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Errata

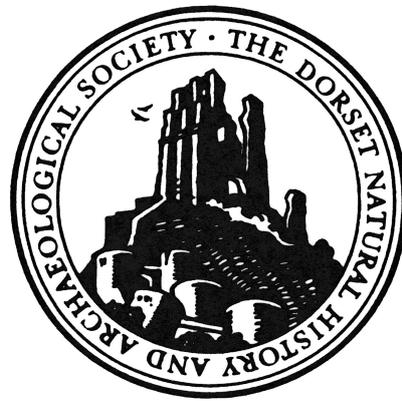
p. 68, first column
line 7 - insert '*and*' before '*evidently*'
line 13 - should read '*resemblance*'
line 14 - for '*previously*' read '*ago*'
line 15 - should read '*Chambers's*'
line 18 - should read '*contributions*'
line 26 - delete comma after '*Of course*'
line 35 - end quotation with full stop

<http://repository.nms.ac.uk/1259>

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AN ACCOUNT OF MARY ANNING (1799-1847),
FOSSIL COLLECTOR OF LYME REGIS, DORSET,
ENGLAND, PUBLISHED BY HENRY ROWLAND BROWN
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OF *BEAUTIES OF LYME REGIS*

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An account of Mary Anning (1799-1847), fossil collector of Lyme Regis,
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Abstract

The publication of the now rare second edition of the guidebook The Beauties of Lyme Regis... by Lyme native Henry Rowland Brown (1837-1921) is dated to 1859. The known link of Brown's family to Anning's increases the significance of his book as a source for her, particularly the second edition which has a more extensive account of her than the first; relevant extracts are reproduced. His book has become a major source for writers on Anning, but only in corrupted form because of incompetent piracy by a later writer in a general magazine.

Introduction and Methodology

Much of what has been written about the notable fossil finder, Mary Anning the younger (1799-1847) of Lyme Regis, is frankly derivative, despite – or perhaps because of – her popularity with biographers, with more works about her than any other British or Irish geologist (in the broadest sense), other than Charles Darwin himself (Oldroyd 2013). One, anonymous, article of 1865 in Charles Dickens's magazine *All the year round* has become much used as a source; one might even call it fashionable today (Anon. 1865a). But, as with all such articles, this 1865 piece needs to be assessed for accuracy and originality. When this assessment is actually done, as we show elsewhere (Taylor and Torrens 2014b), the author turns out to be a heavy and inaccurate plagiarist of other writers, especially the second edition of Henry Rowland Brown's local guidebook *Beauties of Lyme Regis and Charmouth*. This in turn demands an assessment of Brown's book, which emerges as a neglected source of real interest in view of Brown's familial links with Mary Anning, especially in this second edition which has a longer treatment of Anning than the much commoner, and recently reprinted, first edition. In this paper, we reprint the relevant extracts so that it can once again be used as a source; we put the book in the context of the author's life and work; and we assess its wider significance for Anningian historiography.

Archival and repository information

Unless otherwise stated, all birth, marriage and death information is from the standard parish registers, FreeBMD indices, census data and other statutory records, etc., accessed via www.ancestry.co.uk, www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk, and www.familysearch.org; the will cited is from the Probate Registry in Leeds. Abbreviations: b., born; bap., baptised; BL, British Library catalogue (URL: www.bl.uk); c., circa; d., died.

Excerpts dealing with Mary Anning from *The Beauties of Lyme Regis ...* (second ed.)

The text is given verbatim, except that paragraph numbers and annotations, and original pagination, have been inserted. All insertions in the text (other than footnote numbers) are in bold in square parentheses. The original paragraphing is retained, but not line breaks.

