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THE THORNY ROSE AFFAIR: DISCOVERY AND NAMING
OF *ROSA MINUTIFOLIA*

Lee W. Lenz

Few stories have intrigued western American botanists more than those surrounding the discovery and naming of *Rosa minutifolia* Engelm. in Parry, not because of the rose itself although it is a rare and peculiar species, but because of the allegations that one member of the party which discovered the rose threatened another with a gun and later accused still a third of stealing his rose. As the stories have been repeated verbally and in print during the past hundred years they have tended to become elaborated so that at times even the main characters have had their roles switched and new characters have sometimes been added. It seems appropriate that on the hundredth anniversary of the discovery of *Rosa minutifolia* an attempt be made to bring together the facts of the case.

The basic facts are simple: During what might be called the Golden Age of plant exploration in the American Southwest, when new species were discovered on a regular if not daily basis, three seasoned and experienced plant collectors and a youth of 18, who would later become a well-known if controversial figure in the field of western natural history, formed a collecting party to explore the northwestern portion of Baja California between the International Border and Ensenada. The group left San Diego on April 5, 1882, and returned on the 17th. During the excursion a number of notable species were first collected, one of them being the rose which concerns us here.¹

Dramatis personae

Marcus Eugene Jones (1852-1934) was born in Ashtabula County, Ohio, of old Yankee stock and moved with his family to Grinnell, Iowa, in 1865. After graduating from Iowa College (later Grinnell College) in 1875, Jones taught Latin and mathematics for three years while pursuing graduate work. In 1878, he was awarded an M.A. degree with high honors. His friends always referred to him as Professor Jones although he was never formally granted the title by any institution. He always referred to himself as Marcus E. Jones, A.M.

The summer of 1878 was spent collecting in Colorado. In 1879, he was again in Colorado but that year also collected in Utah. In 1880, after his marriage to Anna Elizabeth Richardson, acting dean of women at Iowa College, he and his bride set out for Salt Lake City which he would consider

home for most of his life. In addition to his collecting activities, Jones was also a mining consultant and explorer and traveled widely throughout the West and portions of Mexico.²

Known for his independence of thought, Jones in later years also became known for his vigorous and outspoken views concerning botany and botanists and he was quite often wrong in his judgement of others.³ At the time of the trip to Ensenada, Jones was 30 years old.

Charles Russell Orcutt (1864–1929) was born on his father's farm in Hartland, Vermont, and moved with his family to San Diego in 1879 where his father established a horticultural nursery. Little is known of young Orcutt's early years in San Diego except that he assisted his father in the nursery. Then for over 50 years his name was identified with the desert areas of southwestern United States and Mexico as a professional collector of insects, shells, and plants which he sold to botanists and collectors. Through him many plants, especially cacti were introduced into cultivation. In 1884, at the age of 20, he began to print a monthly journal, *The West American Scientist*. In 1885, he published a 13-page checklist, *Flora of Southern California and Lower California*, and in 1901, a 172-page *Botany of Southern California*.⁴ As a collector and publisher, Orcutt became widely known for his zeal and industry as well as for his eccentricities and foibles. It has been said of him that he was not evilly disposed, malicious, or vindictive toward others but was rather simple-minded and naive and that he never forgot a slight. His intense devotion to field work was wholly genuine and unflagging.⁵ At the time of the excursion to Ensenada, Orcutt was 18 years old.

Charles Christopher Parry (1828–1890) was born in Gloucestershire, England, and with his family moved to America in 1832. After gaining an M.D. degree from Columbia College in 1846, Parry moved to Davenport, Iowa, which remained his headquarters for the rest of his life. Between 1849 and 1852, he was surgeon with the United States & Mexican Boundary Survey and during those years botanized as far west as Santa Barbara. He first went to Colorado in 1861 and was later said to have done more than any other person to make known the plant life of the central Rocky Mts. In 1872, he was present upon the occasion of Asa Gray's visit to Colorado and the ascent of Gray's Peak, named by Parry in honor of the distinguished botanist from Harvard. Among his staunch friends, in addition to Gray, were John Torrey, for whom Parry also named a peak, George Engelmann, D. C. Eaton, and J. D. Hooker, who called Parry the "King of Colorado botany."⁶

Parry was in the habit of writing articles for newspapers and it has been said that these accounts, often written from the region currently visited, carried accuracy of fact and freshness of viewpoint that are later sought by the historian. It has also been said that seldom in his long and active career did Parry let an occasion escape when he might bring his explorations and opinions before the public.⁷ During the final 13 years of his life, Parry and

his wife would spend the summer in Davenport and the winter in California. April, 1882, found Parry in San Diego. At the time of the trip to Ensenada he was 59 years old.

Cyrus Guernsey Pringle (1838–1911) was born in East Charlotte, Vermont. Later he enrolled in the University of Vermont but soon withdrew in order to help his widowed mother manage the family farm. Pringle became interested in horticulture and plant breeding and made numerous crosses between varieties of potatoes, later extending his interests to other plants including wheat, lilies, gladioli, grapes, and plums.

Imprisoned during the Civil War because of his Quaker beliefs, Pringle (with two others) was paroled only after President Lincoln went personally to Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton on their behalf.

Sometime before 1880, Pringle started collecting plants in Vermont and after his divorce in 1877 he turned more to collecting and less to plant breeding. In 1880, he made his first trip to the Pacific Slope with three commissions: as botanical collector for the American Museum of Natural History to collect woods; to make general collections under the direction of Asa Gray; and as agent for the United States Census Department to explore the forests of that area and to collect data for the final report. The latter work was done under the direction of Charles Sprague Sargent of the Arnold Arboretum. In 1882, most of Pringle's collecting was done in California with at least two trips to Baja California. In 1885, Gray, satisfied with Pringle's work in the southwestern portion of the United States, arranged for him to begin the botanical conquest of Mexico, a labor to which the remaining 26 years of his life were devoted.

Asa Gray called Pringle "the prince of collectors" and the *Mexican Herald* referred to him as one of the most brilliant and scholarly men ever to grace Mexico with his presence. It has also been said that those who worked or traveled with Pringle had only pleasant recollections of him as a kindly and sympathetic employer or a good-natured companion.⁸ At the time of the trip to Ensenada, Pringle was 44 years old.

Discovery

Marcus Jones left Salt Lake City for California on February 15, 1882, and reached San Francisco in two days.⁹ A short note in *The Independent* (Grinnell, Iowa) reported that "A line from Prof. Marcus E. Jones informs us that he has gone to Southern California, to spend a large part of the summer in botanizing, chiefly to supply European orders. . . . He has a brilliant prospect if he keeps an eye single to this one profession, making other things subordinate to it."¹⁰

After reaching San Francisco, Jones visited J. G. Lemmon and Mr. Snell on February 17th and the following day called upon Albert Kellogg and Mr.

Fig. 1. S. S. *Orizaba*. Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society. Title Insurance & Trust Collection. Photo taken in the 1890's.

Redding.¹¹ On Sunday he attended two church services and on Monday left in steerage class on the sidewheeler, S.S. *Orizaba* (Fig. 1) bound for Los Angeles, arriving at the port of Wilmington, February 22.¹² On his trip to Los Angeles, and probably his first sea voyage he wrote:

A strange feeling comes over a person as he stands upon the Pacific shore and sees the blue waters rolling in great waves upon the beach It is still stranger to sail out of San Francisco Bay This was our experience as we left the city and passed through the Golden Gate and out upon the Ocean. The beach faded from our view, and the sound of the beachers [sic] ceased but the rolling hills and green valleys of the Coast Range lay before us, and were very beautiful. We passed Santa Cruz and Monterey, and touched the rock-bound coast at Port Harford [Port San Luis]. On the second day as the setting sun was throwing its golden light over the waves, we passed into the port of Santa Barbara. The balmy air (like May in Iowa), the evergreen oaks, pepper trees, cypresses and dark green foliage of the mountains, carried me completely away from the memory of Utah's icy hills and snow-clad valleys Very early next morning we sighted the revolving light at San Pedro. Ere long we anchored in the sea-weed, several miles from shore, and we landed at Wilmington by lighter

Describing the ride from Wilmington to Los Angeles he wrote:

For twenty-two miles we passed over a level country much like that of Grinnell Soon we alighted from the cars at Los Angeles, a town of 15,000 inhabitants During the winter and spring until about the first of June, Southern California is almost a paradise, but after that the soil is baked, the dust drives into every crack and crevice and fills the air, at times becoming almost unendurable. Then the plants all dry up and put on their garments of brown, the springs of water cease and desolation reigns.¹³

While in the Los Angeles area he visited friends and relatives and botanized as far as Pasadena. On February 28, he "walked to the top of the high mts. and got a grand view of the whole country." Of Pasadena he wrote "I presume I shall see no more lovely place."¹⁴ On March 6, he reported collecting *Salix* and "the first *Azolla* I ever saw." Two days later he went to Wilmington where he purchased a ticket for passage on a ship bound for San Diego.¹⁵

Jones's accounts of his stay in San Diego do not agree. In his diary for March 9, he wrote "Reached San Diego early. Saw Dr. Parry. Botanized." On April 19, after returning from Ensenada, Jones wrote:

But a night's ride [aboard ship] in March brought us into the beautiful bay of San Diego. Here, so far from home, I expected to be among total strangers, but how often do our fears melt away. Before leaving the boat a hotel runner handed me a note from the venerable botanist, Dr. Parry of Davenport, Iowa inviting me to his hotel, from which we took many excursions in search of rarities and discovered several new species. Through the kindness of railroad officials, I made many trips over the California Southern [Railroad], to Old San Diego, Soledad, San Luis Rey and Temecula Canon. The latter is a beautiful gorge in the hills, filled with grand scenery and beautiful plants.¹⁶

A hundred years later, Temecula Canyon is still accessible only on foot.

