation of sleep	Arrogance	Consolation	Consolation	Consolation	Consolation
Poppy, scarlet	7				Forgetfulness or consolation					Fantastic extravagance	Fantastic extravagance	Fantastic extravagance	Fantastic extravagance
Poppy, white	8	Sommeil	Sommeil de coeur			Sleep of the heart		Sleep of the heart		Sleep; my bane		Sleep. My bane. My antidote	Sleep; my bane
Potato	9		Bienfaisance	Beneficence				Beneficence	Benevolence	Benevolence	Benevolence	Benevolence	Benevolence
Potentilla	10									I claim, at least, your esteem			I claim at least your esteem
Prickly pear	11					Satire	Satire	Satire		Satire	Satire	Satire	Satire
Pride of China	12					Dissension				Dissension	Dissension	Dissension	Dissension
Primrose	13	Espérance, première fleur	Première jeunesse	Early youth	Virtue in the shade	Youth; early days	Forsaken	Early youth	Welcome	Early youth and sadness	Early youth	Early youth and sadness	Early youth and sadness
Primrose, Chinese	14									Lasting love			Lasting love
Primrose, evening	15		Inconstance	Inconstancy	Inconstancy	Inconstancy		Inconstancy	Sympathy	Silent love; or Inconstancy	Inconstancy	Inconstancy	Silent love; also Inconstancy
Primrose, purple	13				Virtue								
Primrose, red	13									Unpatronized merit	Unpatronized merit	Unpatronized merit	Unpatronized merit
Privet	16	Défense	Défense	Defence		Defence		Prohibition		Prohibition	Prohibition	Prohibition	Prohibition
Pumpkin	17		Grosseur			Extent, bulk			Bulkiness*	Extent; bulk	Extent, bulk	Extent. Bulk	Extent, bulk
Pyrus japonica	18					Fairies' fire				Fairies' fire	Fairies' fire	Fairies' fire	Fairies' fire
Quamoclit	19				Female affection	Busybody				Busybody	Busybody	Busybody	Busybody

1 *Primula acaulis* x *P. veris* 2 *Polygala vulgaris* 3 *Punica granatum* 4 *Gallium verum*, or *Erigeron* sp.? 5 *Populus nigra* 6 *Populus alba* 7 *Papaver rhoeas* 8 *Papaver somniferum* 9 *Solanum tuberosum* 10 *Potentilla fruticosa*? 11 *Opuntia communis*? 12 *Melia azederach* 13 *Primula vulgaris* 14 *Primula sinensis* 15 *Oenothera biennis* 16 *Ligustrum ovalifolium* 17 *Cucurbita pepo* 18 *Chaenomeles japonica* 19 *Ipomoea quamoclit*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Quince	1									Temptation		Temptation	Temptation
Ragged robin	2					Wit				Wit		Wit	Wit
Ranunculus, Asiatic	3	Fierté, impatience	Vous êtes brillante d'attraits	Wealth	You are rich in attractions		Your are radiant with charms	Wealth		Your are radiant with charms	Your are radiant with charms	Your are radiant with charms	You are rich in attractions
Ranunculus, garden	3									Your are rich in attractions	Your are rich in attractions	Your are rich in attractions	
Ranunculus, wild										Ingratitude		Ingratitude	Ingratitude
Raspberry; see also Bramble	4				Envy					Remorse	Remorse	Remorse	Remorse
Reeds	5		Musique		Music	Music	Music	Music		Complaisance; music	Music	Complaisance. Music	Music
Reed, feathery	6		Indiscretion						Indiscretion	Indiscretion [as Split reed]	Indiscretion [as Split reed]	Indiscretion [as Split reed]	Indiscretion [as Split reed]
Reed, flowering	7				Confidence in Heaven					Confidence in Heaven	Confidence in Heaven	Confidence in Heaven	Confidence in Heaven
Rest-harrow	8		Obstacle				Obstacle						
Rhododendron	9			Danger	Danger		Danger			Danger. Beware [as Bay (Rose)]	Danger, beware	Danger. Beware [as Bay (Rose)]	Danger, beware
Rhubarb	10									Advice	Advice	Advice	Advice
Ring flower	11						Marriage						
Rocket	12		Je brûle		Rivalry		Rivalry			Rivalry	Rivalry	Rivalry	Rivalry
Rocket, queen's	13				You are the queen of coquettes		She will be fashionable			You are the queen of coquettes; fashion	You are the queen of coquettes; fashion	You are the queen of coquettes. Fashion	You are the queen of coquettes; fashion
Rosa-mundi	14									Variety [as Mundi rose]	Variety [as Mundi rose]	Variety [as Mundi rose]	Variety
Rose	15	Beauté passagère	Beauté		Genteel, pretty	Beauty	Beauty	The sacred heart of Jesus		Love	Love	Love	
Rose, full blown	15			Beauty	Beauty					Secrecy [full-blown and over two buds]		Secrecy [full-blown and over two buds]	Secrecy [full-blown and over two buds]
Rose-tree	15							Vain pleasure					
Rose, Caroline [or Carolina]	16									Love is dangerous [as Carolina rose]	Love is dangerous	Love is dangerous [as Carolina rose]	Love is dangerous
Rose, daily	15									Thy smile I aspire to	Thy smile I aspire to	Thy smile I aspire to	Thy smile I aspire to
Rose, multiflower	15			Dignity of soul						Grace [as Rose, montiflora (sic)]	Grace	Grace [as Rose, multiflora]	

1 *Cydonia oblonga* 2 *Lychnis flos-cuculi* 3 *Ranunculus asiaticus* 4 *Rubus idaeus* 5 *Phragmites communis* 6 *Calamagrostis* spp. 7 *Butomus umbellatus* 8 *Ononis procreans* 9 *Rhododendron* spp. 10 *Rheum rhaponticum* 11 *Campanula pendula* 12 *Eruca sativa* 13 *Hesperis matronalis?* 14 *Rosa gallica* "Veisicolor" 15 *Rosa* spp. and cvs 16 *Rosa carolina*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Rose, single	1									Simplicity	Simplicity	Simplicity	
Rose, thornless	1	Amie sincère								Early attachment	Early attachment	Early attachment	Early attachment
Rose, unique	1									Call me not beautiful	Call me not beautiful	Call me not beautiful	Call me not beautiful
Rosebud	1		Jeune fille				Young girl			Girlhood [as White rosebud]	Girlhood [as White rosebud]	Girlhood [as White rosebud]	Girlhood [as White rosebud]
Rose in a tuft of grass	1		Il y a tout à gagner avec la bonne compagnie						There is everything to be gained by good company				
Rose leaf	1		Jamais je n'importune				I never importune		I am never importunate	You may hope			You may hope
Rose, Austrian	1						Very lovely			Thou art all that is lovely		Thou art all that is lovely	Thou art all that is lovely
Rose, blush	1							The sacred heart of Mary					
Rose, blush, maidens'	1					Bashfulness [as Maiden's Blush Rose]				If you love me you will find it out	If you love me, you will find it out	If you love me, you will find it out	If you love me, you will find it out
Rose, briar	2	Poésie	Poésie	Poetry		Poetry	Poetry	Snare		Poetry, I wound to heal	I wound to heal	Poetry, I wound to heal	Poetry, I wound to heal
Rose, briar, full blown eglantine	1			Simplicity			Simplicity					Decrease of love	
Rose, briar, American sweetbrier	1									Simplicity	Simplicity	Simplicity	Simplicity
Rose, briar, yellow sweetbrier	1									Decrease of love			
Rose, bridal	1									Happy love	Happy love	Happy love	Happy love
Rose, Burgundy	1									Unconscious beauty	Unconscious beauty	Unconscious beauty	Unconscious beauty
Rose, cabbage	3									Ambassador of love	Ambassador of love	Ambassador of love	Ambassador of love
Rose, China	4			Beauty always new			Beauty always new			Beauty always new	Beauty always new	Beauty always new	Beauty always new
Rose, damask [or Monthly rose]	5		Beauté toujours nouvelle	Freshness, or bloom of complexion	Bashful love	Freshness of complexion		Beauty ever new	Beneficence	Brilliant complexion	Brilliant complexion, Freshness	Brilliant complexion	Brilliant complexion
Rose, dog or wild	6	Simplicité	Simplicité					Simplicity	Innocence	Pleasure and pain	Pleasure and pain	Pleasure and pain	Love, pleasure, and pain

1 *Rosa* spp. and cvs 2 *Rose eglanteria* 3 *Rosa centifolia* 4 *Rosa chinensis* 5 *Rosa damascena* 6 *Rosa canina*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Rose, flowerless sprig of the	1					Separation							
Rose, hundred-leaved	2	Grâces	Grace		Grace		The Graces			Pride	Pride [as Multiflora rose, Grace]	Dignity of mind; Pride [as Multiflora rose, Grace]	Dignity of mind; Pride [as Multiflora rose, Grace]
Rose, Japan	3		Beauty is your only attraction							Beauty is your only attraction	Beauty is your only attraction	Beauty is your only attraction	Beauty is your only attraction
Rose, moss	4	Amour, volupté	Voluptuous love	Superior merit	Voluptuous love		Pleasure without alloy	Holiness		Voluptuousness			
Rosebud, moss	4					Confession of love		Mary's childhood		Confession of love	Confession of love	Confession of love	Confession of love
Rose, musk	5	Caprice	Beauté capricieuse	Capricious beauty		Capricious beauty	Capricious beauty			Capricious beauty; or in a cluster, Charming	Capricious beauty; or in a cluster, Charming	Capricious beauty; or in a cluster, Charming	Capricious beauty; or in a cluster, Charming
Rose panachée	Été												
Rose de Peronne [Blue rose]	1							Ervy [“derived from a French author”]					
Rose, pompon	6		Gentillesse	Genteel, pretty			Genteel, purity			Loveliness			
Rose, Provins	1			Youth, love, & beauty									
Rose, red	7						England			Deep red rose; Bashful shame		Love [Deep red rose; Bashful shame]	Love [Deep red rose; Bashful shame]
Rosebud, red	7									Pure and lovely		Pure and lovely	Pure and lovely
Rosebuds, with full-blown rose placed over	1		Secrecy										
Rose, white	8	Innocence	Silence			Silence	Silence	A holy death		I am worthy of you	I am worthy of you	I am worthy of you	I am worthy of you
Rose, white, dried	Plûtôt mourir que de perdre l'innocence		Death said to be preferable to the loss of innocence							Death preferable to loss of innocence	Death preferable to loss of innocence	Death preferable to loss of innocence	Death preferable to loss of innocence
Rose, white, withered	1									Transient impressions	Transient impressions	Transient impressions	Transient impressions
Rosebud, white	Coeur qui ignore l'amour [as Rose en bouton]	Coeur qui ignore l'amour	A heart ignorant of love		A heart ignorant of love	Simplicity	The heart that knows not love			Girlhood	Girlhood	Heart ignorant of love	Girlhood
Rose, yellow	1	Infidélité	Infidélité	Infidelity		Infidelity	Infidelity		Unfaithfulness	Decrease of love; Jealousy	Decrease of love; jealousy	Decrease of love; jealousy [also as Yellow sweetbrier]	Decrease of love; jealousy [also as Yellow sweetbrier]

1 *Rosa* spp. and cvs 2 *Rosa centifolia* 3 *Rosa rugosa*, or *Camellia japonica*? 4 *Rosa moscosa*? 5 *Rosa moschata* 6 *Rosa pomponia* 7 *Rosa rubra*? 8 *Rosa x alba*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênay	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Rose, York & Lancaster	1					Union [attributing to Lancaster Rose]		War		War	War	War	War
Roses, garland of, or crown of	1	Récompense de la vertu	Reward of virtue		Reward of merit		Reward of virtue		Reward of virtue [as Wreath of roses]	Reward of virtue	Reward of virtue	Reward of virtue	Reward of virtue
Roses, red & white	1	Feu du coeur							Warmth of heart	Unity	Unity	Unity	Unity
Rosemary	2	Bonne foi	Votre présence me ranime	Fidelity [also remembrance]	Fidelity, remembrance	Remembrance	Your presence revives me	Poetry		Remembrance	Remembrance	Remembrance	Remembrance
Rowan	3			Prudence	Prudence					Prudence	Prudence	Prudence	Prudence
Rudbeckia	4			Justice	Justice					Justice	Justice	Justice	Justice
Rue	5			Grace, or purification	Grace, or Purification		Purification			Disdain	Disdain	Disdain	Disdain
Rue, goat's	6	Raison	Reason		Reason		Reason			Reason	Reason	Reason	Reason
Rue, wild	7	Moeurs							Manners or morals				
Rush	8	Navigation [jonc]	Docilité	Docility		Docility	Docility			Indiscretion, docility	Docility	Indiscretion	Indiscretion
Rye-grass	9									Changeable disposition	Changeable disposition	Changeable disposition	Changeable disposition
Saffron	10	N'abusez pas	Mirth or laughter		Do not abuse		Excess is dangerous		Do not deceive yourselves	Beware of excess		Beware of excess	Beware of excess
Sage	11	Force	Estime	Esteem		Esteem	Esteem			Domestic virtue	Esteem	Esteem [as Garden sage]	Esteem
Sage, garden					Domestic virtue					Esteem	Domestic virtue	Domestic virtue	Domestic virtue
Sainfoin	12												
Sainfoin, shaking	13	Agitation	Agitation				Agitation			Agitation	Agitation	Agitation	Agitation
Saint John's Bread	14							Austerity					
Saint John's Wort	15		Superstitious sanctity	Animosity	Superstitious sanctity		Superstition			Animosity; Superstition	Animosity	Animosity; Superstition	Animosity
Salvia	16									Blue: Wisdom; Red: Energy		Blue: Wisdom; Red: Energy	Blue: Wisdom; Red: Energy
Sardony	17	Ironie			Irony		Irony				Irony		Irony
Saxifrage, mossy	18		Maternal love		Maternal love			Rest		Affection	Affection	Maternal love; also, Affection	Maternal love; also, Affection
Scabious	19	Femme sensible et malheureuse			Unfortunate attachment					Unfortunate love	Unfortunate love	Unfortunate love	Unfortunate love

