

## **Edward Morgan (c.1615-1689) and his botanical pupil Edward Lhwyd (c.1660-1709)**

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This pdf constitutes the Version of Record published on 28<sup>th</sup> December 2023

### **Abstract**

Edward Morgan introduced Edward Lhwyd to field botany but this has never been recognised. Lhwyd attracts the highest praise as a botanist, antiquary and philologist. He is profoundly recognised. This paper seeks to redress this imbalance. Little is known about Morgan principally because he never ventured into print. He is thought to have trained as a gardener possibly with John Tradescant Snr. (c.1570-1638), Jacob Bobart the elder (c.1599-1680) and Robert Morison (1620-1683). Morgan knew the Tradescants, the Bobarts, Robert Morison, John Parkinson and others of the contemporary British botanical elite. He accompanied Thomas Johnson (1600- or 1604-1644) on his Snowdon herborizing<sup>1</sup> as interpreter when, at age about 20, Johnson described him as a "student of botany". He knew William How (1620-1656), the anonymous author of *Phytologia Botannica*, 1650, and with him set up the Westminster Physic Garden (henceforth WPG) in 1650/51. It attracted many well-known botanists, for example, John Tradescant the elder & younger, Jacob Bobart the elder & younger, Robert Morison, Edward Lhwyd, Thomas Lawson, James Petiver, Leonard Plukenet, John Ray, Thomas Willisel, Sam Doody, William Coles, Sam Brewer *etc.* Evelyn and Pepys also visited. Morgan was a well-respected botanist and gardener for a long period in London. He left the WPG in 1678 to return to North Wales. He met Lhwyd and introduced him to, and tutored him in, field botany. Lhwyd was later to become a field botanist with the highest of reputations. Morgan was his major botanical influence in Lhwyd's early days as a field botanist.

An attempt is made to document what is known of Morgan's life and his achievements, bearing in mind that his circumstances were such that he left little behind. Morgan was probably more influential in the discovery of the Welsh flora than he is given credit. His skill as a botanist is gauged by the high respect shown to him by his botanical peers in his lifetime.

**Keywords:** Westminster Physic Garden; Thomas Johnson; Bobart; John Ward; Robert Morison; Westminster Abbey Muniments

### **Introduction**

The aims of this paper are:

1. To restore Edward Morgan's botanical reputation to what it was during his lifetime.
2. To attempt a biography of Morgan despite the paucity of material on this single, somewhat itinerant botanist, who never went into print and who had a common name.
3. To establish the site of the Westminster Physic Garden.

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<sup>1</sup>Not a 'Socii itinerantes' excursion.

4. To put on record that Morgan, having introduced Edward Lhwyd (c.1660-1709) to, and having tutored him in the basics of, field botany, was the major early botanical influence on Lhwyd.
5. To explain the role of Robert Rusholm(e) (fl. 1678, 1699).
6. It has not proved possible to establish Morgan's origins.

Edward Lhwyd<sup>2</sup> enjoys the highest reputation today as a botanist, antiquary and philologist. That Edward Morgan's reputation as a botanist is not so applauded today is because, unlike Lhwyd, he never ventured into print. He was a practical gardener and botanist who was for several decades a very well-known figure in British botanical circles because of his practical skills and great knowledge of plants (Harvey, 1994:44; Roberts, 2022:29). His failure to venture into print probably accounts for his being so little known as a botanist today. His fate is mirrored by many other naturalists, for example, Rev. Ralph Johnson (1629-1695) of Teesdale and "Dr." William Oliver (c.1761-1816) also of Teesdale (Horsman, 1998). John Binks (1766-1817) and Thomas Willisel (1621-c.1675) also spring to mind but in both these working-class cases major contemporary botanists published about them. Little is known about Morgan. His date and place of birth are unknown. He was a fluent Welsh speaker and, at an age of about 20 in 1639 he was a student of botany (Johnson, 1641:4). It is likely that he came from North Wales. We first encounter him in 1638 when he was a witness to John Tradescant the Elder's (c.1570-1638) will (Bloomer, 2006:252). He had exchanged plants with Tradescant in the 1630's (Allan, 1964:130). John Tradescant the Younger was admitted a Freeman of the Gardeners' Company in 1634. Thomas Johnson (c.1600 or 1604-1644) recruited Morgan as the interpreter on his visit to Snowdon in 1639. Did Tradescant recommend Morgan to Johnson? Oswald (2022: 31) states that it seems likely that Morgan was already well versed in the flora of North Wales before he went to live in Westminster. Further, and importantly, it may well be that Morgan showed some of the Welsh plants to Edward Lhwyd (c.1660-1709), or told him where he could find them. The late well-known Guardian columnist and botanist, William Condry (1918-1998), who had a special interest in Edward Lhwyd as a botanist, went so far as to say that: "Thomas Johnson's sources in finding so many important species [of plants] was probably due to his Welsh host and friend Edward Morgan rather than to his own skill and good fortune" (Condry, 1970). He became the "Herbarist to the Physick Garden of Westminster" (Coles, 1657) in 1650/51<sup>3</sup>, a post which he was to occupy for some thirty years until he returned to Wales in 1678. Jeffers (1953: 102) suggests that he was "quite likely living in Westminster" before he went to Snowdon with Thomas Johnson in 1639. John Ward (1629-1681) remarked: "I saw Ihonstons [*sic*] Mercurius botanicus att his house <sup>4</sup> itt is much like Dr. Hows phytologia this is an account of a voyage into Wales."<sup>5</sup> John Ward also tells us: "Ned Morgan was well acquainted with Ihonston [*sic*]<sup>6</sup>, he much commends him."<sup>7</sup> Boulger (1903:152) suggests that Morgan would have been about 20

<sup>2</sup>Lhwyd chose to adopt the Welsh version of his name (Roberts, 2022: 1).

<sup>3</sup>The Hartlib Papers, Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield. Ephemerides, c. April 1651, E 28/2/13A which reads: "One Morgan one of the best Herbarists for English plants. He is raising a Public Botanical Garden *neare the booling greene or alley at Westminster* [my emphasis] giving 5.lb. for rent a year having 27. years interest in it. Those that joine with him is Dr Howe maker of the Preface of Phytologia another Stanly an Apothecarie and a third whose name Dr. Child had forgotten."

Child refers to "Morgan at Westminster garden" in a letter dated 11 March, 1651.

<sup>4</sup> Whose house? Thomas Johnson died in 1644. Given their respective ages this can hardly be Ward visiting Thomas Johnson of Snowdon, perhaps a relative of Johnson's? Or does he simply mean Morgan's house?

<sup>5</sup>Ref: V.a.292 John Ward Diaries, Vol.9 27v-28r.

<sup>6</sup>I presume this is a reference to Thomas Johnson who went to Snowdon with Morgan in 1639?

<sup>7</sup>Ref: V.a.292 John Ward Diaries, Vol.9 27v-28r.

years of age on the Snowdon trip. In about 1679-80 (Roberts, 1980:13), more likely 1679, he moved to Edward Lhwyd's home at Llanforda near Oswestry in Shropshire, virtually in North Wales, where *he introduced Lhwyd to field botany* (see below).

By 1680 (Roberts, 1980:14) Morgan was resident at Bodysgallen near Llandudno but he continued to do some gardening work at Llanforda (Roberts, 1980:14). Why did he move from Llanforda to Bodysgallen? Edward Lloyd (1639-1681), Lhwyd's father, died in July, 1681, and Morgan needed another (gardening) job. He was to end his days at Bodysgallen in 1689.<sup>8</sup> At Lhwyd's request he bequeathed his herbarium to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. It is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>9</sup>

## Preamble

There are several contentious matters which I wish to address before I move on to the body of this study.

1. It was thought in some quarters, for instance Gunther (1922:355), that Edward Morgan of Westminster was not the same Edward Morgan as that of Llanforda and Bodysgallen. That he was is now demonstrated. An Edward Morgan was comparing the growth rates of plants in Shropshire and in London (Roberts, 1980:14). Edward Morgan, the subject of this paper, compared the growth rates, from Llanforda, of plants in Shropshire and in London at this time. He wrote to Bobart the Younger on 10 March, 1680: "...I found the ground and air farr too acrid yt. of London."

