



Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse (1826–1898) and his contributions to malacology: a biography and bibliography

Abraham S H Breure, Benoît Fontaine

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ZOOLOGIE

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a biography and bibliography**

Abraham S.H. BREURE & Benoît FONTAINE



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Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse (1826–1898) and his contributions to malacology: a biography and bibliography

Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse (1826–1898) et sa contribution à la malacologie : une biographie et une bibliographie

ABRAHAM S.H. BREURE⁽¹⁾ & BENOÎT FONTAINE⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Abraham Breure - Royal Belgian Institute of Natural Sciences, Vautierstraat 29, B-1000 Brussels (Belgium) Natural History Museum, Invertebrate Division, Department of Life Sciences, Cromwell Road, London SW7 5BD (U.K.) Naturalis Biodiversity Center, P.O. Box 9517, NL-2300 RA Leiden (the Netherlands) - ashbreure@protonmail.com

⁽²⁾ Benoît Fontaine - Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Département Écologie et Gestion de Biodiversité, CP 51, 55 rue Buffon, F-75005 Paris (France) - benoit.fontaine@mnhn.fr

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KEY-WORDS

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Summary: We present a biography of Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse, who was Director of the *Journal de Conchyliologie* from 1861 until his death in 1898. His bibliography lists 678 publications. Additional data are presented on his network of correspondents, and an analysis is given of the contents of the *Journal de Conchyliologie*. We also present an updated collation of the 'Mission au Mexique... Mollusques' (1870–1902).

MOTS-CLÉS

France
Compilation
Hippolyte Crosse
Correspondants
Réseau
19e century
Malacologie
Journal de Conchyliologie

Résumé : Nous présentons une biographie de Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse, directeur du *Journal de Conchyliologie* de 1861 à sa mort en 1898. Sa bibliographie recense 678 publications. Des données complémentaires sont présentées sur son réseau de correspondants, et une analyse du contenu du *Journal de Conchyliologie* est présentée. Nous présentons également une mise à jour de la compilation de la 'Mission au Mexique... Mollusques' (1870–1902).

Introduction

During the latter half of the 19th century the most active malacological centres were to be found in France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and Italy (Breure & Heiberger, 2019). The first two countries were also responsible for the two major malacological journals during this period, the *Journal de Conchyliologie* and *Zeitschrift für Malakozoologie* and its successor *Malakozoologische Blätter*

respectively (see Kabat & Coan, 2016). The French *Journal de Conchyliologie*, which was started in 1850 by Petit de la Saussaye (see Breure & Backhuys, 2017b), was published from 1861 until his death in 1898 by Hippolyte Crosse as managing director and with Paul Fischer as co-editor.

Crosse was one of the 'spiders' in the malacological web throughout the last four decades of the 19th century, as is clear from an inventory of his correspondents (Breure & Audibert,

2017), as well as from studying a network analysis for the period 1850–1870 (Breure & Heiberger, 2019). This list of correspondents, many of whom played a vital role in the ongoing exchange and supply of material with Crosse, has been elaborated on further in the Appendix. To provide additional context, we have also looked at the development of the *Journal de Conchyliologie* during its first five decades, including a ‘look behind the scenes’ in order to examine the diversity of its subscribers

This paper gives a biography of Crosse, presents data on the *Journal de Conchyliologie* from hitherto unknown sources, together with a bibliography of Crosse. A list of newly introduced taxa, both from Brachiopoda and Mollusca, will follow in due course.

Methods and abbreviations

Biographical data has been compiled from Poyard (1899), who was a life-long friend of Crosse, Nördlinger (1899), and supplemented with hitherto previously unknown data.

The subscription registers for the *Journal de Conchyliologie* cover the period 1861–1898; all relevant data has been transferred into a spreadsheet for analysis. A distinction was made between institutions (universities, learned societies), commercial libraries (who acted as ‘middle-men’ for unknown customers), professionals (known to be active in an institution or as shell dealers) and amateurs. The places of residence have been coded according to current countries, and the countries have been assigned to one of the following entities: Europe (all EU countries), Asia and Oceania, Africa and the Americas.

For the analysis of the contents of the *Journal* all volumes between 1850 and 1899 have been studied. For the comparison between the *Journal* and the *Malakozoologische Blätter*, only the period 1861–1891 has been analysed. Co-author combinations have been kept separate, their contributions been given equal weight as single authors. Authors have been assigned to the countries where they resided, following current political-administrative borders.

H. Fischer in Poyard *et al.* (1899: 41–61) presented an ‘Index bibliographique’, listing the publications by Crosse in the *Journal de Conchyliologie* and the *Revue et magasin de zoolo-*

gie; he also mentioned two works published separately. We have completed this bibliography and arranged it chronologically. The dates of publication [between square brackets] are in accordance with Fischer-Piette (1937) or Art. 21 of the ICZN Code (1999). For the dates of publication of the *Études sur les mollusques terrestres et fluviatiles du Mexique et du Guatemala* we followed Crosnier & Clark (1998). From the 17 ‘livraisons’ they were able to present precise dates for nine of these.

Abbreviations

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France

Coll. JdeC: *Journal de Conchyliologie* collection (MNHN).

Journal: *Journal de Conchyliologie*

MNHN: Muséum national d’Histoire naturelle, Paris

Biography

Crosse’s genealogy

Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse was born in Paris on 1st October 1826, as the eldest son of Jacques-Martin Crosse, who was an attorney, and Amélie Julie Bontus (Denoix, 2012; **Figs 1–3**).

The youth of Hippolyte Crosse

We quote from Poyard *et al.* (1899: 3–4):

“Joseph-Charles-Hippolyte Crosse studied at Bourbon College, and distinguished himself above all in the class of rhetoric. Endowed with a rare facility, to which was added a vast and already profound instruction, he excelled especially in the Latin verse faculty: his ample, clear, witty, Horatian rather than Virgilian pieces were as much appreciated by his teachers as by his classmates. We were already great friends, as we have been through all phases of our life, and in 1844, on the occasion of Saint-Charlemagne, our two Latin muses associated them-selves to review the events and the contemporary faults, in a humorous dialogue which was, as far as I remember, quite well received, it must be at the bottom of the most old archives of the school, which, having changed name three times, now bears the name of [Lycée] Condorcet [one of the most prestigious schools in Paris].

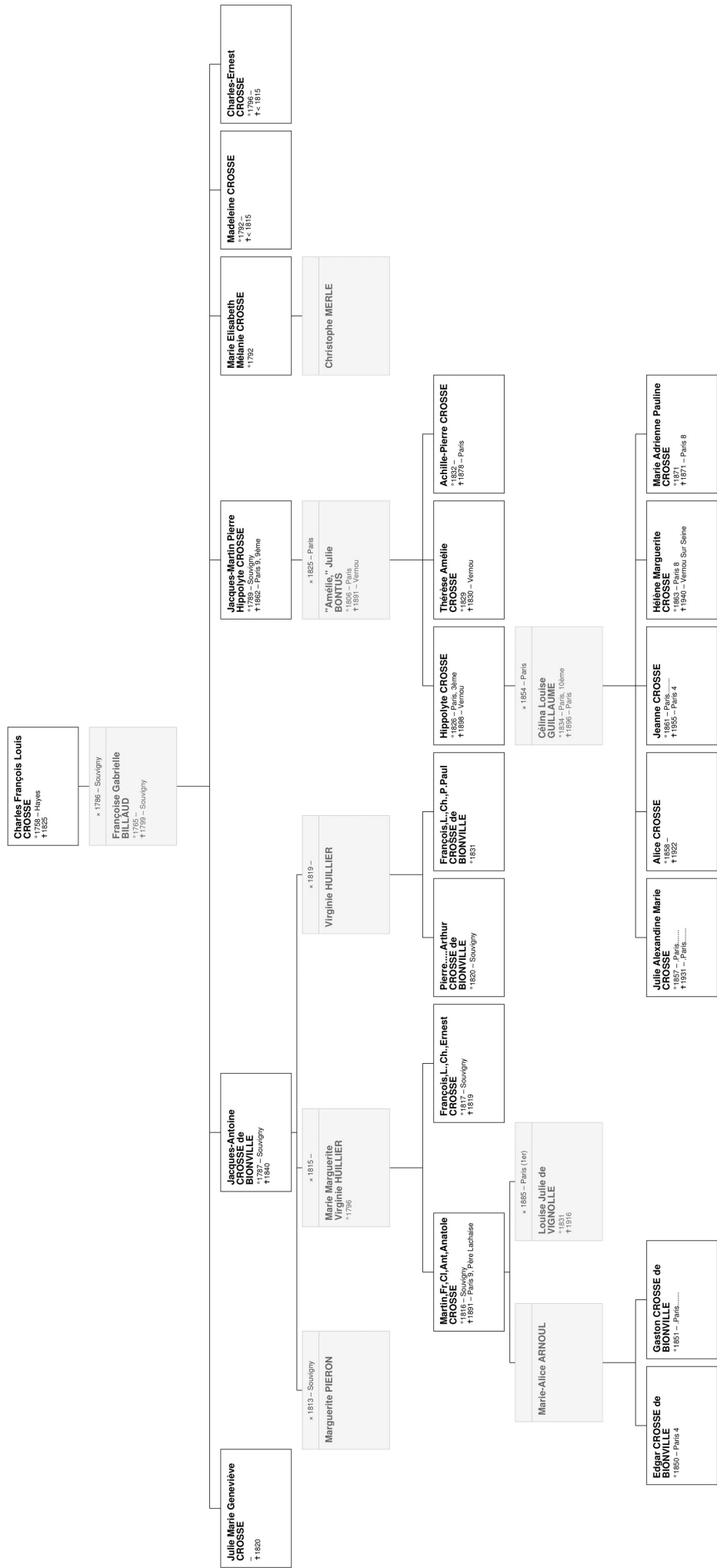


Fig. 1. Genealogy of Hippolyte Crosse. Adapted from Denoix (2012).

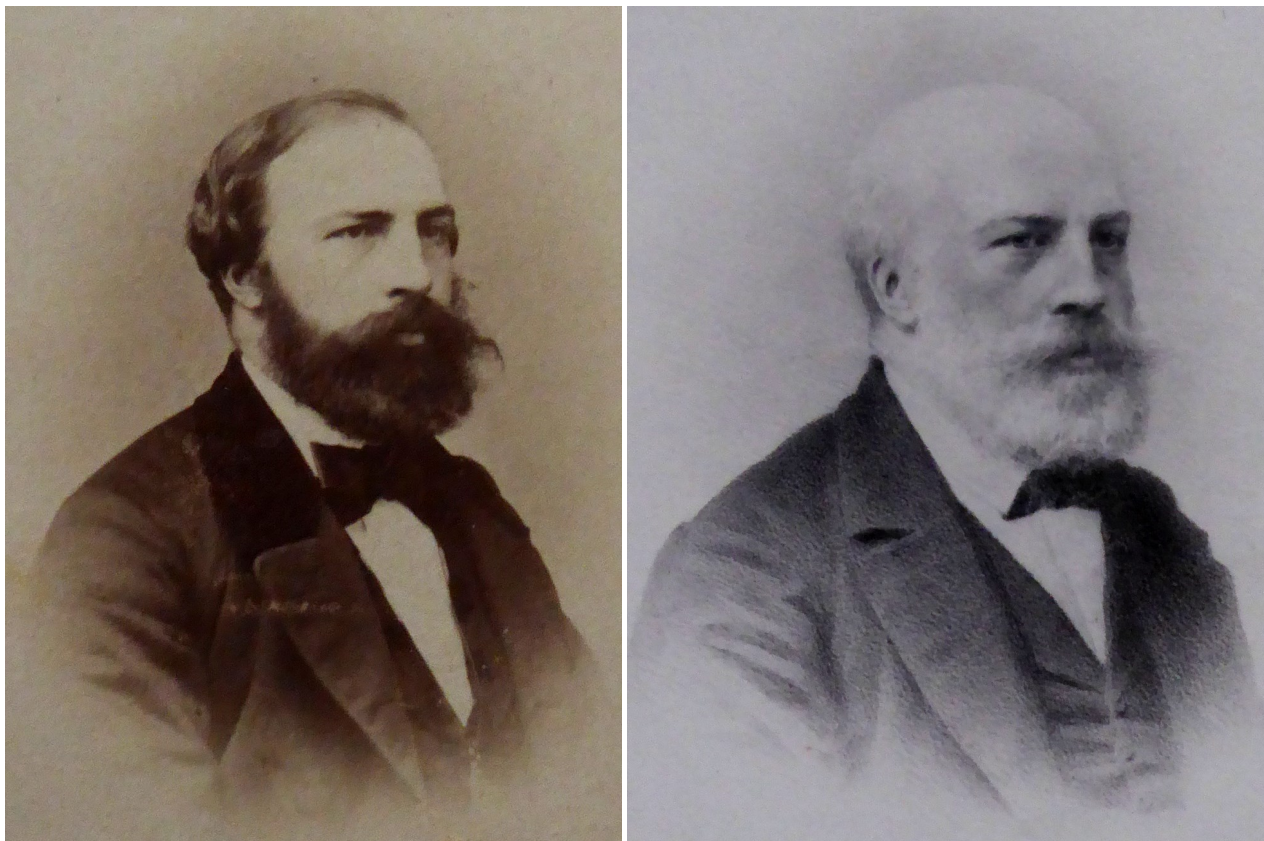


Fig. 2-3. Hippolyte Crosse (1860) & (1894). Photos archive Fontaine family.

At the end of college, at nineteen years of age (for at that time there was no boast, as today, of alleviating and curtailing classical studies), Crosse studied law, as was expected from the son of an attorney, and he succeeded, as in all he approached; but his taste already inclined him to the natural sciences, to which he had to consecrate all the powers of his good intelligence. He was scarcely fifteen years old when a nephew of Adanson donated him a batch of shells, which was the first core of the magnificent conchological collection assembled by Crosse at the price of fifty years of patient research. It was for a scientific purpose that he visited in 1849 the French coast of the Mediterranean, Corsica and Sicily. From this trip he brought back numerous specimens, and from that time he devoted himself entirely to his favourite study. He established relationships with leading scientists in the same branch. He was also in commerce with several missionaries, who united the taste for natural history to the ardor of the Christian apostolate, and took advantage of their stay in distant and little explored regions to enrich science”.