1 *Rosa* spp. and cvs 2 *Rosmarinus officinalis* 3 *Sorbus aucuparia* 4 *Rudbeckia* or *Ratibida* spp. 5 *Ruta graveolens* 6 *Galega officinalis* 7 *Peganum harmala*? 8 *Juncus conglomeratus* 9 *Lolium* spp. 10 *Crocus sativus* 11 *Salvia officinalis* 12 *Onobrychis vicifolia* 13 *Hedysarum gyran?* 14 *Ceratania siliqua* 15 *Hypericum perforatum* 16 *Salvia* spp. 17 *Ranunculus sardous?* 18 *Saxifraga muscoides* 19 *Scabiosa stellata*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Scabious, sweet	1		Widowhood				I have lost all [as Indian, or Sweet Scabious]			Widowhood	Widowhood	Widowhood	Widowhood
Schinus	2									Religious enthusiasm	Religious enthusiasm	Religious enthusiasm	Religious enthusiasm
Senvy	3									Indifference	Indifference	Indifference	Indifference
Service	4		Accords [Alisier]. Prudence [Cornier]				Prudence						
Shamrock	5				Light- heartedness; also the emblem of Ireland			Faith and Ireland		Light heartedness	Light- heartedness	Light heartedness	Light- heartedness
Shepherd's purse	6							Economy				I offer you my all	I offer you my all
Siphocampylos	7											Resolved to be noticed	Resolved to be noticed
Snakesfoot	8										Horror	Horror	Horror
Snake's- tongue	9						Slander						
Snapdragon	10		Présomption	Presumption		Presumption	Refusal	Presumption		Presumption		Presumption	Presumption; also, No
Snowball	11				Thoughts of Heaven					Bound		Bound	Bound
Snowdrop	12	Espoir	Consolation	Consolation	Friendship in adversity	Consolation, Adventurous friendship	Youthful hope	Consolation	Voluntary poverty	Hope	Hope	Hope	Hope
Snowdrop, double	12							Joy to come					
Solomon's seal	13	Secret							Wisdom				
Sorrel	14					Wit ill-timed			Raillery	Affection	Affection	Affection	
Sorrel, wild	14					Parental affection				Wit ill-timed	Wit ill-timed	Wit ill-timed	Wit ill-timed
Sorrel, wood	15			Affection & tenderness			Joy			Joy	Joy; maternal tenderness	Joy, Maternal tenderness	Joy
Southern- wood	16		Jest, or bantering			Jest or bantering				Jest, Bantering	Jest, bantering	Jest, Bantering	Jest, bantering
Spearmint	17									Warmth of sentiment		Warmth of sentiment	Warmth of sentiment
Speedwell	18					Female fidelity				Female fidelity	Female fidelity	Female fidelity	Female fidelity
Speedwell, spiked	19	Plus je vous vois, plus je vous aime		Resemblance		Resemblance				Semblance	Semblance	Semblance	Semblance

1 *Scabiosa atropurpurea* 2 *Schinus* – or a mistake for *Scarlet lychnis*? 3 *Singaris anensis* 4 *Sorbus domestica* 5 *Trifolium repens* or *minus* 6 *Capsella bursa-pastoris* 7 *Siphocampylus affinis* 8 *Euphorbia hirta*? 9 *Ophioglossum vulgatum* 10 *Antirrhinum majus* 11 *Viburnum* spp. & cvs 12 *Galanthus nivalis* 13 *Polygonatum odoratum* = “*Convallaria polygonatum*” 14 *Rumex acetosa* 15 *Oxalis acetosella* 16 *Artemisia abrotanum* 17 *Mentha spicata* 18 *Veronica* spp. or cvs 19 *Veronica spicata*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Speedwell, wall	1 Sainteté	Fidélité	Fidelity		Fidelity				Faithfulness	Facility; as Veronica, Fidelity	Facility; as Veronica, Fidelity	Facility; as Veronica, Fidelity	Facility
Spindle tree	2 Dessin	Vos charmes sont tracés dans mon coeur					Your image / charms are engraven on my heart			Your charms are engraven on my heart	Your charms are engraven on my heart	Your charms are engraven on my heart	Your charms are engraven on my heart
Spiraea hypericum frutex	3		Uselessness										
Star-flower	4							St Philomena					
Star of Bethlehem	5	Pureté			The light of our path			Guidance	Purity	Purity	Purity	Purity	Purity
Starwort, American	6				Welcome to a stranger					Afterthought	Welcome to a stranger; Cheerfulness in old age	Afterthought	Welcome to a stranger; Cheerful old age
Starwort, Catesby's or American	7		Afterthought		Afterthought [as Catesby's starwort]					Cheerfulness in old age [as American starwort]	Afterthought	Cheerfulness in old age [as American starwort]	Afterthought
Stephanotis	8									Will you accompany me to the East?		Will you accompany me to the East?	Will you accompany me to the East?
Stock	9	Promptitude [Giroflée de Mahon]	Promptitude		Promptitude		Promptitude	Promptitude		Promptness	Promptitude	Promptness	Promptitude
Stonecrop	10									Tranquillity	Tranquillity	Tranquillity	Tranquillity
Storksbill	11	Imbécillité											
Straw					Union (whole)					Union (whole)	Agreement (whole: union)	Union (whole)	Union (whole)
Straw, broken										Rupture of a contract; as Broken corn, Quarrel	Quarrel	Rupture of a contract; as Broken corn: quarrel	Rupture of a contract; as Broken corn: quarrel
Strawberry	12	Bonté parfaite	Perfect goodness		Perfect goodness	Perfection [wild strawberry]	Perfect excellence	Esteem		Foresight			
Strawberry flower	12	Parfum											Foresight (blossoms)
Strawberry tree	13									Esteem, not love	Esteem and love	Esteem and love	Esteem, not love
Stuartia	14							Misfortune					
Succory	15								Frugality				
Sultan, lilac	16									I forgive you			I forgive you
Sultan, white	17											Sweetness	Sweetness

1 *Veronica arvensis* 2 *Euonymus europaeus* 3 *Spiraea hypericifolia* 4 *Trientalis borealis* 5 *Ornithogalum umbellatum* 6 *Stellaria holostea* 7 *Aster grandiflorus* 8 *Stephanotis floribunda* 9 *Matthiola incana* 10 *Sedum acre* 11 *Erodium cicutarium* 12 *Fragaria vesca*? 13 *Arbutus unedo* 14 *Stewartia malacodendron* 15 *Cichorium intybus* 16 *Centaurea dealbata*? 17 *Centaurea moschata*?

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Sultan, yellow	1									Contempt			Contempt
Sumach	2				Splendour								Splendour [as Venice sumach]
Sumach, Venetian	3				Intellectual excellence					Splendour		Splendour, Intellectual excellence	Intellectual excellence
Sundew	4							Fears					
Sunflower	5	Fausse richesses	False riches		False riches		False riches						
Sunflower, tall	6	Orgueil		Watchfulness, flattery, & devotion	Lofty and pure thoughts			Constancy		Haughtiness; False riches	Haughtiness	Haughtiness	Haughtiness, False riches
Sunflower, dwarf	6				Your devoted Adorer					Adoration	Adoration	Adoration	Adoration
Sun rose	7							Fidelity to God					
Swallow-wort	8		Medicine		Medicine					Cure for heartache	Cure for heartache	Cure for heartache	Cure for heartache
Sweet pea	9	Faiblesse		Delicate pleasure	Delicate pleasure; departure		Pleasure	Perfection		Delicate pleasures; Departure		Departure; also Delicate pleasures	Departure; also Delicate pleasure
Sweet sultan	10		Felicity		Felicity		Felicity	Happiness		Felicity	Felicity	Felicity	Felicity
Sweet william	11	Talent	Finesse	Craftiness	Pride and beauty	Craftiness	Finesse	Cheerfulness		Gallantry, dexterity	Gallantry	Gallantry	Gallantry, dexterity
Sycamore	12	Espérance et soucis			Woodland beauty					Curiosity	Curiosity	Curiosity	Curiosity
Syringa			Amour fraternal	Memory		Memory				Memory; Fraternal sympathy		Memory	Memory, fraternal sympathy
Syringa, Carolina	13				Disappoint- ment					Disappoint- ment	Disappoint- ment	Disappoint- ment	Disappoint- ment
Tamarisk	14			Crime	Crime		Crime			Crime	Crime	Crime	Crime
Tansy	15			Resistance	Resistance			Eternal happiness		I declare war against you [as Wild tansy]	I declare war against you [as Wild tansy]	I declare war against you [as Wild tansy]	I declare war against you [as Wild tansy]
Teasel	16		Misanthropie	Misanthropy [as Dipsacus fullonum]		Misanthropy	Misanthropy			Misanthropy		Misanthropy	Misanthropy
Teasel, fuller's	17			Austerity		Importunity				Misanthropy	Importunity	Misanthropy; also as Fuller's thistle	Misanthropy; also as Fuller's thistle
Tendrils of climbing plants												Ties	
Thistle	18	Critique	Austerité	Importunity or intrusion		Austerity	Austerity	Conscience	Sternness	Austerity, independence		Austerity	Austerity, independence
Thistle, Scotch	19							Scotland		Retaliation	Retaliation	Retaliation	Retaliation
Thistle-down							Treachorous insinuator						

1 *Centaurea suaveolens?* 2 *Rhus coriaria* 3 *Cotinus coggygria* 4 *Drosera rotundifolia* 5 *Helianthus decapetalus?* 6 *Helianthus annuus?* 7 *Helianthemum* spp. or cvs 8 *Asclepias* spp. or cvs 9 *Lathyrus odoratus* 10 *Centaurea moschata* 11 *Dianthus barbatus* 12 *Acer pseudoplatanus* 13 *Philadelphus inodorus* var. *grandiflorus* 14 *Tamarix gallica* 15 *Tanacetum vulgare* 16 *Dipsacus sylvestris* 17 *Dipsacus fullonum* 18 *Carduus nutans* 19 *Cirsium eriophorum*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachénye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Thlaspi	1	Roideur											
Thorns, branch of			Severity or rigour		Severity or rigour					Severity	Severity	Severity. Rigour	Severity
Thorn, evergreen	2				Solace in adversity					Solace in adversity		Solace in adversity	Solace in adversity
Thorn-apple (Datura)	3	Science	Charmes trompeurs	Deceitful charms	Deceitful charms	Deceitful charms	Deceitful charms			Deceitful charms	Deceitful charms	Deceitful charms	Deceitful charms
Thorn-apple (Stramonium)	4		Déguisement				Disguise						
Thorn-apple, violet	4	Ecclésiastique											
Thrift	5		Sympathie	Dauntlessness		Sympathy	Sympathy	Sympathy		Sympathy	Sympathy	Sympathy	Sympathy
Throatwort	6			Neglected beauty		Neglected beauty				Neglected beauty	Neglected beauty	Neglected beauty	Neglected beauty
Thyme	7	Cuisine	Activité	Activity	Activity		Activity	Remembrance		Activity or courage	Activity	Activity	Activity, or courage
Thyme, wild	8	Étourderie											
Tiger-flower	9				For once may Pride befriend me					For once may pride befriend me	For once may Pride befriend me	For once may pride befriend me	For once may Pride befriend me
Toothwort	10						Concealment						
Tournesol	11	Mes yeux ne voient que vous											
Tradescantia	12		Momentary happiness		Transient happiness, momentary happiness		Transient happiness			Esteem, not love	Esteem, not love; Momentary happiness	Esteem not love; as Virginian spiderwort. Momentary happiness	Esteem, not love
Traveller's joy	13						Safety	Home		Safety	Safety	Safety	Safety
Trefoil	14				Revenge		Unity	Poor but happy		Revenge	Revenge	Revenge	Revenge
Tremella	15		Résistance				Resistance		Opposition	Resistance	Resistance	Resistance	Resistance
Trillium	16									Modest beauty	Modest beauty	Modest beauty	Modest beauty
Triptilion spinosum	17									Be patient			Be patient
Truffle	18		Surprise				Surprise			Surprise	Surprise	Surprise	Surprise
Trumpet flower	19							Praise		Fame	Fame	Fame	Fame
Tuberose	20	Sentiment	Volupté	Voluptuousness		I have seen a lovely girl	Voluptuousness			Dangerous pleasures	Dangerous pleasures	Dangerous pleasures	Dangerous pleasures
Tulip	21	Honnêteté	Déclaration d'amour	Declaration of love	Pride & worthless beauty	Declaration of love	Declaration of love	Declaration of love	Presumption		Fame	Fame	Charity
Tulip, red	22									Declaration of love	Declaration of love	Declaration of love	Declaration of love

1 *Thlaspi arvense* 2 *Pyracantha atalantoides* 3 *Brugmansia arborea* 4 *Datura stramonium* 5 *Armeria maritima* 6 *Trachelium caeruleum* 7 *Thymus serpyllum* 8 *Thymus praecox* 9 *Tigrida pavania* 10 *Lathraea squamaria* 11 *Chrozophora tinctoria* 12 *Tradescantia virginiana* 13 *Clematis vitalba* 14 *Trifolium repens* 15 *Nostoc commune* 16 *Trillium* spp. 17 *Triptilion spinosum* 18 *Tuber* spp. 19 *Tecoma* 20 *Pollanthes tuberosa* 21 *Tulipa sylvestris* 22 *Tulipa suaveolens*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Tulip, sweet	1			Perfect love									
Tulip, variegated	1				Beautiful eyes					Beautiful eyes	Beautiful eyes	Beautiful eyes	Beautiful eyes
Tulip, yellow	2									Hopeless love	Hopeless love	Hopeless love	Hopeless love
Tulip tree	3				Fame								
Turnip	4		Charity		Charity					Charity	Charity	Charity	
Upas	5							Vice					
Valerian, Greek	6	Rupture	Rupture		Rupture		Rupture			Rupture		Rupture	Rupture
Valerian, red	7	Facilité	Accommodating disposition		Accommodating disposition	Accommodating disposition	Accommodating disposition		Readiness	An accommodating disposition		An accommodating disposition	An accommodating disposition
Venus's car	8									Fly with me	Fly with me	Fly with me	Fly with me
Venus's fly-trap	9				Deceit			Cruelty		Deceit	Deceit	Deceit [also as Fly trap]	Deceit
Venus's looking-glass	10	Flatterie	Flattery		Flattery		Flattery	Vanity [as Prismatic-carpus speculum]		Flattery	Flattery	Flattery	Flattery
Verbena	11				Sensibility			Good humour					
Verbena, pink	11									Family union			Family union
Verbena, scarlet	11									Unite against evil; or Church unity			Unite against evil; or Church unity
Verbena, white	11									Pray for me			Pray for me
Veronica (see also Speechwell, germander)	12							St Veronica					
Veronica speciosa	13									Keep this for my sake			Keep this for my sake
Vervain	14	Enchantment	Superstition		Superstition	Enchantment	Enchantment			Enchantment	Enchantment	Enchantment	Enchantment
Violet, or sweet violet	15	Modestie, pudeur	Modestie	Modesty	Modesty	Modesty	Modesty	Humility		Modesty	Modesty	Modesty	Modesty
Violet, blue	16				Faithfulness					Faithfulness	Faithfulness	Faithfulness	Faithfulness
Violet, dame	17				Watchfulness					Watchfulness	Watchfulness	Watchfulness	Watchfulness
Violet, double	Amitié réciproque												
Violet, yellow	18	Beauté parfaite			Rural happiness					Rural happiness	Rural happiness	Rural happiness	Rural happiness
Violet, white	19	Candour	Candour & innocence		Candour and innocence	Candour	Candour	Retirement [as Viola candida]					

