



MARVELS

THE LIFE OF

Clarence Bicknell







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Botanist, Archaeologist, Artist

Valerie Lester



MATADOR





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FRONTISPIECE: Outside the Casa Fontanalba, left to right: Marco Novello, Clarence Bicknell, Capitano Alberto Pelloux, Signora Bianca Pelloux, Luigi Pelloux. All four guests signed the *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book* on 12 August 1913.





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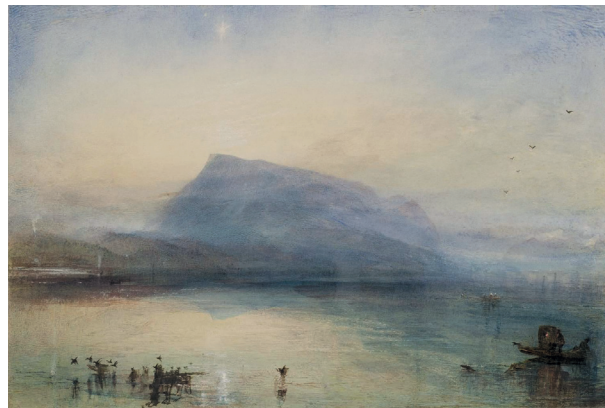


PROLOGUE

WHEN CLARENCE BICKNELL WAS BORN in 1842, Queen Victoria was 23 years old, had been on the throne for five years, and already had two children. The Industrial Revolution was in full swing in Britain; the emergence of steam power, factory production, and a modern capitalist economy caused a decline in workers' living standards but fabulous wealth for others, among them Clarence's father Elhanan. The Mines Act of 1842 prohibited underground work for women and for boys under ten years old. Isambard Kingdom Brunel's tunnel under the Thames was completed; he had already run the Great Western Railway to Bristol; and was a few months from the launch of the world's biggest ship, the *SS Great Britain*. J. M. W. Turner had just exhibited *Snow Storm – Steam-boat off a Harbour's Mouth* at the Royal Academy, and his new Swiss mountain scene *The Blue Rigi, Sunrise* had been snapped up by Elhanan.

John Ruskin, art critic, artist and social thinker, was also 23 and living next door to Elhanan in Herne Hill. Clarence's uncle Phiz was 27 and had been illustrating Dickens's books for six years. Opera was all the rage; Verdi's *Nabucco*, Glinka's *Ruslan and Ludmilla*, and Donizetti's *Linda di Chamounix* all had premières in 1842.

In the natural sciences Charles Darwin had published his monograph on the *Beagle* in 1839, crystallising early stirrings of the idea of evolution by natural selection. These ideas were to have a profound effect on the teachings of the established church and posed intellectual challenges to men like Clarence Bicknell. It is no wonder that, after a formal education and 15 years in the Anglican church, he left Britain, and devoted the rest of his life to botany, archaeology, writing, painting and philanthropy on the Italian Riviera and in the nearby mountains.



J.M.W. Turner *The Blue Rigi, Sunrise*, 1842. Tate.



Clarence Bicknell

William Bicknell = *Elizabeth Randell*
 1749 - 1825 1756 - 1821

and 7 siblings

Hannah Wootton
Langton
 1788 - 1815
1st wife

Mary Jones
 1795 - 1827
2nd wife

Ethanan Bicknell
 1788 - 1861
Shipowner

Lucinda Sarah
Browne
 1801 - 1850
3rd wife

Ethanan
Bicknell II
 1813 - 1860

Mary
Ann
Bicknell
 1817 - 1858

Henry
Sanford
Bicknell
 1818 - 1880

= *Christine*
Roberts
 1821 - 1872

Herman
Bicknell
 1830 - 1875

Ada
Bicknell
 1831 - 1911

= *Edward*
Berry
 1817 - 1875

Algernon
Sidney
Bicknell
 1832 - 1911

and 2 siblings
died young

= *Margaret Serocold*
 1867 - 1957

= *Edward Ethanan and*
Berry *5 siblings*
 1861 - 1931

1 adopted child

and his Close Family

William Loder = Katherine Hunter
Browne 1775-1856
1771-1855

and 12
siblings

= Louisa Holland
d. 1884
4th wife
No issue

Katherine Ann = Captain Nicholas
Browne = Hablot
1793-1862 1780-c.1830

Hablot Knight
Browne
1815-1882
"Phiz"