Fig. 2. Bay View Hotel *circa* 1885. Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society. Title Insurance & Trust Collection.

At a later date Jones recalled the events of March 9 saying:

It so happened that Parry was at the same hotel [Bay View; Fig. 2] when I arrived. I did not know of his being there until he looked me up and introduced himself and wife . . .¹⁷

Jones had, however, met Parry before, since Engelmann and Parry had visited him in Salt Lake City from June 28 to 30, 1880, and on the occasion of that visit *The Teacher* reported that Jones and "a number of his class in botany [at the Salt Lake Academy] made an excursion with these gentlemen [Engelmann and Parry] up Weber Canyon, and fun and science were combined."¹⁸

Jones continued:

He [Parry] then informed me that Pringle had just come in on a botanizing trip, and he suggested that we three make up a party and go to Ensenada together. Parry took it upon himself to arrange for the trip by hiring a team and buggy [in other accounts it was a wagon] of Mrs. Orcutt and employing her son Charley [Charles Russell Orcutt], a lad of nineteen [he was 18 years old] to go along as teamster and cook . . . Pringle had his own outfit and a young man as a helper.¹⁹

In a letter to Sereno Watson at Cambridge, Parry wrote of his meeting with Jones at San Diego saying:

The steamer following me comes down the irrepressible *Jones*. Our meeting was quite a joke. He is active and *lively* in his way generally bringing in 3 or 4 n[ew] sp[ecies] every trip, or "New to California", "more *Jonesii*." We now talk of a trip together into Lower California. [I]f we go far enough we should get good things. . . . Jones expects to go up the coast in about a month. He now thinks he will *not finish* up *California, Nevada* [—] *this year* but [will] confine himself to California. [H]e is a queer fellow but pretty good company.²⁰

In the mind's eye one can see the little party as it left San Diego on that Wednesday morning April 5, 1882, in what Jones called "our rattle trap outfit."²¹ There was Pringle and an unnamed assistant (his name may have been Levi)²² with a team and wagon and Parry and Jones with a wagon with Charley Orcutt as driver and cook. The day was not particularly pleasant; showers in the morning and cloudy at noon but clearing in the evening with a high temperature for the day of 63 F.

The first night they camped in the Tijuana Valley along the Tijuana River a few miles from the International Border. That night Jones wrote in his diary "Started for Lower California. Drove to a camp on the Tia Juana beyond the border. Board \$6. paid for 3 days ahead. My share [of] bill \$7.35." The following day they left the valley and drove over the hills to Carrizo [El Carrizo] (Fig. 3) where they camped for the night.

After returning from Ensenada, Parry wrote an article for the *San Francisco Bulletin* in which he described in some detail the events of the trip. He does not however mention by name the other members of the party. Parry wrote:

Fig. 3. Northwestern Baja California. (Gerhard, P., and H. E. Gulick, *Lower California Guidebook*, The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., Third ed., 1962). Used with permission.

After leaving the main valley our road passed over a succession of steep clay hills, bedded with more or less luxuriant growth of native vegetation, in which patches of bright yellow flowers were conspicuous, which on a distant view might be taken for ripening grainfields; along the roadsides were extensive thickets of formidable cholla cactuses, interspersed with clumps of Spanish bayonet (*Yucca baccata*), which served to keep in mind the true desert features. Only in the spring time, as we saw it, could anything approaching verdure be noticed in the near or distant scenery. The irregular divides lead down on the opposite slope, to valleys more or less extensive, along whose course the occasional presence of living water allows a limited settlement, generally indicated by small patches of grain, and scattering groups of cattle and horses, which comprise the available wealth of the valley country. The

exclusive possession of the limited water supplies naturally controls the entire adjoining slopes of desert land, only fit for scant pasturage in the rainy season. With progress inland an increased elevation is apparent in a cooler atmosphere and more scant vegetation, still, however, maintaining its Californian character. The country becomes more rugged, the mountain slopes more rocky, and the hills steeper.²³

On the third day the party entered the Valley of Palms [Valle de las Palmas] through which the Rio de las Palmas flows before emptying into the Rio Tijuana. Jones wrote "Drove down the Valley a few miles in a.m., p.m. drove out of the valley into another Valley of Palms."²⁴

In referring to the palms, Parry wrote "The species here met with is identical with the desert palms (*Washingtonia filifera*), which here makes its first appearance on the eastern [western] slope of the mountain range."²⁵

On the fourth day, Saturday, April 9, Jones wrote saying that they "Drove out of the Valley and down below Guadalupe."²⁶

Parry expanded on the details of the day saying that:

A little beyond the elevated plain of Vallecito, now occupied by an American named Ryerson, we leave the main road leading to San Rafael [Osos Negros] turning in a more direct southerly course toward the ocean. Here we encountered, in small upland valleys, attractive groves of live oak (*Quercus agrifolia*) and the hill slopes are adorned with a small ash tree of shrubby growth, properly designated as the 'flowering ash' [*Fraxinus trifoliata* (Torr.) Lewis & Epling], being closely allied to the manna-producing ash of Europe and the Orient. This arborescent species, then in the full glow of its glossy foliage and conspicuous white flowers, occupying the most bare arid slopes, would seem to be specifically adapted to ornamental cultivation, though its timber product would be necessarily quite scant.²⁷

On Sunday Jones wrote "Stayed in camp over Sunday. Pringle and Parry went on in p.m. Charlie stayed in camp. Rained in the night."²⁸ Jones made it a lifelong policy of never traveling or collecting on Sunday and, as we shall see, this was one of the contributing factors which led to the trouble at Tijuana.

On Monday, Jones and Orcutt started out in the rain and overtook Parry and Pringle at McCormick's and the party then drove, according to Jones's diary, to "Encinada, (Rich's)." Here Jones is in error as they had not yet reached Ensenada.²⁹

Parry wrote:

Descending again toward the sea a milder atmosphere and increasing dampness again serve to freshen the vegetation, and we pass luxuriant growth of peculiar shrubbery, including sumac [*Malosma laurina* Nutt. ex Abrams], California lilac (*Ceanothus*) and a beautiful willow-leaved manzanita [*Ornithostaphylos oppositifolia* (Parry) Small] not known farther north. Here also occurs a horse-chestnut apparently different from the California species, being smaller and of a more bushy growth [Gray later described it as *Aesculus parryi*], likewise an unknown shrub allied to *Euonymus*. Thence by a rapid descent we reach the ocean at a place called Sauzal [El Sauzal], we meet with an intelligent American family named Fish, by whom we were most agreeably entertained and welcomed to the comforts of a civilized home.³⁰

El Sauzal was located about seven miles north of the port of Ensenada and is today a fish-canning town.

On Tuesday, the party remained at Fish's and collected plants, sea shells, and sea weeds.

Wednesday, April 12, was the day the rose was discovered. Jones in his diary merely wrote "Left Fish's and drove through Encinada and up on the hills toward San Rafael. Paid 45 cts., my share for butter & eggs." No mention of a rose, but that is not surprising since at that time Jones did not record in his diary matters concerning the plants which he collected on a particular day.

In his account which he wrote for the *San Francisco Bulletin* after his return from Ensenada, Parry did not mention the rose but did report the discovery of the new buckeye.

On Thursday, April 13, the party continued on their way to San Rafael where according to Jones's diary, Pringle left them. On Friday, Jones and Parry drove, by way of the main road from Tijuana to San Rafael, to their old campground in the Valley of Palms and on Saturday proceeded to the Sulphur Springs, about four miles from the International Border, where Jones reported that he and Parry had a bath at a cost of 25 cents each.³¹

After returning to Salt Lake City, Jones wrote an article for *The Independent* detailing some of the events of the trip:

Passing down a very narrow valley, under the shade of magnificent oaks we camped for over Sunday in a lovely spot near a brackish spring. Here some of us rested and some started on in the afternoon. By Monday noon we moved all together and proceeded down a lovely valley, then through a narrow pass and down a steep series of hills to the ocean, at Encenada. Stopping here several days, we gathered sea weeds, sea shell and land plants in abundance. In this place we found a ranch where Mr. Fish and his family were living, and had lived for four years. They were Americans, intelligent and refined who gave up a part of their house to us and treated us like brothers. No one can tell the pleasure that we had in meeting such people in this clouded and desolate land. Very reluctantly we bade them good bye as we turned our backs from the coast and passed over the rolling hills towards the great mining camp at San Rafael. As we were descending toward the place we met a band of barefoot Mexican soldiers who were returning from San Rafael, where they had deposed the old governor and established a new one . . . Here Mr. Penigle [sic] left us, going over to Campo [in the United States] while we returned to Riason's [or Ryersons] ranch 12 miles away, and then home to San Diego. In the whole distance of 225 miles, we passed but one store, and saw but two towns—one without a store . . . No incidents worthy of note occurred till we reached the head of the valley of Palms, here we lost Dr. Parry. He was walking ahead, and undertook to cut off and get ahead of us, so we drove five miles thinking that he might be beyond us. Finally we stopped at a Mexican tumbled down hut and found a woman. I asked in English if she had seen a small old man go along the road (for the Dr. is rather diminutive). She replied 'Quin [sic] sabe.' Then I pranced up and down the road and acted as though I was going somewhere, and turned and asked the same question, and she said 'Quin sabe.' I had heard that all you need to do is to put an o on a Latin word, and you have the Spanish equivalent, so I ransacked my brain for a Latin word, but they had all got wind of my intentions and fled, and there wasn't one left to tell where the rest had gone to. So I next made an onslaught upon my French words. The attack was so sudden that I grabbed 'pere'

by the time the rest got away. I was so out of breath struggling to secure this word, that I forgot to put the o on it, but shot it off whole. The result was 'Quin sabe.' There it was as Hood says, 'a nation with a dummy,' and I was the dummy. I vowed that if I ever had a chance I would learn the Spanish language, and never again stand before an intelligent human being and have no means of telling my wants. The lisping youth who was with me [Charles Orcutt] then thought he would try his knowledge, so he pranced up and down the road, shot off a semi-English jargon that would have eclipsed the Senators in the 'Dodge Club' and reminded me of a cross between baby talk and Benjamite Hebrew. The lady responded, 'Quin sabe.' Then the youth suggested that we might as well move on, so he said, 'How do you do' in Spanish and we moved on, sadder, but not wiser men. Soon after the Dr. overtook us.³²

In his diary for Sunday, April 16, Jones wrote "Stayed at the Springs all day. Parry got Charlie to drive him to San Diego without my knowing it. So they left at 5 o'clock a.m. Charlie did not return."

On Monday, Charles Orcutt with his brother John (John Heman Orcutt) returned to bring Jones back to San Diego. In his diary Jones wrote "Charles Orcutt came out for me. We had a fuss and they had to go home the best way they could. Went to San Diego [—] bed 25 c. haircut & shampoo 50 c."

Naming

On Monday, April 17, Parry wrote Engelmann saying "Just back from Lower California. Had a successful trip. Jones & Pringle along. Went as far as *Ensenada* on All Saints Bay. We have a new? *Rosa* for you. I was surprised to meet with no Agaves or *Yucca* . . ."³³

The following day, April 18, Jones wrote Engelmann telling him of his discovery of a new *Cereus*:

. . . which I name *C. maritimus* [*Echinocereus maritimus* (Jones) K. Schum.] in case further study reveals the fact that it is new . . . I also discovered a rose, that I find no name for, in the same place. This I will name *Rosa horrida* if the name is not preoccupied. Of this I send you a specimen [received by Engelmann on April 26] and will make out a description as soon as I can. I shall be glad to get your opinion before publishing. I shall try and get Junci to you earlier. Dr. Parry sent you specimens of *Ephedra* that I collected for you. I have a multitude of forms of *Quercus* but cannot send them now. Please reply as soon as you can conveniently. I shall be in San Diego or near by for a week or so. Please do not send word through Parry as he is at National City and will soon be in San Bernardino. I will send you anything you desire and study any plant you wish.³⁴

In his diary for that day he wrote "Paid Dr. Parry \$2.90. Paid Orcott \$7. Nuts 10c. Nails 5c. Packed shells and dried plants. [—] Butchard 95 c." Then with another pencil and perhaps only after reading *The Sun* (San Diego) for that day he wrote "The Orcutt boys published [—]."³⁵ Perhaps surprised, Jones would certainly have been infuriated when he read on page four of *The Sun* for Tuesday, April 18, a story headlined / A Pious Professor / He Objects To Riding On Sunday, / But Is Willing To Shoot A Man / On Monday.³⁶

The Orcutt brothers must have been astonished and shaken by Jones's

unexpected and irrational behavior in Tijuana and friends of the family reported it to *The Sun*. Angered and enraged as he would have been, Jones dutifully cut the article from the paper and saved it along with the clipping of his reply which appeared in *The Sun* the following day.

It is believed that this story has never been reprinted and is here given in its entirety as is Jones's reply.

A party consisting of Prof. Marcus E. Jones from Salt Lake City, Dr. C. C. Parry of Iowa and Charles Orcott [sic] of San Diego, went on the 5th instant to Ensenada and San Rafael, on a botanizing tour. All went well until last Saturday evening when the party were returning to this city and on reaching the hot springs at Tiajuana, camped for the night. Next morning a start for San Diego was proposed, to which all readily consented, except Prof. Jones who had / Conscientious Scruples / About traveling on Sunday, and he was left there with blankets and provisions. Yesterday morning, John and Charles Orcott hired a team and proceeded to Tiajuana for the purpose of bringing Prof. Jones into town, and when they arrived there, Jones preemptorily ordered both of them out of the wagon immediately, at the same time drawing a revolver and pointing it at John Orcott, threatened to shoot both of them dead if they attempted to enter the wagon, or touch the lines, and putting his traps into the wagon, drove off in the direction of this city. When the Orcotts recovered their presence of mind they were / Obligated To Walk / Over two miles to William Lane's store, to hire a conveyance to come home in. Prof. Jones is staying at the Bay View Hotel in this city, and it is likely that the Orcotts who naturally feel very indignant at the occurrence, will bring the matter before the authorities. The professor's scruples are singular. He strains at a gnat but swallows a camel. He will not ride on Sunday, but thinks nothing of presenting a pistol at an inoffensive citizen on Monday.

Jones's reply appeared in *The Sun* on Wednesday, April 19, headlined "A Card From Dr. Jones":

To the Editor of *The Sun*—Sir. I notice an attempt to injure me before strangers and would like the privilege of a reply.

A friend and I hired a team to take us into Lower California to explore its botanical resources. Charles Orcott [sic] was driver. With his characteristic conceit and cheek he wanted us to take him along and pay all his expenses, besides feeding him while he was to have his time and do nothing in return. To this we objected, as his fame is not yet sufficient to warrant the outlay. He finally was hired as driver. On the whole trip he attempted to manage everything and, to cap the unequaled example of cheek, at the Hot Springs he undertook to tell me that I could do his bidding or walk into San Diego while he would ride in the conveyance which I had hired. He had brought his 'big' brother in from San Diego, and this man big with conceit undertook to force me to it and threatened my life. Whereupon I ordered him out of the way, compelled him to get out, and allowed them both the privilege of walking home, to give them time to learn the precept that the way of the bulldozer is hard. Respectfully, Marcus E. Jones.

On April 20, Parry wrote Engelmann from San Diego saying:

... I also mail you today [four days after returning from Ensenada and two days after Jones had mailed Engelmann his specimens] specimens of the *Rosa* collected in its flowering state by all 3 of the party—Pringle, Parry & Jones.

I must however now tell you in short about Jones that he has shown himself to be a contemptible puppy and will be so regarded by all who know the facts in the case. [B]oth

Pringle and myself were disgusted on the [—] by his conceit & greediness claiming every consideration and deserving none. [H]e absorbed all the contents of the wagon that we hired on equal terms and forced me to walk or ride with Pringle and he tried but did not succeed to enforce upon us his hypocritical Sunday notions refusing to travel under any circumstances [—] Jones everything else. [W]e accordingly left him *alone* both Sundays to enjoy *his* religion? To cap the climax after I left him the last Sunday (then within 12 miles of San Diego) the young man Orcutt who drove the team on returning for him on Monday was ordered out of the wagon and on his refusal to do so Jones drew a revolver he carried and pointing at him threatened to shoot if he did not get out of his way. The boy being unarmed of course yielded and Jones drove off with his traps leaving the boy to walk home, on his return he refused to settle for the team on the terms engaged and acted Mr. *rascal* as well as Mr. *bully*. The friends of young Orcutt (a nephew of Mr. Smith) were naturally indignant and have been publishing Jones in the paper. Cleveland [Daniel Cleveland, San Diego attorney and plant collector] has *cut him* and says that if the above transaction had happened on American soil he would have been liable to a state prison offence. Of course I have taken young Orcutt's part and *Jones and I* are out. I shall have no more intercourse with him. [H]e may however as he has threatened, try to steal a march on Pringle and myself by rushing his collections into print, and so I would like to have you forewarned if he tries to do anything through you. [H]is conceit is only = by his ignorance and he is now likely to be *shown up*. So much on this head is all I care to say at present. Pringle has not yet returned when I see him we will decide on our course in reference to the collections made. 'bastante'³⁷

Engelman's reply to Parry was that:

When you are with active young fellows like Jones, you must look to your laurels. Your card rec^d yesterday, and today [April 26] comes Jones' letter and specimens of the *Cereus* and the Rose, he says he found and *named* them before you did and wants me to verify his guess. I consider them both new, but shall wait a few days before answering [to] see whether you write anything more.

