

## **‘A willing Cicerone’: Professor Robert Scott (ca. 1757–1808) of Trinity College, Dublin, Fermanagh’s first botanist**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Having been brought up in the lakeland of County Fermanagh, it is hardly surprising that Robert Scott<sup>1</sup> (Figure 1) loved outdoors pursuits, fishing for trout, fowling, and geological or botanical rambles looking for minerals, or mosses, lichens and fungi, those inconspicuous but ubiquitous plants that are so often ignored. He was an ‘ingenious, lively man with great merit, and a good botanist’<sup>2</sup> and to him Dawson Turner, a Norfolk banker who was also an antiquarian and an eminent botanist, dedicated *Muscologiae Hibernicae spicilegium* (Figures 2a & b), published privately in Yarmouth in the early Spring 1804.

Only the scantiest fragments of information have been published about Scott, who was Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin from late November 1800 until his death in September 1808. Praeger<sup>3</sup> recounted his professorship (but gave incorrect dates<sup>4</sup>) and noted that Scott had discovered intermediate bladderwort, *Utricularia intermedia*, in Fermanagh<sup>5</sup> and the moss *Dicranum scottianum* in Cavan, that *Muscologiae Hibernicae spicilegium* was dedicated to him by his ‘chief friend’, Dawson Turner, and that Robert Brown coined *Scottia* for an Australian genus in the Fabaceae in his memory. Scott received brief mentions in Smith’s *English botany*,<sup>6</sup> Moore’s synopsis of the mosses of Ireland,<sup>7</sup> and in the historical preface to Colgan’s *Flora of the county Dublin*<sup>8</sup> where he is credited with adding upright brome, *Bromus* (= *Bromopsis*) *erectus*, to the county’s flora, as well as horned pondweed, *Zannichellia palustris*, beaked tasselweed, *Ruppia maritima*, and greater pond-sedge, *Carex riparia*. Yet Scott’s contribution to knowledge of Irish plants is most prominent in the several versions of ‘A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland’ compiled by James Townsend Mackay who was Scott’s protégé and the curator of the College Botanic Gardens in Ballsbridge.<sup>9</sup>

The most extensive information about Scott’s life and scientific interests is contained in his correspondence with Dawson Turner.<sup>10</sup> The first letter is dated 4 January 1802, and clearly indicates that the two men had not previously been in contact. They corresponded until Scott died in September 1808. After her husband’s death, Mrs Ellen Scott told Turner that ‘... I am sure he has often told you ... your letters constituted his chief delight. With what a[n] anxiety I have seen him watch the Post when he expected to hear from you ...’.

### **ROBERT SCOTT, FAMILY LIFE AND EARLY CAREER**

Robert Scott (born ca. 1757<sup>11</sup>) was one of the sons<sup>12</sup> of Dr William and Anne (née Crawford<sup>13</sup>) Scott who were married in St Anne’s Parish Church, Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, in 1749.<sup>14</sup> William Scott, who claimed descent from the Buccleuch family, had spent many years on the continent, taking a medical degree at Leiden<sup>15</sup> before settling at Enniskillen where he practised as a physician. On 26 July 1756 Scott was gazetted as surgeon in the Fermanagh County Militia.<sup>16</sup> He was a member of the parish – in 1758-9, Dr Scott became the owner of a seat<sup>17</sup> in the parish church, and in 1761 was one of the men appointed to oversee the re-slating of the church.<sup>18</sup> Scott served as Provost of Enniskillen in 1781,<sup>19</sup> and had property in the town.<sup>20</sup> William Scott died at Balbriggan, County

Dublin.<sup>21</sup> His son paid this tribute to him:

**Fig. 1.** Robert Scott, an anonymous miniature now in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. This was given to Dawson Turner by Mrs Ellen Scott after her husband's death. She commented that 'Robert at his death was fifty one. He said himself he was fifty three but on looking into the Bible we found he was not so much. He was fond of making himself old. Until lately he looked quite a young man. The picture is generally thought very like but there is something about the eyes that does not please me.' (Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew) [Enlarged].

He was a Physician & one of the most worthy & upright of men thro' a long

course of life (for he exceeded by some years at his death the age of eighty). He had suffered much from the rascality of Mankind which from his own ingenuous and liberal mind he was ill fitted to combat ... He exhibited always a chearful mind & [was] without bigotry.<sup>22</sup>

**Fig. 2.** Title page (left) and dedication page (right) from Dawson Turner's privately published account of the mosses of Ireland.

Robert Scott was educated at Enniskillen Free School<sup>23</sup> under the Revd Dr William Dunkin (*ca.* 1706-1763), 'a gentleman of genius, learning, friendship and hospitality', and then under the Revd Mark Noble.<sup>24</sup> He was taught fencing, and was an 'elegant' fencer.<sup>25</sup> Because his mother was vehemently opposed to him entering Trinity College, Dublin,<sup>26</sup> Robert Scott went to Scotland and matriculated in the University of Edinburgh where he studied medicine, presumably for four years (the standard length of study at that time). While studying in Edinburgh during 1775 Scott attended Dr John Hope's botany classes.<sup>27</sup> He was mainly interested in chemistry<sup>28</sup> and was nicknamed 'Scott the Chemist' to distinguish him from other students with the same surname; two volumes of his manuscript notes about chemistry, dated 1775, are extant.<sup>29</sup> Scott completed the course but on 'account of his extreme youth'<sup>30</sup> he was unable to obtain his degree until 1778. Scott's thesis, *De hepatitide quam annuente summo numine*, was dedicated to William Willoughby Cole, Viscount Enniskillen.<sup>31</sup> He was well regarded by his fellow students and

subsequently signed testimonials for two, for John Macdonald, and for John Cudmore, a surgeon in the East India Company, proposing that Macdonald and Cudmore should each receive the degree of doctor of medicine from the University in Aberdeen.<sup>32</sup>

Scott then moved to Dublin, where he practised as a physician; he was a licensed practitioner in midwifery. At one time he lived in 26 Great Ship Street, and later moved to Marlborough Street.<sup>33</sup> In November 1784 Robert Scott married Ellen, daughter of Captain James Adams (Inspector-General of Revenue)<sup>34</sup>; the couple had four sons, three of whom died<sup>35</sup> in infancy, and three daughters.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout the period 1802 to 1808, Scott was frequently ill, suffering from various complaints that he himself diagnosed as rheumatism,<sup>37</sup> ‘nephritic complaints’, ‘gravel’ (‘I must consider it incurable - Nature never intended me for a Stoic’<sup>38</sup>) and gout which he believed was hereditary (‘... rheumatism or gout as my medical friends choose rather to term it has been playing over me for some time past but at last thought proper to take up its residence in my left knee ...’<sup>39</sup>). He treated these by ‘cold bathing and water drinking’. Evidently he also suffered from acute depression.

Robert Scott had property in various parts of Ireland. He had an ‘estate’ with a house at Balbriggan, north of Dublin; an annual buttercup, corn crowfoot, *Ranunculus arvensis*, was ‘plentiful at Baldrummond, the estate of Dr. Scott, near the Man-of-War Inn’, according to J. T. Mackay, but like some other corn-field weeds this plant is not found in Ireland today.<sup>40</sup> Scott often retreated to Baldrummond for his health’s sake, hoping a sea bath would help him recover. A short time before his death, Scott purchased 1700 Plantation acres in County Tyrone for £4,600,<sup>41</sup> and again there are plant records from the property. Scott quipped that he bought the place because he was so fond of rocks and mosses, and that soon ‘my herbarium will be rich .. in indigenous plants for your inspection – indeed these mountains I am about purchasing afford abundance of mosses which with heath & grouse are their principal covering & inhabitants.’<sup>42</sup> Cowberry, *Vaccinium vitis-idaea*, grew there, as Mackay noted: ‘On Dunwest mountain, (belonging to Dr. Scott,) Co. Tyrone, among the heath near the lake plentifully, 1806’.<sup>43</sup>

### SCOTT AND BOTANY AT TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

At the end of the eighteenth century the professor of botany in the University of Dublin was a member of the medical faculty, and had to possess a degree in medicine. From 1773 the chair was occupied by Dr Edward Hill<sup>44</sup> who, in trying to reinvigorate the College’s moribund Physic Garden, became embroiled in a prolonged and acrimonious feud with his fellow professors and with the university. One cause of Hill’s dispute was an interpretation of the provisions of the will of Sir Patrick Dun. In opposition to other members of the medical faculty and the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland, Hill wanted money spent on a new botanic garden, a more suitable place in which to teach the medical students who attended the university than the decrepit one on the campus. One outcome of this argument was a new act of parliament regulating medical education in Ireland, which was passed in 1800. It stipulated that the professors in the School of Physic could only hold one chair, and Hill, who held two chairs, both botany and physic, promptly resigned his botanical professorship.<sup>45</sup>

On 24 November 1800, the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, elected Robert Scott to fill the vacancy.<sup>46</sup> Thus, at the latter end of 1800, he inherited the fallout of his predecessor’s dispute about the botanic garden; within a fortnight of his appointment he was asked to ‘state the probable expenses of a Botany Garden’. In April 1801, the Board gave approval

for Scott to employ a 'gardener acquainted with the Botanical arrangement of Plants, at a salary not exceeding fifty guineas per annum, to assist in collecting plants to be used at lectures.'