Edgar Percy Matilda Lucinda
Bicknell Bicknell Bicknell Constance
1834-1886 1836-1911 1838-1858
No issue Bicknell
1840-1902

Clarence
Bicknell
1842-1918
No issue

Edgar
Athelstane
Browne
1842-1917

and 11
siblings

and Nora Matilda Linda Mary
5 siblings Bicknell Bicknell
1871-1960 1873-1929
No issue No issue





ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

IN 2012, MARCUS BICKNELL, Clarence's great-great nephew and guardian since 1995 of the family's collection of Clarence's art and books, retired from full-time work and found himself in need of a captivating project. He decided to bring Clarence Bicknell to a wider public – and to celebrate the centenary of his death – with the publication of this biography; a film *The Marvels of Clarence Bicknell*; exhibitions; and a reproduction of Clarence's *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*. Having set up an excellent research-pooling website and an association, he then put together a team.

It is to this team that I owe my deepest debt. We are six: Marcus, the driving force; Susie Bicknell, researcher, specialising in Clarence's art; Graham Avery, mountain walker, botanist, writer and researcher; Helen Blanc-Francard, landscape designer, writer, picture researcher; Christopher Chippindale, archaeologist, author and Clarence specialist; and myself, the principal writer. Biography is usually a lonely profession, but being a part of this team took care of that. Its members offered me encouragement when my spirits flagged and new material when I got stuck. I cannot imagine working with a kinder, more competent, more supportive group of people.

Marcus is my fourth cousin once-removed, and I found him in August 2000 when researching my book on Phiz, Clarence's uncle. Already by April 2001 we were corresponding about the Vallée des Merveilles and Bordighera, but it was not until I finished my book on Bodoni in early 2014 that I got cracking on Clarence. I spent many weeks, on many different trips, from my home in the U.S. working with Marcus and Susie near London, poring over the material in the Bicknell collection. We talked about Clarence all day, every day, arguing about the details and mysteries in Clarence's life. Marcus was unflagging in his research; he left no stone unturned. Susie took on many special projects that I have incorporated into the manuscript. By the way, their hospitality is world class.

Graham Avery is a wise and scrupulous researcher and writer, and has held me to a high standard. His essays on many aspects of Clarence's life can be found on the Clarence Bicknell website,²⁹⁸ essays to which I have turned time and again. His discovery of Clarence's letters to Burnat,



has led to much of the narrative of the second half of Clarence's life. Without them, I would have been fumbling in the dark, a prey to speculation. He has contributed notably to recent work on Clarence.

It was through walking in the Alps in 2008 that Graham encountered Clarence's name in the Vallée des Merveilles. His interest in alpine flora led him to investigate Reginald Farrer's publications on botanical excursions in Europe in the period 1899 to 1913, including the book *Among The Hills: A Book of Joy in High Places* (1911) in which Farrer recounted a tour of the Alps in 1910, including a visit to Val Casterino to meet an enigmatic un-named person. Wishing to elucidate this, Graham googled the search-terms 'Reginald Farrer' and 'Clarence Bicknell' and found that the Casa Fontanalba visitors' book – of which a transcript had been posted online by Marcus – does indeed have Farrer's signature for 19 July 1910. Graham contacted Marcus, and began his research into Clarence's botanical activities. Realising that dried specimens of flowers collected by Clarence are to be found in herbaria in many countries, he wrote to Geneva's Botanical Garden which conserves the herbarium of the Swiss botanist Émile Burnat, including specimens contributed by Clarence. Geneva informed Graham that they had in their archives nearly seven hundred letters and postcards from Clarence to Burnat!