Another curious missive from San Diego is the paper which Cleveland sends with the account of Jones! Sunday rest and Monday pistol. There must be another side to this story, sure—but from all I see that Jones is making himself thoroughly disagreeable. He also writes that he collected the Ephedras for you to send to me.

Jones does not mention Pringle's name at all.

Jones is the man, Jones for ever! How he will click with Greene [E. L. Greene]—why, he beats Greene all hollow.

The thing becomes a little disgusting, or, maybe, much so—one really does feel bad in such company, and feels like exclaiming: go it ye cripples!

Of Jones' vanity I have known long but this goes a little too far.

I am anxious to hear from you and hope you are not too lazy and have written days ago so that I get a better inside into these matters before I answer Jones.

But that rose is really a gem; his name, *R. horrida* is absurd³⁸

To anyone who has ever become entangled in a dense thicket of the rose, the name *horrida* does not appear to be entirely inappropriate. Few, if any, species in the genus are more heavily clothed with both thorns and prickles than is *Rosa minutifolia*.

A few days later Engelmann was again writing Parry saying:

A couple of days ago I wrote you expecting your slow coach to over take Jones' lightning express. Yesterday your letter and today [April 29] the rare rose came and I was doubly

pleased to get a young sterile branch, which is so different and characteristic; the leaves on the flowering branches are fasciculate, from old [—].

So the account of Jones' foolishness is really true, I could hardly believe it and do not now understand it.

I had to answer him and have done it just now, thanking him in a few lines for the specimens, telling him that I got the same from you, and that I did not know either the Rose or the *Cereus*.

But I cannot now go ahead and describe both. I suppose he will do it as best he can, and this will capture the two species! Let him, and be done with him. He did not send them to me to describe them, but to give my opinion; his names were all ready, as I told you. Now by the time these two letters reach San Diego I suppose both of you will have left; but you have no other address and perhaps Mrs. Parry is still in 'Paradise' and will take care of this letter at least; Jones will see to his . . .

How, pray, could Jones 'force you' to walk? Did Pringle have a separate team? You must have been [—] full of good nature and kindness, which was shamefully abused.

Would it not do to obstruct the Bot[anical] Gazette and Torrey Bulletin for Jones? But who can do it? Nobody would dirty his hands with the thing. Lemmon [John Gill Lemmon] has found his master now, by a long shot. How would it do for you to describe and name these plants? I would help you. But enough.³⁹

After returning from Ensenada, Jones continued to collect in the San Diego area and on April 22 wrote in his diary that Pringle and Levi had returned to San Diego.

After returning to San Diego, Pringle wrote Harry N. Patterson saying:

We came here from San Bernardino about the first of the month [April] and joined Parry and Jones in a tour into Lower California. Touched the coast 100 miles farther south. Then the others came back while my 'pard' and I ascended the central plateau and drove 50 miles through a forest of *Pinus Parry* [*Pinus parryana* Engelm.] and ponderosa at an elevation of 5000–6000 ft. From camp on our side of the line [International Border] we returned here, traveled 18 days and 300 miles; drove 3 days without meeting a team, as wide country with few people. We got a good many plants, through care; some of them we think undescribable. It was a great pleasure to travel with kind Dr. Parry, but J.[ones] is too narrow, conceited and pig-headed to make a pleasant companion . . .⁴⁰

On April 26, Jones left San Diego for Colton stopping at the Colton House Hotel. While in the city he obtained a pass on the Virginia and Truckee Railroad for later use and on the 29th called on Rev. J. C. Nevin.⁴¹

From then until May 4 he visited relatives and friends and collected in the Los Angeles and Pasadena areas. On May 4 he went to Wilmington and boarded a ship bound for San Francisco. During the voyage north he wrote a long letter to *The Independent* detailing events of his stay in San Diego but says nothing about his botanical collecting or the trip to Ensenada. He left the ship when it docked at Port Harford [Port San Luis] and went to San Luis Obispo where he botanized until May 10 when he left for San Francisco. There he reported collecting in the Presidio and around Oakland. On May 17 he was at Sacramento and on the 18th at Empire City, Nevada, where he "Found the folks all well." There he botanized until May 21 when

he left for Virginia City, where he reported going down into the mines and seeing "immense machinery." On May 23 he collected around Carson City and on May 26 bought a ticket for Salt Lake City and was home on Saturday, May 27.⁴²

On May 5, Parry wrote Engelmann from San Diego saying:

Yours of April 26th to hand. I have before told you all that is *necessary* to say of the dirty [—] Jones. [H]e has sneaked away without leaving any friend behind him and to the relief of everyone. Let him [—] I am not surprised that he should attempt to carry out his threat to "get ahead of you fellows" by sending on plants collected on the trip under his stupid names. [H]e will get no booking from you! Or Gray, who is also posted—if he tries to publish himself he will only add to his infamy and disgrace. I need only say just here that the trip was planned by me, the necessary information procured and all the details of the journey (ex Sunday rests) left to my direction. I was the only one of the party that spoke Spanish and it was through my solicitation that the outfit was secured (including Charley Orcutt the driver) at the nominal price of \$1-per day! from our old friend Mr. Smith [C. K. Smith].⁴³ Jones commenced his unpleasantness by absorbing nearly the whole wagon for his traps leaving a small corner under the seat for me, abusing the driver & disgusting Pringle, who fortunately had a separate outfit and after a few days drew off by himself and refused to eat with him.—Otherwise I tried to do the best I could and was too glad to leave him to his Sunday meditations at hot springs followed up by his Monday outrage and subsequent refusal to pay his part of expense and repairs, etc. etc. [T]he whole making an agglomeration of meanness & rascality that finds its only parallel in "the inspiration of Gintean." It was Mr. Pringle's wish that I should direct the scientific disposal of the material collected and with this view *no haste* I sent you the *Rosa* and cactus notes. The Rose was not first collected by Jones. [I]t was growing in thickets by the side of the road when we were all 3 riding. Jones was probably the first out of the wagon, the rest following. [W]hether this entitles him to put a *horrid* name on a beautiful plant I leave you to *decide*. Our wish is that you should give it a *good* characteristic name with that of the *collectors* leaving the matter of publication entirely with you—only of course hoping that our *darling* may not be prematurely cursed by a *Jones* at the end of it. As to the *Cereus (glomeratus)*? Jones may have seen it first.⁴⁴ (I was not running races with him or any other *jackass* at that time). [H]e admitted himself that he did not know whether it was an *Echinocactus*, *Opuntia*, or *Cereus*, till I told him, then expressed his doubts whether there was any distinction between these genera! Of course I paid no attention but quietly made up my notes, and you can do what you think *best* with them

Parry also wrote Asa Gray at Cambridge saying:

. . . no time to speak of our trip to Lower California. Pringle is still out in the Mountains to get a lot of *Pinus parryana*. [M]ay go to Tantillas Canon. Jones has behaved *shamefully* on the trip capping the climax of his conceit and ignorance by *drawing a pistol* on an inoffensive young man of the party to whom we were under great obligation and who did not choose to be bullied by him. Mr. Cleveland [Daniel Cleveland]⁴⁵ says if the transaction had taken place on American soil he would be subject to a criminal prosecution. It has got into the papers and the best thing for Jones would be to sneak out of the country. Of course I have *cut him*, and shall have nothing more to do with him. Pringle who takes the same view will do the same. Jones has intimated that he will "steal a march" on us in the publication of n[ew] sp[ecies] of which I wish to give you warning. [H]e has nothing of any consequence that we have not got *better* specimens of as he is a miserable collector—with this late transaction following his late botanical publication he should go into merited obscurity⁴⁶

On May 10, Parry again wrote Engelmann from San Diego saying:

. . . At your suggestion as well as that of Mr. Cleveland I have addressed a confidential note to Editors of Torr[ey] Bulletin & Bot[anical] Gazette to say that in view of Mr. Jones' flagrant conduct and his disqualification for descriptive work Mr. Pringle & myself as joint collectors will regard any premature publication of results of the Lower Cal* trip as a breach of Scientific courtesy and should such be offered for publication I shall ask the privilege of making a plain statement of facts to show why such a contribution should not be received. In the meantime I think that you and Gray knowing the facts of the case will be justified in publishing whatever material the majority of the collectors place in your hands, giving of course the name and when known the priority of collection of all the collectors. I have mentioned to you before that Jones has no claim of priority (for 5 minutes)? in the case of the rose, 3 of us riding in the same wagon saw it at the same time and stopped and made collections. If you think best you can return Jones his specimens as we have abundant material.

As to *Cereus glomeratus*, Jones did get it *first*. My only objection to his naming it is his utter disqualification (aside from your revision) to make a respectable description . . .⁴⁷

Engelmann was again writing Parry on May 15 saying:

You see what a [—] correspondent I am! Today yours of the 5th comes in with fl[owers] of *Cereus glomeratus*, Parry, (unless Jones has anticipated us) . . . One more word about Jones. He may send his new plants to Bot[anical] Gazette or Torr[ey] Bulletin, and I can not, will not write to them about him and against him. So let him publish, if he chooses, but ignore him. Watson has proposed for me to do the whole roses of the country or to send him my notes, and material. I have [—] to the letter but he now says he is not yet ready. Thus the new rose will probably remain undescribed, unless Jones does it . . .