¹ *Tulipa suaveolens* ² *Tulipa sylvestris*? ³ *Liriodendron tulipifera* ⁴ *Brassica napu* ⁵ *Antiaris toxicaria* ⁶ *Polemonium caeruleum* ⁷ *Valeriana montana* ⁸ *Dicentra spectabilis* ⁹ *Dionaea muscipula* ¹⁰ *Legousia speculum-venereis* ¹¹ *Verbena officinalis* ¹² *Veronica* or *Hebe* spp. ¹³ *Hebe speciosa* ¹⁴ *Verbena officinalis* ¹⁵ *Viola odorata* ¹⁶ *Viola riviniana*? ¹⁷ *Hesperis matronalis* ¹⁸ *Viola lutea* ¹⁹ *Viola odorata alba*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Violet, white	1		Purity of sentiment										
Violet surrounded by leaves	Amour caché												
Virginia creeper	2									I cling to you both in sunshine and shade			I cling to you both in sunshine and shade
Virgin's bower	3									Filial love		Filial love	
Viscaria oculata	4									Will you dance with me?			Will you dance with me?
Volkameria japonica	5				May you be happy					May you be happy [as Volkameria]	May you be happy	May you be happy [as Volkameria]	May you be happy
Wallflower	6	Luxe [as Girofée jaune]; Ennuï [as Girofée rouge]	Fidèle au malheur [Girofée de muraille]	Fidelity in misfortune	Constancy	Fidelity in misfortune	Fidelity in misfortune	Fidelity in misfortune	Silence [as Garden wallflower]	Lasting beauty [as Garden wallflower]	Fidelity in adversity	Fidelity in misfortune	Fidelity in misfortune
Walnut	7					Intellect					Intellect. Stratagem	Intellect	Intellect. Stratagem
Watcher by the wayside											Never despair		Never despair
Waterlily, blue (American)				Beauty & purity				Imitation of our Lord					
Waterlily, white	8	Eloquence		Beauty & purity		Purity of heart	Eloquence	Trust in God			Purity of heart	Purity of heart	Purity of heart
Watermelon	9		Bulkiness		Bulkiness					Bulkiness	Bulk	Bulkiness	Bulkiness
Wax plant	10				Susceptibility					Susceptibility	Susceptibility	Susceptibility	Susceptibility
Wheat	11	Richesse	Riches		Riches	Riches	Riches	Riches, or the Blessed Sacrament		Riches [as Corn, and as Wheat-stalk]	Riches [as Corn]	Riches [as Corn, and as Wheat-stalk]	Riches [as Corn, and as Wheat-stalk]
Whin	12				Anger					Anger	Anger	Anger	Anger
Willow	13		Melancholy or forsaken lover		Forsaken	Disappointed love		Resignation					
Willow, creeping	14				Love forsaken					Love forsaken	Forsaken	Love forsaken	Forsaken
Willow, French	15				Bravery and humanity					Bravery and humanity	Bravery and humanity	Bravery and humanity	Bravery and humanity
Willow, water	16				Freedom					Freedom	Freedom	Freedom	Freedom
Willow, weeping	17	Douleur amère	Mélancolie		Melancholy		Melancholy	Contrition		Mourning	Melancholy	Mourning	Melancholy
Willow herb	18		Prétention	Cellbacy		Cellbacy		Pretension		Pretension [as Glasswort]	Pretension	Pretension	Pretension
Wistaria	19							Mercy			Welcome, fair stranger		Welcome, fair stranger

1 *Viola alba* 2 *Parthenocissus quinquefolia* 3 *Clematis vitalba* 4 *Silene coeli-rosa* 5 *Cleodendrum japonicum* 6 *Cheiranthus* [= *Erysimum*] *cheiri* 7 *Juglans regia* 8 *Nymphaea alba* 9 *Citrullus vulgaris* 10 *Hoya camosa* 11 *Triticum aestivum* 12 *Ulex europaeus* 13 *Salix pentandra* 14 *Salix repens* 15 *Salix triandra* 16 *Justicia* sp. 17 *Salix babylonica* 18 *Epilobium angustifolium* 19 *Wisteria sinensis*

Table 2. Comparison of the meanings of flowers from a selection of language of flowers books in the RHS Lindley Libraries (cont.)

Plant	Delachênaye	La Tour	Phillips	Bourne	Hooper	Miller	Tyas 1	Catholic	Tyas 2	Ingram	Anon 1	Greenaway	Anon2
Witch-hazel	1				A spell		Spell-bound			A spell		A spell	A spell
Wolfsbane	2						Misanthropy			Misanthropy	Misanthropy	Misanthropy	Misanthropy
Woodbine	3				Fraternal love			Attachment to Mary (as Caprifolium)		Fraternal love	Fraternal love	Fraternal love	Fraternal love
Wormwood	4	Absence	Absence	Absence	Absence	Absence; bitterness of love	Absence	Separation; as Artemisia, Female heroism		Absence	Absence	Absence	Absence
Xeranthemum	5			Cheerfulness under adversity						Cheerfulness under adversity	Cheerfulness under adversity	Cheerfulness under adversity	Cheerfulness under adversity
Yew	6		Tristesse		Sorrow	Sorrow	Sorrow		Sadness	Sorrow	Sorrow	Sorrow	Sorrow
Zinnia	7									Thoughts of absent friends	Thoughts of absent friends	Thoughts of absent friends	Thoughts of absent friends

1 *Hamamelis virginiana* 2 *Aconitum lycoctonum* 3 *Lonicera caprifolium* 4 *Artemisia absinthium* 5 *Xeranthemum annuum* 6 *Taxus baccata* 7 *Zinnia elegans*

Achillea, see Milfoil; Agnus castus, see Chaste tree; Amourette, see Grass, quaking; Apocynum, see Dogbane; Balsam, see Impatiens; Balsamodendron, see Balm of Gilead; Barberry, see Berberis; Bay, see Laurus; Bear's breech, see Acanthus; Birdsfoot, see Trefoil; Bittersweet, see Nightshade; Bluebottle, see Centaury; Bonus henricus, see Good King Henry; Burr, see Burdock; Cactus, serpentine, see Cereus, creeping; Calycanthus, see Allspice; Camomile, see Chamomile; Campanula, see Bellflower; Candlemas bells, see Snowdrop; Caroline, spring, see Syringa, Carolina; Clotbur, see Xanthum; Convolvulus, see Bindweed; Cornbottle, see Centaury; Cornel tree, see Cornelian; Cornflower, see Centaury; Crab apple, see Apple, crab; Cuckoo plant, see Arum; Cuscuta, see Dodder; Daisy, Michaelmas, see Michaelmas daisy; Datura, see Thorn apple; Daylily, see also Funkia; Dock, see Patience dock; Eglantine, see Rose, briar; Evening primrose, see Primrose, evening; Ficoides, see Ice plant; Flora's bell, see Bellflower; Flos adonis, see Adonis; Fly trap, see Venus's fly trap; Foxtail grass, see Grass, foxtail; Fraxinella, see Dittany, white; Fuller's thistle, see Teasel, fuller's; Furze, see Gorse; Galium, see Bedstraw; Gardeners' garters, see Grass, ribbon; Germander, see Speedwell, germander; Glasswort, see Willowherb; Goat's rue, see Rue, goat's; Gourd, see Pumpkin; Heartsease, see Pansy; Hellebore, see also Christmas rose; Helmet flower, see Monkshood; Horse chestnut, see Chestnut, horse; Hortensia, see Hydrangea; Iceland moss, see Moss, Iceland; Imperial lily, see Crown imperial; Indian Jasmine, see Ipomoea; Laurel, spurge, see Daphne; Lemon verbena, see Aloysia; Live oak, see Oak, Live; Madwort, see Alyssum; Mallow, Syrian, see Althaea frutex; Mock orange, see Philadelphia; Moonwort, see Lunaria; Mountain ash, see Rowan; Pheasant's eye, see Adonis; Plantain, Indian, see Cocalia; Sensitive plant, see Mimosa; Spiderwort, see Tradescantia; Spring caroline, see Syringa, Carolina; Spurge laurel, see Daphne; Sweet sedge, see Flag, sweet; Syrian mallow, see Althaea frutex; Thistle, fuller's, see Teasel, fuller's; Tree of life, see Arbor-vitae; Tussilage, see Coltsfoot; Verbena, lemon, see Aloysia; Vine, see Grape; Xanthum, see Clotbur; Zephyr flower, see Anemone, field or wood.

The forging of a floral folklore

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A poem once familiar, now gradually being forgotten, but select fragments from which have become part of our cultural memory. It was first published in 1824, in an anthology of folklore and natural history observations entitled *The Perennial Calendar* (Forster, 1824: 107–108), and that is the version I give here.

The Snowdrop, in purest white arraie,
First rears her head on Candlemas Daie,
While the Crocus hastens to the shrine
Of Primrose love on St. Valentine.
Then comes the Daffodil beside
Our Ladies' Smock at our Ladye Tyde.
Againste St. George, when blue is worn,
The blue Harebells the fields adorn,
While on the day of the Holy Cross,
The Crowfoot gilds the flowerie grasse.
When St. Barnaby bright smiles night and day,
Poor Ragged Robin blooms in the haie.
The Scarlet Lychnis, the garden's pride,
Flames at St. John the Baptist's tide.
Against St. Swithin's hastie Showers,
The Lily white reigns queen of the Flowers;
And Poppies a sanguine mantle spread,
For the blood of the Dragon St. Margaret shed.
Then, under the wanton Rose, agen,
That blushes for penitent Magdalen.
Till Lammas Day, called August's Wheel,
When the long Corn stinks of Camomile.
When Mary *left us here below*,
The Virgin's Bower begins to blow;
And yet anon the full Sunflower blew,
And became a Star for Bartholomew.
The Passion Flower long has blowed

To betoken us signs of the Holy Rood.
 The Michaelmas Daisy, among dead weeds,
 Blooms for St. Michael's valorous deeds,
 And seems the last of flowers that stood
 Till the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude,
 Save Mushrooms and the Fungus race,
 That grow as Allhallowtide takes place.
 Soon the evergreen Laurel alone is seen,
 When Catherine crowns all learned men.
 The Ivy and Holy Berries are seen,
 And Yule Clog and Wassail come round again.

(*Anthol. Austr. et Bor.*)

Other versions of the poem contain variant lines. Gladys Taylor included it in her *Saints and their Flowers* (Taylor, 1956: 51–52) under the title “An early kalendar of English flowers”, without any suggestion of its date of composition. Her version differs from this in various points of spelling and orthography, in the replacement of the Yule Clog by the Yule Log, and in the following alterations of wording: “From Visitation to St. Swithin's showers”, “The Virgin's Bower is full in blow”, “That grow till All-Hallow-tide takes place”, “Soon the evergreen Laurel alone is greene”.

Couplets from the poem can still be found circulating on various websites. For example, a web page on snowdrops quotes it with the additional refinement of an ancient ritual: “Formerly young women dressed in white and walked in procession on the Feast of Purification, saying: ‘The snowdrop in purest white array, First rears her head on Candlemas Day.’” Another cites it as “written in an old English floral calendar dating from around 1500”¹ Nonetheless, if you look carefully at the list of plants, some queries suggest themselves. Scarlet lychnis? Surely that means *Lychnis chalcedonica*, introduced into Britain in the sixteenth century – as was the sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*). Passion flower? The first flowering of a passion flower in Europe probably took place in Paris in 1612, followed by the Farnese gardens specimen which flowered in 1619 (Aldini, 1625: 49–59). At what date were these verses supposed to have been composed?

¹ The websites, accessed in January 2013, are <http://chestofbooks.com/flora-plants/flowers/British-Wild-Flowers-1/Snowdrop-Galanthus-Nivalis-L.html> and mrssymbols.blogspot.com/2011/02/seeing-snowdrops-on-candlemas-daie.html.

I'm sorry to disappoint those who think that these verses give them some genuine insight into ancient English flower lore and customs, but the poem is a nineteenth-century composition, and was in fact written by Thomas Ignatius Forster, the compiler of *The Perennial Calendar*, in which it was first published.

Forster and the three versions of the calendar

Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster (1789–1860) was a naturalist who made significant contributions to a variety of disciplines. He was a botanist who studied the plants of Kent (his father Thomas Shurly Forster had written a *Flora Tonbrigensis*), a pioneering student of bird migration, an astronomer who discovered a comet, a qualified medical doctor and promoter of phrenology (a word he appears to have coined), and a meteorologist who studied the composition of the atmosphere at different elevations, to which end he became a mountain climber and a balloonist. In addition he was a poet, a collector of German folksongs, a classical scholar, a linguist and translator who published works in three languages. In the years after the Napoleonic Wars he converted to Roman Catholicism,¹ and became a promoter of the Catholic cause. He was also, as will be seen, something of a practical joker. He left behind him a litter of papers and books on several subjects, but possibly his longest-lasting legacy was the idea that there had once been a monastic calendar of flowers.

There are three different versions of Forster's floral calendar, two published under his own name, and in between an unacknowledged version which can be attributed to him with confidence. The first version appeared in his *Perennial Calendar* of 1824. This book is organised according to the days of the year (and is the only one of the versions to include an entry for 29 February), under each date giving the life of the saint associated with

¹ The reader will have noticed that Forster's third name was Maria, a name unlikely to be given to a male child in a Protestant family. Did he add this name after his conversion? None of the biographical entries I have consulted – the most recent is Janet Browne's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* – throws any light on this question. I have not succeeded in tracing a baptismal record for him, and since he records that his parents brought him up in a Rousseauist fashion, without formal schooling, it is possible that they also neglected or rejected the custom of baptism.

the day; descriptions of customs, superstitions, and pagan or religious festivals; notes on weather phenomena and natural history, sometimes but not always including a note of one or more plants in flower. The book appears to exhibit multiple authorship; there are contributions signed with a variety of initials, some of which cite Dr Forster as a source of information. Forster's introductory note gives an explanation for this:

... the Reader will sometimes be surprised at seeing the Name of the Editor mentioned in the detached Essays of the Work in the third Person, and his Papers so referred to. This has arisen from the following Circumstance; that some of the Essays and Paragraphs being written by others, the Editor has inserted them just as they were originally written in the MSS., without the trouble of transcribing and altering them (Forster, 1824: xxv).

Nothing to complain of there, it would seem. But in 1835 Forster published, at Frankfurt, an autobiography entitled *Recueil de ma vie, mes ouvrages et mes pensées* (cited here in the second edition, published the following year at Brussels). In this he let the cat out of the bag:

Encore, je me confesse d'avoir écrit toutes ces essais détachés dans le *Perennial Calendar*, auxquels j'ai attaché quelques signatures ou plus proprement des lettres, comme, A.B.S.R., et *caetera* (Forster, 1836: 55).

Again, I confess that I wrote all the detached essays in the *Perennial Calendar*, to which I attached various signatures or more properly letters, such as A.B.S.R., etc.

– as well as acknowledging the authorship of the “Anthologia Borealii et Australis”, which he gives in the *Calendar* as the source of the poem about flowers and saints' days.

The Perennial Calendar does not offer a flower for each day specified; there are some substantial gaps, not only in the winter when one might expect few flowers, but also in March, and indeed it is only from April to July that the citation of plants is consistent. When plants are named, it is because they are in flower or fruit; it is only in the preface (see below) that an association with the liturgical year is made.