After discovering this bounty, Graham transcribed and published a selection of about three hundred, which are quoted frequently in this biography. He also found 31 letters from Clarence to the Italian botanist Stefano Sommier in the library of the University of Florence and, following up the fact that the visitors' book displays the names of three botanists from Bristol who visited Casa Fontanalba, he discovered five letters from Clarence in the archives of Bristol University and the Bristol Naturalists' Society. To have had access, thanks to Graham, to so much primary material has been a singular blessing.

Helen Blanc-Francard is a brilliant photo researcher, whose discoveries have lent a visual, and even aural, dimension to the book. She is uncannily able to feel her way into a scene, and her illustrated messages have always enlivened my job and my day. Some of the brighter passages in the biography have been snatched wholesale (with her permission) from her correspondence.

Christopher Chippindale, a devoted student of and writer about Bicknell since the 1980s at Cambridge University, provided archaeological expertise to the effort, and his work on Clarence and the rock engravings in the Alpes Maritimes has been invaluable.

In Britain I trod Clarence's path from Herne Hill to Cambridge to his first church postings in the UK before he left for Bordighera. I was greatly helped by the staff of Trinity College Cambridge; the Rev. Katy Hacker Hughes at St Paul's Walworth, London; the Rev. Andy Ackroyd, warden Jan Wattleworth and Janice Bradley at St Peter's Stoke-upon-Tern, Shropshire; Liz Young and Karen Young, Shropshire Archives in Shrewsbury; John Rooney, Archivist at the University of Southampton for information on Broadlands; Philip Bye of the East Sussex Record Office at The Keep; and Martyn Webster, who alerted us to the diaries of Clarence's brother Sidney there; and Mark Bicknell (Marcus's first cousin) who provided information on Elhanan, the *Whalers*, and the photo of the bust of Clarence's mother Lucinda.

In early 2014, I settled into research at the Museo Bicknell. It was the coldest winter in 55 years and I needed and enjoyed support (including a heavy down jacket and a hot water bottle) from



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the friends I made there. I am indebted to the Museum's director Dr Daniela Gandolfi and to her colleagues at the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Dr Elena Riscosso, Dr Giovanni Russo, Franca Porrà, Dr Marta Garulli and Dr Bruna di Paoli. Special thanks go to Bruna for prying me away from book research and leading me into the hills to follow in Clarence's footsteps in the beautiful countryside surrounding Bordighera.

Giuseppe Bessone, architect, art collector, Bicknell specialist and for me the spirit of Bordighera, has been an immense source of facts, encouragement and hospitality. Many others in Bordighera also deserve my thanks, including Pier Rossi; Gisella Merello; Luca Moreno; Maria Pia Luly Jones; Marco Re; Simona Beghelli of the Biblioteca Civica Internazionale; and Elisabetta Gozzini. A few kilometers along the coast towards France are two of the world's most famous gardens where I found friendship and botanical intelligence from Carolyn Hanbury (Hanbury Gardens) and Ursula Salghetti Drioli Piacenza (Boccanegra Gardens). Carolyn's deliciously warm kitchen and good humour brightened my way as I trudged along. At the Università degli Studi di Genova, where Clarence's archaeological field notebooks and huge collections of pressed flowers and botanical watercolours are held, Professor Mauro Mariotti, Director of Genoa University's Department for the Earth, Environment and Life Sciences, and a prolific writer on botanical issues, has been a vital source of images and information.