I must however consider the matter anew and see whether I can conscientiously publish the rose and *Cereus*; but I hate to, to soil my fingers with Jones, that I would avoid anything which would look like stealing a march on him . . . Enough.⁴⁸

On May 23rd Parry wrote Engelmann saying:

. . . I don't know whether I told you that Dr. Gray in answer to mine exposing Jones, sent to me Jones' letter to him. [I]t was sick! but I would not like Jones to know it. Gray does not say what his answer was, perhaps none. We have lost all track of Jones, perhaps gone to Salt Lake [City].

On the day Parry wrote his letter to Engelmann, Jones was collecting near Carson City, Nevada.

Parry continued:

I now think the best solution of the *Rosa (horrida)* question will be for you to draw up a manuscript description, give it a *good* name and send to me. I will do a short popular account and statement of its discovery, collectors etc. & send [it] to *Torrey Bulletin* as my communication. (*Rosa*—Engelmann, Notes[]). I think I have the right to do *this*, and will take on myself all the *odium*. I do not feel competent to describe any more than Jones. So at my request, and using my material you see fit as the monographer of the genus⁴⁹ to furnish a proper description & name we will head off the (*Jonesia horrida*). I have written to Miss Fish [Fanny E. Fish] the lady living near Ensenada for fruit of the rose and also fruit of the *Cereus*. Will try and have her get both species]. She is intelligent and wants to do what she can & get books & paper in return . . .⁵⁰

On May 22, Pringle wrote Engelmann from Colton saying:

In the matter of the *Agave* from the backbone of L[ower] Cal[ifornia] I am glad to hear that you consider it as an undescribed species so I can have something good to show for the trip since Jones wishes to appropriate to himself exclusively the *Rosa* (first *seen* by me, first *touched* by him) and inasmuch as Mr. Sargent is displeased with me for having ventured so long a trip and will probably throw back upon me a large portion of the expense of it . . .

. . . I began to find Jones a disagreeable botanizing companion from the first; and after a few days his conduct became almost intolerable, and took away nearly all my pleasure in the trip; but for the genial companionship of kind and gentle Dr. Parry, I should have been miserable. I gave Jones much good advice, but fear it was wasted. It was mortifying to know that he has become so conspicuous abroad as an American collector. Barbey [William Barbey, Swiss botanist], writes to the Parish Bros. [Samuel Bonsall and William Fletcher Parish]⁵¹ “—We are very much displeased with Marcus E. Jones deliveries & *stand here for Americans* but have nothing to say before such dear and outrageously delivered plants as his.” . . .⁵²

On June 3, Parry wrote Engelmann from the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco saying:

. . . Dr. Gray is rushing [the] Lower Cal^a plants into *print* leaving Jones in the lurch. [N]ot troubled by your scruples. The Editor [of the] Torrey Bulletin writes in answer to my note, that they will not receive any Com[munication] from Jones without my sanction. So now the way is blocked will you not adopt my plan & describe the rose. Leaving me to fill up the popular notice & send to the Bulletin as the new Editor⁵³ expresses a wish that I would furnish an article, or should you prefer I will send my notice for you to finish up & send?
. . .⁵⁴

By June 12, Engelmann was able to write Parry saying:

Here is the Rose talk—you add what you have to say. You see that I have discarded the name *Rosa incisa* for *nitidula*. I cannot look at the pretty thing without being charmed by it.

You may add the following to the Rose [—]. This species is quite peculiar among the American congeners, and even among the Roses of the world, it is difficult to find its true position . . .⁵⁵

Toward the end of his letter, Engelmann admitted a doubt about the proposed name for the new rose saying:

I am again in doubt about the name, as it strikes me that *nitidula* may be taken for ‘shining’ which our rose is not, and so I expect we have to fall back on *incisa*.⁵⁶

Following the formal description, Engelmann wrote “Described from specimens sent by Dr. C. C. Parry and Prof. Marcus E. Jones. A most striking and lovely species distinguished from all other roses by its deeply divided leaflets.”

The holotype now at St. Louis (MBG), bears one of Engelmann’s printed labels. Handwritten in rather faint ink is “*Rosa*, All Saints Bay, near Ensenada, Lower California, Parry and Jones April 11, 1882” No collection

number is given. Written in darker ink after "*Rosa*" is "*incisa* n sp." The date of the collection was April 12, not the 11th.

Other collections of the rose at St. Louis that are of interest include those of *Pringle 14505*, April 12, 1882, Todos Santos Bay, Lower California; *C. R. Orcutt 85*, 4-12-1882, this on one of Orcutt's printed labels for his *Flora of Southern and Lower California* and reads "*Rosa minutifolia* Engelm. (> *incisa*, Engelm. ined.) Discovered by: Dr. C. C. Parry and C. R. Orcutt, April 12, 1882, Todos Santos Bay, Lower California";⁵⁷ and finally that of *Marcus E. Jones*, A.M. April 12, '82. This is one of Jones's printed *Flora of Mexico* labels and reads, "*Rosa minutifolia* Eng. n.sp. Encenada." ⁵⁸

On June 23, Parry wrote Engelmann from San Francisco saying that he had returned from Colton where he had packed and shipped his collection to Davenport. His letter was laid aside until the 28th when he continued:

So I have set down to put some notes together, add a preface & send as is. It will make but little delay [so] I send [the manuscript] through you so that any corrections or alterations can be made before sending. I rather prefer *R. minutifolia* Engel! As Jones selects you for his medium you should not be restive? [G]lad to be ignored, you do not say where he writes from? Your diplomacy will be put to a severe test! Hardly time to add much except to praise you for tackling *Ephedra*⁵⁹

After returning to Davenport, Parry wrote Engelmann on July 7 saying:

Glad you got off the *Rosa* but why multiply 'small leaves' in several languages? Greene [E. L. Greene] suggested *R. echinocarpa*? Well anything to smash Jones' nonsense. You do not say where Jones writes to you from? He leaves no trace of his Cal^a wanderings (ex the bad smell at San Diego). Did I tell you that Miss Fish from Lower Cal[ifornia] promises ripe fruit of *Rosa minutifolia*, *Aesculus parryi*, *Ribes viburnifolium* and fl[owers] & fr[uit] of the 2 cereus's. We must nurse her up⁶⁰

On the same day (July 7), Pringle was writing Harry N. Patterson saying:

Of course if you go to Salt Lake City, you must pay your respects to our old friend Jones, supposing he is at home. If he is away his wife will be found approachable. If he is at home, I doubt whether you will find *him* so. He is complaining of Parry and Pringle because they want Dr. Engelmann to describe and name a strange *Rosa* found on our trip into L[ower] Cal[ifornia]. He claims it as *his* property. I suppose because he first *picked* it, though I was the first to *see* it. Dr. Engelmann writes, ". . . I would like to have as little to do with the matter or with him as possible, or nothing at all." Too bad that the rose should go unnamed by reason of our strife over it, and too bad that it should bear the name (absurd Dr. E[ngelmann]) thinks of *R. horrida* Jonesi. I guess Dr. Parry will fix it up with Dr. Engelm.

Jones has been seen by none of the Cal[ifornia] botanists since we parted; they are all bitterly indignant toward him; he has found it out and shows them, or else he has been driven away thoroughly to some other field. I want you to hear more of him from Dr. Parry, who best knows him⁶¹

During this period the genus *Ephedra* was receiving considerable atten-

tion from Engelmann, Parry, and Jones and on July 14, Parry wrote Engelmann from Davenport saying:

I begin to see daylight (in twilight) through *Ephedra*. My Utah specimens (No. 249) of *E. variabilis* seem very good and ought to show the distinction (if any) between that & *E. nevadensis*, but it surprises me that Jones got only the latter when the other is *abundant* But what avails it all if we are to be 'responsible' to Jones who may swoop down on us from the 'Sierra' any *Monday* with loaded revolver and force us into a thicket of *Rosa horrida* or impale us on a cushion of *Cereus maritimus*!! I wonder how you maintain your equanimity with such a jackass, to let him keep braying in your ears—but then you are happy?⁶²

In a letter to Engelmann written from Salt Lake City on July 24, Jones wrote:

Your letter is at hand, I am glad to get your report of the Ephedras You misinterpret my letter by seeming to say that I threaten you, for that is far from my intentions. I simply ask as my right as the original discoverer of the rose that you withhold the description and name till I can hear from Pringle, for Parry has no claim upon it at all. And if it proves to be mine I want the name to it. That is all there is about it. Parry has secured the name to a plant *Aesculus parryi* n.sp. Gray. that he has no right to as it was discovered by me at the same time as Parry if not before (in bud). In a plant where he has no more than an equal right at the most he has the name, another of his 'Parryis,' and now in a plant to which he has no claim (the rose) he is trying to steal the name from me, and if you do not heed my request he will succeed in this also, for I shall still hold to my agreement with them⁶³ if he does violate it. Gray has withheld the n. sp. of that trip (except those already settled) that I sent to him and that Parry sent, except the *Aesculus* and that I did not send nor know it had been sent till I saw the published name. I have not studied my collection at all yet, and therefore I sent only three or four that I happened to find on the top of my bundle.