Crosse was made exempt from military obligations in 1846, because of a defect in the cornea

of the left eye. Although he succeeded in becoming an attorney at the imperial court of Paris, it seems that he never really worked as a lawyer. He was already much more interested in malacology, at this time often called ‘conchyliology’. As noted by Poyard and Dautzenberg, this passion may have been triggered by Alexandre Adanson (1779–1855), nephew of the well-known naturalist Michel Adanson (1727–1806). Alexandre Adanson had professional, and most probably friendly relations with Hippolyte’s father, and gave Hippolyte, then 15, a shell collection inherited from Michel Adanson.

One previously unknown aspect of Crosse is his interest in music. He was not only actively playing the piano, we even found a piece of piano music composed by him, and published in 1852 at the age of 26 (Fig. 4). and dedicated to Celina Guillaume, who would become his wife two years later. There had been two previous works (Opus 1 and 2), and perhaps later ones, but we have been unable to locate these.

Crosse’s family and house in the country

Not only did Alexandre Adanson give Hippolyte a taste for molluscs, he was also instru-

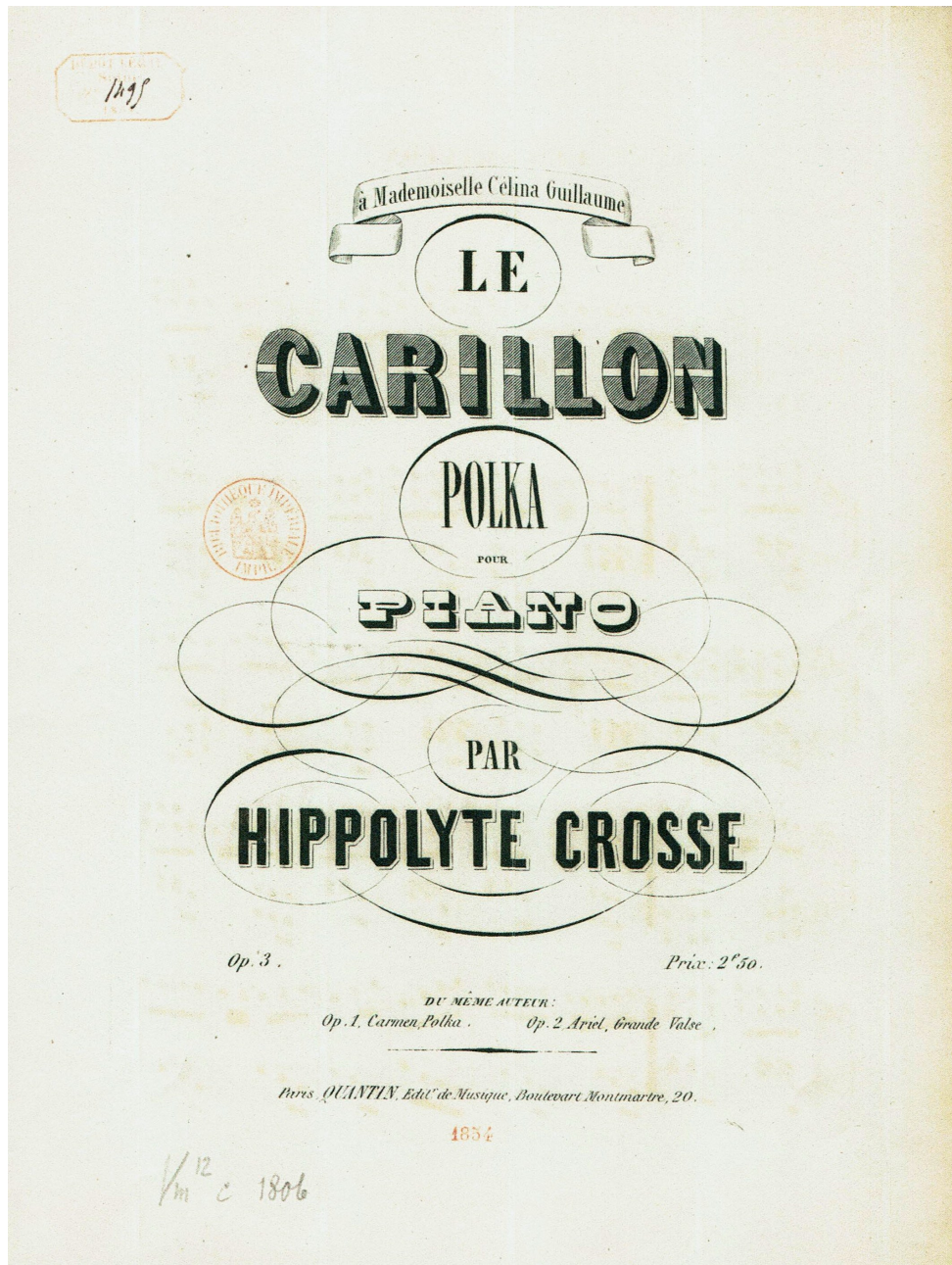


Fig. 4. Opus 3 'Le Carillon', Polka pour piano. BnF FRBNF42928912. Note the dedication.

mental in giving him the opportunity to devote himself to science. In 1854, Hippolyte married Céline Guillaume (1834–1896), who was a protégée of Adanson. She was the daughter of Jacques and Louise Guillaume, who were Adanson's housekeepers. However, the links between Alexandre Adanson and Louise Guillaume were probably stronger than usual between a boss and his employee, as shown by several letters written by Adanson to Louise and kept by the family of Crosse's descendants. Adanson announced the wedding of Céline, together with her parents, as her godfather, although his name does not appear on Céline's baptism certificate. In any case, Céline was very dear to Adanson, a love which is expressed in several letters from Adanson to Céline: in one

of these, sent when she was in boarding school and in which he advised her to avoid going to too many lessons in order to rest, he wrote:

"Tu as eu du chagrin, ma chère petite Célinette, de ne m'avoir pas vu hier lundi? Crois qu'il m'en a coûté beaucoup de ne pouvoir aller t'embrasser. Aussi me suis-je empressé de te trouver un puissant dédommagement en t'envoyant ta Mère." [Did you feel grief, my dear little Célinette, for not seeing me last Monday? Be sure that it cost me a lot not to be able to kiss you. Thus I promptly found a powerful compensation and sent your Mother to you].

In Adanson's last will and testament, for which Jacques Martin Crosse (Hippolyte's father) was

one of the executors, Céline had a privileged place: she received roughly half of Adanson's fortune. She was given two buildings in Paris, 25 and 27 rue Tronchet (Fig. 5), where she had lived with Hippolyte since their marriage, together with jewels (*"bijoux et diamants"*), furnitures and an annuity. Céline's mother also received an annuity from Adanson, as well as Céline's father, although his was smaller. In his will, Adanson also wished that two marble statues of Michel Adanson, his uncle, would be sculpted, one for the Natural History Museum in Paris, the other for the Natural History Museum in Aix, where he was born. These statues can still be found in these museums.



Fig. 5. The house of Crosse and the office of the *Journal*, 25–27 rue Tronchet (2018). Photo A.S.H. Breure.

When he married Céline Guillaume, Hippolyte Crosse brought along his natural history collection and 100,000 francs given by his parents. Céline's dowry, provided by Adanson, was larger: 200,000 francs, annuities and the buildings rue Tronchet, where Adanson lived until his death the year after. Therefore Hippolyte Crosse never had any future financial problems, and was able to devote himself to his favourite pastimes, including conchology. From his mother Amélie Bontus, Hippolyte inherited Argeville, a mansion with a park and gardens in the village of Vernou-sur-Seine, 70 km south-east of Paris (Fig. 6). Hippolyte and Céline had five daughters and one son: Hippo-



Fig. 6. Château d'Argeville (2019). Photo B. Fontaine.

lyte jr. (1855–1855), Julie (1857–1931), Alice (1857–1922), Jeanne (1861–1955), Hélène (1863–1940), Marie (1871–1871) (data derived from Denoix, 2012).

Crosse as a malacologist

We quote again from Poyard *et al.* (1899: 5):

“The second great work of Crosse [Poyard referred to his editorship of the Journal as his first great work; see also below] is the Studies on Terrestrial and Freshwater Molluscs of Mexico and Guatemala, forming one of seven parts of the vast work undertaken by Milne-Edwards, under the general title of ‘Recherches zoologiques pour servir à l’histoire de la faune de l’Amérique Centrale et du Mexique’. This time again the two friends, Crosse and Fischer, pooled their efforts. It was in 1867 that the Minister of Education instructed Mr. Milne-Edwards to organise this scientific publication; it was on January 1st, 1869, that Crosse wrote the introduction of the part which had been entrusted to his care and to those of Fischer. Their work continued uninterrupted for twenty-five years. Since the untimely end of his collaborator in 1893, Crosse had taken on the task. He was about to put the finishing touches to it, when death came to surprise him; but the notes and documents which he has left will enable the young scientist whom Crosse has chosen for the continuation of his labours, M. Henri Fischer, to complete this great work”.

In April 1878 Wilhelm Kobelt wrote a letter to Crosse:

“Wäre es nicht möglich in unseren Journalen eine Art Congress der Malacozoologen für eine bestimmte Zeit auszuschreiben? Es

sind so manche Fragen zu besprechen welche auf einem solchen Congresse am zweckmassigsten zu Erledigung kamen. Ich halte das zweite Heft unserer Jahrbücher zurück bis ich Antwort von Ihnen erhalten habe. Unter anderen möchte ich den Vorschlag machen eine regelmässig erscheinende Zeitschrift in grösserem Format herauszugeben, welche nur der Abbildung neuer oder noch wenig bekannter Conchylien gewidmet wäre und den Text in drei Sprachen gäbe. Ich halte ein solches Unternehmen für unbedingt nothig zur Förderung der Conchylienkunde; es darf nicht mehr geschehen dass neue Arten nur durch ungenügende Beschreibung ohne lateinische Diagnose und Abbildung veröffentlicht werden.” [Would it not be possible to announce in our journals a kind of congress of malacologists at a specific time? There are so many questions to discuss for which such a congress would be the most appropriate way to settle them. I hold back the second issue of our *Jahrbücher* until I have received an answer from you. Among other things, I would like to propose the publication of a regular periodical in a larger format, dedicated only to the illustration of new or little-known shells with the text in three languages. I consider such an enterprise absolutely necessary for the progress of malacology; it must no longer happen that new species are only published through inadequate description without Latin diagnosis and illustration].

Unfortunately we do not have Crosse’s answer to this proposal, but seemingly the idea lingered around. In a letter dated February 1881 Dante Pantanelli, on behalf of the *Società Malacologica Italiana*, wrote to Crosse:

“Vous trouverez uni au dernier fascicule du Vol. VI du *Bulletino della Soc. Mal. Ital.* une lettre circulaire pour convoquer les culteurs de la malacologie à une réunion extraordinaire que notre société a décidé de tenir à Venise dans le prochain mois de Septembre. Dans cette réunion (...) le circuit directif de notre société se flatterait de pouvoir [illegible] à tous ceux qui nous honorerons (sic) de leurs conseils, de pouvoir déterminer le temps et l’endroit d’un futur congrès international de Conchyliologie.” [You will find united in the last issue of Vol. VI of

the *Bulletino della Soc. Mal. Ital.* a circular letter to summon the malacologists to an extraordinary meeting that our society has decided to hold in Venice in the next month of September. In this meeting (...) the Board of our society would be able to unite all those who will honour us with their advice, to be able to determine the time and place of a future international congress of Conchology].

The idea for this international meeting came from Marianna Paulucci (Pantanelli, 1880), and the meeting was held in Venice on 20–21 September 1881. As foreign malacologists Paul Fischer and Carl Westerlund were present, plus nine Italians (Pantanelli, 1882). One might call this the organising committee for the First European Malacological Congress...but without a succession until the congress in 1962 in London (Salvini-Plawen & Mordan, 2019).

Relations with field collectors

Crosse, as far as we know, never travelled outside France (except on one trip to Sicily) and in order to obtain the majority of his material he had to rely on his network of correspondents and field collectors.

Crosse had various contacts with missionaries. In his correspondence archive there is one letter (without date or place, but likely forwarded by L.J. Morlet with a letter dated 17th November 1885) from ‘curé’ Lesmayoux, who refers to ‘Monseigneur Livinhac’, ‘le P[è]re]. Jamet, procureur des missionnaires d’Alger et Zanzibar’, and ‘évêque de la région du Tanganyka ... Monseigneur Charbonnier’, and who assures him that they will do everything Crosse needs for his scientific work. Crosse also had contacts with priests in the Pacific region who also supplied material. They belonged to the congregation of the ‘Maristes’ and most of them published themselves in the *Journal* (e.g., Hervier, Lambert, and Montrouzier).

Among Crosse’s correspondents was his cousin Paul Crosse de Bionville, who travelled across North Africa and Asia, and who sent specimens to Hippolyte. Letters from Paul Crosse de Bionville to Hippolyte Crosse, written in Algeria (1879) and India (1892), explained that he had collected specimens which he would send to him, including oyster shells and live collected snails from Yokohama, which he hoped would still be alive when they reached Hippolyte!

Relation with the ‘Nouvelle École’

During the late nineteenth century, shell collecting was still in its “Golden Age” (Dance, 1966), and many new species were being discovered. However, the species concept was still ill-developed, taxonomy was still mainly an amateur science and malacology was no exception to this. Within one of the major European centres (France) Jules-René Bourguignat (1829–1892) was the founder of the so-called ‘Nouvelle École’ which regarded a shell to be a different species if it differed from others in at least three aspects. As Dance (1970) has shown, this was totally out of step with Darwin’s theory from his ‘On the origin of species’, which in France at that time had still a few followers. According to Dance, the distressing effects of ‘le Bourguignatisme’ were mainly confined to France, where it led to a strong reaction, yet its effects were far less great in the other centres of malacology (Germany, England and Italy), where the opposition to Bourguignat and his school was more philosophical in nature. Bourguignat published his first paper in the *Journal* in 1852 but shortly afterwards came into conflict with the editor Petit de la Saussaye (Breure & Backhuys, 2017b). While Crosse may have tried to keep ‘on speaking terms’ with Bourguignat, the few surviving letters from the latter to Crosse show that over the course of time the relations deteriorated (Audibert *et al.*, 2017). Soon afterwards, the relations became hostile when in 1884 Bourguignat founded the *Société malacologique de France* (SMF). As Audibert & Breure (2017) have suggested, the idea of creating a Society had probably been on Bourguignat’s mind for some time. The competition of Crosse and his team at the *Journal*, the creation of the *Deutsche Malakozoologische Gesellschaft* shortly before the Franco-Prussian War, and the war itself which delayed projects, were all factors that may have led to the foundation of the SMF. The society published their own journals, in which the followers of Bourguignat spiced their papers with negative or nasty remarks about non-SMF members, especially the editors of the mainstream journals. Crosse and Fischer in France; Clessin, Kobelt and Pfeiffer in Germany were all among the persons being attacked. Crosse received the highest number of negative comments (Audibert & Breure, 2017), but never was openly critical about Bourguignat and his circle. Nonetheless, in correspondence with several colleagues, the name

of Bourguignat appeared regularly (cf. Breure *et al.*, 2018 for the correspondence of Morelet). Mousson, in a letter dated 5 December 1871, wrote:

“Mon ami Brot s’est mis à poursuivre les nouvelles Unios, que Bourguignat a publié [es] dans sa faune des 4 cantons, et nous avons tous deux la conviction, que ce ne sont que des modifications de la pictorum, puisqu’on rencontre tous les passages. Personne je pense n’a poussé la fabrication des espèces à une telle virtuosité, sans avoir jamais les moindres scrupules par rapport à l’existence des variétés. Je crois bien que mon ami le Dr Paladilhe suit également trop fidèlement l’exemple de son maître.” [My friend Brot began to pursue the new *Unio*’s, which Bourguignat published in his fauna of the 4 cantons, and we both believe that they are only modifications of *U. pictorum*, since we see all the transitions. No one, I think, has pushed the creation of species to such virtuosity, without ever having the slightest scruples in relation to the existence of varieties. I believe that my friend Dr. Paladilhe also follows too closely the example of his master].