[p. 50] [...] In a letter written on the day after the storm [**the Great Storm of 23 November 1824**], by a living local celebrity, the scene of destruction is thus described, – “we have gone through a scene of horror, during the gale at Lyme; a great part of the Cobb is demolished, every vessel and boat driven out of the harbour, and the greatest part destroyed; all the back part of Mr [**‘Mrs’ in original**] England's houses [p. 51 **begins**] and yards washed down, with the greater part of the hotel, and there is not one stone left of the next house; indeed, it is quite a miracle that the inhabitants saved their lives. Every bit of the walk, from the rooms to the Cobb, is gone; and all the back part of the houses, from the fish-market to the gun-cliff, next the baths.”* [**This edits the (presumed) original in Grant (1827, 132-133), presumably for clarity, and with the deletion of ‘two of the revenue men drowned’, presumably for reasons of local sensitivity. This, of course, presumes that Brown was working from Grant's book, which he cites, and as implied by the nature of at least some changes such as the deletion of the ‘baby’ mentioned below. But note that it is also possible that Brown had access to the original letters through the Anning family, see below.**] [...] [**Footnote reads:** *The letter from which I have made

this extract is concluded in the following manner. "My Brother lost with others a great part of his property. All the coal cellars and coals being gone, and the Cobb so shattered, that no vessels [**vessel' in original**] will be safe there, we shall [**'shall all' in original**] be obliged to sit without fires this Winter, a cold prospect you will allow." – *Letters of Miss Mary Anning contained in "Memoirs of Miss Bell," Vol. 1. 1827.*

[p. 55] [...] In the month of March 1847, the death of Miss Mary Anning took place; an individual, whose extraordinary discoveries of fossil remains on this coast, have obtained for her the name of "the most eminent female fossilist."

The introduction of Miss Mary Anning to the public, was occasioned by the following remarkable circumstance which occurred in her infancy, in her native [p. 56 begins] town. On a Summer evening in the year 1800, a party of strolling players attracted many of the inhabitants of Lyme to witness their feats of agility and other performances in a meadow a short distance from the town. In those days, out-door amusements of this kind were much appreciated, and such exhibitions, consisting of vaulting and juggling, occasionally varied by the introduction of a kind of lottery, in which articles of apparel were the most prominent prizes, very frequently took place. On this occasion doubtless much disappointment was expressed when many dark and threatening clouds gathered in the firmament. The more prudent returned to their homes, but many determined to hazard all consequences and remain until the conclusion of the exhibition. This had not proceeded far, before a storm effectually terminated the proceedings. It was then too late to reach the town, and crowds of persons repaired to some adjoining out-buildings; these were incapable of containing all, and several imprudently took shelter beneath some lofty elm trees. In the meantime the storm increased; loud peals of thunder reverberated along the majestic chain of hills which extends east and west of the town; these were followed by torrents of rain, and again succeeded by vivid flashes of electric fire. It was at this crisis that mingling with the artillery of Heaven, a sharp, shrill cry startled the bystanders, who, as another flash of lightning cast a lurid glare over the landscape, beheld a [p. 57 begins] group consisting of two women and an infant, lying motionless on the ground beneath the dripping trees. On hastening towards them they found the two women dead, and the infant apparently lifeless,

but upon speedy assistance being rendered, the child slowly recovered – this child, the daughter of a carpenter of Lyme Regis, was no other than the afterwards celebrated geologist and fossilist, Miss Anning. Previous to the catastrophe described, she seems to have been exceedingly dull and inanimate, but from this time new life was certainly infused into her being, and she not only became quick and attentive, but remarkably intelligent and precocious. Her intelligence developed itself in a perfectly original manner, not in a love of books, but in a delight to roam about the sea-shore, and in an intensely reverential love of the beauties of Nature which she found scattered beside the great waters. From her father, Miss Anning appears to have inherited her predilections for the wonders of the sea-shore. When the science of geology was but imperfectly understood, he acquired a taste for collecting fossil remains, which he occasionally disposed of to visitors who frequented Lyme Regis, in the Summer months. Often the old man on his marine excursions was attended by his little daughter, who thoroughly enjoyed these rambles, although the time occupied in these pursuits was considered as ridiculously wasted by the mercenary and ignorant. At the age of ten years Mary Anning was [p. 58 begins] left fatherless. The pecuniary affairs of her family were greatly embarrassed, but although many duties devolved upon the poor young girl, and after her bereavement none seemed to sympathize with, or encourage her, yet the instinctive curiosity of her mind was not destroyed, or her love for the sea-shore diminished.