Forster's autobiography indicates that, while he made his first attempt at the floral calendar in his 1824 work, it was not until four years later that he produced his complete version:

... je me renfermai dans ma maison champêtre à Hartwell. Là je passais presque toute la journée dans mon jardin, au milieu de mes fleurs. Ce qui est plus remarquable, c'est que dans cette solitude tous les goûts de mon enfance me revinrent; les dimanches et les autres jours de loisir, je m'amusaï avec mes cerfs-volans et autres bagatelles comme un enfant de dix ans. C'est dans cette solitude que j'ai conçu l'idée de fair un calendrier perpétuel de Flore. Je fis mes arrangements pour cet ouvrage avec un libraire catholique; car ce fut justement à cette époque que la religion catholique recommençait à se répandre en Angleterre: et pour garantir la vente du livre, j'ajoutai à chaque page une courte vie des saints du jour avec des notices historiques. Mon calendrier ne fut achevé qu'à la fin de 1827: il est publié sous le titre: *The Circle of the Seasons*, 12°. London 1828, et il a bien réussi (Forster, 1836: 21).

I shut myself up in my country house at Hartwell [in Sussex]. There I spent nearly the entire day in my garden, amidst my flowers. What is more remarkable, is that in this solitude all my juvenile tastes returned to me; Sundays and other days of leisure I amused myself with my kites and other trifles like a ten-year-old. It was in this solitude that I conceived the idea of making a perpetual calendar of Flora. I made my arrangements for this work with a Catholic library; because it was just at this period that the Catholic religion began once again to spread in England: and to ensure that the book had a good sale, I added to each page a brief life of the saints of the day along with historical notices. My calendar wasn't completed until the end of 1827: it was published under the title *The Circle of the Seasons...* and was well received.

Circle of the Seasons was a much better organised book than its predecessor, with a single page devoted to each day, giving in the top half the date, the saint or saints associated with the day and a biographical note, and in the lower half notes on plants in flower, and at certain seasons birds arriving. There is no explicit suggestion in the book that the plants were linked to the days in any liturgical fashion.

Forster did not mention in his autobiography that between these two works another work appeared that carried just such a perpetual calendar, complete with saints' names and flowers of the day. This was William Hone's *Every-day Book*, a work which achieved a far wider sale than either of Forster's books. Hone (1780–1842) was a radical publisher, who issued works such as *The Reformist's Register* and was famously prosecuted for blasphemy in 1817, and acquitted. *The Every-day Book* was published in weekly parts during the course of 1825, and the original title-page bears the publication statement: "Printed for William Hone, 45, Ludgate Hill. (To be published every Saturday, price Threepence,) and sold by all booksellers in town and country". The success of the publication was such that Hone found a commercial publisher for a second volume, published in 1826: William Tegg's name appeared on the title-page, and then a new title-page with Tegg's name was issued to cover both volumes. Thereafter, no new series appeared, but the two-volume version, which had been set in stereotyped plates, was reissued in further editions (with the original page borders omitted, and page numbers replaced by column numbers). The *Every-day Book* provided for each day: accounts of celebrated people who were born or died on that day; narratives of important historical events; the saint of the day; natural history observations; poems original and reprinted; and a whimsical assortment of essays on folklore and customs.¹ Even today

¹ Hone's compilation played a role in popularising the romantic poets, including Byron's "Battle of Waterloo" (18 June) and the first printings since Keats' death of his "Eve of St Agnes" (excerpts published under 20 January) and "Ode to a Nightingale" (vol. 2, 23 February). The second volume also contains a wood-engraving of a beadle copied from Thomas Hood's engraving "The Progress of Cant" (28 January). The original 1825 series includes an abridged version of Charles Lamb's "Dissertation upon Roast Pig" (5 September), and praise for Lamb is scattered throughout; Lamb sent Hone an appreciative poem beginning "I like you, and your book, ingenuous Hone!", which Hone printed (9 July) with a reply that is rather more sophisticated than Lamb's –

In feeling, like a stricken deer, I've been
 Self-put out from the herd, friend Lamb; for I
 Imagined all the sympathies between
 Mankind and me had ceased, till your full cry
 Of kindness reach'd and roused me...



RHS, LINDLEY LIBRARY

Fig. 1. Roses, tulips, and passion flower from Hone's *Every-day Book* (15 January).

it is a delightful work to browse in; in the 1820s it was re-issued every few years.

It is only the original 1825 series (volume 1 in most editions) that includes the floral calendar. In what follows I will cite entries by their date, since pagination differs from edition to edition (from 1827 on it is the columns rather than the pages that are numbered).

The attribution of a flower for each day did not start with the inception of the work; it was only with the entry for 19 January that this commenced, and a list of the relevant plants for 1–18 January was printed. Thereafter the text for each day concluded with the heading “Floral Directory”, giving the name of a saint, and the name of a plant in English and Latin. Hone did not say who had provided him with the information, but there are clues. The entry for 19 January also carries the first of what would be many citations of “Dr. Forster”, this time as an authority on weather. (Hone could hardly have been unfamiliar with the *Perpetual Calendar*.) And in the entry for 15 January is a section entitled “Flowers”, with an extended quotation from a passage recently published in *The Truth Teller*, William Eusebius Andrews’ short-lived Catholic magazine (a single year, 1824–1825), describing a Franciscan who collects in his priory garden plants whose flowering coincides with Catholic religious festivals. The passage was pseudonymous – “Crito” was given as the author’s name – but it seems likely to me that Forster was the author. The degree of overlap between the floral entries in *The Every-day Book* and Forster’s two books, earlier and later, makes it an irresistible conclusion that it was Forster who provided Hone with his information. The popularity and

frequent reissues of the *The Every-day Book* would therefore have spread the floral calendar to a much wider audience than Forster's own books, neither of which went into a second edition, would have done. And the bald presentation of the floral directory, unattributed to any particular named individual, no doubt augmented the impression that the floral calendar was a simple matter of historical fact.

Before we look in detail at the plant lists, let me fill in some background to explain why the idea of a liturgical floral calendar would have been a matter of interest in the 1820s.

Aspects of Roman Catholic revival

There is nothing like a good forgery to reveal the cultural assumptions of a period. Van Meegeren's forgeries of Vermeer reveal what art historians assumed must have been the stages through which his style developed. Chatterton's "mediaeval" poems show how little the principles of Middle English spelling were understood in the eighteenth century. And Forster's floral calendar reveals the appetite with which the English public in the early nineteenth century lapped up information about what had customarily been regarded as Romish superstition.

Since the Reformation, and more heavily after the expulsion of James II, Roman Catholics laboured under legal penalties and safeguards designed to ensure that they could never again become a political threat to the throne. For most of the 18th century, no Catholic could live within twelve miles of London (hence Alexander Pope's choice of Twickenham for his villa); any Catholic caught running a school could be imprisoned for an indefinite term; to take part in the Mass was to risk arrest. The first attempt to relax these laws, and allow Catholics a right to their religious ceremonies on condition that they take a loyalty oath, provoked the Gordon Riots of 1780, the century's worst outbreak of civil violence. Official anti-Catholicism may have been conducted at a formal and intellectual level, but it was reinforced by the general public's fears of the villainy of religious orders, envisaged as constantly plotting the overthrow of the Protestant government.

But toward the end of the century, some of these attitudes began to be reversed; less than fifty years after the Gordon Riots, Catholic Emancipation

became a reality, and most of the legal penalties against Catholics were revoked. The turning point came when the French Revolution suddenly made Catholics into underdogs. In 1792 the National Assembly sentenced some 40,000 priests to exile, and a large proportion of them came to England. By the end of 1794 a number of orders had established colonies in England: Trappists at Lulworth, Dominicans at Hartpur Court, Poor Clares at Haggerston Hall, Carmelites at Bishop Auckland, Benedictines at a variety of places, and even Jesuits – traditionally the most hated and feared of Catholic orders among English audiences – at Stonyhurst (Anson, 1973: 13–16). For the first time in over two centuries, the English public had an opportunity to observe monks and nuns engaged on their normal activities, and discovered that they were modest, hard-working, courteous, and uninflamatory. And while most of these communities were discontinued after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, when Louis XVIII invited them back to France, the effect of twenty years' sympathetic experience of monastic communities not only helped to encourage ideas of toleration for Catholics (Norman, 1984: 10–12, 22–24), but even had an impact on one wing of the Anglican Church.¹

The consequences may be seen in the literary trends of the 1810s and 1820s. In 1816 Coleridge published "Christabel", whose narrator unselfconsciously invokes the Virgin Mary and guardian angels, and the entire poem can be seen as an attempt to adopt a mediaeval frame of mind. A decade later (1827), John Keble published *The Christian Year*, one of the century's most reprinted volumes of poetry (fifty editions or so),

¹ The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw, as part of what became known as the Oxford Movement, a campaign promoting the ideal of clerical celibacy, and the establishment of the first Anglican convents. Anti-Catholic movements and agitation of course continued, but their main focus shifted from the status of the Church of Rome, to the apparent return to Romish ways in part of the Anglican Church. The second half of the nineteenth century saw prosecutions of Anglican priests, and riots by the general public, over the use of ecclesiastical vestments, incense, and religious statues. The disturbances began at St Barnabas, Pimlico, in 1850 and carried on at different places for many years: St George-in-the-East, Limehouse, a decade later; various churches in Brighton, 1860s–1870s; and so on, up to the Liverpool riots at the beginning of the twentieth century. The interested reader is referred to Bentley, 1978.

which, while staying within the limits of Anglican spirituality, introduced what would become known as a Tractarian mode, criticised by many for its apparent rapprochement with Catholicism. (And could Keble have been influenced in his use of the liturgical cycle as the book's organising principle by the example of *The Perennial Calendar*?). In between appeared the first edition of another remarkably popular work, Kenelm Digby's *Broad Stone of Honour* (1822), an uncritical retelling of every legend of chivalry the author could track down.¹ (In terms of creating an imaginary vision of the Middle Ages, Digby is a figure rather comparable to Forster.) But in addition to the promotion of an idealised Middle Ages of faith and chivalry, this period also saw the beginnings of more solid historical research; Rickman's distinction between the different periods of Gothic architecture appeared in 1817, and Henry Hallam's history of the Middle Ages the following year.

Mediaeval antiquarianism, a more relaxed attitude towards monasticism, and the beginnings of serious study of mediaeval art and architecture: the convergence of these trends meant that in the 1820s the reading public was in a fit state to receive with enthusiasm the details of a liturgical calendar that could be associated with the olden times. In 1824, Forster's *Perennial Calendar* made a feature of the association of saints with particular days: "not only those few which the English and Northern Germans have retained in the common Almanacks, but likewise those which Protestants have ceased to notice in general, and which were hitherto only to be found in very ancient and obscure Calendars and Martyrologies of the Catholic Church, preserved in our large public Libraries, in the Universities, and in the Cabinets of the learned Antiquaries" (Forster, 1824: ix). The

¹ Coleridge had already introduced the character of a holy hermit in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (first version, 1797), but that was in the quoted words of the mariner, whereas in "Christabel" the invocations of the Virgin could be interpreted as the author's. The year after "Christabel", Coleridge published *Biographia Literaria*, in which he famously argued that the reading of poetry required "a willing suspension of disbelief" and a "poetic faith". I have argued elsewhere that this formulation was intended to disarm criticism of "Christabel" for its apparent adoption of Roman Catholic mythology (Elliott, 1978: 363–365). On Keble and the Tractarian mode in poetry, see Tennyson (1981); on Digby, see Girouard, 1981: 56–68.

Catholicism of the floral calendar poem was emphasised by italicising the statement that “*Mary left us here below*”, and Forster happily quoted a description of Calvin as “the persecuting, unchristian, and ... blasphemous reformer” (ibid.: 253). The following year *The Every-day Book* followed this example, and even increased the number of saints cited per day. The success of Hone’s book shows how eagerly a largely Protestant audience lapped this up. And along with the details of the liturgical year came the alleged associated floral calendar.

Forster’s floral calendar

In *The Perennial Calendar*, Forster did not claim in the main body of the text that the plants cited were linked to the saints of the days in question – they were presented as plants likely to be in flower on those days, and they were not given consistently throughout the year – but he nonetheless made this claim in the preface:

It happens too that certain familiar and well known Plants begin to flower in abundance *about* the Time of certain Saints’ Days. The fragrant Coltsfoot in mild Seasons has the maximum of its flowering at Christmas; the Dead Nettle is generally in flower on St. Vincent’s; if mild, the Winter Hellebore flowers usually about the Conversion of St. Paul; the Snowdrop is almost proverbially constant to Candlemas Day, and the Mildness or Severity of the Weather seems to make but little difference in the Time of its blowing...

We might trace a number of the like Comparisons in the Sunflowers, the Tagetes, and all the Host of the aestival and autumnal Floras down to the Michaelmas Daisy, were it not for exceeding the customary Bounds of introductory Observations. We might quote Passages about the Blowing of the Passion Flower about Holy Rood Day, and bring ancient Documents to establish the Influence of almost every Christian Festival with the Flowering of some Plants or other. The Fact is, that in the Middle Ages, the Mind being ever bent on Religious Subjects, saw or fancied numberless Emblems, which the Imagination of a devoted but intelligent Race of Men readily furnished; but which we, in these Days of boasted Philosophy, can only view as accidental Coincidences of a fanciful, though perhaps of a pleasing kind. .. These Circumstances make up, as a Poet expresses it, “the short and simple



PASSION FLOWER.

RHS, LINDLEY LIBRARY

Fig. 2. Passion flower, from Hone's *Every-day Book* (8 June). "The above engraving from an ancient print, shows the curious distortion of the flower in those parts whereon the imagination has indulged. The original print bears an inscription to this effect; that nature itself grieves at the crucifixion, as is denoted by the flower representing the five wounds, and the column or pillar of scourging, besides the three nails, the crown of thorns, &c."

Annals of the Poor.” Trifling as these may appear at the present Day, they greatly occupied Men’s minds in past Ages; and they are still familiar in the Recollections of most People... (Forster, 1824: xxiii–xxiv).

So it would have been easy for any reader to assume that the plants cited under the different days were cited because of their symbolic or emblematic value.

In *The Every-day Book*, as already mentioned, the idea of the association of particular plants with Catholic religious festivals was introduced in the entry for 15 January. Hone followed the anecdote of the floral Franciscan with this comment: “we illustrate something of his purpose, by annexing the rose, the tulip, and the passion-flower, after an engraving by a catholic artist, who has impressed them with his devotional monograms, and symbols of his faith.” And in the entry for 8 June, he reproduced an “engraving from an ancient print” showing a passion flower emblematically exaggerated. So not quite two centuries after John Parkinson reproduced a similar illustration as an example of Jesuit falsehood, contrasting it with a picture of a real passion flower (Parkinson, 1629: 393–396), Hone, with or without Forster’s help, resuscitated the emblematic distortion, as a matter of amusing curiosity.

The entry for 19 January includes a list of the floral calendar for 1–18 January. Here the association with monks is made explicit:

The monks, or the observers of monkish rules, have compiled a Catalogue of Flowers for each day in the year, and dedicated each flower to a particular saint, on account of its flowering about the time of the saint’s festival. Such appropriations are a *Floral Directory* throughout the year, and will be inserted under the succeeding days.

No date is given for the compilation of this Catalogue of Flowers; it could, in theory, have been compiled by monks of the present day; but since the book had already conveyed much lore about the Middle Ages, I doubt that many readers would have thought twice about accepting the floral associations as intended to be mediaeval in their origin.