Kobelt wrote in a letter dated 1 December 1882:

“Herr Bourguignat wird demnächst ein fürchtbares Strafgericht über seine Feinde halten, er hat mir bereits die Épreuve eines offenen Briefes an Brusina geschickt der grob genug ist und nur dabei angekündigt, dass binnen acht Tagen ein ähnlicher gegen mich erscheinen werde. Sie dürften wohl auch bald an die Reihe kommen.” [Mr Bourguignat will soon beholding a dreadful criminal court over his enemies, he has already given me the proof of an open letter to Brusina, which is crude enough and also announced that within eight days a similar one will appear against me. Your turn should also soon come].

Other of Crosse’s foreign correspondents sometimes made remarks about Bourguignat in their letters. In his first letter, Heinrich Dohrn referred to an earlier contact while he was still in England. Has also been in Paris and met with Crosse, and expressed hope to return the following year.

“Je pense que vous regrettez avec moi le procédé extraordinaire de Mr. Bourguignat, parceque je suis convaincu que son livre sur

la ‘Pseudoconchyliologie’ sera plein de son genre particulier d’invectives insupportables; comme il n’a pas de lien avec moi comme avec vous, je lui tomberai dessus, je le dis franchement, le plus fort possible; mais j’espère que cela ne changera pas nos bonnes relations. Il y a une certaine limite qu’il ne faut pas surpasser en science, et je crois que vous êtes de mon avis que ce Monsieur l’a surpassé [sic] loin.” [I think you also regret the extraordinary procedure of Mr. Bourguignat, because I am convinced that his book on ‘Pseudoconchyliology’ will be full of his particular kind of insupportable invectives; as he has no connection with me neither with you, I will confound him, frankly, as strongly as possible; but I hope this will not change our good relationship. There is a certain limit that one must not surpass in science, and I believe that you are of my opinion that this gentleman surpassed it greatly].

Temple Prime was less critical. In a letter dated “New York le 19 février 1859” [sic; 1869?] it is clear that the two men were in correspondence before about *Cyrena* species (a particular specialisation of Prime). He wrote about *Cyrena saulcyi* Bourguignat, 1868 “le doute me fait et m’a toujours fait défaut” [I do not have doubts and never had any].

As copies of the outgoing letters by Crosse are lacking, we do not know how he reacted or spoke of Bourguignat and his followers to colleagues.

Crosse as a journal editor

In 1861, Hippolyte Crosse started to collaborate with Fischer and Bernardi in editing the *Journal de Conchyliologie*, which had been founded in 1850 by Petit de la Saussaye. He provided funding, and soon became a prolific editor and author for the *Journal*, until his death. He wrote often extensive reviews of published works; at that time probably an important source for the readers to keep abreast of what was going on in malacology. At several places in the volumes which he edited we can find his comments under papers from other authors. From his correspondence archive we know that he sometimes rejected manuscripts that were offered, mainly by local French conchologists (Breure unpublished data).

Crosse’s role in society

Crosse was elected mayor of Vernou-sur-Seine, in the Département Seine-et-Marne, where his mansion Argeville was situated, from 1861 until 1878, then from 1884 to 1888 and later from 1892 to 1896 (Poyard *et al.*, 1899: 7).

In his book on Vernou history (Matagrín, 1905), Matagrín describes the parties held in Argeville:

“Je me rappelle encore l’hospitalité si cordiales qu’elles [Crosse family] nous ménageaient, soit au retour des chasses, soit au moment des fêtes d’août ; et ces bals champêtres à la lueur des girandoles, sous les tilleuls du parc où nous mêlions nos danses à celles des villageois et villageoises, bals qui rappelaient, par leur simplicité et leur gaieté, les heureux temps d’un autre âge. Monsieur Crosse était alors maire de Vernou, et, secondé par sa femme et ses quatre filles, accueillait ses visiteurs avec son exquise bienveillance. C’était un homme du monde, doublé d’un érudit et très intéressant causeur.” [I still remember the warm hospitality that they [the Crosse family] provided, either after hunts or during the August fairs; and these pastoral balls enlightened by girandoles, under the linden trees where our dances were mixed with those of the villagers; reminding us by their very simplicity and cheerfulness, of the happy times of old. M. Crosse was at that time the mayor of Vernou, and supported by his wife and four daughters, welcomed his guests with exquisite kindness. He was a gentleman, yet also a learned man and a very interesting entertainer].

Worth noting here is a paper that was published by Crosse in the *Journal* in April 1866, and then published during the same year as a separate leaflet under the title “*Un Mollusque bien maltraité, ou Comment M. Victor-Hugo comprend l’organisation du poulpe*” (F. Savy, Paris). In this pamphlet, Crosse criticises the way that an octopus is described by the famous writer Victor Hugo in his recently published novel “*Les Travailleurs de la mer*”. Victor Hugo describes this mollusc as a ferocious animal, with the hole between the eight arms serving both as a mouth and as an anus. Crosse virulently opposes both assertions, and suggests that writer should write literature, and not talk about zoology, a field of science they know little about:

“Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de protester, en qualité de malacologiste, contre l’envahissement regrettable de la science par des littérateurs qui lui sont absolument étrangers, et qui, dès lors, ne peuvent faire autrement que d’en parler comme les aveugles des couleurs.” [We cannot help protesting, as malacologists, against the regrettable invasion of science from writers who are total strangers to it and who, as such, cannot do anything else other than talk about science as blind people would talk about colours].

We don’t know whether Victor Hugo replied.

Scientific societies and distinctions

Besides malacology, Crosse had many other interests and was a (corresponding) member of several other societies. The title page of Poyard *et al.* (1899) mentioned respectively *Membre honoraire du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, membre de la Société géologique de France, membre de la Société Linéenne de Bordeaux, membre honoraire de la Société malacologique de Belgique, membre correspondant de la Société zoologique de Londres, membre de la Société malacologique de Londres, etc.*

The *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* was founded in 1834 and aimed to research and produce unpublished material on the history of France and to establish closer relations with learned societies (Mazauric, 2017; CTHS, 2019). Originally consisting of five sections (one of which was the *Comité des sciences*, with board members Louis-Jacques Thénard, François Arago, Eugène Chevreul, Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, Louis-Joseph Gay-Lussac, and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire), the organisation was altered in 1883 and the section of which Crosse was likely a member was *Sciences naturelles et sciences géographiques*.

The *Société géologique de France* was founded in 1830. Among its past Presidents were several persons also interested in shells; *e.g.*, Adolphe d’Archiac, Gérard Deshayes, Paul Fischer, Albert Gaudry, Edmond Hébert, Alcide d’Orbigny, Raoul Tournouër. We learn, however, from Bergeron that Crosse rarely attended the meetings (Poyard *et al.*, 1899: 33). The *Société Linéenne de Bordeaux* was founded in 1818; initially focussed on botany, but later covering all aspects of natural history. Not mentioned in

the list above, but we know from other sources (Breure *et al.*, 2018) that Crosse was an active member of the *Société de Géographie*, which was founded in 1821 in Paris. Among its Presidents were *e.g.*, Georges Cuvier, Alexander von Humboldt and Alphonse Milne-Edwards. Crosse’s name is first mentioned in the session of the 4th May 1860, when new members are proposed (“*M. Hippolyte Crosse, avocat*”); during the session of the 18th May he was elected as a member [*Bulletin de la Société de géographie (4e série)* 19: 515 respectively 518]. In 1880 Crosse became an honorary member of the *Société Royale malacologique de Belgique*, and in 1893 a member of the *Malacological Society of London*. In the reports of the Council of the Zoological Society of London, the name of Crosse is first mentioned in 1864 when he was listed among those who made a “*donations of works, memoirs, and papers*”. According to the annual reports he continued to do so, and between 1892 and his death he was a Corresponding Member (S. Broadhurst, pers. commun. 8 November 2018).

The title *Officier de l’instruction publique* was awarded to Crosse, and he also received the *Ordre du Dragon d’Annam* in the class *Commandeur* from the French government. King Norodom I of Cambodia made him an *Officier* in the *Ordre Royal du Cambodge*, presumably around the time (1883) when an eponym for the king was published in the *Journal*.

The later years and the aftermath

To characterise Crosse as person, we give once again a translated quote from Poyard *et al.* (1899: 5):

“He cared little for worldly life, and wished to gather around him the friends of his youth, of whom, alas! the ranks are now well cleared; they found, with him, a very fraternal welcome, good humour and a fine and witty conversation, spiced with a touch of paradox. Ah! the charming private evenings, where the good old days, that of the twentieth year, were resuscitated, all the more cherished as one moves further away from them! Crosse had not confined himself to science; everything that touched letters, history, geography, and political economy interested him deeply. He excelled in finding the right word, often the piquant trait, that characterised every writer, every book. But

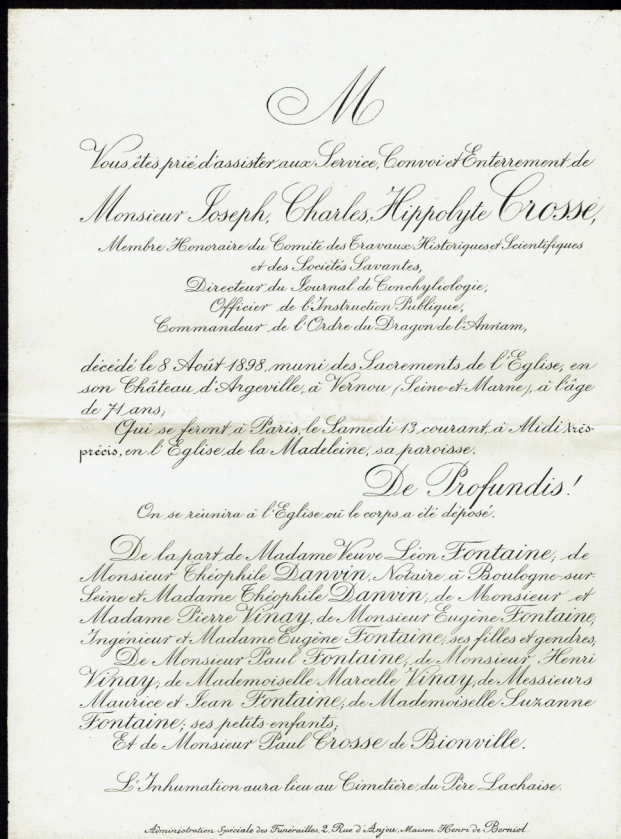


Fig. 7. Death notice (original 26.8 x 20.8 cm; archive Backhuys).

if he spoke well, he could also listen, and induce his interlocutors to express their ideas clearly, even if they were in disagreement with them; he enjoyed the hearty chat-



Fig. 9. Crosse family grave at Père Lachaise cemetery. Photo B. Fontaine.

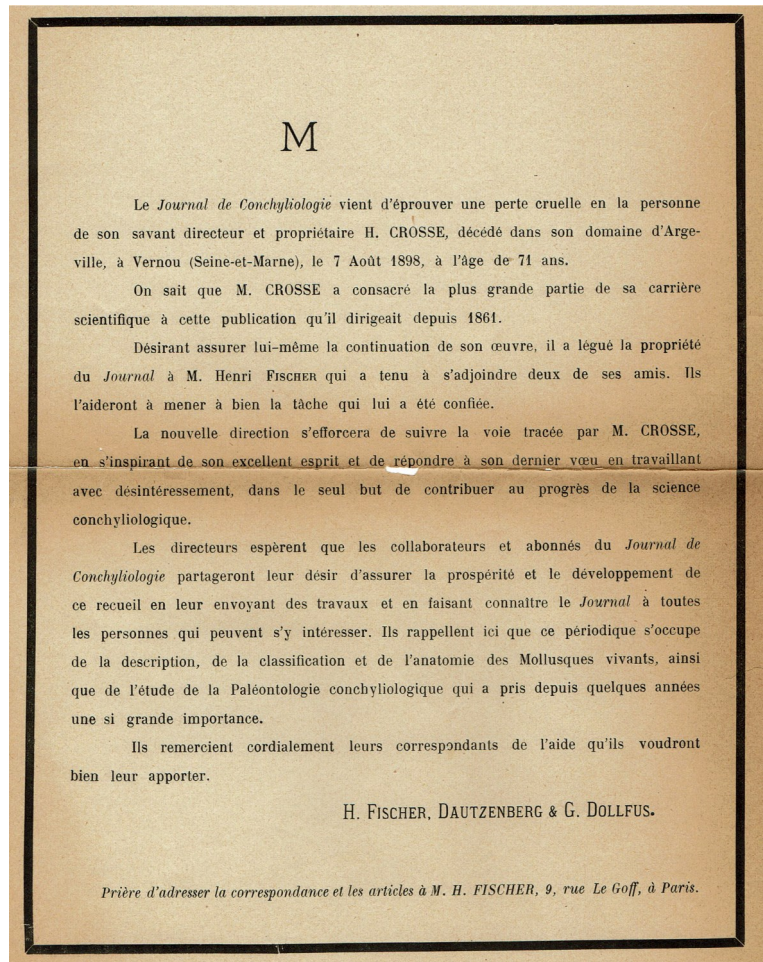


Fig. 8. Death notice, likely for the readers of the *Journal* (original 26.8 x 21.3 cm; archive Backhuys). Note the difference in the day mentioned for Crosse's death.

ter. Loyalty, simplicity, and forgetfulness of personal vanity broke out in his conversations, and the hand which he held wide open said a fresh impulse of the heart."