At this critical juncture she was encouraged by a lady, who gave her some trifling remuneration for a small fossil, and from this time she resolved to devote more of her attention to a study of those organic remains of which the rocks and hills round her home proved so prolific. Those who were acquainted with Miss Anning, or have seen her somewhat masculine features on the canvass in the national museum – represented as she was generally seen, attended by her little canine companion, with her favorite hammer in her hand, may form an idea of the picturesque appearance of the young girl, her expressive countenance discolored even then by continual exposure to wind and rain – her form reflected in the transparent water surrounded by rocks and ledges, as she studiously bent over some beautiful fossilized fragment which she hoped to dispose of advantageously, that she might relieve the wants of a poor and a suffering mother!

Among the many distinguished friends who appreciated her genius was the late Mr. John Kenyon, who inscribed some verses to Miss Anning in which he illustrated this portion of her life in the following stanza – [p. 59 begins]

‘At first these relic-shrouded rocks
Were but thy simple stock in trade,
Wherewith through pain and worldly shocks
A widowed mother’s lot to aid.’

But the young fossilist achieved more than temporary success. She did not daily traverse the sea-shore for this alone, and the discoveries she subsequently made were of so marvellous a character, that they almost induce the supposition, that by her frequent intercourse with the mighty sea, she had interpreted its mystic language – the symphonies of the ever-sounding Ocean, which might have imparted to its young votary secret intelligence of those treasures which she disclosed in so wonderful a manner! It was long before the light dawned on her mind; it is true that her curiosity was frequently excited in no ordinary degree by the petrifications she constantly discovered, but it was long before she could realize the mighty truth, that

“The land had issued from the sea,
The sea had lost its ancient shore;
And where the present Ocean rolls
Enchanting landscapes smiled before—”

but no sooner had this revelation fully taken possession of her mind than she immediately began to work in earnest in order to prove the assertion. She was not disappointed in the result of her labors, and her convictions that the grand old hills which surrounded her native home contained treasures of inestimable value as relics of an antediluvian world, were fully confirmed.

[p. 60 begins] In the year 1811, she made her first great discovery, a specimen for which she received the sum of twenty-three pounds. This was afterwards obtained for the British Museum. It was no less than the first specimen which had ever been discovered of the ichthyosaurus, a name literally meaning, fish-lizard. This discovery immediately arrested attention, and the name of the young fossilist was at once associated with those of the great scientific coterie of the day; Birch, De la Beche, Conybeare, Cuvier and others; and no matter for surprise is it that these distinguished individuals were intensely interested, in the remains of this extinct monster of the antediluvian

world, which thanks to Miss Anning may now be seen in the National Museum. With the vertebræ of a fish, it partook partly of the character of the crocodile, but still was of a description differing very materially from existing reptiles of the lizard kind. Some of the largest of these animals must have been upwards of thirty feet in length, one of the most extraordinary features being the size of the eye. The expansion of their jaws too, must have been very considerable, the length sometimes exceeding six feet.

The Ichthyosaurus was an aquatic, carnivorous animal, but breathing air. [p. 61 begins] “When we see, says Dr. Buckland the body of an ichthyosaurus [*sic*] still containing the food it had eaten just before its death; and its ribs still surrounding the remains of fishes that were swallowed ten thousand, or more than ten times ten [p. 61 begins] thousand years ago; all these vast intervals seem annihilated; time altogether disappears; and we are almost brought into as immediate contact with events of immeasurably distant periods, as with the affairs of yesterday.”* [Footnote, a cross-reference to a passage on geology, reads: *See Page 5.]