COMMON PASSION FLOWER.

Why bends the holy pilgrim low,
 Beneath yon tott'ring tow'r,
 Where am'rous woodbines love to grow,
 And many a laughing flow'r?
 'Tis there a living leaf is spread,
 Which when it meets his eye,
 Then Duty bids him bow his head,
 And Pity prompts a sigh.

Fig. 3. *Passiflora caerulea*, common passion flower, taken from *The Poetic Garland; in Imitation of the Celebrated Garland of Julia*, by the Duke de Montausier. The illustration is the fourth image from Plate I of Maund's *Botanic Garden*, cut from the sheet and pasted on. Maund himself was the printer of the work, and it is not known how many copies were issued.

Finally, *Circle of the Seasons* makes no explicit claim to offer either a mediaeval or a monkish calendar; the preface asserts merely that it will list plants in flower on the appropriate days. But the very first day, 1 January, names the laurustine (*Viburnum tinus*) as the plant of the day, and adds the observation: "This plant is called also the Shrub of St. Faine from its blowing on the day of her commemoration" (Forster, 1828: 1). So once again the reader might well associate the plants listed at the base of the page with the saints named at the top.

Let us now compare the three versions of the floral calendar. As previously noted, the first version, in *The Perennial Calendar* (1824), is seriously incomplete, and there are comparatively few entries which coincide with those in the later books, though in most cases the 1824 plants do appear in them, merely with some degree of discrepancy of dates. *Muscari botryoides* and *Thlaspi bursa-pastoris* are among the few 1824 plants that are omitted from the later works. *The Every-day Book* (1825) and *Circle of the Seasons* (1828) agree on the majority of their entries, the latter work in many cases adding additional plants for most of the spring and summer days.

One interesting form of discrepancy appears, however: mis-spellings, which occur with an uncommon profusion. Some of these may be typographical errors, but in most cases they are probably the result of misreading handwriting; it is always salutary to remember, in these days when the typical e-mail is typed slapdash and never read over before sending, that before the invention of keyboards the major source of such errors was mistranscription. One will find *Achanis* for *Achania*, *aeris* for *acris*, *Antichinum* and *Anterrhenum* for *Antirrhinum*, *arborens* for *arboreus*, *coernleus* for *coeruleus*, *glandolum* for *glandulosa*, *hersutus* for *hirsutus*, *laurico* for *laricio*, *paludotus* for *paludosus*, *Tressilago* for *Tussilago*, *tritriss* for *tristis*, *vaguus* for *vagans*, *verticolor* for *versicolor*, *vindiflorus* for *viridiflorus*. (And spare a thought for poor *Furcraea*, which is rendered as variously as *Fureroea* and *Turcroea*.) All this can be readily understood with contributions sent to a partwork (*The Every-day Book*), but it is harder to understand their frequency in *Circle of the Seasons*. At least we can conclude that Forster's *s* and *t* were difficult to distinguish, in addition to the usual problems posed by *u* and *n*.

Vernacular names can also cause confusion. In *The Perennial Calendar* (13 June), *Papaver somniferum* is described as garden poppy (and the text suggests some confusion over the taxonomic status of different poppies). It is not that uncommon for a plant to appear more than once in the same list; in *The Perennial Calendar*, for example, *Hieracium pilosella* is cited on both 10 and 29 May. More interesting is when the same plant appears under different vernacular names. In *Circle of the Seasons*, *Veltheimia* (now *Kniphofia*) *uvaria* appears twice, with different vernacular names: grape alve on 12 November, and as orange-flowered veltheimia on 4 November. In the entries for 24 March, *Chrysopenium oppositifolium* is described as golden saxifrage (in *The Every-day Book*) and brilliant saxifrage (*Circle of the Seasons*). In *The Every-day Book*, *Solidago virgaurea* appears twice, dedicated to different saints: St Augustine on 28 August, and St Margaret on 2 September.

In *The Perennial Calendar*, his usual statements about plants being in flower are varied by *Tussilago farfara* beginning to open on 7 February, *Dianthus deltoides* being “already plentiful” on 8 June, *Mimulus luteus* being in flower in the south on 15 June, and opium poppies being gathered on 8 August. Similarly, in *Circle of the Seasons*, *Iris persica* is described as flowering “if previously kept warm, and if planted in a pot about Allhallowtide and kept in a green house” – evidently not a mediaeval practice; *Helleborus foetidus* is cited for 5 January, with the warning that this “only happens in very mild winters”; while *Hyacinthus racemosus* is cited for two days, 4 and 6 April, on the first of which it flowers, and on the second of which it is in full flower.

Late autumn and winter posed understandable problems with assigning plants to specific days. In *The Perennial Calendar*, the problem was largely solved by simple omission. On some days Forster entered a comment about fungi: in the text for 4 September he discussed fairy rings, under 18 October he included a list of fungi found on a site in Sussex, while remarking under 27 October, “The common edible Mushroom *Agaricus Campestris* now declines, but several other sorts are eaten, particularly by foreigners” (Forster, 1824: 455, 567, 588). The entry for 3 November laments that “Our botanical observations now can only record a few remaining fungi, and other cryptogamia; after which, the Botanist who is enthusiastic enough, may grope through fogs and mists, and over

damp ground and slippery from the fallen leaves” (ibid.: 606). In this he remained consistent in *Circle of the Seasons*, for which the plant entry for 1 November reads: “All the Agaricks now begin to decline, and after this time few are seen” (Forster, 1828: 306) – one of the very few days which does not have a flower assigned to it. Generally speaking, however, in both *The Every-day Book* and *Circle of the Seasons*, the autumn and winter periods are stocked with plants normally, at the time, grown as greenhouse plants: Cape heaths, passion flowers, kniphofias, daturas, stapelias, etc. (In *Circle*, the entry for *Salvia coccinea* (29 October) specifies flowering in a greenhouse, and that for *Geodorum citrinum* (2 December) in a conservatory.)

In *The Perennial Calendar*, in lieu of naming a single plant for the day, Forster sometimes supplies lists of plants of the season: spring flowers and “primaveral flora” (3, 12, 27 March), “vernal flora” (24 May, 30 June), “solstitial plants” (9 July), “aestival flora” (19 August), apples (20 September), pears (21 September), autumnal plants (12–13 October), and “hybernal flora” (9 December), as well as a list of plants that Forster found in the vicinity of Tunbridge Wells (10 July). In *The Every-day Book*, there are lists of “vernal flora” (18 May), and of “prognostics from plants” (20 May).

Forster maintained the fiction that he had assembled his floral calendar from antique sources. In *Circle of the Seasons*, under 1 February, he says, “The Bay is recorded today, and has been called the Shrub of St. Bride, but we cannot find why, as it does not flower at this time” (Forster, 1828: 32). Similar statements, reinforcing the impression that Forster was an objective compiler rather than a creator, are scattered through the work.

But the associations between plants and saints’ days Forster claims could not have occurred as described to anyone in the Middle Ages, for not all the plants were available: sunflowers and *Tagetes* were sixteenth-century introductions, and passion flowers seventeenth-century. Did Forster know that some of his cited plants could not have found a place in any genuinely mediaeval list? Undoubtedly. The plant for 26 March, in *The Every-day Book* and *Circle of the Seasons*, is *Hyoscyamus scopolia* (now *Scopolia scopolia*); in the latter work, Forster specifies that it “was introduced into England in 1780” – and criticises Aiton’s *Hortus Kewensis*

for getting its flowering time wrong. And in the later work, he includes in his list of flowering times plants introduced within the past decade, such as *Spiranthes pudica* (3 November), and *Primula chinensis* [i.e. *sinensis*] (2 April), both plants named by Lindley in 1821. Full marks to Forster for keeping up to date; and *Circle of the Seasons*, after all, made no explicit claim that the plants cited had any traditional association with saints. But if we look at *The Every-day Book*, which did make this claim explicit, the attribution of Cape heaths, cacti, sansevierias, passion flowers, and zinnias to the festivals of particular saints should have been enough to raise a startled eyebrow and a question. And why would a floral calendar, compiled with a view to worship, include mosses and fungi?

But the average reader then would have had even less knowledge about the history of plants than the average reader has today. In 1855, Daniel Maclise exhibited a painting at the Royal Academy, based on *As you Like it*; he went to great lengths to ensure authenticity of costume, but depicted fuchsias and passion flowers in the garden.¹ So it was unlikely that a critic would remark on the presence, in an allegedly mediaeval plant list, of plants that had only been introduced in more modern times.

The forgery exposed

Thirty years ago, Stephen Bann issued a challenge that has yet to receive a sufficient response from cultural historians: “The distinguishing mark of the period between 1750 and 1850 – in England at any rate – would be not the new professional practice of history but the increasingly expert production of pseudo-historical forgeries” (Bann, 1984: 2). Forster’s must be judged one of the most successful of such forgeries, for in varying degrees the idea of a monastic floral calendar still persists.

And yet the fact of forgery was established over a century ago, by Alfred E.P. Raymund Dowling, in his *Flora of the Sacred Nativity* (1900). Dowling’s book was an attempt to work out whether there was a genuine mediaeval symbolism of plants, and he kept bumping up against assertions based

¹ The *Cottage Gardener* published a leader complaining of the anachronism (19 June 1855:197–198); a defender of Maclise argued in rebuttal that if his depiction was to be condemned, why not condemn as equally anachronistic the use of modern bedding plants in historic gardens? (18 September 1855: 451–452).

on Forster's books. First of all, Dowling established that Forster was the likely source of Hone's floral calendar:

This is the first appearance of this catalogue, and there can be little doubt that it owes its conception to the pretty fancy and quaint device of one man, a certain Dr. Forster... He was a good pious man, a doctor of medicine, a fellow of the Linnæan [*sic*], Astronomical, and other learned Societies; but although his poetic nature made him affectionate towards antiquity, he evidently did not feel that a modern invention posing as a part of the venerable past is of all things the most abhorrent to all earnest students. (Dowling, 1900: 18).

He then set himself to examine Forster's own statements about his sources:

The books which he refers to – 'Anthologia Borealis et Australis,' 'Florilegium Aspirationis Divinæ,' 'Ephemeris,' etc. – have created very considerable difficulties; a long inquiry took place in 'Notes and Queries' upon the subject (Dowling, 1900: 19).

...one of the strangest literary impositions of our time, for the man who executed it was no illiterate or worthless person, but the very reverse, and his action can only be accounted for by a species of insanity. The late learned librarian of South Kensington Museum [i.e. Sir Edward Augustus Bond, who was assistant keeper of manuscripts during Forster's last years] has a clear recollection of asking Dr. Forster where the authority for this Flora was to be found, and of the doctor's assuring him that it had been copied by him from a MS. at Cambridge. In later years this gentleman went up to Cambridge; but after a fruitless search in all the libraries there, and finding there was a total ignorance by the authorities of any such document, he came to the conclusion that the MS. which the doctor had copied from was one of his own construction. There can be no doubt that this is the correct conclusion, but we believe this to be the first time that it has been publicly exposed (*ibid.*: 20).

Alas, *The Flora of the Sacred Nativity* probably sold few copies, and was ignored in the horticultural press at least, so the exposure of Forster's fraud remained unnoticed. I have twice drawn attention to Dowling's

work (Elliott, 1985 and 1996), but have not seen anyone else follow it up. It is time that the floral calendar was put firmly in its place – as a hoax, an invented tradition, part of nineteenth-century culture but with no relevance to genuine investigations of botanical folklore.

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Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants

NB. No attempt has been made, in the updating of botanical names, to deal with varieties, nor have I corrected names where the only difference from the current name lies in the provision of a hyphen or a multiplication sign. The entries in *Circle of the Seasons* frequently give several plants; in such cases I have not attempted to include all, but have selected plants which appear in the previous works, for comparison of date.

Month	Day	<i>Perennial Calendar</i> (1824)	<i>Every-day Book</i> (1825)	<i>Circle of the Seasons</i> (1828)
January	1	<i>Tussilago fragrans</i> [= <i>Petasites pyrenaicus</i>]	<i>Viburnum tinus</i>	as 1825
January	2	<i>Bryum hornum</i>	<i>Senecio vulgaris</i>	as 1825
January	3	<i>Tremella diliquescens</i> [sic]	<i>Iris persica</i>	as 1825
January	4	<i>Dicranium scoparium</i>	<i>Corylus avellana</i>	as 1825
January	5	<i>Tortula rigida</i>	<i>Helleborus foetidus</i>	as 1825
January	6	<i>Funaria hygrometrica</i> [sic]	<i>Tortula rigida</i> [= <i>Aloina</i> sp.]	as 1825
January	7	<i>Viburnum tinus</i>	<i>Prunus lusitanica</i> [= <i>Cerasus lusitanica</i>]	as 1825
January	8		<i>Tremella deliquescens</i>	as 1825
January	9		<i>Prunus laurocerasus</i>	as 1825
January	10		<i>Ulex europaeus</i>	as 1825
January	11		<i>Bryum horaeum</i> [sic]	<i>Bryum hornum</i>
January	12		<i>Funaria hygrometrica</i> [sic]	<i>Funaria hygrometrica</i>
January	13		<i>Taxus baccata</i>	<i>Taxus baccata</i> <i>Veronica arvensis</i>
January	14		<i>Fragaria sterilis</i> [= <i>Potentilla sterilis</i>]	as 1825
January	15		<i>Hedera helix</i>	as 1825
January	16		<i>Lamium purpureum</i>	as 1825
January	17		<i>Anemone hortensis</i>	as 1825
January	18		<i>Bryum pellucidum</i>	as 1825
January	19		<i>Lamium album</i>	as 1825
January	20		<i>Lamium garganicum</i>	as 1825
January	21		<i>Helleborus niger</i>	as 1825
January	22		<i>Draba verna</i> [= <i>Erophila verna</i>]	as 1825
January	23		<i>Peziza acetabulum</i> [= <i>Helvella acetabulum</i>]	as 1825
January	24		<i>Phascum muticum</i> [= <i>Acaulon muticum</i>]	as 1825
January	25		<i>Helleborus hyemalis</i> [= <i>Eranthis hyemalis</i>]	as 1825
January	26	<i>Tussilago alba</i> [= <i>Petasites albus</i>]	<i>Tressilago</i> [sic] <i>alba</i>	as 1824