Others who helped the project are Pierre Machu of the Institut National du Patrimoine in Paris; the staff at the Musée des Merveilles in Tende, especially the director Charles Turcat and Silvia Sandrone; the staff of Parc National du Mercantour; Conseil Départemental des Alpes-Maritime in Nice; Mairie de Tende; researchers in Tende like Françoise Villain Rinieri and Nadine Valentini; Dominique Aviotti of the Auberge Val Casterino; and André and Natalie Boulanger (and his parents Michel and Elise) in the Hotel des Mélèzes. Dr Robert Hearn and Dr Raffaella Bruzzone, teaching and researching at the University of Nottingham and the Università degli Studi di Genova, buoyed us up with their enthusiasm for Clarence's botanical art and his place in the geo-history of the Alpine region between Italy and France.

Special thanks go to the rock engraving guide Franck Panza who escorted me and my cousin Petra Molloy to the Casa Fontanalba, unfortunately closed, but at least we saw the house in its lovely setting, and then up into the Val Fontanalba for what was one of the most memorable days of our lives. It was 1 June and the park had just opened for the season. We hiked up through fields of gentians, up and up, until the engravings began appearing. Franck pointed them out, and still we climbed higher until he had to cut steps in the snow so that we could see even more. Everywhere was the sound of melting water rushing beneath the snow as the thaw took hold. The sky was bright blue, the air was crystal clear, and we understood the magic of the place.

I thank the Hingham, MA, Public Library; the British Museum (Natural History) for Baroness von Taube's letters; Christopher Mills at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; the Fitzwilliam Museum and the enthusiasm there of Hettie Ward, Emma Darbyshire and Camay Chapman-Cameron; authors Michael Nelson (the Riviera); Brian Green (Herne Hill); Mark Howard (whales); Selby Whittingham (Turner's art); and Maddalena Cataldi (archaeology).

Special thanks to the collections where Graham Avery found so much new material: Oxford University Herbaria; the Conservatory and Botanical Garden of Geneva; the Botanical Library

of the University of Florence; the Botanic Garden of Meise, Belgium; London Metropolitan Archives; Bristol Naturalists' Society.

The active team of Esperanto experts has been headed by Olga Kerzjuk at the British Library; Professor Humphrey Tonkin of the University of Hartford, CT; Leland Bryant Ross; Nicola Minnaja; Bill Chapman; Angela Tellier; Wera Blanke; and the late Paul Gubbins.

Nick Humez, my indexer, and Sally Salvesen, the book's editor and production director, have added their invaluable expertise and polish. I am so grateful to have had such professional support in completing the book. I alone am responsible for errors in translation from French and Italian of the many letters, articles and books I read in those languages.

Deep gratitude goes to my readers: the researchers in the team of six, of course; my children, the writers Toby Lester and Alison Jean Lester; Bruce Kennett for his eagle eye, design sense, and shoulder-to-shoulder encouragement; Diana Phillips, whose knowledge, sense of style, and ability to nose out clichés and anachronisms is paramount; Marcia and Geoff Thompson, who provided laughter, great meals and a perfect writer's refuge, complete with swimmable pond at the end of their lane on Cape Cod. My friends Sarah deLima, Mary Ann Frye and Michael MacPherson have kept me sane by prying me away from my desk and taking me for bracing walks.

It is to Marcus and Susie Bicknell that I owe my deepest gratitude for their inspiration, drive and support. We have had so much fun.

V.L.
April 2018

NOTES

1. Valerie Lester, the author of this biography, also wrote *Phiz: The Man Who Drew Dickens* (2004), in which she proved that Phiz was Clarence's cousin and not his uncle. His natural mother, Kate, permitted her mother to adopt him to avoid a scandal.
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99. Hein, p. 338.
100. Greville MacDonald, p. 558.
101. C.B. to Baroness von Taube, 1912-6-10. This item comes from a collection of autograph letters written by Bicknell to the baroness during the period 1909–1914. They are held at the Natural History Museum in London, call number: NHM, 92 BIC.
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La Vita	<i>Clarence Bicknell: La Vita e le Opere</i> . Eds. Daniela Gandolfi and Mario Marcenaro. Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri [IISL], 2003
Met	courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
OxHerb	University of Oxford Herbaria
ShropArch	Shropshire Archive, Shrewsbury
Tate	courtesy of the Tate Gallery, London
UniGen	courtesy of the Università degli Studi di Genova, D.I.S.T.A.V.
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Vintners	Vintners' Company, London