At a later period, she astonished the scientific world with another gigantic specimen. This is called the plesiosaurus. The reader must not however suppose that these immense fossils were extracted from the tomb they had occupied for ages, without considerable trouble and perseverance. Often the organic remains were found in a fragmentary condition, and the greatest judgment and care were required in arranging the disconnected parts. Miss Anning’s second discovery is described by Cuvier as altogether the most monstrous animal that has yet been found amidst the ruins of a former world. It had the head of a lizard, the teeth of a crocodile, a trunk and tail of the proportion of an ordinary sized quadruped, the ribs of a cameleon, the fins or paddles of a whale, whilst the neck was of an enormous length resembling a serpent attached to the body. It was evidently an aquatic animal, and is found in the same strata as the ichthyosaurus.

Of the fossil shop or little museum of Miss Anning, I cannot do better than introduce the graphic and correct description of it by Dr. Carus, who with the king of Saxony, in the year 1844 visited Lyme: he says – “We had alighted from the carriage and were proceeding [p. 62 begins] along on foot, when we fell in with a shop in which the most remarkable petrifications and fossil remains – the head of an ichthyosaurus, beautiful ammonites, &c., were exhibited in the window. We entered and found this small shop and adjoining

chamber, completely filled with fossil productions of the coast. It is a piece of great good fortune for the collectors, when the heavy winter rains loosen and bring down large masses of the projecting coast. When such a fall takes place, the most splendid and rarest fossils are brought to light, and made accessible, almost without labor on their part. In the course of the past winter there had been no very favorable slips, and the stock of fossils on hand, was therefore, smaller than usual; still I found in the shop a large slab of blackish clay, in which a perfect ichthyosaurus of at least six feet, was embedded. This specimen would have been a great acquisition for many of the cabinets of natural history on the continent, and I consider the price demanded, £15 sterling, as very moderate. I was anxious, at all events, to write down the address, and the woman who kept the shop – for it was a woman who had devoted herself to this scientific pursuit – with a firm hand, wrote her name, “Mary Anning,” in my pocket-book, and added as she returned the book into my hands, “I am well known throughout the whole of Europe.”* [footnote reads: *Extract from “The King of Saxony’s Journey through England and Scotland, in the year 1844,” vol. 1.] [The quotation, from Carus (1846, 197), is substantially accurate with only trivial discrepancies, except that the original has ‘Annins’ rather than ‘Anning’.]

[p. 63 begins] But notwithstanding Miss Anning was now continually surprising the world with her wonderful specimens, her character was not influenced either by the frowns of fortune, or the smiles of fame. In writing to a young friend, whom, in one of her simple but beautiful letters she poetically designates her “child-angel,” her unassuming and affectionate disposition may easily be distinguished. This extract is also a proof that she was not exempt from those sorrows which alas! too frequently become the inheritance of the children of Genius – she says, “I beg your pardon for distrusting [‘doubting’ in original] your friendship; the world has used me so unkindly I fear it has made me suspicious of all mankind. * * [i. e. Brown has deleted a section] How I envy your daily visits to the museum! Indeed I shall feel [‘be’ in original] greatly obliged by your sensible accounts of its contents; for the little information I get from the professors is one half unintelligible. I cannot explain the term they have given to the skeleton, unless it means, approaching the lizard-tribe. Very little doing in the fossil world, excepting I have found a tail and a beautiful paddle, and a few other small specimens; nothing grand or new.” * [Edited down somewhat

from the letter as published in Grant (1827, 131-132). The ‘museum’ was the British Museum (Grant 1827, 130). The ‘skeleton’ is a *Plesiosaurus*. The original begins, ‘I have to beg your pardon’, and later reads ‘I have found a tail for baby’, perhaps referring to a small ichthyosaur, but deleted by Brown for clarity. Other changes are trivial. It seems that the section on the King’s visit was inserted into Brown’s book at a later stage of writing, giving the ‘now’ in ‘now continually surprising’ the misleading implication of ca. 1844 rather than ca. 1824, although the correct dating is still clear from the link in the footnote on pages 63-4, which reads: * I have before quoted from this letter of Miss Anning’s, contained/ with others in “Memoirs of Miss Bell,” see page 52. This correspondence is very interesting and should be perused by all who are desirous of estimating the private character of this eminent fossilist.] From the simple statements, in this epistle we infer that Miss Anning like every true philosopher, was desirous of obtaining knowledge even from children, to whom her affability and kindness, were amongst the most prepossessing traits of her character.

