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# Further Additions to the Bibliography of Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913)

Charles H. Smith

Western Kentucky University, [charles.smith@wku.edu](mailto:charles.smith@wku.edu)

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Website – [www.shnh.org](http://www.shnh.org)

Editorial email address – [editor@shnh.org](mailto:editor@shnh.org)



## Further additions to the bibliography of Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913)

C. H. SMITH

Department of Library Public Services, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY 42101, USA.

**ABSTRACT:** Twenty-one previously unrecorded published writings by the English naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913) are noticed. The writings vary greatly in date, size and importance, and include items pertaining both to Wallace's natural history as well as social and political interests.

**KEY WORDS:** natural history – social criticism.

In a previous paper (Smith, 1999), I updated the bibliography of published writings of Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913) that appeared in *Alfred Russel Wallace: an anthology of his shorter writings* (Smith, 1991: 473–536). My original bibliography (Smith, 1991) listed nearly 300 items that had not previously appeared in any biographical source, while the update (Smith, 1999) described an additional 18 items I had come across in the interim. Since 1999 a further 21 items have come to my attention, and these are the focus of the present note.

This continuing attention to Wallace bibliography is merited by two considerations. First, though Wallace is known to have written on an enormous range of subjects, on many of these his actual recorded thoughts are short and/or few in number. This has given rise to a number of significant misconceptions as to what he actually had in mind on some matters. In a number of instances, illumination has come from obscure sources. As one example, we know Wallace wrote three pamphlets expressing his opposition to mandatory smallpox vaccination; these pamphlets dwell on statistics but convey a rather lawyerly approach to argumentation that gives one the impression that he opposed vaccination outright – specifically, that he simply felt it had *always* been an ineffective approach to the problem. In 1895, however, he printed a short “correction” letter (Wallace, 1895) that straightforwardly indicates otherwise: his real agenda involved his reasoned conclusion that vaccination administration of the period was such an imperfect science that by the late nineteenth century it was probably killing off as many or more people as the disease itself (which by then had become much less prevalent), and therefore that it was an injustice to keep the procedure mandatory. Similarly, it is usually thought that Wallace believed life could exist nowhere in the Universe but on Earth; however, in a late interview he clearly indicates that his arguments in this direction were meant only to address lower (i.e., non-self-conscious) life-forms (Dawson, 1903).

Second, interest in Wallace is decidedly on the upswing. Since 1996 there have been more – in most cases several times more – subject entries added to the OCLC database *WorldCat* (the combined bibliographic record of the holdings of some 50,000 libraries worldwide, though emphasizing US institutions) under Wallace's name than any other important nineteenth century naturalist, save Alexander von Humboldt and, of course, Darwin. This includes Huxley, Spencer, Haeckel, Lamarck, Agassiz, Gray, J. D. Hooker, Weismann, Lyell, Hutton, Owen, Cope, and even Mendel. And, as of this writing, three other monographic works fully on Wallace are scheduled for publication within the year, with several others known to be in preparation. The list of recent books entirely or in good measure about Wallace includes Quammen (1996), Hughes (1997), Lightman (1997), Van Oosterzee (1997), Severin (1998),

Daws and Fujita (1999), Knapp (1999), Wilson (2000), Raby (2001), Berry (2002), Camerini (2002), and Shermer (2002).

Considering the rate at which Wallace's writings continue to resurface, we may expect that the current tally will again require updating in several years. There are plenty of potential venues for additional rediscoveries; Wallace materials have already been found in over two hundred different serials, and the vast majority of these and like publications were neither indexed in their own time nor have yet been made available electronically in full-text. Doubtlessly, dozens of his letters to editors, signed and unsigned book reviews, and essays and other commentaries remain overlooked.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks to Christine Garwood, Dirk Backenkoehler, and James Moore for their discoveries as indicated, and their willingness to bring them to my attention.

## NOTE

<sup>1</sup> URL (published 2000) [www.wku.edu/~smithch/index1.htm](http://www.wku.edu/~smithch/index1.htm) (C. H. Smith, The Alfred Russel Wallace Page. University Libraries, Western Kentucky University).