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
January	27	<i>Helleborus niger</i>	<i>Phascum cuspidatum</i> [= <i>Tortula acaulon</i>]	as 1825
January	28		<i>Bellis perennis plenus</i>	<i>Bellis perennis</i>
January	29		<i>Osmunda lunaria</i> [= <i>Botrychium dusenii</i>]	as 1825
January	30		<i>Asplenium trichomanes</i>	as 1825
January	31	<i>Helleborus hyemalis</i> [= <i>Eranthis hyemalis</i>]	<i>Asplenium scolopendrium</i>	as 1825
February	1	<i>Primula verna</i> [= <i>P. vulgaris</i>]	<i>Fontinalis minor</i> [= <i>Fontinalis antipyretica</i>], <i>Laurus nobilis</i>	as 1825
February	2	<i>Galantha</i> [sic] <i>nivalis</i>	as 1824	as 1824
February	3	Double daisies, <i>Lamium amplexicante</i> [sic = <i>amplexicaule</i>]	<i>Fontinalis antepyretica</i>	<i>Laurus indica</i> , <i>Fontinalis antepyretica</i>
February	4	<i>Lamium purpureum</i>	<i>Polytricum</i> [sic] <i>commune</i> , <i>Laurus indica</i> [= <i>Persea indica</i>]	<i>Polytricum</i> [sic] <i>commune</i>
February	5	<i>Fragaria sterilis</i>	<i>Primula verna</i> [= <i>P. vulgaris</i>], <i>Primula acaulis</i>	as 1825
February	6	<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i>	<i>Hyacinthus orientalis caeruleus</i>	<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i>
February	7	<i>Tussilago farfara</i> [sic]	<i>Cyclamen coum</i>	as 1825
February	8	<i>Draba verna</i>	<i>Mnium androgynum</i> [= <i>Sphaerocephalus androgynus</i>]	as 1825
February	9	<i>Narcissus tazetta</i>	<i>Narcissus romanus</i> [= <i>N. tazetta</i> cv?]	as 1825
February	10	<i>Cyclamen coum</i>	<i>Daphne mezereon</i> [sic = <i>mezereum</i>]	as 1825
February	11	<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i>	<i>Primula verna</i> [= <i>P. vulgaris</i>] <i>rubra</i>	as 1825
February	12	<i>Viola tricolor</i>	<i>Anemone hepatica</i>	as 1825
February	13	<i>Primula polyantha</i>	as 1824	as 1824
February	14	<i>Crocus maesiacus</i> [= <i>C. flavus</i>]	as 1824	as 1824
February	15	<i>Crocus sulphurius</i> [sic = <i>C. flavus</i>]	as 1824	<i>Crocus susianus</i> [= <i>C. angustifolius</i>]
February	16	<i>Iris persica</i>	<i>Primula acaulis plena</i>	<i>Primula verna</i> [= <i>P. vulgaris</i>] <i>plena liliacea</i>
February	17	<i>Crocus susianus</i>	<i>Crocus susianus</i> [= <i>C. angustifolius</i>]	<i>Daphne laarcola</i> [sic = <i>laureola</i>] <i>Crocus biflorus</i>
February	18	<i>Veronica arvensis</i>	<i>Veronica vivensis</i> [sic]	as 1824
February	19	<i>Veronica agrestis</i>	as 1824	as 1824

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
February	20	<i>Anemone hepatica</i>	<i>Cynoglossum omphalodes</i> [= <i>C. verna</i>]	as 1825
February	21	<i>Crocus versicolor</i>	as 1824	<i>Crocus verticolor</i> [sic]
February	22	<i>Bellis perennis</i>	as 1824	as 1824
February	23	<i>Tussilago farfora</i> [sic] flowers	<i>Prunus armeniaca</i>	as 1825
February	24	<i>Salix alba</i>	<i>Osmunda regalis</i>	as 1825
February	25	<i>Salix fragilis</i>	<i>Amygdalus persica</i> [= <i>Prunus persica</i>]	as 1825
February	26	<i>Salix viminalis</i>	<i>Vinca minor</i>	as 1825
February	27	<i>Veronica hederifolia</i>	<i>Pulmonaria officinalis</i>	<i>Pulmonary</i> [sic] <i>officinalis</i>
February	28	<i>Crocus vernus</i>	as 1824	as 1824
February	29	<i>Thlaspi bursa pastoris</i>		
March	1	<i>Allium porrum</i>	as 1824	as 1824
March	2	<i>Daphne mezereum</i> [= <i>mezereum</i>]	<i>Cerastium pumillum</i> [sic = <i>pumilum</i>]	as 1825
March	3		<i>Mesembrianthemum</i> [sic] <i>aureum</i> [= <i>Mesembrianthemum auratum</i>]	as 1825
March	4	<i>Hyacinthus botryoides</i> [= <i>Muscari botryoides</i>]	<i>Alsine media</i> [= <i>Stellaria media</i>]	as 1825
March	5		<i>Helleborus viridis</i>	as 1825
March	6		<i>Narcissus pseudonarcissus multiplex</i>	<i>Narcissus pseudonarcissus plenus</i>
March	7		<i>Narcissus pseudonarcissus simplex</i>	<i>Narcissus pseudonarcissus</i>
March	8		<i>Rosa semperflorens</i> , <i>Narcissus laetus</i>	as 1825
March	9		<i>Narcissus bulbocodium</i>	as 1825
March	10	<i>Narcissus pseudonarcissus</i>	<i>Veronica triphyllus</i>	as 1825
March	11		<i>Erica vaguus</i> [sic]	<i>Erica vagans</i>
March	12		<i>Ixia bulbocodium</i> [= <i>Romulea bulbocodium</i>]	as 1825
March	13	<i>Narcissus incomparabilis</i>	<i>Viola tricolor</i>	as 1825
March	14		<i>Soldanella alpina</i>	<i>Soldanella alpina</i> , <i>Tussilago farfara</i>
March	15		<i>Tussilago farfala</i> [sic], <i>Mercurialis perennis</i>	<i>Mercurialis perennis</i>

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
March	16		<i>Narcissus nutans</i>	<i>Narcissus nutans</i> , <i>Hyacinthus racemosus</i>
March	17		<i>Viola odorata</i> , <i>Trifolium repens</i>	as 1825
March	18		<i>Doronicum pardalianches</i>	as 1825
March	19		<i>Ornithogalum luteum</i>	as 1825
March	20	<i>Viola odorata</i>	<i>Viola canina</i>	<i>Violet [sic] canina</i>
March	21		<i>Fumaria bulbosa</i> [= <i>Corydalis cava</i>]	as 1825
March	22		<i>Ficaria verna</i>	as 1825
March	23		<i>Narcissus incomparabilis</i>	as 1825
March	24		<i>Chrysoplenum</i> [= <i>Chrysosplenium</i>] <i>oppositifolium</i>	as 1825
March	25		<i>Calendula officinalis</i>	as 1825
March	26		<i>Hyocyamus [sic] scopolia</i> [= <i>Scopolia scopolia</i>]	as 1825
March	27		<i>Narcissus odorus</i>	as 1825
March	28		<i>Doronicum plantagineum</i>	as 1825
March	29		<i>Primula elatior</i> , <i>Fumaria officinalis</i>	as 1825
March	30		<i>Cardemini hersista</i> [sic = <i>Cardamine hirsuta</i>], <i>Narcissus minor</i>	<i>Cardamine hersista</i> [sic = <i>hirsuta</i>], <i>Narcissus minor</i>
March	31			<i>Tulipa suaveolens</i>
April	1		<i>Mercurialis annua</i>	as 1825
April	2		<i>Viola alba</i>	<i>Primula chinensis</i> [= <i>P. sinensis?</i>], <i>Ranunculus bulbosus</i> , <i>Fritillaria meleagris</i> &c
April	3		<i>Anchusa</i> [= <i>Pentaglottis</i>] <i>sempervirens</i>	<i>Anchusa semper virens</i> [sic] &c
April	4	<i>Fritillaria imperialis</i> , <i>Fritillaria meleagris</i>	<i>Fritillaria imperialis</i>	<i>Corona imperialis rubra</i> [= <i>Fritillaria imperialis</i>], <i>Hyacinthus racemosus</i>
April	5		<i>Fritillaria imperialis lutea</i>	<i>Corona imperialis flave</i> & <i>striata</i> [= <i>Fritillaria imperialis</i>]
April	6	<i>Cardamine pratensis</i>	<i>Hyacinthus racemosus</i>	<i>Hyacinthus racemosus</i> , <i>Anemone pulsatilla</i> , <i>Cardamine pratensis</i>
April	7	<i>Cheiranthus cheiri</i> [= <i>Erysimum cheiri</i>]	<i>Anemone nemorosa</i>	as 1825