[p. 64 begins] Long and severe however were the labors of Miss Anning, before she obtained a tangible recognition of her services, but now, who does not sympathize with her when struggling against every impediment of birth or fortune, or who would withhold the mede of praise to which she is so justly entitled for the intrinsic excellence of her works alone? She died at the age of forty-seven, on the ninth of May, 1847, and was interred in the parish churchyard of Lyme. In the church there has been recently erected to her memory an obituary window. This graceful tribute has been paid by the Geological Society and the Vicar of her native place. The decease of Miss Anning may be regarded even in a pecuniary point of view, as a great loss to the neighbourhood of Lyme Regis, as her presence attracted a large number of distinguished visitors, who able to appreciate her genius, were desirous of perambulating with her, those shores which she had made celebrated: delighting to listen to her interesting descriptions, and instructive conversation.

During Miss Anning’s life, in the years 1830-40, a remarkable phenomenon, which the reader will find described elsewhere [in Brown’s book] as the great Land-slip, took place in the vicinity of Lyme Regis. Thousands of visitors from all parts flocked to this little watering place. Hotels and lodging-houses were filled with visitors [...]

[p. 100] [...] In this aisle [of the Parish Church] are several ornamental tablets, and at the west end of it, the memorial window of Miss Anning may be seen. The subject chosen for illustration is that expressive passage in Saint Matthew's gospel, "I was an hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in, naked and ye clothed me, I was in prison and ye came unto me;" and over the various groups; "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." The inscription is as follows – "This window is sacred to the memory of Mary Anning of this Parish, who died, 9th. of March A. D. 1847, and is erected by the Vicar of Lyme, and some of the members of the Geological Society of London, in commemoration of her usefulness in furthering the science of Geology, as also of her benevolence of heart, and integrity of life."*[footnote reads: *See page 57]

Dating *Beauties*

The first question that arises is when those extracts were written and published, as neither edition of *Beauties* is formally dated. Their publisher, Daniel Dunster, seemingly avoided dating his publications where possible, perhaps to maintain saleability to visitors (Mr R. Bull, pers. comm. to MAT, 29 August 2012). The first edition of *Beauties* can however be dated to 1857, as suggested by the 1997 reprint. The original preface is signed only 'March 1st' (Brown [1857], vi), but a letter quoted in an advertisement is dated 'January, 1857' (end matter, 20); the book was reviewed in the *Sherborne Mercury* for 11 August 1857 (Anon. 1857b); and when the preface was reprinted in the second edition it was now dated 'March 1st 1857' (Brown [1859b], vi). The second edition, now by 'Rowland Brown', is dated provisionally to 1860 by BL, presumably from the records of actual receipt of a copy in the British Museum (the standard Dorset bibliography gives no date: Mayo 1885). But in fact the second edition must have been published in 1859, being in a list of new books published late that year (Anon. 1859), and also listed in the back matter of Brown (1859a). The new preface is signed 'June, 1858' (Brown [1859b], vii), so presumably the text was completed that spring and Dunster held the book over winter for production in time for the summer 1860 tourist season.

The Author

Henry Rowland Brown (1837-1921), the author of *Beauties*, was a native of Lyme, being born there on 2 March 1837, to Edward Brown (bap. 1802-1874) and Maria *née* Rowland (b. c. 1811, Shaldon, Teignmouth, Lyme Regis censuses for 1861 and 1871). Edward was originally from Wyke Regis, but moved to Lyme where he established the family firm, eventually called Brown and Son, whose history is outlined by Bull (2013), the 'and son' being Henry's elder brother Charles (bap. 1832-1893). This retail ironmongery in Broad Street expanded to make stoves, farm equipment and other goods in a foundry which moved to Poole's Court uphill from Lyme parish church. The firm is mentioned in the first edition of Henry's *Beauties* ..., and took two advertisements therein (reproduced in Bull 2013).

