The Opulent & The Curious

PETER COLLINSON AND THE
ART OF "THE GREAT SEED EXCHANGE"

Cover image: Mark Catesby (1682-1749) *The Red-billed Tropicbird; Atlantic Puffin*

Catalogue by Alison Petretti, with assistance from numerous scholars of natural history illustration, botany, and ornithology. Specifically, we are grateful for the insightful contributions regarding John and William Bartram from Joel Fry, at Bartram's Garden; botanical nomenclature and the work of Mark Catesby, Georg Ehret and George Edwards by Dr. Charles Nelson, Senior Research Director, The Catesby Centre, The University of South Carolina; and further thoughts regarding Mark Catesby by David Elliott, Director, The Catesby Centre, The University of South Carolina. In addition, many thanks to Dr. Michael Stubblefield for his help in identifying bird species.

This catalogue is in progress and will be updated regularly. You are reading version 1.29.22

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PETER COLLINSON AND THE
ART OF "THE GREAT SEED EXCHANGE"

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INTRODUCTION

Through the laudable application of a few persons only, many kinds of American plants, and particularly forest trees and shrubs, have been procured and raised from thence; which, through hitherto principally in the possession of the opulent and the curious, they, as it is hoped will for the benefit of their country be excited to encourage their propagation and increase, that both Faunus and Flora may be consulted, as well as the benefit of our woods, as for the ornament of our gardens. A small spot of land in America has, within less than half a century, furnished England with a greater variety of trees than has been procured from all other parts of the world for more than a thousand years.

introduction to Mark Catesby's
Hortus Britanno-Americus (1767)

In the introduction to Mark Catesby's posthumous book on British-American horticulture, *Hortus Britanno-Americus* (1767), John Ryal wrote,

> "through the laudable application of a few persons only, many kinds of American plants, and particularly forest trees and shrubs, have been procured and raised from thence; which, through hitherto principally in the possession of the opulent and the curious, they, as it is hoped will for the benefit of their country be excited to encourage their propagation and increase, that both Faunus and Flora may be consulted, as well as the benefit of our woods, as for the ornament of our gardens. A small spot of land in America has, within less than half a century, furnished England with a greater variety of trees than has been procured from all other parts of the world for more than a thousand years."

It was evident even in the 18th-century that Peter Collinson, and his circle, the "opulent and curious" gentleman-botanists, and a "small spot of land" in America, Bartram's garden, were responsible for the botanical wealth of Britain. The Peter Collinson collection of Mark Catesby's *Natural History,* and accompanying volume of watercolors, encapsulates the visual story of colonial natural history, gives insight to the key participants, provides a firsthand account of the sharing of both seeds and specimens, and the scientific insight gained and shared amongst them. It is witness to the transition from America the wild, chaotic, and stormy, to refined, exotic, and artistically picturesque.

The collection consists of two halves of a whole, simply described as an extra-illustrated copy of Mark Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* and a volume of individual watercolors and prints assembled by Peter Collinson from the early 1740s through 1767. However, it is a far more complex and rich collection. Together these works are widely considered one of the most important archives relating to this circle of collectors, natural historians, artists, and garden owners in London during the first half of the 18th-century. It is a precious contemporary record of intertwined horticultural and artistic relationships with no parallel in the United States. Present are some of the most exceptional botanical and ornithological drawings and prints by Mark Catesby, William Bartram, George Edwards, and Georg Ehret, annotated by Peter Collinson and others. Collinson's curation is of immense importance to scholars of eighteenth-century American and British culture, including the history of science, gardens, landscape, collecting, and natural history art and illustration.

To this time, the Knowsley Collinson collection has been studied piecemeal, images addressed have been brilliantly described by significant scholars in the field. However, because of limited access to konwsley Hall, and a lack of a proper image database, the compendium compiled by Collinson has not been wholly researched as a whole nor has in-depth analyses of imagery in context to their patron been undertaken. Here, for the first time, the unique beauty of these coveted images are unveiled to reveal intimate details behind each petal and feather to unfurl the history and context of their importance. When viewed as an entity, we gain insight into the relationship between methods of species procurement, the relationship between patrons and artists, and the 18th-century British taste for the exotic. It contains watercolors of species of American origin as well as other exceptionally early depictions of botanical and zoological subjects from all over the world, notably type specimens from Collinson's and other significant garden menageries such as those housed by Sir Hans Sloane, Charles Wager, and Lord Petre.

With this initiative in mind, I arranged this catalog contemplating its many facets and sum of its parts. The study begins with an overview of the provenance of this grouping, including a biography of Peter Collinson and his heirs, through to the most recent owner, the 19th Earl of Derby. Followed by biographical details on the primary artists. Then every image is analyzed independently or, where significant research warrants it, may be grouped together to further evaluate on the significance as a grouping or to compare similar performances. Available primary and secondary sources were consulted, cited parenthetically, and listed in the works cited at the end of this catalog. My initial research should not be considered comprehensive; instead, consider it an open door by which future research may continue.

The collection presented here made for the "opulent and the curious," is in itself opulent and curious. It is a glimpse into the world of elite possession of rare and desirably showy ornamental flowering plants as well as the exotic curiosities of British colonial empire. The British gentleman need not toil; he curated his picturesque mini-America on his parcel of land free from Natives, free from snakes, and free from political upheaval.

The importance of this collection cannot be overstated. The present work by Mark Catesby, William Bartram, George Edwards, and Georg Ehret form the keystones of American botanical and ornithological illustration. It reinforces the importance of Philadelphia for the nascent study of botany and ornithology in America, which provided the primary source documents for Alexander Wilson, John James Audubon, among others. Without the work of the early artists, the later would never have succeeded.

- Alison Petretti
Curator, natural history watercolors

Fig. "Magnolia grandiflora (The Laurel Tree of Carolina)"
from *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands...* London: 1731-43.

THE AMERICAN DREAM

> "In your fine Climate... Warmer the sun the more numerous the Progeny, the Richer Colours & the Larger the species. See how the Little Humming Bird glows with Brilliant Fire... the Great Flocks of Beautifull Birds, Wandering Beasts, Lovely Flowers, stately Trees, & if Wee dive into the Waters what Wonders There, what a Glorious scene Opens to Imploye all the senses in contemplating these Wonders which well Inflame the Head with a Pious Ardour to Adore the Beneficent Hand that made all these Things for the Entertainment, Comfort & Preservation of Mankind." (Peter Collinson to Henry Hollyday January 18, 1753)

As Alan Armstrong aptly stated, Peter Collinson was an "indefatigable broker of enthusiasm." His offer: you can own a little piece of the American wilderness. Writers painted America as a land of stormy weather and dank forests inhabited by scalping Natives early in the seventeenth century. Mark Catesby initiated the transition from brute land to untapped natural treasures in his dedication to *Natural History*. Catesby brought a sparkle to the rugged British outpost, writing to Queen Caroline, "the Glorious work of the Creator, displayed in the New World; and hitherto lain concealed from the view of your Majesty as well as your Royal predecessors, tho-so long possessed of a Country, inferior to none of your Majesty's American Dominions."

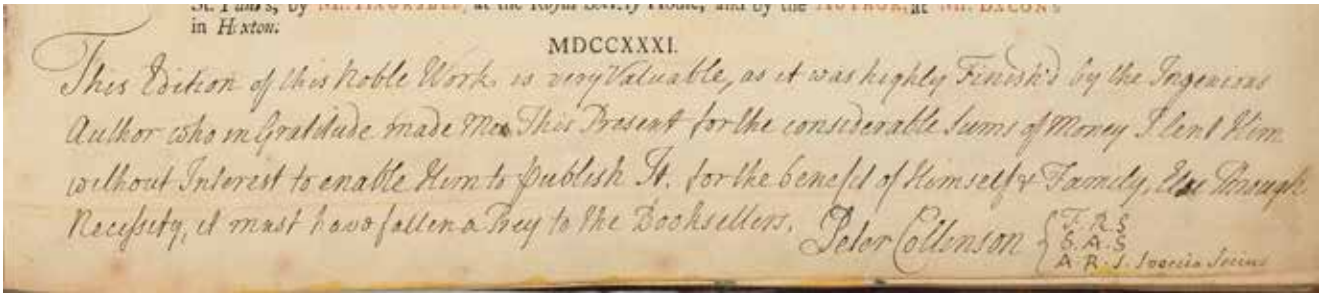
Inspired by the reception of Catesby's work, John Bartram and Peter Collinson began their "great seed exchange," offering the gentry rare and exotic seeds. What began as a curious exchange wound up releasing the flood gates for gentlemen-botanists to recreate their own personal "mini-America." In the mind of a budding eighteenth-century naturalist, American was no longer fear-inducing; it was the dreamlike Eden of which Collinson wrote.

In the early eighteenth-century, Britain flourished due to trade in India and the Far East (East Indies), West Indies, and North American colonies. Like their Dutch and French counterparts, newly wealthy British elites began to form exotic cabinets of curiosities and libraries, which included books, coins, fossils, plants, shells, birds, and mammals from the ever-increasing British dominion. Acquiring new and unique natural curiosities became a full-time pursuit for gentlemen-botanist. Plants, birds, and mammals formed a unique niche in this collecting-mania in that they allowed patrons to incorporate exotics quite literally into their landscape as ornaments or in menagerie zoos on sprawling estates, some even kept as household pets. As their dominion expanded, so did their search for new natural trinkets.

The British landscape had been badly deforested for industry, naval pursuits, and warmth through the Little Ice Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With more temperate climate in the eighteenth-century, it was a fertile time for Brits interested in growing things. Thus, the British taste, due in large part to Collinson's trend, began to favor naturalism in garden planning rather than the formality of past generations. It was the perfect storm of improving conditions and fresh discoveries. When Ryall wrote that British American horticulture "in the possession of the opulent and the curious, they, as it is hoped will for the benefit of their country be excited to encourage their propagation and increase, that both Faunus and Flora may be consulted, as well as the benefit of our woods, as for the ornament of our gardens," he justified ostentatious estate planting of the dreamlike American Eden as patriotism.

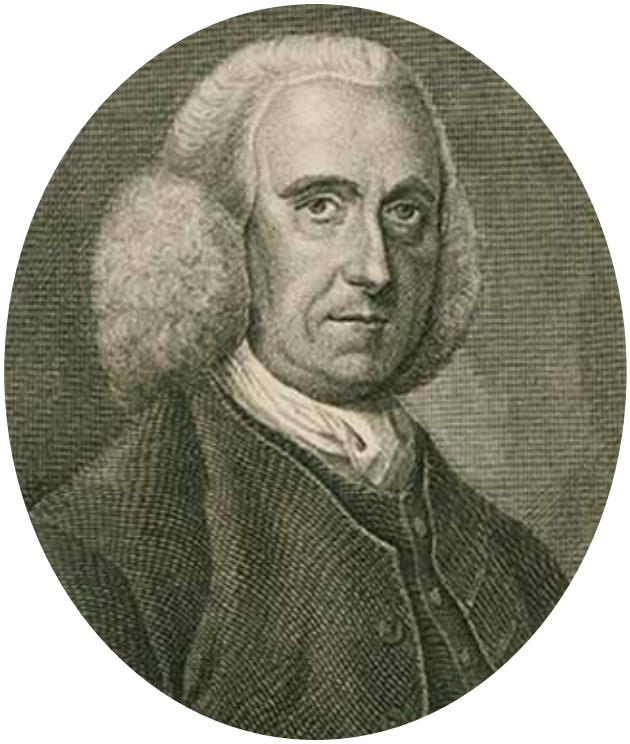
THE PROVENANCE

PETER COLLINSON (1694-1768)
MICHAEL COLLINSON (1727-1795)
CHARLES STREYNSHAM COLLINSON (1753-1834)
AYLMER BOURKE LAMBERT (1761-1842)
EDWARD SMITH STANLEY, 13TH EARL OF DERBY (1775-1851)
EDWARD RICHARD WILLIAM STANLEY, THE 19TH EARL OF DERBY (B.1962-)


in Hoxton.

MDCCXXXI.

This Edition of this Noble Work is very Valuable, as it was highly Finish'd by the Ingenious Author who in Gratitude made Me this Present for the considerable Sums of Money I lent Him without Interest to enable Him to publish It, for the benefit of Himself & Family, & in Consequence Necessity, it must have fallen a Prey to the Booksellers. Peter Collinson {F.R.S. S.A.S. A.R.J. Societatis Sociis



PETER COLLINSON
(BRITISH, 1694-1768)

When it comes to eighteenth-century British natural history, all garden path leads to one person: Peter Collinson. Collinson was not just a patron; he was an encourager in the truest sense. His life's story is deeply tied to the artists and naturalists with which he corresponded. It was his whole life; therefore, one knows Collinson best by reading his words, peppered throughout this catalog.

What began as Collinson's hobby became one of the most significant British natural history contributions to the period's scientific and intellectual knowledge. His ability to supply new exotics positioned Collinson between a class that he did not otherwise belong. He was not of fine pedigree; he was a merchant.

Born in London, Collinson was the son of the Quaker clothier Peter Collinson and his wife, Elizabeth Hall. His love of plants began at an early age. He was famous for his garden at his family's estate in Peckham. Later, he developed a magnificent garden at Mill Hill in 1749.

Today, Peter Collinson is best known for his tireless support of the work of others. First, as a long-time member of the Royal Society, establishing close relationships with the eminent scientists of the day, including Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), J. J. Dillenius (1684-1747), and the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778). His vast network brought him in close contact with gardeners and plantsmen too, such as Philip Miller (1691-1771), the gardener of the Chelsea Physic Garden, and the nurseryman James Gordon. Second, through his family trade in cloth, Peter made extensive contact with important figures in colonial America, such as Benjamin Franklin and John Bartram. In the early 1730s, Bartram wrote to Collinson, soliciting the king's botanist post in North America. While Collinson was not able to secure the position, a lifelong friendship followed.

The arrangement between John Bartram and Peter Collinson was, at first, straight forward; a seed exchange for Collinson and friends "to oblige the Curious in planting, distributed amongst the Nobility and Gentry" for "100 species in a box at five guineas each." (Ewan, 3) It is now known as the "great seed exchange." As Mark Laird pointed out, through their voracious "regular consignments of more than one hundred woody species, Bartram and Collinson effectively afforested English shires with Pennsylvanian wilderness." (Laird, Knowing Nature, 96)

Collinson's fascination with the new and exotic extended beyond just expanding his garden and menagerie; he sought to create a lasting record of these species. He preferred self-taught natural history artists for this task. They worked quickly in the field, adapted better to trekking out into the wilderness, could take on numerous roles, unlike academically trained artists who took long periods to perfect commissions. A contemporary summed up this period's preference for untrained traveler artists: " It has been easier, and always will be, to manage people who are more docile... because I provide through training the skills they lack at the beginning, and in this way, I can compensate for the lack of docility of the [trained] artists, who always do poorly in America" (Alba, 333.) This blank slate in scientific illustration was both a blessing and a source of frustration for Collinson. For example, he was frustrated when William Bartram only showed one side of a specimen and used it as a teaching moment for his protégé. Collinson could also solidify his role as patron by directing the arrangement of future imagery. Instead of payment, Collinson often sent William Bartram fine art paper in thanks. However gracious it seemed, he, in return, expected paintings on these papers.

The assembly of a visual record like Collinson's allowed the patron to possess nature as a "thing." As Daniele Bleicjmar wrote,

> At a time when European powers undertook the exploration of distant territories as a matter of key economic, political, and scientific importance, the production of images represented a central practice for investigating colonial nature and incorporating it into European science. In the eighteenth-century study of nature, seeing was intimately connected to both knowing and owning. Images of plants and animals were more than pleasant, secondary by-products of exploration: they were instruments of possession. (Bleichmar, 82.)

The imagery Collinson secured through Mark Catesby, William Bartram, Georg Ehret, George Edwards, and others not only allowed for his possession of nature through art, it also highlighted the extraordinary commercial promise of America. Being a clothier, Collinson would have first thought of commodities that might assist him personally, like silk or cotton production.

Collinson's vast correspondence suggests he had close relationships, but he met relatively few of his correspondents. He was content to care for his meticulously fashioned estate and visit foreign lands through plants as a "garden chair traveler." Instead, Collison preferred the patron life where someone else did the dirty work of providing seeds, and he would acquire them for a nominal exchange, often cloth or silk. This acquisition of another's toil was a familiar trait of gentleman-botanist. We see this in the example of the doctor-botanist Alexander Garden from Charleston, South Carolina, who took great pains to lay claim to numerous specimens through the work of others: "an anonymous slave caught fish that Garden ceremoniously presented to Linnaeus; a Cherokee woman gathered puccoon, which he sent to [John] Ellis; and [when] his medical rounds yielded unknown specimens from the American south." (Hallock, Male.) It suited Collinson better to be the middleman between Bartram's New World specimens and Britain's gentleman-botanists. First, it gave him bragging rights to import specific plants and made him the go-to person for future exotics from the colonies. Second, it allowed him to expand his point of contact with his colonial fabric customers. He often packed his boxes of silks and linens for Benjamin Franklin with material for John Bartram and others.

The American wilderness held such glorious specimens, yet Collinson never traveled to the colonies to experience them firsthand even when the opportunity presented itself. John Bartram invited him to visit, Collinson responded, "It is with pleasure when we read thy Excursions (& wish to bear thee Company), but then it is with concern that we reflect on the Fatigue one undergoes, the great risks of thy Healthy in Heats & Colds, but above all the Danger of Rattlesnakes. This would so curb my Ardent Desires to see vegitable Curiosities that I should be afraid to venter into your woods unless on Horseback & so Good guide as thee art by my side." (Armstrong, 41) The dangers of obtaining new plants were real. The frontier could be dangerous at times. When Native American tribes learned of intruders, at times they responded with violent acts. John Bartram recounted a particular event "Many years past, in our most peaceable times, far beyond our mountains, as I was walking in a path with an Indian guide, hired for two dollars, an Indian man met me and pulled off my hat in a great passion, and chawed it all round-I suppose to show me that they would eat me if I came in that country again." (John Bartram to Collinson, Sept. 30, 1763) Then, transporting specimens posed other issues. There was, of course, the fear of rot or mold, but also pirates and naval engagements. Bartram wrote to Collinson that he was sending something "by every ship that sails from here to London; so that, if some are taken, others may escape" (John Bartram to Peter Collinson, Apr. 23, 1746.) For these maneuvers,

Collinson felt he was owed something. Writing to Carl Linnaeus "Some thing I think was Due to Mee from the Common Wealth of Botany for the great number of plants & Seeds I have annually procur'd from Abroad, and you have been so good as to pay It, by giving Mee a species of Eternity (Botanically speaking), That is, a name as long as Men and Books Endure. This layes Mee under Great Obligations, which I shall never Forgett." (Quoted in Armstrong, ccxli)

Plant procurement and garden placement was an art form for Collinson, "another means of painting with Living Pencils." (Armstrong, xxxi) There is no known image of Collinson's garden, but one may conjure a picturesque plan using his letters to friends and fellow enthusiasts. Writing "I often times Stand with Wonder & amazement when I View the Inconceivable variety of flowers, Shrubs & Trees now in our Gardens & what they were 40 years Agon, and in that Time what quantities from all over North America have annually be Collected by My Means and procuring... Very few Gardens, if any, excells Mine att Mill Hill for the Rare Exotiks which are my Delight." (Armstrong, xxxiii) At Mill Hill, Collinson's garden allowed him to vicariously visit with friends through the plant or floral specimen that acted as a mnemonic for his friendships. Collinson wrote to Caddwaller Colden:

> As often as I survey my Garden & Plantations it reminds Mee of my Absent Friends by their Living Donations – See there my Honble Frd Goverr Colden how thrifty they look – Sr I see nobody but Two fine Trees a Spruce and a Larch, that's True, but they are his representatives, but See close by how my Lord Northumberland aspires in that Curious Firr from Mount Ida, but Look Yonder at the Late Benevolent Duke of Richmond, His Everlasting Cedars of Lebanon, , will Endure when you & I & He is forgot, see with what Vigor they Tower away how their Stems enlarge & their branches extend – But pray what are those pines Novelties rarely Seen – that Elegant one with five Leaves is the Cembro Pione from Siberia, the other Tall Tree is the very long Leaves Pine of 10 or 12 Inches from So. Carolina they Stand momentos of my Generous Frd the Late Duke of Argyle that Gentle Tree So like a Cypress looks uncommon, that's the Syrian Cedar the Seed was given Mee by Sr Charles Wager first Lord of the Admiralty gather'd in the Isle of Iona, in his Voyage to convey Don Carlo
> (the Now K: of Spain) to Naples.
>
> But those Balm Gilead Firrs grow at the Surpriseing rate it is pleasant to See, but they renew a concern for my Dear Frd Ld Petre, they came young from his Nurserys, with all the species of Virgina Pines & Cedars – but that Firr that grows Near them is remarkable for its Blewish Green, that was a present from my Worthy Frd Sr Harry Trelawny, it is called the black Spruce He had it from Newfoundland, it grows delightfully regard but ye Variety of Trees & Shrubs in this plantation as mountain Magnolia, Sarsifax Rhododendrons Calmias & Azaleas &c &c &c all are the Bounty of my Curious Botanic Friend J: Bartram of Philadelphia and those pretty Fringe Trees, Halsesias & Stuartia all Great Beauties I must thank my Fr Mr Clayton; the Great Botanist of America. How fragrant that Allspice, how Charming the Red flowd Acacia Great Laurel Leafed Magnolia & Umbrella Magnolia & Loblolly Bay – these Charming Trees are the Glory of my Garden & the Trofies of that Friendship that Subsists between Mee & my very obligeing Friend I: Lambol Esq of South Carolina.
>
> Thus Gratitude prompts Mee to Celebrate the Memory of my Friends amongst whome you have long Claimed the Respect & Esteem of yours Sincerely
>
> P. Collinson"

Ultimately, by 1767 there were signs that Peter Collinson was starting to curtail his horticultural activities. In September 1767, he warned Bartram that he should send nothing more unless anything new or rare turned up. By the following year, August 1768, Peter Collinson died.

We are fortunate to have the complete provenance of Peter Collinson's corpus. The provenance provides an additional layer of significance in tracing the movement from its first patron to the ownership of subsequent generations.

MICHAEL COLLINSON (1727-1795)

Until now, this collection has been cataloged as passing from Peter Collinson directly to his grandson, Charles. However, the recent discovery of Peter Collinson's will, by the author here, proved a rather illuminating discovery. On the top of page 2 of the original manuscript will, Peter Collinson bequeathed his "cabinet of natural and curiosities and smo (?) glasses of animals in spirits with all my books and coloured prints and drawings with my goods at Mill Hill... [to] my son Michael Collinson full and sole executor of this my last will and testament."

(IN PROGRESS)

AT THE

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CHARLES S. COLLINSON, ESQ.

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BY EDWARDS, EHRET, BARTRAM, ETC.

A COLLECTION OF PORTRAITS,

AND MISCELLANEOUS PRINTS AND ETCHINGS, BY THE EARLY ENGRAVERS,

AS ALSO BY

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PENCIL SKETCHES BY RICHARDSON.

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E. SHALDERS, PRINTER, IPSWICH.

1834.

Sale of Charles S. Collinson Esq. Estate

CHARLES STREYNSHAM COLLINSON (1753-1834)

At Michael Collinson's passing, the collection went to his son Charles Streynsham Collinson (1753-1834).

Charles Collison spent thirty years in the East India Company's civil service, in Bengal, returned to England in 1798 to take up service as the high sheriff of Suffolk.

The estate of Charles Collinson sold at Ipswich, July 21, 1834 "to a London bookseller for £15.10s."

562 CATESBY, (M.) NATURAL HISTORY OF CAROLINA, &c. 2 vols. *large paper*, bound in russia 1731

A presentation Copy. At the bottom of the Title-page of the first volume is the following Note: "This Edition of this noble Work is very valuable, as it was highly finished by the ingenious Author, who in gratitude made me this present for the considerable sums of money I lent him, without interest, to enable him to publish it for the benefit of himself and family, else through necessity it must have fallen a prey to the Booksellers.

PETER COLLINSON, F. R. S. S. A. S. A R. I. Suecia Socius."

There is also a brief manuscript Memoir of the Author, by Peter Collinson, beside several Notes; and the work is illustrated with twenty two ORIGINAL DRAWINGS by CATESBY, EHRET, and BARTRAM.

586 ANOTHER, containing 74 ORIGINAL DRAWINGS of SUBJECTS of NATURAL HISTORY, by EHRET, GEO. EDWARDS, W. BARTRAM, and Others; and also, 120 coloured Engravings of Birds, Flowers, &c.

Lot descriptions for Collinson's corpus in the July 21, 1834 auction.

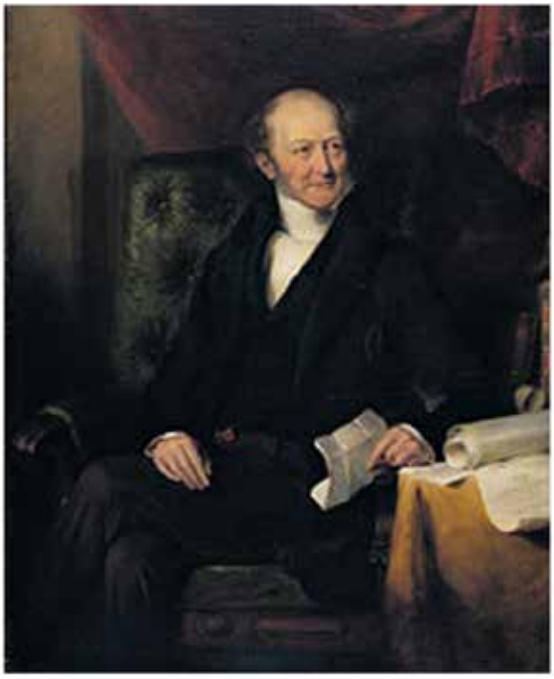
AYLMER BOURKE LAMBERT (1761-1842)

The "London bookseller" then sold it to Aylmer Bourke Lambert (1761-1842). The early provenance of these volumes is confirmed by Dawson Turner's Extracts from the literary and scientific correspondence of Richard Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., Yarmouth, 1835, pp.401-2, note 1:

> During the time that I have been amusing myself with making selections from, and annotations on, the Richardson Correspondence, the very fine library of the late Mr. Charles Collinson, of the Chantry, Ipswich, has been dispersed by auction. The sale took place 21st July, 1834. The library was principally that of Peter Collinson, Esq.; and, among other works of high price, it included Catesby's Carolina, in which Mr Collinson had made the following remarks:- 'Mr. Mark Catesby, the author of this book, was born at Sudbury in Suffolk. This copy of this noble work is very valuable; as it was highly finished by the ingenious author, who, in gratitude, made me this present ...' ... For the lovers of Bibliography, it may be well to add, that this precious copy, bound in Russia, and illustrated with twenty-two original drawings by George Edwards, Ehret, and Bartram, was purchased at the sale by a London bookseller for £15.10s., and is now well-placed in the excellent botanical library of my friend, Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq.

Lambert was a voracious collector of books on botany as well as a gatherer of plants, and his herbarium eventually grew to include more than 50,000 specimens from the world's forests. He was a founding member of the Linnean Society of London and was elected to the Royal Society as well, and he was known in the scientific community for his generosity in encouraging fellow botanists to draw on specimens from his collections while compiling their own scholarly publications.

At Lambert's passing this set sold in the Aylmer Bourke Lambert (1761-1842); sale, S. Leigh Sotheby, 26 Lower Grosvenor Street (the residence of the late Mr Lambert), London, 18-20 April, 1842 (Catalogue of the valuable botanical library of the late A.B. Lambert, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c, of Boyton House, Wiltshire), lot 183 ("Catesby's (Mark) *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*, many plates, beautifully colored by the author, 2 vol. atlas folio, very fine copy, in old russia, gilt leaves *** This was a presentation copy to Peter Collinson, Esq. F.R.S., who has written a short account of the author and the work, – Vide first leaf in vol. 1.")



Inscription by the 13th Earl of Derby inside the cover of Collinson's commonplace book

EDWARD SMITH STANLEY, 13TH EARL OF DERBY (1775-1851)

The Collinson collection was then purchased by Edward Smith Stanley, 13th Earl of Derby (1775-1851).

Edward Stanley expressed an interest in natural history from an early age, collecting caterpillars, and copying entries from Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* into small notebooks. (Fischer, 45) He began his interest in birds at his father's aviaries at Knowsley. The 19th Earl of Derby has written, "He started his very remarkable involvement in natural history by buying museum specimens of birds in the early years of the nineteenth-century. From this point his interest became ever deeper, and he held the position of President of both the Linnaean Society and the Zoological Society of London." (Fischer, 7)

In 1834, at the age of 59, Edward succeeded his father as the 13th Earl of Derby. He withdrew from politics, instead preferring to focus on his natural history collection at Knowsley Hall, near Liverpool.

As his collection of bird varieties grew, he sought out books with comprehensive descriptions of new species. He consulted Mark Catesby's *Natural History...* (his copy included in this collection,) as well as several works by George Edwards. He supplemented these printed works with additional original paintings and watercolors of new species that might compare to the specimens he had in hand. Original works include those in this collection by William Bartram and George Edwards, as well as Thomas Davies, John Abbot, John Gould, and Edward Lear which still reside in the Knowsley Collection. His focus was primarily ornithology, though toward the end of his life he made a turn toward botany, receiving new seeds and plants which he propagated at the estate gardens.

Lord Derby's museum collection took up several suites of rooms on the first floor of Knowsley Hall referred to as the "Library," the "Middle Room," and the "Last Room." All of which overlooked the formal gardens. His additions to the Knowsley collection form the nucleus of the natural history collection of this estate. At Lord Derby's death in 1851, some of his collection, including many type specimens, was bequeathed to the City of Liverpool and led to the establishment of The Liverpool Museum.

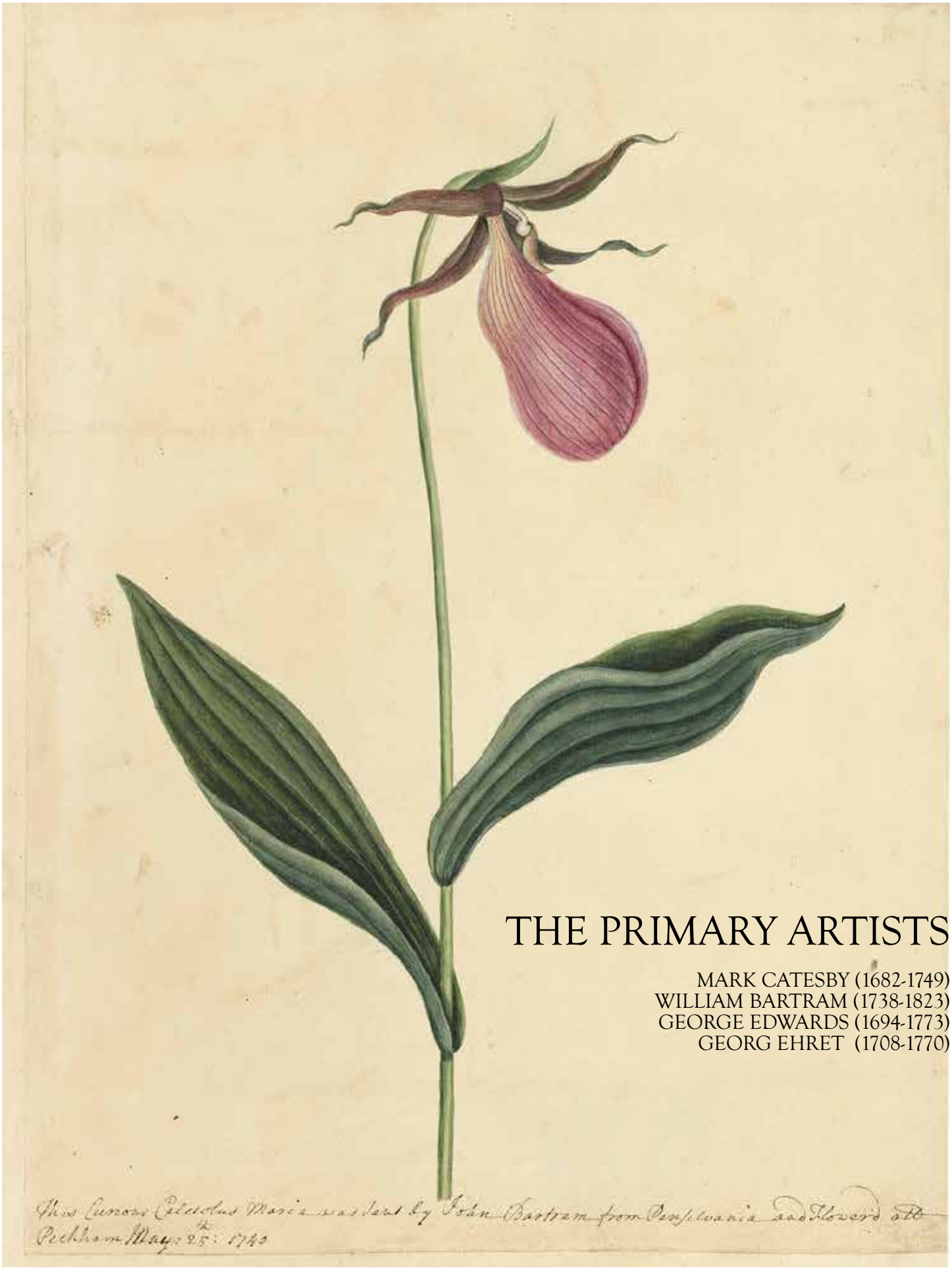
EDWARD RICHARD WILLIAM STANLEY, THE 19TH EARL OF DERBY (B.1962)

The collection passed by descent to the 19th Earl of Derby, from whom the collection was purchased.

Edward Richard William Stanley (informally called "Teddy") inherited the earldom of Derby, and the Knowsley estate, in 1994 on the death of his uncle, Edward John Stanley, 18th Earl of Derby.

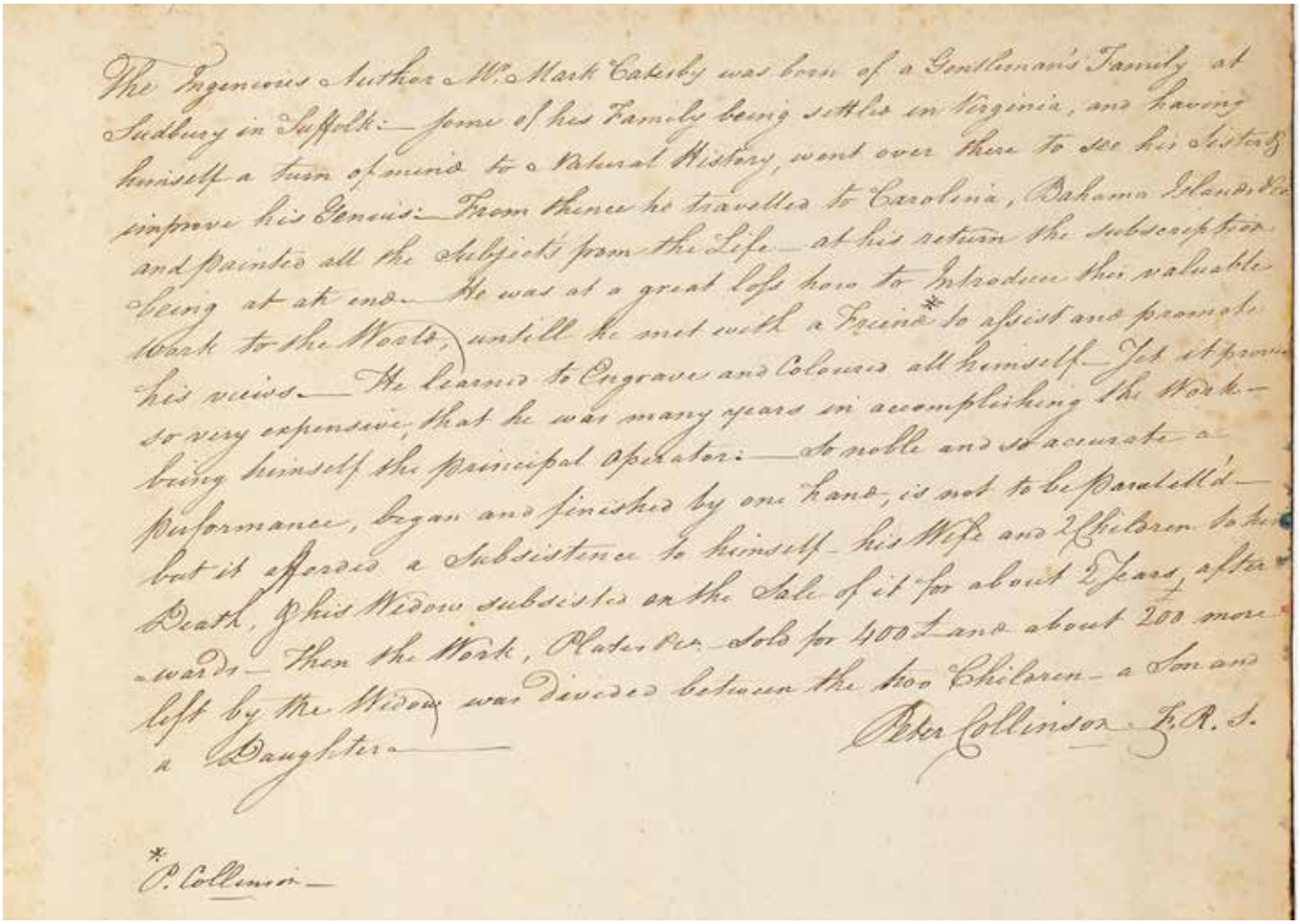
Like many of his ancestors, Lord Derby has a great love for horse racing. He raises his colts at the Hatchfield stud farm, part of the Knowlsey estate. This Derby family tradition can trace its horse racing heritage back to the 5th Earl of Derby in the sixteenth century.

Knowlsey Hall



THE PRIMARY ARTISTS

MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
WILLIAM BARTRAM (1738-1823)
GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
GEORG EHRET (1708-1770)


The Ingenious Author Mr. Mark Catesby was born of a Gentleman's Family at Sudbury in Suffolk — some of his Family being settle in Virginia, and having himself a turn of mind to Natural History, went over there to see his Sister & improve his Genius — From thence he travelled to Carolina, Bahama Islands &c and painted all the Subjects from the Life — at his return the subscription being at an end — He was at a great loss how to Introduce this valuable work to the World, untill he met with a Friend* to assist and promote his views — He learned to Engrave and Coloured all himself — Yet it proved so very expensive, that he was many years in accomplishing the Work — being himself the principal Operator: — so noble and so accurate a performance, began and finished by one hand, is not to be paralell'd — but it afforded a Subsistence to himself — his Wife and 2 Children to his Death, & his Widow subsisted on the Sale of it for about 2 Years afterwards — Then the Work, &c. sold for 400£ and about 200 more left by the Widow was divided between the two Children — a Son and a Daughter —

Peter Collinson — F. R. S.

* P. Collinson —

Fig. Peter Collinson's account of Mark Catesby, inscribed in Volume I.

MARK CATESBY (BRITISH, 1682-1749)

Mark Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, issued in parts between 1729 and 1747, represents the first comprehensive survey of flora and fauna of the American colonies. This landmark work set a precedent not only in American natural history illustration but also in British natural history. George Edwards' *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds* followed and built upon Catesby's colonial research, with the addition of drawings and descriptions obtained from William Bartram.

Unlike several other artists extant in this collection, there little known about Catesby's early life. No portrait exists of the man who first depicted America's natural wonders. Peter Collinson summed up the life of this artist on the front endpaper of volume one of his subscriber's copy of Catesby's work (present here):

> The Ingenious Author Mr. Mark Catesby was born of a Gentle-man's Family at Sudbury in Suffolk; some of his Family being settled in Virginia, and having him-self a turn of mind to Natural History, went over there to see his sister & improve his Genius; From thence he travelled to Carolina, Bahama Islands, &c. and painted all the Subjects's from the Life – at his return the subscription being at an end – He was at a great loss how to Introduce this valuable work to the World, until he met with a friend* to assist and promote his views – he learned to Engrave and Coloured all himself – Yet it proved so very expensive, that he was many years in accomplishing the Work – being himself the principle operator; so noble and so accurate in performance, began and finished by one hand, is not to be paralell'd – but it afforded a Subsistence to himself – his Wife and 2 Children to his Death, & his Widow subsisted on the Sale of it for about 2 Years afterwards – then the Work, &c. sold for 400£ and about 200 more left by the Widow was divided between the two Children – a Son and a Daughter.

But, there was much more to Mark Catesby and his groundbreaking work.

Mark Catesby was not wealthy and was fully reliant on sponsors to travel, research, and paint. He made his first visit to the colonies in 1712, traveling to Williamsburg, Virginia. There he spent seven years collecting and drawing plant specimens. At several points during his travels, Catesby shipped a small number of samples to England and into the hands of interested naturalists, most notably Samuel Dale and the gardener, Thomas Fairchild. Botanists of the early 18th-century were eager to learn all they could learn about the colonies because there was a lack of printed source material on New World plants. Catesby's host in the colonies, William Byrd, and his friend John Bannister made early attempts to categorize the new species they encountered. But, their books and papers were bulky and lacked a consistent format. However, they did provide Catesby with preliminary foundational material.

Upon Catesby's return to England, Samuel Dale introduced Catesby to botanist William Sherard. Sherard heard the call of the royal governor of South Carolina Francis Nicholson: draw plants and animals of the region. The endeavor came with an annual allowance of £20. After securing the support of the Royal Society, a syndicate of British elite and scientific minds including Sherard, Nicholson, and Sir Hans Sloane, the artist prepared to travel abroad again.