2. The late, eminent genealogist and botanist,<sup>10</sup> J.E.Griffith (1843-1933), thought that Edward Morgan came from Golden Grove in North Wales (Druce, 1919:722), the seat of the elite Morgan family. Griffith told Druce that the Wynne family of Gwydir and Bodysgallen intermarried with the Morgan family of Golden Grove. This is not born out by Griffith's own pedigrees of the Wynne and Morgan families (Griffith, 1914:184,281,314). No conclusive evidence has been found in support of Griffith in this matter, a rigorous search having been made. It has always been my impression that Edward Morgan was not of the gentry. In that Morgan was a bachelor and something of an itinerant botanist who never published anything, and given his common name, it has been very difficult to trace him. There is no record of his death in the local Bodysgallen/Conwy Record Office (Roberts, 2022:254 footnote 79). E.D.Jones (1950) dismisses Griffith's findings on this matter out of hand. What did Griffith have in mind when he told Druce this?

3. Jeffers (1953:8-9) suggested that the site of the Westminster Physic Garden (henceforth the WPG) was "in the vicinity of the West Cloister of Westminster Abbey," More specifically, that it was "on the site of what is now Little Dean's Yard" (see Fig. 1). The West Cloister and Little Dean's Yard are both within the Precincts of Westminster Abbey. I am informed by the Westminster Abbey Muniments (A. Trowles, pers. comm.) that the WPG was not within the Precincts of Westminster Abbey. There is no evidence that it was in the Westminster Abbey Muniments. Both Jeffers's proposed sites are within the Abbey Precincts. Jeffers has mistranslated Morison (1672:2) which reads: "...in horto

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<sup>8</sup>Book of Benefactors, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ref: Ash.Lib.AMS 2, p.12. + Hortus siccus: "moriens ex animo legavit a.d.1689." Translation: "It was bequeathed by a famous cultivator dying from his heart in 1689."

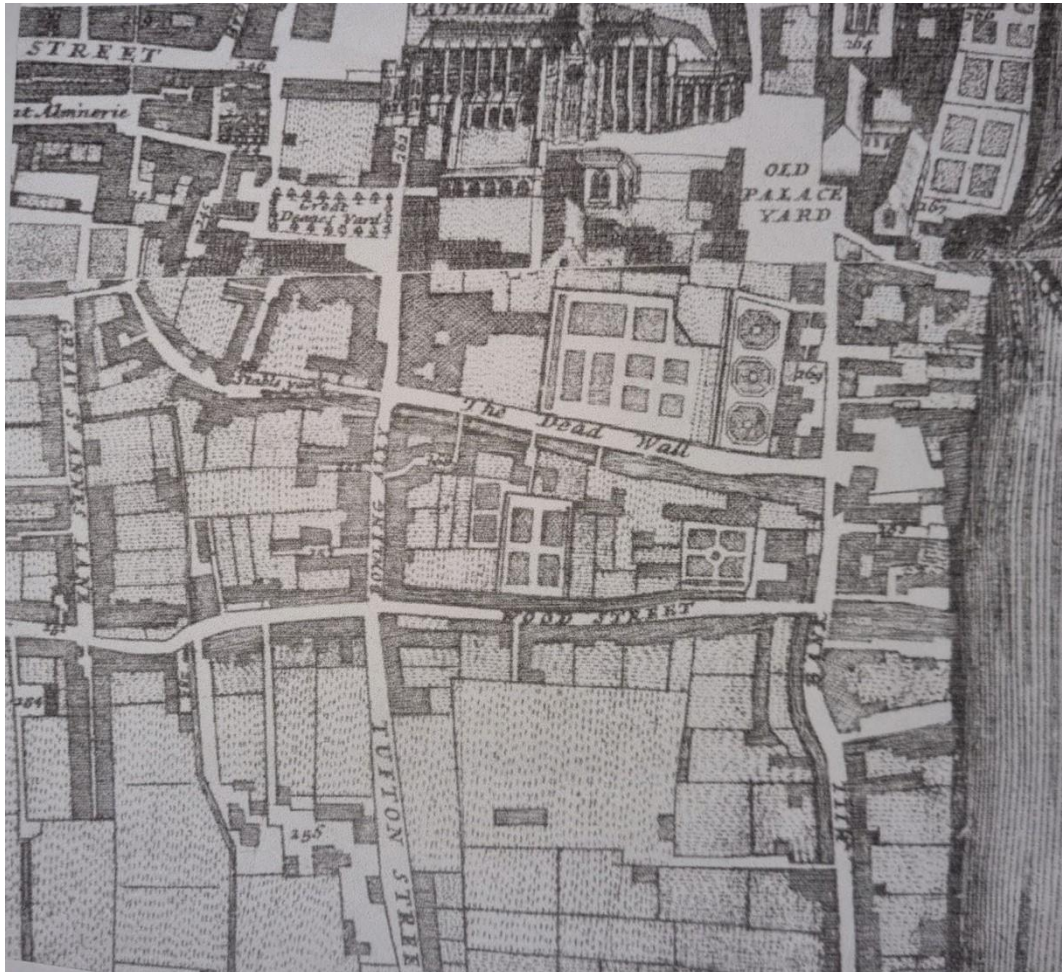
The entry in the Book of Benefactors reads, in translation: "Edward Morgan from Glamorgan [suspect per Roberts, pers. comm.], the celebrated former keeper of the botanical gardens at Westminster, and a man extremely knowledgeable about plants. When he heard from Edward Lhwyd (underkeeper of this Museum) that the collection lacked a hortus siccus or a collection of [dried] plants, he bequeathed to the Museum three large folio volumes containing some 2,000 specimens of plants (almost all of which he had grown himself in the aforementioned garden)."

<sup>9</sup>MSS Ashmole 1797-1799.

<sup>10</sup>He was the author of "The Flora of Anglesey & Carnarvonshire", 1895, Bangor. He was also a Fellow of the Linnean Society of London, reflecting his interest in botany.

Edvardi Morgan, pone caenobium Occidentale Westminster dictum, omnium hortulanorum Botanicorum..." This actually translates as: "...I write this in Edward Morgan's garden behind the said western monastery [not: "behind the West Cloister of Westminster Abbey.."] [cf. The eastern monastery: St. Paul's] at Westminster, the most professional of all the small gardeners one ever visits..." (Miss C. Reynolds, Westminster Abbey Muniments, pers. comm.).

4. It is *still* often said that the plants in the WPG were transplanted to the Chelsea Physic Garden in 1676. This is not the case, the WPG was still open in 1692<sup>11</sup>



**Figure 1. Morgan's (not Edward) map of London 1682. London Picture Archive LPA No. 33918. Note: Dead Wall, Bowling Alley, Wood Street and Mill Bank (see Fig. 2)**

### **Morgan's list of "plants found in north Wales."**

There is with Morgan's herbarium at The Bodleian Library in Oxford a list of "Plants found in North Wales" based on his herbarium. Roberts (1980,15-16) refers to this and I have a copy of this list. It is written on the back of a letter dated "July 31th [sic]" 1680 from David Eyton to Edward Lloyd, Lhwyd's father. The list includes the name of the plant and its folio and volume numbers in Morgan's herbarium. The herbarium is in three large volumes. Each volume has an index prepared by Morgan. In volume 1 there is a list of "Plants found in North Wales" pasted on the inside front cover of the volume. It is page 12

<sup>11</sup>Middlesex County Records, Sessions Book 498 June, 1692. "Receipt for 5/- paid into Court by Robert Rusholme, of the **Physic Garden**, in the parish of St. Margaret's [Westminster], for refusing to take the oath of Fidelity, etc." This same reference describes Rusholme as a "yoeman".