Following his appointment as Professor of Botany, Scott was diligent in giving lectures. He had to give general lectures during Spring and early Summer, and all students were entitled to attend. In February 1803, the Board of Trinity College approved a charge of £1. 5s. 0d. for attending botanical lectures, a committee having suggested that 'D<sup>r</sup>. Scott's Talents and Exertions as Professor of Botany well deserve that he should receive from the students instead of £0. 15. 0. each, the sum of £1. 5. 0 each'. Scott was also empowered 'when it shall be necessary', to spend not more than £100 'for supplying and procuring plants necessary for the botanical lecture which as it is connected with general knowledge and established as a public lecture for all the students ought to be patronised by the University ...'.<sup>47</sup>

During the Spring of 1803 James Townsend Mackay (Figure 3), a Scot, was appointed as the 'gardener assistant to the Botany lecturer'. On 5 May 1803 Scott told Dawson Turner that

The gardiner has at last arrived from Scotland and I hope he will in every respect answer. He is brother to Mackay the late gardiner to the Botanic Garden at Edinburgh and who was not a little serviceable to Botany. [George] Don had given this man a very high character. He seems however to be but very slightly acquainted with cryptogamic plants but promised to work hard at them as he will have sufficient time on his hands.<sup>48</sup>

**Fig. 3.** James Townsend Mackay; detail of a portrait drawn by Miss Mary Scott, who was Robert Scott's niece (see C. Holland, editor, *Trinity College Dublin and the idea of a university*. Dublin (1991). p 199). Although comparison with the portrait of Robert Scott is hampered by the fact that Scott's is an original whereas Mackay's has been engraved, it is conceivable that Mary Scott was the artist of both portraits.

Soon after his arrival Mackay was engaged in field work in Ireland, visiting Luttrellstown and Lough Bray, and he also returned to Scotland on at least two occasions, once to bring over to Dublin his late brother's herbarium<sup>49</sup>, and later to visit Ben Lawers.<sup>50</sup> In 1804, Mackay visited the south-western parts of Ireland and made substantial collections of plants, including some of the perplexing saxifrages. Scott was pleased with Mackay's endeavours and commented to Turner that 'In procuring M<sup>c</sup>Kay from Scotland, I have got a person with active limbs, a keen eye and an ardent mind.' Scott and Mackay evidently worked well together; there is no criticism of Mackay in any of Scott's extant correspondence.

The singular achievement of this period was the formation during 1806 of a new botanic garden at Ballsbridge, the fourth such garden created for the University of Dublin. The lease was signed in July 1806 and work soon commenced.<sup>51</sup> Scott was not entirely happy with the site, commenting to Turner that the garden was 'taken during my absence from town and not entirely with my concurrence'. He was unhappy about the adequacy of the water supply, but Dr Whitley Stokes had 'urged the Board on'.<sup>52</sup> However, the Professor of Botany was never directly involved in the management of the botanic garden, and given Scott's deteriorating health and his other problems, his role in the formation of the renowned College Botanic Garden at Ballsbridge was small.

Scott's comment about Dr Whitley Stokes is an early hint of tension between these two men. Hitherto they were at least on speaking terms although by 1805 this was not so; in a letter dated 15 March 1805 Scott informed Turner that Mackay had 'delivered your message to Dr Stokes with whom I neither have nor ever shall have much intercourse'.<sup>53</sup> Despite his suspension between 1798 and 1801 for supporting the United Irishman, Stokes was elected, by one vote, a Senior Fellow of Trinity College in 1805: 'Dr Stokes has by the death of Dr Brown got into a senior fellowship - He was very nearly rejected in consequence of his strange conduct'.<sup>54</sup> Commenting in November that year, about Stokes' admission to a fellowship by 'wheel of fortune', Scott remarked that other members of Trinity College 'all now sufficiently' repent their decision 'as he begins to be very troublesome'.<sup>55</sup>

In June 1806 Stokes began delivering a course of lectures on natural history, with the permission of The Board of the University.<sup>56</sup> Soon the tension between Stokes and Scott was to become public. Scott revealed the extent of his animosity in a letter to Dawson Turner dated 11 December 1806, remarking that Stokes was 'caballing' against him, 'to get me out of the Professorship. He is a dirty fellow beneath my notice - but he will indubitably fail in his views - indeed [in] the Professorship'. In the Winter of 1807-1808 a bitter dispute involving the two men erupted over the duties of the professor of botany. At a Board meeting on 27 February 1808, it was decided that the professor was to give four

botanical lectures each week between 15 April and 15 July – thirteen weeks, fifty-two lectures! When students were brought on a field trip this was deemed to be the equivalent of one lecture. The Board also laid down that the first twelve lectures were to be open to all students attending the university, while the remainder were open only to those who paid a fee.

Scott provided his version of the dispute in his letters to Dawson Turner. On 29 December 1807, he wrote: 'You will no doubt be not a little astonished when you hear your friend is no longer Professor of Botany in this University – such however is the case.' This extraordinary situation occurred because, according to the University, Scott's tenure of the chair of botany expired seven years after his election. Scott was informed of this when he was summoned by Stokes to attend a meeting with the Provost and Senior Fellows. Scott described Stokes as 'a compleat Machiavel', adding that Stokes had for a long time 'borne ... a hatred for me'. Scott sought letters of support from Turner and, through Turner, from Dr James Edward Smith, President of the Linnean Society of London. This letter reached Turner on 3 January 1808, and two days later he replied to Scott 'regretting his losing the professorship'. On 6 January Turner sent 'the letter I promised stating my sentiment of [Scott's] botanical abilities & of ye use he had been of to Irish Botany by his own exertion by introducing Mackay & by getting me to publish *Musc. Hib.* & hoping he wd still keep ye situation (not alluding in any way to Dr Stokes).'<sup>57</sup> On 20 January Turner received another letter<sup>58</sup> from Scott telling him that he was to be allowed to keep his post, although this seems to have been a premature reaction. In a letter to Dr J. E. Smith, dated 7 March 1808, Andrew Caldwell F.L.S. (1733-1808), an Irish barrister and amateur botanist, observed that 'the University had displaced Dr. Scott'.<sup>59</sup>

On St Patrick's Day 1808, Scott wrote to Turner apologising that since 15 January, when he last had written, he had been ill and confined to bed, under the care of Dr Percival and Dr Mills. He referred to the 'insidious exertions of that scoundrel Stokes', commenting that 'in my weak state this warfare has done me no service'. It is clear that the College had made it known that the Chair of Botany was vacant, for Scott remarked that 'only young men [had] stepped forward whose ignorance in Botany I could truly vouch'. Two days afterwards, Scott wrote again informing Turner that Brinkley and Hincke would support his re-election, but that he himself would like a man named Twigge<sup>60</sup> to take his place.

The College register records that on 25 March 1808 Scott was formally re-elected Professor of Botany, the other candidates being Dr Leahy and Dr Halliday. Scott broke the news to Dawson Turner on 12 April: 'I have been reelected by the unanimous consent of all the Board except Stokes who voted for a person by the name of Leahy who graduated about a year ago.' Despite the hurt, Scott was magnanimous to Stokes: 'withall I from my heart forgive him'. On 17 April he wrote to Turner informing him that his course of lectures would commence on the following Monday, adding 'I am sick of College and Fellows'. By this time, it is very evident that Scott was in poor health.

Only two later letters from Robert Scott survive among the massive collection of correspondence that Dawson Turner preserved. The next one was written on 23 May 1808, and is very difficult to read; in it Scott refers to books and informs Turner that he has been seriously ill. On 6 June he wrote again mentioning Captain Mangin who was to write to Turner on 12 September letting him know that Professor Scott's condition had deteriorated. On 23 September James Mackay wrote that 'Dr Scott is no more'; this news reached Dawson Turner on 28 September.

## ROBERT SCOTT AND ROBERT BROWN

Scott's name does not appear in Irish botanical publications until 1804 when, suddenly, a

remarkable book about Irish native mosses was dedicated to him by the author, Dawson Turner of Yarmouth, Norfolk. Their association was only just over two years old at that stage. However, it is evident from the diary for 1800 of the young Scottish army surgeon, Robert Brown, that Scott was already a botanist of some standing in Dublin.

Brown was stationed in County Kildare after 18 August 1800, and on 3 September paid the first of several visits to Dublin. He had previously made enquiries about the Dublin botanical fraternity, and had been informed on 19 June 1800 by the Revd John Ussher (*ca.* 1766-1835), the recently installed Rector of Raymochy in County Donegal, that 'the best Botanist in Dublin was the Professor of Astronomy Mr Brinkley, that Dr Percival the Professor of Chemistry was also a good botanist – the Professor of Botany in the Dublin College knows little about the matter.'<sup>61</sup>

On this first visit to Dublin Brown called on Dr Ledwith at Trinity College, but discovered that he was not a botanist.<sup>62</sup> He also visited the Dublin Society's Botanic Gardens at Glasnevin, meeting the head gardener, John Underwood, and the Society's Professor of Botany, Dr Walter Wade. Ussher had told Brown that Wade was the 'lecturer on Botany to the Dublin Society his salary £300 & his fee from each student 3 Guineas'. In his diary Brown had added (within exclamation marks) his own comment about Wade – '! he is improv'd I hope since the publication of his barren Catalogue – !'<sup>63</sup>

Brown's second visit to Dublin began on 18 September. On 20 September he

Rose at 7 - at 9 Calld at Dr Scotts of Marlborough Street but did not find him - Breakfasted with Dr Ledwith College Library took some memoranda from Plumier's Filices - Walkd to Glasnevin ... Mr Underwood accompanied me to north wall & shewd me his supposd new grass - it approaches very near to *Poa retrofracta*.<sup>64</sup>

Scott had not been mentioned by Ussher, so Brown must have learned about him while in Dublin earlier in the month. The following day Brown left Dublin early; he did not have another chance to meet Scott until 21 October:

Rose at 8 Breakfasted at Corbetts. Went to Dr Scotts of Marlborough Street, introduc'd myself - receivd with the greatest politeness - Lookd over his Zoophytes & Fuci & Confervae - a very neat & pretty extensive collection a new, very much branch'd, species of Tubularia in Ditches near the North Wall *Fucus hypoglossum* - *edulis*, *radiatus* - *subfuscus* ? *sine fruct. crispatus* - *ligulatus* - *Conferva scoparia*; *parasitica*, *cyssoides* ...