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#### APPENDIX: NEW ADDITIONS TO SMITH (1991) AND SMITH (1999)

In the list that follows, items are numbered according to the chronological scheme created in Smith (1991) and continued in my online project, *The Alfred Russel Wallace page*.<sup>1</sup> Following each bibliographic record I have provided contextual notes; some of the items in this list are quite minor and require little comment, but there are also several that yield significant new insights. Those items not contributed by myself are specially noted.

**S131a** 1867. [Annotations], passim, in SCLATER, P. L. and SALVIN, O. 1867 List of birds collected by Mr. Wallace on the Lower Amazons and Rio Negro. *Proceedings of the scientific meetings of the Zoological Society of London 1867*: 566–596.

**Notes:** Brief remarks concerning collecting localities, etc., that Wallace made when this paper was read at the Zoological Society of London on 23 May 1867 (*vide* Christine Garwood).

**S142a** 1868. [Discussion], p. 373 of MORRIS, F. O. 1868 On the difficulties of Darwinism. *The Athenaeum* no. 2134: 373–374.

**Notes:** A record of Wallace's discussion of a paper presented at the August 1868 meeting of Section D, Biology, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Included is the extremely interesting statement:

With regard to the moral bearing of the question as to whether the moral and intellectual faculties could be developed by natural selection, that was a subject on which Mr. Darwin had not given an opinion. He (Mr. Wallace) did not believe that Mr. Darwin's theory would entirely explain those mental phenomena.

These remarks pre-date by six months the until-now first-credited expression of Wallace's divergence of views from Darwin on the matter of the evolution of humankind's higher faculties in Wallace (1869) (*vide* Christine Garwood).

**S246a** 1874. Vorwort, pp [v]–x in AKSÁKOW, A. N. (editor). *Die Wissenschaftliche Ansicht der Uebernaturlichen*. Leipzig: Oswald Mutze.

**Notes:** Specially provided for Gregor C. Wittig's German translation of Wallace's *The scientific aspect of the supernatural*. In part based on "Note A", added to p. 360 of the 1871 (second) edition of Wallace's *Contributions to the theory of natural selection*; later in part incorporated into the preface to Wallace's *On miracles and modern spiritualism* (1875) (*vide* Dirk Backenkoehler).

**S266a** 1876. [Comments], vol. **1**, pp 372, 373, 374; vol. **2**, p. 254 in HARRIS, G., *A philosophical*

- treatise on the nature and constitution of man*. London: George Bell & Sons. 2 volumes.  
**Notes:** Very brief remarks on love, sexual selection and instinct solicited by Mr. Harris for inclusion in his two-volume work (*vide* Christine Garwood).
- S315a** 1879. Memorial to Elliott Coues, Esquire, Assistant Surgeon United States Army. *The American naturalist* **13**: 597–598.  
**Notes:** A letter in September 1879 signed by Wallace and 36 others thanking Coues for his efforts regarding ornithological bibliography.
- S321a** 1880. [Discussion], p. 184 of PAUL, W., 1880 The future of Epping Forest. *Journal of the Society of Arts* **28**: 177–185.  
**Notes:** A record of Wallace’s discussion of a paper presented at a Society of Arts (London) meeting held on 28 January 1880 (*vide* James Moore).
- S371a** 1884. President’s address, pp [5]–22 in *Report of the Land Nationalisation Society 1883–4*. London: Land Nationalisation Society.  
**Notes:** Wallace was President of the Land Nationalisation Society from its inception in 1881 through to his death in 1913. This speech, presented to the third annual meeting on 18 June 1884, is the earliest of the presidential addresses known in its entirety and the most recent one to be documented. It is also the longest Wallace work to be rediscovered in more than 15 years. In it Wallace reviews recent literature and pending legislation related to the land reform movement.
- S391a** 1886. [Summary], The wind as a seed-carrier. *Science* **8** (no. 198): 450.  
**Notes:** A summary of a paper read on 11 November 1886 at the semi-annual meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, held in Boston; included in a feature entitled “The fall meeting of the National Academy” (pp 448–450).
- S405a** 1887. [Comments], p. 227 in “A.” Living lights. *Science* **10** (no. 248): 226–227.  
**Notes:** Portions of a letter that “A” (who cannot be further identified) solicited from Wallace, and incorporated into the former’s letter to the editor of *Science* concerning bio-phosphorescence.
- S595a** 1901. Foreword, pp 3–4 in RICHARDSON, J. *The education problem and its solution*. London: Twentieth Century Press, Ltd.  
**Note:** Dated 18 April 1901 (*vide* Christine Garwood).
- S618a** 1904. Have we lived on Earth before? Shall we live on Earth again? *The London: a magazine of human interest* **13**: 401–403.  
**Notes:** Wallace composed this brief but fascinating essay in response to a survey. In it he uses a materialist, natural selection-based argument to reject the likelihood there exists a cyclic reincarnation process.
- S624a** 1906. Woman: her brain, mental capacity, and character. *Ethological journal* **2** (2): 63.  
**Notes:** I recently discovered that late in his life Wallace became involved in the creation of a new association, the Ethology Society; for a time he served as one of its vice presidents. This entry consists of brief comments on an address on the title subject by Bernard Hollander, another member.
- S628aa** 1906. How to buy the railways. Dr. Wallace’s reply. *The daily news* [London] no. 18,889 (1 October): 12f.  
**Notes:** One of two letters to the editor printed under this title, and referring to Wallace’s