of the Morgan index to volume 1. The equivalent lists for volumes 2 and 3 are not extant, but that they actually existed is proven by the lists for volumes 2 and 3 on the back of this letter. The original lists for volumes two and three are now lost. The plants in the herbarium are not localised. Morgan had grown most of them in the WPG. Clearly, only Morgan knew which plants in his herbarium he had discovered in North Wales. Oswald (2022:32, caption to his figure 2) states that these three lists are written in Edward Lhwyd's hand. I disagree. Part of these lists is illustrated in Figure 2 of Oswald (2022: 32). The list for volume 2 is omitted. If one compares the handwriting of these three lists on the back of the letter with the actual list itself in volume 1, they are all in the *same hand, namely, that of Edward Morgan*. If one also compares the handwriting on the back of the letter with Lhwyd's (not Lloyd's) handwriting in and about 1680 in the commonplace book shared by Lhwyd and his father,<sup>12</sup> the difference is marked. Lhwyd's handwriting in 1680 when he was about 19 years of age is somewhat youthful. It is large. It may be significant that Lhwyd apparently had no herbarium of his own (Roberts, 2022:235). These lists are the epitome of Morgan's botanising in North Wales. They should not be attributed to someone else simply because Morgan could not afford to have them printed and thereby circulated in his name. Regrettably, in my experience, it is not uncommon to come across cases where individuals have been so denied the recognition which they deserve. Clearly, Morgan is one such case. Horsman (1995 & 1998) are in the same vein, each dealing with botanists who have been overlooked.

### **Morgan's herbarium**

The herbarium at the Natural History Museum in London which has been attributed to Morgan, would seem to be that of Robert Rusholm. Morison's influence on Morgan's Bodleian herbarium is now considered. The authorities for the names on the labels in this herbarium clearly demonstrate this influence. In a significant number of cases the label is noted: "Moris descr." or simply "Moris". Morgan worked on his herbarium prior to 1680. Therefore, "Moris." cannot refer to Morison's *Plantarum historiae universalis Oxoniensis* which first appeared in 1680. The third and last volume appeared in 1699 (the first volume never appeared) and was completed by Bobart the Younger. Morison died in 1683. His *Hortus Regius Blesensis Auctus* appeared as the *pars prior* of the *Praeludia Botanica* in 1669.<sup>13</sup> This includes an alphabetical list of the plants growing in the Royal Garden at Blois in France where Morison was in charge from 1650 to 1660. 270 of about 2,600 plants are marked as new (in some cases incorrectly) and hitherto undescribed in an *Appendix* entitled *Brevis succincta Delineatio*. It is these plants which Morgan has noted "Moris descr." Morison was a major national, and to some extent, international influence on plant taxonomy (Mandelbrote, 2015). He and John Ray did not agree. Edward Lloyd purchased two more of Morison's books, namely, *Plantarum Umbelliferarum distributio nova*, 1672, and *Praeludia Botanica*, 1669.<sup>14</sup> An examination of Morgan as a botanist provides an invaluable insight into contemporary taxonomy. Clearly, Morison was a major influence on Morgan. Morison makes 11 references to Edward Morgan, including 8 to Morgan *and the WPG*, in his: *Plantarum Umbelliferarum...* Oxford, 1672 and his *Plantarum historiae universalis Oxoniensis* (1680, 1699<sup>15</sup> a 2nd edition, 1715).

It is interesting to note that Morgan had such a productive relationship with Morison when Morison was at loggerheads with most of his botanical colleagues who thought he

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<sup>12</sup>Ref: BL Add. Ms. 15070, for instance that on folio 57v. etc.

<sup>13</sup>See footnote 12 above.

<sup>14</sup>Letter 3 Dec., 1680, Morgan to Morison. Ref: see footnote 21 below.

<sup>15</sup>Edited by Jacob Bobart the younger. The first volume never appeared.

was a plagiarist. Perhaps this says more about Morgan than Morison.

### **Edward Morgan's contemporary standing as a botanist**

Quotations about Morgan's skill as a botanist and gardener are not hard to find. Robert Morison (1620-1683), Professor of Botany at Oxford from 1660 until his accidental death, was not noted for being the most forthcoming of people. He had antagonised his fellow botanists by his being a plagiarist. He stated that:

- Morgan had the “best collection of plants in England”<sup>16</sup>. This must be viewed against Morison being in charge of all the Royal Gardens. The plants in Morgan's garden were “the best in England” even better than those in the Royal Parks of which he was in charge. Most of the plants in Morgan's herbarium had been grown in the WPG.
- Morgan was “the most professional of all the small gardeners one ever visits.” (Morison, 1672:2).
- Leonard Plukenet (1642-1706) stated: “...And the learned Edward Morgan, the brightest in his time in the subject of botany...” (Plukenet, 1696:224). Plukenet lived in St. Margaret's Lane in Westminster which is near the WPG. He botanised in the WPG on a number of occasions. He had a small garden at St. Margaret's Lane (Raven, 1942:232) which, it has been suggested, could actually have been Morgan's WPG.<sup>17</sup>
- Edward Lhwyd, in the Benefactors' Book at the Ashmolean Museum,<sup>18</sup> thought Morgan “diligent and intelligent and knowledgeable, very skilled in botany.” Was Lhwyd partially quoting Morison above?
- John Evelyn, as a gardener: “A very skilful botanist.”<sup>19</sup> Was he quoting Lhwyd?
- Samuel Hartlib (c.1600-c.1670): “One of the best herbarists for English plants.”<sup>20</sup>

Morison makes a total of 11 references to Morgan, including 8 to Morgan *at the WPG*, in his: *Plantarum Umbelliferarum...* Oxford, 1672 and his *Plantarum historiae universalis Oxoniensis* (1680, 1699, Oxford). More such revealing references may reward a search in these mighty volumes.

It will be noted that Morison places the WPG in the suburbs behind Westminster Abbey not in the Precincts of the Abbey. Much house building was taking place in the suburbs behind the Abbey (Burnby, 1994:7), which may have resulted in Morgan leaving the WPG in 1678. The Westminster Rate Books provide an invaluable insight into the high density of the population in Westminster at this time.

Morison is a key figure in this study of the life of Morgan. This is surprising given that Morison was not an easy man to deal with. Ward remarks of Morison that: “...it is a very

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<sup>16</sup>I [John Ward] was ....also with Dr. Modesie [Morison] att the Kings garden [the Royal Physic Garden]...he commends Ned Morgan for the best Collection of plants in England; he seems to be a morose man.” V.a.292 John Ward Diaries, Vol.9 92v-93r.

<sup>17</sup>Letter to Mr. S. Savage at The Linnean Society from R.H. Jeffers dated 16 Sept., 1957, in which he states: “...Plukenet collected in Morgan's garden. Plukenet is said in the DNB to have had a small botanic garden behind his house in Old Palace Yard but this on examination of the area facilitated by the blitz! I am of the opinion that he could have had very little, if any, room for it and that the only possible conclusion is that Plukenet's garden was that of Morgan. But such a conclusion would infer that Plukenet had succeeded Howe as one of the Masters of the garden...” There is a small archive of correspondence between Jeffers and Savage about the WPG at The Linnean Society. I have a complete copy. Jeffers was the author of 'Edward Morgan and the Westminster Physic Garden' 1953 – see the bibliography. Jeffers was on the same quest as myself, namely, trying to locate the WPG.

<sup>18</sup>See note 8 above.

<sup>19</sup>E.S. De Beer (ed.) 1959:391. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. London.

<sup>20</sup>The Hartlib Papers, Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield, Ephemera, c. April 1651, E 28/2/13A.

rare thing to discourse with him" (Power, 1919:122). Conversely, "Jacob Bobart spoke to Morison and remarked 'hee never heard a man [Morison] talk att yt. gallant rate in his life' (Power, 1919: 119), perhaps he was then speaking in Latin, realistically his natural tongue?

It is noted that Morison refers to the WPG as both "Hortus" and "Hortulo" (two gardens of different sizes: the WPG and Morgan's private garden?). Scott Mandelbrote (pers. comm.) however, tells me that there is no significance in this use of such language.