On 23 October, Brown

Rose at 8. Calld at Dr Stokes' on Mr Templeton. introduc'd to Dr Stokes & to Dr Barker of Waterford. Breakfasted with Dr Scott - Lookd over his Ulvae - his Grasses Carices & Lichens - Mr Templeton being present - Spent about half an hour at Dr Stokes's with Templeton & Barker - saw a few of Barkers specimens - *Scutellaria minor*, *Lepidium didymum* got from the vicinity of Waterford *Pinguicula lusitanica* - return'd to Dr Scotts where I met at Dinner - Dr Percival Professor of Chemistry - Mr Brinkley the professor of Astronomy. Dr Stokes & Mr Templeton conversation, Chemical, Agricultural & Botanical - Coffee - ...<sup>65</sup>

Thus Brown was impressed by Scott's 'neat and pretty extensive' herbarium which contained botanically interesting, indeed difficult material, not merely flowering plants – marine algae ('Fuci'), freshwater algae ('Confervae'), grasses, lichens and sedges ('Carices'). Through Scott, who was not yet the University's Professor of Botany, Brown was introduced to Robert Perceval, Professor of Chemistry in Trinity College, and to another botanical luminary, Francis Barker of Waterford. Brown already knew John Templeton well, as his diary records, and had met Dr Whitley Stokes previously .

Brown recorded two other encounters with Scott in Dublin that autumn. On 21 November he went to Dublin for 9 days, returning to barracks at Kilcock on 30 November. He wrote that he 'spent the greater part of my time' with Scott, Stokes and Barker, and that he accompanied Stokes and Barker to the Dargle 'where I found a few rare mosses ...'. During this period, on 24 November, Scott was elected Professor of Botany.

Having been summoned to London to begin preparation for a voyage to New Holland (Australia), Brown was in Dublin again on 19 December. He 'drank Tea with Dr Scott' that afternoon, and on 20 December had breakfast and dinner with Scott. Brown's last day in Dublin was 21 December

Breakfasted with Dr Scott - repacked my trunks, took my passage along with

Kerr on the Parkgate packet sailed from the Pigeon house at half after two PM.

The re-packing of his trunks may have been necessitated by the fact, revealed in a letter written a decade later, that Brown left books and his violin in Scott's care.<sup>66</sup> Thus Scott was Brown's last Irish contact before his momentous journey to New Holland, and it is remarkable that in a will that he made before embarking on *H. M. S. Investigator*, Brown left all his botanical specimens and books to Scott.

Brown returned to England on board *Investigator* on 7 October 1805. In late January 1806, Scott enquired of Turner 'Pray have you seen Mr Brown since his return ... It appears to me not a little extraordinary that I have not heard from him, considering the intimacy between us previous to his voyage but this is a strange world and we are strange puppets that move on it.'<sup>67</sup>

## SCOTT AND IRISH FIELD BOTANY

Scott's botanical interests are clearly expounded in his correspondence with Dawson Turner. The first extant letter is dated 4 January 1802, and indicates that the barrister Andrew Caldwell<sup>68</sup> had been the intermediary, asking Scott, on Turner's behalf, for specimens of 'marine plants' (i.e. seaweeds). Scott's letter was a response to this request. 'I have collected so considerable a number' of seaweeds, Scott wrote, 'that Col<sup>l</sup> [Thomas] Velley was not a little surprised at my having picked up so many in so contained a space'. He regretted he had no spare specimens because Robert Brown, 'who has the management of the botanical expedition to New Holland ... got any duplicates I had'.<sup>69</sup> Scott told Turner a great deal about his botanical activities in this initial letter.

... a very indifferent state of health induced me last summer to visit Swanlinbar (a place remarkable for its mineral waters) there I employed myself in examining the products of the contiguous mountains; the collection I made consists principally of cryptogamous plants - of the lichens I got, I believe there are several but of the mosses few or none that are not well known to every botanist versed in this branch of the science.

Scott invited Turner to Ireland in 'the ensuing summer. I shall be ready to accompany you

towards the latter end of May when the few general lectures I must give as Professor of botany in the university will terminate.’ He suggested collecting on the shores of Dublin Bay, ‘a jaunt to ye Antrim coast’ and Kerry where the coasts and mountains were ‘little if at all explored by the botanic eye’. The long letter continued with details of many plants, and Scott told Turner that he was sending ‘some specimens of lichens byssi & confervae’ to him to be shared with James Sowerby, the botanical artist and publisher, because Brown, in the last letter he had written before sailing for New Holland, has suggested sending anything ‘curious’ to Sowerby.

Turner responded, evidently demurring to impose on Scott if he did visit Ireland. Scott’s reply, dated 13 May 1802, assured Turner that he would not inconvenience him at all ‘tho’ I may not be a very able yet you shall find me a willing Cicerone.’ Moreover, ‘Mr<sup>s</sup> Scott desired me to present her comt<sup>s</sup> to M<sup>rs</sup> Turner, & joins with me in requesting she will accept a bed with us, while you remain here ... We shall look out for you early in July.’

The Turners travelled to Ireland in late June but Scott was ill and later apologized to Turner for his low spirits. Turner visited Andrew Caldwell<sup>70</sup> while he was in Dublin, and also botanized on the Hill of Howth where he collected thin-spiked wood-sedge, *Carex strigosa*,<sup>71</sup> but generally he considered that his visit was of little value – ‘I found only a few Mosses & Lichens’, he told Sowerby.<sup>72</sup>

In a letter dated 12 July 1802, Scott told Turner that he would have to defer other matters because he was about to travel to Fermanagh, to his brother’s house, and to Swanlinbar ‘where I intend residing for some time in order to drink the waters & persecute Mosses.’<sup>73</sup> The next letter, written from Swanlinbar on 20 August 1802, gave an account of a botanical excursion. Scott had been in the tiny spa village for a fortnight; the weather had been wet and the mosses few.

I came here less with a view to Drinking the water than to seeing friends & exploring the mountains in order to contribute my mite. . . . A few days ago M<sup>r</sup> Jebb<sup>74</sup> the curate of this Parish . . . accompanied me to the summit of Culcah reckoned one of the highest points of ground in this Kingdom & from whence the river Shannon derives its origin. We set out at half past seven in the morning & did not get home till the same hour in the Evening having taken out a couple of attendants with provisions on which we made a hearty dinner in the midst of a dreary country. We intended to have proceeded as far as the source of the Shannon which was not above two miles distant from where we then were but were deterred by the uncertainty of the weather & the wet state of the moors we had to pass over. ... In the course of my walk I met with the *Saxifraga hypnoides* [mossy saxifrage] & *Saxif. stellaris* [starry saxifrage] the latter in more elevated situations than the former - & a *Carex* that I am at present unacquainted with ... The *Rubus saxatilis* [stone bramble] is very common on the lower mountains, & the *Rubus idaeus* [raspberry] is to be met with in every part of the country. On Monday last I visited another part of the mount<sup>n</sup> in order to see a waterfall & in my way to it I saw several of the red legged crow species<sup>75</sup> . . . The *Hymenophyllum tunbrigense* [*sic*, Tunbridge filmy fern] is found in great abundance at the waterfall I have already spoken of. ...

Mossy saxifrage, *Saxifraga hypnoides* was reported from Swanlinbar, *vide* Dr Scott, by Mackay<sup>76</sup>, but the records of starry saxifrage, *Saxifraga stellaris*, stone bramble, *Rubus saxatilis*, raspberry, *R. idaeus* and Tunbridge filmy fern, *Hymenophyllum tunbrigense*, do not appear to have been published before this, and several have not been reported from

Cavan since 1803.

Scott’s botanical field activities were concentrated in the northwest of Ireland, around Swanlinbar (Cavan), and Lough Erne (mainly Fermanagh<sup>77</sup>), with some in the Dublin-Wicklow area. Indeed he made numerous discoveries in Cavan and Fermanagh, although he was not the first botanist to visit these counties.<sup>78</sup> In his letters to Turner, Scott mentions visits to Swanlinbar in 1801, 1802, and 1804, to Fermanagh in 1802, 1803, to Belfast in 1803. Perhaps his most remarkable discovery was the water soldier, *Stratiotes aloides*. Writing from Scottsborough, his brother’s house in County Fermanagh, on 14 September 1806, he informed Turner that

... I have been fortunate in discovering at length the *Stratiotes* in this neighbourhood & only in one place & which hitherto had escaped my notice tho’ I have spent so many successive summers in this part of the Kingdom which shews what long continued observation & exertion are requisites for procuring a compleat knowledge of the natural productions of even a small district.