I do not wish you to feel under any obligation to me more than to any other botanist. I sent the Ephedras to you as I have sent all others to you, simply because I knew you were studying them and they would be of service to you, and because I wished to secure the names from a man whom I consider to be an authority on what he has studied. I could have sent them to Watson [Serenio Watson] or Gray just as well, but though you work slower than Watson I have much more confidence in your work. I have therefore sent specimens to you and will continue to as long as you treat me as you do other botanists. I felt offended because you sent the description and name to Parry instead of withholding it till the matter could be settled. But if you will prevent the publication of it, I shall be content to wait for the establishment of my right to it. But if you will not withhold it at my request or have not done so I would like to know it. And when you let me know about this matter, the last word will have been written about it as far as you and I are personally concerned. A letter addressed to Salt Lake will reach me.⁶⁴

A few days later Jones wrote Gray from Salt Lake City saying:

You are not to blame for naming the *Aesculus parryi* but Parry deserves severe censure for sending it to you as his own when it was collected at the same time and place by Pringle and myself, neither of whom knew that he had sent it to you, or gave him any right to the name. Of course you could not dedicate to all of us, but it was understood by us that any plant collected by two or more of us should be dedicated to no one, but should have a

characteristic name. If it is possible to change it to a characteristic name, I as one of the discoverers would request it. You will see by the August *Bulletin [of the Torrey Botanic Club]* that Parry has accomplished the steal of the rose from me who was the original collector of it. But I will reply to that in another way . . . I send you several Lower California plants. In case the *Galium*, *Malacothryx* [sic], *Fagonia* are new I should be glad if you would dedicate them to me, but not until it is ascertained by you whether Mr. Pringle or Parry have collected them at the same time or earlier. If any are new please indicate it to me, but withhold the name which you will give to each till we know to whom it belongs. For I never want it said that I have stolen any species. I have more to send by and by. Please also to withhold from naming any of their sendings from Lower Cal[ifornia] till our dates decide to whom the species belongs. Mr. Pringle will probably hold strictly to our agreement, but Parry needs watching . . . ⁶⁵

Parry's account of the discovery of the rose along with Engelmann's formal description appeared in the August issue of the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*. Parry wrote:

On a recent botanic excursion in the upper part of Lower California, between the 5th and 15th of April of the present year [1882] among other interesting discoveries in that little-known district a remarkable new species of *Rosa* was met with, which, on account of its peculiar botanical and horticultural features, seems deserving of an early notice.

It was first seen in riding along a well-traveled road skirting the shores of All Saint's Bay, between Sanyal [Sauzal] and Encenada, about the parallel of 32° N. latitude, becoming abundant and forming dense low thickets on dry slopes shut off from the sea-breezes, and composed of crumbling ferruginous sandstone. Forming, as it did, a most conspicuous and agreeable feature in the arid landscape, with its finely divided foliage and showy pink flowers, it attracted the attention of all the members of the party which included Messrs. C. G. Pringle, C. R. Orcutt, M. E. Jones and the writer, by all of whom full collections were made.

Specimens were shortly afterward sent to Dr. Engelmann, of St. Louis, who, at the request of three of its discoverers, Mr. Pringle, Mr. Orcutt and myself, has kindly furnished the following diagnosis and description . . .

It was done, fait accompli! The rose was named and would henceforth be known as *Rosa minutifolia* Engelm. in Parry.

On September 1, Parry again wrote Engelmann saying:

You will be pleased to see the nice & very peculiar fruits with good seed of *our* rose and I hope there will be for you to make a brief note on it & send to *Bulletin [of the Torrey Botanical Club]* for Oct.-Nov. . . . ⁶⁶

Engelmann did write a short note describing the fruit of the rose and this appeared in the October issue of the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*.

Jones's plant collecting in the early years was a business venture and he made up sets which were sold to individuals and institutions throughout the United States and Europe. The forward to his list for 1882 stated that:

The following list of plants represents my work in California, etc. during the first three months of the season of 1882. The whole collection embraces over 1,700 species. The sets contain 700 species . . . The large number of new and rare species in this list will indicate the value of the collection. Prices: Sets \$56. Desiderata 10 cts. each . . .

Under *Flora of Mexico* which listed 72 species there is "3697 *Rosa minutifolia*, Eng. n. sp. This rose was discovered by me and I made its value known to C. C. Parry who then collected it and had it published surreptitiously as one of his own discoveries."

Introduction into Horticulture

After the events surrounding the discovery and naming of *Rosa minutifolia* those of its introduction into cultivation, while interesting, are anticlimactic.

In his note in the October, 1882, issue of the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* in which he described the fruits of the new rose, Engelmann also stated that the fruits collected by Miss Fish of El Sauzal were being widely distributed "so that we may hope soon to see it in cultivation."

Sometime during the summer of 1882, M. Boursier, French Vice-consul in California, obtained specimens of the rose as well as seed which he communicated to the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. In the December issue of *Revue Horticole* there is a translation of Parry's paper which had appeared earlier in the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* along with a drawing of *Rosa minutifolia* showing a portion of a stem terminated by a bud, the earliest known illustration of the species (Fig. 4). There is also a statement that seeds of the rose had been sent to MM. Vilmorin et Cie., the well-known plant nursery in Paris.

Where Boursier obtained his specimens and seed is not known. It is possible that he visited the Orcutt nursery in San Diego and there was shown the rose and obtained the specimen and seed which he then sent to Paris. It is also possible that the specimen and seed came from Parry who had been sending seed of rare plants to the Vilmorin nursery at least as early as 1881.⁶⁷

On December 29, Parry wrote Engelmann, again from San Diego saying:

... But now with [the] next full moon I expect to make a trip to Lower Cal^a, perhaps take Mrs. Parry along to collect fresh slips of *Rosa minutifolia*, etc. Wright [William Greenwood Wright] of San Bernardino wants to go with me also the Orcutts so we may make up a pleasure party. Won't you join [us] . . .⁶⁸

Four days later Parry was again writing Engelman saying:

I cannot wait on ceremony to get your answer when I have anything to say.

So here comes ripe fruit of *Cereus gummosus* Engel. fresh from Lower Cal^a. I got a nice letter from Miss Fish who is warm on botany and promises a great deal. I now propose to go down next full moon & keep her warm. Will take Mrs. Parry along and Miss Rosa Smith.⁶⁹ I have just invested in a tent . . .

I also send [a] scrap of rose fr[uit]. We are going to try another wild goose speculation. Will bring up with us slips & roots of *Rosa minutifolia* to sell at *fabulous?* prices! No matter it is "sub-tropical" it will do for green houses! . . .

Fig. 4. *Rosa minutifolia*. First published illustration (enlarged). *Revue Horticole*, Paris, 1882.

Our calculation is to start about 15th & get the benefit of [the] full moon. When will you publish *Cereus*, etc. etc. waiting for Jones' permission? . . .⁷⁰

Two days later he again wrote Engelmann telling him that the country was getting green and springlike and that they now planned to leave for Lower California about the 17th and ask him to wish them well.⁷¹

On February 9, 1883, Parry wrote Engelmann:

Yes I am back, and your letter *met* me. [C]onsidering it was midwinter our trip was quite successful—gone 16 days. Mrs. Parry and your friend *Miss Smith* accompanied us also Mr.

Wright of San Bernardino and we had no *Jonesian* explosions. So Sundays and Mondays passed peaceably enough. We extended our trip to the Southern end of All Saints Bay, and camped on a lagoon abounding in sea Turtles but we got no soup—

... We secured 1000 roots of *Rosa minutifolia*⁷²

Orcutt in commenting on the trip wrote:

... The main object of our party was the introduction of *Rosa minutifolia* into cultivation, but in spite of the greatest precautions and care taken with a thousand roots which were transplanted to a garden in San Diego, the experiment proved almost a total failure.⁷³

Some years later he was to write:

R[osa] minutifolia Engelm . . . met with a warm welcome when discovered in Lower California in 1882, but has steadily repulsed the kind advances of the gardener and refuses to long survive away from its native sky.⁷⁴

The rose remains today an extremely rare plant in cultivation.⁷⁵

The Controversy Renewed

For nearly 50 years the rose affair remained forgotten until Willis Lynn Jepson revived it. By that time all the principals were dead except Marcus Jones who was then 77 years old.

Jepson had reprinted in *Madroño*, in 1929, Parry's newspaper account of the trip to Ensenada originally published in the *San Francisco Bulletin* in 1882.⁷⁶ To this he added in the form of a long footnote, an incredibly inaccurate account of the events which took place at Tijuana.

Jepson wrote:

On this expedition there was collected a large amount of new material which has since become classical. The major-domo of the party was H. C. Orcutt of San Diego, assisted by his son, C. R. Orcutt. Here it was that the younger Orcutt acquired, under the influence of Dr. Parry, an interest in collecting plants and turned plant collector for life.

Orcutt later acknowledged that he had been influenced by Parry but he also added the name of C. G. Pringle.⁷⁷

Jepson continued:

Another member of the party was C. G. Pringle, a prince of plant collectors, whose name was well-known to botanists everywhere.

The Orcutts were Sabbatarians and when it came to the Lord's Day they proposed, as a matter of course, that neither man or beast should travel. A fifth member of the party drew a gun and forced the Orcutts to proceed. It is unnecessary to say that neither the high-minded Parry nor the considerate and friendly Pringle had anything to do with this coercion.