### **Edward Morgan and Edward Lhwyd**

Morgan and Lhwyd had a close botanical relationship which enabled Lhwyd to become a pre-eminent botanist of his time in Britain. When they first met at Llanforda in 1679, Lhwyd would have been about 19 years old and Morgan about 60 years old, so it would not have been unnatural for Morgan to have taken an impressionable Lhwyd under his (botanical) wing. Lhwyd always held Morgan in high esteem (Roberts, 1980:16). He said of Morgan near the end of Morgan's life: "...one that, in his way, has deserved as well as any in England; a man equally commendable for his good life, and indefatigable industry..." (Gunther, 1945:74). Lhwyd evidently felt that he himself was sufficiently safe morally to make such paternalistic pronouncements on his fellow human being.

Was Edward Lhwyd a pupil of Edward Morgan in botany? An examination of Morgan's (very limited) extant correspondence provides the answer. Morgan wrote to Robert Morison<sup>21</sup> and Jacob Bobart the Younger (1641-1719) separately<sup>22</sup>, on 3 December, 1680. Morison was Professor of Botany at Oxford University from 1669 to his death in 1683. Bobart the younger was then in charge of the Oxford Physic Garden, established in 1621. Morgan made two important statements to Morison in this letter, namely:

"...I have two pupils yt have last year [1679] taken a great deal of pains in Briddin hills, snowden fforest, severall mountains and rock Cliffs by ye sea side, sea shore in many places,.....youle find the enclosed some part of our Collection ye last year." <sup>23</sup>

That these are the excursions described in the joint Lhwyd/Lloyd commonplace book in the British Library can be in little doubt.<sup>24</sup> For instance, the excursions are in the same order as that in the commonplace book. Unfortunately, Lhwyd omitted the year from each of these particular accounts. This has led to some confusion. Roberts (1980:16) assigns the earliest excursions to 1680, not 1679. Chater (1994:9) omits the earliest entries (ff. 55-57), and Oswald (1995:5) assigns the Snowdon excursion on "June 3d" (f.57v) to 1681 "almost certainly not 1682 as suggested by Chater (1983, 1984)." The year is actually 1679. He also states that the first seven records are "probably 1681" when they are, again in fact, 1679.

Morgan moved to Llanforda in "about 1679/80" (Roberts, 1980:13), more likely in 1679. Roberts (2022:30) states: "Morgan had taught pupils at Westminster and may have brought some with him to Llanforda." No evidence has been found of Morgan having had pupils at Westminster. Indeed, Morgan's complicated circumstances leading up to his departure from Westminster in 1678 mitigated against him having had any pupils at Westminster (see below). I conclude that the "two pupils" were Edward Lhwyd and his father, Edward Lloyd. This is confirmed by another statement made by Morgan in his letter

<sup>21</sup>NLW Brogyntyn PEF ½ fols 50v-51r.

<sup>22</sup>NLW Brogyntyn 2566, 56v.

<sup>23</sup>All the emphasis in this paper is mine. Morgan's references to *Solidago sarasenica* and *Persicaria siliquosa* relate to George Bowles (c.1604-1672) and William Cootes' (fl.1590s-1640s) discoveries at Guerndee [Dudston] in 1632.

<sup>24</sup>Folio nos. 56r-58r.

to Bobart the Younger dated 3 December, 1680:

"...we have put him [Morison] a small Catalogue of our last years collections wch was our beginning..."

Thus, 1679 was their "beginning." No Morgan catalogue is extant.<sup>25</sup> That Edward Lloyd, Lhwyd's father, was also interested in field botany, as well as his passion for gardening, is confirmed by the entries in this joint commonplace book. My scenario is: Morgan arrived at Llanforda, the home of Edward Lhwyd and his father, Edward Lloyd, in 1679. Morgan had probably made the acquaintance of Lloyd through their joint interest in gardening and seed merchants.<sup>26</sup> Morgan started tutoring Lhwyd and Lloyd in field botany in early 1679. This led to the series of botanical herborisings in 1679 involving Morgan ["we"], Lhwyd and Lloyd. Roberts (1980:16) mentions: " Llwyn y maun, Craigforda...Snowdon hils, Breidden hil. Whether these were the expeditions referred to in 1680 [*sic*] we do not know." Morgan moved onto Bodysgallen near Llandudno in 1680 (Roberts, 1980: 14) where Robert Wyn (b.1622) lived. Morgan had met Robert Wyn's grandfather in 1639 when he stayed overnight at Bodysgallen on Thomas Johnson's Snowdon expedition. Lloyd probably knew Robert Wyn parochially. He was an offshoot of the well-known Wyn family of Gwydir. Morgan continued to do some gardening at Llanforda (Roberts, 1980:14) whilst at Bodysgallen. Morgan also states that: "I send my pupils abroad [i.e. without Morgan] who already have arriv'd at a tollerable Competency of knowledge in Plants."<sup>27</sup> Oswald (1995:5) makes this interesting comment: "This second list [of plants found at Breidden f.58v] includes the three most famous Breidden species but, though Lhwyd is credited with their discovery, it seems likely that his father and Edward Morgan had already visited Craig Breidden and found at least some of its characteristic flora." It will be recalled that William Condry had speculated as to whether or not Morgan had shown Thomas Johnson the Snowdon plants in 1639. Morgan died at Bodysgallen in 1689.<sup>28</sup>

The earliest record we have of Lhwyd botanising is dated April 1<sup>st</sup>. 1679<sup>29</sup> when he visited the local Oswestry Castle. In 1680 Morgan would have been preoccupied with his move from Llanforda to Bodysgallen which would explain why there are no excursions entered for 1680. Excursions between June 3d 1679 to the 'Snowdon hils' and 17 April, 1682 to Aran Benlinn "about 5 miles from Bala" are undated. Edward Lloyd died on 26 July, 1681. In late October, 1682, Lhwyd went up to Oxford University (Roberts, 2022:35). On folio 59r in the joint commonplace book there is a list of plants in Lloyd's hand. Against "Sedum Alpinum trifido fol minus" is noted "Briddin", again in Lloyd's hand. Does this confirm that Lloyd was present on the 1679 excursion to "Briddin hill"?

That Morgan signs off his letter to Morison dated 3 Dec., 1680: "My most hon'd mr. [Master] yr old pupill & infinitely obliged [sent E. Morgan]" is significant. Morgan was not a graduate. Morison was abroad from the mid-1640's to 1660. So, Morgan's evidently informal training (Potter, 2006:243) in field botany by Morison must have commenced in or

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<sup>25</sup>"...have sent you [Morison] a Catalogue of our plants which I must desire you to return because we have not another..." This was a catalogue of the plants in the garden at Llanforda. Undated letter from Morgan to Morison.

<sup>26</sup>There are letters to seed merchants in London in the Edward Lloyd letter books at the National Library of Wales. Lloyd wrote to Francis Dryhurst, the seedsman in London, on 19 March, 1675, asking him to "...send me down a gardener if you please and that speedily too..." Was this the beginning of Lloyd's quest for a new gardener which eventually led to his appointing Morgan? Edward Lloyd Letter Books 1674-1675. A5 no. 7. NLW. On 11 April, 1680, Lloyd wrote to another seedsman, Thomas Fuller, icw. Fuller's catalogue which Morgan had obtained for him. Lloyd discussed this catalogue with Morgan, especially the prices. Edward Lloyd Letter Books A6 1679-80 no.30-31.

<sup>27</sup>Brongyntyn 2566, 56v.

<sup>28</sup>See note 8 above.

<sup>29</sup>British Library Addn. ms. 15020 f.56r.



after 1660. Morison visited the WPG with Morgan on a number of occasions. Morgan would not have had a formal apprenticeship with Morison because Morison was not a Freeman of the Society of Gardeners (Potter, 2006:243). It is likely that Bobart the elder (c.1599-1680) was also involved in Morgan's training as a gardener. Morgan signs off a letter to Bobart the elder, "my master". Was Morgan apprenticed to Bobart the elder? If so, he would teach Morgan the secrets of his craft, both practical and arcane (Potter, 2006:9-10). Morgan signs off his letter to Bobart the Younger: "your much obliged servant".