This first early work on colonial natural history would never have come to fruition without the support of Peter Collinson and other "encouragers" who raised funds for him to make his second trip to the colonies and West Indies. As Elsa Allen found, the second trip almost did not happen; Catesby first took a commission to go to Africa. This is documented in a letter from William Sherard to a Dr. Richardson March 28, 1721: "Mr. Catesby is not yet fixer with the African Company, but will be I believe this week. What he sends from thence you may depend to receive a share of. 'Tis a sickly place; and I could wish he had held his resolution of going to Carolina; but he's now so far engaged with the Duke of Chandos to think of that.'" Be that as it may, this plan, though all but settled, was abandoned by Catesby. Furthermore, the Duke of Chandos, who at first wished to sponsor the African trip, finally stood at the head of the list of patrons for the trip to the American colonies. William Sherard, Sir Hans Sloane, and a Mr. Dubois were other supporters of this plan, and Sherard in a letter to Richardson dated December 7, 1721, wrote: "I believe Mr. Catesby will be going to Carolina in a month. I have procured him subscriptions for near the sum he proposed." It took some time, but by April 1722, before Catesby was off on his second trip to America. (Allen, New Light, 354)

After arriving, Catesby wrote of the sights and the process by which he collected plants and painted them. Writing

> As I arrived at the beginning of the summer... I unexpectedly found this country possessed not only with all the animals and vegetables of Virginia, but abounding with even a greater variety.
>
> The inhabited parts of Carolina extend west from the sea about 60 miles, and almost the whole length of the coast, being a level, low country. In these parts I continued the first year searching after, collecting and describing the animals and plants... In these excursions I employed an Indian to carry my box in which, besides paper and materials for painting, I put dried specimens of plants, seeds, etc. as I gathered them. To the hospitality and assistance of these friendly Indians, I am much indebted, for I not only subsisted on what they shot, but their first care was to erect a bark hut, at the approach of rain to keep me and my cargo from wet.

Given his subjects were not static, and plants fleeting, Catesby had a process for capturing them and an agenda to consider how they would fair in England. Writing, "With plants... I had principally a regard to forest trees and shrubs, showing their several mechanical and other uses, as in building, joinery, agriculture, food and medicine. I have likewise taken notice of those plants that will bear our English climate." When observing birds and mammals, he carefully considered their biome, "As there is a greater variety of the feathered kind than of any other animals and as they excel in the beauty of their colors, and have a nearer relation to the plants of which they feed on and frequent, I was induced ... to complete an account of them." His goal to be comprehensive was always top of mind; he wrote that he believed "very few birds escaped my knowledge, except some water fowl and some of those which frequent the sea." Catesby's flora imagery was painted, "while fresh and just gathered," unique characteristics of "animals, particularly the bird, I painted while alive (except a very few) and gave them their gestures peculiar to every kind of birds, and where it could be admitted, I adapted the birds to those plants on which they fed, or have any relation to. Fish which do not retain their colors when out of their element, I painted at different times, having a succession of them procured while the former lost their colors." (Catesby, introduction)

Like many of his naturalist-artist contemporaries, Catesby was not formally trained. Self-described, "I was not bred a painter and I hope some faults in perspective and other niceties may [therefore] be more readily excused." (Stone, 447) He employed in "a Flat, tho' exact manner" which at times rendered some figures lacking in tonal dimensionality. "Even though his colors are often too intense and little details such as tail-markings and wing-bars are omitted, his plates have a charm that is all their own and almost all of them are specifically identifiable."(Stone, 447) What he lacked in artistic precision, he made up for in his revolutionary way of placing birds against botanical backgrounds which were realistic, not stylized, and generally ecologically correct.

When Catesby returned to London for the second time, he faced enormous financial burdens. He promised subscribers colored plates of his work, not having produced a publication before he soon realized contracting with artisans would prove a far greater cost than his subscribers had paid. Facing ruin, Catesby's publication became a one-man operation; providing scientific analysis and the illustrations.

Like many others of the period, Catesby's process was to make field drawings in pen and ink, which he planned to finish in the studio later. Most of his field sketches were monochromatic ink sketches, annotated with notes on color or shape, to aid in the completion of the fully realized image. When he needed fresh specimens to accurately complete color, he contacted John Bartam, through Peter Collinson. Bartram sent Catesby bird nests, skins, turtle eggs, flowers, plants, seeds, and detailed information. In return, Catesby sent him a copy of his *Natural History*. For his final illustrations, he learned to engrave from Joseph Goupy, a French-born watercolorist and etcher, eventually engraving all but two of the 220 pictures in the finished work. Initially, he colored these by hand himself, but it is likely he received assistance as the project progressed. The two volumes were large, almost two feet long, with 100 plates in the first volume and 120 in the second. There were 156 subscribers, and it meant that he had to color 156 copies of 220 engravings or 34,320 plates.

Catesby's *Natural History* was not just a book of natural history plates; it was a scientific work that was used by Carl Linnaeus and other learned persons in the nascent field of American natural history. Catesby tells us that he named his birds after the English counterparts "with an additional epithet to distinguish them" and many of his vernacular names persist. His detailed descriptions included suitability for the English climate, as well as ecological and ethological commentary; William Sherard assisted by providing the Latin names. One must remember, Catesby's work was well before Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* which in 1758 laid the foundation for modern scientific nomenclature. Given Catesby's work was the earliest of its kind to describe colonial flora and fauna, the work of the British artist-naturalist became the basis for Linnaeus' North American species. Moreover, he often selected some descriptive word from Catesby's polynomial names in coining his own binomials, such as "migratorius" for the Robin; "cristatus" for the Blue Jay. (Stone, 450)

Peter Collinson was one of Catesby's initial subscribers. When the artist was working on his Appendix, he secured several interest-free loans from Collinson too. This arrangement was known, but solidified in Collinson's inscription in the opening pages of the patron's subscriber copy: "This Edition of this Noble Work is very Valuable, as it was highly Finish'd by the Ingenious Author who in Gratitude made Me This Present for the considerable sums of money I lent Him without Interest to enable Him to publish It, for the benefit of Himself & Family, Else Through Necessity, it must have fallen Prey to the Booksellers." Not surprisingly, the original watercolors by Mark Catesby in this collection more often than not correspond to the artist's engravings in the Appendix which was completed in the spring or early summer of 1747. Further, there are what maybe be early proofs of etchings by Catesby in the Collinson portfolio volume of watercolors and prints. Perhaps, Collinson also received both watercolors and trial proofs in return for his financial support.

WILLIAM BARTRAM
(AMERICAN, 1738-1823)

Joseph Kastner wrote in *A Species of Eternity* that George Fox, founder of Quakerism, "had urged gardening on his followers as a way whereby, through knowledge of nature, they could better know God's ways and purpose." (Kastner, 50) The Bartram family followed suit; this was never just about botany. It was about becoming closer to God through knowledge of his world, safeguarding God's creation, and elevating the art of nature to that of a secular masterpiece. John Bartram, the first American-born Quaker botanist, set the standard for future illustrious American naturalists. His son, William Bartram, the first American born natural history artist, was no exception.

William Bartram, affectionately called "Billy" by family and friends, was a creative, through and through, bred by the wonder of naturalism imparted by his mother Ann and renowned naturalist father, John Bartram. As a boy, Billy explored the meadows and gardens of his family's 100-acre farm set at the edge of the Schuylkill River. And, around the age of 12, he began accompanying his father on many of his travels to the Catskill Mountains, the New Jersey Pine Barrens, and New England. From his mid-teens, William became not only his father's chosen assistant but the sole illustrator of new colonial botany, ornithology, and on rare occasions animals that might charm the British naturalists for whom they collected. William did not enjoy the labor of botany – he enjoyed documenting their splendor. His botanizing strolls in nature presented him with an opportunity for thoughtful introspection, which he later expressed in the romantic prose of his *Travels*, and the prospect of discovering a new species or conveying a biome of flora and fauna. Even in his later years, he wrote with the humble tone of a servant of God. And, this was how he lived and worked – to express the awesome power of nature, which he translated to his imagery and poetic travel narrative.

William was by all accounts a quiet man, maybe an introvert by nature or a result of following in his father's shadow. He knew at an early age, as young as ten, that he wished to pursue as a career in botany and drawing. But his parents and mentors attempted to persuade him toward more stable professions. Initially, John Bartram, and his patron Peter Collinson, encouraged Billy as he documented flora and fauna encountered on various botanizing trips. John Bartram calling his son's hobby a "darling delight." Collinson provided Billy with paper and painting supplies through his father, "There is a Little Token to my pretty artist Billey His Drawings has been much admir'd & better then could be expected for his first Tryalls." (Peter Collinson to John Bartram August 10 1753) Likewise, John was proud of the praise that Collinson and friends offered for his son's work, "it gives me much satisfaction that billys drawings is so well received" (John Bartram to Peter Collinson March 6 1755). But something changed in 1755. John Bartram wrote to Peter Collinson's seeking advice regarding Billy's future: "My son William is just turned of sixteen it is now time to propose some way for him to get hims liveing by I don't want him to be what is commonly called a gentleman I want to put him to do some business by which he may with care & industry get a temperate reasonable liveing I am afraid Botany & drawing will not afford him one & hard labour does not agree with him." (John Bartram to Peter Collinson April 27 1755). Collinson attempted to persuade him toward a career in law, medicine, and eventually business.

Despite these bumps, William flourished in the mid-1750s continuing his trials and he benefited from formal training at the Philadelphia Academy under Charles Thomson and Johann Kramer. His father persisted to push him toward other endeavors but also acknowledged his skills, writing to Jane Colden that Billy's drawings were "very fine drawings... far beyond Catesbys." And, Collinson began to place him within the sphere of Europe's celebrated natural history artists, "[he] is an admirable painter of plants...He will soon be another Ehret, his performances are so elegant" (Peter Collinson to Carl Linneaus May 17, 1756).

Without question, William Bartram's significant accomplishments are his nature drawings made for English patrons. The first, being Bartram's earliest drawings completed in the American wilderness and painted for Peter Collinson in the early 1750s and 1760s. The second, the artist's late work for John Fothergill, now in the collection of the Natural History Museum, London. Joseph Ewan's exhaustive study of the Fothergill collection waxed poetic on Bartrams late work because it was a subject he could study closely. The artist's early work was cast as amateurish. However, his lesser-known drawings executed before his 1773-1777 trip in the southeast, provide the key to his worldview, artistic vision, and scientific contributions. This does not diminish the significance of the *Travels*, and the Fothergill drawings now in the British Museum. It elevates the present collection to a place of prominence as the evolutionary spark that would ignite Bartram's imaginative spirit. Without these early watercolors made for Collinson, the Fothergill watercolor and the prose of *Travels* would never have come to fruition.

Drawings painted for Collinson are the integral component of the Bartram's early development. There is no other early collection of the Bartram's early work of this scale in private or public hands. Viewed as a corpus, we see the artist shift from botanist apprentice toward his own enlightened Quaker world vision where flora and fauna exist in a harmonious environment. This disruption of traditional naturalist illustration developed because of the support of his trials by patrons like Peter Collinson and John Fothergill.

Peter Collinson was the most significant early mentor to William Bartram. We know he provided books and drawing materials for "Billy" early on. Writing to Benjamin Franklin regarding the contents of a package, "some School Book &c. for Billy Bartram" (Peter Collinson to Benjamin Franklin 26 January 1754) Peter Collinson circulated Billy's drawings amongst both learned scientists, such as Dr, Gronovius, contemportary artists such as Georg Ehret, and other enthusiasts such as the Duchess of Portland. However, the most important of the introductions Collinson made for William was that of Dr. John Fothergill. Fothergill eventually commissioned the Bartram watercolors now in the collection of the Natural History Museum, London, discussed in fully by Joseph Ewan' in *William Bartram Botanical and Zoological Drawings, 1756-1788*.

Through the substantial corpus of early drawings by William Bartram, including a plan of his father's house and garden, we see three distinct phases of Bartram's development: first trials, development of technique and vision, and his fully developed distinctive flair. Highlights include the full scope of Bartram's exploration of migratory birds, many of which were eventually borrowed by George Edwards in his extensive *Natural History* and *Gleanings*. Starting with what Marcus Simpson termed Bartram's "bonsai school of bird art," to a fully developed individual style that surpasses Catesby's static forms toward a more lifelike representations that foreshadow Alexander Wilson and later John James Audubon. Present too are capsule collections including migratory birds, oaks and maples, and ornamental garden flowers. By viewing Bartram's range from the early 1750s through the 1760s, one can grasp the nature of his development which eventually garnered him the ability to travel to the southeast. Even though Collinson had tried to persuade him otherwise, he wrote to Bartram in 1767:

> Yett as Wee all have our Diversions and Amusements, perhaps there is not any One in Which the Artist Exhibits Superior Talents than in Drawing & painting which must highly Gratifie an Ingenious Mind–When Art is arrived to Such perfection to Coppy Close after Nature, who can describe the pleasure, but them that feel it, to See the Moveing Pensil; display a Sort of paper Creation, which may Endure for Ages & transferr a name with Applause to Posterity.

When John Fothergill died, much of Bartram's commissions came to an end and he retired to his family home on the Schuylkill. While his artistic output lagged in these years, his contributions to the next generation of artists continued. He hosted the Benjamin Smith Barton, Charles Wilson Peale, William Dunlap, P.J.F. Turpin, and Jacques Milbert. Thomas Jefferson was clearly aware of his talents, suggesting Bartram as botanist for the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Bartram was open not only a naturalist but a friend to fellow artists. He freely provided both specimens and drawings to George Edwards, who credited him for Little Thrush, Myrtle Warbler, Golden-winged Warbler, Chestnut-sided Warbler, Little blue-grey flycatcher, White-throated sparrow, and Worm-eating warbler. (Ewan, 20) Late in life, he taught Alexander Wilson, whom George Ord identified as the "Father of American Ornithology," to draw birds. If Bartram had published his work, that illustrious title would have followed his name.

GEORG EHRET
(GERMAN, 1708-1770)

Georg Dionysius Ehret (1708-1770) was arguably the finest flower painter of eighteenth-century Europe. Ehret's work stands as a preeminent accomplishment of botanical art, and the reasons for this acclaim are immediately evident in the virtuoso draftsmanship and fine, nuanced coloring of his watercolors.

Born in Heidelburg to a market gardener, Ehret began his working life as a gardener's apprentice, eventually becoming a chief gardener for the Elector of Heidelburg and the Margrave of Baden, whose prize tulips, and hyacinths he painted. Ehret soon moved on to several cities across Europe, collecting eminent friends and important patrons as he traveled. His list of benefactors included the celebrated natural history enthusiasts of his day, among whom was Dr. Christopher Trew, a wealthy Nuremberg physician who became his lifelong patron, friend, and collaborator. From 1750 until Ehret's death in 1770, he and Trew collaborated on the publication of *Plantae Selectae* and *Hortus Nitidissimus,* both of which added to the rising acclaim for the artist's considerable talents as a botanical painter. Also, Ehret's admirers were the Parisian naturalist Bernard de Jussieu and the great Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus; Ehret's illustrations are some of the first works to reflect the Linnaean system of classification.

Ehret was one of the first artists to focus on exotic species from across the Atlantic, and his draftsmanship was so fine that his friend and colleague, the great artist-naturalist Mark Catesby, used at least three of the German painter's botanical illustrations for his seminal *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*. Today, Ehret's images are widely considered the most desirable to emerge from that monumental publication, and he collaborated with Catesby in other ways, too, in the compilation of the *Natural History*, offering advice or adding significant elements to Catesby's initial compositions. Catesby was influenced greatly by Ehret's accomplished style, especially in representing three-dimensionality, but the older artist was never able to attain the same high level of meticulous realism and vitality. Ehret, in turn, drew on a few Catesby's discoveries and observations in his own work. Unlike Catesby, Ehret was never able to travel to America but became fascinated with examples of New World flora that he saw in English natural history collections, such as that of Peter Collinson, a friend, and patron of both artists. Painted just at the time of the publication of Catesby's *Natural History*, the watercolors from Collinson's collection are spectacular early representations of American flora.

In England, where he eventually settled, Ehret became the only foreigner to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Though Ehret's work is best known through printed illustrations done in collaboration with Trew, even his impressive engravings cannot compare with the vibrancy, color, and detail of the original paintings. His distinctive style transcends scientific illustration, achieving a level of beauty that has rarely been equaled in the history of botanical art.

Georg Ehret was the most skilled artist Collinson relied on and he used him as an example for others. Writing to Cadwallader Colden, October 5, 1757, "I have in Mrs Alexanders Trunk Sent you the Herbals you wanted and putt in 2 or 3 of Erhetts Plants, for your Ingenious Daughter to take Sketches of the fine Turn of the Leaves &c. & Lin: Genera." (Peter Collinson to Cadwallader Colden, October 5, 1757)

GEORGE EDWARDS
(BRITISH, 1694-1773)

As a young man, George Edwards found himself in the company of the most influential natural historians, collectors and artists of the 18th-century. Among Edwards' first patrons was Sir Hans Sloane, he was taught to etch by the celebrated Mark Catesby (in 1754 he would publish the second edition of Catesby's *Natural History...*), he worked with the Bartrams of Philadelphia, and Carl Linnaeus in Sweden.

He is most famous for his book *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds - Gleanings of Natural History.* One of the most important of eighteenth-century natural history works, "at its date of issue, the *Natural History* and *Gleanings* was one of the most important of all bird books, both as a fine bird book and as a work of ornithology. It is still high on each list" (Sitwell). The first volume of *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds* was published to great acclaim in 1743, and gained him nomination for fellowship of the Royal Society although he withdrew his candidacy.

Second and third volumes of his *Natural History* followed in 1747 and 1750 which won him the coveted Copley medal of the Royal Society. The last volume appeared in 1751 at which time he stated that age and infirmity precluded further work. However, in 1758 he published the first volume of his *Gleanings of Natural History*, the second in 1760, after which he sold his entire portfolio to the Marquess of Bute, and retired to a house in Plaistow. From there he still visited the Royal Society and, stimulated by his drawings of South American birds captured from the French by Earl Ferrers, published a last volume of *Gleanings...* in 1764. It was hugely successful and went through a number of transformations while under Edwards' control, including the issuing of a French edition of the text.

In the preface to his *Natural History of Uncommon Birds*, Edwards wrote that he often elaborated the "Grounds" of his plates with additional flora and fauna. The intent was to avoid the stale sameness of previous ornithological illustrations, but such elaborations were also intended to make his etchings more "natural and agreeable," thereby transforming his illustrations into scenes the viewer might plausibly encounter. This attempt to naturalize the composition Edwards observed from both Catesby and Bartram. His process of painting was slightly more advanced than Catesby and Bartram who worked in the field. Writing:

> In order to procure Colours that will be exceedingly fine and run smooth... mix a little gummed Colour in a large Shell, and work it well with your Finger, and then thin it with Water, and let it settle a little, and by pouring a little off the Top of it into another clean Shell, you will procure a fine free working Colour, which you may make as light as you please by the Addition of Water. (Nelson and Elliott, 142)

George Edwards and Peter Collinson had a close working relationship. Collinson would invite Edwards to see his new and unusal birds and mammals. Edwards wrote as much in his *Gleanings* Plate 287 "The Small mud Tortoise, smelling strong of Musk, haveing a sharp horn pointed tayl from Pensilvania" (described on later pages of this catalog) "Here are three views of this Tortoise...It was sent from Pensilvania by Mr. Bartram to my worthy friend Peter Collinson, Esq.., F.R.S. who on all occasions is ready and willing to oblige me with the use of every new subject he receives from foreign countries." In turn, as was the case with Catesby, Collinson was instrumental in adding Edwards' works to important budding collections such as the Library Company Collection, Philadelphia via Bejamin Franklin (evidenced through his written exchanges with Franklin.)

Edwards was not exclusively interested in American colonial fauna. He also received new and unique specimens through captains of the East India Company and saw exotic imports in the collections of Charles Wager, Lord Petre, Sir Hans Sloane, and others.

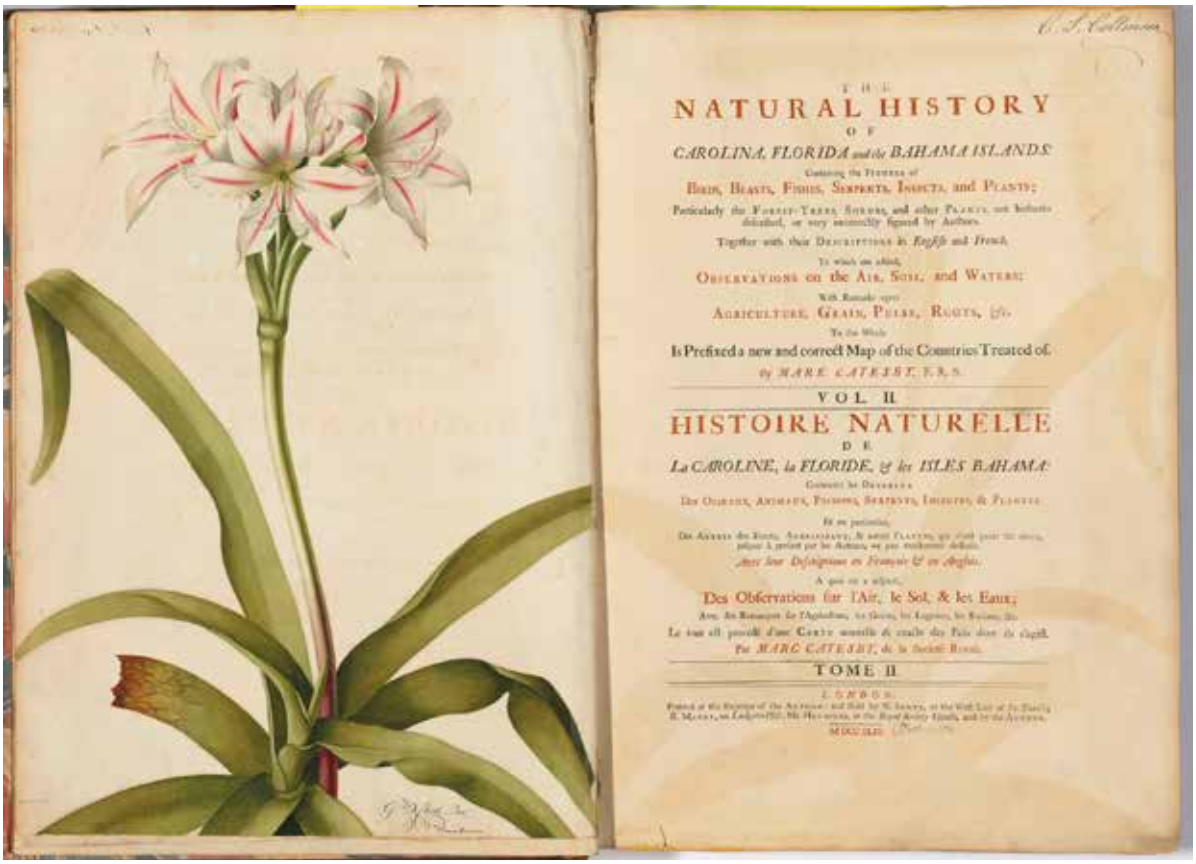


Fig. Volume I & II title pages with manuscript notations and extra-illustrated with prints and watercolors.

PETER COLLINSON'S
MARK CATESBY
THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CAROLINA, FLORIDA AND THE BAHAMA ISLANDS

This Edition of this Noble Work is Very Valuable, as it was highly Finished by the Ingenious Author which in Gratitude made Me This Present for the considerable sums of money Lent him without Interest to enable him to publish It for the benefit of Himself & Family, Else through Necessity, it must have fallen prey to the Booksellers.

- Peter Collinson

Each of the 160 subscribed copies of the first edition of this work were individually hand-colored by Catesby; no two are the same and only half of these sets remain extant. This unique extra-illustrated set presented by Mark Catesby to Peter Collinson, was bestowed to him as a result of the financial support he provided the artist.

Catesby's work is unequivocally the definitive guide to American colonial flora and fauna. The naturalist worked tirelessly in pursuit of a model combining a complete biome of American colonial natural history. During this period, artists working in the field presented each specimen in various stages expressed on one page; often showing seed, to bud, to bloom, to inevitable decay, and on some occasion the related insect life. The patron, or viewer, in turn used this image not only as a work of art but also as a visual aid directing them to a written description of the plant. For example, sometimes a Bartram seed subscriber would receive the seeds or cuttings, but they would lose leaves, or it would be dried on arrival. Peter Collinson would then refer people to Catesby's book, "I presume you have Mr Catesbys Natural History of Florida in which you will See the Trees & Shrubs Delineated in their Natural Colors." (Collinson to John Blackburne October 20, 1742).

Collinson's subscriber two-volume work is regarded by scholars as remarkable due to the twenty-two extra illustrations present. Collinson add both prints and watercolors by Mark Catesby, Georg Ehret, William Bartram, and others, and his own annotations to "update" Catesby's *Natural History*. The corpus of drawings, prints and manuscript commentary by Collinson, reflects an intimate network of connections between like-minded botanists, wealthy enthusiasts, and natural history artists that spans two continents. Historically, it reveals how the successful cultivation of plants in English gardens, sent by John Bartram and others from America, expanded the flora and fauna of Britain. Artistically, it is a record of artists and patrons working in tandem, including species not subsequently depicted in Catesby's publication. And, socially, it reveals the relationship between with Collinson and these artists in the development of gardens, the cultivation and exchange of plants and animal specimens.

Each watercolor image, inscription, and extra plate in these two volumes is identified and analyzed on the following pages.

TECHNICAL BOOK DESCRIPTION:

The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands: Containing the Figures of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, Insects, and Plants: Particularly, the ForestTrees, Shrubs, and other Plants, not hitherto described, or very incorrectly figured by Authors. Together with Their Descriptions in English and French. To which, are added Observations on the Air, Soil, and Waters: With Remarks upon Agriculture, Grain, Pulse, Roots &c. To the whole, Is Perfixed a new and correct Map of the Countries Treated of. by Mark Catesby, F.R.S. London: Printed at the Expence of the Author: and Sold by W. Inys and R. Manby, at the West End of St. Paul's, by Mr. Hauksbee, at the Royal Society House, and by the Author at Mr. Bacon's in Hoxton.

2 volumes, London 1731 and 1743, first edition, large Folio (529 x 363mm.). 18th-Century old russia, gilt edges, the spine in compartments lettered in gilt 'NAT HIST OF FLORIDA', 'VOL I' and 'NATURAL HIST OF FLORIDA', 'VOL II', Charles Streynsham Collinson's (Peter Collinson's grandson) bookplate on the front pastedown of vol. 1, and the 13th Earl of Derby's bookplate on front pastedown of vol. 2 (pasted over C.S. Collinson's bookplate), inscriptions 'Knowsley / Private Library East / North Bookcase C / Shelf 1. No. 4' and 'Knowsley /Private Library East / North Bookcase C / Shelf 1. No. 5'

Title-pages and text in English and French, text double-column, numbering of pages 101-120 in vol. 2 erased to read 1-20. 220 handcolored etched plates by Catesby and Ehret (plates 10 and 11 in vol. 2 bound in reverse), with engraved map, extra-illustrated (with plates and original drawings by Mark Catesby, Georg Dionysius Ehret, William Bartram and others), presentation copies to the author's patron and sponsor Peter Collinson, inscriptions on the front free endpaper of volume 1 (transcribed below) and the title page "This Edition of this Noble Work is very Valuable, as it was highly Finish'd by the Ingenious Author who in Gratitude made Me This Present for the considerable sums of money I lent Him without Interest to enable Him to publish It, for the benefit of Himself & Family, Else Through Necessity, it must have fallen Prey to the Booksellers. Peter Collinson F.R.S. S.A.S A.R.S. Sveccia Socius", and "C.S. Collinson" (ownership inscription), "P.Collinson" and "C.S. Collinson" (ownership inscriptions) on the title page of volume 2, this copy with two single dedication leaves in English: "To the Queen" in vol. 1 and "To...the Princess of Wales" in vol. 2, list of subscribers following the dedication in vol. 2, the 3-leaf Index to both volumes, in English, French and Latin, following "An Account of Carolina" (numbered i-xliv), a 20-page Appendix (pp. 1-20) and its single Index leaf (in English and Latin, with a list of the plates in French) at end of vol. 2.

100 handcolored etched plates in volume 1 by Catesby, the majority signed with his monogram in the plates; extra-illustrated with frontispiece, a handcolored etched plate after Georg Dionysius Ehret (Magnolia; Altissima Lauro-Cerassi folio, flore ingenti candido, Catesb Commonly call'd the Laurel-Leaved Tulip Tree or Carolina Laurel. This Plant Produced it's [sic] beautifull Flowers in ye Garden of SR Charles Wager at Parson's Green near Fulham Augt 1737.); an original watercolor by William Bartram of a marsh hawk from North America inserted between plates 4 and 5; two original watercolors, unsigned, of a bird on a flowering branch and a moth, stuck down on page 62; five loosely inserted handcolored etched plates (pls. 24, 26, 29, 30 and 55) margins trimmed; manuscript annotation regarding the nesting habits of flamingos by Catesby on p.73 ("Capt Dampier found plenty of Flamingoes in the Isle of Salt in 16 degs: N: Latitude A Cape Verd Island they Build their nests with Mudd in Watry places ... I saw a great many of these Birds at the Isle of Rio La Hacha near the Continent of America opposite to Curacao."), and manuscript annotation by Collinson(?) on p.97 ("These Ducks have bred for some years at the Duke of Argyles at Witton near Hounslow – an: 1753.")

120 handcolored etched plates in volume 2 by Catesby, the majority signed with his monogram in the plates, 61 (Magnolia altissima), 80 (Magnolia) and 96 (Prunus maritima racemosa) in vol. 2 by Georg Dionysius Ehret; handcolored engraved folding map (A Map of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands with the Adjacent Parts.) bound into vol. 2 after plate 100 and before the Account; extra-illustrated with a handcolored etched plate (Papaya mas Boerth. Ind) by Georg Dionysius Ehret, 1742, laid down on the verso of the second front free

endpaper; a frontispiece (an original watercolor of a lily from Guinea by Georg Dionysius Ehret); an original watercolor by Ehret annotated by Collinson laid down on p.85; 21 further original watercolors by Ehret and Catesby (extensive inscriptions by Collinson and others) together with three etched plates bound in before the Appendix; various manuscript annotations by Collinson throughout, including transcription "From John Bartram's Letter Penselvania [sic] May 27: 1753 – On Frogs …" on the reverse of plate 72

"The Ingenious Author Mr. Mark Catesby was born of a Gentleman's Family at Sudbury in Suffolk; some of his Family being settled in Virginia, and having himself a turn of mind to Natural History, went over there to see his sister & improve his Genius; From thence he travelled to Carolina, Bahama Islands, &c. and painted all the Subjects's from the Life – at his return the subscription being at an end – He was at a great loss how to Introduce this valuable work to the World, until he met with a friend* to assist and promote his views – he learned to Engrave and Coloured all himself – Yet it proved so very expensive, that he was many years in accomplishing the Work – being himself the principle operator; so noble and so accurate in performance, began and finished by one hand, is not to be paralell'd – but it afforded a Subsistence to himself – his Wife and 2 Children to his Death, & his Widow subsisted on the Sale of it for about 2 Years afterwards – then the Work, &c. sold for 400£ and about 200 more left by the Widow was divided between the two Children – a Son and a Daughter – Peter Collinson. F.R.S. P.Collinson –" (Peter Collinson's inscription on the front free endpaper of volume 1)

PROVENANCE:
A presentation copy from the author to Peter Collinson (1694-1768), and thence by descent to his grandson Charles Streynsham Collinson (1753-1834); (†) sale, Ipswich, 21 July 1834 ('to a London bookseller for £15.10s.)*.

Aylmer Bourke Lambert (1761-1842); (†) sale, S. Leigh Sotheby, 26 Lower Grosvenor Street (the residence of the late Mr Lambert), London, 18-20 April, 1842 (Catalogue of the valuable botanical library of the late A.B. Lambert, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c, of Boyton House, Wiltshire), lot 183 ('Catesby's (Mark) Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, many plates, beautifully colored by the author, 2 vol. atlas folio, very fine copy, in old russia, gilt leaves *** This was a presentation copy to Peter Collinson, Esq. F.R.S., who has written a short account of the author and the work, – Vide first leaf in vol. 1.') Edward Smith Stanley, 13th Earl of Derby (1775-1851), and thence by descent to the present owner, the 19th Earl of Derby.

*The early provenance noted in Dawson Turner's Extracts from the literary and scientific correspondence of Richard Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., Yarmouth, 1835, pp.401-2, note 1 ("During the time that I have been amusing myself with making selections from, and annotations on, the Richardson Correspondence, the very fine library of the late Mr. Charles Collinson, of the Chantry, Ipswich, has been dispersed by auction. The sale took place 21st July, 1834. The library was principally that of Peter Collinson, Esq.; and, among other works of high price, it included Catesby's Carolina, in which Mr Collinson had made the following remarks:- "Mr. Mark Catesby, the author of this book, was born at Sudbury in Suffolk. This copy of this noble work is very valuable; as it was highly finished by the ingenious author, who, in gratitude, made me this present …" … For the lovers of Bibliography, it may be well to add, that this precious copy, bound in Russia, and illustrated with twenty-two original drawings by George Edwards, Ehret, and Bartram, was purchased at the sale by a London bookseller for £15.10s., and is now well-placed in the excellent botanical library of my friend, Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq.")

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
A flowering plant from China [Camellia Japonica, or Tsubaki Flower]
extensively inscribed 'This Curious & beautifull plant was brought with another that bears / a white Flower In Potts From China in the year 1739 / By – Capt ... Given to Lord Petre and flowerd in Augst 1740 in his Stoves these fine plants are are mention'd by Docr Kempfer in his Amoene= / =tatum Exoticanam folio 852 – it is by its seed Vessel and that with single flower recon'd a Species of tea - & by the / Chinese called (Swa Tee) ... These two plants was Grafted – very artificaly & probably on / on that wth: a single Flower – for Double Flowers rarely bear / seed / 1745. Capt: Goss att Enfeild Has a Tree with a white Flower which is in /great Health and Flowers Annually is kept in the Green House in / Winter For want of knowing their proper Culture those att Lord Petre / was Lost being kept in the warmest stoves wch proved to Hott for them' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'PRO PATRIA'
11 ¼ x 8 1in.
In volume II
[c. 1740]

MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)

A flowering plant from China [Camellia Japonica, or Tsubaki Flower]

extensively inscribed "This curious and beautiful plant was brought with another that bears a white flower In Potts From China In the year 1739 By Capt [indecipherable] Given to Lord Petre and Flowered on Augst 1740 in his stoves. These fine plants are ment'd by Dcr Kempter in his Amoene=Tatum Exoticanum folio 852 – it is by its seed Vessel and that with single Flower secon'd a Species of Tea & by the Chinese called (Swa Tee) Butt the Japanese [indecipherable] Tsubaki, Hortensis flore pleno Maximo Roses (?) Hortensis palmaris Diametric plene Meacasmato Albisque maculis Sparfum Intermicantibas Variegato

Think two plants was Grafted – very artificially & probably on that with a single Flower for Double Flowers rarely bear seed.

1745 Capt Goss att Enfield Has a tree with the white flower which is in great health and flowers annually is kept in the greenhouse in Winter For want of knowing their proper Culture those att Lord Petre was Lost being kept in the warmest stoves which proved to Hott for them."

(by Peter Collinson) on the reverse

watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'PRO PATRIA'

11 ¼ x 8 1in.

In volume II

[c. 1740]

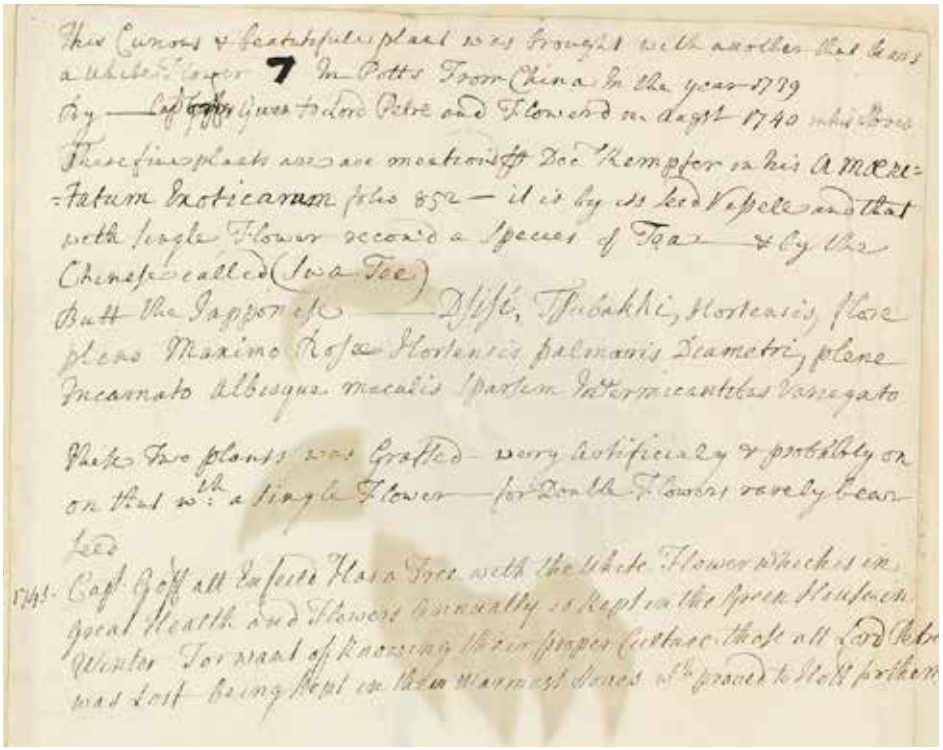


Fig. Collinson's manuscript notes on the verso of *A flowering plant from China [Camellia Japonica, or Tsubaki Flower]*

Mark Catesby painted this "flowering plant from China" at Lord Petre's garden in the early 1740s. Collinson's notes inscribed on this watercolor recount two locations where the "Swa-tea" was present: the gardens of Lord Petre and Capt Goff.

Lord Petre was a supporter of Catesby and subscriber to the Bartram-Collinson seed exchange. He is perhaps best known for his early introduction of Camellia japonica, which flowered in 1740, per a correspondence between Peter Collinson and Sir Hans Sloane. Collinson wrote,

> [I] will send you a painting [by Ehret] of a Curious plant From China. It has Shining Evegreen Bay Like Leaves and Bears Large Double Crimson Flowers and another Bears Double White Flowers [Camilla sinensis]. These are great Rarities, and what is very remarkable they are both very Skillfully Enarched [grafted], but on what Stocks we cannot tell. Probably being Double Flowers they bear no Seed, so know no other ways to Increase them.
> The flower Budds as you will see by the Inclosed are very much Like the Cistus Ledon, but the Flower when open is as Large as the aethe a freux by Double. [Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane ca. 1740 (Armstrong, 87)

And in a second letter to Sloane shortly after, "Dr. Delenius writes mee the Lrd Petre China Flower (Camellia) is call'd by the Chinese (Swa Tea) and Kempner has well Discribed and figur'd It in his Aoemetis Exoticas (as Tsbekki, its Japanese name)].

Lord Petre's tea tree was, in fact, not the only one growing in England in the early 1740s. Captain Harry Gough, formerly Chairman of the Court of Directors to the British East India Company, also had a thriving specimen around 1740. Collinson also noted this in a letter to Richard Richardson August 12, 1742, "I tell you a curiosity I saw at Capt Goffs [Gough], and East India [Company] Director, the true Tea Tree in great Health. It was brought 2 or 3 years ago, a present from China to his wife. It is an Evergreen. It is housed with the orange Trees, for it grows on the more northerly Parts of China & Japan, about the Latitude of 40 Degg North."

While the camellia tea tree was an open secret in the small botanist group of British elite, it was not widely known by other European naturalists. Because in August 1763, Carl Linnaeus triumphantly took delivery, from the East Indies, a tea-tree to his botanical garden in Uppsala. However, the claim was disputed immediately in a letter to Linnaeus from John Ellis, "You delight me in telling me of your success in getting a living and thriving plant of the Tea tree from China. Our friend Peter Collinson says, he has seen two plants, about 25 years ago, in England, which grew freely and blossomed; but they were destroyed through the ignorance of a gardener." (Ellis to Linnaeus, 29 May 1763) Interestingly, Ellis' letter repeats the same story that Collinson inscribes on Mark Catesby's drawing; the tree was subsequently destroyed by hot stoves.

Perhaps sensing the need to exert some territorial claim, Collinson presented a paper at the Society for the Encouragement of Art, Manufacture, and Commerce in 1763, encouraging American colonial growth of the tea tree. Writing in November 1763, just several months after Linnaeus' claim:

> no vegetable Production deserves more our Care and Culture, than the Tea Tree, for which we may annually such Immense sums. The Province in which the Tea grows in China is so near in the Latitude of West Florida that there is not the least Reason to doubt its thriving well in that Country. But as the introducing of this valuable Plant will be a Work of Time, it is very requisite that a Garden be settled and in some Order to receive it, well and securely fenced, and under the Direction of a Person skilled in the Culture and increasing of it, for it some years before a Stock can be raised to supply the Publick."

With this idea Collinson expanded his colonial dream of producing all the exotic production they currently imported from Asia, "Cotton, Indigo, Opium, and Rice... as the producing of Silk in our Colonies is of such great Importance to the Interest and Trade of Great Britain. (Armstrong, 251)

As the Collinson and Ellis correspondence implies, the knowledge of the tea plant was in itself a form of grand bravado. This early watercolor by Mark Catesby is undoubtedly the most formally arranged and finished depiction of this shrub during the short life cycle in England. Georg Ehret also painted this flower in 1741, in a sketchbook for Sir Hans Sloane, now in the botany library at the Natural History Museum, London. However, neither of these works were for public view. It was George Edwards' description of the camellia in *A Natural History of Birds* that brought knowledge of the Camilla tea plant to a broader audience. Edwards wrote,

> The flower here figured by way of decoration is called the Chinese Rose. I drew it from nature; it is what we see most frequently painted in Chinese pictures; it blows broader than a rose and is of red rose colour, with the stems in the middle of a yellow or gold colour. The green leaves are stiff, firm and smooth, like those of evergreens. This beautiful flowering tree was raised by the late curious and noble Lord Petre, in his stoves at Thorndon Hall in Essex.

It seems all three artists visited Petre's garden around the same time. Petre died in 1742, and his garden fell into disarray within six years of his passing.

For reference: The "peacock pheasant from China," from Edwards' *Natural History*..