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- 94 C.B., *Quarries and Tombs of Silsileh 8/1/90*. Diary sketch.
- 95 C.B., *Hills Behind Denderah, New Year's Day 1890*. Diary sketch.
- 96 C.B., *Camels at Assouan 7/1/90*. Diary sketch.
- 96 C.B., *At Keneh, 10/1/90*. Diary sketch. 'Keneh' is probably how C.B. heard the town of Qena pronounced (also Kaine or Caene in antiquity), 40 kms north of Luxor on the east bank and adjoining Denderah.
- 97 David Roberts (1796–1864), *Column, Hall of the Temple at Karnak/Egypt*, 1838. Public Domain. This copy from Manfred Heyde, via Wikimedia Foundation. Whereabouts of original unknown.
- 97 C.B., *Boat laden with sacks*. Diary sketch, January 1890.
- 98 C.B., *Edfou*. Diary sketch.
- 98 C.B., *Pylon of the Temple of Horus at Edfou*. Diary sketch.
- 98 C.B., *Esneh 8/1/90*; Mosque, Pigeon House, Rising Water, Sycamore Tree and Windmills. Diary sketch.
- 99 C.B., *Nile near Assouan*. Diary sketch.
- 99 C.B., *Doum Palms*. Diary sketch.
- 99 C.B., *Boats at Assouan 6/1/90*. Diary sketch.
- 100 C.B., *Luxor by moonlight from the boat, 8/1/90*. Diary sketch.
- 100 C.B., *Pigeon house and a boat on the Nile*. Diary sketch.
- 101 C.B., *View from where we stuck on a sandbank 2pm 13/1/90*. Diary sketch.
- 103 C.B., *Acropolis*. Diary sketch.
- 104 C.B., diary excerpt 'Reached Home'.
- 106 Margaret and Edward Berry. Their passport photos are in the Bicknell Collection.
- 108 Algernon Sidney Bicknell in 1850. Photograph in his diary, courtesy of the East Sussex Record Office at The Keep, near Brighton, U.K. (Acc 8490).
- 108 Clarence with his bicycle, Villa Rosa, probably 1892. Photographer unknown. Photo in the Bicknell collection.
- 109 C.B.'s photo by Ezio Benigni is mounted on stiff card inscribed Formato Gabinetto which refers to a standard size for printing photos, 100 × 150mm, 'cabinet format'. Original in the Bicknell Collection.