The elder Orcutt was of course not a member of the party and had nothing to do with the expedition. The Orcutts were not Sabbatarians and if they had been it would have been Saturday when they would have refused to travel, not Sunday. The events at Tijuana took place on Monday.

The unnamed fifth member of the party who pulled the gun, was of course, Marcus Jones. It is true that neither Parry or Pringle had anything to do with the events at Tijuana; Parry was in San Diego and Pringle was many miles away collecting.

A year later, Jones in a vitriolic attack on Parry published his version of what had taken place 48 years earlier. It is this account, written when Jones was 78 years old and at the peak of his vindictive powers with which botanists are most familiar. While providing some details not previously recorded and whose accuracy cannot be proven, it also contains serious errors of fact.

Jones apparently had taken a disliking to young Orcutt from the beginning and here details some of his grievances saying that:

Charley Orcutt magnified his position till he became intolerable, and he was always toadying to Parry and neglecting his duties. So I took him aside and reminded him that I was paying half the expenses and expected service from him, and would see that he gave it if I had to beat him up

Jones also relates about Orcutt not paying attention to what he was doing and falling off the wagon and bending the barrel of his shotgun. On reaching the beach at El Sauzal, Jones said that Parry ambled off to town while he went out botanizing and found the new *Cereus*.

Of the discovery of the new rose Jones wrote:

On the way down to Encenada [from El Sauzal], when we all three were in the buggy I saw a new rose growing in the brush and stopped the team to get out and collect it. My eyesight was better than that of anyone in the party or they would have seen it. I unwisely showed my new discovery to Parry and he climbed out and got some, and later on called Pringle's attention to it. As a rule I do not show my collections to other botanists.

As conspicuous as the rose was, and still is, it would have been difficult for any of the party not to have seen it.

Of the events at Tijuana, Jones wrote:

When we reached Tia Juana again it was Saturday night. I had never up to that time ever collected a specimen or traveled on Sunday [this was true], and so I wanted to remain there over the Sabbath, but Parry said he had urgent business in San Diego and had to get back at once Some months later I found that Parry's urgent business was to steal my new rose from me by sending it to Engelmann and having it published before I could attend to it.

This of course was not true. Jones sent his specimen of the rose to Engelmann on April 18, two days before Parry sent Engelmann his collection.

In this account Jones claims that Orcutt did not return for him until Wednesday when actually he returned for him on Monday as promised. He then recites the tiresome tale of his "big six shooter pistol" and making the Orcutts walk back to San Diego.

After reaching his hotel he reported that:

Then the oily Parry came up to me and wanted me to pay my bill for the trip. I told him to bring it in and I would settle it as we had agreed. But when the bill came it contained among other items a charge of \$10 for the ruined shotgun, and other extras. I promptly refused to pay any of them, but agreed to pay just what we had agreed on before the trip was made. So I gave him a check for the amount [\$2.90] and told him to sue for the rest. Parry tried to scare me into paying the extra by saying that they would arrest me for pulling a gun on them and would give me other trouble . . . Being something of a lawyer I knew they could do nothing, and that they were only bluffing, and it turned out that way.⁷⁸

Jones did not allow the story to rest and in 1933 it becomes his twice-told tale when he again relates it as part of his tirade against W. L. Jepson. In this version he reaches the peak in his denunciation of Parry as the " 'high-minded' botanical thief Parry."⁷⁹

The rose affair lived on and surfaced again in 1971 when it was reported that young Orcutt along with his father H. C. Orcutt and three botanists, C. C. Parry, C. G. Pringle, and M. Eugene Jones made a trip to Baja California in search of rare plants. In this account:

When the older Orcutt, who was deeply religious, refused to travel or collect on Sunday, Jones drew his gun and forced them to proceed. Through the years this tale has taken on proportions far from the truth [!]; it has even had the younger Orcutt fighting a duel. The truth of the matter is that Jones may have been a man quick with his temper and he may have felt the purpose of the trip was being impeded by religious foibles . . . At any rate, young Orcutt was a bystander as were Parry and Pringle.⁸⁰

The tale has now come full circle and it is Jones who forces H. C. Orcutt, who was not a member of the expedition, to travel on Sunday.

Acknowledgments

The idea of investigating the rose affair evolved following a conversation I had with Prof. Joseph Ewan when we discussed Marcus E. Jones and his place in the history of western American botany. In the pursuit of historical facts I have been aided by persons at many institutions, all of whom have given freely of their time and knowledge. I am particularly indebted to Barbara L. Mykrantz, Archivist at the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis, for allowing me access to the Engelmann correspondence and later for searching and xeroxing additional material relevant to the story. I also wish to thank Phyllis E. McLaughlin, Library Associate, Iowa State Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa for copying letters in the Parry collection. I am also indebted to Prof. Otto Solbrig, Professor of Biology and Director of the Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, who kindly copied herbarium labels for me. I also want to thank Lynn McWhood, Archivist at the Gray Herbarium, for allowing me access to historical correspondence in its collections. Dr. Reid Moran, San Diego Museum of Natural History, has also been most helpful. Finally I want to thank Bea Beck, Librarian at the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, for locating rare and obscure materials.

Notes and References

¹ Other notable collections made on the trip include *Aesculus parryi* Gray, a buckeye endemic to northwestern Baja California and now considered by botanists as the most primitive species in the genus, and *Ribes viburnifolium* Gray, also endemic to northwestern Baja California and Santa Catalina Island, California. The latter is so peculiar that none of the members of the party could even guess the genus to which it belonged.

² For a biographical sketch on Marcus Jones see, Ewan, J., *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (University of Denver Press, Denver, Colorado), 1950, pp. 79–89; Broadus, Mabel Jones, *Marcus E. Jones, A.M. A Biographical Sketch*, in *Contributions to Western Botany*, No. 18, pp. 152–157. For an autobiographical sketch see, *Ax-I-Dent-Ax* 16(12):34–42. 1931.

³ Ewan, J., *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (University of Denver Press, Denver, Colorado), 1950, p. 86.

⁴ For a biographical note on Charles Orcutt see, Jepson, W. L., *Madroño* 1:273–274, 1929, and DuShane, H., *The Baja California Travels of Charles Russell Orcutt* (Baja California Travel Series, 23, Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles), 1971.

⁵ Jepson, W. L. *Madroño* 1:273, 1929.

⁶ For a biographical sketch of C. C. Parry see, Ewan, J., *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (University of Denver Press, Denver, Colorado), 1950, pp. 34–44 (with photograph); for a biography of Asa Gray see, Dupree, A. H., *Asa Gray* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts), 1959, 505 pp.; for George Engelmann see, *Science* 3:405–408, 1884; for a sketch of Daniel Cady Eaton see, *Botanical Gazette* 20:366–369, 1895; for a biography of Joseph Dalton Hooker see, Allan, M., *The Hookers of Kew* (Michael Joseph, London), 1967, 273 pp.; for a biography of John Torrey see, Rodgers III, A. D., *John Torrey, a Story of North American Botany* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.), 1942, 352 pp.

⁷ Ewan, J., *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (University of Denver Press, Denver, Colorado), 1950, p. 37.

⁸ For a biographical sketch of C. G. Pringle see Davis, H. B., *Life and Work of Cyrus Guernsey Pringle* (Free Press Printing Co., Burlington, Vermont, for the University of Vermont), 1936, pp. 1–19, with photograph.

⁹ In this account extensive use has been made of Marcus Jones's diary for 1882. The diary is a small, leather-bound volume measuring three by five inches and each day is allotted eight lines of space. Entries for the year begin on January 1 and end on December 31. Hereafter the diary will be cited as 'Diary' followed by the date.

¹⁰ *The Independent* (Grinnell, Iowa), February 9, 1882.

¹¹ John Gill Lemmon (1832–1908), botanical collector and school teacher at Sierraville, California, moved to Oakland in 1880 and botanized actively

from there, made notable botanical explorations in Arizona in 1880–1884, later botanist, California State Board of Forestry. Albert Kellogg (1813–1887), physician and botanist and one of the founders of the California Academy of Sciences. It has been said that none was more intimately associated with California botany during the 25 years before his death. Many of his papers were illustrated with excellent drawings which he prepared. Benjamin B. Redding (1824–1882), prominent early California citizen, State Fish Commissioner, Regent of the University of California, President of the Board of Trustees of the California Academy of Sciences, and particularly interested in paleontology. Affiliated with the Central Pacific Railroad.

¹² Diary, February 17–20.

The S. S. *Orizaba* was a well-known steamer along the Pacific Coast. Built in 1854, she was of 1900 tons burden and had sleeping accommodations for 1028 passengers. Originally the *Orizaba* ran between New York City and San Juan del Norte, Nicaragua, and she first arrived in San Francisco on October 31, 1856.

¹³ The Independent (Grinnell, Iowa), April 3, 1882.

¹⁴ Diary, February 28, 1882.

¹⁵ Diary, March 6, 1882.

¹⁶ The Independent (Grinnell, Iowa), May 1, 1882.

¹⁷ Contributions to Western Botany, No. 17, p. 3, 1930.