recent remarks on this subject in another publication.

- S646a** 1907. The Denshawai prisoners. *The new age* 1 (no. 685) (24 October): 405.  
**Notes:** An open letter to Sir Edward Grey signed by dozens of noteworthies (including Wallace) concerning an infamous riot that took place in Egypt.
- S654a** 1908. [Letter to the editor.] *Occult review* 7: 348.  
**Notes:** A rather minor item commenting on a letter about a ghost story printed in a previous issue of *Occult review*.
- S668a** 1909. A remedy for unemployment. *The new age* 4 (no. 749) (14 January): 251.  
**Notes:** A letter to the editor drawing attention to an essay Wallace (1908) had published on this subject.
- S674a** 1909. Dr. Wallace's remedy for unemployment. *The new age* 4 (no. 755) (25 February): 369.  
**Notes:** One of three letters to the editor regarding comments made on Wallace's approach to this subject.
- S676a** 1909. Dr. A. R. Wallace on colonisation. *The new age* 4 (no. 756) (4 March): 390.  
**Notes:** One of two letters to the editor regarding Wallace's approach to land tenure reform.
- S707a** 1920. From Alfred Russel Wallace, p. 40 in LE PRADE, R. (editor) *Debs and the poets*. Pasadena, California: Upton Sinclair.  
**Notes:** An undated single-sentence tribute to Eugene V. Debs.
- S708a** 1932. [Letter] Alfred Russell [sic] Wallace to H. S. Olcott. *The theosophist* 53: 494.  
**Notes:** A note reprinting a 2 May 1875 letter from Wallace to Colonel Henry S. Olcott, concerning Olcott's dedication of his book *People from other worlds* to Wallace and William Crookes.
- S734a** 2002. *Peixes do Rio Negro. Fishes of the Rio Negro*. Organization, introductory text and translation by Mônica de Toledo-Piza Ragazzo. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, Imprensa Oficial do Estado. Pp 517.  
**Notes:** The most remarkable item in the present list is this entirely *new* work from Wallace. When Wallace was shipwrecked on his way home to England from Brazil in 1852, one of the very few items he was able to save from the disaster was his collection of over two hundred drawings of Rio Negro fishes, sketched while he was in the field in the years 1850–1852. He held on to these drawings for some fifty years, finally turning them over to the Natural History Museum, London, after his second enquiry regarding their possible publication came to nothing. A few years ago the drawings came to the attention of Brazilian ichthyologist Mônica Toledo-Piza Ragazzo, who has made them the subject of an important new study wedding historical records-based systematics to the study of biodiversity. The work also shows that Wallace was a very fine sketch artist, good enough to make possible (with the aid of his notes) species-level identifications of many of the forms involved.



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