It is surprising that Morgan's herbarium at The Bodleian includes so few of the rare Snowdon plants. It is highly likely that Morgan would have distributed his botanical discoveries to his botanical associates, if he could have afforded it. Did Morgan discover more of the special Snowdon plants than he is credited with?

### **Background continued**

Morgan became a Freeman of the Society of Gardeners on 25 November, 1650, by redemption on payment of a one-off fee.<sup>30</sup> He, therefore, avoided having to serve an apprenticeship as a gardener<sup>31</sup> with the Society of Gardeners. He appears to be in the same frame as the Tradescants who were also members (J. Major, pers. comm.), John Tradescant the Younger became a Freeman in 1634. Becoming a Freeman enabled Morgan to work as a gardener in London within six miles of the City of London (Potter, 2006:245). It is likely that he was working as a gardener before he was appointed to the WPG. Tradescant and Mrs. Gape (see below) had opportunities when they could have employed him as a gardener. We can only speculate as to how he was employed during the 1640's. Was he in the Civil War? I am reminded of John Ray's (1627-1705)<sup>32</sup> fellow naturalist, Thomas Willisel (1621-1675?) (Horsman, 2004), who took up field botany whilst serving as a soldier in the English Civil War. Morgan may have mirrored Willisel more than we might expect. Willisel was working for Robert Morison in St. James's Park in London in July, 1671. Morison was physician and botanist to King Charles II from 1660 until 1670 when the King retrieved the Royal Physic Garden<sup>33</sup>. Willisel even grew plants in Morgan's WPG (Ray, 1670:206).<sup>34</sup> He may have introduced Morgan to Morison but it is perhaps more likely that Jacob Bobart the Elder of the Oxford Physic Garden made this introduction. Morgan was much influenced botanically by Morison who thought very highly of him as a botanist/gardener.

### **The Physic Gardens**

For clarity, the Physic Gardens having a bearing on the WPG, which have been confused, are/were as follows:

The Royal Physic Garden in St. James's Park, London (Horsman, in prep)

The bowling green at Whitehall Palace, Westminster

The Chelsea Physic Garden

The Oxford Physic Garden

"Naylor's Physic Garden", Westminster. The catalogue card at the Westminster Abbey Muniments reads: "Mill Ditch Physick Garden WAM 18280 Paper of Francis Naylor stating the case as to his lease of premises near Millbank and the Westminster Physick Garden

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<sup>30</sup>Society of Gardeners' records, including ?"1671+ of Westminster."

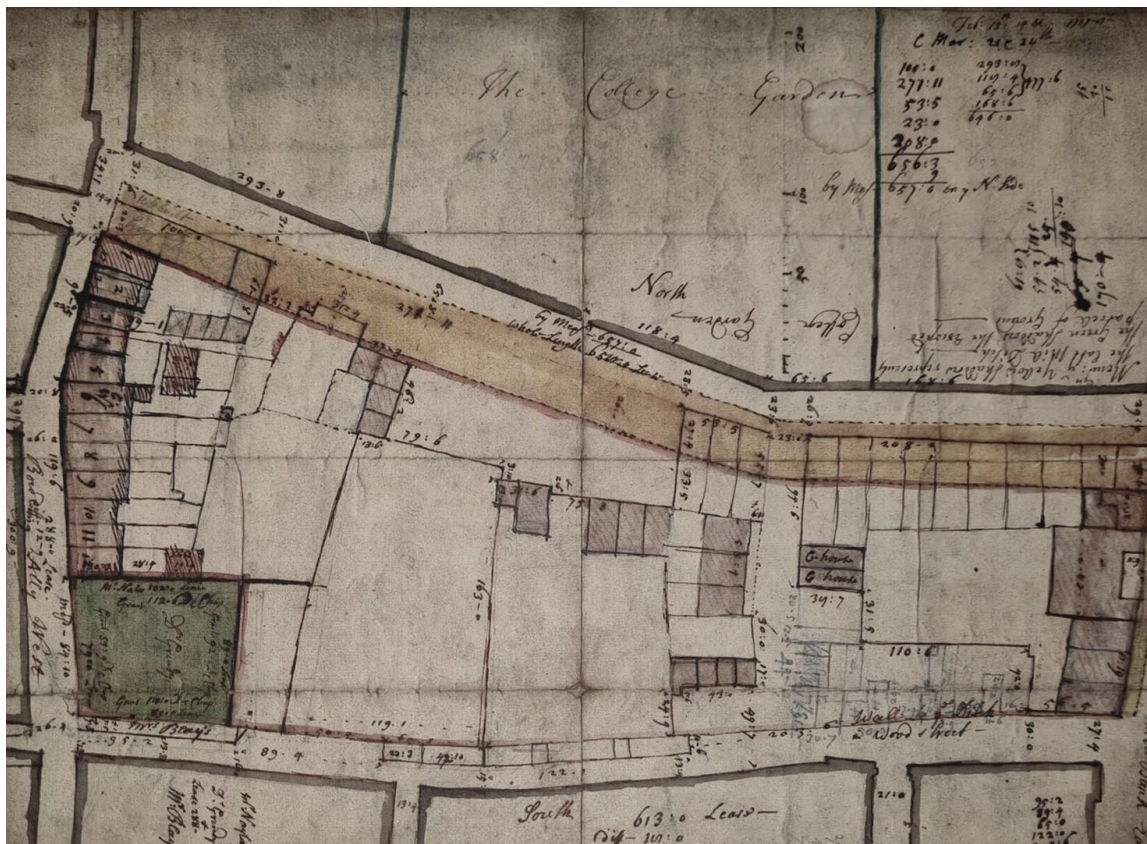
<sup>31</sup>Ref: Potter 2006 p.243.

<sup>32</sup>Ray visited the WPG twice, in 1662 and in ?1669. He made an exact survey of the WPG (Gunther, 1937: 375). This survey is now lost. He took some plants home from the WPG for his Cambridge Garden (Raven, 1942: 109,150).

<sup>33</sup>Ref: State Papers Domestic, vol. XVII Feb. 9, 1670 Warrants Early XXXVII. P.307.

<sup>34</sup>It is a remarkable coincidence that Willisel went to work for Lord Carbery in Jamaica. Willisel died there in about 1675. Lord Carbery at one time owned Llanforda!

@ 1700-1718 off the Bowling Alley". I have studied the papers. It has only been possible to place it within a certain area (see Fig. 2). WAM is non-committal about whether or not this might be the WPG.



**Figure 2. Hand-drawn map of rectangle noted in Fig. 1. Note area bound by the Dead Wall (North-unmarked), Bowling Alley (West), Wood Street (South) and Mill Bank (East). The Westminster Physic Garden lay within this rectangle. Green area is the Hostry Garden. Francis Naylor, 1717. Westminster Abbey Muniments 18280. With permission**

### The site of the WPG

The site of the WPG was previously unknown, as is widely acknowledged, for instance by Gunther (1922:353). Morison (1680:375) makes a key statement about the site of the WPG: "...hice enim terrae commissis a diligente & intelligente hortulano rei Botanicae peritissimo Edvarda Morgan in hortulo suburbano prone Abatium Westmonastei pullularunt infinite plantulae...". This translates as: "...these planted by the intelligent and knowledgeable gardener at the Botanic garden Edward Morgan, in a small suburban garden behind Westminster Abbey..." [my emphasis].

Morison (1672:2) also states: "...in horto Edvardi Morgan, pone coenobium Occidentale Westminster dictum, omnium hortulanorum Botanicorum...". This translates as: "...I write this in Edward Morgan's garden behind the said western monastery at Westminster, the most professional of all the small gardens one ever visits...".

In each of these two quotations Morison refers to a "small" garden. I interpret this as him referring to one and the same garden. Thus, Morgan's garden, the WPG, was a "small suburban garden behind Westminster Abbey", "the most professional of the small gardens one ever visits."