Mackay also found it that same summer on his way home from Sligo ‘in a branch of the same lough’ (Lough Erne).<sup>79</sup>

Scott also collected plants when he went to his country house at Balbriggan in the north of County Dublin. These excursions enabled Scott to contribute 51 records (see below) to the original version of James Townsend Mackay’s catalogue of Irish ‘rare’ plants,<sup>80</sup> the largest number of any of the contributors, except Mackay himself; nine additional reports in the revised edition<sup>81</sup> and the following were reported in a manuscript version<sup>82</sup>, *Schoenus nigricans*, *Schoenus albus*, *Rumex aquaticus*, *Geranium lucidum* and *Carduus pratensis*. There may be other unpublished records – for example, Scott collected the marsh fern, *Thelypteris palustris* (Figure 4), in ‘moist boggy ground near a small lake ... rather a mountainous situation’ at Scottsborough in County Fermanagh.<sup>83</sup>

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<b>1806</b>	<i>Cicuta virosa</i>	<i>Sisymbrium sylvestre</i>
<i>Aspidium oreopteris</i>	<i>Drosera anglica</i>	<i>Sisymbrium terrestre</i>
<i>Aspidium spinulosum</i>	<i>Equisetum hyemale</i>	<i>Sium angustifolium</i>
<i>Atriplex laciniata</i>	<i>Hydrocharis morsus-ranae</i>	<i>Sium latifolium</i>
<i>Bidens cernua</i>	<i>Hydrocotyle inundata</i>	<i>Sium repens</i>
<i>Bromus erectus</i>	<i>Malva moschata</i>	<i>Sparganium natans</i>
<i>Bromus pinnatus</i>	<i>Mentha acutifolia</i>	<i>Stratiotes aloides</i>
<i>Carex ampulacea</i>	<i>Ophrys cordata</i>	<i>Utricularia media</i>
<i>Carex curta</i>	<i>Osmunda regalis</i>	<i>Utricularia minor</i>
<i>Carex paludosa</i>	<i>Phellandrium aquaticum</i>	<i>Veronica triphyllos</i>
<i>Carex paniculata</i>	<i>Rubia peregrina</i>	<i>Viola palustris</i>
<i>Carex pendula</i>	<i>Sagittaria sagittifolia</i>	
<i>Carex pilulifera</i>	<i>Satyrrium albidum</i>	<b>added 1807-1808</b>
<i>Carex vesicaria</i>	<i>Satyrrium viride</i>	<i>Carex binervis</i>
<i>Ceratophyllum demersum</i>	<i>Saxifraga hypnoides</i>	<i>Carex intermedia</i>
<i>Chara flexilis</i>	<i>Schoenus mariscus</i>	<i>Carex ovalis</i>
<i>Chara hispida</i>	<i>Scirpus acicularis</i>	<i>Carex recurva</i>
<i>Chenopodium olidum</i>	<i>Senecio viscosus</i>	<i>Carex stellulata</i>
<i>Chlora perfoliata</i>	<i>Serapias palustris</i>	<i>Geranium lucidum</i>
<i>Cichorium intybus</i>	<i>Sisymbrium amphibium</i>	<i>Litorella lacustris</i>

<i>Oenanthe peucedanifolia</i>	<b>added manuscript</b>	<i>Rumex aquaticus</i>
<i>Ruppia maritima</i>	<i>Carduus pratensis</i>	<i>Schoenus albus</i>
	<i>Geranium lucidum</i>	<i>Schoenus nigricans</i>

Table 1. Plants attributed to Robert Scott, listed in J. T. Mackay's earliest catalogues.<sup>84</sup>

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### SCOTT AND IRISH CRYPTOGRAMS

Robert Scott's principal botanical interest, as demonstrated by his correspondence with Dawson Turner, lay in cryptogams. His letters contain lengthy discussions about certain plants and his studies of these.

Marine algae ('Fuci') and freshwater algae ('Confervae') intrigued Scott. During visits to Balbriggan he collected specimens of marine algae; specimens gathered by Scott are in the herbarium of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin (**DBN**) (Figure 5). He made microscopic observations on freshwater algae, including *Nostoc* and other gelatinous species that he gathered off stones in rivers. He observed these were composed of 'interwoven, jointed filaments', and was having drawings of the plants 'executed by a very ingenious young man a Mr Twigge a student in this University.'<sup>85</sup> Twigge's original drawings were copied in Dublin, and on 16 December 1802, Scott sent three different illustrations to Turner: number 1 showed *Tremella nostoc* [cf. *Nostoc commune*], number 2 was of '*Ulva pisum* of Linnaeus', and the third was of a 'membranaceo-gelatinous like substance'.



**Fig. 4.** *Thelypteris palustris* collected by R. Scott at Scottsborough, County Fermanagh (DBN).

**Fig. 5.** *Fucus vesiculosus*, seaweed, collected by R. Scott at Balbriggan, County Dublin (DBN).

Twigge also prepared drawings of *Ulva incrassata* (numbered 4, 5, and 6) and of a 'new species' of lichen that Scott had received from John Bradbury (number 7); these were sent to Turner on 1 March 1803.<sup>86</sup>

Mosses entertained Scott; he 'persecuted' (i.e. hunted) them about Swanlinbar where he found one that Turner decided was a new species. On 21 February 1803, Turner wrote to Scott informing him that he was going to name the moss *Dicranum scottianum*. Scott responded on 1 March 1803, thanking Turner:

for your kind remembrance of me in the new species of *Dicranum*. I had been led to consider it as a *Trichostomum* nearly allied to the *Bryum polyphyllum* if not a mere variety of it. The *Dicranum* I met with on the banks of a river among the mountains near Swanlinbar & growing on a soil formed pretty much of decomposed Shis tus [*sic*] rocks. ...

Scott was aware at this time that the Dublin Society had established premiums for the discovery of 'native plants not hitherto described', and he applied for this on account of three new species. The society awarded premiums valued at £17 1s. 3d to Robert Scott for *Dicranum scottianum*, *Grimmia maritima* and for 'a vegetable substance found growing on detached lime-stones in a bed of a rivulet in the Queen's county'. Scott informed Turner about the premiums in a letter dated 5 May 1803, and he described the new plants in a letter addressed to General Vallency that was published in the *Transactions of the Dublin Society* accompanied by illustrations (Figure 6).<sup>87</sup> In the published note, Scott added that he had discovered *Dicranum scottianum* 'last autumn [i.e. 1802] among the mountains, that lie to the southwest of Swanlinbar' (Figure 7).<sup>88</sup> *Grimmia maritima* was 'growing on a kind of whinstone rocks in the vicinity of Balbriggan [*sic*], so close to the sea as to be covered by it during the higher tides ...'.

**Fig. 6.** Illustrations of *Dicranum scottianum* and *Grimmia maritima* published in *Trans. of the Dublin Society*.

**Fig. 7.** One of the type specimens of *Dicranum scottianum* (DBN).

Scott supplied Turner with several packages of mosses. The consignment sent on 11 June 1803 contained an *Orthotrichum* from Balbriggan which Scott thought was new, and he asked that it be named *O. balbriggense* ‘as a mark of gratitude to that district for the many rare plants it has afforded’. Scott also sent specimens to Twigge who at this time was in Edinburgh studying medicine.<sup>89</sup> Evidently this was not a new species for Scott later apologised for his mistake, adding that he was ‘surprised’ to learn it was *Orthotrichum lanatum*.<sup>90</sup>

As a result of his contribution to Turner’s study of Irish mosses, Turner decided to dedicate *Muscologiae Hibernicae spicilegium* to Dr Scott. In a letter sent about the middle of June 1803, Turner suggested the dedication to Scott who responded that he could not ‘in strong enough terms thank you for your kind recollection of me relative to the dedication & I acede [*sic*] to your wish.’

*Muscologiae Hibernicae spicilegium* was first mentioned in the Scott-Turner correspondence during May 1803. Turner had written to Scott on 11 April and again on 17 April, and in one of those letters had informed Scott that he proposed to write a

*Spicilegium* (= a gleaning). Scott replied on 5 May 1803 that

I am much pleased with your plan of a *Spicilegium* but D<sup>r</sup> [Whitley] Stokes is afraid it would hurt his brother-in-laws<sup>91</sup> proposed *Flora Hibernica*. This however I cannot conceive. I rather indeed think it would serve him materially as I apprehend he is not by any means equal to such a work.

Stokes changed his opinion shortly thereafter ‘relative to any injury that may arise to his friend Mr Templeton from your publication on the Irish mosses’, as Scott told Turner on 22 May 1803.

### SCOTT’S OTHER SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS

Although Mrs Ellen Scott commented, after her husband’s death, that he ‘considered himself a much better Chemist and Minearallogist than a Botanist’, Robert Scott’s botanical work was not confined to field botany, and his correspondence with Turner and James Sowerby contains indications of the diversity of his interests.

Scott was intrigued by the morphology of the flowers of orchids, and had Twigge prepare drawings of the ‘stamina’ of several species which may have been *Epipactis helleborine* and *Listera ovata*.<sup>92</sup> Scott also examined the stamina of *Phaius tankervilleae*, a tropical species which was in cultivation at the Dublin Society’s Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, at this period.<sup>93</sup>

Scott discovered oxalic acid crystals on drying specimens of a fungus identified as *Boletus sulphureus*.<sup>94</sup> His observations were eventually described in detail in a letter dated 5 March 1804 which Turner read to The Linnean Society of London; the edited letter was published in the Society’s *Transactions*.<sup>95</sup>

As far as mineralogy was concerned, Scott certainly collected samples of rocks and ores, and used his contacts with Turner and Sowerby to expand his collection. For example he asked Turner to ask John Stackhouse (1742-1819) of Pendarves for Cornish minerals.<sup>96</sup> He promised James Sowerby specimens of the famous Lough Neagh ‘woodstone’, but one consignment of specimens was lost when the ship carrying them was captured by the French: ‘We will be able to supply you with another set of Antrim minerals instead of those I collected (it seems) for Buonaparte’, he quipped.<sup>97</sup> He asked Sowerby to help him obtain a ‘more perfect series of the coal tribe’.<sup>98</sup> Scott was also friendly with the Revd William Richardson (1740-1820), whose multifarious studies ranged from fiorin grass to the Giant’s Causeway.

Scott studied the composition of amber finding in it acetic and benzoic acids, as well as the remains of insects, and so he was ‘... thoroughly convinced that it owes its origin to a vegetable resin’. He had also come to the conclusion that ‘vegetable matter is capable under certain circumstances of undergoing a change which in appearance only reduces it to a coal like substance.’ Although he was a devout man with a strong Protestant faith, Scott had developed a remarkably dynamic view of the earth’s history for he continued, in the same letter to Sowerby, to make this comment:

. . . I can conceive that not only Animals different from the present existed in former ages in that portion of the Globe we inhabit & which their remains fully testify but also vegetables were in many instances such as do not or would not grow under the present circumstances in the open air in our Hemisphere - the ferns found in coal beds are all denizens of a warmer clime.<sup>99</sup>

In December 1805, John Templeton told Turner that ‘Dr Scott seems totally taken up with minearalogy’.<sup>100</sup>

**IRISH BOTANY AND POLITICS**

Ireland in the early 1800s was a disturbed place, and this had various effects on botanists and on botany. In the late spring of 1803 the war with France was renewed and there was a real threat of an invasion of England by Napoleon Bonaparte. In Ireland, as Scott told Turner on 21 August 1803, 'I fear such an attempt in it will be attended with considerable insurrection among the miserable lower orders.' That was after the ineffective and confused uprising led by Robert Emmet on 23 July. Scott was then in Belfast, about to leave for the Giant's Causeway, but when he heard of the events in Dublin, especially the murder of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Wilwarden (Arthur Wolfe), he revised his plans and returned to Fermanagh. Emmet was arrested, and later so was his friend Thomas Russell. 'The business of Hanging however is still in full force in Dublin', Scott told Turner, and he described Russell as 'no small prize' in a letter written from Balbriggan on 14 September. Six days later Emmet was hanged in Dublin, and on 21 October Russell was executed in Downpatrick.