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
Calicolus Maria [Calceolus Orchid]
inscribed 'This Curious Calicolus Maria was sent by John Bartram from Pensilvania and Flower'd att / Peckham May 25th 1740' (by Peter Collinson) (on the lower edge)
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper
12 7/8 x 10in.
In volume II
[c. 1740]

ENGRAVED:
Natural History, II, Appendix, pl.3, with "The Razor-billed Black-bird of Jamaica" ('The plant produces the most elegant flower of all the Helleborine tribe, and is in great esteem with the North-American Indians for decking their hair &c. They call it the Mocassin flower, which also signifies, in their language, a Shoe, or Slipper.)
There is a variant by Catesby ('Calceolus, flore maximo rubente, Vespa ichneumon tripilis Pensilvaniensis') in the Royal Collection (RL 26069), showing the same plant, with two insects.

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A superb drawing of a pink lady slipper with long, fleshy, pointed leaves.

This example is closely related to a watercolor, *Calceolus, flore maximo rubente, Vespa ichneumon tripilis Pensilvaniensis* c.1722-26, by Mark Catesby in the collection at Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

Catesby called it "The Moccasin Flower," writing in his *Natural History*, Appendix plate 3: "This Plant produces the most elegant flower of all the Hellborine tribe, and is in great esteem with the North American Indians for decking their Hair, &c, they call it Moccasin flower, which also signifies in their language a Shoe, or Slipper."

For reference: "The Razor-billed Black-bird of Jamaica" *Natural History*, II, Appendix, pl.3

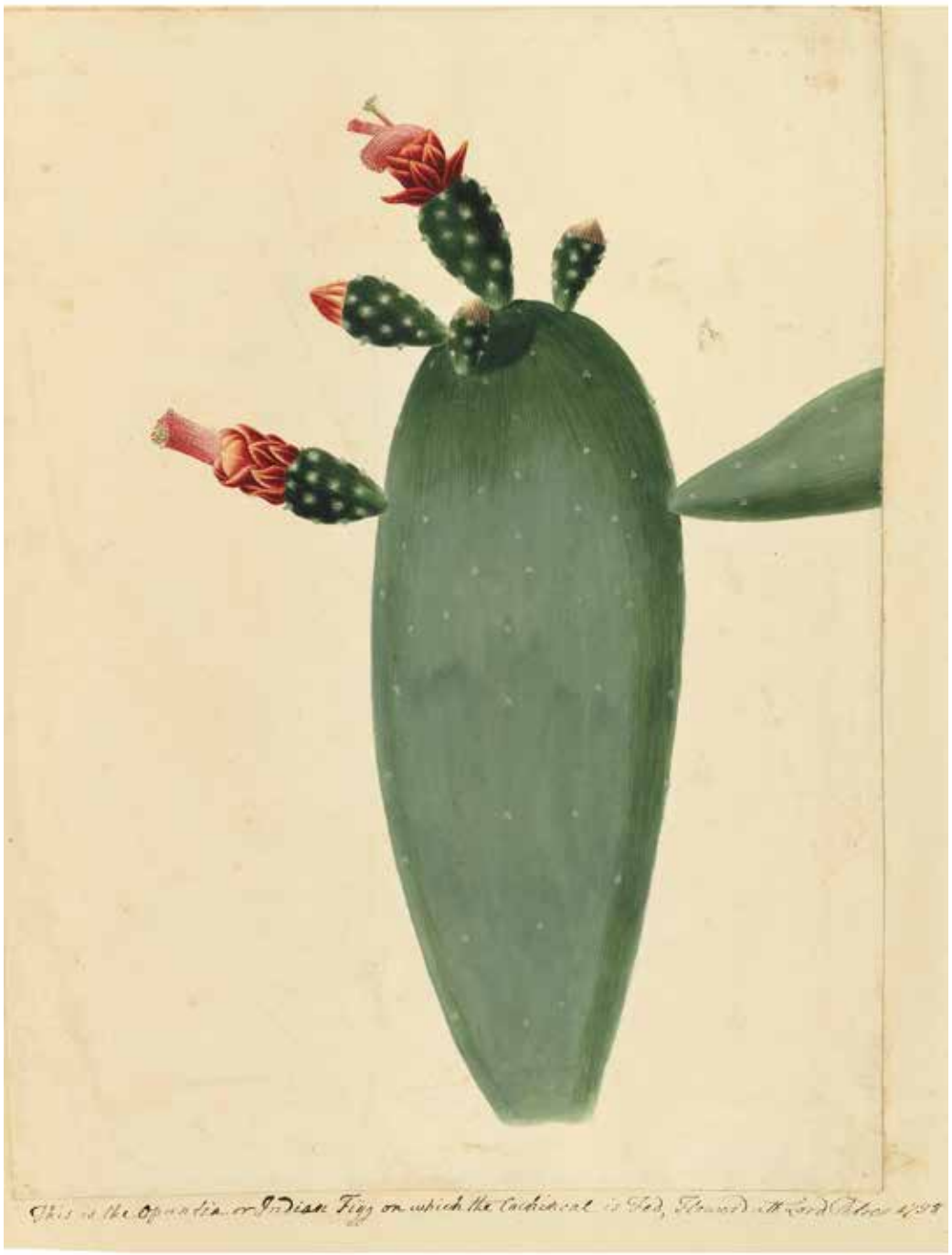

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
Opuntia Indian Fig
Inscribed 'This is the Opuntia or Indian Figg on which the cochineal is Fed, Flower'd att Lord Petres 1738' (by Peter Collinson) on the mount
watercolor and bodycolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys in a shield
14 x 10 ½ in.
In volume II
[c. 1738]

Illustrated in Henrietta McBurney Ryan, *Illuminating Natural History The Art and Science of Mark Catesby*.

Mark Catesby did not include a cactus species in his *Natural History*. However, it must have been on his mind as he worked on the Appendix given that he painted three images of cacti which were owned by Peter Collinson.

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Opuntia ficus-indica, the prickly pear, likely originated in the southwest of the United States due to the fact that its close genetic relatives are found in central Mexico. The plant flowers in three distinct colors: white, yellow, and red. The flowers first appear in early May through the early summer in the Northern Hemisphere, and the fruits ripen from August through October. The fruit has a taste similar to sweet watermelon.

The genus name Opuntia was used in antiquity by the Roman writer Pliny and others, but there is uncertainty as to which plant Opuntia referred. The modern use of the name as a cactus began with Philip Miller. Miller wrote of the Opuntia Vulgaris (The common Opuntia, or Indian Fig) in his 1768 *Gardner's Dictionary*:

> I received some branches of this sort from Mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S. who assured me they were sent him from Newfoundland, where the plants grow naturally, which is much farther to the north than it was before known to grow; and how it endures the cold of that country is inconceivable, for though the plants will live abroad in England, in a warm situation and dry soil, yet in severe winters, they are generally destroyed, if they are not protected from the frost.

We know from a letter between John Ellis, Esq to Peter Wych, Esq in 1762, that the Cactus Opuntia or Indian Fig could be found in "South Carolina and Georgia, where it is native and grows in great plenty" an example of which Ellis had received from his friend Alexander Garden in Charleston, SC." (Ellis letter, RS). However, Miller's description was probably correct; Lord Petre, probably housed this plant amongst the other tropicals in his greenhouse warmed by a pineapple stove.

Collinson likely did not receive this plant in his own garden until the 1750s. He wrote Cadwallader Colden in September 1753, "I wish for Some plants of your Small opuntia or prickly pear. I apprehend this is the most northern Situation it is found growing in. If the Leaves are putt on a small Box wrap'd up in Dry Moss & naild up or Tied up will come very well by the Spring ship." (Peter Collinson to Cadwallader Colen September 1, 1753.)

Note, Collinson owned more than one image of the Opuntia. There is a second image of this plant in Collinson's commonplace book titled "Paintings of Birds and Flowers," the image and description is towards the end of this catalog.

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
Flowering cactus
Numbered '758.' (upper right) and inscribed 'by Catesby' (by Peter Collinson) (lower right)
Watercolor and bodycolor heightened with white on laid paper
9 x 10 13/16 in
In volume II

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
New Lily [Lilium Augustifolium]
inscribed 'M: Catesby. Pinxit' (by Peter Collinson) (lower right) extending over the mount, inscribed 'This new and Pretty Lillie comes up with a very Hairy Head before it opens it Flower/ was sent by J: Bartram from Pensilvania it Flowerd June. 7. 1740' (by Peter Collinson) on the mount, inscribed 'flowerd / June 7th: 1740 from Pensilvania' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper
14 ¼ x 10 ½in.
In volume II
[c. 1740]

ENGRAVED:
Natural History, II, Appendix, p.161, pl.8 (' ... The American Swallow. ... Lilium augustifolium, florerubro singulari. The red Pensylvanian Lily. ...')

LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.52 (illustrated).

There is a variant by Catesby (*Lilium augistifolium, flore rubro singulari*) in the Royal Collection (RL 26074).

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watercolor on laid paper
14 ¼ x 10 ½in.
In volume II
[c. 1740]

ENGRAVED:
Natural History, II, Appendix, p.161, pl.8 (The American Swallow... The red Pensylvanian Lily)

LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.52 (illustrated).
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Catesby wrote of this red lily as it appeared on the plate 8 of the Appendix of his *Natural History...* alongside the American Swallow. He described the singular red lily:

> THIS Lily rises from the ground with one, two, or three straight stalks, each of them bearing a single flower at the height of about sixteen inches. The leaves are narrow, and stained at their ends with purple. The flower consists of a pointal and six stamina, rising from the center of six deep scarlet petals spotted with very dark red or purple, and their back-sides covered with hairy roughness, as is also the upper-part of the stalk. It is a native of Pensilvania, and blossom'd in Mr. Peter Collinson's garden at Peckham, Anno 1743.

Natural History, II, Appendix, p.161, pl.8 ("The American Swallow... The red Pensylvanian Lily")

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
The climbing Apocinon
inscribed 'Flowerd att Ld: Petres Augst 25th. 1740 It is a Climber apocinon or Periploca' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
13 x 10 5in. (33.9 x 26.8cm.)
In volume II
[1740]

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inscribed 'Flowerd att Ld: Petres Augst 25th. 1740 It is a Climber apocinon or Periploca' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
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In volume II
[1740]

The inscription here indicates the climbing Apocinon flowered at Lord Petres in 1740. Petre likely received his roots or seeds of this plant around 1736 or 1737, the year his friend Peter Collinson received a root of this plant from the colonies. Petre had begun to add new species to his garden in 1736, placing this plant in the early years of the garden development at Thorndon. By 1740, the year Mark Catesby drew this watercolor, Petre had over 4900 varieties in his garden collection.

Collinson requested a root of the Apocinon in a letter to John Bartram on January 20, 1735: "Send Mee a good Root of the Swallow wort or Apocinon with narrow Leaves & orange Colour'd flowers." (Armstrong, 26)

Given this was early in his relationship with Bartram, Collinson also wrote to his old friend John Custis in Virginia to request the same plant January 25, 1736: "The Mountain or Orange Flower was very Acceptable I have formerly had it. Its Bottanic Name is Dogs Bane, being a Deadly poison to that Animal, Wee call it 'Apocinon,' with narrow Leaves & Orange Coloured flowers it is a pretty plant. There is great Variety of this species."

The root arrived to Collinson in the spring of 1736, he wrote to Bartram in June of that year thanking him:

> The climbing Apocinon that thee sent – the pods filled with silk – the seeds are come up. There is a great variety of plants, on the continent, that bear seed-vessels of the same figure and consistence; these are all Apocinons, and have particular distinctions, from the colour of the flower, shape of the leaf, or particular growth of the plant. One would conceive, from the great provision made (by our all-wise Creator) for the spreading of this plant. It was designed for particular uses to mankind; for every seed has a silken thrum fixed to it, sufficient to keep it floating in the air, and when the pod bursts, then the wind conveys the seed to all quarters. (Memorials of John Bartram, 78)

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
The Red-billed Tropicbird; Atlantic Puffin
inscribed as titled, inscribed 'These 2 birds Seeme to be of an Equal Magnitude near as large as a Tame duck, The tropick bird is / Different from that Discribed by Willoby in that it hath not Transverce lines all Over the back / as that is figured and discribed to have, so I take it, it may be That which follows it which is / more Breefly Discribed. Willo Page 331 The unsene parts are all white in the Tropick / bird' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys above a shield
10 1/8 x 17 ¼in.
In volume II

MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
The Red-billed Tropicbird; Atlantic Puffin
inscribed as titled, inscribed 'These 2 birds Seeme to be of an Equal Magnitude near as large as a Tame duck, The tropick bird is / Different from that Discribed by Willoby in that it hath not Transverce lines all Over the back / as that is figured and discribed to have, so I take it, it may be That which follows it which is / more Breefly Discribed. Willo Page 331 The unsene parts are all white in the Tropick / bird' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys above a shield
10 1/8 x 17 ¼in.

The red-billed tropic bird on the left of the page is similar in presentation to a Red-billed tropic bird, by Mark Catesby in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

Mark Catesby wrote of a "Tropick Bird" in his *Natural History*... Appendix, plate 13:

> The tail of this Bird is generally, tho' erroneously, reported by unobserving Mariners to consist of but one feather. Mr. Willoughby's description of it, tho' very particular, was from a dried case of the Bird, which, by being deceptive, seems to be the cause why his description differs somewhat from ours, which was made from the living Bird. The legs in his, by long keeping, had last their red colour, which all that I have seen, while living, have. The Bird is about the size of a partridge, and have very long wings. The bill is red, with an angle under the lower mandible like those of the Gull kind, of which it is a species. The eyes are encompassed with black, which ends in a point towards their ends, are black, tipt with white; all the rest of the Bird is white, except the back, which is variegated with curved lines of black. The legs and feet are of vermillion red. The toes are webbed. The tail consists of two long straight narrow feathers, almost all of equal breadth from their quills to their points.

Catesby spoke of a tropic bird on February 18, 1747 before the Royal Society in relation to his Appendix plates: "Avis Tropicorum. The Tropic Bird. The name of these birds seem to imply the limits of their abode; for they are not often seen much North or South of the tropics; yet are they seen all over the oceans within those limits, from the continent of the old to the new world, and are very remarkable and different from all other birds, in have a tail consisting only of two very long narrow feathers. The whole bird is white, except the bill and legs and feet, which are red, and about the eyes, and near the tips of the wings are spots of black." (A Continuation of an Account..., 165-166)

The Atlantic Puffin is a rare example by Mark Catesby. This image may be one of three images the artist planned for the Appendix (see Catesby's advertisement for the appendix on the following page) but never engraved as a plate. Catesby referred to this image as "Auk" in his advertisement for the Appendix. The Penguin, on the following page, was also intended for the Appendix but never realized in print.

For reference: *Natural History*, Appendix, plate 13 "Tropick Bird."

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Part now publiſh'd, of the *Natural Hiſtory* of *Florida* and *Carolina*, concludes 200 Plates, which are all that were at firſt deſigned; but with what remains of the Collection I brought from *America*, and an Addition of other non-deſcript Animals and Plants, received ſince from that Part of the World: I have now by me ample Materials for another Set of Twenty Plates, which, if approv'd of, I deſign to add by Way of *Appendix*. This however need not obſtruct the immediate Binding of both Volumes, for by leaving a ſmall Vacancy at the End of the Second Volume, with Guards for fifteen Sheets, they may be inſerted without any Defacement, or being perceived.

This additional Part of the Collection conſiſts of ſuch curious Subjects, that for the Reputation of the Work, I am loath to omit, and for no other Reaſon.

PARTICULARS as under.

ANIMALS.

BISON Americanus. The Buffello of *America.*
Lepus Javenſis. The *Javan* Hare.
Perdix ſilveſtris Americanus. The Partridge of *America.*
Lagopus. A Kind of Heathcock.
Penguin. A particular Species.
Alka. A Species of the Auk.
Hirundo cauda aculeata Americana.
Pittrel, or Storm Finch.

Avis Tropicorum. The Tropick Bird.
Ardea criſtata maxima Americana. The largeſt Heron.
Regulus Criſtatus Americanus. The Golden Crown'd Wren.
Anas, &c. A beautiful Duck from *Newfoundland.*
Fiſh in Armour, it being covered with Bone.
A monſtrous Fiſh.
Salamandra maculata. A ſpotted Eft.

INSECTS.

Scolopendra.
Scarabæi.
Blattæ.

Veſpæ-ichneumones.
Formicæ.
Chegoes, &c.

VEGETABLES.

COCAO, or Chocolate Plant.
Volubilis ſiliquoſa Mexicana, Vanelles.
Anacardium, Acajou.
Lilium Attamaſco, *Indis dictum.*
Lilium rubrum minimum.
Lilio-Narciſſus Polianthos flore albo.
Flos paſſionis flore elevato ſuavè rubente fructu hexagono rufo, folio bicorni abſque angulo prominente in medio.
Ficus Citrii folio fructu parvo purpureo.

Chryſanthemum Martigonis foliis, floribus ramoſis.
Iſora Althææ folio non ſerrato fructu longiore & Anguſtiore.
Calceolus flore maximo rubente purpureis venis notato foliis amplis hirſutis venoſis radice Dentis Canini.
Pſeudo-Acacia Hiſpida floribus roſeis.
Chamærhododendron Americanum.
Magnolia affinis.
Hamamelis. Gronov.

For reference: Advertisement for Mark Catesby's *Natural History* Appendix.
The two items marked in red on the left "Penguin" and "Auk" were never included in the final engraved Appendix. However, Catesby's original drawings intended for the appendix are present here.
The two items marked in blue on the right were included in the engraved Appendix, and the watercolors are present in this collection. The tropic bird is in the extra-illustrated *Natural History*, and the *Fish in Armour* is in the commonplace book.

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
The Megellanic Penguin (juvenile plumage)
inscribed 'Penguin' on the reverse, inscribed "The Penguin is a Fowl that lives by catching and eating of Fish, which he dives for, and is / very nimble in the Water; he is as big as a Brant=Goose; and weighs near about eight Pounds / they have no Wings, but flat Stumps like Fins; their coat is a downy stumped Feather; they are blackish Grey on the Backs and Heads; & white about their Necks & Down their bellies; they are short / legg'd like a Goose, and stand upright like little Children in white Aprons, in companies together, they are full neck'd, and headed and beaked like a Crow, only the Point of thr. Bill turns down a little, they will bite hard / but are very tame & will drive in Herds to yr. Boat Side like sheep, & there you may knock 'em on ye head all one after anothr. / found in Great Quantitie / on Penguin Island near / the Streights of Magelan" on the mount
watercolor on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
15 ½ x 10in
In volume II
[c. 1740]

MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
The Megellanic Penguin (juvenile plumage)
inscribed 'Penguin' on the reverse, inscribed "The Penguin is a Fowl that lives by catching and eating of Fish, which he dives for, and is / very nimble in the Water; he is as big as a Brant=Goose; and weighs near about eight Pounds / they have no Wings, but flat Stumps like Fins; their coat is a downy stumped Feather; they are blackish Grey on the Backs and Heads; & white about their Necks & Down their bellies; they are short / legg'd like a Goose,
and stand upright like little Children in white Aprons, in companies together, they are full neck'd, and headed and beaked like a Crow, only the Point of thr. Bill turns down a little, they will bite hard / but are very tame & will drive in Herds to yr. Boat Side like sheep, & there you may knock 'em on ye head all one after anothr. / found in Great Quantitie / on Penguin Island near / the Streights of Magelan" on the mount
watercolor on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
15 ½ x 10in
In volume II
[c. 1740]

Information procured from British collections such as Collinsons' was readily shared between naturalists privately, and publicly printed in magazines. This accounts for similarity in imagery and text written by contemporary naturalists.

Mark Catesby did not include a penguin in his famed *Natural History.* But, according to his advertisement for the Appendix, he intended to. Thus, we do not have a record of Catesby discussing this bird, Catesby surely sought out new and unusual species procured by his patron, Peter Collinson. The manuscript notes by Collinson (below the watercolor) compare the size of the bird to a goose and relay presumptions about the origin of the bird on Penguin Island in the straits of Magellan. For the description, he likely relied upon the same source George Edwards used for the description of plate 49, "The Penguin," in A *Natural History of Uncommon Birds*:

> "This Bird is about the Bigness of a common tame Goofe and is suppos'd when it cometh to Land to walk in this erect Posture, by reason of the backward Situation of the Legs. Voyagers who have seen this Bird, report it to walk erect; the Bill is not very long nor depress'd like a Goose but rather compress'd sideways; the Corners of the Mouth are pretty deep and reach almost: under the Eyes ; in the upper Mandible on each Side, is a Cleft or Groove, the Feathers of the Head pointing on each Side of the Bill, and cover the Nostrils the Bill is of a red Colour; the fore part of the Head, all round the Bill, and as far as the Eyes, is of a dirty Brown; the back Part of the Head, upper Part of the Neck and Back are of a dark dirty purplish Colour, covered with very small stiff Feathers, not easily ruffled or disorder'd, appearing more like the Scales of Serpents than Feathers; the under Side of the Neck, Breast, Belly, and Sides under the Wings are white, compos'd of Feathers more agreeing with the common Make and Appearance of Feathers, yet lying pretty clofe and firm ; the Wings are small and flat, like little Boards or Paddles, of a brown Colour; both above and beneath, they are cover'd with Feathers so stiff and small, that a flight Observer might take them for Shagreen, that Part which answers the Tips of the Quills in other Wings, is white; it hath no appearance of a Tail, except a few short black Bristles on the Rump; the Legs are short; it hath three Toes standing forward, and webbed together as in Goose, the inner of these Toes having a Fin or lateral Membrane within-side; a very small fourth Toe loose from the other three, standing forward and within the innermost of the other three, contrary to any thing in the Feet of Birds I have yet seen; the Legs and Feet are of a dirty red Colour, armed with pretty long sharp brown Claws; the hind Part of the Legs and Bottoms of the Feet, are Black.

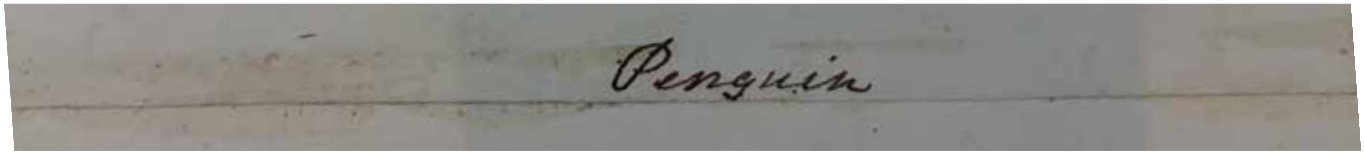


Fig. "Penguin" written on the verso of Catesby's watercolor.

This Bird was lent me by Mr. Peter Collinson; he could not tell from whence it came. I find them mention'd chiefly by Voyagers to the Straights of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope. In Sir Thos Roe's Voyage to India, I find this Account : 'On the Isle of Penguin 'is a sort of Fowl of that Name, that goes upright; his Wings without Feathers, hanging down like Sleeves, faced with White, they do not fly, but only walk in Parcels, keeping regularly their own Quarters.' (Churchill, 767)

The above-mentioned Penguin Isle is near the Cape of Good Hope, I have examin'd some of the Voyages to the Straights of Magellan, and find very little Account of the Penguins there, more than that they go upright, and burrow under the Shores: So that I cannot determine the above-describ'd to be a Native of any certain Part of the World. Had these Voyagers given flight Descriptions of the Things they mention, we might from thence probably have fixed its native Place.

For reference: The Penguin, plate 49, *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds*

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
Cock Long Tailed Hummingbird [Streamertail (Red-bellied subspecies) Trochilus polytmus polytmus (male plumage)]
inscribed 'This is the Cock Long Tail.d Huming Bird sent by Colen [sic] Campbell Esqr
from Jamaica 1735' (on the lower edge)
pencil and watercolor heightened with gold paint on laid paper
14 1/8 x 9 ¼in.
In volume II
[1736]

After birds of paradise, hummingbirds were among the highlights of eighteenth and nineteenth-century natural history collections. This glorious example from the West Indies was surely deserving of ardor and an exacting artist's brush.

Mark Catesby's incredibly detailed drawing in watercolor and gold leaf depicts the doctor bird or swallow tail hummingbird (Trochilus Polytmus) strung by ribbon and hung on a nail. The specimen from which Catesby drew is clearly the male, distinguished by two long tails. This variety is one of the most outstanding of the 320 species of hummingbirds. It is the national bird of Jamaica and only hummingbird native to this island.

The origin of the name "Docor-bird" is somewhat unsettled. It has been said that the name was given because the black crest and tails resemble the top hat and long tail-coats doctors used to wear. Other schools of thought believe that it refers to the way the birds lance the flowers with their bills to extract nectar. Though, it is most likely this bird developed its common name from local superstition. The Arawaks, indigenous Caribbean peoples, spread the belief that the bird had magical powers. They called it the "God bird", believing it was the reincarnation of dead souls. This is manifested in a folk song which says: "Doctor Bud a cunny bud, hard bud fe dead". (It is a clever bird which cannot be easily killed).

Mark Catesby was not alone in his artistic expression of this bird, his friend George Edwards also paid Collinson a visit to study this bird. Edwards engraved this bird as "The Long-tail'd Blak-cap Huming Bird," volume 1, plate 34 of *Natural History*. Writing of the bird:

> This Bird is engraved of its natural Bigness... the two long Feathers being of a loose, soft Texture, easily ruffled and flowing with the least: Breath of Air; what is remarkable in the Tail is, that these two fine Feathers are the outermost but one on each Side, having a lesser stiff Feather under them, as well as above, the better to support them, which is Angular. So far as my Observation reaches, all Birds, whose Tail-feathers differ in Length, have either the two middlemost or the two outermost the longest, as in the Swallow and Magpye; the Bill is thicker at the Basis than in most of this Kind, pretty long, ending in a Point, a little bowed downward, of a yellow Colour, with a black Point; the Crown of the Head, and beginning of the Neck behind, is of a black Colour, with something of a bluish Gloss; the Throat, Breast, and Belly, are cover'd with Green Feathers, inclining to Blue, of a firm Substance, lying dole and regular like the Scales of fishes and of so fine a Surface, that they reflect the Light as doth burnished Gold; the Feathers on the Back are of a looser Make, of a yellower Green, not having the bright Lustre of the Breast; the Wings are of a brownish Purple, having, in some Lights, a brighter bluish purple Cast; the Ridge of the Wing from the Shoulder, a good way down, is white; the Tail is black or dusky, the Feathers increasing in Length from the middle-most to the outermost save one, which is about five Times longer than any of the rest; the Legs, Feet, and Claws, are black. Mr. Collinson obliged me with a Sight of this Bird. I saw another that came with it, in the Repository of the Royal Society which differ'd only a little in Size from this. They were brought from Jamaica. I never could find above ten Feathers in the Tail, of any Bird of this Genus.

Collinson's inscription "This is the Cock Long Tail.d Huming Bird sent by Colen [sic] Campbell Esqr from Jamaica 1735," confirms Edwards' statement regarding the example at the Royal Society and the birds origin. The Scottish astronomer Colin Campbell was a member of the Royal Society along with Peter Collinson and Mark Catesby. Campbell lived most of his life in the Black River area of Jamaica where he partook in a number of astronomical trials for which he is best remembered. While Campbell was made a fellow of the society in 1730, he did not accept the appointment until November 1734 when he went to London. On the occasion it was recorded that he presented the Society with a few of the natural products of Jamaica, comprising a Hummingbird and two shells (Royal Society Journal-Book, XVI, 34). If we are to take Edwards on his printed word, Campbell brought more than one example of this glorious avian creature. One was placed in the Royal Society archives and the other went to Collinson.

While we do not know when Mark Catesby drew this magnificent work, it would not be outlandish to assume he may well have attended the November 1734 meeting where the hummingbird and two shells were presented by Campbell. The artist was just admitted the year before, 1733, and was known to be a very active member. The two must have known each other in some form, Campbell is listed amongst the "encouragers" of Catesby's *Natural History* (Vol.I, 1731.) So, it is possible that the two may have met while Catesby was in Jamaica in 1714, at the very least Catesby likely knew Campbell's father who was a wealthy landowner in Jamaica.

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
A Helliborine from Pennsylvania (Cypropedium acaule, pink lady's slipper orchid)
with inscription 'M: Catesby: Pinxt' (by Peter Collinson?) (lower right), inscribed 'This new & Curious Helleborine was sent By J: Bartram From Penselvania and In / May 1737 Flower'd in my Garden att Peckham' (by Peter Collinson) on the mount, further inscribed 'This new & Curious Heleborine was sent By John Bartram From / Pensilvania and In May 1737 flowerd in my Garden att Peckham' on the reverse
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'PRO PATRIA'
11 7/8 x 8in.
In volume II
[c. 1738]

MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)

A Helliborine from Pennsylvania (Cypropedium acaule, pink lady's slipper orchid)

with inscription 'M: Catesby: Pinxt' (by Peter Collinson?) (lower right), inscribed 'This new & Curious Helleborine was sent By J: Bartram From Penselvania and In / May 1737 Flower'd in my Garden att Peckham' (by Peter Collinson) on the mount, further inscribed 'This new & Curious Heleborine was sent By John Bartram From / Pensilvania and In May 1737 flowerd in my Garden att Peckham' on the reverse

watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'PRO PATRIA'

11 7/8 x 8in.

In volume II

[c. 1738]

Natural History, II, pl.72, with "The Bull-Frog"

Engraved in *Natural History*, volume II, pl.72, with 'The Bull-Frog' Catesby described this plant the Hellebrine or Lady's Slipper of Pensilvania,

> THIS Plant from a fiberous Root rises with two or three single Stems, to the Height of ten or twelve Inches, with long ribbed Leaves, growing alternately, the Flower as it is longer resembles more a Slipper than any other of this Tribe that I have seen: It differs also from others of this Kind, in having a Slit from the Top to the Bottom of the Slipper; over the Hollow of which is fixed two small oval Bodies or Knobs, over which hangs a thin Membrane or Lappet, of a pale Red or Rose Colour, and under these Knobs is another Membrane of the like Form, but of a green Colour: The Four exterior Petals that compleat the Flower are placed cross-ways, and are of a yel-lowish Green, ribbed and stained with Red. The Slipper is of a greenish Yellow, with a Tincture of Red. This curious Helleborine was lent from Pensilvania by Mr. John Bertram, who by his Industry and Inclination to the Searches into Nature, has discovered and sent over a great many new Productions both Animal and Vegetable. This Plant flowered in Mr. Collinson's Garden in April, 1738.

Many thanks to Dr. Charles Nelson in correctly identifying this plant as Helliborine rather than hellibore. And for his insight into the history of this plant.

For reference: *Natural History*, II, pl.72, with "The Bull-Frog"

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The marsh hawk from N:th America and the reed bird, the same with the rice bird of Catesby
[Northern Harrier (female) with a Bobolink (female)]
signed 'W:m Bartram' (lower right) and inscribed as titled
watercolor on paper, watermarked 'IH & ZOON' below a fleur de lys
15 x 14 ½in.
This watercolor is inserted in volume I, between plates 4 and 5
[1755/1756]

William Bartram painted this marsh hawk when he was around eighteen years old. Bartram created several watercolors around this time which have a thin black line and birds labeled A and B. This indicates, first, that there may have been accompanying text regarding each bird, and perhaps the artist was preparing to have these works printed. The hawk is shown perched on a stump, like many of his early birds, with the central figure flanked by botanical elements. Ever observant of the history of ornithology, Bartram frames his composition with a light black ink line. This composition was welcomed by Peter Collinson who wrote to John Bartram February 18, 1756: "The Marsh Hawk is admirable I dont see Either Edwards or Ehret can much Excell it."

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The marsh hawk from N:th America and the reed bird, the same with the rice bird of Catesby
[Northern Harrier (female) with a Bobolink (female)]
signed 'W:m Bartram' (lower right) and inscribed as titled
watercolor on paper, watermarked 'IH & ZOON' below a fleur de lys
15 x 14 ½in.
This watercolor is inserted in volume I, between plates 4 and 5
[1755/1756]

George Edwards consulted this drawing for his plate in the *Gleanings of Natural History* for the "Marsh-hawk and the Reed-birds" (vol.6, pl.291) citing the source for the engraving a watercolor by William Bartram which he must have seen at the home of Peter Collinson:

> The figure of the Hawk is much reduced from its natural size: its wings, when extended, measured three feet and an half from tip to tip from the point of the bill to the end of the tail it measured two feet.
>
> The Hawk's bill is of a blueish colour: the edges of the upper mandible are waved on their sides; at the basis of the upper mandible is an orange-coloured skin, in which the nostrils are placed: the eye is also encompassed with an orange-coloured skin ; the iris is of an hazel-colour: about the nostrils, and the corners of the mouth, it hath black hairs or bristles. From the bill through the eye passes a black line, somewhat blueish next the head: from the nostrils proceed white lines just above the eyes, which bend down the fides of the head, and pass under the throat, where they join; it hath also a white mark under each eye: the rest of the head, neck, and bread; are of a dusky-brown colour, with a small mixture of white on the top of the head. The back, wings, and tail are dusky-brown: the tail hath four transverse bars across it of a blackish colour: the rump, and covert-feathers on the upper side of the tail, are white. Part of the breast, the belly, thighs, and covert-feathers under the tail, are of a reddish-yellow colour. The legs and feet are covered with orange-coloured scales: the claws are black.
>
> The Cock REED-BIRD, which is figured on the tree, is black, except a reddish-yellow spot on the hinder part of the neck, and the covert-feathers of the wings and the rump, which are white: The bill is lead coloured, and the legs are brown. The Hen Reed-Bird is figured under the Hawk's feet: it is brown on its upper side, and whitish tinged with yellow on its under side: the bill is flesh-coloured, and the legs are brown.
>
> The Marsh-Hawk is engraved from a drawing done from the life in Pensilvania, and sent to me, by my obliging friend Mr. William Bartram, a native of that country. The Reed-Birds are the same that Catesby calls Rice-Birds; which he figured and described in his History of Carolina, vol. I. p. 14. Mr. Bartram says, the Marsh-Hawk frequents the marshes in the summer season, and feeds upon Reed-Birds, Frogs, Snakes, Lizards, &c. They retire from Pensilvania at the approach of winter. As I do not find this Hawk described by Catesby or any other author, I was unwilling to slip the opportunity of giving its figure. Tho' I have not seen the Bird itself, I have great reason to think Mr. Bartram very correct in his drawing, and exact in his colouring, having compared many of his drawings with the natural subjects, and found a very good agreement between them. (George Edwards, *Gleanings of Natural History*, London: 1758-64, vol.6, pl.291 "the Marsh-hawk, and the Reed-birds.")

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
A female Black-and-White Warbler (Black and White Creeper) on a Flowering Branch with Brown Butterfly
watercolor on paper
4 5/8 x 5 5/8 in.
with an adjacent watercolor of a moth by the same hand the watercolors laid down in volume I, on p.62

William Bartram noted the migration patterns of the black and white creeper (black and white warbler) and shared his observations with George Edwards in a letter of June 1756 (letter presumed lost). Both Edwards and fellow naturalist Alexander Wilson each credited Bartram with giving this songbird its name.

Edwards shared his source and the creeper's migratory habits in *Gleanings of Natural History*, alongside the Black-throated flycatcher. Writing of the two birds:

> "Mr. William Bartram, from whom I received these Birds, says, that the Green Fly-catchers are seen palling through the province of Pensilvania to the northward only for a few days in the month of April, and in their course feed on infects. The Black and White Creeper arrives there also in April, and abides with them all the summer, where he supposes they breed: they feed on Flies, Spiders, Caterpillars, &c. and retire southward at the approach of winter. These two rare and beautiful birds (which I believe to be non-descripts) were altogether unknown to me, till I had the pleasure of receiving them from Mr. Bartram; who obliged me at one time with fourteen American birds, mostly non-descripts, with some short accounts and observations concerning them, in a letter dated Penlilvania, June 1756. All which birds are figured in this Second Part of my Gleanings, &c."

Similarly, Wilson acknowledged Bartram's naming of this bird in American Ornithology:

"This nimble and expert little species seldom perches on the small twigs; but circumambulates the trunk, and larger branches, in quest of ants and other insects, with admirable dexterity. It arrives in Pennsylvania, from the south, about the twentieth of April, the young begin to fly early in July; and the whole tribe abandon the country about the beginning of October. Sloane describes this bird as an inhabitant of the West India islands, where it probably winters. It was first figured by Edwards from a dried skin sent him by Mr. William Bartram, who gave it its present name. Succeeding naturalists have classed it with the warblers; a mistake which I have endeavored to rectify.

The genus of Creepers comprehends about thirty different species, many of which are richly adorned with gorgeous plumage; but, like their congenial tribe the Woodpeckers, few of them excel in song; their tongues seem better calculated for extracting noxious insects from the bark of trees, than for trilling out sprightly airs; as the hardened hands of the husbandman are better suited for clearing the forest or guiding the plough, than dancing among the keys of a forte-piano. Which of the two is the most honorable and useful employment is not difficult to determine. Let the farmer, therefore, respect this little bird for its useful qualities, in clearing his fruit and forest from destructive insects; though it cannot serenade him with its song."

William Bartram was most likely the original source for the naming of many American bird species. However, because he never published his ornithological findings, his efforts were often attributed to other naturalists. When John James Audubon included this bird in this famed Birds of America, he credited the black and white creeper, first named by Bartram, to Alexander Wilson. Collinson's pasting of this bird watercolor within volume one of Catesby's Natural History, may be the gentleman-botanist way acknowledging Batram's contribution to this bird species.

For reference:
George Edwards, Black-throated flycatcher and Black and White Creeper, from Gleanings of Natural History, 1760.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
*A lily from Guinea (*Lilio Narcissus Africanus)
signed 'G.D. Ehret. Pinx' (lower right), inscribed 'From Guinea' (by Peter Collinson) (lower right), inscribed 'This most Beautifull Lillie Narcissus was sent by the Gover:r By of Cape Coast Castle / In Guinea To Sr Charles Wager First Lord of the Admiralty by the name of Tulip Roots / In the year 1734. All the Roots notwithstanding the Greatest Care perish'd / Butt one, & that the Heart rotted away but putt out several offsetts round it / which in the year 1736 produced the Flower on the other side / in a year or Two after Roots were Given to the Physick Garden att Chelsea and to / Lord Petre who have supply'd other Curious Lovers of Exoticks – it requires a / Bark Heat in a Pine Apple Stove' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'WR' and fleur de lys in a shield below a crown
19 7/8 x 14 ¼in.
In volume II, laid down on p.85
[ca. 1736]

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
A lily from Guinea (Lilio Narcissus Africanus)
signed 'G.D. Ehret. Pinx' (lower right), inscribed 'From Guinea' (by Peter Collinson) (lower right), inscribed 'This most Beautifull Lillie Narcissus was sent by the Gover:r By of Cape Coast Castle / In Guinea To Sr Charles Wager First Lord of the Admiralty by the name of Tulip Roots / In the year 1734. All the Roots notwithstanding the Greatest Care perish'd / Butt one, & that the Heart rotted away but putt out several offsetts round it / which in the year 1736 produced the Flower on the other side / in a year or Two after Roots were Given to the Physick Garden att Chelsea and to / Lord Petre who have supply'd other Curious Lovers of Exoticks – it requires a / Bark Heat in a Pine Apple Stove' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'WR' and fleur de lys in a shield below a crown
19 7/8 x 14 ¼in.
In volume II, laid down on p.85
[1736]

Georg Ehret included this plant as plate Tab XIII "Lilio Narcissus Africanus" in Plantae Selectae.

The primary sources for many of the species in the study of this collection were procured from the American colonies through Mark Catesby and the Bartrams. However, the history of new botanical specimens in Europe and elsewhere is undeniably tied to the slave trade.

Peter Collinson marginal notes state that "This most Beautifull Lillie Narcissus was sent by the Gover:r By of Cape Coast Castle." Cape Coast Castle was one of at least forty commercial forts, sometimes referred to as "slave castles," built by Europeans in the Gold Coast of West Africa, present-day Ghana. These forts were originally constructed to support the trade of gold and timber, they were later used in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Above ground, Cape Coast "castle" was a luxurious accommodation for white Europeans. Below, hundreds of enslaved African people were held in dark dungeons, spending their last moments in their homeland before being forced onto ships and then sold in North America and the Caribbean. The contrast between the beauty and purity of this flower and the method by which it was transferred through one of the most notorious slave forts, is symbolic of the murky appropriation of plants and animals to Europe during this period. Cape Coast Castle is now a UNESCO world heritage site.

Peter Collinson sent Christopher Jacob Trew roots of several plants for his garden in March of 1746. Writing of this plant, "Root of Reddish purple and white Lilio Narcissus From Cape Coast Castle in Guinea was Sent to the Right Honble Sr. Charles Wager First Lord Admiralty in the year 1734 and Flowered in his Stove with Supressing Beauty anno 1736. I am perswaded Mr. Erhet has sent you a painting of this fine Flower, which I cannot find describd by any Author, So I hope you will oblige the World with it." (Peter Collinson to Christopher Jacob Trew March 20, 1746.)