Crosse died on the 7th August 1898 in Vernou-sur-Seine (Figs 7–8). He was buried on 13th August at Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris (Poyard et al., 1899: 29; Figs 9–10).

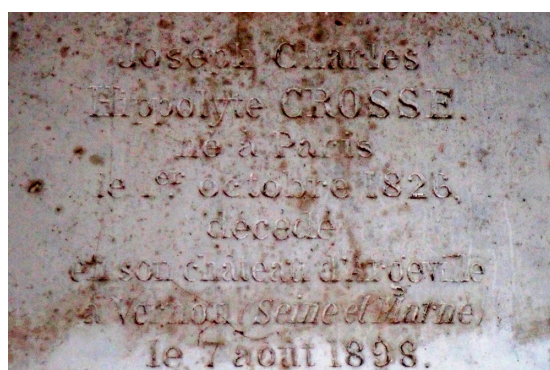


Fig. 10. Grave of Hippolyte Crosse in Père Lachaise cemetery. Photo B. Fontaine.

At his funeral, speeches were made by Jules Bergeron, and Philippe Dautzenberg. Bergeron concluded his speech with:

"There is another reason why we must pay

tribute to Mr. Hippolyte Crosse. He was one of those amateurs whose number is unfortunately decreasing, who have for science a true cult, all the more beautiful as it is absolutely disinterested; they feel satisfied if by their discoveries or their works they have been useful to science. If it is necessary to judge men of science, not by the honours they have received, nor by the functions they have fulfilled, but by the progress due to them, even indirectly, M. Hippolyte Crosse has his place markedly next to scholars whose names, however, are better known than his. The happiness he enjoyed in the midst of his family and friends kept him at home; he very seldom came to the Geological Society meetings, too seldom, since many of us have not had the pleasure of meeting him; but, at least, they know him for his services to science. Is this not a part of fame that would suffice for many of us and that will make the name of Mr. Hippolyte Crosse remaining among the most honoured?"

Dautzenberg referred to his work for the *Journal* and said:

"If there is one thing which can mitigate to a certain extent the regrets we feel in the presence of the void M. Crosse leaves among us, it is the certainty that his name will pass to posterity, and that his memory will remain honoured, not only by all those who knew him personally, but also by the scientists of all countries, who have for his works the respect and admiration that only solid works produce, in which the author devoted without counting all his intelligence and all his good faith."

After his death a notice was published in the October issue of the *Journal* (Anonymous, 1898a), with the announcement that a biography and a list of Crosse's publications would appear in the next issue (Poyard, 1899; H. Fischer, 1899). These papers were repeated in the extensive biography that was published separately (Poyard *et al.*, 1899). Obituary notes were also published in Bergeron (1899: 154–155) and in foreign journals: in England by Anonymous (1899), Cooke (1898), and Nördlinger (1899), in Germany by Hesse (1898), and in Belgium by Dautzenberg (1899); in the United States with a short notice (Anonymous, 1898b) and a copy from Cooke's paper (Cooke, 1899).

Some time after Crosse's death an auction was

announced (Fig. 11), which took place at end of November 1899 at the office of Deyrolle in Paris. This firm distributed a catalogue of both the books and shells (see below), but unfortunately no further information is known on whom the buyers were at this auction (E. Orsoni, pers. commun. 25 March 2019).

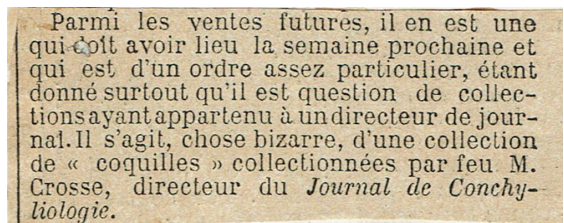


Fig. 11. Annonce in *Le Matin*, 17 November 1899, of the auction of the Crosse Collection (clipping original 2.8 x 9.3 cm; archive Backhuys).

Crosse's collection

Hippolyte Crosse had his own private collection, built up during many years. However, there were some 'grey areas' associated with it.

From the data we collected, it is clear that the indications given by Crosse in his papers of where the type material resided (e.g., Coll. Desmazures) cannot always be trusted. Sometimes material was found with provenance in the Crosse collection where it was not expected to be located since a third person had originally been mentioned. In this context it is noteworthy to quote a text from Philippi (1897–1898: 199–200):

"Er sagte mir, die pariser Conchiliologen stehlen alle, wie die Raben; der grösste Conchiliendieb ist Herr Deshayes dem daher auch jetzt der Zutritt in alle Conchilien-sammlungen untersagt ist, und Sie sind ehrlich. Woher wusste aber Herr Largillert [sic], das ich ehrlich war?" [He told me that the Paris conchologists all steal, like ravens; the worst shell thief is Mr. Deshayes; therefore now his access is prohibited in all shell collections and you [Philippi] are honest. But how did Mr. Largillert know that I was honest?]

Coan & Kabat (2017: 34), who have cited this quote from Philippi, have suggested that Deshayes was tardy in returning material, but we prudently remark that he may not have been the only person (and collection managers know these situations also occur in present times). Breure *et al.* (2018: 24) have shown that some type material from Morelet had to be claimed back from Crosse after Morelet's death.

As part of this project we searched the type collection in the Paris museum and found already a number of type lots of taxa described by Crosse (Fig. 12). Crosse worked on various groups, both marine and non-marine. But his

focus has been on New Caledonia, islands off the east coast of Africa, and Guatemala and Mexico, regions which he never visited but where field collectors sent him material for identification and description (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12. Part of the type lots of taxa described by Crosse in the Paris museum.



Fig. 13. Some examples of species described by Crosse from Madagascar, Guatemala, and New Caledonia.

(a) *Paludina madagascariensis* Crosse & P. Fischer, 1872, syntype MNHN-IM-2000-4606 (height 9.5 mm);

(b) *Helix sargi* Crosse & P. Fischer, 1872, syntype MNHN-IM-2000-1983 (height 15.6 mm);

(c) *Cypraea caledonica* Crosse, 1869, syntype MNHN-IM-2000-3513 (height 59.7 mm).

Photos © MNHN.

Another ‘grey area’ is between Crosse’s personal collection and the collection of the *Journal* which is now in the MNHN, and known as ‘Coll. JdeC’. We know from correspondence (e.g., Hidalgo: Breure & Backhuys, 2017a; Morelet: Breure et al., 2018) that several correspondents donated specimens to Crosse. Some of these specimens have subsequently been found in the Coll. JdeC, especially where they had been figured in the *Journal*. However, as Fischer-Piette (1950) has shown, several specimens expected to be present in the Coll. JdeC were absent and they may have been part of Crosse’s personal collection which was later auctioned by Deyrolle.

The Deyrolle firm is a well-known natural history dealership, founded in 1831 it has been housed at 46 rue du Bac, Paris since 1888. It was at this address that between 20–30th November 1899 the auction of Crosse’s library

and collection was held. The library consisted of 1,163 lots of which 19 were old manuscripts mostly on parchment, 60 lots dealt with scientific journals in which malacological papers were published, 50 books on geography and travels, 21 books on general natural history subjects, 3 on botany, 18 on zoological faunas, 9 on vertebrates, 13 on invertebrates other than molluscs, 17 on Brachiopoda, and 640 lots on various malacological subjects (of which 60% were dedicated to different faunas); additionally, 22 lots were related to malacological journals. The second part of the library related to geology and palaeontology, consisting of 258 lots. If a library can tell something about its owner, it is clear that Crosse was an ardent malacologist.

The shell collection was auctioned in 345 lots, of which several were split. Marine gastropods comprised 90 lots, terrestrial gastropods 130, bivalves (marine, freshwater and fossils) 123. We also found an undated sale catalogue of the natural history dealer Boubée jr. in Paris (Fig. 14), which contained a list of ca. 600 shells; this may have been a remainder which was sold at a later stage.

Crosse’s correspondents and contact network

The ‘Crosse archive’

The correspondence found in the ‘Crosse archive’ has been dealt with in Breure & Audibert (2017); an updated and slightly enhanced version is presented in the Appendix. While in the publication on Morelet (Breure et al., 2018) we opted for a transcription and translation of all the Morelet letters which we could recover, we follow here a different approach. The amount of remaining letters in the archive is ca. 2,850, far too large for an integral treatment in the context of this paper. Selections of correspondence have recently been published by Breure & Backhuys (2019), Breure & Audibert (2019), and Breure & Hovestadt (2019). We have chosen to summarise only an overview of the countries where the correspondents resided (Table 1), to give an overview of the extent of Crosse’s network. As only incoming letters are available in the archive, this of course limits any interpretation. Outgoing letters have been rarely conserved, with the exception of e.g., 12 letters written to the Swiss paleontologist Mayer-Eymar (Jaeggli, 1965: 6).

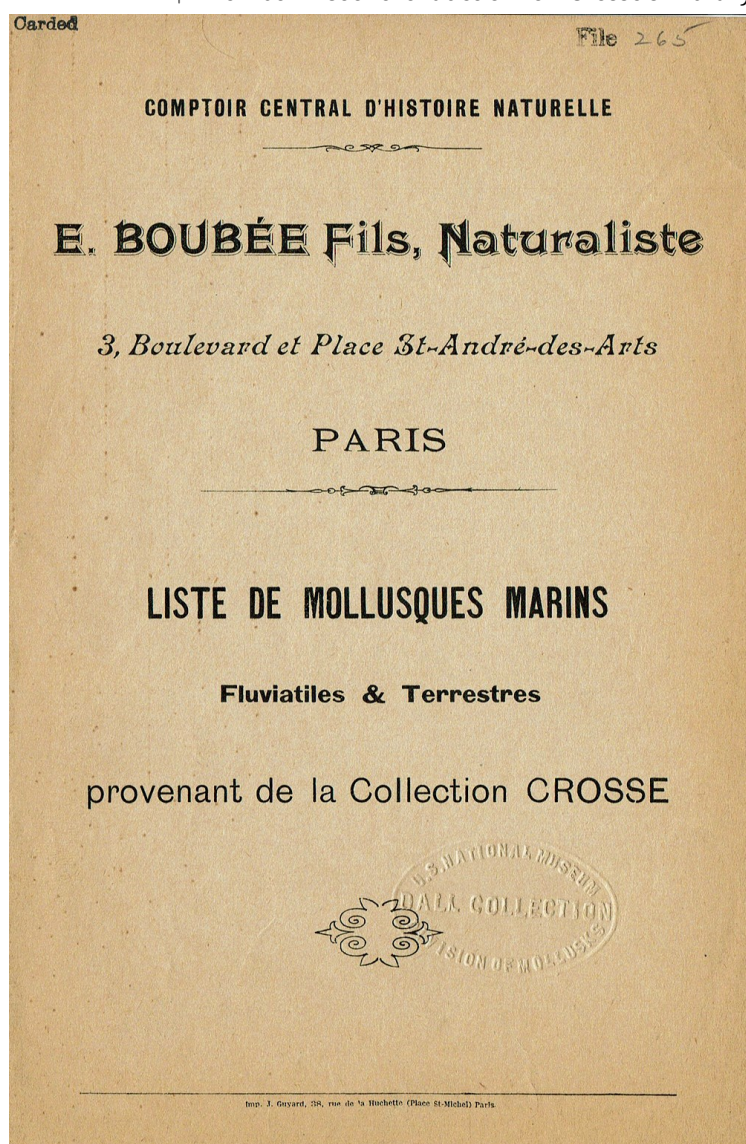


Fig. 14. Title page of Boubée (s.d.) which offered part of the Crosse Collection for sale (original 21 x 13.6 cm; archive Backhuys).

Region	Country	#Correspondents	Principal correspondents
Europe	Austria	9	Frauenfeld, G. / Klekiak, B. / Ressmann, F.
	Belgium	11	Lefèvre, Th. / Ryckholt, Ph. de
	Croatia	1	Brusina, S.
	Denmark	3	Mörch, O.
	France	188	Morelet, A. / Souverbie, S.M. / Fischer, P.
	Georgia	1	
	Germany	31	Weinkauff, H.C / Semper, O. / Kobelt, W.
	Greece	1	Conemenos, N.
	Italy	31	Paulucci, M. / Tiberi, N. / Monterosato, T.
	Netherlands	8	Roeters van Lennep, H. / Schepman, M.
	Portugal	11	Castello de Paiva, A. / Barboza du Bocage, J.
	Russia	2	
	Spain	9	Hidalgo, J.G. / Arango, R.
	Sweden	1	Westerlund, C.
	Switzerland	9	Mousson, A. / Mayer-Eymar, K.
	U.K.	42	Sowerby, G.B. 3rd / Gloyne, Ch. / Damon, R.
	Ukrania	2	Jelski, K.
Nearctic/Neotropic	Brazil	1	Ihering, H. von
	Nicaragua	1	
	U.S.A.	35	Bland, T.B. / Binney, W.G.
Oceania	Australia	6	Brazier, J.W.
	New Zealand	2	
Asia	India	2	Nevill, G.
	Ceylon	1	Nevill, H.L.
	Indonesia	1	
Africa	South Africa	1	

Table 1. Geographical origin of correspondents in the Crosse archive.

Most of the letters received by Crosse were from his period at the *Journal de Conchyliologie* (starting in 1861). However, some are dated from the years earlier and in addition personal letters were also mixed in, providing proof that contact with some malacologists started before his time at the *Journal*. One should keep in mind though that a complete coverage of correspondence received can not surely be covered by this archive, and there may also be some gaps in the years after that date. For the transcribed (and translated) letters sent by William Binney and Thomas Bland see Breure & Hovestadt (2019: 10–51), by Henri Drouët see Breure & Audibert (2019: 60–95), and by Arthur Morelet see Breure *et al.* (2018: 30–179).

Miscellaneous notes

Among the letters from correspondents were also some miscellaneous notes in Crosse's handwriting. One relates to the actual publication dates of the *Journal* during his last years as editor (see below). One deals with literature received, and either the postage paid for them or the value they represented, during the years 1861–1870 (Fig. 15). Many of these publications have been noted in the bibliographical parts of the *Journal*. There is a listing of the packages of shells received from correspondents; here we assume that the prices reflect the postage paid (Fig. 16). Although this listing gives a partial view (only the years 1864–1870 are covered), the number of parcels is quite remarkable.

Fig. 15. List (partial) of literature received (original 20.6 x 13.5 cm; archive Backhuys).