At the 1851 census (transcribed in online databases as 'Henry F. Brown'), Henry was visiting his uncle, and almost certainly his mother's brother, Henry Rowland (bap. 1804-1866), landowner, farmer and maltster, and his wife Elizabeth (bap. 1809-1869) of Newton, Blackwell, Derbyshire (White 1857; census data; Nonconformist central register entry for Henry Brown's birth). The Rowlands were seemingly childless and well off, and evidently had a special relationship with Henry, the uncle being mentioned in the nephew's own death notice decades later (Anon. 1921a). So possibly the census entry actually shows Henry Brown living with the Rowlands, rather than just visiting. At any rate, Rowland left his nephew the (probably) largest share of his estate in his will, as well as the residue, though the exact sums depend on the value of a share in a schooner left to another Brown. This schooner, *Flying Fish*, must be that of Lyme, of 130 tons, master W. Berry, owned (or perhaps rather operated) by Budd and Co. (Lloyd's 1865, entry 246 for names beginning with F). Rowland also owned a share of 'Alfred Cottages' at Lyme, which must be the present-day Alfred Place (and probably Nos. 3 and 4) on Ware Lane, where it comes off Sidmouth Road, the 'Cottages' appellation being a common affectation amongst Regency investors in Lyme property (Graham Davies, Lyme Regis Philpot Museum, pers. comm. to MAT 13 October 2013). Of course, Rowland may simply have taken advantage of Lymian opportunities for investment identified by his in-laws. However, it may stem from his own origins; Henry and his brother John Carruthers Rowland (b. 1806) were themselves born in Southampton, and their (presumed) sister Maria in Shaldon, which hints at a south coast shipping

or trading family using the networks along the coast, as indeed do Edward Brown's origin at Wyke Regis and his move to Lyme.

Henry Brown was a precocious writer, publishing several works of poetry and song as well as the guidebook by 1859 (Brown [1857], back matter, 1-2, 1858, 1859a). He is not known to have had any particular interest in geology. He moved to London, and in due course was admitted to Lincoln's Inn as a law student on 14 November 1863. On 6 June 1866 he became a barrister in the Inner Temple. He also worked as a journalist, producing political and social comment (Anon. 1866a; Lincoln's Inn 1896, vol. 2, 309; Foster 1885, 59; Roxburgh 1968). He seemingly established a syndicating bureau, the Newspaper Corresponding Association, in 1859, though some of the output was his own (Anon. 1866b).

Henry married Kate or Catherine Tucker Woodgates (b. Honiton, d. 1923) at Holme Lacy, Hereford, on 1 October 1862 (Anon. 1862). He died at Harrow Weald on 9 February 1921 (Anon. 1921a, 1921b). Their surviving children were Lillian (or Lilian) Kate Rowland Brown (1863-1959), and Henry Rowland Brown FES (1865-1922). Lillian was herself a lecturer and writer under the pseudonym 'Rowland Grey' (Grey 1902; Anon. 1959a, 1959b). Henry was, like his father, a barrister, journalist, poet and novelist, this last under the pseudonym 'Oliver Grey', but he slightly reduced the risk of confusion by latterly hyphenating his surname to Rowland-Brown. He was also a noted entomologist, being a Fellow of the Entomological Society, and the author of *Butterflies and Moths at Home and Abroad* (Rowland Brown 1912), as well as a friend of the playwright W. S. Gilbert (1804-1890) (Anon 1922a, 1922b; [Bethune-Baker] 1922; [Sheldon] 1922; [Walker] 1922).

The timing of first publication of *Beauties*, in 1857 (see above), suggests that Daniel Dunster, its printer and publisher, wanted an up-to-date guidebook to replace those by Lyme historian, schoolmaster and sometime mayor George Roberts (bap. 1804-1860), who had left the town in the late summer or early autumn of 1855 (Powell 2008, Taylor and Torrens in press 2014a). The young Henry Brown would have been a natural candidate with active literary interests and ambitions, who had grown up in Lyme Regis and would have been well known to Dunster. The sites of Mary Anning's later house and shop (to 1847), the Browns' house and shop, Daniel Dunster's house and shop, and George Roberts's house and