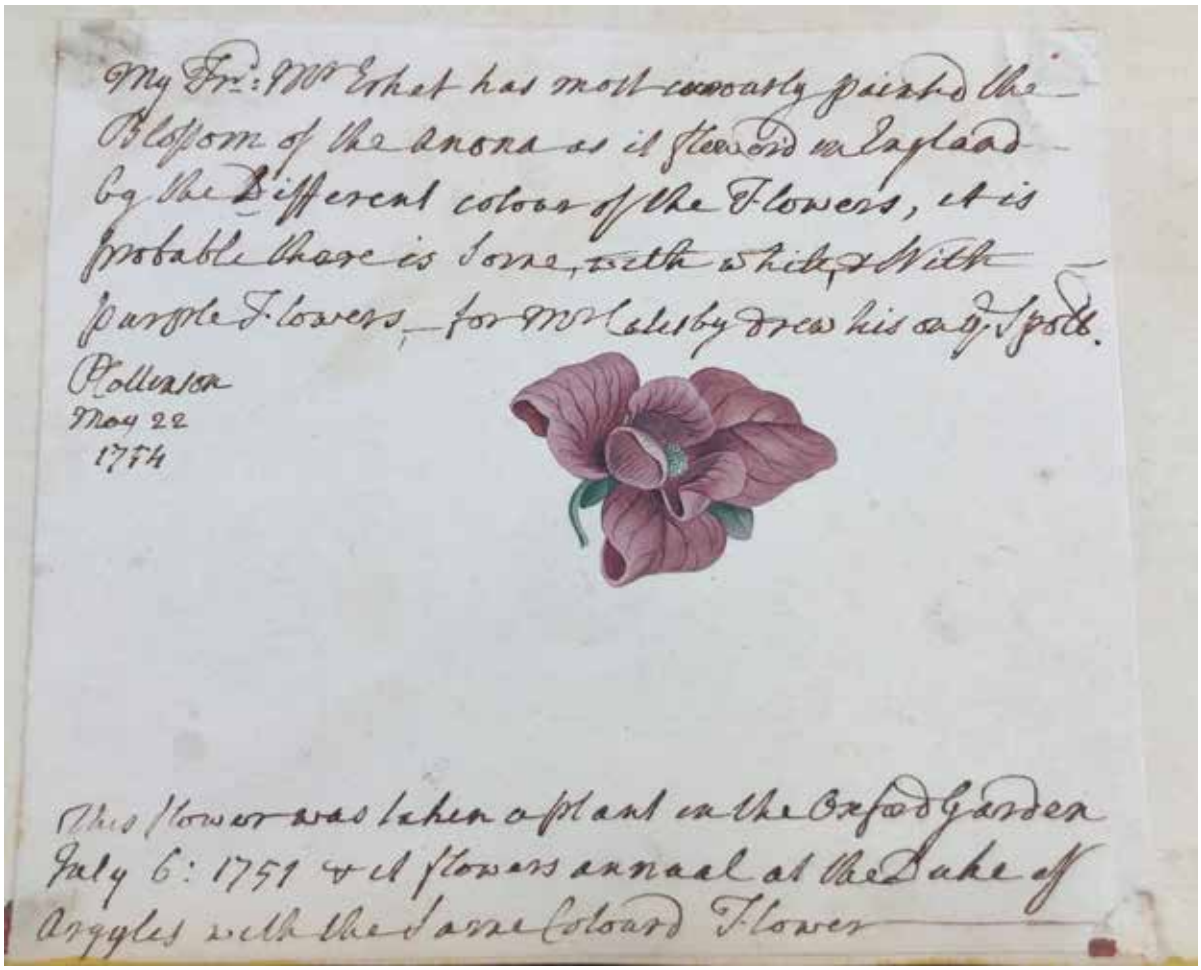


Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
The Blossom of the Anona as it flower'd in England (Asimina triloba, Common Pawpaw)
inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'My Fr:d Mr Erhet [sic] has most curously painted the Blossom of the Anona as it flower'd in England – by the Different colour of the Flowers, it is probable there is some, with white, & with purple Flowers, – for Mr Catesby drew his on ye Spott. P Collinson May 22 1754 This flower was taken a plant in the Oxford Garden July 6: 1751 & it flowers annual at the Duke of Argyles with the Same Colourd Flower'
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on paper
6 x 6 3/8in.
In volume II
[1751]

LITERATURE:
H. McBurney, *Mark Catesby's 'Natural History' of America*, London, 1997, p.136.
Ehret provided the original drawing for the white pawpaw etched by Catesby for his Natural History (II, plate 85). "The fruit was apparently not seen by Catesby in America, Ehret's earlier drawing (Royal Library at Windsor) taken from a fruit sent by John Bartram to Peter Collinson in 1739, at Catesby's request."

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
The Blossom of the Anona as it flower'd in England (Blosson of the Netted Pawpaw)
inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'My Fr:d Mr Erhet [sic] has most curously painted the Blossom of the Anona as it flower'd in England – by the Different colour of the Flowers, it is probable there is some, with white, & with purple Flowers, – for Mr Catesby drew his on ye Spott. P Collinson May 22 1754 This flower was taken a plant in the Oxford Garden July 6: 1751 & it flowers annual at the Duke of Argyles with the Same Colourd Flower'
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on paper
6 x 6 3/8in.
In volume II, pasted below the text for plate 85, Anona
[1751]

Asimina triloba, commonly known as the American pawpaw or Custard Apple. The genus name Asimina is adapted from the Native American (probably Miami-Illinois) name *assimin* or *rassimin* through the French colonial asiminier. The specific epithet triloba refers to the three-lobed calices and doubly three-lobed corollas, the shape not unlike a colonial tricorne hat. The common name "paw paw" likely derives from the Spanish papaya. The pawpaw fruit is actually a very large berry, sometimes growing longer than 6 inches. They turn from green to yellow (or brown) when ripe. The fruit has a strong tropical flavor — similar to bananas, pineapples, or mangoes. It is also known as the American Custard Apple, or Indiana Banana, pawpaws were widely eaten and enjoyed by Native Americans during the 18th-century.

While we do not have a record of Georg Ehret's observations on this plant, we do have Mark Catesby description and images for *Natural History* volume II, plate 85,

> The Trunks of these Trees are seldom bigger than the Small of a Man's Leg, and are about ten or twelve Feet high, having a smooth greenish brown Bark. In March when the Leaves begin to sprout, its Blossoms appear, consisting each of six greenish white Petals. The Fruit grows in clusters of three, and sometimes four together; they are at first green, and when ripe yellow, covered with a thin smooth Skin, which contains Yellow pulp, of a sweet luscious Taste, in the Middle of which lye in two Rows, twelve Seeds divided by so many tiny Membranes. All Parts of the Tree have a rank, if not a fetid Smell; nor is the Fruit relished but by very few... These trees grow usually in low shady Swamps and in a very fat Soil.

Ehret likely drew this from Collinson garden, Catesby wrote to John Bartram April 15, 1746: "Mr. Collinson gives me the pleasure of reading your entertaining Letters, I find you have sent me a plant of your Anona, some seeds of your tall Magnolia, &c. for which I heartily thank you."

Per Collinson's notes, the Anona was a known specimen in the garden of the Duke of Argyll. Archibald Campbell (I682-I761), who was Lord Islay and later the 3rd Duke of Argyll, was a central figure in eighteenth-century garden history on account of his vast Whitton garden where he collected and grew new and recently introduced plants. The Virginian pawpaw was introduced to the Duke's garden in 1736.

Fig. Ehret's watercolor of the pink Anona blossom as it appears, pasted on the descriptive text for Catesby's plate 85.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Symphytum S. Pulmonaria non maculate, foliis glabris Americanum flore patulo coeruleo Pluck, Phyt, tab 227 f.6
[Virginia Bluebells]
signed 'G.D. Ehret, feci[t]' (lower right) and inscribed as titled, inscribed (by Peter Collinson)
'This plant was sent by Col.o. Curtis from Virginia & Flowerd in the Garden of Peter Collinson
att / Peckham in Surry the Begining of Aprill 1735' (along the lower edge)
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'WR' fleur de lys under a crown
20 ¼ x 14in.
In volume II
[ca. 1747]

LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.19 ('Mertensia Virginica, "Mountain Cowslip."', as Catesby).

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)

Symphytum S. Pulmonaria non maculate, foliis glabris Americanum flore patulo coeruleo Pluck, Phyt, tab 227 f.6
[Virginia Bluebells]

signed 'G.D. Ehret, feci[t]' (lower right) and inscribed as titled, inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'This plant was sent by Col.o. Curtis from Virginia & Flowerd in the Garden of Peter Collinson att / Peckham in Surry the Begining of Aprill 1735' (along the lower edge)
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'WR' fleur de lys under a crown
20 ¼ x 14in.
In volume II
[ca. 1747]

LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden …", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.19 ('Mertensia Virginica, "Mountain Cowslip."', as Catesby).

This watercolor by Ehret appears as tab XLII "Pulmonaria" in *Plantae Selectae*, and Trew's corresponding text repeats Collinson's claim to renewing this ornamental in Britain.

Virginia bluebells were a favorite of early colonists. Reverend John Bannister sent seeds from this plant to England in the 1600s, but the resulting plants did not survive. Around 1730, John Custis of Williamsburg sent some roots to his patron Peter Collinson and referred to the plants as "mountain blew cowslip" a "beautifull out of the way plant and flower."

Collinson was overjoyed with the receipt of this plant. Responding to Custis October 20, 1734: "I am Infinitely Oblig'd to you for your kind present But what much Enhances the Obligation, on my side, Is that being an Intire stranger you shou'd take so much pains tp Gratiffe Mee. I can't Enough commend the Methode you took to Convey this Rare Plant in to my hands by sending the seed by one ship & the plantt by another the seed came safe & the box with the plant." The method of transport proved most significant because the plant leaves here had fallen away, but the root had remained.

Later, Collinson wrote of it "a most elegant plant, was entirely lost in our gardens, but I again restored it from Virginia by Col. Custis; flowered April 13, 1747, and hath continued ever since as a great spring ornament in my garden at Mill Hill."

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Cornutia (Cornutia pyramidata, Tropical lilac)
inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'Cornutia 1738 flod' (lower center), further inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'Cornutia – so named From Cornutus a Physitian of Paris who publish'd an histy of Canada plants / This Rare shrub was Raised by Lord Petre from seed sent By Docr: Houstoun from Vera Cruz in N: Spain / It Flower'd in his stoves – it bears a spherical succulent Berry Including Seeds wch are kidney shaped' on the mount
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper
15 5/8 x 10 3/16in.
In volume II
[1738]

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Cornutia (Cornutia pyramidata, Tropical lilac)
inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'Cornutia 1738 flod' (lower center), further inscribed (by Peter Collinson) 'Cornutia – so named From Cornutus a Physitian of Paris who publish'd an histy of Canada plants / This Rare shrub was Raised by Lord Petre from seed sent By Docr: Houstoun from Vera Cruz in N: Spain / It Flower'd in his stoves – it bears a spherical succulent Berry Including Seeds wch are kidney shaped' on the mount
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper
15 5/8 x 10 3/16in.
In volume II
[1738]

Collinson wrote of Lord Petre in 1733, "for so young a man…has a very surprising genius for building, designing and planting." By his late 20s, Lord Petre was already a collector, having subscribed to the expeditions of Mark Catesby and Dr. William Houston.

William Houstoun (Houston) (1695?–1733) was a Scottish surgeon and botanist who collected plants in the West Indies, Mexico and South America when employed as a ship's surgeon for the South Sea Company. Houstoun collected plants in Jamaica, Cuba, Venezuela, and Vera Cruz, dispatching seeds and plants to Philip Miller, head gardener at the Chelsea Physic Garden in London. Miller introduced him to Sir Hans Sloane. From Kingston, in December of 1730 Houstoun sent Sir Hans a report of his studies and collection of plants: "I send you a Collection of Plants and other natural Curiosities from La Vera Cruz. It would be as needless as troublesome to enter here upon a detail of what I observed there, since the List of Seeds that I have sent to Mr Miller, and the dryed Plants, with the small annotations made upon some of them will much better inform you…" (Sloane MS. British Museum, 4051, fa 141.)

Sloane was impressed by Houstoun and commissioned him to undertake a three-year expedition, financed by the trustees for the Province of Georgia, including Lord Petre, "for improving botany and agriculture in Georgia." Houston sailed to the Madeira Islands to gather grape plantings, perhaps to try to grow in Georgia, before continuing his voyage across the Atlantic. However, he never completed his mission as he "died from the heat" in August of 1733 soon after arriving in Jamaica. Like Collinson, Catesby, Sloane, and others discussed in this catalog, Houstoun was an active member of the Royal Society.

The Cornutia, commonly known as the Tropial or Jam Liliac, was discovered by Plumier in America. It is found in several islands in the West Indies, and Mexico. The seeds were first imported into England by Houstoun who sent them from Vera Cruz to Philip Miller.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Fringed flowered Gentian (Gentianopsis crinita, fringed gentian)
with inscription 'G: D: Erhet [sic] Pinxt' (by Peter Collinson?) (lower right), inscribed 'This Beautifull Fring'd flowerd Gentian I raised From seed sent by J: Bartram from Penselvania/ it Flowerd att Peckham in Autumn 1740 and in the year following Sepr: 25: with Mr Sam:Brewer in / Yorks here it is Biennial, produced no seed.' (by Peter Collinson) on the mount
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper (the lower right flower and stem cut out and laid down)
14 7/8 x 10 ¼in.
In volume II
[1742]

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)

Fringed flowered Gentian (Gentianopsis crinita, fringed gentian)

with inscription 'G: D: Erhet [sic] Pinxt' (by Peter Collinson?) (lower right), inscribed 'This Beautifull Fring'd flowerd Gentian I raised From seed sent by J: Bartram from Penselvania/ it Flowerd att Peckham in Autumn 1740 and in the year following Sepr: 25: with Mr Sam:Brewer in / Yorks here it is Biennial, produced no seed.'

(by Peter Collinson) on the mount

watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper (the lower right flower and stem cut out and laid down)

14 7/8 x 10 ¼in.

In volume II

[1742]

Peter Collinson received the seeds of the fringed gentian in October 20, 1740, writing to John Bartram of their receipt: "I have several very curious flowers out of the mixed Virginia Seeds... a very pretty dwarf Gentian, with a large blue flower, the extremity of the flower-leaves, all notched or jagged. The whole plant is not above three or four inches high; I am afraid it is an annual." The plant would have taken at least a year to flower, thus placing this watercolor painted around 1742.

The fringed gentian is quite rare due to habitat loss. But it was also rare even at the turn of the 19th century. William Barton included the fringed gentian in his *Compendium florae Philadelphicae: containing a description of the indigenous and naturalized plants found within a circuit of ten miles around Philadelphia* (1818). Describing it as, "A beautiful plant about twelve inches high. Flowers bluish-purple, and elegantly fringed. In the woods bordering the road above the falls of Schuylkill, and about a quarter or half a mile from the river. Not common. I have met with it only there. Biennial. September, October."

Like the sensitive plant, the fringed gentian appealed to curious British botanist because of its unusual reactive habit of remaining open on sunny days and closing on cloudy days.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Pennsylvania Iris (European or Iris Cristata?)
the artist's signature 'G.D. Ehret Pi...' on a fragment cut from another sheet (stuck down on the lower right corner), inscribed 'This Pensilvania Iris was raised from seed sent mee from thence / Flower'd first in the Garden of Robt: Furber, June: 1736' (by Peter Collinson) (lower center)
watercolor heightened with white on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
17 7/8 x 11in.
In volume II
[c. 1737]

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Pennsylvania Iris (European or Iris Cristata?)
the artist's signature 'G.D. Ehret Pi...' on a fragment cut from another sheet (stuck down on the lower right corner), inscribed 'This Pensilvania Iris was raised from seed sent mee from thence / Flower'd first in the Garden of Robt: Furber, June: 1736' (by Peter Collinson) (lower center)
watercolor heightened with white on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
17 7/8 x 11in.
In volume II
[c. 1737]

Georg Ehret's bold depiction of a purple iris is inscribed by Collinson "This Pensilvania Iris was raised from seed sent mee from Thence," indicating Collinson had received seeds of this plant from John Bartram's garden. Collinson is often the one credited with introducing this plant to England but here appears that he gives Furber credit for raising this flowering plant first.

Robert Furber was a nurseryman who helped distribute new plants to nobility and gentry. His *Catalogue of Trees and Shrubs, both exotick and domestick, as will prosper in our climate, in the open ground* (1724), was the first trade-list of trees ever published. He is best known for his *Twelve Months of Flowers*, published in 1730 which was a catalog of plants and seeds featuring twelve detailed engravings of seasonal plants in bloom. Each plant was numbered, with a list of the corresponding species names. More than 400 different species of plant were featured.

Iris cristata is generally called the dwarf crested iris or crested iris. The Latin specific epithet cristata is derived from 'crista' meaning crested or with tassel-like tips. This refers to the golden yellow crest on the sepal of the iris.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
An Aloe and Gentium
signed 'G.D. Ehre.' (lower right) (signature cropped), inscribed 'Aloë ferox Muntingui 1735 / Drawn by G.D. Ehret / Gentianella Bavariea Elegantissima Camerarii / hots: Tab 15.' (by Peter Collinson) (lower right and lower left), inscribed 'Flower'd in Doctr Sherrards Garden att Eltham in Kent' (by Peter Collinson) on the mount
pencil, watercolor and bodycolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'IHS'
18 x 10 ½in.
In volume II
[1735]

Georg Ehret produced another image of this plant in his sketchbook, "Aloe succotrina, fynbos aloe & Aloe vera, true aloe." Sketch 249 from the Ehret Collection of Sketches (unbound). Held in the Botany Library at the Natural History Museum, London.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Great Martigon .... From Pensilvania, Lilium superbum (Turk's-cap lily)
signed 'G.D. Ehret .. Pinx' (lower right), inscribed as titled (by Peter Collinson) (lower center), inscribed 'The Noble Martigon was sent from Pensilvania by John Bartram in Spring / 1736 – It is named by Him the Great Marsh Martigon it being found in Moist ground / The Flowers are much larger and it grows Taller than the common American sort / it Flowerd in the Garden of P: Collinson at Peckham in September 1736, which is much / Later than the other sort commonly known by the name of the Virginia Martagon / and called by the Duck Catalogues Canada Martigon. Both sorts are described by M: Catesby / in his Natural History of Carolina
&c In the years 1739 & 1740 It produced a stem 6 feet 2 ins / High with a Pyramid of 30 Flowers which was a most Delightfull Sight' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys in a shield beneath a crown above '4'
17 7/8 x 10 5/8 in.
In volume II
[1740]

LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.119 (illustrated).
Probably the same plant engraved in the Natural History, Appendix, pl.11 ('Lilium sive Martagon Canadense ... These Plants were produced from scaly roots sent from Pensylvania, and have flowered several years in Mr Collinson's garden at Peckham.')

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)

Great Martigon .... From Pensilvania, Lilium superbum (Turk's-cap lily)

signed 'G.D. Ehret .. Pinx' (lower right), inscribed as titled (by Peter Collinson) (lower center), inscribed 'The Noble Martigon was sent from Pensilvania by John Bartram in Spring / 1736 – It is named by Him the Great Marsh Martigon it being found in Moist ground / The Flowers are much larger and it grows Taller than the common American sort / it Flowerd in the Garden of P: Collinson at Peckham in September 1736, which is much / Later than the other sort commonly known by the name of the Virginia Martagon / and called by the Duck Catalogues Canada Martigon. Both sorts are described by M: Catesby / in his Natural History of Carolina

&c In the years 1739 & 1740 It produced a stem 6 feet 2 ins / High with a Pyramid of 30 Flowers which was a most Delightfull Sight' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse

watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys in a shield beneath a crown above '4'

17 7/8 x 10 5/8 in.

In volume II

[1740]

LITERATURE:

A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.119 (illustrated).

Probably the same plant engraved in the Natural History, Appendix, pl.11 ('Lilium sive Martagon Canadense ... These Plants were produced from scaly roots sent from Pensylvania, and have flowered several years in Mr Collinson's garden at Peckham.'

Mark Catesby described the Martagon plant in *Natural History*... volume 2, plate 56 "The Hog Nose Snake (with Martagon of North America)":

> A Martagon so singular in its Structure, and so well known, I shall only mention wherein these differ and excel in Beauty all the other Kinds hitherto known.
>
> This Plate exhibits the Flowers of two Kinds, because I conceive their Difference being little, may be expressed in few Words, with giving an unnecessary Plate. This Plant has its Flowers growing alternately, on long Footstalks, of an Orange and Lemmon Colour, thick spotted with dark Brown... This elegant and stately Martagon was introduced into England from Pensilvania by my Friend Mr. Peter Collinson, in whose curious Garden it flow'rd in Perfection.

Collinson loved this particular variety which he proudly raised in his garden. Unfortunately, their beauty made them a target for garden thieves. Collinson listed this variety, along with his ladyslippers, as stolen in 1762:

> my greatest loss has been from a villain who came & robbed Mee of twenty-two different species of my most rare & beautifull plants[.] took all my fine tall marsh Martagons that thee sent me last year which was different in colour from any I have had before[.] (Peter Collinson, October 5, 1762, in a letter to John Bartram. Laird, 72)

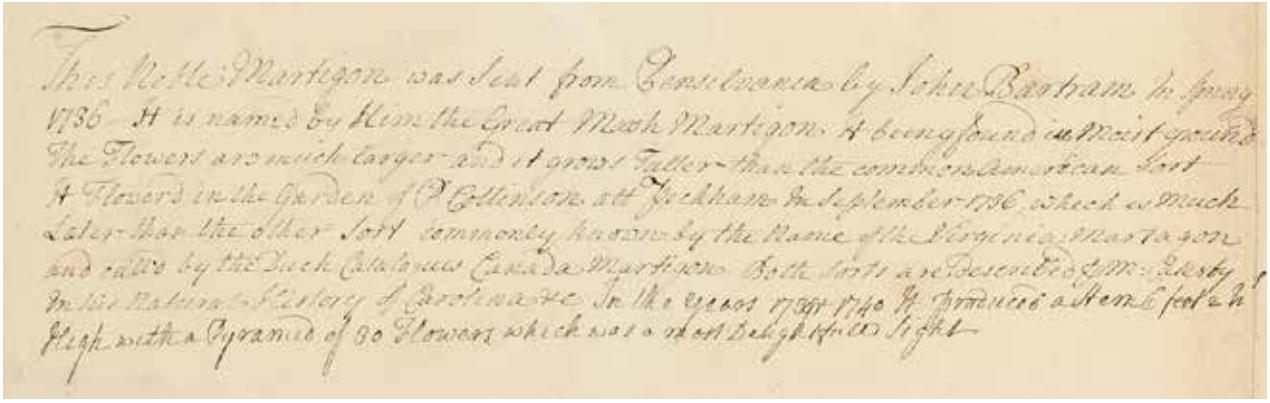


Fig. Peter Collinson's manuscript notes on the verso of *Great Martigon .... From Pensilvania, Lilium superbum (Turk's-cap lily)*

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Passion flower
Signed (?) 'G.D. Ehret. P.' (lower right), inscribed "This Curious plant was procured from Barbadoes by John Warner ... from him all the Curzons hadd been / Furnish'd with plants, it has been some years in England by never Flowerd till June 1739 in the noble / House of Lord Petre at Thorndon in Essex were [sic] being planted in a Border of Earth and having a great deal of / roome to Ramble was probably the Cause of its flowering" by Peter Collinson on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'I VILLEDARY (?)'
16 ½ x 10 15/16in.
In volume II
[c. 1742]

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Passion flower
Signed (?) 'G.D. Ehret. P.' (lower right), inscribed "This Curious plant was procured from Barbadoes by John Warner ... from him all the Curzons hadd been / Furnish'd with plants, it has been some years in England by never Flowerd till June 1739 in the noble / House of Lord Petre at Thorndon in Essex were [sic] being planted in a Border of Earth and having a great deal of / roome to Ramble was probably the Cause of its flowering" by Peter Collinson on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'I VILLEDARY (?)'
16 ½ x 10 15/16in.
In volume II
[c. 1742]

Lord Petre's estate was a constant source of wonder for Peter Collinson. The passion-flower, native to the West Indies, was one of the exotics that survived in English garden only by the use of greenhouse heaters. Collinson wrote to Richard Richardson in 1746 regarding Petre's collection of greenhouse plants:

> As I am on a vist at Lady Petres...The Great Stove is the most Extraordinary Sight in the World. All the plants are of Such Magnitude & the Novelty of the apperance strikes one with every pleasure. The Trecilles all around cover'd with all Species of Passion Flowers which run up near 30 feet high. (Armstrong, 133)

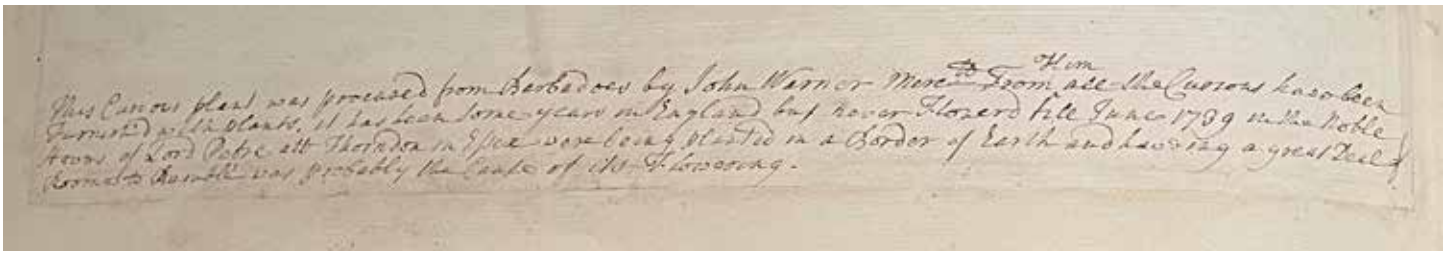


Fig. Verso of GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770), *Passion flower*

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
*Phlox [*Phlox divaricata (wild blue phlox)]
Inscribed "This pretty sweet flower was sent by John Bartram 1740 and flowerd / that year, Docr. Gronovius names it Phlox from Docr Linaeus Horts. Cliff: Pay 53 being / an old name given by Theophrastus."
by Peter Collinson on the reverse
Watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys in a shield above '4'
14 ¼ x 10 ½ in
In volume II
[c. 1740]

Several varieties of Phlox form the core collection at Bartram's Mill Hill garden. Phlox divaricata (wild blue phlox), pictured here, is one of six different species of phlox introduced by Peter Collinson in the mid-eighteenth century and he also informed Carl Linnaeus. Based on the inscription, this flower arrived via John Bartram, while other varieties of phlox came by Dr. Christopher Witt. Dr. Witt, a neighbor of John Bartram's, was one of the many "Brothers of the Spade" who bridged the Atlantic sharing their Quaker values and love of plants.

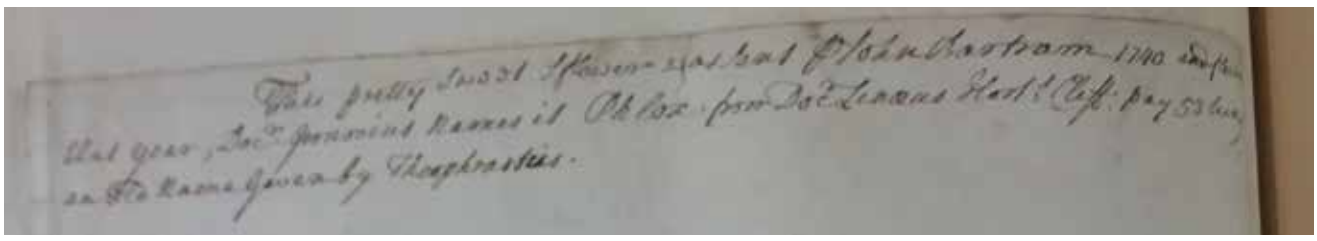


Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Veratrum of Pensilvania (Virginia Bunchflower?)
inscribed 'Veratrum of Pensilvania has flowerd in my Garden for Tenn years past – an:o 1757 P Collinson F.R.S.' (by Peter Collinson) on the reverse
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
20 1/8 x 13 7/16 in.
In volume II
[1757]

Georg Ehret made an engraving of this plate in *Plantae Selectae*, Plate LXXVI. "Melanthium", or Bunch Flower, native to North America. Collinsons' notes call it the Veratrum of Pensilvania which he states has been flowering in his garaden from some time. Therefore, the seed must have been sent by Bartram sometime in the mid-1740s.

The Veratrum of Pensilvania is likely the specimen John Bartram described in a letter to Linnaeus November 11, 1753:

> I here send thee A specimen of a curious evergreen veratrum it grows in wett swampy shady cold ground the root is white & fibrous from which proceeds 16 more or less of longish narrow leavevs pointed at ye extremity ye leaves of ye second year lyeth on the ground spread in rays round ye summer leaves which stand more erect yet bending towards ye ground & sorundung A center bud this is set in ye fall & if for flowering is like a painted cone whose base is a near inch diameter which next spring shoots up A single stalk eight inches high with short pointed leaves set without order round it gradually diminishing in magnitude unto ye spike of flowers two or 3 inches long ye petals of a flesh color ye apices blewish & standing out longer then ye petals which make a pretty appearance see ye imperfect specimen as ut flowered ye spring after transplanting.

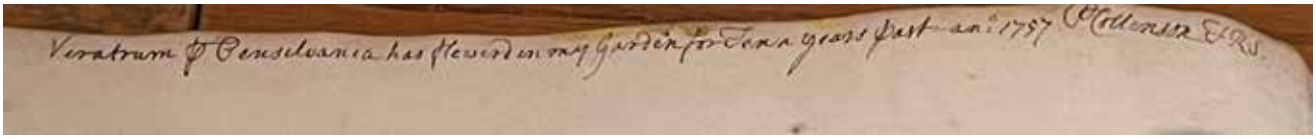


Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Monac of North America brought Me From Maryland
inscribed as titled and further inscribed "Vid – a more Pticular Account on the back side' on the mount, inscribed 'The only Natural Historian / that Has mention'd this animal that I ever mett with Is Lawson in his History of Carolina who only / mentions It by the Indian name – Monac, without mentioning any quality peculiar too it / about September he made his retreat into a Hole he had made in a corner of the cellar there He made his Bed with Everything He could pick up of things that the servants happend to Drop there He continued sleeping till about March from thence was call.d one of the Seven sleepers how the number seven came in I can't say - / This Animal was brought mee alive Maryland I gave it Sr Hans Sloane & lived with him many years and became / a Domestic animal run up and Down stairs Like a Catt or Dog but Loved the kitchen best for the sake of the cooks favours Lived / on Bread Roots & Greens / calld the Ground Hogg – or Monac or Seven Sleeper from Virginia 1733 & has some property of Each / Is notter Rabit, Rat nor Squirril" on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper
10 x 13 1/8 in.
In volume II
[1736]

Engraved: George Edwards *A Natural History..*, volume II, plate 104 "Monax, or Marmotte, of America."

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)

The Monac of North America brought Me From Maryland

inscribed as titled and further inscribed 'Vid – a more Pticular Account on the back side' on the mount, inscribed 'The only Natural Historian / that Has mention'd this animal that I ever mett with Is Lawson in his History of Carolina who only / mentions It by the Indian name – Monac, without mentioning any quality peculiar too it / about September he made his retreat into a Hole he had made in a corner of the cellar there He made his Bed with Everything He could pick up of things that the servants happend to Drop there He continued sleeping till about March from thence was call.d one of the Seven sleepers how the number seven came in I can't say - / This Animal was brought mee alive Maryland I gave it Sr Hans Sloane & lived with him many years and became / a Domestic animal run up and Down stairs Like a Catt or Dog but Loved the kitchen best for the sake of the cooks favours Lived / on Bread Roots & Greens / calld the Ground Hogg – or Monac or Seven Sleeper from Virginia 1733 & has some property of Each / Is notter Rabit, Rat nor Squirril' on the reverse

watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper

10 x 13 1/8 in.

In volume II

[1736]

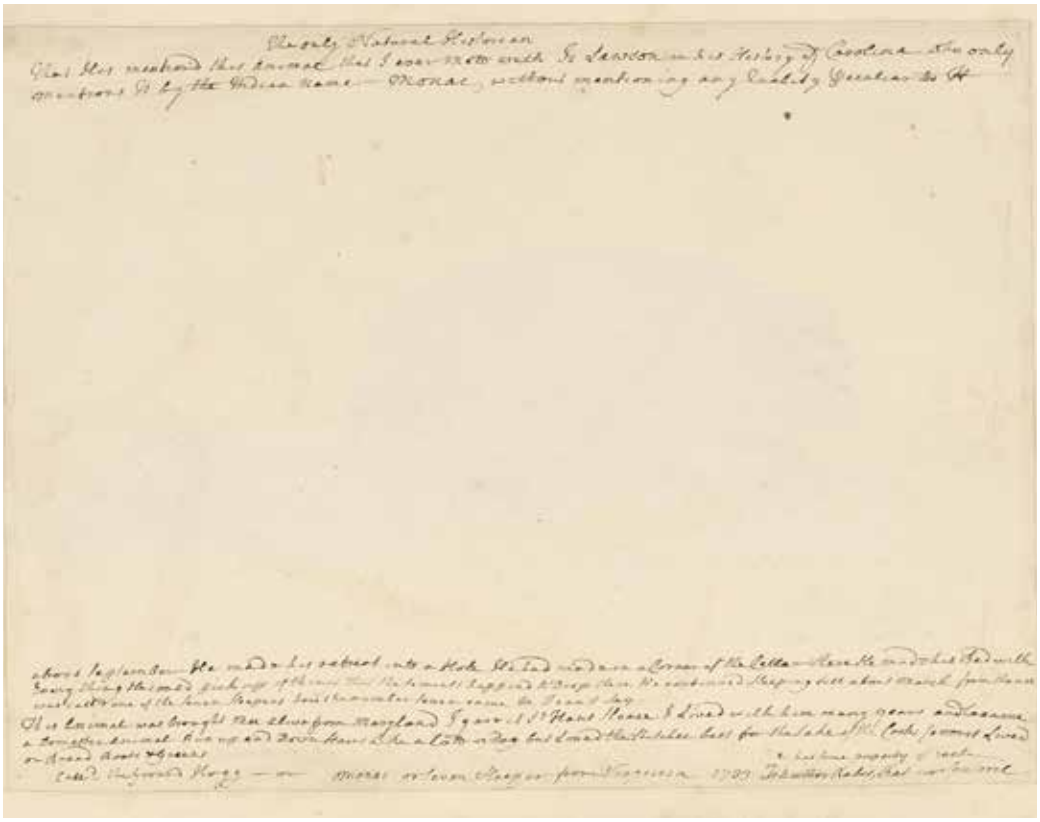


Fig. Collinson's inscription on the verso of this drawing explains how he acquired this exotic North American animal:

> The only Natural Historian that Has mention'd this animal that I ever mett with Is Lawson in his History of Carolina who only / mentions It by the Indian name – Monac, without mentioning any quality peculiar too it / about September he made his retreat into a Hole he had made in a corner of the cellar there He made his Bed with Everything He could pick up of things that the servants happend to Drop there He continued sleeping till about March from thence was call.d one of the Seven sleepers how the number seven came in I can't say - / This Animal was brought mee alive Maryland I gave it Sr Hans Sloane & lived with him many years and became / a Domestic animal run up and Down stairs Like a Catt or Dog but Loved the kitchen best for the sake of the cooks favours Lived / on Bread Roots & Greens / calld the Ground Hogg – or Monac or Seven Sleeper from Virginia 1733 & has some property of Each / Is notter Rabit, Rat nor Squirril.

The imported mammal became too much for Collinson to manage. In turn, he "gifted" him to Sir Hans Sloane.

> The Bearer conveys to you just Imported from Virginia a Creature not Discrib'd by any writers of those Countrys. It seems to be between the Rat and ye Squirrel. It is calld a (Monac) and is Recon'd One of the Seven Sleepers. Att or near His time of Sleeping he Sheads his Hair. He Requires to be kept very Warm & fed with all sorts of Greens, Apples, Carrots, Chesnutts &c... [and]... putt in a large Squirrel box fill'd with Hay, for as he grows naked he grows very Tender...(Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane ca. 1730)

Sloane was known to keep some unusual household pets, including a one-eyed Wolverine from Hudson's Bay and this groundhog. The care of the marmot became cumbersome to Sloane too, namely due to the dietary advice given him by Collinson. Marmots have large incisors on the upper and one on the lower jaw that grow continuously and need to be kept short and sharpened by frequent gnawing on hard plants and wood. Sloane did not head the warning to feed the marmot harder items, instead, preferring to feed him essentially table scraps. George Edwards recounted this habit and the eventual detriment to the gifted pet. In *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds*, volume II, plate 104. Edwards wrote:

> This Animal is of the Size of a Rabbit, it burieth itself under Ground, or creepeth into hollow Roots of Trees, and sleepeth all Winter; it hath pretty much the Shape and general Look of a large Rat the Feet seem to be formed, either for climbing Trees, or scratching Burroughs for its Security: It is a Species of the Marmotte, but differs something in Colour, but principally in that the Tail is much longer in Proportion.
>
> The Snout, both upper and lower Chops, are of a light blueish Ash-colour; the Teeth are like those of a Rabbit; the Eyes are of a dark Colour, rising a little out of the Head; it hath pretty long Smellers (whiskers) about the Nose; It hath beside these a Plat of long stiif Hares on each Side of the Head beyond the Corners of the Mouth; the Head and Body are all over of a Brown-colour, a little of a greenish Cast, such as we see in some of our Water Rats: The Grey on the Snout, and the Brown behind it, soften into each other all round the Head; the Ears are small and round, not landing out so much in Proportion as they do in common Rats ; the Brown-colour is darker on the Back, something lighter on the Sides, and lighted: of all in the Belly; the Feet, Toes, and Claws, are Black as far as the Heel, or first Joint of the Leg; the Toes are pretty long, and divided to their Bottoms, as in Squirrels; the Claws also are pretty long and sharp; the Tail is more than half the Length of the Body: It is covered with blackish Brown Hair, of a middling Length, which makes the Tail appear in a small Degree bushy.
>
> This Beast was brought from Maryland in North-America and presented to Sir Hans Sloane who kept it many Years: By being fed with soft Meats, and Disuse to gnaw its Teeth grew so long and crooked, that it could not take in its Food, so to preserve its Life, they were obliged to break them out. This Drawing was taken, as it lay by the Fire reposing itself; There hath been no Account given of this Animal that I know of.

Our drawing is closely related to another signed watercolor by George Edwards of Marmota Monax, now in an album of watercolor drawings of quadrupeds in the British Museum from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane.

For reference: GEORGE EDWARDS "The Monax, or, Marmotte, of America. from A Natural History..., volume II, plate 104.

Fig. JOHN AUGUSTUS SIMSON (FL.1735-1755)
Mimosa Humilis
signed “J:A: Simson fec 17[43] (date cropped)” (lower right), inscribed “The Humble Sensitive Plant / Mimosa Humilis, Trulesiens et Spinosa Silquis conglobates. (Plumiere) / The gift of [J:A: Simson fec 17]43 Gardner to / Mr
Clifford in Holland who / presented it to Mee as a
specimen / of his skill in Painting ..” (by Peter Collinson) on the sheet and extending onto the mount
watercolor on laid paper watermarked ‘IV’
18 ¾ x 11 5/8 in.
In volume II
[1743]

JOHN AUGUSTUS SIMSON (GERMAN, FL.1735-1755)
Mimosa Humilis
signed 'J:A: Simson fec 17[43] (date cropped)' (lower right), inscribed 'The Humble Sensitive Plant / Mimosa Humilis, Trulesiens et Spinosa Silquis conglobates. (Plumiere) / The gift of [J:A: Simson fec 17]43 Gardner to / Mr Clifford in Holland who / presented it to Mee as a specimen / of his skill in Painting ..' (by Peter Collinson) on the sheet and extending onto the mount. Watercolor on laid paper watermarked 'IV'
18 ¾ x 11 5/8in.
In volume II
[1743]

John (Johannes) Augustus Simson, "a gardner to Mr Clifford," presented this watercolor to Collinson as a gift from George Clifford's garden. A composition drawn from this garden adds much to Collinson's connection to Carl Linnaeus and the scientific community of the period, and its insertion in Catesby's book.

George Clifford made his wealth as a director of the Dutch East India Company. His access to new specimens aided his magnificent gardens at Hartekamp, in the coastal area near the university town of Haarlem. Specimens of newly introduced species, as well as living plants and seeds, from Virginia to the East Indies and Europe to the Cape of Good Hope, were acquired via other active collectors, including J.F. Gronovius (a correspondent of both Collinson and Bartram). Between 1735 and 1737, Carl Linnaeus worked for George Clifford as house physician and head gardener. Later, Linnaeus collaborated with Clifford, and by extension Georg Ehret, in publishing the first scholarly classification of an English garden in 1737 titled *Hortus Cliffordianus*. Mimosa Humilis was painted in 1743 by Clifford's gardener called J.A. Simson. We have been unable to find much detail on Simson, we do know his work must have been sought after because eight of his original watercolors of cactus and succulents remain in the collection at Knowsley Hall and were acquired by the 13th Earl of Derby.

Simson called this plant Mimosa humilis, now known as Mimosa Pudica; commonly known as the humble sensitive plant. The generic name derived from the Greek word (mimos), an actor or mime, and the feminine suffix -osa, resembling, suggesting its delicate leaves which seem to mimic conscious life; the epithet pudica is Latin for bashful. It is well known for its rapid plant movement in reaction to touch; the foliage closes during darkness and reopens in light. Due to Mimosa's unique response to touch, it became an ideal plant for many experiments regarding plant habituation and memory. Linnaeus developed his nomenclature for this plant based on type specimens sent to him and seen in unique gardens at his disposal, such as the garden of George Clifford. As was the case with Mimosa pudica which he named in *Species Plantarum* (1753). This plant is native to Mexico, the West Indies, as well as the northern parts of South America, including Brazil.

The sensitive plant was introduced into Europe at the end of the sixteenth-century, and it soon became popular in English gardens. This plant reacted rapidly and dramatically to a wide range of external stimuli by closing its pinnate leaflets and drooping the petioles of the compound leaves. Initially, experiments in the natural philosophy of plant sensitivity were considered an early nineteenth-century pursuit by natural philosophers such as Dr. Erasmus Darwin. But, these musing began in the seventeenth century and were of great interest in intellectual circles in the eighteenth-century. Simson's drawing of a sensitive plant presented with pride to Collinson is a prime example of this curiosity.

This plant drew the attention of Darwin which was captured by Thomas Green in *The Universal Herbal* (1818):

> Naturalists, says Dr. Darwin, have not explained the immediate cause of the collapsing of the Sensitive Plant; the leaves meet and close in the night, during the sleep of the plant, which, in Sweden, according to Linnæus, is from six in the evening to three in the morning, during the months of June and July; or when exposed to much cold in the same manner as when they are affected by external violence; folding their upper surfaces together, and inpart over each other like scales or tiles, so as to expose as little of the upper surface as may be to the air; but do not indeed collapse quite so far, for when touched in the night during their sleep, they fall still further.

Thanks to Charles Nelson for pointing out "Mimosa pudica was described by Linnaeus on p. 208 of Hortus Cliffortianus."