Fig. 16. List (partial) of shells packages received (original 20.6 x 13.5 cm; archive Backhuys).

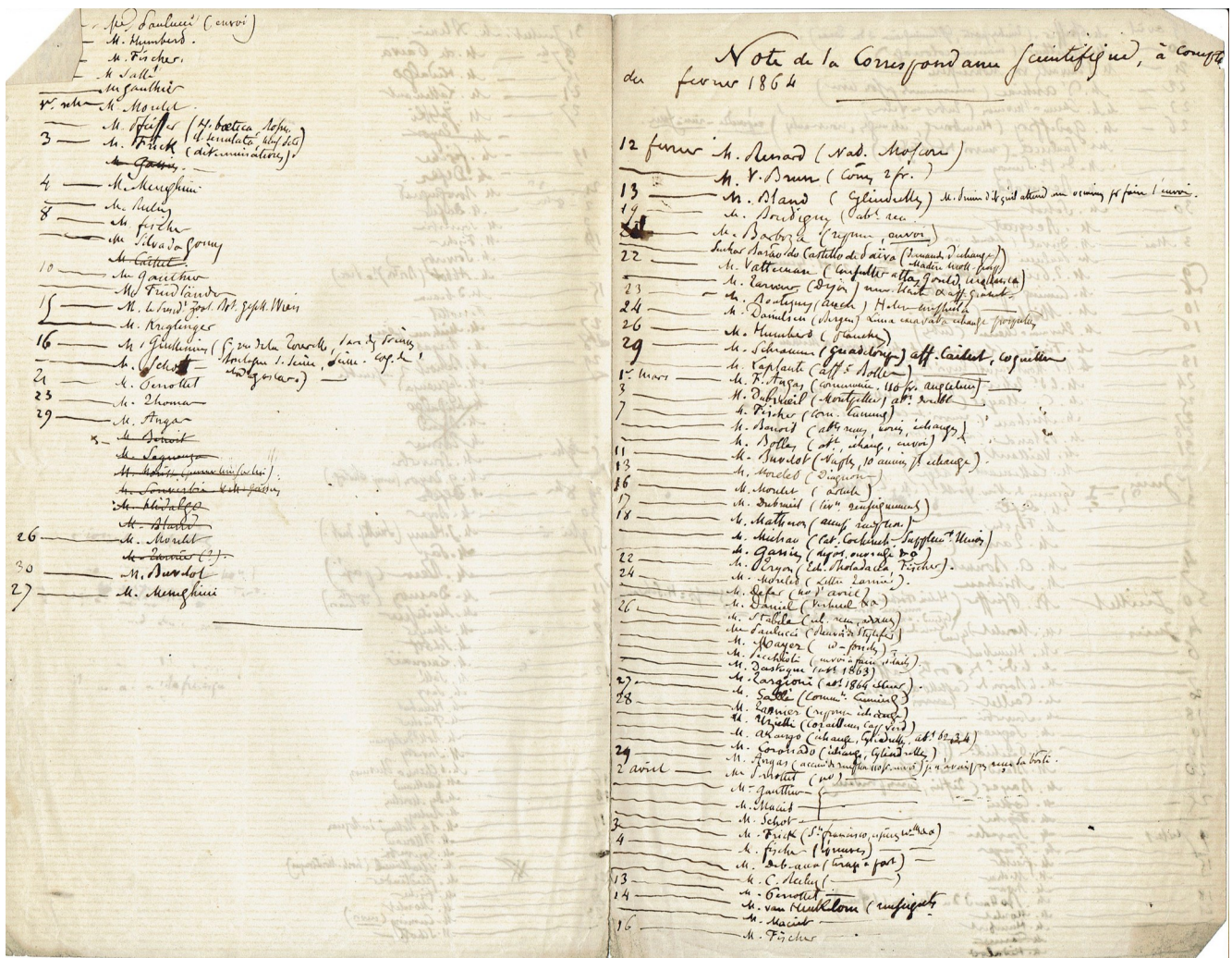


Fig. 17. List (partial) of letters sent by Crosse (original 20.6 x 13.5 cm; archive Backhuys).

Finally a listing is present which records the outgoing letters for the years 1864–1867 (**Fig. 17**).

Crosse, the *Journal*, and its subscribers

Introduction

The *Journal de Conchyliologie* was not the first specialised journal in a modern sense— with one or more editors and several authors that contributed to the content—that existed in the field of malacology. That honour goes to the *Zeitschrift für Malakozoologie* that was founded in 1844 by Karl Theodor Menke (1791–1861). But both journals were pioneering in a time that has been dubbed the ‘Golden Age’ for shell collecting (Dance, 1966). It may not be surprising that both journals were founded in the two countries, Germany and France, that may be considered as the centres of malacology during the mid-19th century (Breure & Heiberger, 2019).

The *Journal* was founded by Sauveur Abel Aubert Petit de la Saussaye (1792–1870) and the

first issue appeared early in 1850. In his foreword, dated 25th January, Petit de la Saussaye mentioned 14 subjects worth of being treated in a conchological journal (**Fig. 18**). We will see below how this is reflected in the content of

- 1° Publication de mémoires spéciaux.
- 2° Description d'espèces nouvelles.
- 3° Articles critiques sur la synonymie des espèces.
- 4° Reproduction d'articles intéressants disséminés dans les annales, bulletins et recueils étrangers.
- 5° Catalogues synonymiques des espèces propres à certains genres.
- 6° Monographie de genres peu nombreux en espèces.
- 7° Observation sur la distribution géographique des coquilles vivantes ou fossiles.
- 8° Indication des points sur lesquels il conviendra d'appeler l'attention des observateurs et des voyageurs.
- 9° Notice sur la recherche des coquilles.
- 10° Article de terminologie Conchyliologique.
- 11° Analyse des ouvrages nouveaux publiés soit en France soit à l'étranger.
- 12° Compte-rendu du résultat des voyages scientifiques et des découvertes faites par les collecteurs.
- 13° Articles de bibliographie Conchyliologique.
- 14° Observations diverses, notices biographiques, mélanges, etc.

Fig. 18. List of subjects mentioned in *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 1.

the *Journal* during the second half of the 19th century.

The history of malacological journals has not been described in any detail, but access to the subscription registers of the *Journal* in the Crosse archive, allows us to shed some light on the history of this French journal, its subscribers in the period 1861–1898, and its role in the development of malacology during the late 19th century.

The editors during the period 1850–1898

The *Journal* was published by Petit de la Saussaye and his home address appeared on the title page. He edited the journal on his own for the first four years. Breure & Backhuys (2017b) said of his editorship: “As occurred more often during the 19th century than now, authors could be openly quite critical of others”.

In a review of Lesson’s work, Petit de la Saussaye (1842: 233–234) wrote:

“En résumé, nous croyons que notre confrère, habitant une ville de province, privé des derniers ouvrages de conchyliologie, et loin des grandes collections, devrait communiquer ses espèces au directeur de la Revue [Revue zoologique de la Société Cuvierienne, i.e. M.F.E. Guérin-Ménéville], avant de livrer à la publicité des descriptions hasardées ou incomplètes qui tendent à jeter une nouvelle confusion dans la nomenclature.” [Summarising, we believe that our colleague, living in a provincial town where he has no access to the latest publications on conchology and far away from the large collections, should communicate his species to the editor of the *Revue* before he publishes incomplete descriptions that may further confound the nomenclature].

On the other hand, Petit de la Saussaye (1853b) defended Cailliaud, who published on the drilling mechanism of Pholadidae in the *Journal de Conchyliologie*, when Robertson claimed priority on the subject. Petit de la Saussaye himself overplayed his hand, when a few years later he responded in the “*Ancylus* affair” initiated by Bourguignat (then still a young man of 24 years), so vividly summarised by Dance (1970: 67–68):

*“It had a trivial origin. In his catalogue of *Ancylus* [Bourguignat, 1853a], published in the *Journal de Conchyliologie*, he placed *Ancylus capuloides* Jan in the synonymy*

*of his own *Ancylus janii*; but he gave no reason for his action. Petit, who considered that he was not justified in supplanting Jan’s validly proposed name for one of his own, was informed privately by Bourguignat why he had taken this action: Jan’s specific name was compounded of both Greek and Latin — and that was against the rules established by Linnaeus. In a supplementary note to the paper Petit [de la Saussaye (Petit de la Saussaye, 1853a)] pointed out that a great number of names then current would have to be suppressed if this argument were generally accepted— even Bourguignat’s would not escape censure—and concluded by saying that if Bourguignat persisted with this practice it would so inconvenience students that they would be forced to ignore his works. Shortly afterwards Bourguignat published his reason for the name-change [Bourguignat, 1853b] [...] This note was published in the *Revue et magasin de zoologie*, a publication edited by Guérin Ménéville which was a rival to the *Journal* for malacological articles. [...] In July 1853 someone signing himself ‘Henri Aucapitaine’ published a review of the first two parts of the fourth volume of the *Journal* and criticised some minor errors made by Petit [de la Saussaye] (Aucapitaine, 1853b). He had published a favourable review of Bourguignat’s *Journal* paper on *Ancylus* in an earlier number of the *Revue* (Aucapitaine, 1853a)”.*

In retaliation, Petit de la Saussaye published a paper in which he accused Aucapitaine to be an advocate for Bourguignat, whom he assumed was the true author, and again he criticised Bourguignat (Petit de la Saussaye, 1853b). Bourguignat then privately sent a letter to Petit de la Saussaye stating he did not know Aucapitaine; and Petit de la Saussaye met with Aucapitaine, who assured him he had nothing against the *Journal*. Petit de la Saussaye (1855c) felt himself obliged to publish the letter from Bourguignat, mentioned his meeting with Aucapitaine, and assured the readers of the latter’s innocence. “*Petit was no match for Bourguignat [...] He admitted defeat and said that, as a gentleman, he had no alternative but to cease publication of the *Journal**” (Dance, 1970: 69).

The last issue of the *Journal* under the editorship of Petit de la Saussaye is dated 1st November 1853. He promised his readers he would actively search for another publisher.

In July 1956 the next issue of the *Journal* appeared under the editorship of Paul-Henri Fischer (1835–1893) and A.C. Bernardi (?–1863), the latter acting as the formal publisher. The Fischer family had rescued the *Journal* from a premature end and the very young Paul-Henri would be one of its editors until his death. We do not know how old Bernardi was when he stepped into this business, but after four years he retired ‘because of many obligations and a weak health’ (Bernardi, 1860) and in 1861 a new editor replaced him: Hippolyte Crosse. Nevertheless, Bernardi’s name continued to appear as one of the directors on the title page of the volumes until his death in 1863. Crosse had published a few papers in the *Journal* before and from then on would become the most productive contributor to it during the remainder of the century. He acted as managing director and publisher, and his private address was listed on the title pages.

The dates of appearance till 1900

It was not uncommon for journals at that time

to have a publication date printed on the issue which was not the exact date when it was published. The same holds true for the *Journal*, but for the first eight volumes only the printed dates are available. Winckworth (1936) has undertaken some bibliographic research on this matter, but based his findings on registration dates he found in English libraries. Fischer-Piette (1937) corrected these data as he was able consult the original cash book belonging to Crosse, in which he had noted the days when he had delivered each issue for posting. Fischer-Piette listed only the volume, issue number and the date, but not the actual pages which were published. We have completed this overview with the page numbers, thus allowing a quick look-up of the actual publication date if one has the page on which a certain taxon was introduced (**Table 2**). Moreover we found a handwritten note by Crosse, supplemented by Henri Fischer after his death, with partly different dates (**Fig. 19**); these have been added in a separate column in **Table 2**. The dates in the bibliography (see below) follow those published by Fischer-Piette (1937).

Dates de publication réelles du Journal de Conchyliologie

	<i>Contenance</i>	<i>Dates réelles de publication</i>	<i>Dates assignées par H. M. W. Fischer</i>
Vol. XL I.	N° 3. Juillet 1893	20 Mars 1894	24 Mars 1894
	— 4. —	28 Juillet	8 août
Vol. XL II.	— 1. Janvier 1894	3 Novembre	10 Novembre
	— 2. Avril	25 Février 1895	14 Mars 1895
	— 3. Juillet	23 Octobre	1 ^{re} Novembre
	— 4. Octobre	13 Décembre	11 Décembre
Vol. XL III.	— 1. Janvier 1895	13 Février 1896	26 Février 1896
	— 2. Avril	19 Avril	27 Avril
	— 3. Juillet	5 Juin	13 Juin
	— 4. Octobre	1 ^{re} Septembre	12 Septembre
Vol. XL IV.	— 1. Janvier 1896	18 Décembre	31 Décembre
	— 2. Avril	9 Avril 1897	20 Avril 1897
	— 3. Juillet	25 Mai	
	— 4. Octobre	29 Juin	
Vol. XL V.	— 1. Janvier 1897	16 Septembre	
	— 2. Avril	7 Novembre	
	— 3. Juillet	19 Avril 1898	
	— 4. Octobre	16 Juin	
Vol. XL VI.	— 1. Janvier 1898	10 Sept	11 (sept. 1898)
	— 2. Avril 1898	8 Février 1899	8 Février 1899 (révisé)
	— 3. Juillet 1898	19 Mars 1899	19 Mars 1899 (révisé)
	— 4. Octobre 1898	16 Avril 1899	16 Avril 1899 (révisé)
Vol. XL VII.	— 1 ^{re} Trimestre 1899	28 Avril 1899	28 Avril 1899 (révisé le 30 Avril)
	— 2 ^e Trimestre 1899	23 Juin 1899	23 Juin 1899 (révisé le 25)

Fig. 19. Note by Crosse and H. Fischer about publication dates (original 20.5 x 13 cm; archive Backhuys).