- 110 Map, Mont Bégo region, drawn by Martin Brown, © 2018 The Estate of Clarence Bicknell, Bicknell Collection.
- 111 *Le Sorcier* (The Sorcerer) is the best known of the 50,000 rock engravings in the Mont Bégo area. Public domain. This copy from a photo by Luigi Pollini c. 1900 in the Bicknell Collection.
- 112 The Lac Long, Mont Bégo and Mont Clapier. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons, Photo by Nico4nicolas.
- 112 Mont Bégo. Public domain. Creative Commons, on Wikimedia, photo courtesy of Bruno000, 2004.
- 112 C.B., *Breil-sur-Roya*, February 1882. Watercolour in the Bicknell collection.
- 114 C.B., *Casterino looking North 6.7.97*, pocket-book sketch in the Bicknell Collection.
- 114 Lafayette, *Sir James Berry*. Half-plate nitrate negative, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG x42701.
- 114 Lafayette, *Lady Berry*. Half-plate nitrate negative, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG x42705.
- 115 Group at Pellegrino's house. 'Cameriere' could be Luigi's profession (a waiter) or his family name. Photographer unknown. Print in the Bicknell Collection.
- 116 This watercolour of *Saxifraga florulenta* by C.B. is one of 3,428 botanical watercolours donated by him to the Università degli Studi di Genova, D.I.S.T.A.V. (University of Genova) and is reproduced with their permission.
- 116 *Saxifraga florulenta*. Photo by Elisabetta Massardo, 2017, reproduced with her permission.
- 116 Arturo Issel, University of Genova. Photo in the public domain, <https://www.liberliber.it/online/autori/autori-i/arturo-issel/>.
- 117 Little round holes. Typical of the rock engravings in the Mont Bégo region. Unknown photographer. Courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 118 C.B., *Farm and hay stooks in Val Casterino*, watercolour 300 × 220mm. Bicknell Collection.
- 118 Marmots (similar to the American Groundhogs) are numerous in the Mont Bégo area. Photo courtesy of Großglockner Hochalpenstraßen, Austria, grossglockner.at
- 119 C.B., *Lago Verde, August 11, 1897*, in pocket sketchbook. Bicknell Collection
- 119 Ezio Benigni (attributed), *Rock engravings 'near the upper margheria'*. 'Malgheria' is Italian for a dairy farm but was spelt 'margheria' by Clarence and Margaret Berry. Bicknell Collection.
- 120 Pollini, Clarence and Mahdi. Photo courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 121 *Rock carving of an ox-head on triangular slab* donated by C.B. to the British Museum in 1897. Photo courtesy of the British Museum, Museum number 1897.1229.1, image reference AN00790984_001_1.jpg
- 122 Rock engravings of a plough drawn by two oxen, from C.B. *A Guide to the Prehistoric Rock Engravings of the Italian Maritime Alps (1913)*. Bicknell Collection.
- 122 C.B. *In Val Casterino*, August 1901, plough drawn by two oxen. Pocket sketchbook in the Bicknell Collection.
- 123 Luigi Pollini, *Le Sorcier (The Sorcerer)*, photo. Courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 125 Clarence and the Berrys, Casa Fontanalba. Unknown photographer. Bicknell Collection.
- 126 *The Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps*. Bicknell Collection.
- 126 Mercedes Pollini. Photo in the Bicknell Collection.
- 127 *Chef du Tribu*, photo courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 127 C.B., *Weapons and implements*. A plate from *The Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps*. Book in the Bicknell Collection.
- 130 *Cypripedium calceolus*, the Lady's Slipper orchid. Public domain. Wikipedia Creative Commons. Photo by Guckusko Jamtland in June 2004 / Ulf Sundberg.
- 131 Pokerwork bowl. Photo by Fabio Negrino of Genoa, reproduced with his kind permission.
- 132 Linda and Nora Bicknell. Photographs from one of the velum-bound albums, courtesy of its owner Marco Re.
- 133 C.B., *Cortina d'Ampezzo, 1904*. Watercolour in the Bicknell Collection.
- 134 Clarence and Alberto Pelloux. Photo courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 135 Luigi Pollini, 1912. Public domain. Photo from the programme of the 1912 Esperanto World Congress at Cracow. This copy courtesy of the Austrian National Library
- 135 Émile Cartailhac. Photo by Daniel Chevalier (1887–1934) 1921/Didier Descouens 2010, Museum of Toulouse. Creative Commons Attribution.
- 136 Front cover of 1884 issue of *La Guêpe*, Émile Cartailhac. Photo by G. Gavaudun, Wikimedia Commons.
- 137 Cartailhac, *Image of a bison in the Niaux cave*. Photo courtesy of the Bradshaw Foundation bradshawfoundation.com/niaux/.
- 137 Fresco of a black Ibex from the Salon Noir, Niaux. Photo: Breuil, H., Cartailhac É., 1907: « Une seconde campagne aux cavernes ornées de Niaux (Ariège) et de Gargas (Hautes-Pyrénées). Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 51e année, N.4, 1907 » pp. 213–22. Courtesy of Don Hitchcock at donsmaps.com.
- 140 Laying the foundation stone of Monte Verde 1904, photographer unknown, from Margaret Berry's scrapbook. Bicknell Collection
- 141 Ellen Willmott. Public domain. This copy courtesy of Berkeley Castle and clarencebicknell.com. Photographer unknown.
- 142 *Miss Willmott's Ghost*. Photo in the public domain by Zeynel Cebeci. Wikimedia Commons.
- 142 Rosa Junck. Photographer unknown. Public domain, WikiData, Robert Weemeyer.
- 142 C.B. with two women. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 142 Clarence, Mahdi and Alice Campbell. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 144 Photo of Clarence in the collection of photos by Ezio Benigni in the Biblioteca Civica Internazionale in Bordighera, reproduced with their permission.
- 146 Page from C.B.'s *Book of Guests in Esperanto*. Book in the Bicknell Collection.
- 147 Stefano Sommier. Photo by Brogi, Florence. Public domain. Courtesy of the Natural History Museum of Florence and Researchgate.net.
- 148 Abbot Carestia, botanist. Public domain. Photo courtesy of Dipartimento di Botanica, Università di Catania.
- 149 Reginald Farrer. Photo from the collection of the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh reproduced with their permission.
- 149 Clarence Elliott. Public domain. From the *Illustrated*