Additional Prints & Inscriptions Present In Peter Collinson's Set

Mark Catesby. *The Natural History Of Carolina, Florida And The Bahama Islands...*

Fig. GEORG EHRET (1708-1777)
Magnolia; altissima lauro-cerassi folio, flore ingenti candido, Catesb. commonly call'd the laurel-leaved tulip tree or Carolina laurel ... This plant produced it's beautifull flowers in ye garden of Sr. Charles Wager at Parsons Green near Fulham, Augt 1737
Handcolored intaglio engraving
c. 1737

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume I.

In 1737, George Ehret was recommended by Peter Collinson to Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty. Wager lived at Hollybush, a stately brick house, situated at the south-east corner of Parson's Green, Fulham. This was where Ehret observed the Magnolia grandiflora flowering in August 1737. Ehret traveled every day from Chelsea to observe all the different stages from bud to full flower. The species is identified as the Laurel Leaved Tulip Tree - or Magnolia grandiflora.

Fig. The Tyrant

Fig. The Turtle of Carolina

Fig. The Ground Dove

Fig. The Fieldfare

Fig. The Red-leg'd Thrush

Five (5) additional Mark Catesby etchings that are contained in an archival envelope at the front of Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume I.

Fig. GEORG EHRET (1708-1777)
"Papaya.." From *Plantae et papiliones rariores*
Handcolored engraving
London :s.n.],1748-1759

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume II.

Georg Ehret's pawpaw or Papaya appeared in the artist's *Plantae et Papiliones Rariores*. The original watercolor for this print (still in the Knowsley collection) bears the following inscription translated from Latin: "this plant grew forty feet tall, [the stem] seven inches in diameter, bore fruit for the first time in Europe, which it ripened on the 30th day of January in the year 1742 in the very interesting garden of Baron Petre." Ehret drew the image to commemorate Lord Robert Petre's achievement, in 1742, of growing this exotic plant in his hothouse at Thorndon Hall; it was the first time this plant from the New World ripened in Europe. This was a sought-after edible fruit that was also used as a meat tenderizer.

While Ehret took many commissions to paint prized ornamentals, this was the only one the artist produced specifically related to Petre. Lord Petre, a close botanist friend to Peter Collinson, tragically died later in 1742 from smallpox at the tender age of twenty-nine. The death haunted Collinson for years and he wrote of the pain of this loss with most of his correspondents of the time. Collinson's addition of this piece to his volume II of Catesby's work may have been commemorative too in that Petre was one of Catesby's initial subscribers.

Fig. GEORG EHRET (1708-1777)
"Ketmia indica folis.."
{Publication search still underway]
Handcolored engraving

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume II.

Manuscript note on the bottom of the print states, "This was engraved and coloured by Mr. Ehret 1735"

Fig. GEORG EHRET (1708-1777)
"Musa fructu..."
{Publication search still underway]
Handcolored engraving

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.

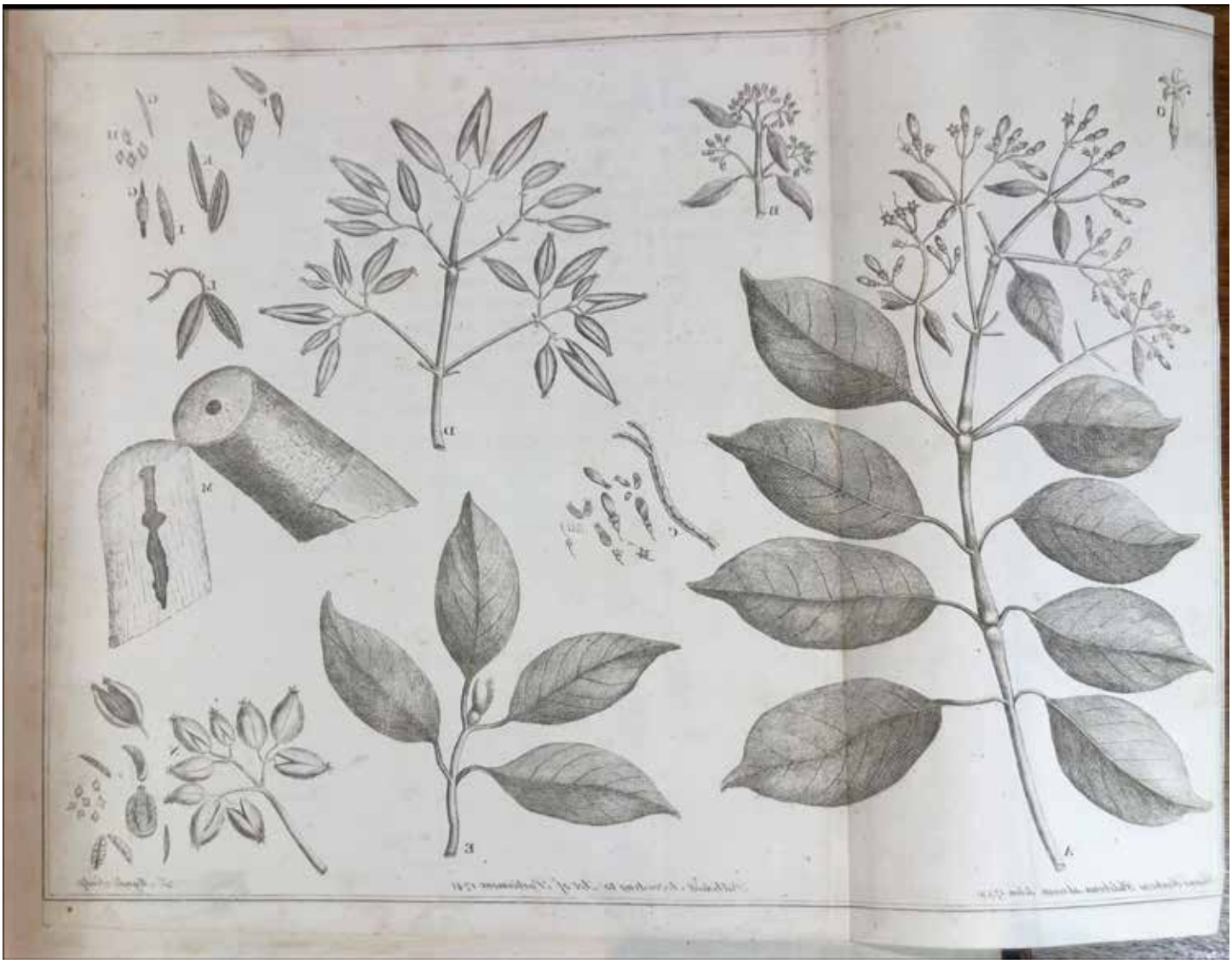


Fig. Johanne Hankeems (?)
Untitled
{Publication search still underway]
Engraving with text printed in reverse
1736
(in progress)

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
"A Species of Heath Cock or Grouse from Pensilvania, where it is called a pheasant"
From *Gleanings of Natural History*
Hand-colored engraving

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume II.

Inscribed "Drawn from a bird sent by J. Bartram to Mee Described by Mr. Edwards in Gleanings 248 plate"

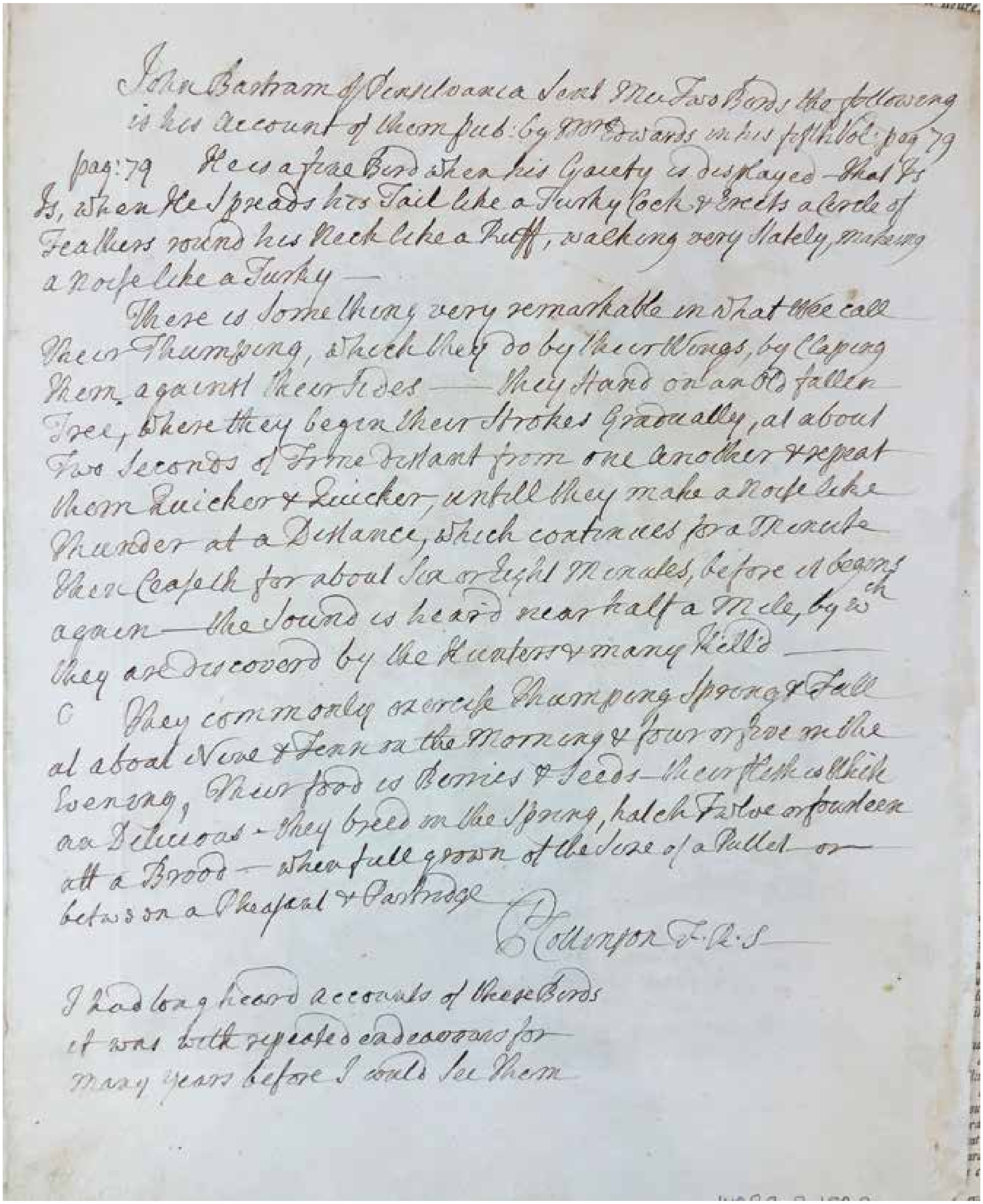
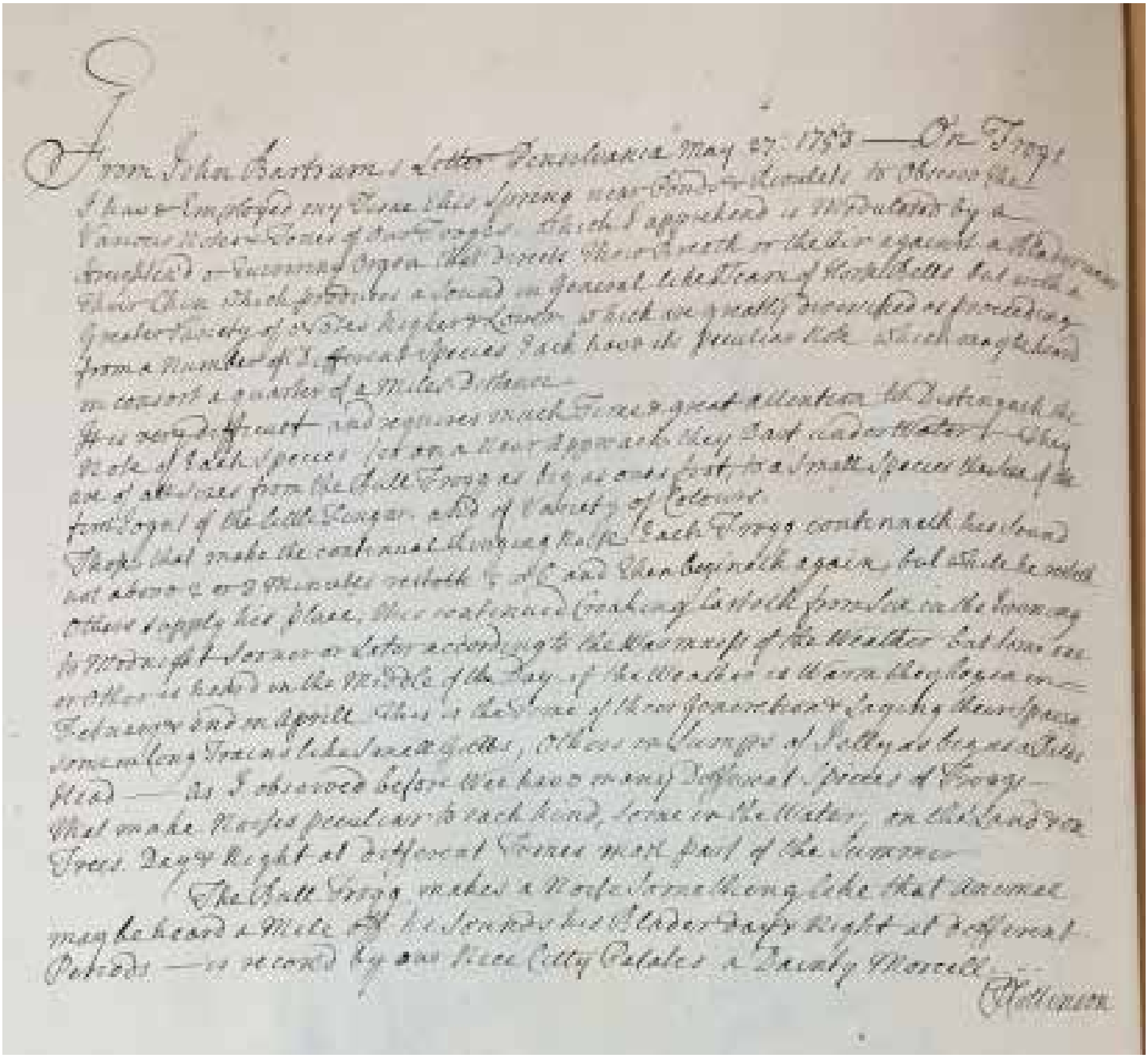

John Bartram of Pensilvania Sent Me Two Birds the following
is his Account of them pub: by Mr Edwards in his fifth Vol: pag 79
pag: 79 He is a fine Bird when his Gaiety is displayed that is
is, when He Spreads his Tail like a Turky Cock & Erects a Circle of
Feathers round his Neck like a Ruff, walking very Stately, making
a noise like a Turky —
There is Something very remarkable in what Wee call
Their Thumping, which they do by their Wings, by Claping
them against their Sides — they Stand on an Old fallen
Tree, where they begin their Strokes Gradually, at about
Two Seconds of Time distant from one another & repeat
them Quicker & Quicker, until they make a noise like
Thunder at a Distance, which continues for a Minute
then Ceaseth for about Six or Eight Minutes, before it begins
again — the Sound is heard near half a Mile, by which
they are discovered by the Hunters & many Kill'd —
They commonly exercise Thumping Spring & Fall
at about Nine & Tenn in the Morning & four or five in the
Evening, Their food is Berries & Seeds — their flesh is White
and Delicious — they breed in the Spring, hatch Twelve or fourteen
att a Brood — when full grown of the size of a Pullet — or
between a Pheasant & Partridge
P Collinson F.R.S
I had long heard accounts of these Birds
it was with repeated endeavours for
many years before I could see them

Fig. Manuscript notes on the verso of George Edwards,
"A Species of Heath Cock or Grouse from Pensilvania, where it is called a pheasant"

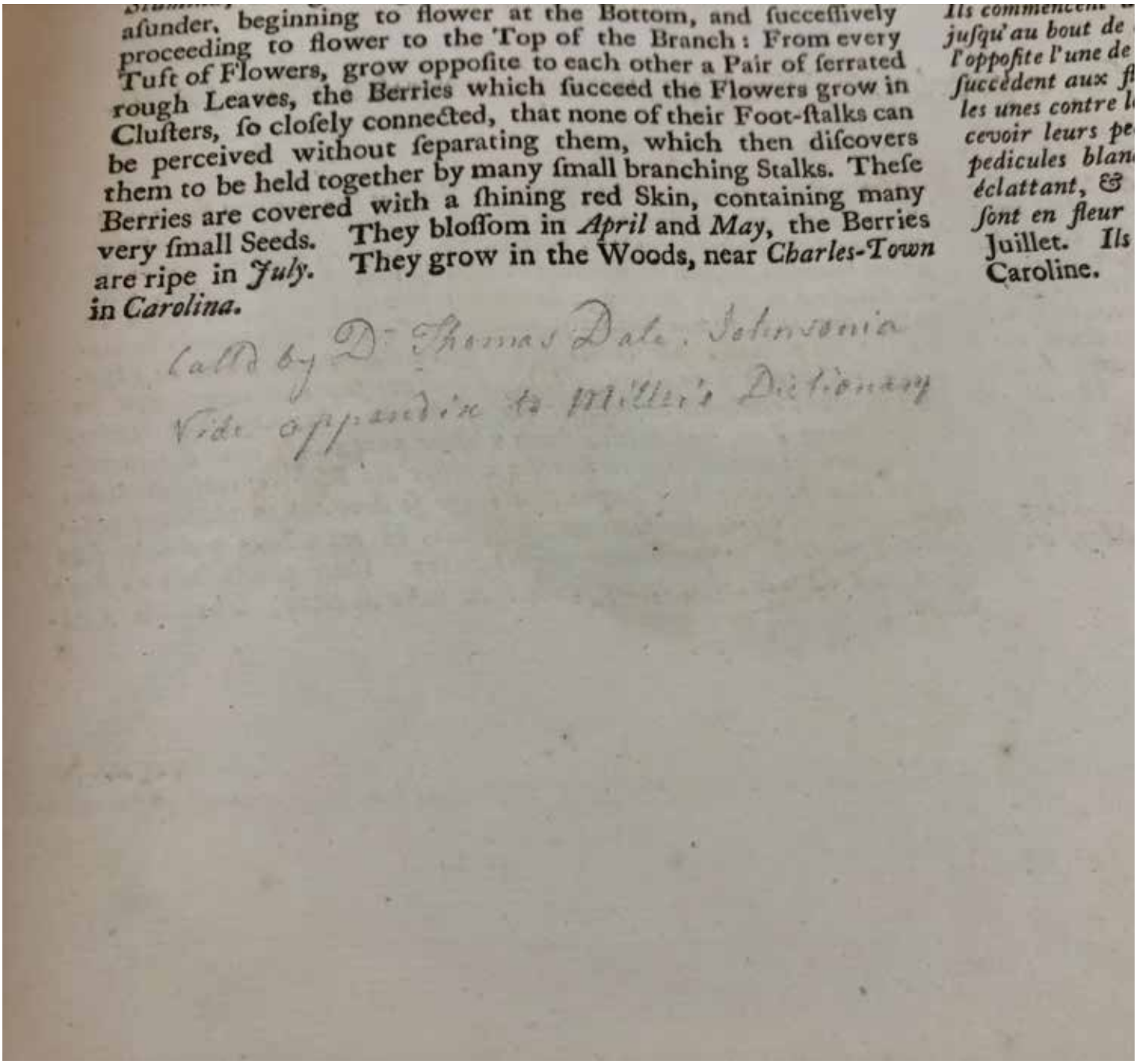
Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands…*, volume II.



From John Bartram's Letter Pensilvania May 27. 1753 — On Frogs

Fig. Recounting John Bartram's thoughts on frogs from a letter of 1753
On the verso of Plate 72, the Bull Frog

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.

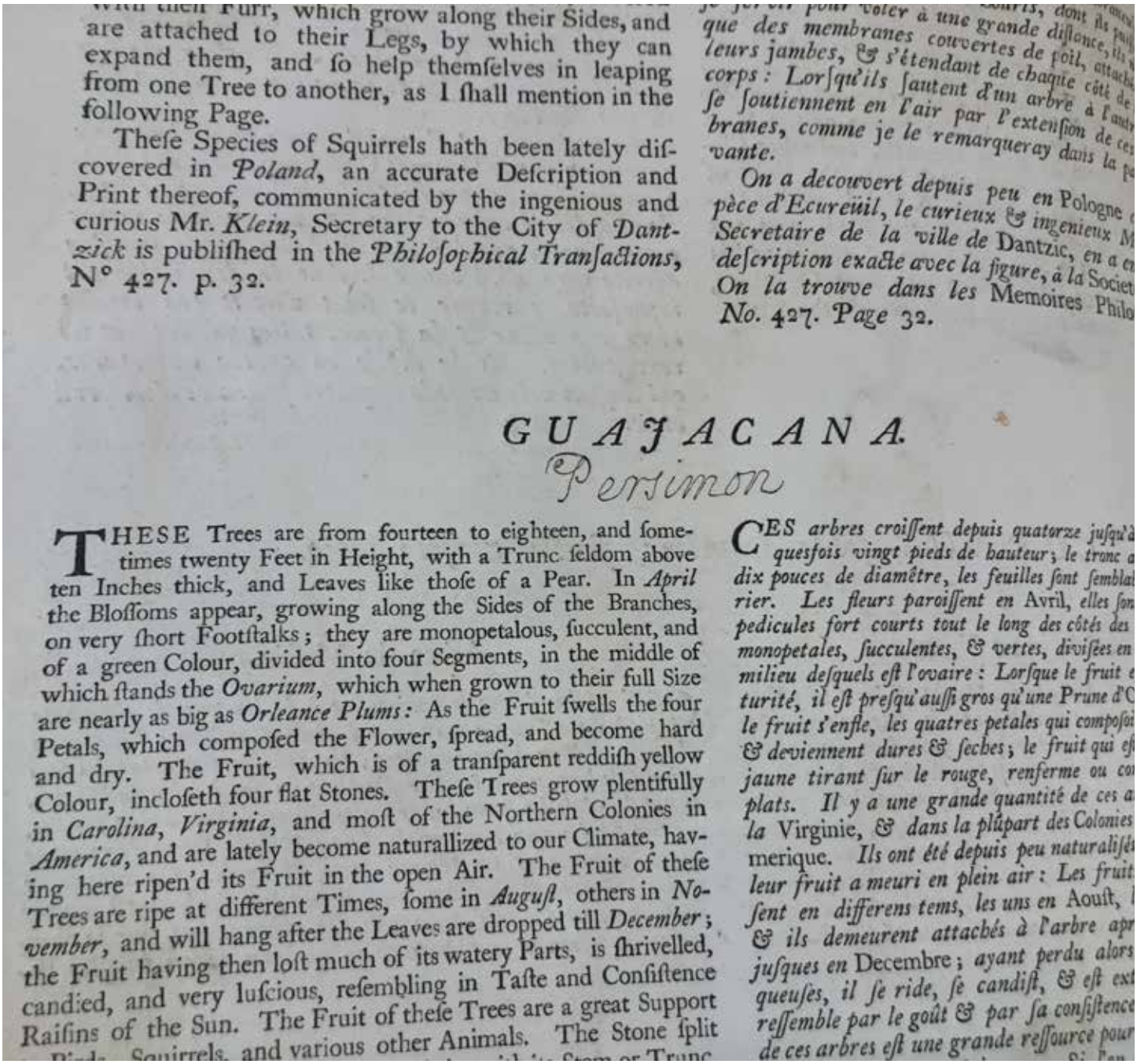

asunder, beginning to flower at the Bottom, and ſucceſſively proceeding to flower to the Top of the Branch: From every Tuft of Flowers, grow oppoſite to each other a Pair of ſerrated rough Leaves, the Berries which ſucceed the Flowers grow in Cluſters, ſo cloſely connected, that none of their Foot-ſtalks can be perceived without ſeparating them, which then diſcovers them to be held together by many ſmall branching Stalks. Theſe Berries are covered with a ſhining red Skin, containing many very ſmall Seeds. They bloſſom in *April* and *May*, the Berries are ripe in *July*. They grow in the Woods, near *Charles-Town* in *Carolina*.

Ils commencent
juſqu'au bout de
l'oppoſite l'une de
ſuccèdent aux f
les unes contre l
cevoir leurs pe
pedicules blan
éclattant, &
ſont en fleur
Juillet. Ils
Caroline.

called by D^r Thomas Dale. Solanum
Vide appendix to Miller's Dictionary

Fig. Written in the text for plate 47, the "Blueish-green Snake"

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume II.



with their Furr, which grow along their Sides, and are attached to their Legs, by which they can expand them, and ſo help themſelves in leaping from one Tree to another, as I ſhall mention in the following Page.

Theſe Species of Squirrels hath been lately diſcovered in *Poland*, an accurate Deſcription and Print thereof, communicated by the ingenious and curious Mr. *Klein*, Secretary to the City of *Dantzick* is publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N° 427. p. 32.

que des membranes couvertes de poil, attach
leurs jambes, & s'étendant de chaque côté de
corps: Lorſqu'ils ſautent d'un arbre à l'autr
ſe ſoutiennent en l'air par l'extenſion de ces
branes, comme je le remarqueray dans la pe
vante.

On a decouvert depuis peu en Pologne
pèce d'Ecureüil, le curieux & ingenieux M
Secretaire de la ville de Dantzic, *en a en*
deſcription exacte avec la figure, à la Societ
On la trouve dans les Memoires Philo
No. 427. *Page* 32.

GUAJACANA.

Persimon

THESE Trees are from fourteen to eighteen, and ſometimes twenty Feet in Height, with a Trunc ſeldom above ten Inches thick, and Leaves like thoſe of a Pear. In *April* the Bloſſoms appear, growing along the Sides of the Branches, on very ſhort Footſtalks; they are monopetalous, ſucculent, and of a green Colour, divided into four Segments, in the middle of which ſtands the *Ovarium*, which when grown to their full Size are nearly as big as *Orleance Plums:* As the Fruit ſwells the four Petals, which compoſed the Flower, ſpread, and become hard and dry. The Fruit, which is of a tranſparent reddiſh yellow Colour, incloſeth four flat Stones. Theſe Trees grow plentifully in *Carolina*, *Virginia*, and moſt of the Northern Colonies in *America*, and are lately become naturallized to our Climate, having here ripen'd its Fruit in the open Air. The Fruit of theſe Trees are ripe at different Times, ſome in *Auguſt*, others in *November*, and will hang after the Leaves are dropped till *December*; the Fruit having then loſt much of its watery Parts, is ſhrivelled, candied, and very luſcious, reſembling in Taſte and Conſiſtence Raiſins of the Sun. The Fruit of theſe Trees are a great Support Birds, Squirrels, and various other Animals. The Stone ſplit

CES arbres croiſſent depuis quatorze juſqu'à
quesfois vingt pieds de hauteur; le tronc a
dix pouces de diamêtre, les feuilles ſont ſemblab
rier. Les fleurs paroiſſent en Avril, *elles ſon*
pedicules fort courts tout le long des côtés des
monopetales, ſucculentes, & vertes, diviſées en
milieu deſquels eſt l'ovaire: Lorſque le fruit e
turité, il eſt preſqu'auſſi gros qu'une Prune d'
le fruit s'enfle, les quatres petales qui compoſoi
& deviennent dures & ſeches; le fruit qui eſ
jaune tirant ſur le rouge, renferme ou co
plats. Il y a une grande quantité de ces a
la Virginie, *& dans la plûpart des Colonies*
merique. *Ils ont été depuis peu naturaliſé*
leur fruit a meuri en plein air: Les fruit
ſent en differens tems, les uns en Aouſt,
& ils demeurent attachés à l'arbre apr
juſques en Decembre; *ayant perdu alors*
queuſes, il ſe ride, ſe candiſt, & eſt ext
reſſemble par le goût & par ſa conſiſtence
de ces arbres eſt une grande reſſource pour

Fig. Written in the text for plate 76, the "Flying Squirrel"

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume II.

Fig. Written in the upper right corner of plate 78, Gray Fox

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...,* volume II.

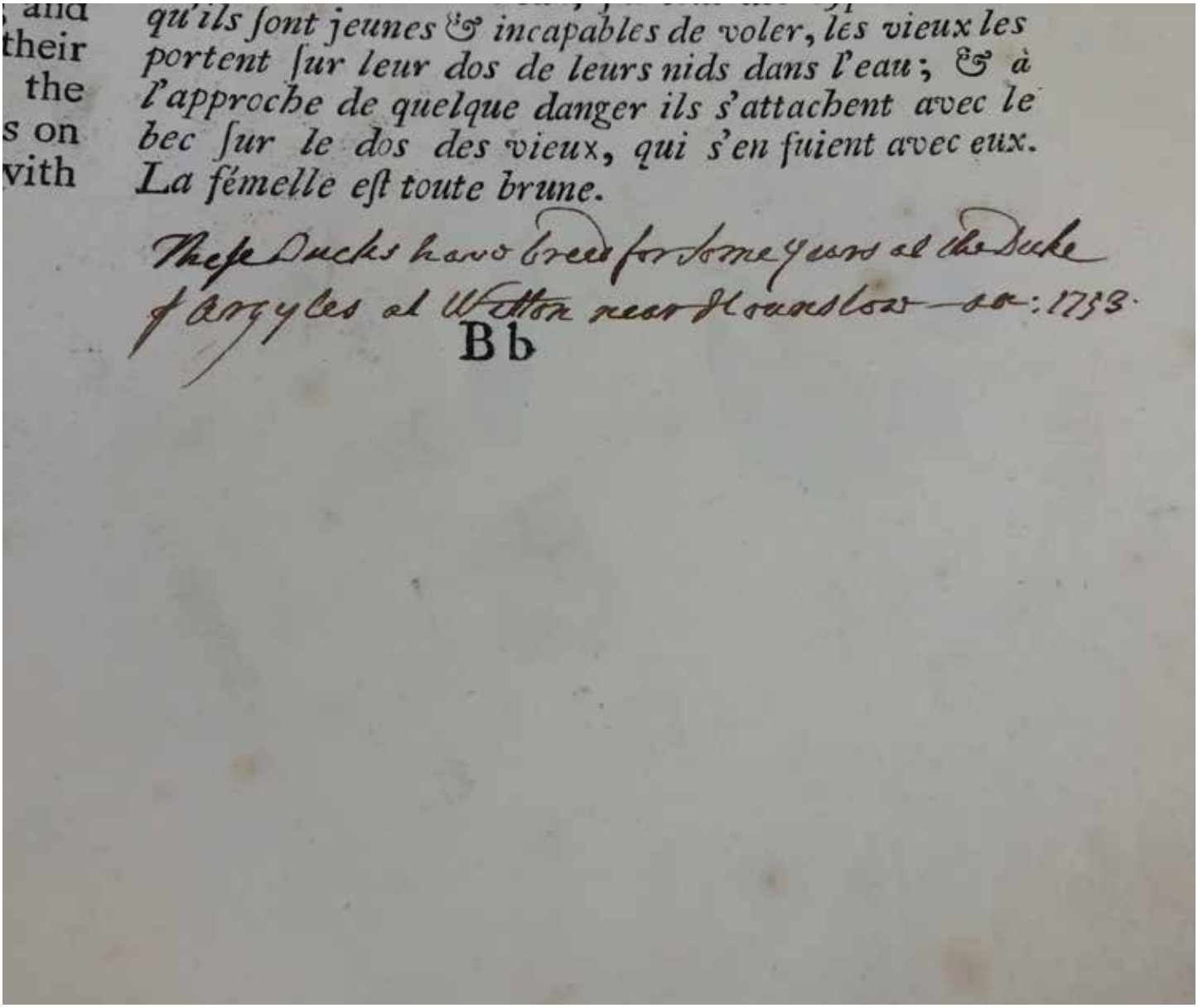
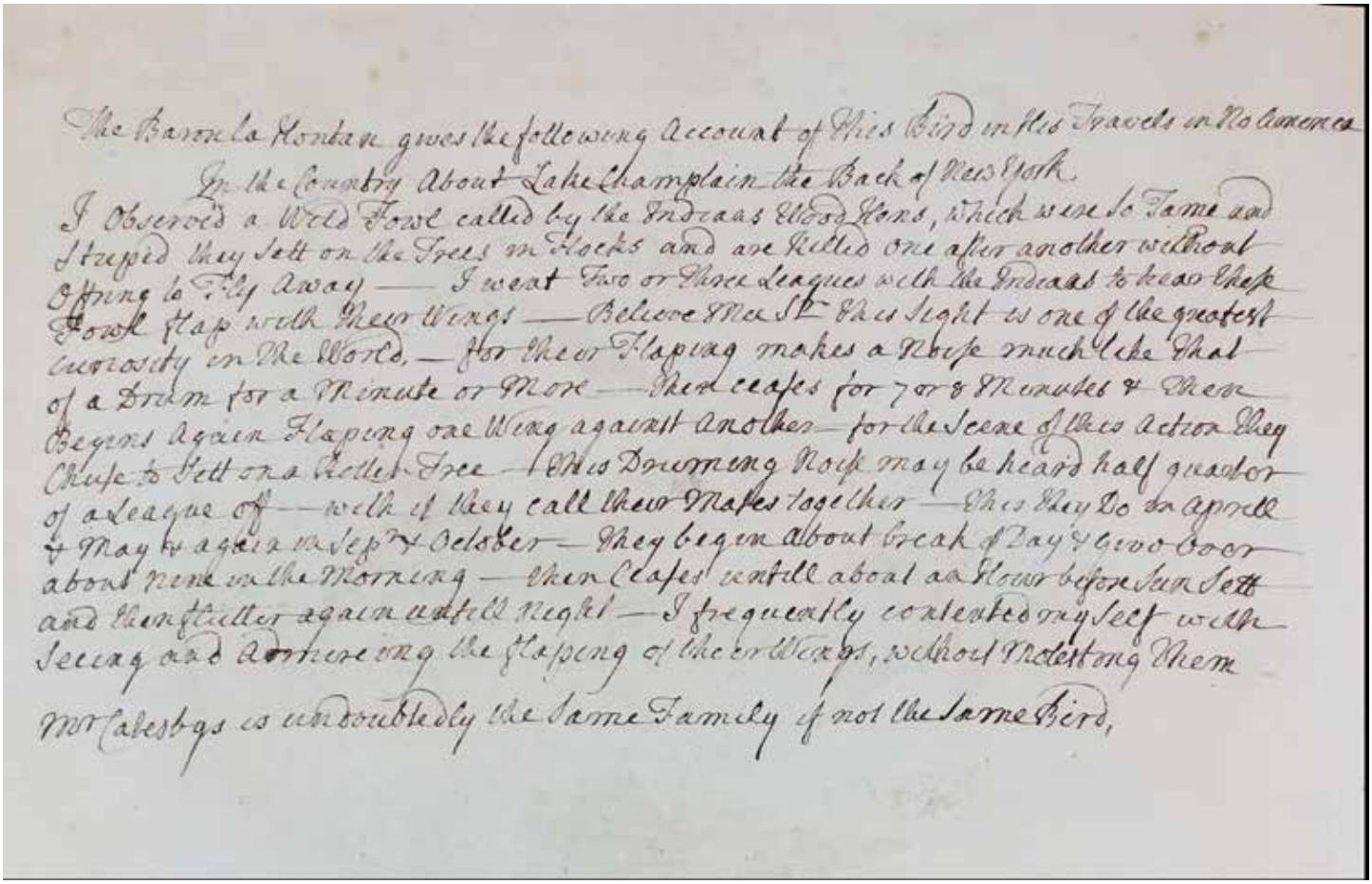


Fig. Manuscript notes on the verso of Plate 97, the Summer Duck

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.

Fig. Written in the upper right corner of Catesby's map

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.


The Baron La Honton gives the following Account of this Bird in his Travels in No America

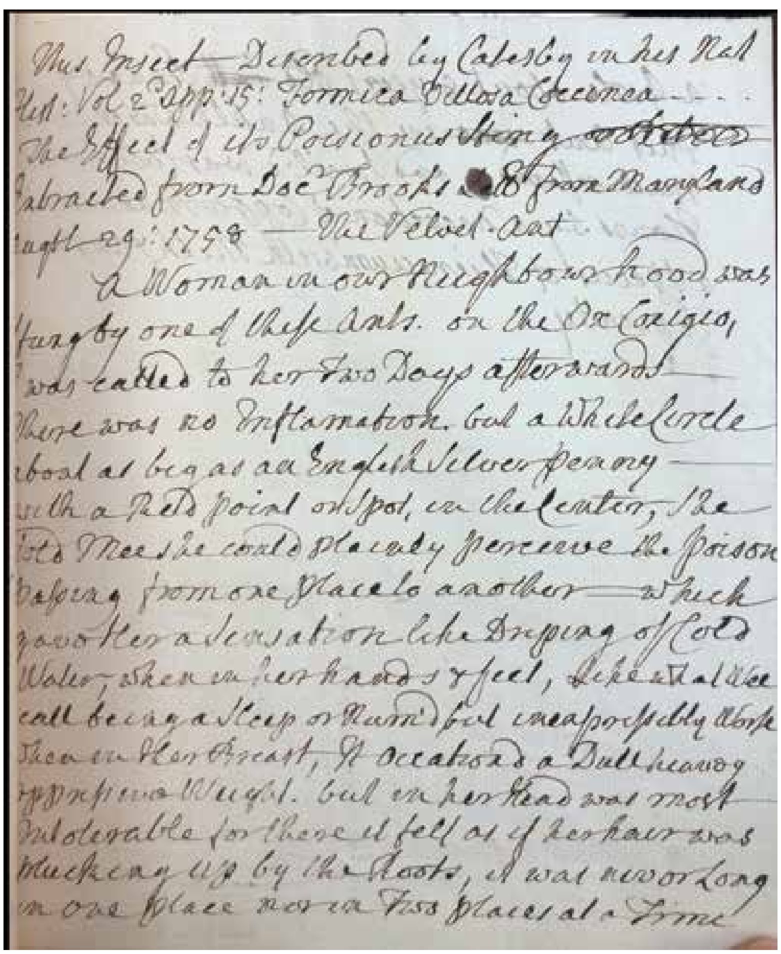
In the Country About Lake Champlain the Back of New York

I Observed a Wild Fowl called by the Indeans Wood Hens, which were so Tame and Stupid they Sett on the Trees in Flocks and are Killed one after another without Offring to Fly Away — I went Two or Three Leagues with the Indeans to hear those Fowls Clap with their Wings — Believe Me Sr this Sight is one of the greatest Curiosity in the World, — for their Flaping makes a Noise much like that of a Drum for a Minute or More — then ceases for 7 or 8 Minutes & then Begins Again Flaping one Wing against Another — for the Scene of this Action they Chuse to Sett on a Rotten Tree — This Drumming Noise may be heard half quarter of a League off — with if they call their Mates together — This they Do in April & May & again in Sept & October — they begin about break of Day & Give over about Nine in the Morning — then Ceases intill about an Hour before Sun Sett and then flutter again intill Night — I frequently contented my Self with Seeing and Observing the Flaping of their Wings, without Molesting them

Mr Catesbys is undoubtedly the same Family if not the same Bird,

Fig. Manuscript notes on the verso of Plate 1, in the Appendix, "Heath Hen"

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.


This Insect Described by Catesby in his Nat
Hist: Vol 2 App: 15: Formica Villosa Coccinea - - -
The Effect of its Poisonous Sting ~~is thus~~
Extracted from Doc^r Brooks Lett^r from Maryland
Augst 29: 1758 — The Velvet Ant
A Woman in our Neighbourhood was
Stung by one of these Ants. on the Os Coxigis,
I was called to her Two Days afterwards —
there was no Inflamation. but a White Circle
about as big as an English Silver penny —
with a Red point or Spot, in the Center, She
told Me she could plainly perceive the Poison
passing from one Place to another — which
gave Her a sensation like Dropping of Cold
Water, when in her hands & feet, like what we
call being a Sleep or Numb but inexpressibly Worse
than in Her Breast, It occasion'd a Dull heavy
oppressive Weight. but in her Head was most
Intolerable for there it felt as if her hair was
Plucking up by the Roots, it was never long
in one Place nor in Two places at a Time

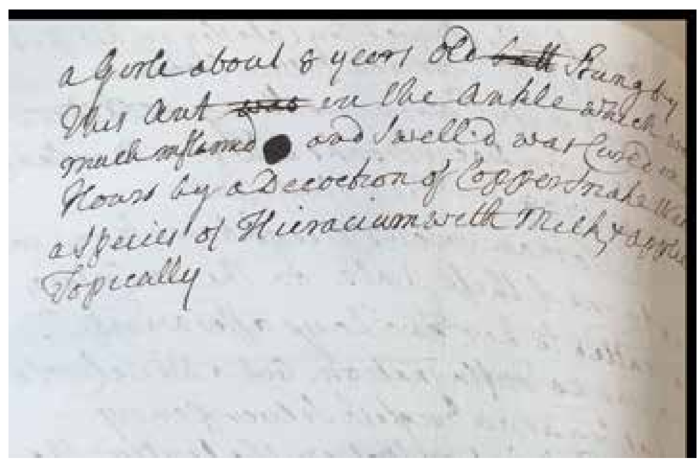

a Girle about 8 years Old ~~both~~ Stung by
this Ant ~~was~~ in the Ankle which
much inflamed and Swelled was Cured in
Hours by a Decoction of Copper Snake
a Species of Hieracium with Milk & applied
Topically

Fig. Manuscript notes on the the verso of Plate 15, in the Appendix, "Magnolia flore albo"

Present in Peter Collinson's set of Mark Catesby. *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*, volume II.

A BOOK OF PAINTINGS OF BIRDS AND FLOWERS BY WILLIAM BARTRAM, MARK CATESBY, GEORGE EDWARDS, GEORG EHRET, AND OTHERS

It seems carefully considered by Peter Collinson to preface his commonplace book, titled "Paintings of birds and flowers," with an image of John Bartram's historic garden drawn by his son, William Bartram, the firstborn American natural history artist. Bartram's garden, on the banks of the Schuylkill River, near Philadelphia, was the experimental plot land from which thousands of species of plants were grown for Collinson and like-minded gentry.