¹⁸ The Teacher (Salt Lake City, Utah), August, 1880.

¹⁹ Contributions to Western Botany, No. 17, p. 3, 1930.

²⁰ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to Sereno Watson, March 11, 1882. Original in the library of the Gray Herbarium, Harvard University.

²¹ Contributions to Western Botany, No. 17, p. 4, 1930.

²² Jones wrote in his diary for April 22, that Pringle and Levi had returned.

²³ Originally published in the *San Francisco Bulletin* in April, 1882, it was reprinted in *Madroño* 1(15):218–220, 1929, under the title of "From San Diego To The Bay Of All Saints, Lower California, And Back—Notes Of A Botanist Visiting Mexican Soil" to which W. L. Jepson added a lengthy and grossly inaccurate footnote.

²⁴ Diary, April 7, 1882.

²⁵ *San Francisco Bulletin*, April, 1882. *Madroño* 1 (15): 219, 1929.

²⁶ Diary, April 8, 1882.

²⁷ *San Francisco Bulletin*, April, 1882. *Madroño* 1 (15):220, 1929.

²⁸ Diary, April 9, 1882.

²⁹ Jones wrote in his diary, "(Rich's)" a name not otherwise identified. Perhaps it was a mistake for Fish's, an American family living at El Sauzal who provided the party with living accommodations.

³⁰ *San Francisco Bulletin*, April, 1882. *Madroño* 1 (15):220, 1929.

³¹ Diary, April 13, 1882.

³² The Independent (Grinnell, Iowa), July 6, 1882. Jones retold this same

story in *Contribution to Western Botany*, No. 17, pp. 5–6, 1930, to which he added an account of trying to buy a watermelon from a Mexican without knowing the name for watermelon.

³³ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, April 17, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis. Here all scientific names will be italicized.

³⁴ Jones, M. E. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, April 18, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

³⁵ Words which are illegible are indicated by [—].

³⁶ Jones later reported incorrectly that the story had been printed in the *San Diego Union*.

³⁷ Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

³⁸ Engelmann, George (St. Louis). Letter to C. C. Parry, April 26, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

³⁹ Engelmann, George (St. Louis). Letter to C. C. Parry, April 29, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁴⁰ Pringle, C. G. (San Diego). Letter to Harry N. Patterson, April 23, 1882. In Kibbe, A. L., *Afield With Plant Lovers And Collectors*. (Privately printed, 1953), p. 95.

⁴¹ Joseph Cook Nevin (1835–1913). Missionary to China and a distinguished Chinese linguist. Returned to the United States and became a resident of Los Angeles in 1878. Took up botany as a relief from the study of the Chinese language. Discoverer of a number of interesting new species.

⁴² Jones returned to central California for a short time during the summer of 1882 and was at Colfax on July 3; Auburn, July 4; Sacramento, July 8–10; San Francisco, July 11–14; Duncan Mills, July 15; the Russian River, July 18; returning to San Francisco on July 18; and started for Salt Lake City on July 20.

⁴³ Charles Kendall Smith, San Diego business man and father of Rosa Smith.

⁴⁴ According to Jones's account published in *Contributions to Western Botany*, No. 17, p. 4, the day that the party arrived at El Sauzal (April 10), Parry ambled off to town (Ensenada) and he went botanizing and discovered a new *Cereus* which he named *C. maritimus*.

⁴⁵ Daniel Cleveland (1838–1929) was an attorney and resident of San Diego for 60 years. He was particularly interested in ferns but collected many other plants not a few of which were undescribed species which he sent to Asa Gray at Harvard for naming. He was one of the founders of the San Diego Society of Natural History.

⁴⁶ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to Asa Gray, April 20, 1882. Original in the library of the Gray Herbarium, Harvard University.

⁴⁷ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, May 10, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

Cereus glomeratus Engelm. is an unpublished name and, according to the *International Code of Botanical Nomenclature*, it is invalid. *Cereus maritimus* Jones was published in the *American Naturalist* 17:973, 1883.

⁴⁸ Engelm. George (St. Louis). Letter to C. C. Parry, May 15, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁴⁹ Engelm. never monographed the genus *Rosa*.

⁵⁰ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelm., May 23, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis. Parry "nursed her up" (cf. 60!) by naming *Polygala fishiae* Parry, *Proc. Davenp. Acad. Nat. Hist.* 4(1884):39.

⁵¹ Samuel Bonsall Parish (1838–1928) was a farmer near Colton and a pioneer in botanical exploration in southern California. The farm became a mecca for visiting botanists during the latter part of the 19th Century. William Fletcher Parish, a brother and co-owner of the farm was also a botanical collector. The Parish brothers were close friends of Parry and often joined him on collecting expeditions in southern California.

⁵² Pringle, C. G. (Colton). Letter to Engelm., May 22, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁵³ The new editor of the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* would have been William Ruggles Gerard, who was associate editor at the time of the death of William Henry Leggett in April, 1882, and who probably assumed the editorship after Leggett's death. He was formally named editor at the January, 1883, meeting of the Torrey Botanical Club and Nathaniel Lord Britton was named associate editor.

⁵⁴ Parry, C. C. (San Francisco). Letter to George Engelm., June 3, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁵⁵ Engelm. was not the only botanist to recognize the distinctiveness of *Rosa minutifolia*. C. C. Hurst placed it in the genus *Hesperhodos* as *H. minutifolius* (Engelm. in Parry) Hurst, (*Zeitsch. Indukt. Abst. Vererb. Suppl.* 2:902, 1928). In the latest taxonomic treatment of the group, Walter H. Lewis places it in the subgenus *Hesperhodos* and associates it with *R. stellata* of the mountains of south-central New Mexico and far western Texas (*Ann. Mo. Bot. Gard.* 52:99–113, 1935).

⁵⁶ Engelm., George (St. Louis). Letter to C. C. Parry, June 12, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁵⁷ On his printed label, Orcutt does not acknowledge that Marcus Jones was one of the party that discovered the rose. So far as known, after the scene at Tijuana, Orcutt never again mentioned Jones's name in any of his writings.

⁵⁸ For information on the holdings of *Rosa minutifolia* at St. Louis I am much indebted to Nancy Morin, Administrative Curator at the Missouri Botanical Garden, who kindly copied the information on the herbarium labels.

⁵⁹ Parry, C. C. (San Francisco). Letter to George Engelmann, June 23, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁶⁰ Parry, C. C. (Davenport). Letter to George Engelmann, July 7, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁶¹ Pringle, C. G. (San Francisco). Letter to Harry N. Patterson, July 7, 1882. In Kibbe, A. L., *Afield With Plant Lovers And Collectors*. (Privately printed, 1953), p. 97.

⁶² Parry, C. C. (Davenport). Letter to George Engelmann, July 14, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁶³ The agreement was that any plant collected by two or more of the party (Jones, Orcutt, Parry, Pringle) should not be named for a member of the party but should be given a 'characteristic' name.

⁶⁴ Jones, Marcus (Salt Lake City). Letter to George Engelmann, July 24, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden.

⁶⁵ Jones, Marcus (Salt Lake City). Letter to Asa Gray, August 11, 1882. Original in the library of the Gray Herbarium, Harvard University.

⁶⁶ Parry, C. C. (Davenport). Letter to George Engelmann, September 1, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁶⁷ Costh, J. (Toronto, Canada). Letter to C. C. Parry, March 19, 1882. Original in the library of the State Historical Department, Division of Historical Museum and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶⁸ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, December 29, 1882. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis. William Greenwood Wright was an entomologist and plant collector.

⁶⁹ Rosa Smith at an early age showed an interest in fish and was commissioned by the Smithsonian Institution to make a collection for them. David Starr Jordan said that she was the first woman to make a scientific description and determination of a species of fish. She later married Carl H. Eigenmann, a professor at the University of Indiana and an authority on fish. *Webster's Dictionary of Biography*, 1956 printing, p. 473; minutes of the San Diego Society of Natural History, August 6, 1880. See also, Carl Hubbs's biography of Rosa Eigenmann Smith in *Notable American Women* 1:565-566, 1971.

⁷⁰ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, January 3, 1883. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁷¹ Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, January 11, 1883. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁷² Parry, C. C. (San Diego). Letter to George Engelmann, February 9, 1883. Original in the archives of the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis.

⁷³ *West American Scientist* 7:2, 1890.

⁷⁴ *California Trees and Flowers*. (The Orcutt Seed and Plant Company, San Diego), 1891, p. 30.

⁷⁵ *Rosa minutifolia* was introduced into cultivation at the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden by the author in 1954 by means of five rooted cuttings presented him by Charles M. Hill of San Diego, at that time a graduate student. The original planting has now grown to become one large tangled mass nearly 30 feet across. Since no seed has been set it is assumed that the plants are self-incompatible and that the five original cuttings were taken from a single plant.

⁷⁶ *Madroño* 1:218-221, 1929.

⁷⁷ *The West American Scientist* 7:1-4, 1890.

⁷⁸ *Contributions to Western Botany*, No. 17, pp. 3-6, 1930.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* No. 18, pp. 9-10, 1933.

⁸⁰ DuShane, H. *The Baja California Travels of Charles Russell Orcutt* (Baja California Travels Series, No. 23, Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, California), 1971, p. 31.

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