ABBREVIATIONS AND IMAGE CREDITS

- London News*, 11 January 1958.
- 151 Farrer and Elliott signatures in the *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*, in the Bicknell collection.
- 152 Casa Fontanalba postcard from C.B. to Émile Burnat in the archives of the Conservatoire et Jardin botaniques de la Ville de Genève. Photo by Graham Avery. Reproduced with their kind permission.
- 154 Bingham Crowther, public domain photo from Flickr.com, uncredited.
- 156 Casa Fontanalba garden map. Photo by Marcus Bicknell from the original of his list of plants in *Wild Flowers* in the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Bordighera.
- 159 H. Stuart Thompson. Photo by E.B. Mowll, courtesy of the Bristol Naturalists' Society, from their Proceedings of 1940.
- 160 The *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book* is in the Bicknell Collection. Photo by Marcus Bicknell.
- 161 Logo on the first page of the *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*, Bicknell Collection. Photo by Marcus Bicknell.
- 162 First page of signatures and corresponding botanical watercolours in C.B.'s *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*. The hand-drawn original 265 × 340mm is in the Bicknell Collection and a limited edition art reproduction is available for purchase.
- 164 C.B., watercolour of *Caltha palustris*, in the *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*. Bicknell Collection.
- 165 Émile Cartailhac's page in the *Book of Guests in Esperanto* by C.B., 130 × 205mm. The logotype at the top combines his initials with the various forms of the rock engravings of the Mont Bégo region, which he had come to visit. Bicknell Collection.
- 166 An opening from C.B.'s *Children's Picture Book of Wild Plants*, 250 × 330mm. Bicknell Collection.
- 167 *The Triumph of the Dandelion* from one of 7 vellum-bound albums by C.B. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, PD5-11 (1980), reproduced with their permission.
- 169 Grosvenor Berry in the *Book of Guests in Esperanto* by C.B. Bicknell Collection.
- 169 George Macdonald, poem from one of 7 vellum-bound albums by C.B. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, PD5-11 (1980) reproduced with their permission.
- 171 Symmetrical floral patterns from one of 7 vellum-bound albums by C.B. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, PD5-11 (1980) reproduced with their permission.
- 172 *Aquilegia alpina* in C.B.'s *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*. Bicknell Collection.
- 174 Metallic lapel pin badge of the Esperanto star in the Bicknell Collection.
- 175 C.B. wears his Esperanto star. Photographer unknown. Bicknell Collection.
- 176 Ezio Benigni (attributed), *The Bordighera Tea Rooms adjacent to the tennis club*, c. 1905. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Civica Internazionale in Bordighera.
- 176 Esperanto postcard. Courtesy of the Conservatoire et Jardin botaniques de la Ville de Genève.
- 177 International Esperanto Congress, Boulogne, 1905. Photo by Henri Caudeville in the public domain available via Wikimedia Commons uploaded by Zico.