The first section is dedicated to three original watercolors by Mark Catesby. Images present expand upon those collected by Collinson and inserted into his extra-illustrated *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*. Namely, addressing species present in his Appendix or beyond the scope of his printed works. Notes inscribed by Catesby or Collinson indicate these marine species were topics of discussion at the Royal Society where both Catesby and Collinson were active members. Their inclusion in Collinson's commonplace book implies Catesby's continued contributions to both scientific and artistic pursuits well beyond his most famous publication.

The second, and the most robust portion of the assemblage, are the earliest known works by America's first natural history artist: William Bartram. We see the influence of his mentor, Peter Collinson, in both his subject matter and style. Collinson's manuscript annotations show Bartram's drawings were a powerful instrument by which Collinson "updated" available knowledge on American subject matter. Until this time, Bartram's oeuvre has been studied as it relates to the collection of watercolors drawn for John Fothergill, now at the Natural History Museum, London, as it relates to the artist's most celebrated work, his *Travels*. Joseph Ewan's survey, *William Bartram Botanical and Zoological Drawings, 1756-1788 (1968)* was an extraordinary analysis of the Fothergill collection and William Bartram's life. However, it did not sufficiently delve into the Bartram's early work.

The Knowsley Bartrams have, to this time, been studied piecemeal, with excellent descriptions written by significant scholars in the field. Namely, Joel Fry and Thomas Hallock's "Preliminary List of Illustrations by William Bartram," as "Appendix B" in *William Bartram, The Search for Nature's Design*. The dearth of research on the watercolor collection has primarily been hindered by limited access and lack of a proper image database. Thus, the group assembled by Collinson has not been thoroughly researched as a whole, nor had in-depth analyses of each image in context to their patron. Here we wish to continue the investigations begun by Fry, Hallock, and others, beginning with his early trials relating to migratory birds, oaks and maples, and reptiles so significantly and fully represented here.

There has not been a Bartram watercolor available for purchase since the mid-nineteenth century. The Peter Collinson collection of William Bartram watercolors numbers a stunning number of early watercolors by this artist. This collection represents his earliest known works, beginning around 1751-1767. Other watercolors by William Bartram can be found in public institutions such as the Natural History Museum, London; the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, the Gutman Library, Harvard University; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson Library; University of Pennsylvania; Bartram's Garden; and the Museum National D'Historie Naturelle, Paris.

The third section, contains a substantial number of original watercolors by George Edwards painted from type specimens in elite British menageries. Collinson's acquisition of Edwards' non-botanical subjects gives a glimpse into his interest in ornithology and other rare species from the expanded British Empire. Many of the representations were imported species from the American colonies (including the West Indies), as well as Asia and Africa, and eventually included in Edwards' *Natural History and Gleanings*. Collinson's choice of species, and his annotated commentary, add much to the history of their import to the United Kingdom and period's unique relationship between artist and patron.

The fourth section, represents a magnificent group of drawings by master botanical painter Georg Ehret, and several English counterparts who documented new and unusual American imports for Collinson. Several are plants that Collinson introduced to Britain for the very first time.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

A commonplace book containing 75 watercolors and drawings by William Bartram, Mark Catesby, George Edwards, Georg Dionysius Ehret, and others, including William Bartram's A Draught of John Bartram's House and Garden as it appears from the River, together with 127 handcolored engravings from Catesby's Natural History (73), George Edwards' A Natural History of Birds, A Natural History of Uncommon Birds and Gleanings of Natural History (14), Johann Jacob Dillen Dillenius's Hortus Elthamensis (29) and others.
Large folio (440 x 290mm.), 20th century half-bound morocco with marbled paper covered boards, spine in compartments, lettered in gilt "PAINTINGS / OF BIRDS / AND FLOWERS', the 13th Earl of Derby's bookplate on front pastedown, inscribed (by Lord Derby) 'Purchased 19 April 1842 at the Sale of Mr Lambert's Library / Lot 206 £ s d by Boone for me / Derby / Knowsley" on the front free end paper.

PROVENANCE:
Peter Collinson (1694-1768), and then by descent to his grandson Charles Streynsham Collinson (1753-1834). (+) sale, Robert Garrod, Chantry, Ipswich, 21-27 July 1834, lot 586 ('Third Day's Sale, Natural History, A Volume ... lot 586, Another, containing 74 ORIGINAL DRAWINGS of SUBJECTS of NATURAL HISTORY, by EHRET, GEO. EDWARDS, W. BARTRAM, and OTHERS; and also 120 colored Engravings of Birds, Flowers, &c. '. Aylmer Bourke Lambert (1761-1842); (†) sale, S. Leigh Sotheby, 26 Lower Grosvenor Street (the residence of the late Mr Lambert), London, 18-20 April, 1842 (Catalogue of the valuable botanical library of the late A.B. Lambert, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c, of Boyton House, Wiltshire), lot 206 ('Drawings and Coloured Prints: - A Collection of 74 beautiful drawings and 120 finely coloured engravings of birds, fishes, flowers, insects, &c. in 1 vol. half bound calf ***This volume came from the collection of Peter Collinson, Esq.') Edward Smith Stanley, 13th Earl of Derby (1775-1851), and then by descent to the 19th Earl of Derby.

EXHIBITED:
Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, *The Earl and the Pussycat*, June-Sept. 2002, no.71.

SELECTED LITERATURE:
H. McBurney, *Mark Catesby's 'Natural History' of America*, London, 1997, p.26, n.43.
A.R.W. Meyers and M.B. Pritchard, *Empire's Nature Mark Catesby's New World Vision*, Chapel Hill, 1998, p.13 ("Collinson also collected a number of Catesby's smaller studies, which he included in a collection of drawings by a group of Catesby's associates, including , Albin, George Edwards, and the young Philadelphia naturalist William Bartram (1739-1823), whose father John was one of Catesby's most important American correspondents."), note 27 ("This set of drawings, which was bound into an album after 1820, is ... in the collection of Lord Derby at Knowsley Hall.")
C. Fisher (ed.), *A Passion for Natural History, The Life and Legacy of the 13th Earl of Derby,* Liverpool, 2002, pp.140 and 150, no.71 (illustrated).

A FOUNDATION DOCUMENT OF AMERICAN GARDEN HISTORY

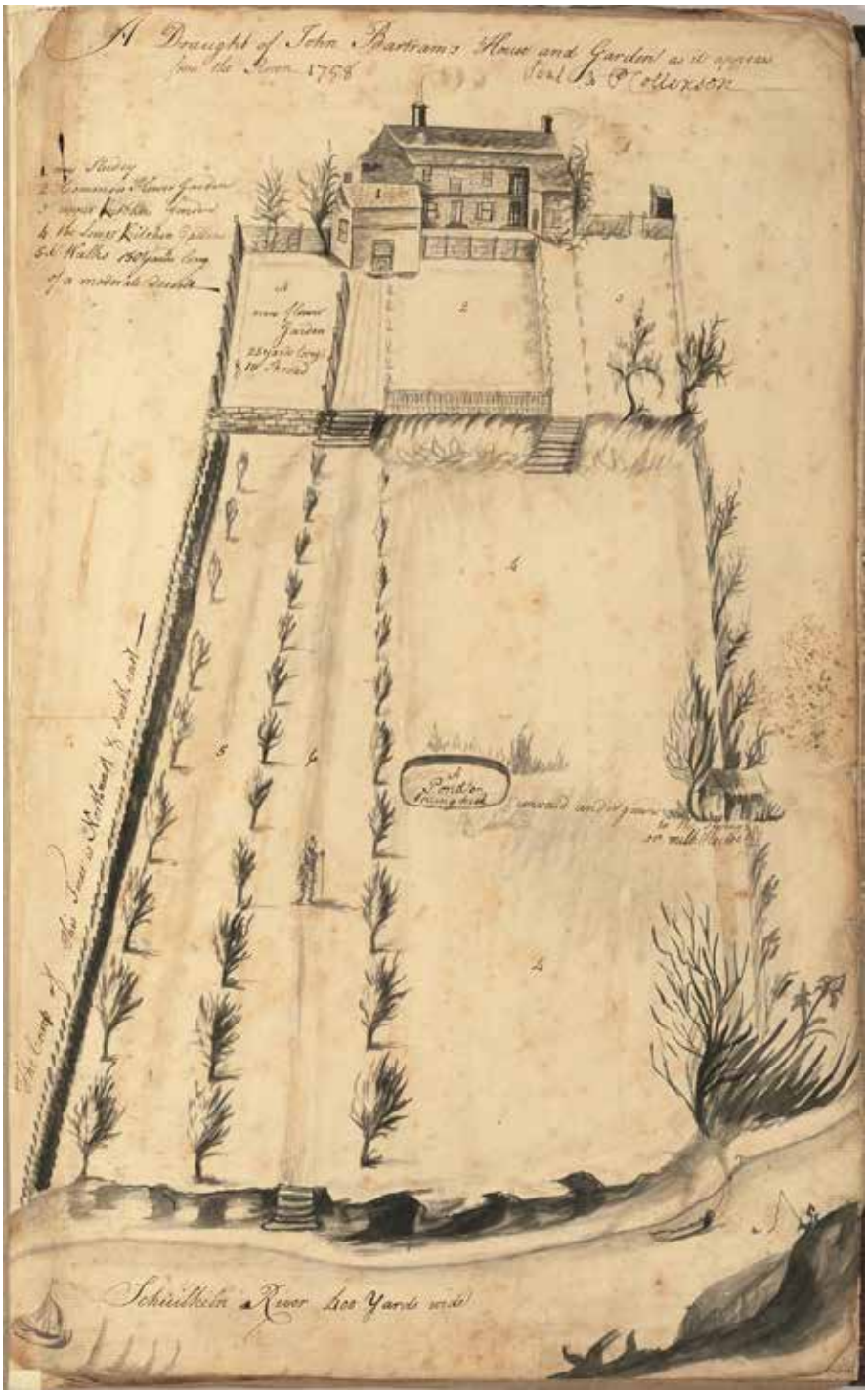


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
A Draught of John Bartram's House and Garden as it appears from the River
Inscribed as titled, further inscribed '1758 sent to P Collinson' (by Peter Collinson), inscribed with a key to the gardens '1. My Studey/ 2. Common Flower Garden / 3 upper Kitchen Garden / 4 the Lower Kitchen Gardin / 5.6. Walks 150 yards long of a moderate decent', and with further topographical annotations by the artist 'A/new flower Garden 25 yards long & 10 Broad / The Course of this Fence is North west & south east / A Pond or Spring Head convaid underground to the Spring or milk House / Schuilkiln River 400 Yards wide'
Grey wash on laid paper laid down on wove paper
Paper size: 16 1/2 x 10 3/8 in.
1758

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)

A Draught of John Bartram's House and Garden as it appears from the River

Inscribed as titled, further inscribed '1758 sent to P Collinson' (by Peter Collinson), inscribed with a key to the gardens '1. My Studey/ 2. Common Flower Garden / 3 upper Kitchen Garden / 4 the Lower Kitchen Gardin / 5.6. Walks 150 yards long of a moderate decent', and with further topographical annotations by the artist 'A/new flower Garden 25 yards long & 10 Broad / The Course of this Fence is North west & south east / A Pond or Spring Head convaid underground to the Spring or milk House / Schuilkiln River 400 Yards wide'

Grey wash on laid paper laid down on wove paper

Paper size: 16 1/2 x 10 3/8 in.

1758

LITERATURE:

T.P. Slaughter, *The Nature of John and William Bartram*, New York, 1996, 35-37 (illustrated in black and white, and incorrectly attributing Collinson's inscription '1758 sent to P Collinson' to John Bartram).

A.R.W. Meyers and M.B. Pritchard (eds), *Empire's Nature, Mark Catesby's New World Vision*, Chapel Hill and London, 1998, pl.23 (illustrated in black and white).

C. Fisher (ed.) *A Passion for Natural History, The Life & Legacy of the 13th Earl of Derby*, Liverpool, 2002, 140 and 150 ('Another famous American artist, William Bartram (1739-1823), was responsible for sketching a plan of his father's garden at Kingressing, near Philadelphia. This sketch, enclosed in an annotated and interleaved volume formerly in Peter Collinson's library, is a foundation document of American garden history.')

A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden..." *Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S.*, Philadelphia, 2002, 10 (illustrated).

N.E. Hoffmann and J.C. Van Horne (eds), *America's Curious Botanist A Tercentennial Reappraisal of John Bartram 1699-1777* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, vol 249), Philadelphia, 2004, frontispiece, and 153.

A. Wulf, *The Brother Gardners, Botany, Empire and the Birth of an Obsession*, London, 2008, illustrated facing 72.

As Joseph Ewan has pointed out, while John Bartram's garden is known as the first of its kind in America, it served more as a laboratory for experimentation rather than the structured nature of today's botanical gardens. The story of John Bartram's seed exchange with Peter Collinson is well known, the sharing of specimen seeds went both ways; John provided from the colonies, and Peter sent him interesting ornamental varieties. Peter Collinson wrote to John Bartram April 6th 1759 regarding William's plan of the garden: "We are all much Entertained with thy draught of thy House and Garden the situation most delightful and that for our plants is well chosen I shall endeavour to furnish it." Thus, there seems to be a plan for Collinson to "furnish it," perhaps, for the section labeled "a new flower garden" in the upper left of the composition.

John Bartram's garden plan was simple, a suitable combination of utility and Quaker heritage. It was summed up aptly by his son John Bartram Jr., in relative religious terms:

> these extensive gardens became the Seminary of American vegetables, from whence they were distributed to Europe, and other regions of the civilized world. They may with propriety and truth be called the Botanical Academy of Pennsylvania since, being near Philadelphia, the Professors of botany, Chemistry, and Materia Medica, attended their youthful train of pupils, annually assemble here during the Floral season.

However, from the perspective of a colonial gentleman, it was not orderly or "picturesque" like European counterparts. Alexander Garden wrote to Cadwallader Colden about his impressions of the garden a visit with John Bartram:

> I have met wt very Little new in the Botanic way unless Your ac-quaintance Bartram . . . One Day he Dragged me out of town & Entertain'd me so agreably with some Elevated Botanicall thoughts, on oaks, Firns, Rocks & c that I forgot I was hungry till we Landed in his house about four Miles from Town . . . His garden is a perfect portraiture of himself, here you meet

> wt a row of rare plants almost covered over wt weeds, here with a Beautiful Shrub, even Luxuriant Amongst Briars, and in another corner an Elegant & Lofty tree lost in common thicket—on our way from town to his house he carried me to severall rocks & Dens where he shewed me some of his rare plants,which he had brought from the Mountains &c. In a word he disdains to have a garden less than Pensylvania [sic] & Every den is an Arbour, Every run of water, a Canal, & every small level Spot a Parterre, where he nurses up some of his Idol Flowers & cultivates his darling productions. He had many plants whose names he did not know, most or all of which I had seen & knew them—On the other hand he had several I had not seen & some I never heard of. (Alexander Garden to Cadwallader Colden November 4, 1754)

Little is known of William Bartram's access to art books of the period, he primarily consulted natural history tomes. However, we do know Peter Collinson provided "Billy" with a book in 1757, the year before this drawing was made.Writing to John Bartram, February 10, 1757: "there may be at Times Some Leisure Hours in which He may Divert himself in his Favourite amusement So have Sent Him the Best Book Wee have extant by which he may Improve Himself." One assumes this is a European book on drawing or a book with illustrated views, either way, it likely colored his opinion of what fine art should include. William's drawing of his father's garden is one of his early trials at expanding beyond his normal repertoire.

William Bartram lays out his family garden as a topographical view in an exaggerated vertical format similar to early religious icons but nuanced in his own way. Bartram sent this drawing to Collinson, and thus likely considered his patron when composing it. William paints an idyllic vista of this American colonial garden using European painting devices, giving a proper foreground, middle ground, and background with requisite figures for scale and ambiance. In the foreground, the Schuylkill River rambles with a several boats afloat and a fisherman is casting a line. As the picture recedes, we see rows of trees, a small pond, and a figure with a walking stick. The composition leads to a detailed depiction of the Bartram home. One wonders, who is this figure? Is it John Bartram? William? What a curious addition to this picture and a wonderfully poetic device for this artist who would later be cast as America's earliest romantic writers.

The Bartram homestead today

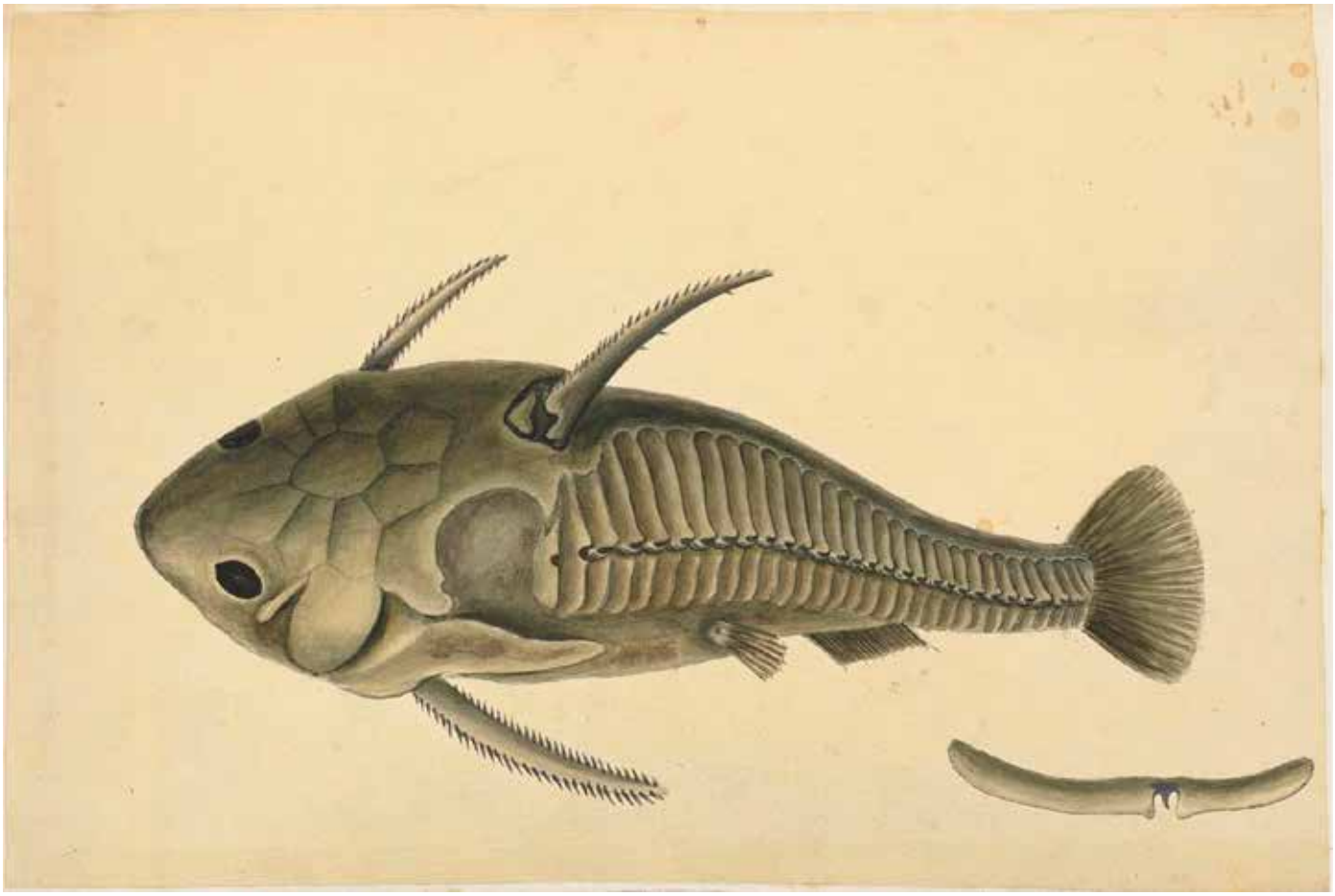


Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
Cataphractus Americanus (Spiny Catfish)
Watercolor on laid paper
9 x 13 3/8 in.
Engraved: *Natural History* II, Appendix, pl. (19) 20.

According to Elsa Allen, this catfish is one of the species which Catesby did not observe first hand but from drawings by John White in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. Our watercolor is closely related to one of the same title in the collection at Windsor Castle. The drawing shows a grey fish seen from above. The fish has sharp, saw-like projections instead of fins, very dark eyes and a series of flaps like gills along the side of its body. There is a separate study of some bones.

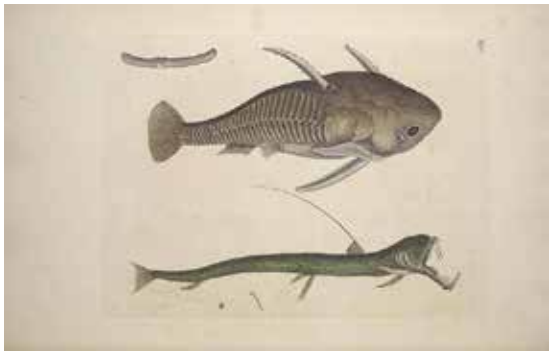
MARK CATESBY
Cataphractus Americanus (Spiny Catfish)
Watercolor on laid paper
9 x 13 3/8 in.
Engraved: Natural History II, Appendix, pl. (19) 20.

Mark Catesby illustrated this catfish in his *Natural History...* Appendix plate 1. He wrote of this species:

> THIS Fish was ten inches long, and about four broad. The whole upper-part of the body was covered with bone. The eyes were large, the mouth was small and void of teeth. On the back stood, reclining towards the tail, a flat pointed bone three inches long, and serrated on the upper edge, which being fixed in a socket, the Fish could erect and depress at pleasure. Under each gill was placed another such-like bone, except that both edges were serrated, the teeth on one side standing retrograde to the teeth of the other. The fore-part of the body and head was covered intirely with bone, marked with many regular lines, forming octogons, pentagons, &c. The hind-part of the body was also covered with bone, but in a different manner, viz. with thin narrow plates of bone extending lengthways from the back to the belly, and lapping over one another. Each fide of this Fish had about thirty of these bones, which gradually diminished in size toward the tail; the middle of every one of these bones had a flat sharp point, like that of a lancet, which standing horizontally, and close to one another, formed an even line on each fide. On the hind-part of the back, in the place of a fin, for about half its length, extended a ridge of a cartilaginous substance, ending at its tail. The belly only was membranous, and void of bone.
>
> It had five fins, a very small one under each of the gills, one on each fide of the abdomen, and a single one near the tail. This Fish being one of those called leather-mouthed, and having no teeth for defence. Nature seems to have compensated that deficiency by giving him weapons and armour in a very extraordinary manner. It was taken on the coast of 'New England' and is deposited in the Museum of Sir Hans Sloane.

Catesby discussed this fish further in a paper regarding his Appendix read before the Royal Society February 18, 1747:

> Cataphractus Americanus. The Armour Fish This fish was somewhat less than a foot in length, and four inches broad; a small part of the belly was cartilaginous; except which the whole fish was cover'd with hard thick bone, but in a different manner; viz. the head and fore part of the fish was also cover'd with plates of bone, extending from the back to the belly, and lapping one over another. It was armed with three strong pointed bones, thick set, or rather serrated with teeth, one placed near the back, and one near each gill. These bones were three inches long, and so fixed in sockets, that the fish can point them to any direction, in defence of itself. This fish having no teeth for defence, nature seems to have compensated that deficiency, by bestowing on him weapons and armour in a very extraordinary manner. It was given by Captain Wm. Walker, F.R.S. to Sir Hans Sloane.



For reference: Mark Catesby, in *Natural History...*
Appendix Plate 19, "Cataphractus Americanus"

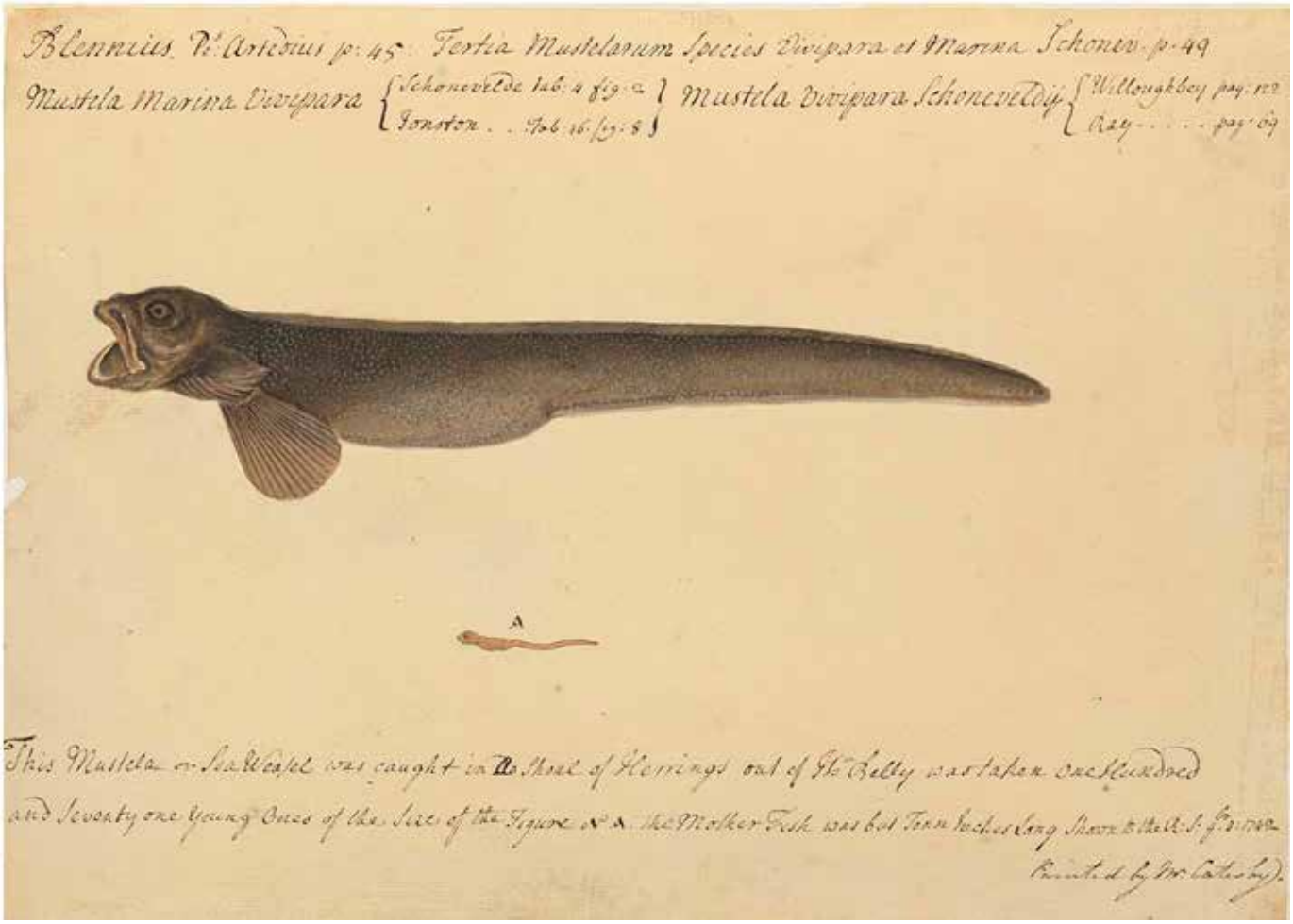


Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
Mustela or sea weasel
Inscribed 'This Mustela or Sea Weasel was caught in Shoal of Herrings out of Its Belly was taken one Hundred/and seventy one young Ones of the Size of the figure No A. the Mother Fish was but Tenn inches Long shown to the R:S: fbr: 3: 1742' lower edge
Further inscribed with bibliographical references along the upper edge, and inscribed 'Painted by Mr. Catesby' lower right
Watercolor on laid paper watermarked with fleur de lys
9 x 12 7/8 in.
[1742]

Catesby's watercolor of the mustela or sea weasel is similar in execution to "The Sea-Sparrow Hawk" and "Barracuda and Fish"at the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

Fig. MARK CATESBY (1682-1749)
The Opantia or Ind.n Fig – or wh the cochineal fru[it]
Inscribed as titled, possibly in Catesby's hand
Bodycolor heightened with white on laid paper
13 ¼ x 8 ¾in.

BIRD OF PASSAGE & HARDY WOODS

The relationship between John Bartram and Peter Collinson had a hardy veneer of intimate friendship. But the fact is it was all about commerce and ownership of scientific data. Bartram collected and described new specimens, then provided materials to his patron, and Collinson claimed their import.

Several watercolors on the following pages illustrate William Bartram's early development in his depiction of migratory birds as well as his drawings of oaks and maples. The first has earned him the moniker "the father of ornithology in Pennsylvania." Including studies that elucidate concepts of avian migration by showing bird species paired with their native plants. Biome theory was not named until the twentieth century. However, early naturalists Mark Catesby, John and William Bartram, and John James Audubon were early proponents of this relative theory.

John Bartram wrote to Peter Collinson August 20 1753: "I am now very intent upon examining ye true distinguishing characters of our forest trees finding it A very difficult task as I can have no help from neither ancient or modern authors thay having taken no particular observation worth notice.... I am prepairing for A Journey to dr. Coldens & ye mountains. I desighn to set out with my little botanist." In this package he sent Collinson a mountain striped maple, mountain red maple (dwarf), ash leaved maple, black ash, beech cherry, pawpaw, and white ash seeds." Several watercolors by William Bartram, John's "little botanist," are present here showing the progression from collection, documentation, to import.

The elder Bartram seemed to delight in hunting and describing the numerous maples and trees. Collinson found it hard to distinguish their differences, he had no visual aid by which to refer. Writing to John Bartram,

> The Descriptions are so exact and Natural that I am always delighted with reading them but my Good Friend I must Impart to thee my doubts—I am afraid the Species are so multiplied that it will be a difficult task to distinguish them Here. The Difference between the Low Land White Oke & the Mountain White Oke is purely owing to their Situation & that cannot be determined but by Experiments; take the acorns of Each & plant in thy Garden. A few years observation will putt the Matter out of Doubt, & the Like may be in the Swamp & Mountain Chesnutt a Difference owing to Soil & situation not Sufficient to constitute Two distinct Species & so of the Spanish & Swamp Spanish Oke. I know this Tribe of Trees Sport so in their Leaves that it is easy for thee to collect Specimens that shall have a great appearance of a distinct Species but the question is will this hold through the Forest. (Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 13, 1754)

Thus, William took up the role of creating drawings that would accompany John's descriptions. John Bartram wrote of his young son's talent in a letter to Dr. Gronovius of Leiden, it was delivered to Gronovius by way of Peter Collinson:

> I have a little son [William] about fifteen years of age that has travelled with me now three years & ready he knows most of the plants that grows in our four governments. He hath drawn most of our oaks & birches with a draught of the drowned lands & several of the adjacent mountains & rivers as they appeared to him in his journey by them. This is his first essay in drawing plants & a map. He hath drawn birds before when he could find a little time from school whre he learns Latiin. I now send these draughts to our friend Peter Collinson whom I shall desire to send them as soon as a convenient oportunity offers to thee with our discription of the birches their general & particular characters and wherein one species differs one from another in any soil or situation. These I send to thee to have thy opinion of the method I have fallen into, and if thee can inform me of a better I shall readily embrace it and whether it would not be better to have it published in Latiin. I design next spring to have my son to draw some of our flowering trees & shrubs in their flourishing state. Our friend Slater [Schlatter] tells me that thy son is like to be Curioso. If he will write to me and let me know what will be acceptable I can furnish him with several Curiosities. I have some thoughts of traveling to Carolina next spring, however pray wrote to me as soon as possible which will oblige much – thy friend John Bartram.

On the back of the letter, Peter Collinson wrote a note to Gronovius to support John Bartram's words: "His sons Drawings are very fine. I wish they could be published. If that could be done there is some natural history, belonging to each species, which you shall have besides very fine specimens of all the oaks & acorns and another Quire of all the evergreens of North America, but it is to be hoped your new edition of the Fl. Virga. will take it all." Berkely, 377-378)

Bartram was not only drawing these birds, but he was also providing specimens to English artists as well. Ewan states that "Bartram was sending small birds, both preserved in spirits and dried.to Edwards at least as early as 1758, and drawings of them to Collinson. These early drawings were imitative of Catesby and Edwards," but they do place him first, well ahead of Alexander Wilson and John James Audubon, who we often credit with first to illustrate many of these birds. John Bartram wrote to Collinson in 1756,

> Billy is much obliged to thee for his drawing paper he hath draw many rare birds in order to send to thee & dryed the birds to send to his friend edwards to whome he is much obliged for them, two curious bookes he spent all his time this spring in shooting & drawing the rare birds of quick passage which stayed with us but a few days to rest & fill their bellies on thair flight northward where thay breed as he observed by the hens haveing immature egs in thair bellies which thair quick passage thro our country before rendered them unobserved we propose to send them by Capt Mesnard." (John Bartram to Peter Collinson May 30, 1756)

George Edwards later depicted fourteen species from the vicinity of Bartram's Garden in his *Natural History* and *Gleanings of Natural History*. Later, William Bartram would write profusely on the migration of birds in his *Travels*.

The latter, oaks and maples, deserves equal attention. Collinson hoped to publish William's images writing to John Bartram, "Butt yesterday I had a Letter from Dr Gronovius, He admires the Drawings of the Oakes but He can get nobody to Engrave & print them So will Return them to Mee – Our Friend Ehret will do them & he Tells me – But I can't Say when those original Drawings of plants was our Ingenious Friend Catesbys" (Peter Collinson to John Bartram Feb 18 1756). Further, Collinson provided William Bartram with covetable European paper on which to paint. By supplying these high-quality materials for his intended project, it infers their importance to the patron. Which begs the question, why were oaks so valuable to the British gentry? Why was Collinson so concerned about getting oak seeds?

Colonial oaks presented a social and commercial opportunity to contribute to the rebuilding of the English landscape. Oaks are a slow-growing dense timber that was the preferred timber for ships of the period, and bark was used in leather's tanning process. From the 16th century to the early 19th century, England deforested much of its landscape for industry, warships, increased agriculture, and to keep warm through the purported "Little Ice Age." Collinson and others viewed the rebuilding of fauna as somewhat of a patriotic calling, and the vast wilderness of America was fresh for the taking. William Bartram's watercolors were twofold. They provided Collinson with images of new American species and provided a guidebook to promise to reforest the British landscape.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Sanderling or curwillet with shell (Calidris alba) with *Hirundo rustica, Barn Swallow, in the background*
{Sanderling drawn with winter plumage)
Signed 'William Bartram' center right
Inscribed 'the sanderling or Curwillet Se Willaghby/(is English) yet is America Pa-303/&Pensilvania/Not in Catesby' (by Peter Collinson and another hand)
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
6 ½ x 8 ¼ in.
[early 1750s]

Bartram's early drawing of a sanderling stands out amongst this body of work for several scientific and artistic reasons. A cursory analysis of this field sketch in watercolor and ink drawing: a sanderling on a shell-strewn beach. Upon further investigation, one sees several additional designs. In the bottom lefthand corner, there is a sketch of a military figure in a boat holding a telescope or rifle toward a bird rising from the water. A sailboat graces the central horizon line. A barn swallow swoops downward with wings spread in the background. And, scattered throughout the foreground are single and flocks of sanderling. Within the sanderling sketches, Bartram appears to be lightly sketching migratory bird flight patterns. This early observation, and quirky arrangement, is clearly influenced by Mark Catesby.

One of the most striking things to note is the remarkably picturesque composition, which corresponds to many hallmarks of the Claudian landscape. Bartram was an utterly untrained artist and would presumably have been unaware of Claude Lorrain or the compositional arrangement that bears his name. Instead of the askew lone tree, or antique edifice, there is an offset dominant bird, with a rolling sea as a backdrop, and flanked by dramatically whimsical shoreline plants which seem to dance along the edges. The inclusion of the figure, scattered birds, and ship adds an element of narrative to the otherwise exclusively natural history document. Bartram's early picturesque drawing shows a young man experimenting with this a poetic sensibility, that would become a hallmark of his mature influence on romantic writers.

It should be observed that very few Bartram watercolors include snails and other shells. However, his painting of them is indicative of British elite interest in these items as an extension of new world exoticism. Collinson repeatedly asked for John Bartram to collect shells; having not received enough of them, he expressed frustration in a letter to William Bartram. Writing, "The Snails of St. John are rare I wish thou had putt Some in thy Pocket, this I have often Desir'd of thy Father to collect all the Land & River Shells, where ever He came, for things that are common, are Little taken notice off, & they often prove the Most Rare." (Peter Collinson to William Bartram July 28, 1767) Perhaps, it was watercolors like this that excited Collinson's pursuit of American conchology.

Collinson's inscription "the sanderling or Curwillet Se Willaghby/(is English) yet is America"refers to Francis Willughby's *The ornithology of Francis Willughby of Middleton in the county of Warwick Esq, fellow of the Royal Society in three books...* (1678). Willughby claimed this bird was English, and Collinson noted it was American, both were correct. The Sanderling breeds in North America but migrates throughout the worlds marine coasts.

Collinson would have read Willughby's description of this bird,

> CHAP. IX. The Sanderling, called also Curwillet about Pensance in Cornwal.
> IT is somthing bigger than the Sand-piper, though both take their names from sand. It weighs almost two ounces. Its length from the Bill to the end of the Feet is eight inches and an half, to the end of the Tail eight. The breadth of the Wings spread sixteen. It is rather long than round-bodied.
>
> Its Bill is streight, black, slender, an inch long; for its figure and make like to a Tringa's Bill: The upper Mandible a little longer than the nether. The Tongue extended to the end of the Bill: The Nosthrils oblong. The Ears great. The Legs, Feet, and Claws black: And, which is especially remarkable, it wants the back-toe: The fore-toes disjoyned from the very rise.
>
> The Head is small, particoloured of cinereous and black. The Neck more cinereous. The middle of the Back, the Shoulders, and scapular feathers are of a lovely colour, in some various, of black and white; in others of black and ash-colour, each feather being black about the shaft, and cinereous about the edges. The rest of the Back to the Tail is of the same colour, but more faint and dilute. But the edges of the feathers have more of a reddish ash-colour.
>
> Each Wing hath twenty two quil-feathers: The four outmost (excepting the shafts, which are white) all of a dark brown, or dusky colour. The rest have their upper halves, as far as they appear, above the second row brown, the lower white. Howbeit, these colours do not divide all the feathers equally, but from the fifth the white is gradually increased, so that in the twentieth it takes up almost the whole feather. The next following after the tenth have also their tips white. The first row of covert feathers [next the quils] have white tips, which when the Wing is spread make a long transverse white line, broader and broader by degrees from the beginning. The feathers near the ridge of the Wing, and on the outmost joynt, are all dusky, in the Cocks almost black, of the same colour with the middle of the Back. The Wings, when closed, reach as far or further than the Tail it self; which is short, of about an inch and half, or two inches, consisting of twelve feathers, of an ash-colour: The two middlemost darker than the rest, and almost black.
>
> The whole Belly and underside of the Wings as white as Snow. The Breast in some spotted or clouded with brown; in others (perhaps these are the Males) no spots appear, yet the Breast is darker than the Belly, and inclined to red. The blind guts are an inch and half long. The Stomach not very musculous. These birds live upon the sandy shores of the Sea, and fly in flocks. We saw many of them on the Sea-coasts of Cornwall.

As with several other inscriptions by Collinson, he relates the species to a European variety.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Sugar Maple and *Small Humming Bird*
[Male Archilochus colubris (Ruby-throated Hummingbird) with Acer saccharum (sugar maple)]
Inscribed in titled, with canceled inscriptions on the verso
Watercolor on laid paper
7 ½ x 6 in.
[early 1750s]

Joseph Ewan notes that William Bartram made two drawings of the ruby-throated hummingbird, this example and one made for John Fothergill, now in the Natural History Museum London. He writes of this example, "the first, in a perching position, is more rigid...with feet much too large." However, the Fothergill hummingbird shows the bird mid-flight, an impossible manner in which to paint a bird from life. Further, that composition appears more like a collage of imagery; including a shell, crab, and plant all in varying scale. Whereas, the present watercolor shows not only the earliest depiction of this bird but one gleaned from a live specimen shown on a relative plant all in the same scale.

Theruby-throated hummingbird is the only type of hummingbird east of the Mississippi River. It generally arrives in late-April in Southern Pennsylvania while the northern part of the state starts seeing the mat the beginning of May. Ruby-throated hummingbirds remain in Pennsylvania until they migrate south in October.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Crested Titmouse [Baeolophus bicolor (tufted titmouse)] with Early large Brown Butterfly [Nymphalis antiopa, mourning cloak) and probably Rhodedendron periclymenoides [R. nudiflorum] (pink azalea pinxterbloom)
Signed with initials 'WB' lower left
Inscribed by Bartram and others (?) 'The crested titmouse/of Catesby vol 1 Pa 57/The Early large Brown Butterfly with its Wings edges with white./perhaps shrub flower...' belo the lower ruled margin
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
7 ¾ x 5 ¾ in.
[early 1750s]

The titmouse is often in flocks with chickadees and other songbirds. Listen for clear, whistled "peter-peter-peter." They are common to eastern woodlands and deciduous forests.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)

Motacilla, A Sollaterry Bird and yellow Spiked Lycinacha [Seiurus motacilla (Louisiana waterthrush) with Lysimachia terrestris (swamp candles) and aquatic insects]

Signed with initials and inscribed 'yellow Spiked/Lycimacha/Motacilla. A Solliterry Bird/This bird seems to be of the wagtail kind but I know of no/Description agreeing with it. Geo Edwards W:B' upper left and below the lower ruled margin

Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper

7 ½ x 5 ¾ in.