Russell, a member of the United Irishmen, was a friend of John Templeton, although it is said that Templeton did not share Russell's opinions about the use of violence to achieve Irish independence.<sup>101</sup> As already noted, Dr Whitley Stokes was also sympathetic to the cause espoused by Emmet and Russell, and had been suspended from his lectureship in Trinity College, Dublin, because of this. While Robert Brown had met both Stokes and Templeton at Scott's house in Dublin during the autumn of 1800, suggesting that these men were then, at least, on good social terms, that friendship was strained by the political disturbances of 1803, but evidently was cool even before those events. On 12 September 1802, Scott wrote to Turner.

A short time after you left us D<sup>r</sup> Stokes & M<sup>r</sup> Templeton together with [Dr Francis] Barker, [Mr John] Underwood & [Professor John] Brinkley set out on an expedition to Lough Bray. I was invited but as you may conjecture declined the invitation – after seeing Lough Bray they passed over the mountains & arrived at Luggy Law in the evening where they slept by twos & threes in a bed. I don't find that they met with much new matter.

They found the *Osmunda Lunaria* [i.e. *Botrychium lunaria*], *Satyrium albidum* [i.e. *Pseudorchis albida*] & *Poa nemoralis*. D<sup>r</sup> Stokes or his worthy friend M<sup>r</sup> Templeton you may be assured shar[e]d none of their specimens with me.

Scott's opinion of Templeton is, remarkably, at variance with almost everyone else's view that he was a great and highly competent botanist, but the completely divergent political affiliations of the two men, in the charged atmosphere of Ireland in the early 1800s, certainly contributed to the antagonism that Scott felt for Templeton. Scott further revealed his antipathy when he explained, in his correspondence with Turner, his role in having a Dublin Society premium adjudged to Templeton for the discovery of *Rosa x hibernica*, which happened at the same time that Scott himself was awarded the premiums for the mosses. On 1 March 1803, replying to Turner's letter of 21 February, Scott wrote.

I think as D<sup>r</sup> [J. E.] Smith & you consider the Rose as a new species I had better as soon as I hear next from you ... have the matter brought on relative to the adjudging the prize ... I am glad however that the sending the plant to you was first suggested by me as my infidelity might have been attributed to a dislike of the man or his principles rather than to my own inaccuracy in discrimination.

The underlying message is clear. Templeton's politics were anathema to Scott. In later letters Scott made scarcely veiled criticism of Templeton, commenting, for example, with regard to a proposed flora of Ireland that he was 'by no means equal to such a work'. Scott also believed that Templeton was duplicitous. When in Belfast during the summer of 1803, Scott was 'induced' to visit Templeton 'who I found was distantly related to connections of mine', and he was given specimens of several mosses which he listed as *Bryum calcareum*, [*? Luisia*] *fimbriata* and *Dicranum glaucum*. Stokes and Brown had formerly told Scott that Templeton had often found the latter, but when Scott examined it he was 'surprised to find the fruits of *Webera nutans*. This must have been an intended deception on the side of the man & impresses me with a very bad opinion of him.' 'Templeton's specimen you will find inclosed

**Fig. 8.** Cover of the auction catalogue for Robert Scott's library; by courtesy of Trinity College Dublin Library.

for your admiration', Scott added sarcastically. The outcome of this is not known.

Scott held an even lower opinion of other Irish botanists, particularly his fellow professor Dr Walter Wade. Writing to Turner on 12 November 1804, Scott was caustic.

I cannot conceive why Dr [James Edward] Smyth [*sic*] should be so warm an advocate of D<sup>r</sup> Wade – I know nothing of the man but I am assured by several that He is extremely ignorant & that there is no truth in him<sup>X</sup> so says Dr Stokes - so says Underwood - as to Mr [John] Bradbury I recollect his telling me curious stories of Him but I hear they are now on very good terms. ... It is a dreadful thing that the Dublin Society cannot procure proper person to fill up their Professorships tho' they give such liberal salaries. ...

To this Dawson Turner had added this commentary –<sup>X</sup> 'so says also Mr Brinkley a most excellent & sensible native of Suffolk whose testimony is worth ten times more than all the rest D.T.' In this instance, Scott's derogatory view of Wade, bolstered by those of Brinkley and Stokes, and, most remarkably, by John Underwood, the head-gardener at the Dublin Society's Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin<sup>102</sup>, and by J. T. Mackay, suggest that Erinensis' satirical dismissal of Wade as an 'old-fashioned *prig*' and a dandy are not so far removed from truth.<sup>103</sup>

It is noteworthy that Scott and Wade appear never to have met; the botanical community clearly was a deeply divided one. Andrew Caldwell was blunt: 'Botany, that in England united people and classes them in friendship, produces here a contrary effect; they are all at variance . . .'<sup>104</sup> Dr James Edward Smith was equally blunt; commenting on Wade, and by implication also on Scott, he told Dawson Turner that 'I think these Irish botanists but a sorry set all together.'<sup>105</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Robert Scott died on 18 September 1808. The vacant chair was advertised on 8 October 1808. His family evidently did not wish to retain his library and scientific instruments, which were sold by auction on 20 February 1809 (Figure 8)<sup>106</sup> – Scott's copy of William Hudson's *Flora Anglica* (two volumes, London 1778, item 442 in the auction), inscribed 'Ex Libris Roberti Scott' (Figure 9), is now in the library of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin, although how it got there is not recorded. From one of his letters<sup>107</sup> to James Townsend Mackay, it is known that John Templeton was anxious to acquire some of Scott's books –

Your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> [February 1809] I received on the 13 and have made all haste to answer it or rather to request you to take some trouble at the auction to

purchase some books for my friend M<sup>r</sup> [William] Tennent [*sic*] and myself if they can be got at the annexed prices and you do not want them for yourself, and they are complete in all their plates &<sup>c</sup>

N <sup>o</sup>	372	Curtis' Botanical Magazine 20 G <sup>s</sup> [guineas]
	400	Donovans British Shells 5 G <sup>s</sup>
	401	———— British Birds 8 G <sup>s</sup>
	402	———— British Fishes 9 or 9½ G <sup>s</sup>
	476	Broussonet, Ichthyologia 4 Shillings
	518	Micheli Nova Plantarum Genera 2 pounds
	441	Persoonii Observationes Mycologiae ½ a Guinea
	213	Bewick's Birds 1½ Gui ...

**Fig. 9.** R. Scott's copy of William Hudson's *Flora Anglica*; National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin.

As for Scott's manuscripts, his widow, writing to Dawson Turner, stated that she was convinced she should obey her late husband's wish and 'destroy his lectures. His words were "Now Mills, Mrs Scott and you are both together, I desire you both to destroy every paper or writing of mine particularly my lectures".' As only Scott's student notes about chemistry are extant, and there are no reports of other manuscripts formerly in Robert

Scott's possession, it is safe to assume that Mrs Scott carried out this instruction.

Robert Scott had an extensive herbarium when he died, even though earlier he had given many specimens to others, including Robert Brown and Dawson Turner.<sup>108</sup> Mrs Scott offered the herbarium to Trinity College, informing Turner that '... unless they give me much more than what you value them at, no one shall have them.' However she was bitter about the College describing it as 'the most illiberal set in the world. They should never have anything belonging to him.' The fate of the herbarium is uncertain,<sup>109</sup> although it can be stated that there are no specimens belonging to Professor Scott in the present herbarium of Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>110</sup> A small number of specimens (mosses, ferns, algae) have been identified in the collections at the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin (**DBN**), some of which came from the herbarium of Admiral Theobald Jones; how he acquired this material cannot be determined.

Robert Scott is one of the lesser figures in Irish botany and a minor character in the history of Trinity College, Dublin. He appears as a tragic, isolated individual, without the powerful political patronage of his contemporary "opposite number", Professor Walter Wade, and, because of his ill-health, impotent against the indubitable machinations of his academic colleagues, especially Dr Whitley Stokes. Nonetheless Robert Scott made one most significant, indirect contribution to the separate development of Irish field botany and the University of Dublin. He brought to Dublin the young Scottish horticulturist James Townsend Mackay who not only established and enriched the College's magnificent, world-renowned botanic garden at Ballsbridge, but also published the first, modern flora of Ireland. That, remarkably, was also Dawson Turner's assessment of his friend as long ago as January 1808.<sup>111</sup>

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must express, first and foremost, my thanks to Paddy Reilly, for spurring me to prepare and write this account of Fermanagh's first native-born botanist. He also enabled me to visit Scott's collecting grounds in County Cavan, and provided other invaluable assistance. My thanks are also due to the various librarians who provided facilities or answered my enquiries, in the University of Edinburgh, Trinity College, Cambridge, University of Aberdeen, Trinity College, Dublin, The Linnean Society, London, The Natural History Museum, London, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin. I am also grateful to the following for their help: A. T. G. Nelson, Dr. C. Jervis (Honorary Curator, Linnean Society Herbaria), Dr R. Refaussé (Librarian and Archivist, Representative Church Body Library, Dublin).