The Hearth Tax Return for "Westminster 1664, St. Margaret's Westminster, Dead Wall",<sup>35</sup> declares an Edward Morgan with two hearths, which suggests that he only had a small garden, if he had one at all. The Dead Wall ran parallel to Great College Street<sup>36</sup> and the Mill Ditch. This address was in the suburbs, not the Precincts, behind the nearby Westminster Abbey around which much house building was taking place (Burnby, 1994:7). I therefore conclude that this Edward Morgan of Great College Street is, indeed, the subject of my research. I have only found one other "Edward Morgan" in Westminster at this time and he can easily be ignored. John Ward appears to have visited the WPG in 1666 (Jeffers, 1953:105). In January, 1666, Morgan's address was "the Phisick Garden at Westminster" (see forward note 37 below). Plukenet apparently visited the WPG several times in 1666. Thus, it would seem that the WPG had, surprisingly, survived the Great Fire of London and the Plaque intact.<sup>37</sup> If Morgan only had a small garden on Great College Street, if he had one at all, he may have rented a local garden or allotment from the Westminster Dean & Chapter (Ingram, 1984)<sup>38</sup> which was not uncommon with the inhabitants of Westminster. They could use such plots as allotments to grow food or as gardens (Ingram, 1984). I suggest that such a plot near Morgan's home was the site of the WPG, plus his domestic garden, hence the difficulty in tracing it. All the contemporary maps have been examined but the WPG is not shown as such. A label<sup>39</sup> on a James Petiver (1663/64-1718) herbarium sheet in the Sloane Herbarium at the Natural History Museum in London states, in Petiver's hand, "This grew many years ago in old Mr. Edw. Morgan's most famous garden behind the Abbey wall at Westminster" (Jeffers, 1953:108).<sup>40</sup> The Dead Wall runs the length of Great College St.

The above is supported by Burnby (1994:6) who states: "Until further research is done, the best guess is that the garden [WPG] lay on the southern side of College Street [Dead Wall] where there was ample water from one of the branches of the Tyburn." "College Street" is Great College Street (see Fig. 1) also known as Dead Wall, where Morgan lived. The WPG was either at his home on Dead Wall or, more likely, in a nearby garden or allotment or both. Burnby (1994:6) goes onto say: "The map of 1658 [Fig. 1] shows gardens both east and west of Bowling Abbey Lane which runs out of Deanes Yard and the West Cloister, but by the 1682 map the gardens on the east side are the only ones still existing. So, the chances are high that this is where Edward Morgan's garden lay." It will be recalled that Hartlib told Child that the WPG was: "...near the booling alley or grene ..." in Westminster. There was only one other "booling grene or alley" in Westminster at that time, namely, that near Whitehall Palace. It is not behind either Westminster Abbey or the "Abbey Wall" and it was 'done away with' in 1673-75"<sup>41</sup> It would, therefore, seem that the late Juanita Burnby was right. Ms. Burnby's site was near Morgan's home.

Gregory (2023) prompted me to review the Westminster Rate Books<sup>42</sup> regarding Edward Morgan and the Westminster Physic Garden. My findings are as follows:

1. We know that the WPG started up in 1650/51 and that Morgan left for Llanforda in 1678. The Westminster Rate Books (WRB henceforth) show Edward Morgan living at

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<sup>35</sup>Great College Street was long called the "Dead Wall" owing to the houses fronting the wall of the Infirmary Garden.

<sup>36</sup>In 1691 Dead Wall became Great College Street. Internal evidence in WRB's.

<sup>37</sup>A Peter Culley [an apothecary] in his will dated 25 January, **1666**, gave "...Mr. Edward Morgan of the **Phisick Garden** at Westminster, and to Mr Richard Willisall [Thomas Willisel], herbarist 10s. each for [mourning] rings, as he did to Mr. Jacob Bobert, senior Master of the Phisick garden in Oxford" (Burnby, 1994:8).

<sup>38</sup>"...Many Westminster inhabitants leased gardens or 'allotments' in this way..."

<sup>39</sup>Ref: Hortus Sloane 159, f.203.

<sup>40</sup>On another occasion Petiver states that the WPG is behind the Whitehall Palace. Plukenet confirms his error.

<sup>41</sup>British History Online. Survey of London Vol. 13 St. Margaret, Westminster, Part II, Whitehall I.

<sup>42</sup>Rate books are for the administration of Poor Relief

Bowling Alley East (Dead Wall) <sup>43</sup> from 1669 to 1673. <sup>44</sup> In 1674 Morgan left Bowling Alley East (Dead Wall) and moved to Love Lane which is near the Great Almonry <sup>45</sup> and the Little Sanctuary both of which are within the Precincts of Westminster Abbey.<sup>46</sup> These two sites are near the King Edward VII Almshouse. Gregory (2023:56) suggests that Morgan may have been resident in this Almshouse having possibly been a crown servant who would qualify for a place.<sup>47</sup> She puts forward a "potential site" for the WPG in the Almshouse Garden (Gregory, 2023:56). However, this site is within the Precincts of Westminster Abbey (Fox, 2012:129/131)<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, as explained earlier, the Westminster Abbey Muniments have it that the WPG was not within the Westminster Abbey Precincts. Thus, this was not the site of the WPG. At this time, in 1673, which may or may not have been coincidental, Morgan paid the Poor Tax, distinct from the Hearth Tax, on his own home on Bowling Alley East (Dead Wall)<sup>49</sup> and a second property on Dead Wall. Why would Morgan need two properties on Dead Wall? He required one for his home and, perhaps, one for the WPG. He also paid Poor Tax on a property in nearby Wood Street in 1673. It is not clear why Morgan paid the Poor Tax on all these three properties in the same year. A possible, practical explanation is that Morgan rented plots of land or gardens on Dead Wall and/or Wood Street for the WPG.

2. Robert Rusholm(e) leased<sup>50</sup> the WPG from Morgan from about 1680. The WRB's (available online<sup>51</sup>) show that Rusholm lived at Bowling Alley East (Dead Wall) from 1682 until 1692 when he moved to nearby Wood Street. Morgan retained an interest in the rare plants in the WPG. The last entry for Edward Morgan in the WRB is for 1689 (Gregory, 2023:64), the year he died. He was presumably still on the WRB's because of his interest in the rare plants in the WPG. Again, the WRB'S show that Rusholm(e) left the district (died?) in 1699. In 1692/93 Rusholm was in court for being a recusant and he was fined 5/- (see footnote 12 above). This suggests that Rusholm had to leave Bowling Alley East (Dead Wall) in 1692 because he was a Catholic.
3. My scenario is that Rusholm moved into Morgan's late home in Bowling Alley East (Dead Wall) to reside there to look after the plants. The implication is that these plants may have been in the WPG in Morgan's late garden or in some nearby plot in Dead Wall and/or Wood Street.
4. It is interesting to note that a John, Thomas and Richard Morgan are associated with the Little Sanctuary/Great Almonry at this time. It is not known if they were relatives of Edward Morgan.
5. It will be recalled that Morison said that the WPG was a small suburban garden behind Westminster Abbey; Hartlib that the WPG was "...near the bowling grene or alley" (see footnote no.3); and Petiver that the WPG was behind the "Abbey Wall" (see page 10) which ran the length of Great College Street. The "Abbey Wall" is taken to be the Dead Wall.

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<sup>43</sup>See footnote 50 below.

<sup>44</sup>The years prior to 1669 have not been considered in this connection.

<sup>45</sup>The WRB's (Westminster Rate Books) show "1674 Love Lane 'Morgan'" and in 1675 'Morgan' at Great Almonry. In both cases the name is entered simply as 'Morgan'. This could be Edward Morgan, especially as he left Dead Wall in 1674. His connection with the Great Almonry is noted in the Gregory (2023) context.

<sup>46</sup>See footnote 50 below.

<sup>47</sup>See Gregory (2023: 55).

<sup>48</sup>This is confirmed by Artificial Intelligence, and Keene's map at Fox (2012:130).

<sup>49</sup>See footnote 50 below.

<sup>50</sup>Morgan's interest in the choicest plants in the WPG was protected by this lease. Rusholm could, therefore, not sell them without Morgan's permission although how this was policed is not clear.