- 177 C.B., photo by Ezio Benigni in the collection of the Biblioteca Civica Internazionale in Bordighera, reproduced with their permission.
- 178 Zamenhof group photo at Boulogne. Public domain. Courtesy of the BildArchiv Austria via Wikimedia, photographer unknown.
- 179 Poster of the Universal Esperanto Congress in Geneva in 1906. Public domain. This copy courtesy of Liverpool Hidden History, Steven Horton.
- 180 Esperanto group in Bordighera. Photo in the public domain, copies in the Bicknell Collection and the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 180 Esperanto Congress in Cambridge. Public domain. Courtesy of the BildArchiv Austria via Wikimedia, photographer unknown.
- 181 Pages from the album of the Esperanto World Congress in Cracow, 1912. Public domain. This copy courtesy of the Austrian National Library.
- 181 Poster of the International Esperanto Congress in Barcelona in 1909. Public domain. This copy courtesy of modernism-modernity.org, Nico Israel.
- 181 Poster of the International Esperanto Congress in Paris in 1914. Public domain. This copy courtesy of nodoso.org, Xavier Alcalde.
- 184 Sri Pada. Wikipedia Creative Commons. Photo by Bourgeois 2005.
- 185 Peradeniya Garden. Public domain. This copy from *Popular Science Monthly* (Volume 73, September 1908, The Botanical Gardens of Ceylon), photograph by Macmillan, via WikiSource.
- 186 Jade pendants and silver medal of the Societas Sancti Spiritus, in the Bicknell Collection, photo by Marcus Bicknell.
- 186 Cima Bicknell postcard in the Bicknell Collection.
- 187 Émile Burnat. Photo courtesy of the Stadtarchiv Schaffhausen.
- 190 Sample of *Pimpinella bicknellii*. Photo courtesy of Oxford University Herbaria, Department of Plant Sciences.
- 191 Sidney Bicknell. Photo in the Bicknell Collection.
- 195 Statue of Giacomo Viale. Photo by Marcus Bicknell.
- 195 C.B. *Val Casterino* in 'sanguine'. Bicknell Collection.
- 196 C.B. *Psalliotia xanthoderma*. Watercolour in the collection given by Clarence to the Università degli Studi di Genova, D.I.S.T.A.V.
- 198 Giacomo Pollini in Clarence's *Book of Guests in Esperanto*, Bicknell Collection.
- 199 Peter A. Kropotkin and his wife Sophia Grigorievna. Public domain. Source Тема 'Простая', Технологии, via <http://scorsoinfo.blogspot.co.uk/2014/09/dmitrov-kropotkin-returns.html>.
- 200 C.B. dandelion watercolour in one of the vellum-bound albums (PD7) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, reproduced with their permission.
- 201 C.B.'s magic lanterns, photo by Marcus Bicknell, courtesy of the Gozzini family.
- 202 C.B. Christmas card to Pelloux. Courtesy of the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Museo Bicknell, Bordighera.
- 203 *Hotel Angst*. Photo by Ezio Benigni, courtesy of the Biblioteca Civica Internazionale in Bordighera.
- 204 C.B. watercolour of *Cytisus sessilifolius* in the collection given by Clarence to the Università degli Studi di Genova, D.I.S.T.A.V., reproduced with their permission.
- 206 Pollini's tribute to Clarence in the *Casa Fontanalba Visitors' Book*. Bicknell Collection.
- 208 Clarence on the balcony of the Casa Fontanalba. Photographer unknown. Bicknell Collection.
- 246 C.B., *Arno River in Florence, 1885*, watercolour. Bicknell Collection.