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### NOTES

In the following notes, I have used these abbreviations:

- JES = James Edward Smith
- JS = James Sowerby
- JTM = James Townsend Mackay
- ECN = E. C. Nelson
- RS = Robert Scott
- DT = Dawson Turner

1. For the bulk of the biographical information that can be traced about the Scott family, we must rely on a manuscript, preserved by Dawson Turner, comprising a series of

- reminiscences of her late husband, written shortly after his death, by Mrs Ellen Scott . This is among the Dawson Turner correspondence (see note 10 below).
2. A. Caldwell to JES 7 March 1808 (original ms in Linnean Society, London), quoted from J. Britten, 'An overlooked Irish botanist', *Journal of botany* **54** (1916), 173-180.
  3. R. Ll. Praeger, *Some Irish naturalists*, Dundalk (1950).
  4. These dates are repeated by more recent biographical sources (e.g. R. G. C. Desmond, *Dictionary of British and Irish botanists and horticulturists*, London (1995)). To compound his mistake in dates, Praeger also gave an erroneous reference to the *Dictionary of national biography* – there is no entry for Robert Scott in that work.
  5. See also J. E. Smith, '*Utricularia intermedia*. Intermediate hooded-milfoil', *English botany; or, coloured figures of British plants ...* **35** (1813), tab. 2489.
  6. *English botany; or, coloured figures of British plants ...* **17** (1803), tab. 1181 (*Hypnum undulatum*); — **22** (1806), tab. 1564 (maidenhair fern, *Adiantum capillus-veneris*); and see also note 5 above, and note 88 below.
  7. D. Moore, 'A synopsis of the mosses of Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **1** (series II, Science) (1872) (also issued separately; D. Moore, *The mosses of Ireland. Synopsis of all the mosses known to inhabit Ireland up to the present time*, Dublin (1873)).
  8. N. Colgan, *Flora of the county Dublin*, Dublin (1904), pp xxv-xxvi.
  9. See E. C. Nelson, 'James Townsend Mackay's 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants found in Ireland': the published versions (1806, 1807-1808) and a manuscript fragment', *Glasra* **3** (1997), 63-84 (see also footnotes 76-82 below).
  10. Dawson Turner papers, Trinity College Library, Cambridge. I am most grateful to the Librarian and his colleagues for their assistance in studying the Scott letters. Only Scott's letters to Turner are extant; Turner's correspondence with Scott has not been traced, but, fortunately, a manuscript volume containing Turner's 'Botanical memoranda' is extant in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. In this, Turner noted letters received and replies sent, and sometimes he summarized his replies. I am grateful to The Librarian and Archivist, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for access to this document. Letters from Mrs Ellen Scott and from Professor Scott's son, Robert, are also included among Turner's papers in Trinity College Library, Cambridge. Some of Scott's correspondence with James Sowerby has also survived and is now in the Natural History Museum, London. I am grateful to Malcolm Beasley, Botany Library, Natural History Museum, London, and Ron Cleevely for their assistance in studying these letters.
  11. See note 30 below.
  12. In his letters Scott sometimes referred to a younger brother, who lived at Scottsborough, County Fermanagh, although I have not discovered his name: 'My brother is not so old as I am by at least 7 years ...' (RS to DT 15 February [1807]). In February 1807, after his brother's wife died leaving nine children, one girl aged 9 came to live with Robert and Ellen Scott: '...in addition to our own [children] we have taken a little orphan girl (for orphan I may call her that wants a mother) & made her part of our family' (RS to DT 20 September 1807)). I believe this may have been Mary Scott who drew James Townsend Mackay's portrait (see Figure 3).
  13. It is probable, noting that Mrs Scott's family owned Snowhill near Lisbellaw, that she was the daughter of William Crawford, whose son, Randolph Crawford, matriculated at Trinity College Dublin in 1727, aged 18 (i.e. born *ca.* 1709) (W. Trimble, *History of*

*Enniskillen*, Enniskillen (1903), vol. 3, p 828. W. H. Dundas, *Enniskillen – parish and town*, Dundalk & Enniskillen (1913), p 130).

Mrs Ann Scott died in 1804 aged 90 (i.e. born *ca.* 1714). According to Mrs Ellen Scott, her mother-in-law was

‘... was the only surviving sister of eight when I became connected with the family there had been one Brother who possessed large estates in Fermanagh and Tyrone, he had but one child, a daughter, on whom he settled all his property only reserving a small estate for himself in Fermanagh called Snow Hill on which the family resided time immemorial, their Daughter was married to a Mr French of French Park County Roscommon. He lost his life a few years after, coming from Italy, he and two brothers of his and a Major Caulfield, Brother to the late Lord Charlemont, and many more Irish gentlemen were drowned at the same time. Mrs French left no children and the whole of the Crawford property went to the French Park family except Snow Hill and that Mrs French had often assured her Aunt in the most solemn manner should devolve to her eldest son. When my Robert went to take possession of her house in Town, as all the chattels came to his brother, she being the only surviving Aunt he found on opening the papers that she had disposed of Snow Hill to Mr French a few months before (who was brother to her late husband) for a few hundreds a year addition to her jointure, Old Dr Scott was greatly hurt at her duplicity, for he would have purchased it with all his heart, but it was no disappointment to my poor Robert for he often told me that he knew his cousin was not a sincere woman, that was the last disappointment the family met, with regard to fortune. ...’

14. W. H. Dundas, *Enniskillen – parish and town*, Dundalk & Enniskillen (1913), p 140; see also note 15 below.
15. For this information, I am relying on Mrs Ellen Scott’s record (quoted below). There is no William Scott, native of Ireland, listed among the graduates of the University of Leiden although there are several graduates with this name from other parts of the British Isles. One possible candidate, listed by E. Peacock, *Index to English speaking students who have graduated at Leyden University* (1883), is ‘Scott, Gulielmus, *Scoto-Brittannus*’ who matriculated on 9 October 1733. (I am grateful to Silva Vermetten, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Rijks Universiteit, Leiden, for assistance with my research.) Mrs Ellen Scott’s account of her father-in-law reads as follows:

‘... a Country Physician is not Master of his own time he was the only one for many miles round I have heard him say for months, he [William Scott] has not slept in his own house, the information he [Robert Scott] could receive from his father was but small and it was a great pity as he had been many years on the Continent, and had received a very expensive education; it was rather singular that he was the intended heir of two rich relations A grandfather and an uncle, both of whom afterwards married at an advanced period and both had families so that after these two disappointments he found it necessary to turn the education he had received to his support; he made Physick his choice and took his Degree at Leyden. On his return he settled in Enniskillen in consequence of his having married Miss Crawford whose connections were all in the County Fermanagh he [William Scott] was for many years Provost of Enniskillen. ...’

16. *Dublin gazette* 26 July 1756, quoted by W. Trimble, *History of Enniskillen*, Enniskillen (1903), vol. 3, p 696.
17. W. H. Dundas, *Enniskillen – parish and town*, Dundalk & Enniskillen (1913), p 164.
18. W. H. Dundas, *Enniskillen – parish and town*, Dundalk & Enniskillen (1913), p 32.
19. W. Trimble, *History of Enniskillen*, Enniskillen (1903), vol. 1, p 188.

20. W. Trimble, *History of Enniskillen*, Enniskillen (1903), vol. 3, frontispiece (a map of Enniskillen in 1772, shows property owned by Dr Scott (no. 13), in the present Castle Street area, leading to the Castle Barracks).
21. 'The Dear Old Man died in Balbriggan he disliked Dublin but came as near as he could that he might give us as much of his time as possible, on hearing of his illness which was sudden [Robert] set off express to him. My poor Robert the moment the carriage stopped flew up to his father's room ... father expired. ... [Robert] was never the same man since his father's death, he mentioned a few days before we lost him that he never recovered [from] the shock he received at that time. ... soon after he brought his mother to our house so here she died at the age of ninety she was bedridden and in a state of childhood ...'. (Mrs Ellen Scott to Dawson Turner).
22. RS to DT 22 February 1806. From this letter it may be calculated that William Scott was born before 1726, but as his date of death is not known, he may have been born many years before 1726. In this context it is noteworthy that his wife was 90 years old when she died in 1804.
23. The school is now called Portora Royal School. In Robert Scott's time the school was in the town; it did not move to its present site at Portora until 1781 (see M. Quane, *Portora Royal School, Enniskillen*, Monaghan (1968)).  
A contemporary of Scott's, and perhaps a fellow pupil at this school, was John White (ca. 1756-1832), who became Surgeon-General of New South Wales (see E. C. Nelson, 'John White A. M., M. D., F. L. S. (c.1756-1832), Surgeon-General of New South Wales: a new biography of the messenger of the echidna and waratah. *Archives of natural history* 25 (1998), 149-212).
24. Mrs Ellen Scott mentioned only Dunkin:  
'When at Enniskillen School where he was educated he never mixed in play with the Boys he thought them below him, when a child he would sit up most of the night at his studies if allowed, the only way to prevent him was not giving him light ... Dr Duncan [*sic*] was so fond of him, he never let him home but at night ...'  
Robert Scott would have been about 6 years old when Dunkin died on 26 November 1763, so the bulk of his education must have fallen to Noble.
25. Mrs Ellen Scott's record reads  
'... he was so studious that his father had him taught fencing as he was falling into a decline in consequence of his close application, it was of great use in opening his chest, he grew fond of it and was a remarkably elegant Fencer.'
26. Mrs Ellen Scott recorded that it was  
'... the cause of great mortification to my Dear Robert his not being let enter Dublin College. He often regretted it to me, it was the only thing he blamed his father for, giving up to his mother on this point, but she was so violent and so mean that nobody durst oppose her. He [i.e. William Scott] has told me himself he was oblig'd to supply his son [i.e. Robert] when in Scotland unknown to her. There are volumes now in this house of his writing at his leisure hours when in Edinburgh, extracts from different books, which were necessary for him to have, and which he was not allowed sufficient to purchase. ...'
27. E. C. Nelson, 'Scottish connections in Irish botany and horticulture', *Scottish naturalist* 1987 supplement, 3-31.
28. Mrs Ellen Scott's record reads  
'... He attended lectures in Dublin for some time previous to his going to Scotland, he went through the necessary examination in Edinburgh was refused his degree on account of his extreme youth as he was then but 20 he went back to his Father's for a

year it was during that time that he gave himself up to Botany for in Scotland he had attended more to Chemistry and as there were many of his name there at that time he was distinguished by Scott the Chemist this pursuit he was always fond of and he considered himself a much better Chemist and Minearalogist than a Botanist. ...’