ZOOLOGIE

Year	Volume	Editor(s)	Series	Issue	Pages	Publication date	Notes HC + HF
1850	1	Petit de la Saussaye		1	1-96	15 February 1850	
				2	97-216	15 april 1850	
				3	217-328	15 August 1850	
				4	329-440	15 December 1850	
1851	2	Petit de la Saussaye		1	5-124	25 May 1851 ‡)	
				2	125-236	30 June 1851	
				3	237-332	15 November 1851	
				4	333-444	23 December 1851	
1852	3	Petit de la Saussaye		1	5-112	1 March 1852	
				2	113-240	1 June 1852	
				3	241-336	1 September 1852	
				4	337-452	1 December 1852	
1853	4	Petit de la Saussaye		1	5-112	15 February 1853	
				2	113-224	1 May 1853	
				3	225-344	1 August 1853	
				4	345-460	31 December 1853*	
1856	5	P. Fischer, Bernardi	(2) 1	1	5-120	31 July 1856*	
				2	121-224	30 November 1856*	
				3	225-320	31 January 1857*	
				4	321-423	30 April 1857*	
1857	6	P. Fischer, Bernardi	(2) 2	1	5-112	31 July 1857*	
				2	113-208	31 October 1857*	
				3	209-304	31 October 1857*	
				4	305-407	31 December 1857*	
1859	7	P. Fischer, Bernardi	(2) 3	1	5-104	31 July 1858*	
				2	105-208	31 October 1858*	
				3	209-308	31 March 1859*	
				4	309-418	30 June 1859*	
1860	8	P. Fischer, Bernardi	(2) 4	1	5-128	31 January 1860*	
				2	129-224	30 April 1860*	
				3	225-336	31 July 1860*	
				4	337-432	31 October 1860*	

1861	9	Crosse, P. Fischer, Bernardi	(3) 1	1	v-viii, 9-100	9 January 1861	
				2	101-212	20 April 1861	
				3	213-316	14 July 1861	
				4	317-412	18 October 1861	
1862	10	Crosse, P. Fischer, Bernardi	(3) 2	1	5-108	7 January 1862	
				2	109-204	7 April 1862	
				3	205-300	23 July 1862	
				4	301-436	3 November 1862	
1863	11	Crosse, P. Fischer, Bernardi	(3) 3	1	5-128	30 January 1863	
				2	129-224	27 April 1863	
				3	225-312	8 July 1863	
				4	313-424	17 October 1863	
1864	12	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 4	1	5-88	20 January 1864	
				2	89-224	20 April 1864	
				3	225-308	9 July 1864	
				4	309-418	17 October 1864	
1865	13	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 5	1	5-96	27 January 1865	
				2	97-240	4 April 1865	
				3	241-368	28 June 1865	
				4	369-470	5 October 1865	
1866	14	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 6	1	5-104	31 January 1866	
				2	105-212	9 April 1866	
				3	213-320	17 July 1866	
				4	321-404	7 October 1866	
1867	15	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 7	1	5-100	10 January 1867	
				2	101-212	5 April 1867	
				3	213-348	10 July 1867	
				4	349-482	9 October 1867	
1868	16	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 8	1	5-124	8 January 1868	
				2	125-224	16 April 1868	
				3	225-316	15 July 1868	
				4	317-406	16 October 1868	

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1869	17	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 9	1	5-112	22 January 1869	
				2	113-208	16 April 1869	
				3	209-320	16 July 1869	
				4	321-454	23 October 1869	
1870	18	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 10	1	5-160	10 January 1870	
				2	161-288	8 April 1870	
				3	289-376	1 July 1870	
				4	377-471	22 January 1871	
1871	19	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 11	1	5-88	4 August 1871	
				2	89-160	27 September 1871	
				3	161-260	27 September 1871	
				4	261-396	6 December 1871	
1872	20	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 12	1	1-124	26 February 1872	
				2	125-196	29 April 1872	
				3	197-288	16 July 1872	
				4	289-391	16 October 1872	
1873	21	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 13	1	5-100	31 January 1873	
				2	101-192	18 April 1873	
				3	193-304	16 July 1873	
				4	305-406	17 October 1873	
1874	22	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 14	1	5-136	21 January 1874	
				2	137-220	11 May 1874	
				3	221-332	1 August 1874	
				4	333-423	25 November 1874	
1875	23	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 15	1	5-100	5 March 1875	
				2	101-196	7 May 1875	
				3	197-272	3 August 1875	
				4	273-379	5 December 1875	
1876	24	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 16	1	5-136	1 March 1876	
				2	137-216	19 May 1876	
				3	217-312	18 August 1876	
				4	313-418	24 November 1876	
1877	25	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 17	1	5-100	17 February 1877	
				2	101-228	30 April 1877	
				3	229-324	27 July 1877	
				4	325-418	25 December 1877	

1878	26	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 18	1	5-112	12 March 1878	
				2	113-204	11 June 1878	
				3	205-308	24 August 1878	
				4	309-446	24 December 1878	
1879	27	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 19	1	5-96	3 April 1879	
				2	97-192	4 July 1879	
				3	193-284	11 September 1879	
				4	285-409	20 December 1879	
1880	28	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 20	1	5-108	24 February 1880	
				2	109-204	27 May 1880	
				3	205-288	8 September 1880	
				4	289-398	11 January 1881	
1881	29	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 21	1	5-104	25 April 1881	
				2	105-188	30 August 1881	
				3	189-276	8 November 1881	
				4	277-386	11 February 1882	
1882	30	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 22	1	5-84	31 May 1882	
				2	85-176	23 August 1882	
				3	177-260	13 December 1882	
				4	261-354	22 March 1883	
1883	31	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 23	1	5-96	8 July 1883	
				2	97-188	6 October 1883	
				3	189-288	17 February 1884	
				4	289-430	22 April 1884	
1884	32	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 24	1	5-104	1 July 1884	
				2	105-192	17 October 1884	
				3	193-340	9 December 1884	
				4	341-435	11 April 1885	
1885	33	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 25	1	5-80	29 May 1885	
				2	81-160	1 July 1885	
				3	161-252	1 December 1885	
				4	253-362	7 February 1886	
1886	34	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 26	1	5-120	5 June 1886	
				2	121-192	30 September 1886	
				3	193-256	4 November 1886	
				4	257-352	7 January 1887	

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1887	35	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 27	1	5-92	27 March 1887	
				2	93-212	18 May 1887	
				3	213-280	15 October 1887	
				4	281-358	31 January 1888	
1888	36	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 28	1	5-124	7 April 1888	
				2	125-228	30 May 1888	
				3	229-292	16 September 1888	
				4	293-383	9 February 1889	
1889	37	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 29	1	5-100	2 May 1889	
				2	101-212	20 September 1889	
				3	213-280	27 January 1890	
				4	281-391	8 March 1890	
1890	38	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 30	1	5-92	7 Juna 1890	
				2	93-172	24 September 1890	
				3	173-348	19 January 1891	
				4	349-415	4 March 1891	
1891	39	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 31	1	5-68	14 May 1891	
				2	69-220	20 August 1891	
				3	221-304	13 November 1891	
				4	305-391	26 March 1892	
1892	40	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 32	1	5-116	16 June 1892	
				2	117-228	25 August 1892	
				3	229-308	19 February 1893	
				4	309-402	22 April 1893	
1893	41	Crosse, P. Fischer	(3) 33	1	5-84	18 July 1893	
				2	85-152	14 December 1893	
				3	153-208	16 March 1894	20 March 1894
				4	209-394	28 July 1894	28 July 1894
1894	42	Crosse, H. Fischer	(3) 34	1	5-88	31 November 1894	3 November 1894
				2	89-160	25 February 1895	25 February 1895
				3	161-332	23 October 1895	23 October 1895
				4	333-497	12 December 1895	13 December 1895
1895	43	Crosse, H. Fischer	(3) 35	1	5-76	13 January 1896	13 February 1896
				2	77-136	19 March 1896	19 April 1896
				3	137-204	5 June 1896	5 June 1896
				4	205-287	1 September 1896	1 September 1896

1896	44	Crosse, H. Fischer	(3) 36	1	5-112	18 December 1896	18 December 1896
				2	113-168	8 April 1897	9 April 1897
				3	169-232	25 May 1897	25 May 1897
				4	233-383	29 June 1897	29 June 1897
1897	45	Crosse, H. Fischer	(3) 37	1	5-88	17 September 1897	16 September 1897
				2	89-152	7 November 1897	7 November 1897
				3	153-208	9 April 1898	9 April 1898
				4	209-298	16 May 1898	16 June 1898
1898	46	Crosse, H. Fischer	(3) 38	1	5-47	13 September 1898	10 September 1898
				2	49-202	9 February 1899	8 February 1899
				3	203-268	18 March 1899	19 March 1899
				4	269-356	16 April 1899	16 April 1899
1899	47	H. Fischer, Dautzenberg, Dollfus	(4) 1	1	5-75	30 April 1899	28 April 1899
				2	77-161	25 June 1899	23 June 1899
				3	163-274	7 October 1899	
				4	275-462	23 January 1900	

Table 2. Dates of publication of the *Journal*, plus pagination for each issue. Note that an asterisk (*) refers to a date according to ICZN Article 21. According to Winckworth (1936) the date marked with a double dagger (‡) is uncertain.

The content of the *Journal* during its first five decades

The content of the *Journal* was structured largely in a similar way during this time. In the ‘Petit’ period a distinction was only made between ‘general papers’ and bibliographic reviews. The former category was split up in two categories during the ‘Fischer and Barnardi’ years: a distinction was made between papers on extant mollusks (although not indicated as such) and ‘Paléontologie’. This may have reflected the epistemological division within the community that was already apparent in that time (Breure & Heiberger, 2019). Under the editorship of Crosse and Fischer, a further division was made from 1862 onwards when in the bibliographic reviews the same division was made between ‘Mollusques vivants’ and papers related to paleontology. Soon afterwards necrologies appeared as a distinct category and, at irregular intervals, some short notes were categorised under ‘Variétés’.

The contributors during the period 1861–1898

For the period of the editorship of Crosse and Fischer, in total 148 different authors were identified, with a total of 1,264 individual contributions, either as author or co-author. These contributions resulted in 1,217 papers: 1,028 on Recent molluscs and 189 on fossils. Of these contributions, 568 (45%) were made by H. Crosse and/or P. or H. Fischer, 608 (48%) were made by various personal subscribers to the journal, 37 (3%) by persons from institutions with a subscription to the journal, and 55 (4%) by non-subscribers to the *Journal*. Apart from the editors (Crosse: 315, Fischer: 253), the most productive contributors were Morelet (43), Mayer-Eymar (42), and Hidalgo (40).

The subscribers during the period 1861–1898

The Crosse archive contains also some books in which Crosse kept the administration of the subscribers to the *Journal*. In two books he

kept data on the name and address of both personal and institutional subscribers, the issues sent to them, and in some cases details about payment. Although the *Journal*, like many contemporary journals, published in each volume a list of new members, these lists do not reveal how long the members were subscribed or when subscriptions ended. The more detailed registration books thus provide additional information on the flux of subscriptions and give a more complete view on the subscribers. **Figure 20** presents the total number of subscribers in each year during the period 1861–1898. There are additional lists in volume 1 and 5 stating the personal subscribers, which give an impression on the initial years of the *Journal*.

When analysing the data, it is clear that Petit de la Saussaye must have carefully planned the launch of the journal, already reaching a subscription base of 108 by the end of the first year (Petit de la Saussaye, 1850). As there are no announcements of the planned start of the *Journal* in other journals, we must conclude that he may have used his contact network to spread the news, and stimulated his contacts to use their own contact networks thus ‘snowballing’ the announcement. Over the next few years there are in total 80 new subscribers listed in the *Journal* (Petit de la Saussaye, 1851, 1852, 1853d). However, by the end of 1856 the list only contained 129 names and we may conclude that the interruption in the publication had likely taken its toll. In the first volume edited by Crosse and Fischer another complete list of names of both persons and institutions has been published, which contained 163 indivi-

dual names. When comparing the published listing for 1861 with the subscription register for that year, we found a number of mismatches. In the subscription register we found 29 persons not mentioned in the published list (among them four ladies and two priests), while *vice versa* we found seven persons not mentioned in the subscription register for 1861. From the subscription registers it is clear that in 1861 the total number was 165 (excluding the seven persons just mentioned), divided over Europe (156), Americas (5), Africa (2), and Asia (1). The total number of persons (amateurs and professionals; the latter being persons associated with an institution or museum) during the period 1861–1898 declined steadily, with a more or less stable period during the 1870s, from 165 to 65 (**Fig. 20**). During this period, the number of professionals was quite stable at an average of 18 (minimum 12, maximum 22). The largest majority (93 %) were Europeans, while the subscribers from non-European countries remained more or less stable through these years. Within Europe the subscribers from French were dominant (64%), while Italians stand out as the second largest group. Remarkably, within France the number of subscribers from outside Paris declined at a steeper rate than the subscriptions from Paris-based persons and institutions.

Crosse made distinctions between subscribers. Some received a free subscription (e.g., priests like Lambert) and some received a reduced price (e.g., Mörch was treated as though he was living in Paris and did not pay for a foreign subscription).

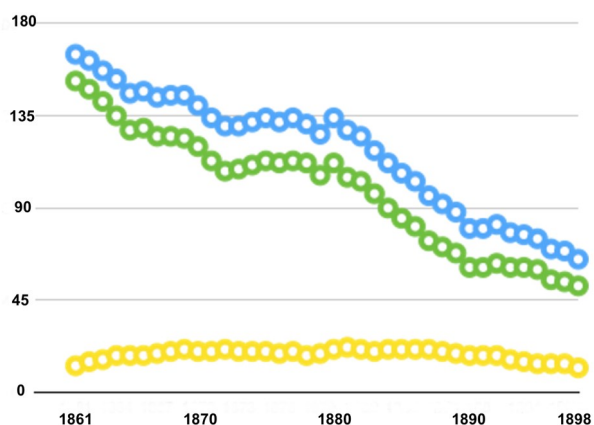


Fig. 20. Subscriptions to *Journal de Conchyliologie* during 1861–1898, shown as totals (blue), amateurs (green), and professionals (yellow).

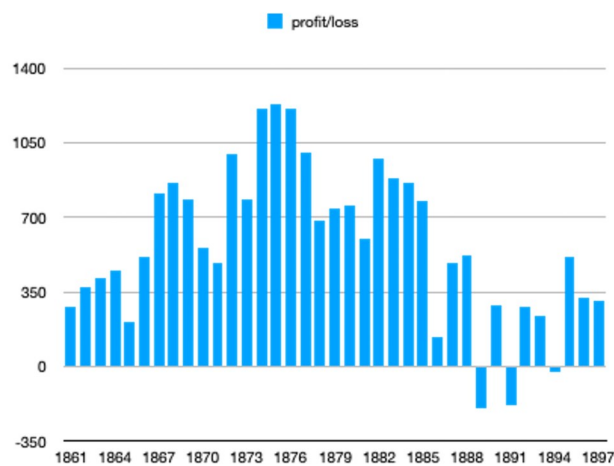


Fig. 21. Profit and loss of the *Journal de Conchyliologie*, based on data from the accounting book (archive Backhuys).

The Journal as a company

The presence of the account book for the *Journal*, in which Crosse has kept all his records of incoming and outgoing money, allows us to get a detailed idea about the management of the *Journal* as a company.