school were all close together in upper Broad Street in the 1850s (Fowles 1982; 1851 and 1861 censuses). Brown's wording notes the encouragement he got from Roberts, but leaves it open as to whether this was in person, or simply by reading and drawing on Roberts's books, or both (Brown [1857], v-vi, and [1859b], v-vi). It is not known whether Brown was a pupil at Roberts's school, but Roberts need not, of course, have been Brown's schoolmaster to encourage his young neighbour's literary ambitions. As Powell (2008) noted, the censuses are unhelpful as they recorded only the boarders, and Brown would have been a day boy. Powell also suggested that Rowland lived and was educated not in Lyme but in London because it was his mother's native city. However, this seems doubtful as Henry Brown was with his family in Lyme in the 1841 census, and his mother was a native of Shaldon (see above). Brown was also encouraged, if perhaps only in his wider literary interests, by 'Mrs Moore', the dedicatee of the second edition of his guidebook (Brown [1859b, vii]). Her identity, possible friendship with Roberts, and unusual life story are discussed elsewhere (Taylor in press).

Brown's familial connections are also highly relevant to our assessment of his work. Torrens (1995) noted that Edward Brown was an executor and trustee for the 1858 will of Amelia Anning, Mary's sister-in-law, who also lived in Broad Street. So the families were plainly linked, though it is not clear whether this link arose through family friendship, or relationship through blood or marriage. Given this link, and given that the families lived so close to each other, it is likely that they would have kept in touch. Henry Brown therefore had potential access to information on Mary Anning held by her family. That the second edition of *Beauties* devoted more space than the first to Mary suggests that the first edition had prompted further information from the family. Such a link also suggests why Brown knew the relatively obscure life of Frances Bell which had been privately published in London before he was born, for the Annings would have kept a copy because of their familial interest (Grant, 1827).

Plagiarism

In 1865 there appeared in the magazine *All the year round*, an article on Anning (Anon. 1865a) which is often misattributed to Charles Dickens, who was merely the editor (Taylor and Torrens 2014b). It was in part lifted from George Roberts's local histories and the second edition of Brown's book. This blatant

plagiarism drew a scathing comment in the Scottish newspaper, the *Elgin and Morayshire Courier* (Anon. 1865b):

It is highly amusing to see with what stuff the so-called original short papers contributed to the magazines are frequently made. The scissors and paste are often too apparent; evidently the contributors are only too glad to shelter their unblushing piracies under the anonymous. In an article last month in *All The Year Round*, there is a good specimen of this class of composition. It is entitled "Mary Anning, the Fossil Finder." To say nothing of its close resemblance to a paper which appeared two or three years previously on the same subject in *Chamber's Miscellany* [(Anon. 1857a; Taylor and Torrens in press 2014a)], it shows us further how readily such 'original contributins' are concocted. The writers are sure to betray themselves, for they invariably abuse most soundly the books to which they are entirely indebted for the only facts which give interest to their productions. In this case the writer takes the "Guide Book" to the place in which Miss Anning was born, and from its pages gathers all the information with which the article is seasoned. Of course, he quotes all the authorities referred to by a pains-taking author, which he serves up in quotations as evidence of his own research. Having been acquainted with Miss Anning, and a frequent visitor to the delightful locality in which she resided, in justice to the writer of some of the best descriptions of local history, and a gentleman well known on the press, I could not pass over, without comment, so flagrant and paltry an act of literary injustice

This was in a regular column, 'Our London Letter', not, apparently, syndicated or printed elsewhere, suggesting a personal link to Elgin. Of the very few Morayshire-born London journalists in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the only likely candidate is the expatriate Scot James Grant (1802-79) (Anon. 1879a, 1879b, 1879c, 1879d; Watt 1890; Douglas 1930; Griffiths 2004; Lawrence 2009, 257-258). Originally founding editor and co-proprietor of the *Elgin Courier*, he moved to London in the early 1830s, sending back a regular column to the newspaper, which however soon closed. Grant was journalist and editor on a range of London newspapers and journals. The *Elgin and Morayshire Courier*, opened in 1845, was quite separate from the *Elgin Courier*, with different owners, but shared its predecessor's sympathies,