29. TCD Ms 1198 (Department of Manuscripts, The Library, Trinity College, Dublin); I am grateful to Stuart Ó Seanóir, for details of this accession.
30. At Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, students could matriculate in medicine just after their 16th birthday, but could not graduate until they had reached the age of 21 (Mrs J. Currie (Assistant Librarian, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library) to ECN 23 September 1996). As Scott graduated in 1778, when he must have been 21, the approximate date of birth 1757 calculated from his age at death (51) is corroborated.
31. Mrs J. Currie (Assistant Librarian, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library) to ECN 20 September 1996.

32. P. J. Anderson, editor, *Officers and graduates of University and King’s College Aberdeen MVD–MDCCLX*, Aberdeen (1893), p 135.

The other signatories of Cudmore’s testimonial were Charles Walker and William Patten, both of Dublin; Cudmore’s degree was granted on 7 April 1778. Macdonald, an army medical officer (11th Foot), had attended lectures in Edinburgh, presumably at the same time as Scott; his degree was granted on 2 June 1778.

33. P. Reilly to ECN 21 Aug 1996.

34. According to Mrs Ellen Scott

‘... On getting his degree the year following he [Robert Scott] settled in Dublin where he had resided some years before I knew him, our acquaintance began on his being called in to my mother in a severe illness. She became from that time very much attached to him. He was constantly afterwards at our house until we were married.’

35. RS to DT 22 February 1806: ‘We have suffered much by the loss of children (three very fine boys)...’
36. After Scott’s death on 18 September 1808, his one surviving son, Robert, and his three daughters shared equally in an estate of £8,000.
37. e.g. RS to DT 21 August 1803.
38. RS to DT 9 January 1803.
39. RS to DT 28 February 1805.

40. J. T. Mackay, ‘A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland ...’, *Transactions of the Dublin Society* 5, sect. 4 (1806), 157.

Man-of-War is situated between Lusk and Balrothery, a few miles south of Balbriggan. Courtlough House is shown on the ½inch Ordnance Survey map in the approximate position of Scott’s property.

41. RS to DT 26 May [1806]: ‘I have also been plagued by a sale of an estate in the County Tyrone which I had purchased under a decree of the Court of Exchequer but had not been put in possession.’ The estate comprised 1700 Plantation acres, 800 of which were arable and the rest ‘mountain by reclaimable’; ‘it pays 5 guineas pr year King’s silver’.
42. RS to DT 26 May [1806], 11 December 1806.
43. J. T. Mackay, ‘A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland ...’, *Dublin medical and physical essays* 1 (1807), 338.

Despite the best endeavours of various colleagues, Dunwest Mountain has not been traced on modern maps; Scott commented in a letter to Dawson Turner (dated 15 February 1807) that the land lay within six to seven miles of his brother’s ‘estate’. This

would place it within the extreme southeastern corner of Tyrone, near Scottsborough, County Fermanagh.

44. See E. C. Nelson & E. M. McCracken, *The brightest jewel. A history of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin*, Kilkenny (1987), pp. 16-20.
45. E. C. Nelson, 'Botany, medicine and politics in eighteenth century Dublin and the origin of Irish botanical gardens', *Moorea* 6 (1987), 33-44. E. C. Nelson & E. M. McCracken, *The brightest jewel. A history of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin*, Kilkenny (1987).
46. The other candidates were Dr Walter Wade (Professor of Botany to the Dublin Society), and Drs Barker, Callanan, Pelissier, Crampton and Gilholy.  
The unsuccessful candidates were:  
Barker, Dr Francis; elected an Honorary Fellow of the King and Queen's (later Royal) College of Physicians of Ireland in 1813.  
Callanan, Dr James; President of the King and Queen's (later Royal) College of Physicians of Ireland, 1820.  
Crampton, Dr John; King's Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, 1814.  
Gilholy, Dr Anthony; President of the King and Queen's (later Royal) College of Physicians of Ireland, 1817.  
Pelissier, Dr Alexander; President of the King and Queen's (later Royal) College of Physicians of Ireland, 1804.  
Wade, Professor Walter; Professor of Botany to the [Royal] Dublin Society; elected an Honorary Fellow of the King and Queen's (later Royal) College of Physicians of Ireland in 1811.  
It is not clear why some of these men offered themselves as candidates because, apart from Wade, none (Scott included) had any clear botanical expertise. For details of these men see J. D. H. Widdess, *A history of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland 1654-1963*, Edinburgh & London (1963).
47. T. P. C. Kirkpatrick, *History of the Medical School at Trinity College Dublin*, Dublin (1912), pp 208-210.
48. RS to DT 22 May 1803. This letter clearly indicates that Mackay arrived in Ireland in 1803, not 1804 as I have stated elsewhere (E. C. Nelson, 'Reserved to the Fellows': four centuries of gardens at Trinity College, Dublin', in C. Holland, editor, *Trinity College Dublin and the idea of a university*, Dublin (1991), p 198).
49. John Mackay died in Edinburgh on 14 April 1802; see H. R. Fletcher & W. H. Brown, *The Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, 1670-1970*, Edinburgh (1970), pp 71-72.  
John Mackay's herbarium is not extant, at least according to standard sources. It is not in the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh (**E**) – see I. C. Hedge & J. M. Lamond, *Index of collectors in the Edinburgh herbarium*, Edinburgh (1970) – nor is it in Trinity College, Dublin (**TCD**) – see note 110 below.
50. RS to DT 22 May 1803, 14 September 1803.
51. The Board of Trinity College agreed on 5 July 1806 to lease ground from Lord Fitzwilliam 'for the purpose of a Botany Garden, provided that Dr Scott the Professor of Botany certify the ground to be in all respects fitted for that purpose.' (T. P. C. Kirkpatrick, *History of the Medical School at Trinity College Dublin*, Dublin (1912), pp 208-210).
52. RS to DT 30 November 1806.
53. RS to DT 15 March 1805.
54. RS to DT 22 June 1805.
55. RS to DT 22 November 1805.

56. See e.g. G. L. Herries Davies, *Sheets of many colours. The mapping of Ireland's rocks 1750-1890*, Dublin (1983), p. 18.
57. D. Turner, Botanical memoranda (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew).
58. This letter is apparently not extant; it is not included in the bound volumes in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.
59. A. Caldwell to JES 7 March 1808 (original ms in Linnean Society, London), quoted from J. Britten, 'An overlooked Irish botanist', *Journal of botany* **54** (1916), 179.
60. It is likely that the man Scott preferred was Paul Twigge (see note 89 below).
61. R. Brown, ms diary (Botany Library, Natural History Museum, London). The most likely identification of the 'Professor of Botany in the Dublin College' is Edward Hill.
62. This was probably David Ledwith, who had entered Trinity College, Dublin, on 15 July 1790, and had graduated as a Bachelor of Medicine in the summer of 1797.
63. 19 June 1800, in R. Brown, ms diary (Botany Library, Natural History Museum, London).
64. R. Brown, ms diary (Botany Library, Natural History Museum, London).
65. R. Brown, ms diary (Botany Library, Natural History Museum, London).
66. D. J. Mabberley, *Jupiter botanicus. Robert Brown of the British Museum*, Braunschweig & London (1985), pp 63, 175; also 57-58 (reference to Templeton and Scott sending specimens to Dawson Turner).
67. RS to DT 27 January 1806. A short time before writing to Turner, Scott had written to James Sowerby asking 'Have you seen Mr Brown since his arrival. Has he brought many new genera or species of plants - or many mineral productions with him?' (RS to JS 18 January 1806)
68. W. R. Dawson, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of the Linnean Society of London. part 1. The Smith papers (The correspondence and miscellaneous papers of Sir James Edward Smith ...)*, London (1934), p 23. J. Britten, 'An overlooked Irish botanist', *Journal of botany* **54** (1916), 173-180.
69. RS to DT 4 January 1802.
70. See note 68 above. Caldwell described Turner as 'a very pleasant lively young man; his wife seems a most amiable well-inform'd woman'.
71. J. T. Mackay, 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland ...', *Transactions of the Dublin Society* **5**, sect. 4 (1806), 123-183.
72. DT to JS 12 July 1802 (Sowerby papers, Natural History Museum, London). This is confirmed by a comment from Andrew Caldwell, who informed Dr J. E. Smith that 'the chief objects of the journey he [Turner] was obliged to give up. I was out one excursion with him, he was polite enough at least to say he was much gratified ...' (see note 68 above).
73. RS to DT 12 July 1802.
74. John Jebb (1775-1833) obtained the curacy of Swanlinbar in July 1799. He was later consecrated Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (*The compact edition of the dictionary of national biography*, Oxford (1975), p. 1070).
75. Choughs.
76. J. T. Mackay, 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland' (1806, 1807-1808) (see E. C. Nelson, 'James Townsend Mackay's 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants found in Ireland': the published versions (1806, 1807-1808) and a manuscript fragment', *Glasra* **3** (1997), 63-84.)
77. R. S. Forbes & R. H. Northridge, 'Progress towards a *Flora of Fermanagh*', *Irish botanical news* **6** (1990), 12-23.