<sup>51</sup>The Westminster Rate Books are online free at this web site: [www.findmy.past.co.uk](http://www.findmy.past.co.uk) also the FamilySearch website.

### **The lease on the Westminster Physic Garden.**

Morgan leased the WPG to Rusholm in about 1680 (Roberts, 2022;30). Lloyd, Lhwyd's father, acted for Morgan regarding this lease. The terms of this lease included the right for Morgan to retain his interest in the plants in the 'physick garden' "...for he could have sold the rarest plants for double the amount which he had received for the garden." The following sources refer:

1. A letter from Lloyd to "Honest George" 2 Nov.,1680." ...ye Lease, wch must not be delivered before such plants as Mr. Morgan shall send for [from Llanforda] be delivered...'
2. An undated letter [1680] from Lloyd to 'Honest George' "...wch Rusholm may very well afford for mr. Morgan might have sold some of the Choicest plants for double ye money he lett him have ye garden and all for ought I know. Rusholm rather makes a drinking place of it yn keeps it a phisick Garden, this you may assure him if he continues it a phisick Garden, & delights in variety of plants & I shall be Civiller to him yn he deserves for we have supplied our selves wth. some hundreds of plants more than was in mr Morgans garden, with some he never saw before..."
3. A Letter 'to mr. purefoy 23 Nov., 1680. Honest George.' "Mr. Morgan will sign and seal it upon ye Conditions yt were first made wch. were that Mr. Morgan should have any thing out of his own garden during ye time of his lease wch. he expects Rusholm to perform." Honest George, also known as "Mr. Purefoy", was Lloyd's London contact (solicitor?).

The 1673 WRB shows Morgan living at Dead Wall but this is in the list of residents in Bowling Alley East. Similarly, John Gadbury is shown as living at Brick Court which is also included under Bowling Alley East<sup>52</sup>. This is unique to 1673, in all other years Morgan is listed at Bowling Alley East. My explanation is as follows. A "postman" called round at each property for the Poor Tax, distinct from the Hearth Tax. Where the property was one of few properties on a particular street this property was included on the nearest main list. The 1673 officer was very conscientious, he didn't do what his colleagues did, that is, include the very short streets on the nearest main list. It saved the officer some work. So, with the exception of 1673, for Bowling Alley East read Dead Wall.

### **The Westminster Physic Garden (WPG).**

The only description of the WPG is that made by Thomas Lawson on his four visits there in quick succession in 1677. He described it in his commonplace book, which is now held by The Linnean Society of London.<sup>53</sup> Jeffers (1953, 113-126) and Raven (1942: 233,1947) give a full account of Lawson and his commonplace book, including details, with binomial names, of the plants growing in each of the eight flower beds. Eight beds in apparently strict order bordered by box hedges were typical of contemporary physic gardens. So, the WPG was a typical physic garden of its time.

Lawson recorded only some five hundred plants in the garden on his four visits to the garden in 1677. Morgan counted 2484 plants in his Bodleian herbarium, most of which he had grown himself in the WPG.<sup>54</sup> Jeffers (1953: 113) suggests that only some seventy of these five hundred plants were native to the British Isles. This is surprising given that the

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<sup>52</sup>It is perhaps significant that Morgan's name is always almost next to that of Gadbury in the WRB's.

<sup>53</sup>Ref: MS 18, Linnean Society of London, pp.115-123.

<sup>54</sup>See note 4 above.

objective of the WPG was to bring together all the native plants of the British Isles.<sup>55</sup> That had been the very ambitious target of William How's (1620-1656) anonymous *Phytologia Britannica* published in 1650.<sup>56</sup> Hartlib<sup>57</sup> states: "In one of the Westminster Gardens are found all the [native] plants growing spontaneously in England, of which the particulars are in Phytologia." I am in no doubt that the WPG was "...one of the Westminster Gardens". This publication in 1650 clearly influenced the start of the WPG in 1650/51, which marks How's involvement. His particular role is unknown. The end of the Civil War marked a burst in activity by the Society of Gardeners (Potter, 2006:312). How, apparently, had been intending to produce floras for all the [English?] counties.<sup>58</sup> This was curtailed by his early death in 1656.

## The sale of the herbarium at the Natural History Museum

There is a second herbarium in the Sloane Herbarium at the Natural History Museum in London (H.S. 24-26) which has been attributed to Edward Morgan. Why would Morgan have two herbaria? I consider this second herbarium to be that of Robert Rusholm (see Dandy, <sup>59</sup> 1958:29,34,36,41,168,169,170). There is a copy of a letter dated 11.9.1757 by M. Maty (1718-1776), Principal Librarian at the then British Museum, with the NHM herbarium. Maty states that when Rusholm took over the WPG he sold the plants and a drink made from *Meum athanticum* and that he sold the herbarium [to Sloane]. Morgan had commented when he was dealing with the transfer of the lease on the WPG: "Rusholm rather makes a drinking place of it than keep it as a physick garden" (see above). Dandy (1958:170) suggests that Rusholm "...was a man of no education". Jeffers (1953: 108) states that the Sloane Herbarium contains material which suggests that Rusholm was of less ability than Morgan. He also dates the Bodleian Herbarium of Edward Morgan at "1672-1682" and the NHM herbarium at "1666-1687" (*sic*:1678).

In 1672 Morison's book: *Plantarum Umbelliferarum...* was published. It was the first monograph on a single plant genus. Did Morison encourage Morgan regarding the NHM herbarium started in 1672? 1666 was the date of the Great Fire of London. Burnby (1994:4) quotes the apothecary, William Boghurst, the contemporary author of *Lomoigraphia*, who said he was in practice against the plague from 7 November 1664 to the end of May 1666. Was Morgan's NHM herbarium destroyed in this fire and did Morgan start his herbarium up again in 1666? Jeffers (1953: 105) indicates that John Ward appears to have visited the WPG in 1666. If he did this would seem to confirm that the WPG was intact after the Great Fire of London. Otherwise, the dates 1666 and 1682 are not understood.

Rusholm appears on two different Hearth Tax Returns.<sup>60</sup> Jeffers (1953) has little to say about the herbarium at the NHM., and about Edward Lhwyd.

There are numerous, incorrect references in the literature to the plants in Morgan's garden being transferred from the "Westminster Garden" to the Chelsea Physic Garden in 1676. The "Westminster Garden" has been confused with the WPG. The "Westminster Garden" was that belonging to William and Mary Gape in Pell Mell Field which was part of

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<sup>55</sup>See note 11 above.

<sup>56</sup>See note 11. "How's notes indicate that he was aided by the two physicians, George Joyliffe and Thomas (later Sir Thomas) Browne" Webster (1967:402).

<sup>57</sup>Ref: 28/2/25A. Hartlib.

<sup>58</sup>Hartlib: 29/4/8A.

<sup>59</sup>Dandy (1958) is a major source for Edward Morgan.

<sup>60</sup> City of Westminster, St. Margaret Westminster, Milbanke Division, Woodstreet North, 1693/94, and Speed's Alley, 1693/94, Westminster. + Wood Street 1696. [+ 1665 Wood St. North. Morgan].

St. James's Field in St. James's Park in Westminster, London. Their garden was very probably in the Royal Physic Garden in St. James's Park (Horsman, in prep.).