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
April	8	<i>Ranunculus bulbosus</i>	<i>Glechoma</i> [sic] <i>hederacea</i>	<i>Glechoma hederacea</i> &c
April	9	<i>Fritillaria imperialis</i>	<i>Primula polyantha rubra</i>	<i>Lunaria annua</i>
April	10		<i>Viola tonbrigens</i> [sic]	<i>Viola tunbrigensis</i> [= <i>Viola</i> sp.]
April	11	<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i> <i>Narcissus orientalis</i>	<i>Taraxacum dens leonis</i> [= <i>T. officinale</i>]	<i>Leontodon taraxacum</i> [= <i>Taraxacum officinale</i>]
April	12		<i>Saxifraga crassifolia</i> [= <i>Bergenia crassifolia</i>]	as 1825
April	13	<i>Anemone nemorosa</i>	<i>Narcissus viridiflorus</i>	<i>Narcissus vindiflorus</i> [sic], <i>Viola tricolor</i>
April	14		<i>Borago officinalis</i>	as 1825
April	15		<i>Stellaria holostea</i>	as 1825
April	16		<i>Tulipa sylvestris</i>	as 1825
April	17	<i>Viola</i> spp.	<i>Arum arisarum</i> [= <i>Arisarum vulgare</i>]	<i>Arum arisarum</i> [= <i>Arisarum vulgare</i>], <i>Geum rivale</i> &c
April	18		<i>Narcissus moschatus</i>	<i>Narcissus moschatus</i> [= <i>N. pseudonarcissus</i> subsp. <i>moschatus</i>], <i>Trillium sessile</i> , <i>Cyclamen vulgare</i>
April	19	<i>Leucopium</i> [sic = <i>Leucojum</i>] <i>vernum</i>	<i>Allium ursinum</i>	<i>Allium ursinum</i> &c
April	20		<i>Leucojum vernum</i> &c	<i>Leucojum vernum</i> &c
April	21		<i>Narcissus orientalis albus</i> [= <i>N. tazetta</i>]	as 1825
April	22		<i>Ranunculus auricomis</i>	<i>Geum intermedium</i> [= <i>G. aleppicum</i>], <i>Cardamine pratensis</i> &c
April	23		<i>Hyacinthus non scriptus</i> [= <i>Hyacinthoides non-scripta</i>]	as 1825
April	24	<i>Tulipa</i> spp.	<i>Prunus spinosa</i>	<i>Prunus spinosa</i> , <i>Gentiana acaulis</i>
April	25		<i>Tulipa praecox</i> [= <i>T. clusiana</i>]	as 1825
April	26	<i>Primula veris</i>	<i>Erysemum</i> [sic] <i>barbarea</i> [= <i>Barbarea vulgaris</i>]	<i>Primula veris</i>
April	27	<i>Aesculus hippocastanum</i>	<i>Narcissus major</i> [= <i>N. pseudonarcissus</i>]	<i>Narcissus major</i> &c
April	28		<i>Arum maculatum</i>	<i>Galeobdolum luteum</i> [sic = <i>Lamium galeobdolon</i>] &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
April	29		<i>Geranium robertianum</i>	<i>Geranium robertianum</i> &c
April	30	<i>Hyacinthus non scriptus</i> [= <i>Hyacinthoides non-scripta</i>]	<i>Primula veris</i>	<i>Primula veris</i> &c
May	1		<i>Tulipa gesneri</i> , <i>Lychnis</i> [= <i>Silene</i>] <i>dioica rubra</i> & <i>plena</i>	<i>Tulipa gesneri</i> &c
May	2		<i>Rhaphanus rhafristrum</i> [sic]	<i>Raphanus raphanistrum</i> , <i>Geranium sanguineum</i> &c
May	3	<i>Narcissus biflorus</i> , <i>Narcissus poeticus</i>	<i>Narcissus poeticus</i>	<i>Narcissus poeticus</i> &c
May	4	<i>Orchis mascula</i>	<i>Mathiola incana</i>	<i>Azalea pontica</i> [= <i>Rhododendron luteum</i>] &c
May	5	<i>Narcissus poeticus</i> , <i>Narcissus biflorus</i>	<i>Pyrus malus</i> [= <i>Malus pumila</i>]	<i>Pyrus malus</i> [= <i>Malus pumila</i>], <i>Ranunculus hersutus</i> [sic] &c
May	6	<i>Scilla campanulata</i> [= <i>Hyacinthoides hispanica</i>]	<i>Trollius europaeus</i>	<i>Trollius europaeus</i> , <i>Syringa vulgaris</i>
May	7	<i>Tulipa gesneriana</i> & other tulips	<i>Trollius asiaticus</i>	<i>Trollius asiaticus</i> &c
May	8	<i>Paeonia tenuifolia</i> , <i>Trollius europaeus</i>	<i>Convallaria majalis</i>	<i>Convallaria maialis</i> [sic], <i>Papaver cambricum</i> [= <i>Meconopsis cambrica</i>] &c
May	9	<i>Convallaria multiflora</i> [= <i>Polygonatum multiflorum</i>], <i>Convallaria majalis</i>	<i>Convallaria multiflora</i> [= <i>Polygonatum multiflorum</i>]	<i>Convallaria polygonatum</i> [= <i>Polygonatum odoratum</i>], <i>Convallaria multiflora</i> [= <i>Polygonatum multiflorum</i>] &c
May	10	<i>Hieracium pilosella</i>	<i>Paeonia tenuifolia</i>	<i>Paeonia tenuifolia</i> , <i>Hieracium pilosella</i> &c
May	11	<i>Asphodelus luteus</i> , <i>Trollius asiaticus</i>	<i>Asphodelus luteus</i>	<i>Asphodelus luteus</i> , <i>Crataegus oxyantha</i> [sic = <i>oxyantha</i>] &c
May	12	<i>Glechoma hederacea</i>	<i>Iris germanica</i>	<i>Iris germanica</i> , <i>Paeonia officinalis</i> , <i>Hesperis matronalis</i>
May	13	<i>Ranunculus acris</i> & other spp.	<i>Symphetum</i> [sic] <i>officinale</i>	<i>Symphetum officinalis</i> [sic] &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
May	14	<i>Iris germanica</i> &c	<i>Paeonia officinalis</i> , <i>Paeonia corallina</i>	<i>Paeonia officinalis</i>
May	15	<i>Papaver cambricum</i> [= <i>Meconopsis cambrica</i>], <i>Papaver nudicaule</i>	<i>Papaver cambricum</i> [= <i>Meconopsis cambrica</i>]	<i>Papaver cambricum</i> , <i>Papaver nudicaule</i>
May	16	<i>Iris lurida</i> &c	<i>Ornithogalum umbellatum</i> [sic]	<i>Ornithogalum umbellatum</i> , <i>Cytisus laburnum</i> [= <i>Laburnum anagyroides</i>]
May	17	<i>Paeonia officinalis</i> , <i>Paeonia peregrina</i>	<i>Papaver argemone</i>	<i>Papaver argemone</i> , <i>Rhododendron ponticum</i> &c
May	18	<i>Hieracium murorum</i>	<i>Hieracium pilosella</i>	<i>Hieracium pilosella</i> , <i>Hypochaeris radicata</i>
May	19		<i>Aconitum napellus</i>	<i>Aconitum napellus</i> , <i>Iris florentina</i> &c
May	20		<i>Aeschylus</i> [sic = <i>Aesculus</i>] <i>hippocastanum</i>	<i>Aeschylus</i> [sic = <i>Aesculus</i>] <i>hippocastanum</i> &c
May	21	<i>Paeonia humilis</i> [= <i>P. officinalis</i> subsp. <i>macrocarpa</i>]	<i>Lychnis flos cuculi</i> [= <i>Silene flos-cuculi</i>]	<i>Paeonia peregrina</i> , <i>Lychnis flos cuculi</i> [= <i>Silene flos-cuculi</i>], <i>Adonis</i> &c
May	22		<i>Tragopogon pratensis</i>	<i>Tragopogon pratensis</i> &c
May	23	<i>Tragopogon porrifolius</i> , <i>Tragopogon pratensis</i>	<i>Syringa vulgaris</i>	as 1825
May	24		<i>Papaver orientale</i>	<i>Papaver orientale</i> &c
May	25		<i>Geum urbanum</i>	<i>Geum urbanum</i> &c
May	26	<i>Rhododendron ponticum</i> <i>Azalea pontica</i> [= <i>Rhododendron luteum</i>] &c	as 1824	as 1824
May	27		<i>Ranunculus acris</i>	<i>Ranunculus aeris</i> [sic]
May	28		<i>Iris lurida</i>	<i>Iris lurida</i> &c
May	29	<i>Hieracium pilosella</i>	<i>Centaurea</i> [sic] <i>montana</i>	<i>Centaurea montana</i> &c
May	30	<i>Hypochaeris radicata</i>	<i>Ranunculus flammula</i>	<i>Ranunculus flammula</i> , <i>Papaver argemone</i> &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
May	31	<i>Chrysanthemum leucanthemum</i> [= <i>Leucanthemum vulgare</i>]	<i>Lilium pomponicum</i> [sic] <i>flavum</i>	<i>Lilium pomponium flavum</i> , <i>Lonicera sempervirens</i>
June	1	<i>Hemerocallis flava</i> , <i>Hemerocallis graminea</i> &c	<i>Rosa lutea</i>	<i>Rosa lutea</i> , <i>Iris pseudacorus</i> , <i>I. versicolor</i> &c
June	2		<i>Anagallis arvensis</i>	<i>Anagallis arvensis</i> &c
June	3		<i>Rosa provincialis</i> [= <i>R. gallica</i>]	<i>Rosa provincialis</i> [= <i>R. gallica</i>] &c
June	4		<i>Dianthus chinensis</i>	as 1825
June	5		<i>Rosa sinica</i> [= <i>R. laevigata</i>]	<i>Rosa sinica</i> &c
June	6		<i>Dianthus deltoides</i>	<i>Dianthus deltoides</i> &c
June	7		<i>Chironia centaureum</i> [sic = <i>Centaurea erythraea</i>]	<i>Disanthus</i> [sic = <i>Dianthus</i>] <i>hortensis</i> &c
June	8	<i>Mimulus luteus</i> , <i>Dianthus deltoides</i>	<i>Lysimachia nummularia</i>	<i>Lysimachia nummularia</i> , <i>Mimulus luteus</i> , <i>Gladiolus communis</i> &c
June	9	<i>Gladiolus communis</i> , <i>Rosa provincialis</i> , <i>R. chinensis</i>	<i>Berberis vulgaris</i>	<i>Berberis vulgaris</i> &c
June	10	<i>Dianthus chinensis</i>	<i>Iris pseudacorus</i>	<i>Iris pseudacorus</i> &c
June	11	<i>Carduus pratensis</i> [= <i>Cirsium dissectum</i>], <i>Papaver rhæas</i> [sic], <i>Papaver dubium</i>	<i>Chrysanthemum leucanthemum</i> [= <i>Leucanthemum vulgare</i>]	as 1825
June	12	<i>Rosa muscosa</i>	<i>Rosa arvensis</i> &c	as 1825
June	13	<i>Papaver somniferum</i>	<i>Ranunculus asiaticus</i>	<i>Ranunculus asiaticus</i> , <i>Papaver rhæus</i> [sic] &c
June	14	<i>Dianthus barbatus</i> &c	<i>Oscimum</i> [sic] <i>basilicum</i>	<i>Oscimum</i> [sic] <i>basilicum</i> &c
June	15	<i>Mimulus luteus</i>	<i>Mimosa sensit.</i>	<i>Mimosa sensitiva</i> , <i>Echium vulgare</i> &c
June	16		<i>Rosa muscosa</i>	<i>Rosa muscosa</i> &c
June	17		<i>Mimulus luteus</i>	<i>Tropaeolum</i> [sic] <i>majus</i> , <i>Mimulus luteus</i> &c
June	18	<i>Trifolium pratense</i>	<i>Chelidonium glaucum</i> [= <i>C. flavum</i>]	<i>Chelidonium glaucum</i> , <i>Dianthus barbatus</i> &c
June	19	<i>Atropa belladonna</i> &c	<i>Hesperis</i> [sic] <i>tristis</i>	<i>Hesperis tritris</i> [sic], <i>Digitalis purpurea</i> &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
June	20	<i>Lychnis chalconica</i> , <i>Papaver rhæas</i> [sic]	<i>Papaver dubium</i>	<i>Papaver dubium</i> , <i>Lychnis chalconica</i> &c
June	21	<i>Echium vulgare</i>	as 1824	<i>Echium vulgare</i> &c
June	22	<i>Lilium martagon</i>	<i>Campanula medium</i>	<i>Campanula medium</i> , <i>Lilium bulbiferum</i> &c
June	23	<i>Cypripedium calceolus</i>	as 1824	<i>Cypripedium calceolus</i> , <i>Lathyrus odoratus</i> &c
June	24	<i>Hypericum perforatum</i>	<i>Hypericum pulchrum</i>	<i>Hypericum pulchrum</i> &c
June	25		<i>Dianthus barbatus</i>	<i>Dianthus barbatus</i> , <i>Anastatica</i>
June	26	<i>Sonchus caeruleus</i> , <i>Tropaeolum</i> [sic] <i>majus</i>	<i>Sonchus caeruleus</i> [sic]	<i>Rosa damascena</i> , <i>Sonchus caeruleus</i> [sic] &c
June	27	Grass	<i>Hypericum perforatum</i>	<i>Hypericum perforatum</i> &c
June	28	<i>Chrysanthemum segetum</i> , <i>Chrysanthemum coronarium</i>	<i>Centaurea cyanus</i>	<i>Centaurea cyanus</i> , <i>Chrysanthemum</i> [sic] <i>segetum</i> &c
June	29	<i>Digitalis purpurea</i> , <i>Papaver somniferum</i>	<i>Rhinanthus galli</i> [sic]	<i>Rhinanthus crista galli</i> [= <i>R. glacialis</i>] &c
June	30		<i>Cistus helianthemum</i> [= <i>Helianthemum helianthemum</i>]	<i>Cistus helianthemum</i> [= <i>Helianthemum helianthemum</i>] &c
July	1	<i>Agrimonia eupatoria</i> , <i>Convolvulus sepium</i>	<i>Agrimonia eupatoria</i>	<i>Clematis integrifolia</i> , <i>Agrimonia eupatoria</i>
July	2	<i>Malva sylvestris</i>	<i>Lilium candidum</i>	<i>Lilium candidum</i> &c
July	3		<i>Malva sylvestris</i>	<i>Convolvulus sepium</i> [= <i>Calystegia sepium</i>], <i>Malva sylvestris</i> , <i>Agrostemma githago</i> &c
July	4	<i>Oenothera biennis</i> , <i>Agrostemma githago</i>	<i>Hemerocallis fulva</i>	<i>Hemerocallis fulva</i> , <i>Lilium martagon</i> &c
July	5	<i>Crepis barbata</i> [= <i>Tolpis barbata</i>] &c	<i>Rosa sulphurea</i> [= <i>R. hemisphaerica</i>]	as 1825
July	6	<i>Lilium candidum</i> , <i>Lilium chalconicum</i> , <i>Lilium martagon</i>	<i>Crepis</i> [= <i>Tolpis</i>] <i>barbata</i>	<i>Tolpis barbata</i> , <i>Convolvulus tricolor</i> , <i>Verbascum</i> spp. &c
July	7		<i>Tropaeolum</i> [sic] <i>majus</i>	<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i> &c
July	8	<i>Convolvulus sepium</i>	<i>Oenothera biennis</i>	<i>Oenothera biennis</i> &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
July	9		<i>Sonchus palustris</i>	<i>Dalmcamara</i> [sic = <i>Solanum dulcamara</i>], <i>Sonchus palustris</i> &c
July	10		<i>Antirrhinum triphyllum</i> [= <i>Linaria triphylla</i>]	<i>Antichinum</i> [sic] <i>triphyllum</i> &c
July	11		<i>Lupinus flavus</i> [= <i>L. luteus</i> ?]	<i>Lupinus flavus</i> [= <i>L. luteus</i> ?] &c
July	12		<i>Antirrhinum purpureum</i>	<i>Antirrhinum purpureum</i> &c
July	13	<i>Campanula rapunculoides</i>	<i>Lupinus caeruleus</i>	<i>Lupinus caeruleus</i> [sic] &c
July	14	<i>Convolvulus purpureus</i> [= <i>Ipomoea purpurea</i>], <i>Convolvulus tricolor</i>	<i>Lupinus perennis</i>	<i>Lupinus perennis</i> &c
July	15		<i>Calendula pluvialis</i> [= <i>Dimorphotheca pluvialis</i>]	<i>Calendula pluvialis</i> [= <i>Dimorphotheca pluvialis</i>] &c
July	16		<i>Convolvulus purpureus</i> [= <i>Ipomoea purpurea</i>]	<i>Ipomoea coerulea</i> [= <i>I. hederacea</i>]
July	17		<i>Lathyrus odoratus</i>	<i>Lathyrus odoratus</i> &c
July	18		<i>Chrysanthemum coronarium</i>	<i>Chrysanthemum coronarium</i> &c
July	19	<i>Butomus umbellatus</i>	<i>Hieracium aurantiacum</i>	<i>Hieracium aurantiacum</i> &c
July	20		<i>Dracocephalum virginianum</i> [= <i>Physostegia virginiana</i>]	as 1825
July	21	<i>Convolvulus purpureus</i>	<i>Lilium philadelphicum</i>	<i>Prunus armeniaca</i> , <i>Lilium philadelphicum</i> &c
July	22		<i>Agapanthus umbellatus</i>	as 1825
July	23	<i>Helianthus annuus</i>	<i>Scabiosa atropurpurea</i>	as 1825
July	24		<i>Lupinus arboreus</i> &c	<i>Lupinus arboreus</i> &c
July	25	<i>Lythrum salicaria</i>	<i>Actaea spicata</i>	<i>Rudbeckia fulgida</i> &c
July	26		<i>Matricaria chamomilla</i>	<i>Matricaria chamomilla</i> &c
July	27	<i>Lythrum salicaria</i> , <i>Atropa belladonna</i>	<i>Lythrum salicaria</i>	<i>Lithrum</i> [sic] <i>salicaria</i> , <i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>
July	28		<i>Senecio montanus</i> [= <i>S. sylvaticus</i>]	as 1825
July	29		<i>Chironia centaureum</i> [= <i>Centaureum erythraea</i>]	<i>Chironia centaureum</i> [= <i>Centaureum erythraea</i>] &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
July	30		<i>Verbascum lychnitis</i>	<i>Verbascum lychnitis</i> &c
July	31		<i>Verbascum virgatum</i>	<i>Verbascum virgatum</i> [sic], <i>Helenium autumnale</i>
August	1		<i>Datura stramonium</i>	<i>Datura stramonium</i> , <i>Tagetes patula</i>
August	2	<i>Aster chinensis</i> [= <i>Callistephus chinensis</i>] &c	<i>Lilium tigrinum</i>	<i>Lilium tigrinum</i> &c
August	3	<i>Amaranthus hypochondriacus</i>	<i>Althaea rosea</i> [= <i>Alcea rosea</i>]	as 1825
August	4	<i>Campanula rotundifolia</i>	as 1824	<i>Campanula rotundifolia</i> &c
August	5		<i>Nelumbo nilotica</i> [= <i>Nymphaea caerulea</i>]	<i>Nelumbo nilotica</i> &c
August	6		<i>Colchicum autumnale</i>	<i>Colchicum autumnale</i> &c
August	7		<i>Amaranthus hypochondriacus</i>	<i>Amaranthus hypochondriacus</i> &c
August	8		<i>Amaranthus procumbens</i> [= <i>A. caudatus</i>]	<i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>
August	9		<i>Senecio jacobea</i> [sic]	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> &c
August	10		<i>Impatiens balsama</i> [sic]	<i>Impatiens balsamina</i> &c
August	11		<i>Aster chinensis</i> [= <i>Callistephus chinensis</i>]	<i>Aster chinensis</i> [= <i>Callistephus chinensis</i>] &c
August	12		<i>Sonchus palustris</i>	<i>Sonchus palustris</i> &c
August	13		<i>Senecio paludosus</i> [sic]	<i>Senecio paludosus</i> [= <i>Jacobaea paludosa</i>], <i>Mirabilis jalapa</i> &c
August	14		<i>Zinnia elegans</i>	<i>Zinnia elegans</i> &c
August	15		<i>Clematis vitalba</i>	as 1825
August	16	<i>Mirabilis jalapa</i>	<i>Amaryllis belladonna</i>	<i>Amaryllis belladonna</i> , <i>Bidens heterophylla</i> [= <i>Bidens aurea</i>]
August	17		<i>Anterrhenum</i> [sic] <i>linaria</i> [= <i>Linaria vulgaris</i>]	<i>Linaria vulgaris</i> &c
August	18		<i>Tagetes</i> [sic] <i>erecta</i>	<i>Tagetes erecta</i> , <i>Echinops sphaerocephalus</i>