78. Dr John Rutty was in the Cavan area in 1739 when he also visited Swanlinbar to take the waters.
79. JTM to DT 21 October 1806. The discovery of *Stratiotes aloides* in Fermanagh and Cavan is sometimes dated 1805, but the letters announcing the find were written in 1806, as clearly signalled by Dawson Turner's own entries about receiving them in his manuscript diary (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, see note 10 above).
80. J. T. Mackay, 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland ...', *Transactions of the Dublin Society* **5**, sect. 4 (1806), 123-183.
81. J. T. Mackay, 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland ...', *Dublin medical and physical essays* **1** (1807), 328-343. J. T. Mackay, 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants, found in Ireland ...', *Dublin medical and physical essays* **2** (1808), 106-117.
82. E. C. Nelson, 'James Townsend Mackay's 'A systematic catalogue of rare plants found in Ireland': the published versions (1806, 1807-1808) and a manuscript fragment', *Glasra* **3** (1997), 63-84.
83. Scott's specimen, first recognized by Miss Maura Scannell, is in the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin (see R. Northridge. 'The first vice-county record of *Thelypteris palustris* Schott in Fermanagh (H33)', *Irish naturalists journal* **25** (1996), 267). The specimen (Figure 4) is labelled 'Ex. Herb[arium]. Adm[jiral Theobald] Jones', so it must have been acquired by Jones at some stage after Scott's death; the fate of Professor Scott's herbarium is not documented (see E. C. Nelson. 'Robert Scott's Irish mosses, *Dicranum scottianum* and *Grimmia maritima*: a note about their publication', *Journal of bryology* **19** (1997), 503-508).
84. See note 82 above.
85. Nowhere in Scott's extant correspondence is Twigge's Christian name used, and thus the identity of this young artist must remain uncertain. I believe, however, that the same person was later suggested by Scott as a suitable candidate for the Chair of Botany in 1808 (see note 60 above). The only good clue to Twigge's identity was Scott's comment to Turner that Twigge was in Edinburgh (for further discussion see note 89).
86. I have not been able to trace these drawings.
87. R. Scott, 'A letter ...', *Transactions of the Dublin Society* **3** (3) (1803), 157-161 (with 1 p. illustration) (see Figure 6).  
Scott's paper included detailed descriptions and illustrations of *Grimmia maritima*; he attributed the specific name to Dr Smith (i.e. James Edward Smith), thus the authority for *G. maritima* should be J. E. Smith ex R. Scott. Likewise, *Dicranum scottianum* was illustrated and scantily described by Scott; the authority should be J. E. Smith ex R. Scott. For detailed discussion of this see E. C. Nelson, 'Robert Scott's Irish mosses, *Dicranum scottianum* and *Grimmia maritima*: a note about their publication', *Journal of bryology* **19** (1997), 503-508.  
*Dicranum scottianum* was also illustrated in J. E. Smith, *English botany; or, coloured figures of British plants ...* **20** (1805), tab. 1391.
88. See also J. E. Smith, '*Dicranum scottianum*. Curve-stalked fork-moss', *English botany; or, coloured figures of British plants ...* **20** (1805), tab. 1391.
89. One Paul Twigge of Dublin is listed in the class lists of Professor James Home, Professor of Materia Medica at the University of Edinburgh, for 1806-1807. He was probably the person who matriculated at Edinburgh in the sessions 1803-1804, 1804-1805, 1806-1807 and 1807-1808 (A. T. Wilson, University Archivist, University of Edinburgh, *in litt.* 8 June 1998).  
Scott referred to Twigge being in Edinburgh in his letter to Turner dated 11 June 1803,

when he noted that Twigge was to remain there to graduate in September; this does tie in with the matriculation dates noted above. However, there is no record that Paul Twigge did graduate formally at Edinburgh, but that is not unusual at the time. If he was a medical graduate, this man would have been eligible for election as Professor of Botany in Scott's stead at Dublin.

In his letter of 13 May 1802, Scott described Twigge as a 'student of this university', i.e. Trinity College, Dublin. Fourteen students named Twigge (or Twigg) are listed in *Alumni Dublinensis*. None of their dates coincides with this. One Paul Twigg graduated as a bachelor of Arts in the spring 1795. If this was Scott's friend and artist, it is quite possible that he continued as a student or re-entered at a later date (this man is also listed in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1886*) (S. Ó Seanóir, Manuscripts Department, Trinity College Library, Dublin, *pers. comm.* 1998), and also that he then went on to Edinburgh.

90. RS to DT 19 June 1803, 21 August 1803.
91. i.e. John Templeton, who was *not*, as far as I can determine, Stokes' brother-in-law.
92. RS to DT 13 May 1802 (refers to 'Orchis bifolia or latifolia'), 14 September 1803 (refers to 'stamina of Serapias differ from Orchis').
93. RS to DT 11 June 1804; there is nothing in Scott's correspondence to indicate where he obtained this orchid, referred to as *Limodorum tankervilleae*.
94. The topic was first mentioned by RS to DT 13 May 1802; see also RS to DT 12 July 1802, 9 January 1803, 5 March 1804.  
Dr James Edward Smith commented to Turner, in a letter dated 24 March 1804, as follows:  
    '... I have toiled through Dr Scott's letter & made a full extract wch shall be sent with the fungus & salt to L. Soc. at their next meeting. I return the letter. The fungus is *Boletus sulphureus* ... It is found here but I never observed the salt.'
95. RS to DT 5 March 1804. R. Scott, 'Account of crystallized oxalic acid produced from the *Boletus sulphureus* ... communicated by Dawson Turner, Esq. F.R.S. A.S. and L.S. Read May 1, 1804', *Transactions of the Linnean Society of London* **8** (1807), 262-263.
96. RS to DT 12 September 1802.
97. RS to JS 7 June [?1804].
98. RS to JS 22 November [?1804].
99. RS to JS 22 November [? 1804].
100. JT to DT 9 December 1805.
101. J. Gray, 'Millennial vision ... Thomas Russell re-assessed', *The Linen Hall review* **6** (1) (1989), 59. J. Killen, 'John Templeton, the Gilbert White of Ireland', *The Linen Hall review* **9** (3/4) (1992), 4-8.
102. While Underwood's relationship with Wade is not my concern in this paper, complaints were made against him in the Autumn of 1806, and Scott was appointed a member of a committee of the Dublin Society to inquire into these complaints. 'I have little doubt', Scott told Turner, 'we shall find them only the feeble efforts of two ill-minded envious persons. Dr Wade & one [John] Whyte [*sic*] a subgardener but who have the ear of Mr Foster.' (RS to DT 22 November [1806]). This suggests there was a long-running feud between Wade and Underwood (see E. C. Nelson & E. M. McCracken, *The brightest jewel. A history of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin, Kilkenny* (1987) for details of later complaints against Underwood.)
103. See Appendix 1 in E. C. Nelson & E. M. McCracken, *The brightest jewel. A history of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin, Kilkenny* (1987), pp 240-244. M. Fallon (editor), *The sketches of Erinensis. Selections of Irish medical satire 1824-1836*,

- London (1979), p 71.
104. A. Caldwell to JES 7 March 1808 (original ms in Linnean Society, London), quoted from J. Britten, 'An overlooked Irish botanist', *Journal of botany* **54** (1916), 179.
105. JES to DT 18 February 1805. This was occasioned by Wade's disputed "discovery" of *Buxbaumia aphylla* (illustrated in W. Wade, *Plantae rariores in Hibernia inventae ... Transactions of the Dublin Society* **4** (1804)), 'a rare and very curious moss, which ... has not been rediscovered in Ireland since Wades time' (D. Moore, 'A synopsis of the mosses of Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **1** (series II, Science) (1872)). I will discuss this in more detail in a future biography of Walter Wade.
106. C. Lewis, *Catalogue of books, to be sold by auction ... being the library of the late Doctor Scott, Professor of Botany in Trinity College ...*, Dublin. The catalogue listed 679 items, and concluded with the following miscellaneous items  
 An electrifying machine, with extensive apparatus  
 An air pump complete, with four receivers  
 An excellent microscope and telescope  
 A balance and stand  
 A very good fowling piece  
 After the books, the bookcase will be sold.
107. J. Templeton to JTM 15 February 1809; ms in School of Botany, Trinity College, Dublin (xerox copy by courtesy of Dr J. Parnell).
108. Brown's specimens are in the herbarium, Department of Botany, Natural History Museum, London (**BM**). Turner's specimens were acquired by his son-in-law, William Hooker, and thus are now either in the Natural History Museum, London (**BM**), or the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (**K**). Because Turner gave duplicate specimens to Dr James Edward Smith, there are Scott specimens in Smith's herbarium in the Linnean Society, London (**LINN**).  
 I have seen Scott specimens in the cryptogam collections in **BM** and in the general (angiosperm) herbarium in **K**, as well as in **DBN**.
109. There is an interesting remark in a letter, dated 17 April 1810, from John Templeton to James Townsend Mackay (ms in School of Botany, Trinity College, Dublin (xerox copy by courtesy of Dr J. Parnell)) about Scott's herbarium. Requesting samples of leaves of 13 species of mosses, originally 'sent by Dr Scott ... I hope therefore Dr Scotts herbarium is not lost as in whose hands it is it may spare me a leaf.'  
 A year previously, Templeton had enquired 'What is done with Dr Scott's herbarium. I hope it will not be lost, the most useful way he could have disposed of it, would have been to leave it to the Botanic Garden Library, as it would serve to elucidate many matters to Irish Botanists' (J. Templeton to J. T. Mackay, Malone 1 May 1809; ms in School of Botany, Trinity College, Dublin (xerox copy by courtesy of Dr J. Parnell)).
110. See D. A. Webb, 'The herbarium of Trinity College, Dublin: its history and contents', *Botanical journal of the Linnean Society* **106** (1991): 295-327.
111. Dawson Turner, Botanical memoranda (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew). As noted, on 6 January 1807 Turner sent to Scott 'the letter I promised stating my sentiment of his botanical abilities & of ye use he had been of to Irish Botany by his own exertion by introducing Mackay & by getting me to publish *Musc. Hib. ...*'.