being Liberal and Evangelical as noted by Grant himself in his history of the newspaper press (1871-1872, vol. 3, 539-545), and Cowan (1946; 'Evangelical' is in the Scottish sense, i.e. the tendency that in 1843 became the Free Church). So it would be natural to find Grant writing for this newspaper. He evidently maintained links with his native compatriots, for instance being involved in the London Morayshire Friendly Meeting (Anon. 1863). His obituarists noted him as an evangelical (in the more general English sense) whose substantial output included a significant proportion of religious books (Douglas 1930 described him as a Baptist, possibly wrongly). Grant wrote on the London legal world, as well as the literary and journalistic one (Grant 1837), so that he might well have befriended Henry Rowland Brown in these two milieux. (He was not the author of the 1827 book, who was the Rev. Johnson Grant.)

This denunciation of the 1865 plagiarist gives us another personal report of Anning, though a very brief one. Grant's exact contemporary Hugh Miller (1802-56) was a fellow Evangelical editor from the Moray Firth coastlands, who had friends in and around Elgin (Taylor 2007), but the timing of Grant's departure around 1833-4 makes it unlikely that they got to know each other there (Grant's son, born at Elgin in 1830, was named John Miller Grant, but this surely refers to Mrs Grant's maiden surname of Miller in the usual Scots manner). Grant is not known to have been interested in science, and an initial sample of his highly respectful remarks on Miller shows no particular interest in the geological side of Miller's writings ([Grant] 1862, 377-8; Grant 1871-2, vol. 3, 430-32). So, if we are correct in identifying the author of the piece as Grant, it seems likeliest that Grant encountered Anning on a family holiday, perhaps when taking his child to her shop to spend a few pennies on fossils, as did others who remembered her (Lang 1950, 1963). This reminds us that Mary Anning and her fossils had an impact on the general public as much as on specialist palaeontologists, and, indeed, that she had a literal shop window for science, as remains the case with the commercial collectors and their shops in Lyme and Charmouth today.

Assessment

We do not here explore the full implications of Brown's work, which is best left for our future research on Anning. However, we make some preliminary remarks here. As well as on the Grant and Carus books, Brown's account plainly drew in part upon

George Roberts's history of Lyme (1834), reasonably accurately. He seemingly also drew, for such things as Anning's 'masculine' appearance and elements of the lightning incident, on an article published in 1857 by Roberts, Frank Buckland (1826-80) and probably his father William Buckland the geologist (1784-1856), who all knew Anning well themselves (Anon. 1857a, Taylor and Torrens in press 2014a; this tends to be confirmed by the absence of those elements in the first edition of Brown's book). The implication is that those accounts, or at least the quoted remarks, were regarded as acceptable by Brown, and presumably also by the Anning family.

Brown's account seems to have had little overt recognition in the Anning literature, and that mainly in the shorter 1857 edition, three instances being the British Museum (Natural History) colleagues Sherborn (1940) and Lang (1950), and Torrens (1995). It is, however, now clear that Brown's work, in its more expansive 1859 version, did in fact pass into the wider Anning literature through its piracy in the 1865 article in *All the year round*, and that Brown should be credited with bringing content such as the Miss Bell and Carus episodes into circulation. It is equally clear that the 1865 author bungled his theft, in part because he failed to spot the ambiguity of timing in Brown's account noted above, and that his carelessness contaminated much writing on Anning, causing persistent problems which affect modern authors (Taylor and Torrens 2014b). Torrens (1995, 272) commented that the 1865 author is unusual in placing Anning in a properly informed context, considering her as an adult without making her fit a child-centred model in the depressingly (in our view) common manner. But plainly this credit should mostly now go to Henry Brown, a native Lymian who must have known Anning personally, though only during his childhood given that she died in 1847, and whose family connections, whatever they precisely were, evidently informed his account of her. Our conclusions allow Henry Brown to be recognised as an Anning author of real interest, and our publication of his account allows it to be used for scholarship and public interpretation.

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