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
August	19		<i>Phleum panniculatum</i> [sic]	<i>Phleum panniculatum</i> [sic] &c
August	20		<i>Apargia autumnalis</i> [= <i>Leontodon autumnalis</i>]	<i>Apargia autumnalis</i> [= <i>Leontodon autumnalis</i>] &c
August	21	<i>Gentiana amarella</i> &c	<i>Tagetes patula</i>	<i>Tagetes patula</i> , <i>Centaurea alata</i> [= <i>Centaurea behen</i>]
August	22		<i>Phleum pratense</i>	<i>Phleum pratense</i> &c
August	23		<i>Tanacetum vulgare</i>	<i>Tanacetum vulgare</i> &c
August	24	<i>Amaryllis</i> sp.	<i>Helianthus annuus</i>	<i>Helianthus annuus</i> &c
August	25		<i>Helianthus multiflorus</i>	as 1825
August	26		<i>Amaryllis vittata</i> [= <i>Hippeastrum vittatum</i>]	<i>Amaryllis vittata</i> &c
August	27	<i>Gnaphalium stoechas</i> [= <i>Helichrysum stoechas</i>]	<i>Hieracium umbellatum</i>	<i>Hieracium umbellatum</i> , <i>Inula dysenterica</i>
August	28		<i>Solidago virgaurea</i>	<i>Solidago flexicaulis</i>
August	29		<i>Althaea flava</i> [= <i>Lavatera flava</i>]	<i>Althaea pallida</i> [= <i>Alcea pallida</i>] &c
August	30		<i>Amaryllis sarniensis</i> [= <i>Nerine sarniensis</i>]	<i>Nerine sarniensis</i>
August	31		<i>Adonis autumnalis</i> [= <i>Adonis annua</i>]	<i>Adonis autumnalis</i> , <i>Rubus fruticosus</i>
September	1		<i>Sedum telephium</i>	<i>Sedum telephium</i> &c
September	2		<i>Solidago virgaurea</i>	<i>Solidago virgaurea</i> &c
September	3		<i>Inula dysenterica</i> [= <i>Pulicaria dysenterica</i>]	<i>Campanula rotundifolia</i> , <i>Inula pulicaria</i> [= <i>Pulicaria vulgaris</i>], <i>Inula</i> [= <i>Pulicaria</i>] <i>dysenterica</i>
September	4		<i>Saponaria officinalis</i>	<i>Saponaria officinalis</i> &c
September	5		<i>Agaricus campestris</i>	<i>Agaricus campestris</i> &c
September	6	<i>Daphne mezereon</i> [berries]	<i>Apargia autumnalis</i> [= <i>Leontodon autumnalis</i>]	<i>Apargia autumnalis</i> [= <i>Leontodon autumnalis</i>] &c
September	7		<i>Aster solidaginoides</i> [= <i>Sericocarpus linifolius</i>]	<i>Aster solidaginoides</i> [= <i>Sericocarpus linifolius</i>] <i>Iva frutescens</i>
September	8		<i>Aster amellus</i>	<i>Gentiana ciliata</i> [= <i>Gentianopsis ciliata</i>], <i>Aster amellus</i>

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
September	9		<i>Solidago canadensis</i>	<i>Solidago canadensis</i> &c
September	10		<i>Crocus autumnalis</i>	<i>Crocus officinalis</i> &c
September	11		<i>Colchicum variegatum</i>	<i>Colchicum variegatum</i> &c
September	12		<i>Passiflora peltata</i> [= <i>P. suberosa</i>]	<i>Passiflora peltata</i> &c
September	13		<i>Crocus sativus</i>	<i>Solidago latifolia</i> [= <i>S. flexicaulis</i>] &c
September	14		<i>Passiflora coerulea</i> [sic]	as 1825
September	15		<i>Colchicum byzanticum</i>	<i>Silphium trifoliatum</i> [= <i>S. asteriscus</i>] &c
September	16		<i>Aster tripolum</i> [sic = <i>Tripolium pannonicum</i>]	<i>Helianthus tubiformis</i> [= <i>Tithonia tubaeformis</i>] &c
September	17		<i>Malva angustiflora</i> [sic = <i>Sphaeralcea angustifolia</i>]	<i>Malva angustifolia</i> &c
September	18		<i>Aster pendulus</i>	<i>Aster pendulinus</i> [sic] &c
September	19		<i>Scabiosa succisa</i> [= <i>S. kamerunensis</i>]	as 1825
September	20		<i>Colchicum autumnale</i>	<i>Colchicum autumnale</i> , <i>Crocus nudiflorus</i>
September	21		<i>Passiflora ciliata</i>	as 1825
September	22	<i>Aster tradescanti</i>	<i>Boletus arborens</i> [sic]	<i>Boletus arboreus</i> [= <i>Serpula himantoides</i>], <i>Aster laxus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum lanceolatum</i>], <i>A. fragilis</i> &c
September	23		<i>Aster dumotus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum dumosum</i>]	<i>Aster annuus</i> [= <i>Stenactis annua</i>] &c
September	24		<i>Agaricus fimetarius</i>	<i>Agaricus fimetarius</i> , <i>Aster multiflorus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum ericoides</i>] &c
September	25		<i>Boletus bovinus</i> [= <i>Suillus bovinus</i>]	<i>Boletus bovinus</i> [= <i>Suillus bovinus</i>] &c
September	26		<i>Solidago gigantea</i>	<i>Solidago gigantea</i> &c
September	27		<i>Aster multiflorus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum ericoides</i>]	<i>Aster multiflorus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum ericoides</i>] &c
September	28		<i>Solidago sempervirens</i>	<i>Solidago sempervirens</i> &c

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
September	29		<i>Aster tradescanti</i>	as 1825
September	30		<i>Amaryllis aurea</i> [= <i>Lycoris aurea</i>]	<i>Amaryllis aurea</i> [= <i>Lycoris aurea</i>] &c
October	1		<i>Amaryllis humilis</i> [= <i>Nerine humilis</i>]	as 1825
October	2		<i>Saponaria officinalis</i>	as 1825
October	3		<i>Helenium pubescens</i>	as 1825
October	4		<i>Artemisia</i> [sic] <i>abrotanum</i>	<i>Artemisia</i> [sic] <i>abrotanum</i>
October	5		<i>Boltonia asteroides</i>	as 1825
October	6		<i>Pyrethrum serotinum</i> [= <i>Leucanthemella serotina</i>]	as 1825
October	7		<i>Chrysanthemum indicum</i>	as 1825
October	8		<i>Actillea</i> [sic = <i>Achillea</i>] <i>ageratum</i>	<i>Arbillaca</i> [sic = <i>Achillea</i>] <i>ageratum</i> [sic]
October	9		<i>Agaricus lactiflorus</i> [sic = <i>Lactarius volemus</i>]	<i>Agaricus lactifluus</i> [= <i>Lactarius volemus</i>] &c
October	10		<i>Veltheimia</i> [sic] <i>viridifolia</i> [= <i>Veltheimia capensis</i>]	<i>Veltheimia</i> [sic] <i>viridifolia</i> [= <i>Veltheimia capensis</i>] &c
October	11		<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>	as 1825
October	12		<i>Inulas undulata</i> [sic = <i>Pulicaria undulata</i>]	as 1825
October	13		<i>Helenium autumnale</i>	as 1825
October	14		<i>Inula indica</i> [= <i>Pentanema indicum</i>]	<i>Inula indica</i>
October	15	<i>Aster</i> spp. [Michaelmas daisies]	<i>Centaurea moschata</i>	as 1825
October	16	<i>Aster tradescanti</i> &c	<i>Achillae multifolium</i> [sic = <i>Achillea millefolium</i>]	<i>Achillaea millifolium</i> [sic = <i>Achillea millefolium</i>]
October	17		<i>Helianthus decapetalus</i> [= <i>H. hirsutus</i>]	<i>Helianthus decapetalus</i> [= <i>H. hirsutus</i>], <i>Aster</i> spp.
October	18		<i>Agaricus floccosus</i>	as 1825
October	19		<i>Coreopsis procera</i> [= <i>Verbesina alternifolia</i>]	as 1825
October	20		<i>Centaurea suaveolens</i> [= <i>Amberboa amberboi</i>]	<i>Centaurea suaveolens</i> , <i>Peziza coccinea</i> [= <i>Sarcoscypha coccinea</i>]

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
October	21	<i>Hedera</i> [= <i>Parthenocissus</i>] <i>quinquefolia</i>	<i>Silphium asteriscus</i>	<i>Silphium asteriscus</i> , <i>Hedera helix</i>
October	22		<i>Silphium trifoliatum</i> [= <i>Silphium asteriscus</i> var. <i>trifoliatum</i>]	as 1825
October	23		<i>Aster juncus</i> [sic = <i>Symphotrichum novi-belgii</i>]	<i>Aster princens</i> [sic = <i>Symphotrichum puniceus</i>]
October	24		<i>Aster flexuosus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum tenuifolium</i>]	as 1825
October	25		<i>Aster conzoides</i> [sic = <i>Sericocarpus conyzoides</i>], <i>Aster miser</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum laeve</i>]	<i>Aster conzoides</i> [sic = <i>Sericocarpus conyzoides</i>] &c
October	26		<i>Solidago petiolaris</i>	as 1825
October	27		<i>Aster floribundus</i> [= <i>Symphotrichum novi-belgii</i>]	as 1825
October	28		<i>Chrysanthemum serotinum</i> [= <i>Leucanthemella serotina</i>]	as 1825
October	29		<i>Narcissus viridiflorus</i>	<i>Narcissus viridiflorus</i> , <i>Salvia coccinea</i>
October	30		<i>Agaricus fimetarius</i>	as 1825
October	31		<i>Corcopsis ferulefolia</i> [sic = <i>Bidens aurea</i>]	<i>Coreopsis ferulifolia</i> [= <i>Bidens aurea</i>]
November	1		<i>Laurastinus</i> [sic] <i>sempervirens</i>	
November	2		<i>Physalis</i>	
November	3		<i>Primula vulgaris</i>	<i>Spiranthes pudica</i> [= <i>S. sinensis</i>] &c
November	4		<i>Arbutus</i>	<i>Veltheimia uvaria</i> [= <i>Kniphofia uvaria</i>]
November	5		<i>Physalis alkakengi</i> [sic]	<i>Physalis angulata</i> , <i>P. alkakengi</i>
November	6		<i>Taxus baccata</i>	as 1825
November	7		<i>Fureroea</i> [sic] <i>gigantea</i>	<i>Gentiana incarnata</i> [= <i>G. villosa</i>], <i>Furcroea gigantea</i>
November	8		<i>Veltheimia glauca</i> [= <i>V. capensis</i>]	<i>Veltheimia capensis</i> &c
November	9		<i>Veltheimia glauca</i> [= <i>V. capensis</i>]	as 1825
November	10		<i>Pinus silvestris</i>	as 1825
November	11		<i>Pinus strobus</i>	as 1825

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
November	12		<i>Veltheimia</i> [sic = <i>Kniphofia</i>] <i>uvaria</i>	<i>Veltheimia</i> [= <i>Kniphofia</i>] <i>uvaria</i>
November	13		<i>Laurus poetica</i> [= <i>Danae racemosa</i>]	<i>Solidago petiolaris</i> , <i>Laurus poetica</i> [= <i>Danae racemosa</i>]
November	14		<i>Cerasus lusitanica</i>	as 1825
November	15		<i>Tussilago fragrans</i> [= <i>Petasites pyrenaicus</i>]	<i>Viola altaica</i>
November	16		<i>Sanseiviera guinea</i> [sic = <i>Sansevieria hyacinthoides</i>]	<i>Sanseiviera guineana</i>
November	17		<i>Datura arborea</i> [= <i>Brugmansia arborea</i>]	as 1825
November	18		<i>Passiflora serrata</i> [= <i>P. serratodigitata</i>]	as 1825
November	19		<i>Passiflora maliformis</i>	as 1825
November	20		<i>Stapelia rufa</i>	as 1825
November	21		<i>Oxalis grandiflora</i> [= <i>O. pescaprae</i>]	as 1825
November	22		<i>Oxalis ubiflora</i> [sic = <i>O. hirta</i>]	<i>Oxalis tubiflora</i> [= <i>O. hirta</i>]
November	23		<i>Oxalis convexula</i>	<i>Oxalis convexa</i> [sic]
November	24		<i>Stapelia radiata</i> [= <i>Duvalia</i> sp.]	as 1825
November	25		<i>Tussilago fragrans</i> [= <i>Petasites pyrenaicus</i>]	as 1825
November	26		<i>Oxalis linearis</i>	as 1825
November	27		<i>Oxalis lupinifolia</i> [= <i>O. flava</i>]	as 1825
November	28		<i>Stapelia variegata</i> [= <i>Orbea variegata</i>]	as 1825
November	29		<i>Sphenogone</i> [= <i>Sphenogyne</i>] <i>piliflora</i>	<i>Sphenogone pelliflora</i> [sic = <i>Sphenogyne piliflora</i>]
November	30		<i>Oxalis tricolor</i>	as 1825
December	1		<i>Stapelia pulla</i> [= <i>Piaranthus pullus</i>]	as 1825
December	2		<i>Geodorum citrinum</i>	<i>Geodorum citrinum</i>
December	3		<i>Euphorbia tirucalli</i>	as 1825
December	4		<i>Cactus pereskia</i> [= <i>Pereskia aculeata</i>]	as 1825
December	5		<i>Hibiscus pedunculatus</i> [= <i>Pavonia candida</i>]	as 1825
December	6		<i>Erica nidiflora</i> [= <i>E. muscari</i>]	as 1825

Table 1. Three versions of Forster's calendar of plants (cont.)

Month	Day	Perennial Calendar (1824)	Every-day Book (1825)	Circle of the Seasons (1828)
December	7		<i>Achania pilosa</i> [= <i>Malvaviscus arboreus</i>]	<i>Achanis</i> [sic] <i>pilosa</i> [= <i>Malvaviscus arboreus</i>]
December	8		<i>Thuja occidentalis</i>	as 1825
December	9	<i>Tussilago fragrans</i> [= <i>Petasites pyrenaicus</i>] &c	<i>Pinus laricio</i>	<i>Pinus laurico</i> [sic]
December	10		<i>Cupressus lusitanica</i>	<i>Cupressus lusitanicus</i> [sic]
December	11		<i>Pinus halipensis</i> [sic]	<i>Pinus halepensis</i>
December	12	<i>Helleborus niger</i>	<i>Erica conferta</i>	as 1825
December	13		<i>Thuja cupressioides</i> [sic = <i>Widdringtonia nodiflora</i>]	as 1825
December	14		<i>Pinus palustris</i>	as 1825
December	15		<i>Pinus resinosa</i>	as 1825
December	16	<i>Arbutus unedo</i>	<i>Thuja orientalis</i> [= <i>Platyclusus orientalis</i>]	as 1825
December	17		<i>Cupressus thyoides</i> [= <i>Chamaecyparis thyoides</i>]	as 1825
December	18		<i>Cupressus australis</i> [= <i>Callitris rhomboidea</i>]	as 1825
December	19		<i>Erica bicolor</i>	as 1825
December	20		<i>Pinus pinea</i>	as 1825
December	21		<i>Erica passerina</i>	as 1825
December	22		<i>Erica pellucida</i>	as 1825
December	23		<i>Pinus cedrus</i> [= <i>Cedrus libani</i>]	as 1825
December	24		<i>Pinus taeda</i>	as 1825
December	25		<i>Ilex bacciflora</i> [= <i>Ilex aquifolium</i>]	as 1825
December	26		<i>Erica purpurea</i> [= <i>E. abietina</i> subsp. <i>atorrosea</i>]	as 1825
December	27		<i>Erica flammea</i> [= <i>E. bibax</i>]	as 1825
December	28		<i>Erica cruenta</i>	as 1825
December	29		<i>Erica genistopha</i> [sic = <i>genistifolia</i>]	as 1825
December	30		<i>Ponthieva glandalom</i> [sic = <i>glandulosa</i> = <i>racemosa</i>]	<i>Pontieva glandolum</i> [sic = <i>glandulosa</i> = <i>racemosa</i>]
December	31			<i>Turcroea</i> [sic = <i>Furcraea</i>] <i>gigantea</i>

Occasional Papers from the RHS Lindley Library: future issues

Volume 11 will contain:

B. ELLIOTT. Experimental gardening: Wisley in the nineteenth century