The leases in this study are very confusing (Burnby, 1994:5; Gregory, 2023:61). My scenario about the disposal of the WPG by Morgan differs from that of Burnby (1994) and Gregory (2023). Morgan apparently decided to sell the WPG probably because of his age and the fact that the housing developments in Westminster were threatening the existence of the WPG. He sold it to the Society of Apothecaries in 1677 for £16.<sup>61</sup> This apparently low figure no doubt reflects the housing threat the WPG was under. Morgan asked the Society of Apothecaries for "increased consideration", that is, more than £16.<sup>62</sup> Morgan left himself "to the company touching his interest."<sup>63</sup> The deal was terminated by the Society of Apothecaries.<sup>64</sup> Morgan went on to sell his lease on the WPG to Rusholm in about 1680. It is not known what Rusholm paid for the lease but, from the correspondence, the negotiations were very acrimonious. In the new lease Morgan protected his interest in the rare plants in the WPG so that Rusholm could not sell them off.<sup>65</sup>

### **John Ward (1629-1681)**

John Ward came from Northamptonshire. He attended Oxford until 1660 and then studied medicine informally in London. He was interested in plant simples. He visited Morgan and the WPG frequently in 1661/62. Ward kept diaries in which he recorded, amongst other things, his meetings with Morgan. There was much interesting and revealing botanical gossip about plants and particularly botanists. The diaries are a major source for Morgan. They are now held by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC in America. Full transcripts can be obtained by scholars. Ward left London to become a vicar in Stratford upon Avon and took a special interest in Shakespeare, which made the diaries very expensive. The diaries record the plants which Morgan showed him in the WPG, which were many. The pattern of Ward's entries in his diaries was "Ned [Morgan] told me..." Ward records at least two meetings with Richard Tuggy (1626-1670), the son of Ralph Tuggy (?-1633) deceased, in Richard Tuggy's garden near the WPG in Westminster (Horsman, in prep.). Through Ward we learn of Morgan's status within the contemporary botanical scene.

### **Some further comments on the site of the WPG**

Despite very strenuous efforts on my part, it has not proved possible to pinpoint the site of the WPG or to establish where and when Morgan was born and bred. There is so little extant evidence, mirroring Morgan's life. To summarise, it was near the "booling alley" in Westminster, as Hartlib told Child; Morison said it was a "small suburban garden behind Westminster Abbey" (that it was behind Westminster Abbey is the most common feature of many descriptions of the site), and Petiver said it was "Behind the Abbey Wall." Various other possible sites have been encountered.

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<sup>61</sup>Minutes Society of Apothecaries 24 April 1678.

<sup>62</sup>Gunther (1922: 353): "...in 1677, "Mr Morgan, the gardner, asked for increased "consideration" for *keeping the garden and [for] his plants.*"The meaning of this statement is unclear. Barrett (1905: 97) states that Morgan was "a name hitherto unmentioned." Surely, if it refers to Morgan being a gardener at Chelsea Physic Garden there would have been an earlier reference to Morgan's appointment in the minutes which there isn't.

<sup>63</sup>Minutes Society of Apothecaries 13 June 1676.

<sup>64</sup>That Morgan (provisionally) sold the WPG to the Society of Apothecaries is born out by the following. At a meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries Mr Phelps said: "It is better to reare new plants in their owne garden then (*sic*) to medle with Morgan's plants and maintaine him being past his Labour." At the same meeting, Mr Johnson and Mr. Chase stated: "The plaints are nott worth the £16 the Comp[any] hath paid and Morgan pretends that they are his and will be a burden" (Burnby, 1904:5).

<sup>65</sup>See forward note 50 above.

1. Ralph Tuggy's nursery in Westminster. The site of this nursery has been established (Horsman, in prep.) It was near the Dead Wall. There is a most striking coincidence involving Tuggy's nursery and Morgan, namely, Richard's mother, Mrs. Catherine Tuggy, who continued the nursery following her husband's death in 1633 (Leapman, 2000:53), died in 1651, the year the WPG started. This is presumably why Gunther (1922: 353-4) and Allan (1964:175), amongst others, speculated that Morgan, and How, had taken over the Tuggy nursery in 1651 to become the WPG. However, it is known that Richard continued the nursery following his mother's death until he died in 1670 (Leapman, 2000:53).
2. Gregory (2023:56) suggests that the WPG was in the garden of the King Edward VII's Almshouse near the Great Almonry (Fig. 1). There is some evidence that Morgan lived in the Almshouse for a period by virtue of his having served the Abbey (Gregory, 2023:55). Did he have nowhere else to go (Rushton, 2002)?
3. It is suggested that Morgan served the Abbey as a gardener in the Infirmary's Garden. Harvey (1992) makes it clear that there was significant movement of non-monk gardeners in and out of the Infirmary's Garden. Indeed, Papp Reed (online – no date) indicates that such gardeners had started trading in monastery gardens in the 14<sup>th</sup>. century in Britain. So, was the "WPG" in the Infirmary's Garden?. The area appears to be right. It is noted that Plukenet (1696:224) refers to the WPG as "Horto suo Medico apud Westmonasteriensis pone Abbatiam." It would be surprising if Morgan's garden was, indeed, near the Infirmary's Garden if he was not supplying the Infirmary's Garden with medical plants and other produce. However, according to the Westminster Abbey Muniments the WPG was not within the Precincts of Westminster Abbey, which include the Infirmary's Garden.
4. Francis Naylor's "Physik Garden" referred to above. I think this warrants further investigation if more evidence is discovered.

Thus, it has not been possible to unequivocally locate the site of the WPG.

## Conclusions

Have my aims in respect of my paper and outlined in my introduction been achieved?

1. Edward Morgan has been resurrected herewith, together with Jeffers (1953), Burnby (1994), Oswald (2022) and Gregory (2023).
2. Suspicions about Lhwyd having stolen Morgan's thunder with regard to the discovery of some of the rare plants of Snowdonia have been aired. The situation remains open but it warrants further examination.
3. Best efforts have been made to record Edward Morgan's life given the paucity of material available because he was single and something of a botanical itinerant, and didn't publish anything.
4. All the available evidence has been reviewed. I believe that the consensus leads to the following conclusion. The Westminster Physic Garden was Morgan's private, domestic garden likely with a nearby garden plot(s), a common practice of local inhabitants.
5. Evidence has been presented which shows that Morgan introduced Lhwyd to field botany and that Morgan tutored Lhwyd in field botany. Morgan was the major, early botanical influence on Lhwyd.
6. The role of Robert Rusholme(e) in Morgan's life has been clarified.

Roberts (2022: 29) states: "Perhaps the botanist who had the greatest influence on Lhwyd's early work [as a botanist] was Edward Morgan". Morgan has never received due recognition for this since, as John Harvey pointed out, "he was a practical gardener and



botanist who never ventured into print." I agree with this conclusion. Had Morgan received due, timely recognition he would, of course, be recognised today. It seems that any botanist familiar with Morgan and the Snowdon plant discoveries suspects that Morgan was involved with the discovery of more of these plants than he is given credit for. Lhwyd's departure for Oxford University in 1682 and Morgan's removal to Bodysgallen in 1680 effectively ended their relationship. As a measure of this, Morgan was expecting Lhwyd at Bodysgallen in the summer of 1686 to go botanising together locally. Lhwyd did not turn up. Morgan was upset. In the last few years they had lost touch with each other Lhwyd not knowing if Morgan was dead or alive. Lhwyd was motivated to get in touch with Morgan through his friend, Edward Lloyd (not Lhwyd's father), because Morgan had promised Lhwyd his (botanical) books on his passing (Gunther, 1945:74). Morgan died in 1689. Of course, Morgan was living in a remote location.

### **Acknowledgements**

I pay tribute to the memory of the late Professor Bryn Roberts, an authority on Edward Lhwyd, who was very generous to me with his time and energy and encouragement. I also thank Dr. Mark Carine of the Sloane Herbarium/Botany Department, at the Natural History Museum, London, for commenting on an early draft of this paper.

Carole Reynolds of The Westminster Abbey Muniments has been of invaluable professional help. I thank her for guiding me round manuscripts I perhaps wouldn't otherwise have seen. Abbie Weinberg of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington DC in America and Miten Misty of the Wellcome Institute in London have both been most helpful with transcriptions of John Ward's diaries. Several people have helped me with Latin translations including Lee Raye, the late Albert Henderson and the late Philip Oswald. Carole Broadbent, my cousin, looked after all my papers and books, including those relating to this research, when I moved back to Leeds from the Outer Hebrides, for which I thank her. I have received great help from all the Archives, Libraries, Museums and correspondents that I have approached.

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ISSN: 2632-4970

<https://doi.org/10.33928/bib.2023.05.276>