[early 1750s]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Unnamed Bird - Maple with Acorn Type Fruit Dendroica virens (Black throated green warbler) on a branch of Northern Red Oak (Quercus rubra)
Signed with initials 'W.B.' lower left
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby – from Pensilvania' upper left and right
Watercolor on laid paper
8 1/8 x 6 5/8 in.
[early 1750s]

Quercus rubra (Northern Red Oak), named for its bright autumn foliage, is a robust tree much valued for its timber in its native North East America. It is known to supports a very diverse fauna.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Reed Sparrow [Passerella iliaca (fox sparrow)] and Lycopodium clavatum (clubmoss)
Signed with initials 'WB.' lower center
Inscribed 'Se [sic] Willughbys Ornithology Pa 269 I know the/Reed Sparrow is found in America having received it/from Hudsons Bay. Geo Edwards./The head of the Cock is black/not in Catesby & Pensilvania' (by Peter Collinson and another hand?) above the upper ruled margin and below the lower ruled margin
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
7 ½ x 6 ¼ in.
[early 1750s]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Purple Finch Cock [Male Carpodacus purpuretus, with possibly Ilex verticillates (winterberry)]
Signed and inscribed 'I take this bird to be a male of/the same species as they frequent together/although they are very few in proportion/to the others William Bartram-' lower left
Inscribed 'the purple Finch Cock and Hen, they first appear in Carolina in/November se Catesbys Hist: of Carolina Vol 1 p41 examined by G E[dwards]' along the lower edge and further inscribed on the verso (regarding the flower plant)
Watercolor on laid paper
7 ½ x 6 5/16 in.
[early 1750s]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Smallest Spotted Woodpecker of Catesby [Male Picoides pubescens (downy woodpecker) with Houstonia caerula (azure bluet) and possibly Veronica persica (birdeye speedwell)]
Signed, inscribed as titled and dated 'W.Bartram/April the 4 1755-' lower center
Inscribed 'the smallest spotted woodpecker of Catesby vol 1 P21. G.' above the upper ruled margin
Watercolor heightened with white on laid paper
8 x 5 7/8 in.
[early 1750s]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Little brown Creeper and Water Oak [Certhia americana (brown creeper) Quercus Nigra (water oak)] and possibly a Stonefly
Signed and initials and inscribed as titled 'W.B.' lower left
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby & Pensilvania. Wm. Bartram' (by Peter Collinson) along the right margin
Inscribed 'This creeper is smaller and hath the tail fether marked across/the poynte at the ends otherwise it/ seems to agree very nearly wich what we have in Englan.' in the left margin
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
6 ¼ x 7 ¾ in.
[early 1750s]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. W*illiam Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings*. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 22 (illustrated)

Quercus nigra, the water oak, is an oak in the red oak group, native to the eastern and south-central United States, found in all the coastal states from New Jersey to Texas, and inland as far as Oklahoma, Kentucky, and southern Missouri.

William Bartram wrote of the little brown creeper, Certhia americana, in his *Travels* (1791). While he illustrated a different composition in his 1791, his observations of this bird's migratory habitats remain relevant:

> This species of Certhia is an autumnal bird of passage from the North. They arrive and appear in the environs of Philadelphia about the first of October (sooner or later, according to the severity of the season) and continue with us during the winter, if it be temperate. Or they pass on southerly as far as Carolina and Florida, where they winter, but return northerly in the spring to breed and rear their young. I have not heard of their breeding in Pennsylvania, yet they may breed in the most northern district of the state.
>
> Their place of residence is in the woods or high forests, where we see them climbing up and running about the trunks of large trees, searching the crevices of the bark for spiders and other insects, which constitute their food. And for this purpose, their slender, curved beak is well adapted. They utter a feeble, chirping note.
>
> This species of Certhia has the form and habits of the woodpecker, except in the position of its toes. Neither is its bill like that of the woodpecker, strong and shaped for the purpose of perforating wood.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Green Striped Maple and finch type bird [Zonotrichia albicollis (white-throated sparrow) with Acer pensylvanicum (striped maple)]
Signed and inscribed 'William Bartram/Drawn from the/Live Bird/the Green Striped maple.'
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby/Pensilvania' (by Peter Collinson)
Inscribed 'I find no Account of this bird Geo Edwards'
Pen and ink and watercolor heightened with white on laid paper
6 ¼ x 6 ¼ in.
[early 1750s]

Like numerous bird species painted here by William Bartram, his images are some of the earliest of the species but because he did not write about them, they were only known to the elite few. This one dates to the early 1750s. Thus, when George Edwards based his white-throated sparrow, plate 304 in *Gleanings* (1758), on this drawing by William Bartram he is given credit for first describing it. Edwards wrote,

> The bird is taken from a neat drawing in colours, done by Mr. William Bartram of Philadelphia in Penfilvania... The Sparrow hath a thick short bill (such as granivorous birds generally have) of a blackifh or ducky colour: from the corner of the mouth, through the eye (which is of an hazel-colour) passes a dusky line : above the eye is an arch, of an orange-colour next the bill, but which gradually becomes white on the hinder part of the head: the throat, just beneath the bill, is white, where it is black in the common Sparrow: the whole upper side, head, neck, back, tail, and wings are of a reddish-brown colour, the middle parts of the feathers being dusky; which makes an agreeable variety in the fhades of the feathers: the edge of the upper part of the wing, next the breast, is tinged with a light yellow: the cheeks, breast, belly, thighs, and covert-feathers under the tail, are of a light or whitish ash-colour, without spots: the legs and feet are of a reddish flesh-colour... Mr. Bartram's drawing of it very curious, and have reason to be satisfied as to his veracity and accuracy. I believe neither of the subjects of this plate (bird nor butterfly) have till now been known to us.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Brown Bird Carpodacus purpureus (female purple finch) with possible Ilex verticillata (winterberry)
Signed and inscribed 'Wm. Bartram his performance' lower right (by Peter Collinson??)
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
6 3/16 x 4 5/16 in.
[early 1750s]]

Literature: T.P. Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram*, New York, 1996, p.114 (illustrated).

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Bird with Blue head and orange chest [Male Passerina ciris (painted bunting)]
Watercolor and bodycolor on laid paper
5 ½ x 7 1/8 in.
[early 1750s]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Mountain Finch or Brambling with Betula nigra (river birch) [Snow Bunting, winter female or juvenile]
Signed with initials 'W.B.' lower right
Inscribed 'Mountain finch or Brambling Montifringilla ex. Willy P255' lower edge
Bodycolor on laid paper
5 ½ x 7 1/8 in.
[early 1750s]

Peter Collinson was the first to introduce Betula nigra to England in 1736.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Crossbeak [Loxia curvirostra (red crossbill)] with Satyrodes appalachia (Appalachian Brown butterfly) and possibly Betula lenta (sweet birch, cherry birch)
Inscribed 'Crosbeak' l.l.
Watercolor on laid paper
9 x 7 1/8 in.
Early to mid-1750s

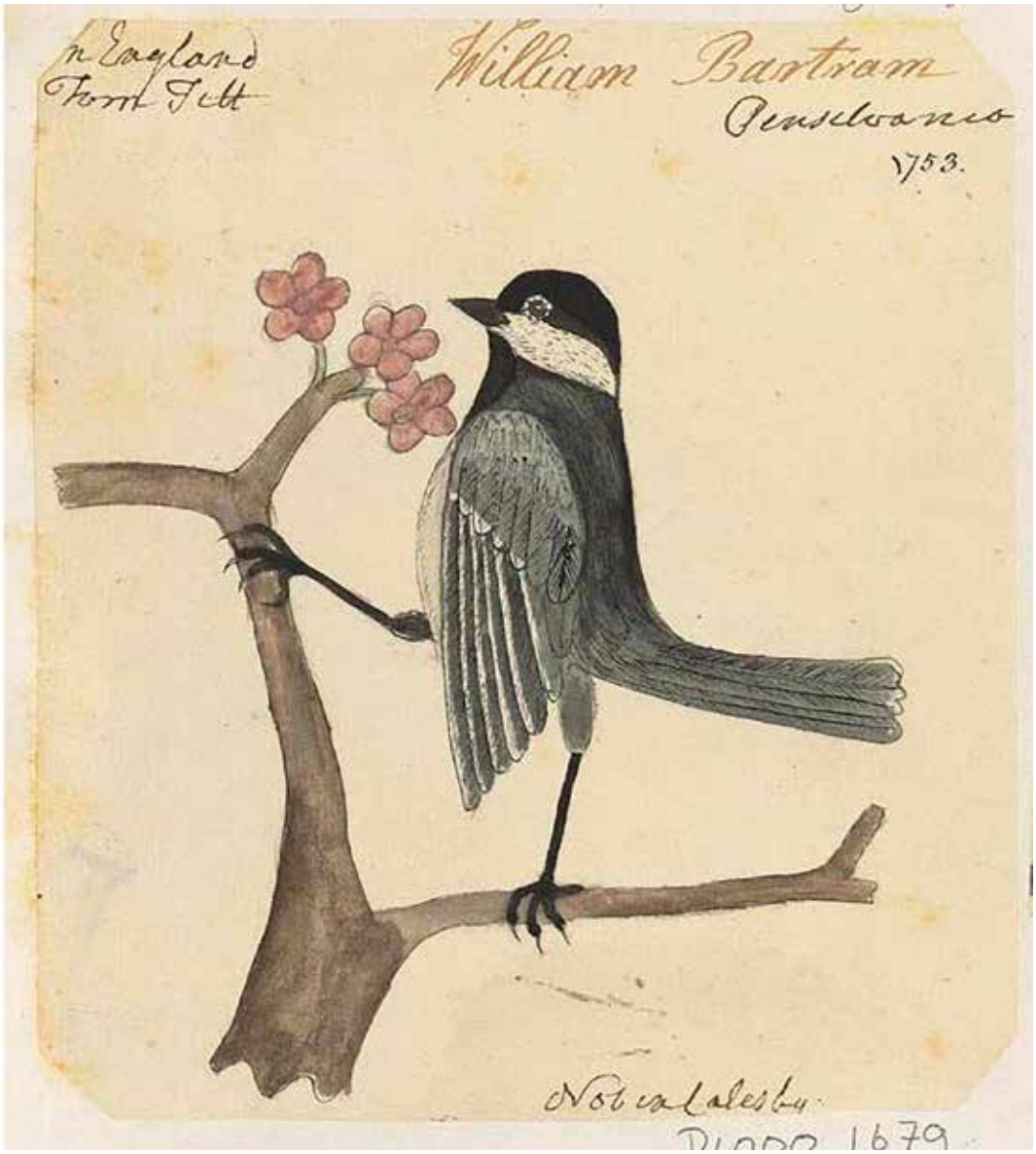


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Familiar Tit. Poecile carolinensis (Carolina chickadee), with possibly Cercis canadensis (redbud)
Signed 'William Bartram' upper right
Inscribed '.n England/Tom Titt/Pensilvania/1753./Not in Catesby.' (by Peter Collinsons and another hand?)
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
6 x 5 1/8 in.
[1753]

William Bartram's watercolors were shown to a select few gentry when sent to Peter Collinson. There was an expectation the information would be shared amongst the learned throughout Europe. However, this was not always the case. This watercolor, dating to 1753, likely represent the earliest depiction of the American species. In 1766, Carl Linnaeus updated his *Systema Naturae* for the twelfth edition, adding this black-capped chickadee with 239 other new species. Linnaeus included a brief description, coined the binomial name Parus atricapillus and cited Mauthurin Brisson's *Ornithologie* (1760.) The epithet atricapillus is Latin for "black-haired" from ater "black" and capillus "hair of the head".

Collinson clearly knew this bird was not depicted in Catesby, he notes "Not in Catesby" on this drawing. Perhaps the bird was too common to Bartram to point out its exclusion from Catesby's *Natural History*. However, he later included it in his Travels, calling this bird Parus domesticus, noting "These arrive in Pennsylvania in the spring season from the South, which after building nests, and rearing their young, return again southerly in the autumn."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Red Pole, Spizella passerina (chipping sparrow)
Inscribed as titled lower right
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper, corners cut
4 5/8 x 4 in.
[1753]

The chipping sparrow (Spizella passerina) is a partial migrant with northerly populations flying southwards in the fall to winter in Mexico and the southern United States and flying northward again in spring.

Throughout the year, adults are gray below and an orangish-rust color above. Adults in breeding plumage have a reddish cap, a nearly white supercilium, and a black trans-ocular line running through the eye as shown in William Bartram's drawing. Adults in basic plumage are less prominently marked, with a brownish cap, a dusky eyebrow, and a dark eye-line.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Bohemian Chatterer, Bombycilla garrulus (Bohemian waxwing)
Watercolor and bodycolor on laid paper, corners cut
6 ¼ x 5 ¼ in.
[1753]

True to their name, Bohemian Waxwings wander like bands of vagabonds across the northern United States and Canada in search of fruit during the nonbreeding season. High-pitched trills emanate from the skies as large groups descend on fruiting trees and shrubs at unpredictable places and times. These regal birds sport a spiky crest and a peach blush across their face. Unlike the familiar Cedar Waxwing, they have rusty feathers under the tail and white marks on the wings.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Chionanthus or Fringe Tree (Chionanthus virginicus) with Vireo flavifrons (yellow-throated vireo)
Signed with initials 'W.B.' l.r.
Inscribed as titled above the upper rule margin and canceled extensive inscription on the verso
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper with indistinct watermark 'PRO PATRIA'
12 ¾ x 7 5/16 in.
[1755]

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)

Chionanthus or Fringe Tree (Chionanthus virginicus) with Vireo flavifrons (yellow-throated vireo)

Signed with initials 'W.B.' l.r.

Inscribed as titled above the upper rule margin and canceled extensive inscription on the verso

Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper with indistinct watermark 'PRO PATRIA'

12 ¾ x 7 5/16 in.

[1755]

The white fringe tree is native to the savannas and lowlands of the southeastern United States, from New Jersey south to Florida, and west to Oklahoma and Texas. In late spring, an abundance of feathery white flowers appears on these trees for a two-week blooming providing a showy display.

Collinson's want for a Fringe tree started early on in his seed exchange from the colonies. He initial wrote requesting seeds from this tree to Col John Custis, October 20, 1734: "Another flowering shrub that grows with you which I very much Want Wee call it heare the Fringe Tree [Chionanthus virginicus] for the Flowers are white and so Lacerated they seem Like a Fringe or shreds of Holland or narrow scraps of white paper, I have seen it Flower In England but it is scarse Here." His description of the strap-like white flowers as "fringe" or "shreds of Holland" seems most apt for a clothier, the latter describing a coarsely woven Holland linen used for shade and sign fabrication.

The seeds of this plant were sent to Collinson by Bartram in either late 1734 or early-to-mid 1735, Collinson noted this in a letter to John Bartram in December 1735, "The Fringe Tree may be raised from the Verry Good Seed you sent Mee." (Armstrong, 38)

William Bartram painted this tree in 1755, Collinson acknowledged receipt of this drawing in an exchange with John Bartram January 20, 1756:

> Billy's Drawing & painting of the Tupelo is fine & Deservedly admired by Every one There is a Delightfull natural freedom through the whole & no minute pticular omitted the Insect on the Leaves&c it't a pity he had not kept [at] it, to add the Flowers & to have Disected a Flower showing the Stile & Stamina &c each part distinct by it self after Linnaeus Method which seems to be the prevailing Tast.

Collinson had every reason to be thrilled by the cascading clouds of fleecy white fragrant flowers. This hardy member of the olive family is distributed naturally from Canada to the Gulf Coast. It is dioecious, meaning that plants are either male or female. The female produces blue black berries which are eaten enthusiastically by birds. In some Southern states it delights in the name "Grandsie Greybeard," but equally descriptive is its Latin genus which derives from 'chion' and 'anthus' meaning snow flower in Greek.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Galega - Swamp Cornus Femina [Cornus racemosa (gray dogwood)] with Teephrosia virginiana (Goat's Rue or Devil's Shoestring)
with Male Geothlypis trichas (Common Yellowthroat)]
Signed with initials 'W.B.'
Inscribed '1 Galgea/Swamp Cornus femina' l.l. and l.r.
Watercolor on laid paper
12 x 7 in.
[1755]

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)

Galega - Swamp Cornus Femina [Cornus racemosa (gray dogwood)] with Teephrosia virginiana (Goat's Rue or Devil's Shoestring)
with Male Geothlypis trichas (Common Yellowthroat)]

Signed with initials 'W.B.'
Inscribed '1 Galgea/Swamp Cornus femina' l.l. and l.r.
Watercolor on laid paper
12 x 7 in.
[1755]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 27 (illustrated)

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 18, 1756: "I am greatly obliged for the Last Box Seeds the sent in perticular the Galega which Wee never could Raise tho wee have had the Seed so often so pray Send 2 or 3 Roots more next year - but my Dear John how canst thou Imagine I could remember a Specimen Sent So many years agon - but Billys fine painting has given Me a Compleat Idea of its Beauty - & the fine Red Heleborine which I have so [illegible] - wanted the Female Cornus is Exquisitely done it resembles ours & yett there is a Difference."

Peter Collinson to John Bartram winter 1753: "Goats Rue, I thought at first had been a Lupin but I think other wise - the Large specimen has a Charming Spike of Red flowers."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Not in Catesby. Zonotrichia albicollis [White-throated Sparrow]
Signed and dated 'W m. Bartram 1755-' upper right
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby & Pensilvania' (by Collinson) upper left
Watercolor on laid paper
9 x 7 in.
[1755]

This is William Bartram's second composition of the white-throated sparrow. Here, a mere five years after his first trial, Bartram has developed a more engaging approach to his ornithological work. While his first composition shows the bird perched on the branch in a rather static position intiated by Mark Catesby, this second composition shows the bird in a very life-like manner in motion with open beak about to pick up a seed. Bartram's artistic skill has flourished beyond documentary illustration to full fledge compositional considerations.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Fringilla, Nyssa aquatica (tupelo) with Vermivora pinus (blue-winged warbler) possibly Dendroica pinus (pine warbler)
Signed with initial 'W.B' l.r.
Inscribed 'Fig.1/FRINGILLA' l.l.
Signed, inscribed, and dated 'W. Bartram pinxit May 1756./NYSSA folis integerrimis linn. Hort. Cliff. Pag. 462. Arbor in aqua nasseens, folis / Eatis acuminates & non dentalis. Fructu Etaeusni minore Cate sb. Hist. Carol p.41. (below the lower ruled margin)
Further inscribed 'I take this bird to be the Pine-creeper of Catesby' (by another hand?)
Watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys in a shield below a crown
13 1/8 x 8 1/8 in.
[1756]

The genus name (Nyssa) refers to a Greek water nymph; the species aquatica, meaning 'aquatic', refers to its swamp and wetland habitat. The common names, Tupelo, is of Native American origin, coming from the Creek words *ito* "tree" and *opilwa* "swamp."

Water tupelo make good commercial timber for crates and furniture. This may have been in mind for naturalists eager to exploit colonial trees. Collinson references "Cate sb. Hist. Carol p.41" which is the Tupelo tree. Catesby wrote of the plant, "The grain of the wood is curled and very tough, and therefore very proper for naves of cart-wheels and other country uses."

William Bartram not only painted the pine creeper, shown here, but also provided specimens to George Edwards. Edwards wrote in his *Gleanings*, plate 247: "These birds [Spotted Tinga and Pine Creeper] with many others, were shot near Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, by my friend, Mr. William Bartram, who sent them to London, for me to publish the figures and natural history of them."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Parus, Dendroica virens (black-throated green warbler)
Signed, inscribed as titled and dated 'W. Bartram Pinxit/- 1756 –' l.l.
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby & Pensilvania N2 Same as N1' (by Peter Collinson?) upper left
Watercolor on laid paper
8 ¾ x 6 5/8 in.
[1756]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Parus Gutture nigro, Male Dendroica caerulescens (black-throated blue warbler), possibly with Crataegus marshalli (parsley hawthorn)
Signed with initials and dated 'W.B. 1756'
Signed and inscribed as titled 'Wm. Bartram fec' l.r.
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby & Pensilvania' (by Collinson?) upper left
Watercolor on laid paper
9 x 6 ¼ in.
[1756]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Aluda, possibly juvenile Eremophila alpestris (horned lark) or Anthus rubescens (American pipit)
Signed with initials, inscribed and dated 'America/1756/WB/The Lark from America' l.l.
Signed, inscribed as titled and dated 'Wm. Bartram pinxit 1756' below lower ruled margin
Inscribed 'Not in Catesby & Pensilbania' (by Collinson?) upper left
Watercolor on laid paper
9 x 6 ¾ in.
[1756]

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)

Aluda, possibly juvenile Eremophila alpestris (horned lark) or Anthus rubescens (American pipit)

Signed with initials, inscribed and dated 'America/1756/WB/The Lark from America' l.l.

Signed, inscribed as titled and dated 'Wm. Bartram pinxit 1756' below lower ruled margin

Inscribed 'Not in Catesby & Pensilbania' (by Collinson?) upper left

Watercolor on laid paper

9 x 6 ¾ in.

[1756]

George Edwards called this bird "The Lark from Pensilvania" which he described in volume 2, plate 297. Edwards credited William Bartram for providing the specimen and in describing the migratory habits on this species "I received the above-described bird from Mr. William Bartram, of Pensilvania; who informs me, that they first appear there in March, on their passage northward, and that none of them are seen at the end of May." George Edwards described this bird in full as:

> The Lark and the Fly are both figured of the size of life, and were engraved on the plate directly from the natural subjects.
>
> The bill of the Lark is sharp-pointed and slender, and of a blackish colour, excepting a little yellow at the basis of the lower mandible. The head, upper side of the neck, and the back, are of a dark dusky-brown colour: a blackish line passes through the eye, and a clay-coloured line above it; the eye-lids are also light-coloured, and the eye dark. The wings and tail are dark-brown or dusky, the feathers having light-brown borders and tips: the insides of the wings are ash-coloured. The outer feathers on each side of the tail are white: the two next to them have white tips. The under side, from bill to tail, is of a light reddish-brown, with dusky spots, as shewn by the figure. The legs, feet, and claws are dark-brown. It hath a longish claw or spur behind, but I think shorter than in the common Lark. What is particular in this bird is, that, when the wing is closely gathered up, the third quill from the body reaches to its tip; which is a constant characeristic of the Water-Wagtail genus. Tho' this bird hath so much the appearance of some of the known Larks, yet, on ft rift examination, I am persuaded it is a species not before figured or described. It is a bird common to Europe and North America: I have found it in the neighbourhood of London... I received the above-described bird from Mr. William Bartram, of Pensilvania; who informs me, that they first appear there in March, on their passage northward, and that none of them are seen at the end of May.

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Finch, Female Carpodacus purpureus (purple finch) with Betula lenta (sweet or cherry birch)
Signed and dated "Wm. Bartram pinx 1756' lower right
Inscribed 'I take this to be a finch' (by another hand), 'seems to be cock & hen' (by Peter Collinson) lower left
further inscriptions and a drawing of flowers on the reverse
Watercolor on laid paper watermarked 'JH & ZOON'
7 7/8 x 6 3/8 in.
[1756]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Striped Mountain Maple. 1755- Acer pensylvanicum (striped maple)
signed with monogram 'WB' (lower center), inscribed as titled (upper center), inscribed with a key on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white on laid paper watermarked Britannia (?)
11 7/16 x 7 3/8 in.
[1755]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 26 (illustrated)

Peter Collinson to John Bartram, February 4, 1756: "Since the Striped Bark Mapple will afford us none of its Seeds - I wish Thou would gently bend down thy 10 foot Tree & Lay it in the Ground to Strike Root Since it is Like to bear no seed... I have a fine Sort of Mapple thou formerly Sent Mee- I can't find by Billy's Drawings which it is I shall find he Enclose a Leafe." The maple referenced is the sugar maple (Acer saccharum), so either Bartram responded by having William draw one and send it to Collinson, or Collinson found this draft amongst 'Billy's drawings'.

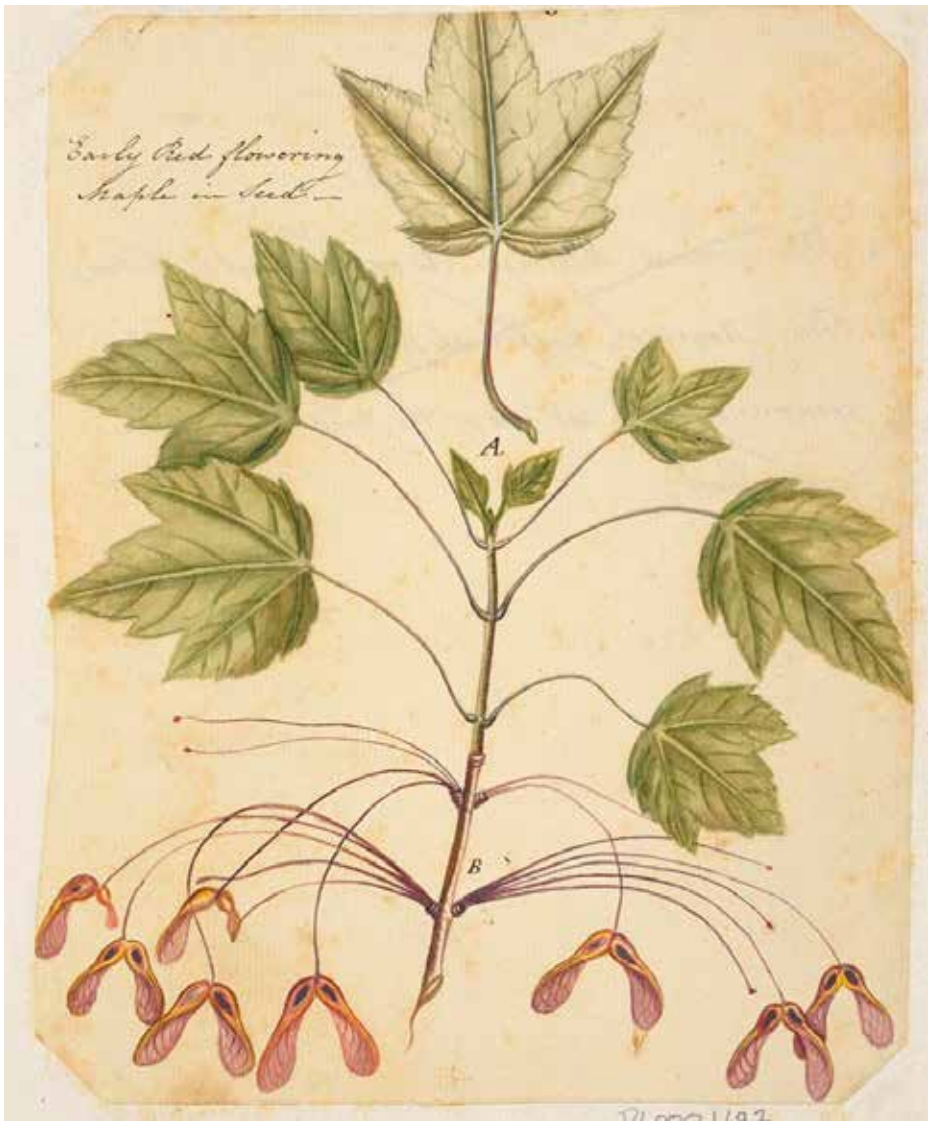


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Early Red flowering Maple in Seed, Acer rubrun (red maple)
inscribed as titled (by Peter Collinson) (upper left), deleted inscription 'Sugar Mapple ...' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper
9 x 7in. (22.8 x 17.8cm.) (irregular, corners cut)
[1755]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The great Silver Leafed River Maple with Early Night Fly, Acer Saccharinum (silver maple)
inscribed as titled (by Peter Collinson) (lower left), further inscribed with a key (upper center), further extensively inscribed 'Dwarfe Mountain Mapple ...' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper
11 ¾ x 7 7/8 in.
[1755]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Ash leaved Maple, Acer negundo (boxelder)
inscribed as titled and further inscribed (by Peter Collinson) (lower right and lower center),
inscribed on the reverse (by Bartram, referring to another watercolor)
watercolor on laid paper
11 1/8 x 7in.
[1755]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Dwarf Mountain Maple in 1755, Acer spicatum (mountain maple)
inscribed as titled (by Peter Collinson) (lower center), further inscribed 'Striped Mountain Mapple ...' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper
11 x 7 9/16in.
[1755]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Our Sugar Maple as it appears when the Seeds are fully ripe... September the 12 1755, Acer Saccharum (sugar maple)
signed, inscribed as titled and dated 'William Bartram. September the 12 1755' (lower center)
watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
11 ¾ x 7 ¾in. (29.8 x 19.7cm.)
[1755]

SELECT LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.89 (illustrated).

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Early Red flowering Maple, Acer rubrum (red maple), Sugar Maple
signed and dated 'W: Bartram pinxit, 1756' (lower right) , inscribed as titled (by Peter Collinson), further inscribed 'ACER Virginianum Folio Majore, subtus argentio, supra viridi splendente' (lower center), inscribed 'Me / PETER Collinson' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper watermarked 'VI'
11 3/8 x 8 1/8 in. (28.9 x 20.6cm.) (corners cut)
[1756]

SELECT LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.89 (illustrated).

Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane ca. 1740: "no doubt you have heard & know the Species of Maple from whence Sugar is Made. It is common through the Continent of Northern America, and the Lower Sort of people in the upper Settlements Use the Sugar of the Maple Instead of the Cane Sugar, & if it was refin'd might be Equally as Good."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Ye yellow root, Hydrastis canadensis (goldenseal)
signed and dated 'By Wm Bartram 1757 / of Pensilvania' (lower right), inscribed as titled (upper center) and further inscribed 'Flowers in Aprill in the Physick Garden 1759 –', and further extensively inscribed
pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper (a bifolium) watermarked fleur de lys 'JH & ZOON'
8 7/8 x 14 ¾in.
[1757]

Peter Collinson to John Bartram April 6th 1759: "Billy sent Mee a Delightfull drawing of what is called with you the Yellow Root - pray Look out & Send Mee a plant or Two for it seems a New genus. - J. Alexander sent over last year some Roots - but not knowing it by that name I neglected to buy them- phaps He can inform thee where it grows in plenty"

Collinson acquired this plant from John Bartram and records that it "flowered and fruited in my garden Sept. 1765; a red sweet fruit, size of a large Raspberry; may be said to be a flower almost without calyx or petals, they so soon fall off, leaving a cluster of white stamina behind." He referred to it as 'Yellow Root' which more accurately describes the knobby underground tuber than the modern 'Orangeroot'. As with Witch Hazel, Collinson makes no mention in his notes of the medicinal properties of Hydrastis. It might be concluded that his interest was essentially botanical for he was sure to have been told by Bartram of its curative properties. Native Americans taught the early settlers how to prepare it and today Orangeroot is one of the most popular herbs sold in the US and European market, used mostly as an anti-catarrhal and anti-inflammatory alternative medicine.

Joel Fry has confirmed that the handwritten text surrounding this image is most likely by John Bartram. Fry wrote of these notes: "The text around this drawing is mostly in John Bartram's handwriting. And on the right is includes a complete set of botanic characters, in the usual 18th c. format, with details on calix, corolla, stamina, anthera, styles, stigma and fruit. This information could have been used to publish and name the species, and would have been the format followed in many of the botanic references in Bartram's library, including Ray and Linnaeus. Goldenseal was then a new plant, and not described or named in any European reference until 1759. Bartram doesn't give a Linnaean class for the plant, and even though he owned many of the standard Linnaean references, he probably never used the cumbersome Linnaean sexual system of classes. Collinson also disliked the Linnaean system and never used it, as far as I know. William Bartram in his later career would sometimes cite Linnean classes for plants, but for the later printed catalogues from Bartram's Garden WB avoided the sexual system classes and ordering. Very very few of their customers would have understood it anyway."

GARDEN ORNAMENTALS BY WILLIAM BARTRAM

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Flower
inscribed 'Flo – 1756 in October / raised option from Seed / of Pensilvania flowers in Octr
&
November I call it the black stacked Obel..otheca or / Reedlet..a(?)' (lower center)
watercolor on laid paper watermarked
12 5/8 x 7 13/16 in.
[1756]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
White Calceolus, Cypripedium reginae (Showy Lady-Slipper)
inscribed 'Painted by Wm Bartram / at Philadelphia - / flower'd in my Garden at Mill: Hill / May 1760 – P Collinson' (by Peter Collinson) (lower left and lower right), inscribed 'the Root Sent Mee by .. Bartram / from Pensilvania ... 1757' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper
10 ¾ x 8 1/16 in.
[1759]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p.35 (illustrated)

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
White Calceolus, Cypripedium reginae (Showy Lady-Slipper)
inscribed 'Painted by Wm Bartram / at Philadelphia - / flower'd in my Garden at Mill: Hill / May 1760 – P Collinson' (by Peter Collinson) (lower left and lower right), inscribed 'the Root Sent Mee by .. Bartram / from Pensilvania ... 1757' on the reverse
watercolor on laid paper
10 ¾ x 8 1/16 in.
[1759]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p.35 (illustrated)

John Bartram discovered this rare orchid in New Jersey and sent the root to Collinson in 1758. Collinson responded, September 15, 1760: 'I was Surprised att the Sight of the White Calceolus - pray thank Billey for so Elegantly painting It - my Flowers are not quite so Large & Whiter than yours."

Lady slippers was a favorite of Collinson. He began asking for them in February 1735, writing to John Bartram: "I shall only ask of thee one Sett of plants & that is all the sorts of Lady Slippers thee happens to Meet." (Armstrong 28) They continued to entertain them writing to John Bartram the following year, "those fine Lady's Slippers [Cypredium] which make my mouth water." (Armstrong, 40)

Collinson's ladyslippers were some of his most prized, and thus made them a target for garden thieves,

> my greatest loss has been from a villain who came & robbed Mee of twenty-two different species of my most rare & beautifull plants[.] ...all my fine yellow Lady's Slippers that I have had so long & flowered so finely every year. These I regret most for they are not to be had again, but by thy Assistance & though I Doubt not of thy inclination, yett, as I apprehend they are found accidentally so it may not be in thy power to assist Mee. (Peter Collinson, October 5, 1762, Laird, 72.)

Peter Collinson to John Bartram Feb 17 1768: "I have received thy Ingenious son Billys Wonderfull performances bu what surpasses all is the Colocasia now I am amply gratified & wish for no More."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Calceotus Maria 1760 in flower June 22d: 1760
inscribed as titled
bodycolor on laid paper watermarked
9 x 7 1/8 in.
[1760]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Anona, Geothlypis trichas (common yellowthroat) and Asiminia triloba (paw paw)
Signed, inscribed and dated 'W m.. Bartram fecit./1765./ Anona' l.l. and l.r.
Watercolor on laid paper
10 ¼ x 6 in.
[1765]

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Hibiscus coccineus (scarlet rosemallow)
signed 'Wm B.' (lower left)
watercolor on laid paper
10 ½ x 8 ¾ in.
[1767]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p.73 (illustrated)

This is the finished composition based on a field sketch by William Bartram referenced by Collinson in a letter to William July 28, 1767: "I have now before mee those Elegant Masterly Drawings.. its with concern & Regret the I See so much Skill Lavished away on Such Vile paper - that Deserves the finest vellum. but I Suppose Necessity had no Law - no other was to be Had - Poorly Sett off as they are, they have been much admired by the best Judges - I am preparing to Secure them by fixing them on the best paper that So many Delicate Touches & the many Labor'd Strokes, many not be exposed to accidents." The field sketch of the Scarlet Hibiscus is now in the collection of the American Philsophical Society.

Upon receipt Collinson marveled of the quality of the work on fine paper: "The Crimson Hibiscus is a Charming flower I could have no Perfect Idea of It but from thy Elegant painting." (Peter Collinson to William Bartram February 16, 1768) And, mentioned again February 29, 1768 "Wee are much Obliged to Billey for giveing us so perfect an Idea of this Glorious Hibsicus as it grows in Carolina."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Purple Flower'd Ixia, Calydorea caelestina (Ixia Celestina or Bartram's Celestial Lily or Bartram's Ixia)
signed 'Wm. B.' (lower right)
watercolor on laid paper
11 1/8 x 7 15/16 in.
[1767]

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Purple Flower'd Ixia, Calydorea caelestina (Ixia Celestina or Bartram's Celestial Lily or Bartram's Ixia)
signed 'Wm. B.' (lower right)
watercolor on laid paper
11 1/8 x 7 15/16 in.
[1767]

William Bartram described Ixea caelestina calling it his "Purple Flower'd Ixia of St Johns River Et Florida." According to Francis Harper, William Bartram found his Ixia near the shore of Lake Dexter, Volusia County, Florida, while traveling with his father John Bartram in spring 1766 proclaiming "behold the azure fields of cerulean Ixea!"

Known today only from certain five northeastern counties of Florida, and one possible locality in Camden County, in southern Georgia. Today, it is considered a very rare plant, and listed by the state of Florida as Endangered.

Peter Collinson received this watercolor from William Bartram in the winter of 1768. Writing to the artist, "The Ixia is a Delightful flower and Differs in Colour from teh great Variety of Ixia I cut from the Cape of Good Hope thy fine Painting is beyond any Discreption - as it is a Boulbous Root in Tim I hope it may ad to the Beauties in our Gardens."

William Bartram wrote at length about this plant in a letter to Benjamin Rush December 5, 1767:

Purple Flower'd Ixia of S^{t} Johns Riv^{r} E^{t} Florida.
Every Species or variety of this Tribe of Plants exhibet very eminent beauties; but this with applause clains the preeminence, its elegant form of groath with the brilliant colouring of its Flowers strikes on the imagination delight; and one can't look on it but with admiration. - The flowers open in the Morning soon after the day breaketh, whose petals appear as a transparent Film framed with singular beauty consisting of a number of longitudinal Fibres, which take their rise from the bottom departing from each other gradually to near the middle, then they divide, thus again to the end, and are so very minute preventing altogether an appearance of the finest webby membrane, of so tender and delicate an excellence, they are bruised and ruffled, by the gentlest breathe of wind, and no sooner than the slightest glance of the Sunbeams pass over then then they disappear, the acres of ground were partly cover'd in such manner as to cast a glowing purple around soon after the sun is above the horizon, it would be almost imposeble to find a flower; and one would apt to conjecture all the beauty seen this moment to be mere delution -

The colour of this most delightfull of Flowers is a lively blue reflecting a slite cast of purple. The delicate texture of these Flowers is admirable beyond anything that Vigitation presents besides. Having crop't a many plants with a view of preserving a specimin of such rare beauty, but was as often baffled in the attempt, for as often as they placed in the Book its leaves quickly absorbed the purple juice from the Petals, leaving the transparent film colourless, This purple tinct is of such strength and penitration; I have Gen^{a}: Plant^{m}: by me at prisent wherein a specimen had been laid, the Juice of which has struck thro' and colour'd five leaves, & remains a fixt and most perfect purple colour.-

But tho' these flowers are of so short a durance, that seeming disect is amply compensated by a most liberal succession for the next moring the curious Botanist is delighted by a seeming return of those fugitives, or he would rather emagin himself beholding a new creation & in the midst of thousands. -

The Root is a small nearly round Bulb, with a brown scaley covering from whence rises first one or 2 leaves 6 inches in length and very narrow very like a blade of common Grass, soon after the stalk of Flowers which is very small and round, rising 8 or 9 inches high a single Flower breaks out from a Spath formed of a single lanciolated leaf the footstalk of the Flower is more than an inch long bending downwards The Flower is composed of six equal oblong petals narrower towards their bases. The [Stamen] are three very short bending a little inward & on

their sharp points are placed the Anthera, which are long and crooked. The Germen is partly oval swelling near the top & three cornered, seated beneath the receptacle of the Flower. The Stile is in the midst rising fromthe apex of the Germen very small but inlarging upwards when it devides into three Stigma which are thick. Peric:^{m}. is suboval shaped composed of three valves & contains three Cells each having several seeds. -

The manner which Nature hath assigned the Plant in producing the wonderfull succession of Flowers whcih presents to the sight every morning a new continuing for the space of three Weeks is very singular and perticular to it.

The root is a nearly round Bulb, & from the center of which rises the Flowering Stalk producing commonly one tho' sometimes <two> flowers there being one [text illegible] on a spath & if two then stalk <then> shoots forward determined by the second flower proceding <from a> spatha, there being never more than one flower from a Spatha, & the Stalk never divides - . Wether this sucession of flowers, may not be caus'd by the Older Roots flowering first, & so the next in Succession, according as their situation of groath may be more or less favourable for Nature to bring them forward to proper season.

The preceeding descriptions and observations are the result of repeated opertunities of Tryal, and was there no nothing in this rare plant exclusive of its beauty, that would recommend it ot perticular notice, I hope its merit on that head will gain the attention of the curious, and in some degree plead the excuse, of one who in every object finds the greatest pleasure in following [nature's steps] in serch of knowledge that may tend to publick advantage or speculation.

For reference: "Ixia caelestina"
from William Bartram's *Travels...*

CURIOUS CREATURES

"MY INCLINATION AND FONDNESS TO NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF ALL KINDS
IS AGREEABLE TO THE OLD PROVERB: LIKE THE PARSON'S BARN, - REFUSES NOTHING."
Peter Collinson to John Bartram December 20, 1737.

Now remembered for this garden pursuits, Peter Collinson was not solely focused on flora. Quite early on, Collinson was receiving and collecting unusual species which he received cured in spirits. Writing to Sir Hans Sloane in 1725, "I have had Lately come 50 Bottles of Curious Creatures in Spirits & Severall other Curiosities..." (Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane, circa 1725) Some creatures he received live, such as the Monac (described in the first section of this catalogue.) Others he collected by way of imagery such as the Flying Lizard.

Whatever form they took; this collector was always seeking that which "would very likely be rare in England." Collinson was particularly interested in turtles and snakes.

TERRAPIN FEVER

Traditionally, fish, snakes, and amphibia were preserved in wine or rum. Unfortunately, this endangered transported specimens to thirsty sailors who sometimes broke into the shipments and drank the preservative despite the animals they found. Collinson's remedy was to teach his correspondents the art of transporting seedlings, live animals, and other specimens so they would survive the transatlantic trip. No one was as skilled in this pursuit than Collinson, which is evident in the many experiments made in his passionate search of the unusual. He taught Custis to wrap plant cutting and seeds in the paper he provided, and Bartram how to create transferable seedlings and turtles, among others. Writing to John Bartram in 1735,

> If thee observes any curious insects, beetles, butterflies, etc, they are easily preserved, being pinned through the body to the inside of a little box. When it is full, send it nailed up, and put nothing within it, and they will come very safe. Display the wings of the butterflies with pins, and rub off the down as little as possible. When thee goes abroad, put a little box in thy pocket, and as thee meets with them put them in, and then stick them in the other box when thee comes home. I want a terrapin or two. Put them in a box with earth, and they will come safe. They will live a long while without food. (Peter Collinson to John Bartram March 1, 1735.)