Most of the years during the period 1861–1898, the *Journal* made a profit at the end of the accounting year. After the balance had been made up, usually during the course of the next year, the profit was split 50/50 between Crosse and P.H. Fischer. Exceptions were a few years, when there was a (small) loss (Fig. 21).

During the first years, several small amounts are listed in the books as payments to Bernardi and Petit de la Saussaye for sales related to the volumes which they produced as editors. Apparently this was an arrangement made when Fischer and Crosse took over.

A comparison between the French and German journals

Regarding specialised malacological journals, in 1850 only Germany and France produced such a journal. Tryon started an American journal in 1865, and during the following decades some other European countries malacological journals began to appear (e.g., Italy in 1875, England in the 1870s), but several were short-lived.

When we compare the *Malakozoologische Blätter* and the *Journal de Conchyliologie* as equals, their title pages give an immediate impression of the cultural difference between the two countries. While Crosse and Fischer appeared as ‘MM.’ [messieurs], Pfeiffer (and Menke until his death in 1861) were announced with their academic title (‘Dr.’). Another difference was the German journal being published by the publishing house Theodor Fischer in Cassel, while the French journal was published with Crosse’s private address on the covers. The *Malakozoologische Blätter* did not publish a list of subscribers, hence the only way to compare the journals is content-wise and by their contributing authors. Since the *Malakozoologische Blätter*, after the death of Pfeiffer with S. Clessin as editor, ended in 1891, we limit the period for comparison to 1861–1891 (Table 3).

During this period the *Journal* appeared each year, though sometimes very intermittently, but the *Malakozoologische Blätter* during the editorship of Clessin was not published during three years (1884 and 1889–1890). The *Journal* issued one volume more during this time and had the same format; the *Journal* had on average 397 pages per volume (73% taxonomy, 27 % literature+), the *Malakozoologische Blätter* 211 pages per volume (78% taxonomy, 22% literature+). There was a difference in the contributions from the editors; where Crosse and Fischer had an important stake in the contribution of papers (45%), the contributions of Pfeiffer and Clessin were relatively modest and even totally absent during some years. Somehow they managed to ‘harvest’ sufficient contributions from other authors. There is also a marked difference in the groups of foreign authors contributing to both journals: the *Malakozoologische*

	<i>Journal de conchyliologie</i>	<i>Malakozoologische Blätter</i>
Number of volumes	29	30
Number of pages	12306	6334
(taxonomy)	(73%)	(78%)
(literature)	(27%)	(22%)
Number of contributions	1044	379
(from foreign authors)	(24%)	(14%)
Number of authors	140	61
(foreign authors)	57	19
(foreign countries)	19	13
Average length papers	11.8	16.7
Co-author combinations	16	3

Table 3. Comparison of the *Journal de Conchyliologie* and *Malakozoologische Blätter*; see text.

Blätter attracted mainly authors with German roots (e.g., Gundlach, Philippi) and authors from more eastern European countries (nowadays Hungary, Czech, Poland and Russia); the *Journal* had a very broad scope with authors from nearly every country with active malacologists. And remarkably, German authors did publish in the *Journal*, but French authors not in the *Malakozoologische Blätter*! There were also a few authors that published in both journals, e.g. Brot, Mörch and Mousson. Also remarkable is that in the *Journal* it was more common to find co-authored papers; this phenomenon was at that time relatively rare contrary to current habits, when it sometimes is *ad absurdum*.

Bibliography

An updated collation of 'Mission scientifique au Mexique... Mollusques'

In the final part of the 'Mission scientifique au Mexique' an unpaginated page gives the dates of publication of each 'livraison' according to the year (Fig. 22). Crosnier & Clark (1998) have tried to supply more detailed data on each publication, but they could not consult the necessary information in the Central Library of the MNHN due to renovation work at the time of their research. This left a number of 'livraisons' without a more specific date. We have checked the copies in the MNHN, made additional research at the Bibliothèque nationale de

DATES DE PUBLICATION					
DE LA PARTIE VII (MOLLUSQUES)					
DE LA ZOOLOGIE DE L'EXPÉDITION SCIENTIFIQUE					
DU MEXIQUE.					
VOLUME I.					
1 ^{re} livraison.	Feuilles	1-19.	Pages	1-152.	Planches I-VI. 1870
2 ^e —	—	20-38.	153-304.	VII-XII. 1872	
3 ^e —	—	39-48.	305-384.	XIII-XVI. 1873	
4 ^e —	—	49-58.	385-464.	XVII-XX. 1873	
5 ^e —	—	59-68.	465-546.	XXI-XXIV. 1875	
6 ^e —	—	69-78.	547-624.	XXV-XXVIII. 1877	
7 ^e —	—	79-88.	625-702.	XXIX-XXXI. 1878	
VOLUME II.					
8 ^e livraison.	Feuilles	1-10.	Pages	1-80.	Planches XXXII-XXXVI. 1880
9 ^e —	—	11-16.	81-128.	XXXVII-XLII. 1886	
10 ^e —	—	17-22.	129-176.	XLIII-XLVI. 1888	
11 ^e —	—	23-32.	177-256.	XLVII-XLVIII. 1890	
12 ^e —	—	33-39.	257-312.	XLIX-LII. 1891	
13 ^e —	—	40-49.	313-392.	LIII-LIV. 1892	
14 ^e —	—	50-61.	393-488.	LV-LVIII. 1893	
15 ^e —	—	62-72.	489-576.	LIX-LXII. 1894	
16 ^e —	—	73-82.	577-656.	LXIII-LXVI. 1894	
17 ^e —	—	83-92.	657-731.	LXVII-LXXII. 1902	

Fig. 22. Dates of publication according to the unnumbered page in the second volume of the Molluscan part of the *Mission aux Mexique* etc.

Parts	Pages	Plates	Date	MM7M	C&C 1998	Journal (Bibliographie)	Cover	BF
Vol. 1 - Livr. 1	1-152	1-6	< 27.ix.1871	1870	1870	19: 245 [27.ix.1871]	4.viii.1871 >< 27.ix.1871	
Vol. 1 - Livr. 2	153-304	7-12	< 31.i.1873	1872	1872	21: 76 [31.i.1873]	16.x.1872 >< 31.i.1873	
Vol. 1 - Livr. 3	305-384	13-16	10.iii.1873	1873	1873	21: 159 [18.iv.1873]	[covers vol. 21 n/a]	10.iii.1873 [no. 13: 169, notice
Vol. 1 - Livr. 4	385-464	17-20	15.x.1873	1873	15.x.1873	22: 127 [21.i.1874]	[covers vol. 21 n/a]	15.x.1873 [no. 43: 566, notice
Vol. 1 - Livr. 5	465-546	21-24	18.vi.1875	1875	18.vi.1875	23: 253 [3.viii.1875]	[covers vol. 23 n/a]	
Vol. 1 - Livr. 6	547-624	25-28	< 25.xii.1877	1877	1877	26: 90 [12.iii.1878]	27.vii.1877 >< 25.xii.1877	
Vol. 1 - Livr. 7	625-702	29-31	< 12.iii.1878	1878	10.viii.1878	26: 358 [24.xii.1878]	25.xii.1877 >< 12.iii.1878	10.viii.1878 [no. 32: 433, notice 7143]
Vol. 2 - Livr. 8	1-80	32-36	< 8.ix.1880	1880	1880	34: 313 [7.i.1887]	27.v.1880 >< 8.ix.1880	
Vol. 2 - Livr. 9	81-128	37-42	< 5.vi.1886	1886	1886	34: 313 [7.i.1887]	7.ii.1886 >< 5.vi.1886	
Vol. 2 - Livr. 10	129-176	43-46	< 9.ii.1889	1888	1888	36: 355 [9.ii.1889]	16.ix.1888 >< 9.ii.1889	
Vol. 2 - Livr. 11	177-256	47-48	< 19.i.1891*	1890	1890	not found	24.ix.1890 >< 19.i.1891	
Vol. 2 - Livr. 12	257-312	49-52	23.vii.1891	1891	23.vii.1891	39: 345 [26.iii.1892]	13.xi.1891 >< 26.iii.1892	23.vii.1892 [no. 32: 526, notice 8275]
Vol. 2 - Livr. 13	313-392	53-54	19.xi.1892	1892	19.xi.1892	40: 300 [19.ii.1893]	26.iii.1892 >< 16.vi.1892	19.xi.1892 [no. 48: 759, notice 11709]
Vol. 2 - Livr. 14	393-488	55-58	24.iii.1894	1893	24.iii.1894	43: 240 [1.ix.1896]	18.vii.1893 >< 14.xii.1893	24.iii.1894 [no. 15: 213, notice
Vol. 2 - Livr. 15	489-576	59-62	20.viii.1894	1894	20.viii.1894	43: 240 [1.ix.1896]	16.iii.1894 >< 28.vii.1894	20.viii.1894 [no. 35: 563, notice 9125]
Vol. 2 - Livr. 16	577-656	63-66	30.x.1894	1894	30.x.1894	44: 97 [18.xii.1896]	3.xi.1894 >< 25.ii.1895	30.x.1894 [no. 46: 729, notice 11559]
Vol. 2 - Livr. 17	657-731	67-72	7.viii.1902**	1900	7.viii.1902	50: 281	not found	7.viii.1902 [no. 35: 564, notice 8263]

Table 4. Dates of publication of the *Mission au Mexique etc., Mollusques*, according to several sources. The column 'Date' is the probable date of publication; 'MM7M' gives the publication year on the title pages (see also Fig. 22); 'C&C 1998' gives the dates according to Crosnier & Clark 1998; 'Journal (Bibliographie)' gives the page and date when the specific part was mentioned in the *Journal de Conchyliologie*; 'Cover' gives the dates of the last cover of the *Journal* not mentioning an advertisement for a specific part and those of the first advertisement; 'BF' refers to the Bibliographie Française; *Recorded in Zoological Record 1891 (<https://biodiversitylibrary.org/page/51444813>); **Text in 1900?, see text on page 661 (<https://biodiversitylibrary.org/page/51109288>)

France, and checked all covers of the *Journal* for announcements of the publication of 'livraisons'. Although for a number of these we still have no exact date, we are able to present a 'best guess' on the publication dates based on their announcements in the *Journal*; see Table 4.

Although the dates for Livraison 17 are stated as 7th August 1902 according to the Bibliographie Française, we have noticed the following details. On p. 661 the date 'décembre 1899' is stated (added by Dautzenberg & H. Fischer, who edited this last livraison after Crosse's death and added some text on p. 661 ff.). E. von Martens must have seen this Livraison before he published several parts of the '*Biologia Centrali-Americana*' in January 1901; part 78 has on p. 617 '*Streptostyla sargi* var. *pallidior*' with references to Crosse & Fischer, *Journal* 24: 384 pl. 11 fig. 1b-c and *Mission Sci. Mexique* 2: 662, pl. 71 fig. 2-2a. Crosse & Fischer only mentioned this as variety β ; the name '*pallidior*' was introduced by E. von Martens. There is at least 1.5 years between the description by Von Martens and the 'official' publication date. It is possible of course that Livraison 17 was deposited in BnF at the 'Depot legal' after a long delay. Or Martens could have asked Dautzenberg or H. Fischer about the data contained in Livraison 17 (which would assume several

very extensive letters!), or asked for a copy of the proofs (?) as Martens must have known this was still an unnamed variety. But the latter assumes that proofs were already available in early 1900 (given the date December 1899 as conclusion of the manuscript), which still leaves nearly 1.5 years between proofs and official publication. Finally, there is one other possibility: Crosnier & Clark (1998: 98) mentioned wrappers with the date '1900' (see also <https://biodiversitylibrary.org/page/51108686>), which would mean that the text was published earlier than the remaining plates. "*The first of these [livraison 17] bears the date of 1900 and the second [atlas of plates] 1902, which seems justified*". We have been unable to find further evidence for the publication in 1900. But they may have concluded too easily that 1902 was the correct date for Livraison as a whole (Crosnier & Clark, 1998: 98).

A bibliography of Joseph Charles Hippolyte Crosse

The dates of publication are in accordance with Fischer-Piette (1937) and the collation above. Note that several papers have also been published separately; however, it is likely that Crosse distributed reprints of his publications to many of his correspondents, and some may have had their own covers. We have included

only those for which we found evidence in the Catalogue général of BnF, WorldCat, Naturae Novitates, or BHL. A dagger (†) in this bibliography indicates a posthumously published work.

1851

1. Crosse H., 1851 [30 June]. Notice sur l'habitat du *Panopaea aldrovandi*, de Sicile. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 2 (2): 120–122.

1855

2. Crosse H., 1855 [31 January]. Description d'une nouvelle espèce de Bulime. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 7: 34.

3. Crosse H., 1855 [28 February]. Notice sur les Bulimes de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, et description de deux espèces nouvelles. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 7: 80–86, pl. [Extract also published separately: Racon, Paris: 7 pp.].

1857

4. Crosse H., 1857 [31 December]. Description d'une espèce nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 6 (4): 381–382, pl. 11.

1858

5. Crosse H., 1858 [28 February]. Diagnoses de coquilles nouvelles. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 10: 81.

6. Crosse H., 1858 [31 March]. Observations sur le genre Cone et description de trois espèces nouvelles, avec un catalogue alphabétique des Cônes actuellement connus. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 10: 113–127, pl. 2.

7. Crosse H., 1858 [30 April]. Observations sur le genre Cone et description de trois espèces nouvelles, avec un catalogue alphabétique des Cônes actuellement connus. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 10: 150–157.

8. Crosse H., 1858 [30 April]. Note sur le genre *Dibaphus* et description d'une nouvelle espèce de *Capulus*. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 10: 157–162, pl. 3. [Extract also published separately: Mme Ve Bouchard-Huzard, Paris: 6 pp.].

9. Crosse H., 1858 [31 May]. Observations sur le genre Cone et description de trois espèces nou-

velles, avec un catalogue alphabétique des Cônes actuellement connus. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 10: 199–209. [Extract also published separately: Mme Ve Bouchard-Huzard, Paris: 32 pp.].

1859

10. Crosse H., 1859 [31 January]. [Observations sur *Cypraea moneta*]. *Revue et magasin de zoologie pure et appliquée*, (2e série) 11: 45–48.

11. Crosse H., 1859 [30 June]. Note sur deux espèces de l'Archipel Calédonien. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 7 (4): 378–379, pl. 14.

12. Crosse H., 1859 [30 June]. Descriptions de coquilles nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 7 (4): 380–384, pl. 14. [Extract also published separately: Tinterlin, Paris: 7 pp.].

1860

13. Crosse H., 1860 [31 July]. Note sur les animaux de trois Hélices de Cuba. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 8 (3): 225–233.

14. Crosse H., 1860 [31 October]. Liste des Mollusques terrestres et fluviatiles du Japon, actuellement connus. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 8 (4): 386–395.

15. Crosse H., 1860 [31 October]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 8 (4): 396–406.

1861

16. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1861 [9 January]. Avant-propos. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (1): v–viii.

17. Crosse H., 1861 [9 January]. Observations sur la note précédente [Prime, T. Note sur quelques espèces peu connues des genres *Batissa*, *Cyrena*, *Corbicula* et *Sphaerium*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9: 38–43]. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (1): 43–45.

18. Bernardi A.C. & Crosse H., 1861 [9 January]. Descriptions d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (1): 49–51, pl. 1.

19. Crosse H., 1861 [9 January]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (1): 68–89.

20. Crosse H., 1861 [9 January]. Nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (1): 100.

21. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1861 [20 April]. Observations sur le genre Pleurotomaire, et description d'une deuxième espèce vivante appartenant au même genre. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (2): 155–167, pl. 5.

22. Crosse H., 1861 [20 April]. Description d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (2): 171–176, pls 6, 9–10.
 23. Crosse H., 1861 [14 July]. Étude sur le genre Cancellaire, suivie du catalogue des espèces vivantes ou fossiles actuellement connues. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (3): 220–256.
 24. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1861 [14 July]. Sur le genre *Schismope* de M. Gwyn Jeffreys. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (3): 257–260.
 25. Crosse H., 1861 [14 July]. Description d'une espèce nouvelle appartenant au genre *Rapana*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (3): 268–270, pls 9–10.
 26. Crosse H., 1861 [14 July] – Diagnoses d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (3): 285.
 27. Crosse H., 1861 [14 July]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (3): 296–315.
 28. Crosse H., 1861 [14 July]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (3): 315–316.
 29. Crosse H., 1861 [18 October 1861]. Description de deux *Murex* nouveaux. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (4): 351–354, pl. 16.
 30. Crosse H., 1861 [18 October]. Diagnoses d'Hélicéens fossiles des environs de Constantine (Algérie). *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (4): 356–357.
 31. Crosse H., 1861 [18 October]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 9 (4): 374–396.
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32. Crosse H., 1862 [7 January]. Note sur l'*Hipponyx danieli*, et catalogue des espèces du genre actuellement connues. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 17–28.
 33. Crosse H., 1862 [7 January]. Description d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 47–51, pl. 1.
 34. Crosse H., 1862 [7 January]. Description d'espèces marines recueillies par M. G. Cuming dans le nord de la Chine. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 51–57, pls 1, 5.
 35. Crosse H., 1862 [7 January]. Diagnoses d'Hélicéens fossiles des environs de Constantine (suite). *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 84–85.
 36. Crosse H., 1862 [7 January]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 95–98.
 37. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1862 [7 January]. Nécrologie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 99–101.
 38. Crosse H., 1862 [7 January]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (1): 105–108.
 39. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1862 [7 April]. Nouveaux documents sur les Céphalopodes gigantesques. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (2): 124–140.
 40. Crosse H., 1862 [7 April]. Description d'une espèce nouvelle du nord de Chine. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (2): 149–150, pl. 6.
 41. Crosse H., 1862 [7 April]. Descriptions de Mollusques terrestres du gisement de Coudiat-Aty et d'Aïn-el-Hadj-Baba, suivie de considérations sur les caractères de cette faune. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (2): 152–172, pl. 7.
 42. Crosse H., 1862 [7 April]. Description d'un *Clanculus* nouveau des sables moyens d'Auvers. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (2): 182–185, pl. 8.
 43. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1862 [7 April]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (2): 185–204.
 44. Crosse H., 1862 [23 July]. Description d'une espèce nouvelle appartenant au genre *Pisania*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (3): 251–252, pl. 10.
 45. Crosse H., 1862 [23 July]. Diagnose d'une Mitre nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (3): 253–255, pl. 10.
 46. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1862 [23 July]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (3): 279–298.
 47. Crosse H., 1862 [3 November]. Catalogue des espèces vivantes appartenant au genre *Pirena*, et description d'une espèce nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (4): 397–403, pl. 13.
 48. Crosse H., 1862 [3 November]. Descriptions d'espèces nouvelles de l'Archipel calédonien. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (4): 405–408, pl. 13.
 49. Crosse H., 1862 [3 November]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (4): 417–422.
 50. Crosse H., 1862 [3 November]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 10 (4): 422–423.

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51. Crosse H., 1863 [30 January]. Étude sur le genre Cancellaire, et description d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 58–69, pl. 2.
52. Crosse H. & Debeaux O., 1863 [30 January]. Diagnoses d'espèces du nord de la Chine. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 77–79.
53. Crosse H., 1863 [30 January]. Note additionnelle sur le *Chondropoma Gundlachi* et le *Nassa Gallandiana*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 81–82, pl. 2.
54. Crosse H., 1863 [30 January]. Description d'une espèce nouvelle de la Guadeloupe. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 82–84, pl. 1.
55. Crosse H., 1863 [30 January]. Description d'espèces nouvelles d'Australie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 84–90, pl. 1.
56. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1863 [30 January]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 101–127.
57. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1863 [30 January]. Nécrologie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 127–128.
58. Crosse H., 1863 [30 January]. [Planche II correction]. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (1): 128.
59. Crosse H. & Debeaux O., 1863 [27 April]. Diagnose d'un Glauconome nouveau, du nord de la Chine. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (2): 177.
60. Crosse H., 1863 [27 April]. Description d'espèces nouvelles de l'Archipel calédonien. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (2): 178–181, pl. 6.
61. Crosse H., 1863 [27 April]. Sur l'origine de l'Ambre gris. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (2): 204–208.
62. Crosse H., 1863 [27 April]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (2): 208–221.
63. Crosse H., 1863 [27 April]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (2): 221–224.
64. Crosse H. & Debeaux O., 1863 [8 July]. Note sur quelques espèces nouvelles ou peu connues du littoral de l'empire chinois. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (3): 253–265, pls 9–10.
65. Crosse H. & Debeaux O., 1863 [8 July]. Description d'une Hélicine nouvelle. *Journal de*

Conchyliologie, 11 (3): 266–267, pl. 9.

66. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1863 [8 July]. Description d'espèces de Poulo-Condor (Cochinchine). *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (3): 269–273, pls 9–10.
67. Crosse H., 1863 [8 July]. Description d'un *Helix* d'Australie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (3): 273–275, pl. 9.
68. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1863 [8 July]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (3): 291–312.
69. Crosse H., 1863 [8 July]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (3): 312.
70. Crosse H., 1863 [17 October]. Note sur l'*Helix Hauffeni*, des grottes de Carniole. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (4): 325–328, pl. 13.
71. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1863 [17 October]. Note sur la faune malacologique de Cochinchine, comprenant la description des espèces nouvelles ou peu connues. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (4): 343–379, pls 13–14. [Remarks. See also 92].
72. Crosse H., 1863 [17 October]. Description d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (4): 379–386, pls 13.
73. Crosse H. & Debeaux O., 1863 [17 October]. Diagnoses d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (4): 386–387.
74. Crosse H., 1863 [17 October]. Diagnoses d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (4): 388–389.
75. Crosse H., 1863 [17 October]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 11 (4): 394–407.
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77. Crosse H., 1864 [20 January]. Note sur les Psammobies des côtes d'Algérie et description d'une espèce nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (1): 16–19, pl. 2.
78. Crosse H., 1864 [20 January]. Catalogue des espèces appartenant au genre *Pomatias*, et description d'une espèce nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (1): 23–33, pl. 2.
79. Crosse H., 1864 [20 January]. Diagnoses d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (1): 42–43.

80. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1864 [20 January]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (1): 77–85.
 81. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1864 [20 January]. Nécrologie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (1): 86–88.
 82. Crosse H., 1864 [20 April]. Étude critique sur les *Bulimus auriculiformes* de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et des terres voisines. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (2): 105–151.
 83. Crosse H., 1864 [20 April]. Description d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (2): 152–154, pl. 7.
 84. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1864 [20 April]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (2): 182–223.
 85. Crosse H., 1864 [20 April]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (2): 223–224.
 86. Crosse H., 1864 [9 July]. Monographie du genre *Risella*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (3): 225–243, pl. 11.
 87. Crosse H., 1864 [9 July]. Description d'espèces nouvelles de l'Australie méridionale. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (3): 275–279, pl. 11.
 88. Crosse H., 1864 [9 July]. Diagnoses de Mollusques terrestres nouveaux. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (3): 282–286.
 89. Crosse H., 1864 [9 July]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (3): 290–308.
 90. Crosse H. & Debeaux O., 1864 [17 October]. Description d'espèces nouvelles de Shanghai et du nord de la Chine. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (4): 316–320, pl. 12.
 91. Crosse H., 1864 [17 October]. Description d'une espèce nouvelle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (4): 321–322, pl. 12.
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 93. Crosse H., 1864 [17 October]. Description d'espèces nouvelles provenant de l'Australie méridionale. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (4): 339–346, pl. 13.
 94. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1864 [17 October]. Diagnoses Molluscorum Australiæ meridionalis. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (4): 346–350.
 95. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1864 [17 October]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (4): 378–400.
 96. Crosse H., 1864 [17 October]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 12 (4): 401.
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97. Crosse H., 1865 [27 January]. Note additionnelle sur le *Tenagodus Bernardii*, Mörch. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 23–24, pl. 4.
 98. Crosse H., 1865 [27 January]. Description d'espèces nouvelles de la Guadeloupe. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 27–38, pl. 1.
 99. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1865 [27 January]. Description d'espèces nouvelles de l'Australie méridionale. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 38–55, pls 2–3.
 100. Crosse H., 1865 [27 January]. Diagnoses Molluscorum novorum. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 55–57.
 101. Crosse H., 1865 [27 January]. Un préservatif contre les ravages des Tarets. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 67.
 102. Crosse H., 1865 [27 January]. Intervention des Mollusques et des Cirrhipèdes dans le conflit américain. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 68.
 103. Crosse H., 1865 [27 January]. Essai d'acclimatation, en France, de l'*Helix Yucatanæ*, Morelet. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 68–69.
 104. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1865 [27 January]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 70–95.
 105. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1865 [27 January]. Nécrologie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (1): 95–96.
 106. Crosse H., 1865 [4 April]. Description d'une Colombelle de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (2): 161–163, pl. 5.
 107. Crosse H., 1865 [4 April]. Description d'espèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (2): 213–215, pl. 6.
 108. Crosse H., 1865 [4 April]. Description d'espèces nouvelles provenant des îles Gambier. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (2): 217–224, pl. 6.

109. Crosse H., 1865 [4 April]. Diagnoses Mol-luscorum novorum. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (2): 228–230.
110. Crosse H., 1865 [4 April]. Observations sur la note précédente [G.P. Deshayes, Note sur le genre *Trochotoma* et description d'une espèce nouvelle des sables de Bordeaux]. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (2): 237–239.
111. Crosse H., 1865 [4 April]. Bibliogra-phie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (2): 239–240.
112. Crosse H., 1865 [28 June]. Description de Cônes nouveaux provenant de la collection Cuming. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (3): 299–315, pls 9–11.
113. Crosse H., 1865 [28 June]. Diagnosis Turbi-nellæ novæ. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (3): 316–317.
114. Crosse H., 1865 [28 June]. Bibliogra-phie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (3): 345–366.
115. Crosse H., 1865 [28 June]. Nou-velles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (3): 366–368.
116. Crosse H., 1865 [5 October]. Note sur l'*He-lix constricta* et sur la distribution géogra-phique en France et en Espagne. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (4): 369–376.
117. Crosse H., 1865 [5 October]. Description d'une Turbinelle nouvelle et observations sur le genre *Latirus*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (4): 414–417, pl. 14.
118. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1865 [5 October]. Description d'espèces nouvelles d'Australie provenant de la collection de M. Geo. French Angas. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (4): 422–429, pl. 11.
119. Crosse H., 1865 [5 October]. Addition à la note de M. le professeur A. Mousson sur la faune malacologique terrestre et fluviatile des archipels Viti et Samoa. *Journal de Conchyliolo-gie*, 13 (4): 430–432.
120. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1865 [5 October]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (4): 438–453.
121. Crosse H., 1865 [5 October]. Nou-velles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 13 (4): 453–454.
122. Crosse H., 1866 [31 January]. Description de coquilles terrestres nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (1): 53–61, pl. 1.
123. Crosse H., 1866 [31 January]. Variétés. Une mystification scientifique au XVIIIe siècle. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (1): 76–79.
124. Crosse H., 1866 [31 January]. Bibliogra-phie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (1): 79–98.
125. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1866 [31 January]. Nécrologie. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (1): 98–104.
126. Crosse H., 1866 [9 April]. Note sur les Vo-lutes operculées et catalogue des espèces vi-vantes qui appartiennent au genre *Lyria*. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (2): 105–116.
127. Crosse H., 1866 [9 April]. Note complemen-taire sur l'opercule du *Chrystoma Nicobaricum*, Gmelin. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (2): 116–117.
128. Crosse H., 1866 [9 April]. Descriptions d'es-pèces nouvelles. *Journal de Conchyliologie*, 14 (2): 163–165, pls 5, 7.
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134. Crosse H. & Fischer P., 1866 [17 July]. Note sur la distribution géographiques des Brachio-podes aux Antilles et description d'espèces nouvelles de la Guadeloupe. *Journal de Conchy-liologie*, 14 (3): 265–273, pl. 8. [Remarks. See also 204].
135. Crosse H., 1866 [17 July]. Description d'un *Murex* nouveau de l'Adriatique. *Journal de*

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136. Crosse H., 1866 [17 July]. Bibliographie. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (3): 281–319.

137. Crosse H., 1866 [17 July]. Nouvelles. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (3): 319–320.

138. Crosse H. & Marie E., 1866 [7 October]. Note complémentaire sur le *Lyria deliciosa* et son opercule. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (4): 335–337.

139. Crosse H., 1866 [7 October]. Note sur les Mollusques operculés terrestres des îles Pelew ou Palaos. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (4): 346–350, pl. 10.

140. Crosse H., 1866 [7 October]. Note relative aux genres *Arinia* et *Moussonina*. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (4): 351–354, pl. 10.

141. Crosse H., 1866 [7 October]. Description d'espèces nouvelles de la République de l'Équateur. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (4): 354–357, pl. 14.

142. Crosse H., 1866 [7 October]. Variétés. Les vulgarisateurs en matière malacologique. *Journal de Conchylologie*, 14 (4): 369–376.

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