John Bartram sent live turtles and their eggs, which Collinson placed in his private garden.

> Collinson responded to a batch of turtle eggs sent by Bartram in 1737:
> I shall now tell the some thing which very much pleased Mee & will surprise thee – the Box of Turtle Eggs (which was an Ingenious thought of thine to send) on the Day I brought it from on Board ship being the 20 of October I took off the Lid having a Mind to see the Eggs & on peeping about I saw a Little Head just above the ground & while I was looking, I saw the ground Move In a place or Two More, In short in the space of 3 or 4 Hours, Eight Tortoises were hatch'd, it was very well worth observing how artfully they Disengaged themselves from the shell & then with their fore feet scratch their Eyes Open, ... (Peter Collinson to John Bartram December 20, 1737.)

John Bartram must have been surprised by Collinson's effusive response to the seemingly common turtle. Writing in November of 1743, stating, "if thee wants ye shells of our turtles intir dryed I hope to send thee as many as thee wants next summer if I had known that would have done I Could have sent enough before now I could preserve ye head feet & tail well enough ." (Meyers, Princeton) He sent several in April of 1746, "I have packed up in A box directed to thee 4 of our turtles dried after their bowels were taken out & well washed, having preserved thair shell head feet & tail intire by which you may observe ye difference of them almost as well as if thay had been alive." (Meyers, Princeton)

This dramatic reptilian exchange expanded Collinson's interest as the patron moved to an 8-acre prop

erty, Ridgeway House at Mill Hill, in 1749. He spent the next two years transplanting the entire collection and settled into his new home. The property comprised of several fields in which there were at least two ponds, the lower of which Peter Collinson placed the "great Snapping Mudd Turtle... and one of our small frogs," which he received from Bartram. It may have been one of these creatures of whom Collinson wrote later to Bartram. "I caught a perch in my pond and left half of it on the hook. The great mud turtle, whom I had not seen for two years, ate it, and now I know the poacher who has cleared the pond of fish—" (Goodwin)

As Collinson developed a request-list for colonial turtles, the "Great Mud Tortoise," also known to him as "great water turtle of new England," topped his list. John Bartram wrote to him on November 3, 1754,

> ye great water turtle of new england I take to be our great mud turtle which is much hunted for to feast our gentry withall & is reconed to be as delicious A morsel as those brought from ye summer Islands with this advantage that thay have ye same sauce & many of our Common people is fond of them who adds nothing to disguise ye tast but plain stewing & a good apetite they are very large of A dark muddy color large rough tail, feet with claws ye ould ones mossy on ye back & often several Large hors leeches sucking the superfluous blood A large head, sharp nose & mouth wide enough to cram ones fist in very sharp gums or lips which you will with which thay will catch hold of A stick offered to them or if you had rather your finger which they will hold so fast as you may lift ye turtle by it as high as your head if you have strength or courage enough to lift them up so high by it but as for their barking I believe thy relator barked instead of ye turtle thay creep all over in ye mud where thay lie perdu & when A duck or fish swims near them thay dart out thair head as quick as light & snap him up. thair eggs are round as A bullet & choice eating. (Meyers, Princeton)

Ever the critic, Collinson could not help but correct Bartram's observations, which he may have still considered amateurish,

> My son (Michael) & I were both surprised at the sight of the Great Mud Turtle it is really a formidable animal He bit very fierce at a Stick, he had near bit my finger thy former description is very good excepting His sharp hook at the point of Its Bill, & his shell being very jagged or Notch'd near his tail it made an uncouth noise, I can't say barking but what a full grown one might do I can't say it is really a Curiosity & Wee are oblig'd to the for send-ing it for Wee had no Notion of such an Animal—for writers in General content themselves by Say-ing theres Terrapins or Land &Water turtles &c (Meyers, Princeton)

The conflict between Bartram's study of the turtle and the observations of Collinson's makeshift experiment drove the British patron mad. The great mud turtle was fierce, and Collinson certainly wanted to avoid a conflict that might end in a bite by a sharp horned bill. Instead, he continued nudge John Bartram to have his son illustrate the various angles of the specimen, "I wish Billy could get one this [mature] Size and Draw it, in its Natural Dress—but pray Lett the Shell be well Wash'd that the Sutures of the shell may be well expressed, what Eye it has Wee can't say for they Seem'd closed up as if Asleep. All the Species of Turtles Drawn as the come in yr way with some Account of them would prove a New piece of Natural History well worth Knowing." (Meyers, Princeton)

In 1755, John Bartram proposed to have William, then at the age of 16, draw all the local Philadelphia turtles, and also some frogs and lizards. Captain Stephen Mesnerd, of Carolina, carried Peter Collin-son's letter to John Bartram Feb 18, 1756, "I am well pleased to Hear the Billey will undertake the Turtles and of the Lizards & other Lesser animals." In turn, Collinson sent excellent drawing papers for the task, primarily Dutch paper but some English too. The papers themselves were carefully wrapped and tracked by Collinson, who sent them to the Bartram garden via his corre-spondent Benjamin Franklin. When he worried the papers had not arrived, he wrote to John Bartram: "the Drawing paper which was both Great & Small fine paper rowl'd within side the Map with the other Drawings if I re-member right – and as the Case of the Mapp was consigned only to our Friend Ben Franklin I did not in the Least Doubt the Delivery of the paper &c which I think was Directed – but this I am Sure off that I wrote to our Friend Franklin, the paper was for Billey – I Intended it for the Drawing of the Tortoises there was a pretty Quantity." Franklin confirmed delivery of the laid paper to the Bartrams in a letter to Collinson, 15 June 1756: "Dear Friend I can now only acknowledge the Receipt of your Favours of Feb. 12, 21, 24, 29, and April 1 together with two Boxes, containing Parcels for the Library and John Bartram, all safe and deliver'd." (Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, 15 June 1756.)

William Bartram's preferred subject was plants, but, at least by 1756, he was drawing some turtles for Peter Collinson. His reptiles imagery appears to try to supplement what had already been delineated by Catesby in that he does not repeat any figures already documented in the *Natural History of the Carolinas.* Though, some of Bartram's early attempts needed refinement. The feedback the artist received from Collinson on his early turtle drawings is an example of how natural history art of this period was a participatory exercise where patrons directed untrained artists to ensure certain information would include the peculiar complexities of a species. Collinson had received some drawing by late 1755/early 1756, writing to John Bartram

> I am very Sensible of the great pains Billey has taken about the Turtles – I can't reward him Equall to his Merit I Send him a Small token & Some fine Drawing paper all in the Lib:Coms:Box to B:Franklin these sun-dry perticulars for thee… but I wish He would, paint the Pond Turtle over again it is the most Indifferently performed, the Shell is made almost white whereas it is Black- But then Again I must Do Him Justice nothing can be finer Executed then the Horned turtle Such Ingenuity brings Truth to Light time won't permit what I could Say on this Strange Creature, what can be the use of its horn, to Strike its prey – I have another request to Billey – that is – to Draw the wrong side of the Spotted Turtle he has Sent with fine Red Heleborine – So paint all the Belly Side &c of all Turtle for there is al-ways Something remarkable There. (Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 18, 1756.)

Turtles remained a lifelong interest for Collinson. They not only graced his gardens and ponds but became a source of entertainment as housepets at times. He wrote to Bartram in 1763, "It is something Singular & I dare saye the first attempt of the kind but the Mud Turtle had clam-bered up a whole pair of Stairs out of my Hall into the next floor. Led by what Instinct I don't know, but there was no water upstairs… A few Weeks agon Wee Caught The Great Mud Turtle thou formerly Sent Us – It is much grown & so fierce Wee was much Diverted with it." (Armstrong, 32.)

"Terrapins," as the English call freshwater turtles, became a full-blown turtle fervor in the 18th and early 19th century. Once it was known how cheap and plentiful exotic colonial turtles were, they became an enviable culinary pursuit. In 1753, England's *Gentleman's Magazine* contained several notices of large sea turtles served in London public houses serving them in soups with cream, butter, and sherry or served like lobster with drawn butter. Demand for turtles grew so significantly that ships from the West Indies constructed wooden tanks in which live turtles could be transported. Private clubs hosted "turtle frolics," which glamourized turtle cuisine for the wealthy, and prices soared to up to $100 per turtle (in today's currency.) If it were not for the Great Depression, turtles might be extinct by way of human consumption.

Some species of turtles by William Bartram for Collison are included in this collection: the snapping turtle, the horned-tailed turtle, the pond turtle, and the red-bellied turtle. Several were named directly in correspondence, which is noted alongside the representative drawings on the following pages.

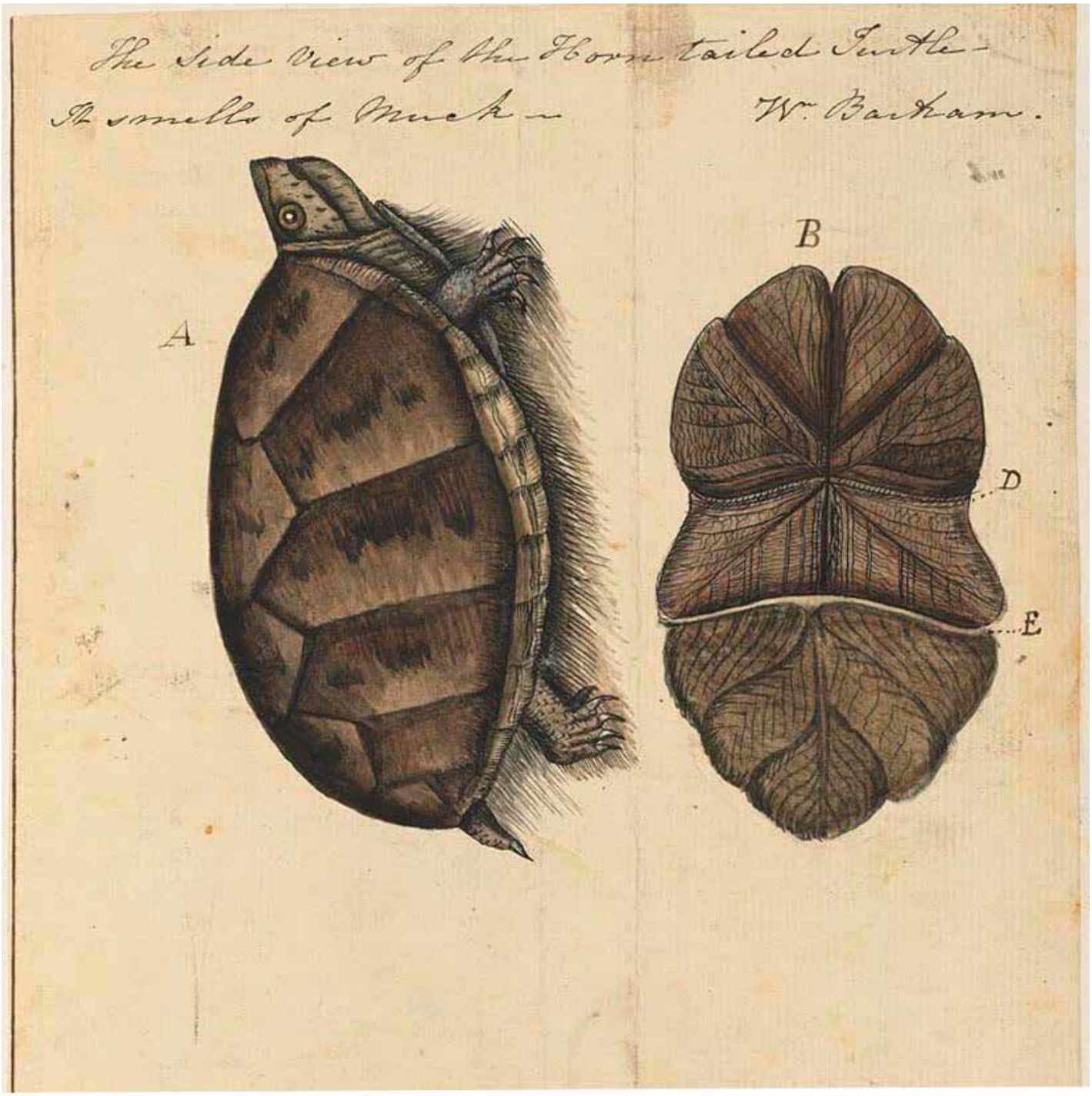


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Side View of the Horn tailed Turtle - It smells of Musk, Sternotherus odoratus (stinkpot or common musk turtle)
signed "Wm. Bartram.' (upper right), inscribed 'The side view of the Horn tailed
Turtle –/ It smells of Musk –'
pen and ink and watercolor heightened with white on laid paper
6 7/8 x 6 1/2in.
[1755]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 28 (illustrated).

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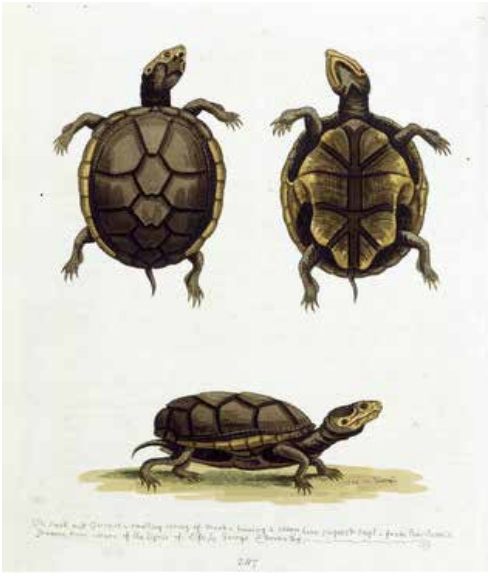
Peter Collinson to John Bartram Feb 18 1756: "I must Do Him Justice nothing can be finer Executed then the Horned turtle Such Ingenuity brings Truth to Light time won't permit what I could Say on this Strange Creature, what can be the use of its horn, to Strike its prey"

George Edwards discusses the small mud tortoise in plate 287 of *Gleanings of Natural History.* The artist's final engraved image, inscribed 'The small mud tortoise, smelling strong of musk, having a sharp horn poynted tayl, from Pensilvania. Drawn from nature of the bigness of life,' seems to draw upon several watercolors by William Bartram, including this watercolor.

> The head, all round the jaws and eyes, is of a reddish-yellow colour: the top of the head, throat, and neck, is dusky: the fore feet have each of them five toes with sharp nails; the hinder feet have only four. I take this Tortoise to be of the amphibious kind, it having fin-like appendages to all the feet: the legs and feet are covered with a rough dusky skin. The upper side of the shell is divided into thirteen parts or scales, all of a dusky colour: these are surrounded with smaller scales those next the head and tail of a dusky colour, and those on the sides of a reddish-yellow. The under side of the shell is differently divided from the upper, as the figure will best express, and is joined the upper part on the sides, and has two joints or hinges in it, so as to shell up close, when the head, feet, &c. are drawn in. The under side is of a dusky colour, clouded round the extremity of the shell with a reddish-yellow. It hath a small dusky tail, with a sharp horny point; the use of which is, I believe, by turning it downward in its progression inclining muddy banks, to stop its motion at pleasure. It is said, when living, have a strong musky smell. I imagine this might be a young one, and that there are of this species of a larger size. This hath not, I believe, been hitherto figured or described, except in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1758, where a very incorrect figure, &c. of it is given j which I hope is in my figures a little amended.
>
> It was sent from Pensilvania by Mr. Bartram to my worthy friend Peter Colinson, Esq; F. R. S. who on all occasions is ready and willing to oblige me with use of every new subject he receives from foreign countries.



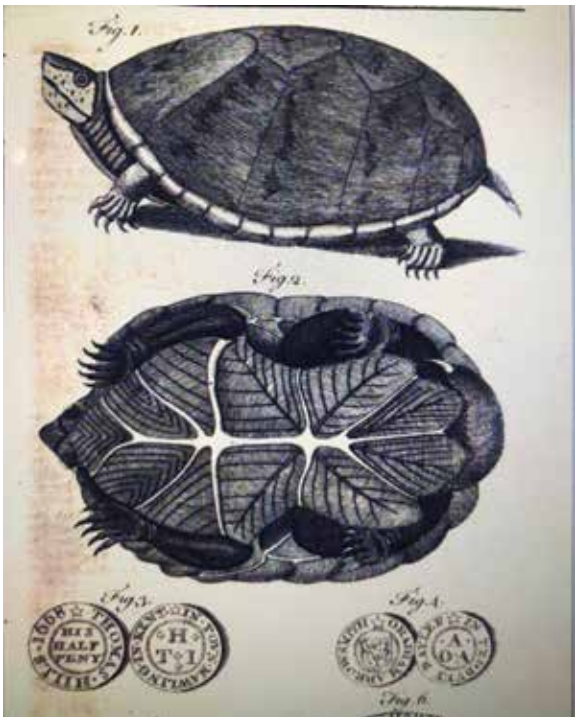
For reference:
"Small mud-tortoise, Pennsylvania",
Pl. 287, chapter LXXVII
from Gleanings of Natural History, Vol. 6
by George Edwards, 1760

The Gentleman's Magazine article mentioned was by Collinson and appeared in January 1758,

The tortoise represented fig. 1 and fig. 2. is a no descript animal, not to be met with in Catesby, or any other writer that I know of. Wheretofore I procur'd these accurate drawings to be taken from a living subject, by William Bartram, and ingenious young man to be engraven for your Magazine; which, if you get well executed, may probably encourage the artist to supply us with othe curious, and, to us, unknown productions of nature to supply the deficiencies of Catesby and his brethren.

The creature is a native of Pennsylvania, but not very common there. He frequents low swampy meadows, and sometimes takes the water, as we may suppose from his back being often found covered with green moss. The colour of the shell is various mostly of a dark brown or chestnut, & some of a greenish cast. The upper shell, or back, (Fig.1) is composed of thirteen plates or compartments, to wit, one next the head, almost triangular, four lozenge ones which run from this along the midst of the back down to the tail, one four-sided one over each leg, & two oblong pentagonal ones in each side; all tally closely together in rectilinear junctures, yet so as to lap over a little, like armour. The under, or belly-shell (Fig II) consists of three compartments, joined together by two strong cartiliaginous or tendinous membranes, which admit of the belly's contracting or dilating a little. The back and belly-shells are held together in the groove of a circular rim (Fig.1) running all round their edges, and most curiously compos'd of twenty three several divisions or joints. The feet are armed each with five claws, and the tail with a sharp horny substance, probably for annoying an aggressor; whence I chuse to call it Tesludo Pennsylvanica cauda cornu armata. Its chief food is insects and grass roots. P. Collinson. The publick cannot but acknowledge themselves greatly obliged to Mr. Collinson for this and many other useful communications from his rich cabinet, as well as for his useful hunts for the culture of exotic plants and trees in this island.

Collinson was clearly unhappy with the magazine's illustration from William Bartram's drawings (alluded to by Edwards) writing to John Bartram February 2, 1760: "Thine & Billeys account of the Snapping Turtle with his fine Drawing, would make Curious peice of Natural History, - but our Authors of the Magazine are so careless, in these affairs, that I don't know now to trust them - & yett It is with regret I cannot find a better way to communicate them to the publick."



For reference: *The Gentleman's Magazine* January 1758

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Horn tailed Turtle [underside] Sternotherus Odoratus (stinkpot or common musk turtle)
signed 'By Wm Bartram' (lower right), lettered with a key and inscribed 'B. The view of his belly or under shell being very curious / with particular marks; and two Joynts. B E which Distinguishes this Species from all the others / F. The Tail turned up wi[th] the horn at the end' (lower right), further inscribed 'This is most exact' in another hand (upper right)
pen and ink and watercolor on paper
4 ¼ x 7 5/16 in.
[1755]

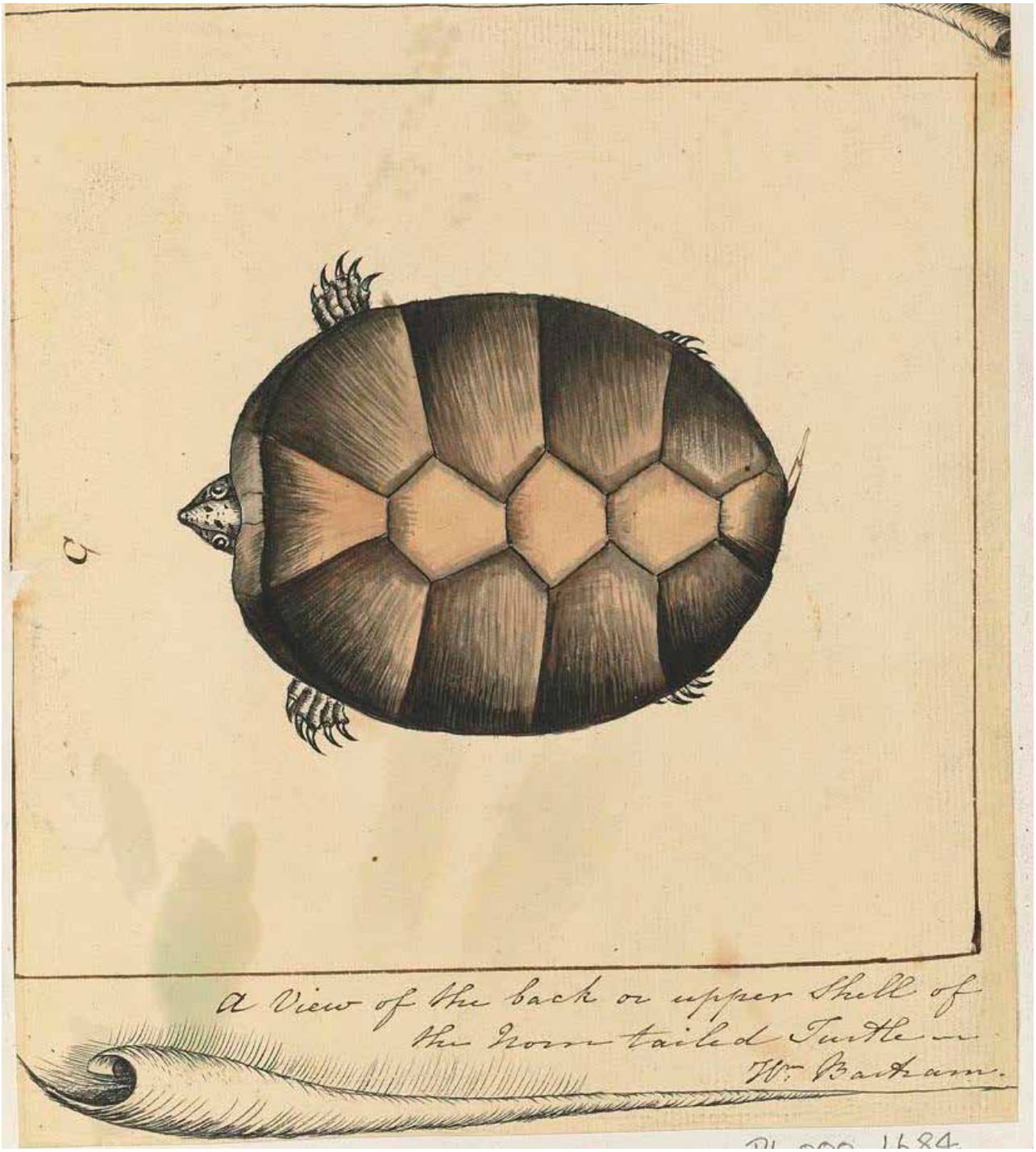


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
A View of the back or upper Shell of the horn tailed Turtle, Sternotherus odoratus (stinkpot or common musk turtle)
Signed 'Wm: Bartram.' (lower right), inscribed as titled with trompe l'oeil effect rolled paper drawing
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
7 3/4 x 6 5/8 in.
[1755]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 28 (illustrated).

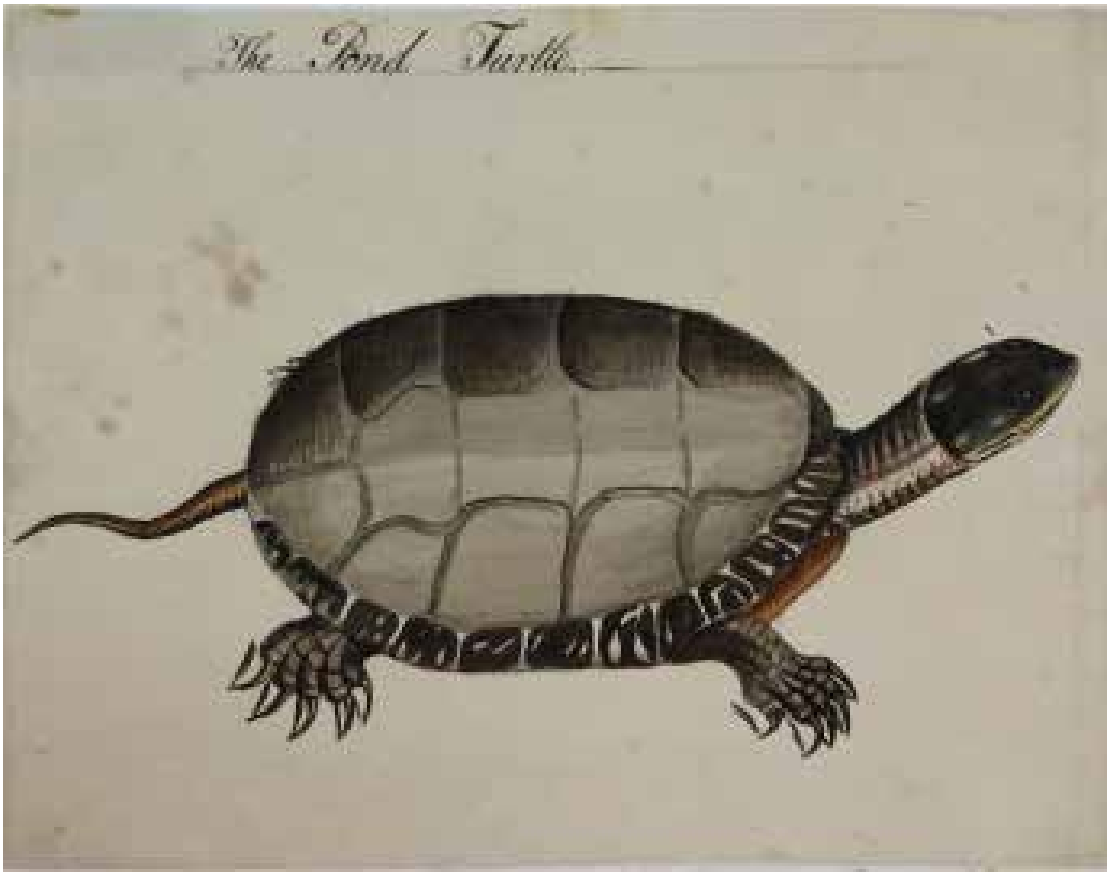


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Pond Turtle, Clemmys guttata (Spotted Turtle)
inscribed as titled "The Pond Turtle" by Peter Collinson
watercolor on laid paper
7 x 8 7/8in.
[1755]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 33 (illustrated).

William Bartram painted two examples of the Pond Turtle, one in 1755 and the other after 1760, as assumed through two letters between Collinson and John Bartram. In the first letter, Peter Collinson to John Bartram Feb 18 1756: "I am very Sensible of the great pains Billey has taken about the Turtles – I can't reward him Equall to his Merit I Send him a Small token & Some fine Drawing paper all in the Lib:Coms:Box to B:Franklin these sundry perticulars for thee... but I wish He would, paint the Pond Turtle over again it is the most Indifferently performed, the Shell is made almost white whereas it is Black."

The issue of a new Pond Turtle image was still contentious in February of 1760, as evidenced in a letter from Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 2, 1760: "Billey Sent Mee a Drawing of a Shell of what He Calls the Pond Turtle but neither shows any Tail - He Sayes the Distinguishing Character of the Species - Is the Beautifull variegated border round the upper shell marked with Red. Query, How does this Pond Turtle Differ from the great Red bellied Turtle to which the shell belongs by calling it by way of Eminence & Distinction the Great Red Bellied Turtle - Implys a Smaller Species with a Red Belly - pray Sett Mee right in this Matter - for the Border of the Great Shell is no ways Equall in Beauty to the Smaller Ones."

Bartram may have updated this 1755 watercolor after receiving Collinson's criticism. The tail and variegated border of the shell of the Pond Turtle may have been added later.

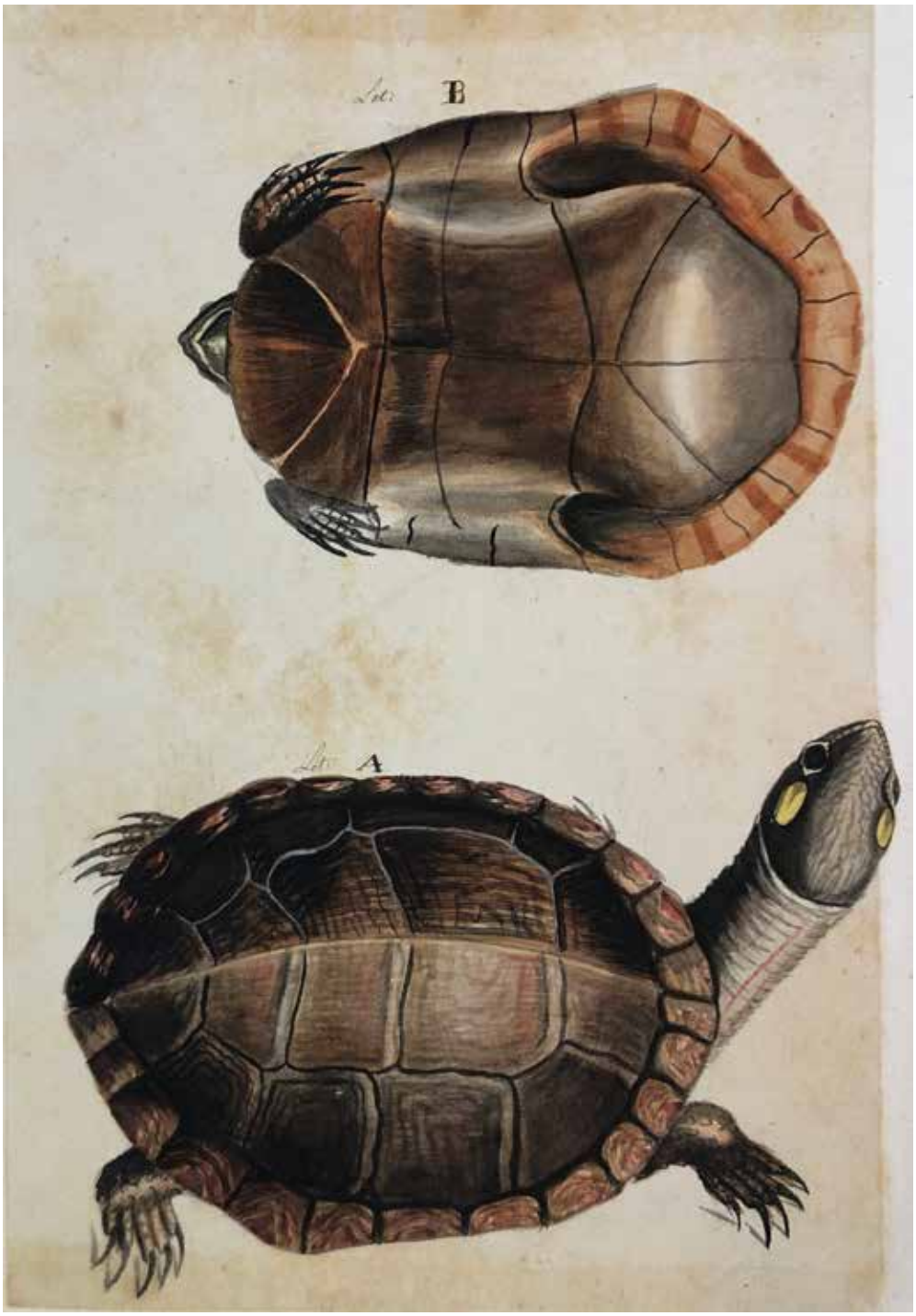


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
Red bellied Turtle, Pseudemys rubriventris (redbelly turtle)
watercolor heightened with white and gum arabic on laid paper watermarked 'GR' beneath a shield
9 7/8 x 6 1/2in. (23.9 x 16.5cm.) (irregular)
[1759]

Literature: Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 32 (illustrated).

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 2, 1760: "I was amazed to See so great a Shell to the *great red Bellied Turtle* for the *Livving ones thee Sent Mee* & Billys paintings is remarkable Less."

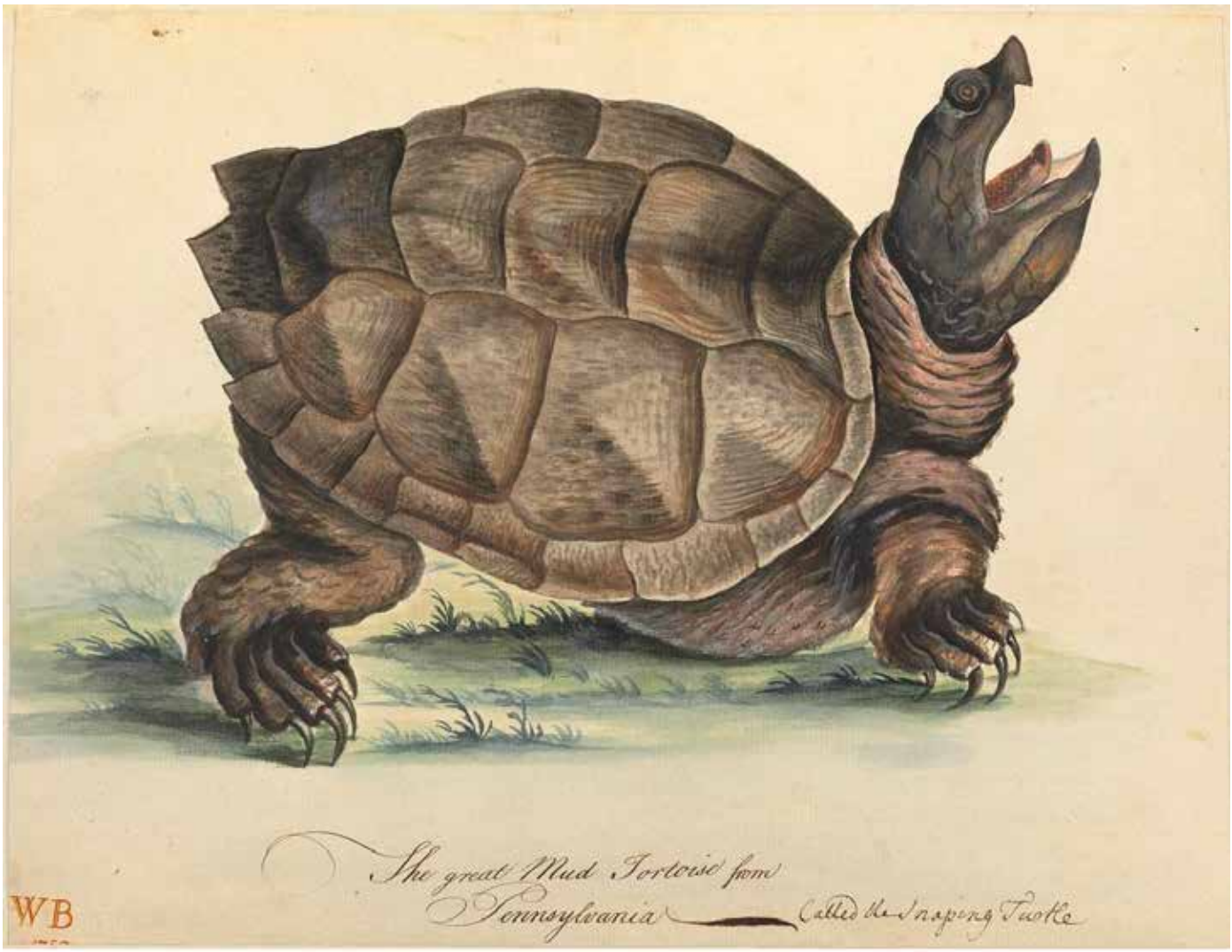


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The great Mud Tortoise from Pennsylvania - Called the Snapping Turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*, common snapping turtle)
Signed with initials and dated 'W.B./(175.?) lower left (the date cropped)
Inscribed "The great Mud Tortoise from/Pennsylvania – Called the Snaping Turtle" lower center by Peter Collinson
Watercolor heightened with white and gum Arabic on laid paper
9 1/8 x 11 ¾ in.
[1759]

Literature: A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden…,' Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.31 (illustrated). Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 32 (illustrated). *A Passion for Natural History The Life and Legacy of the 13th Earl of Derby*, Clemency Fisher, editor. Blue Coa Press, Liverpool: 2002, p.72 (illustrated).

WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)

The great Mud Tortoise from Pennsylvania - Called the Snapping Turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*, common snapping turtle)

Signed with initials and dated 'W.B./(175.?) lower left (the date cropped)

Inscribed 'The great Mud Tortoise from / Pennsylvania – Called the Snaping Turtle' lower center

Watercolor heightened with white and gum Arabic on laid paper

9 1/8 x 11 ¾ in.

[1759]

Literature: A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden…,' Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.31 (illustrated). Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 32 (illustrated). *A Passion for Natural History The Life and Legacy of the 13th Earl of Derby*, Clemency Fisher, editor. Blue Coa Press, Liverpool: 2002, p.72 (illustrated).

The snapping turtle is a fairly sizable reptile, some exceeding 20 inches in length, is notorious for its aggressive nature. They are known to strike repeatedly with great speed and their sharp jaws are capable of tearing human flesh.

William Bartram painted several watercolors of the snapping turtle. In this drawing, the snapping turtle is shown in an offensive posture with hindquarters raised and mouth agape, right before lunging forward at its victim. The accuracy with which this behavior has been illustrated leaves little doubt that the artist had personal experience of being threatened by a live turtle.

Collinson to John Bartram February 2, 1760: "Thine & Billeys account of the Snapping Turtle with his fine Drawing, would make Curious piece of Natural History."

Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
A view of the underside of the great Mud Tortoise from Pennsylvania (Chelydra serpentina, common snapping turtle)
signed with initials 'W.B.' (lower right), inscribed by Peter Collinson "A view of the underside of the great /
Mud Tortoise from Pennsylvania / Tail turn'd round when in this posture"
watercolor heightened with white on paper
11 13/16 x 8 1/8in.
[1759]

SELECT LITERATURE:
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of
Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.31 (illustrated). *A Passion for Natural History The Life and Legacy of the 13th Earl of Derby*, Clemency Fisher, editor. Blue Coa Press, Liverpool: 2002, p.72 (illustrated).

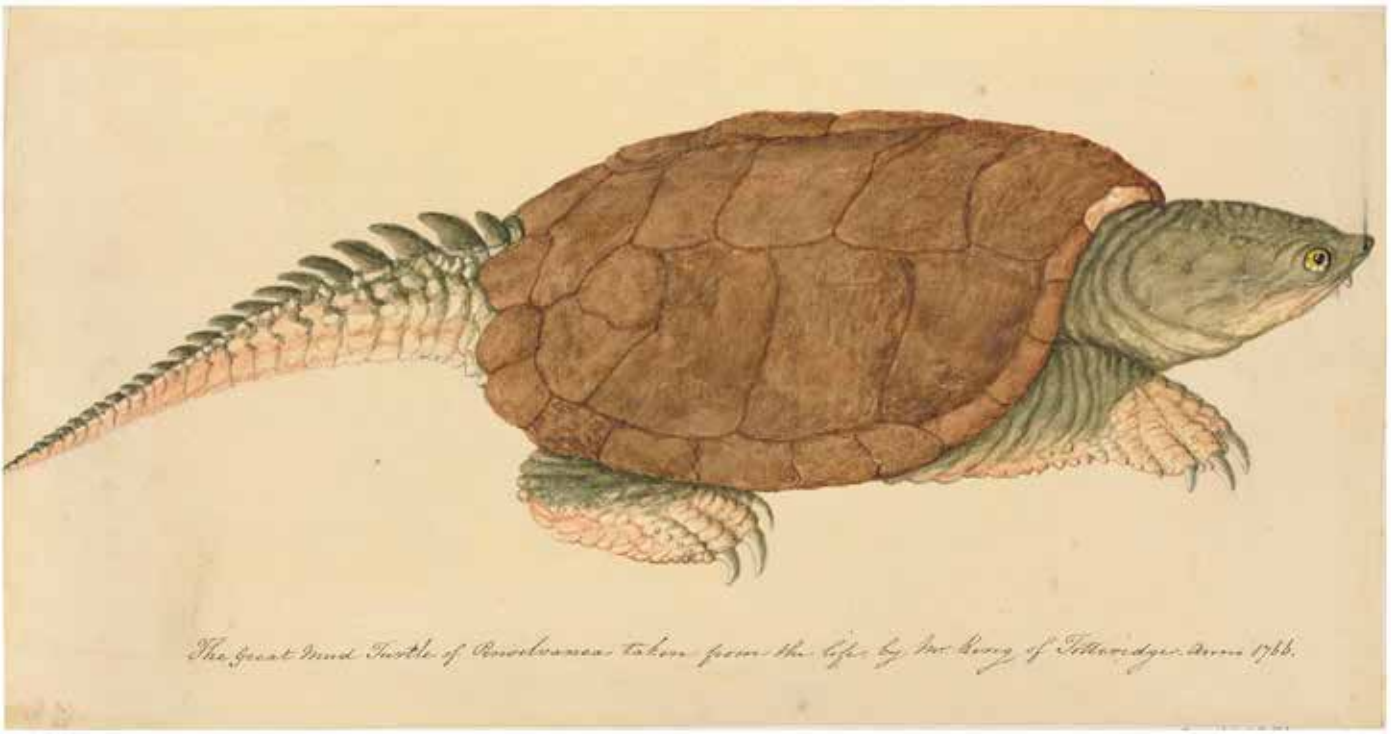


Fig. WILLIAM KING OF TOTTERIDGE (FL. 1766)
The Great Mud Turtle of Pensilvanea taken from the life, by Mr King of Totteridge.
Anno 1766.
Inscribed as titled
Watercolor on laid paper
8 3/16 x 15 3/4in.

Peter Collinson's collection of flora and fauna was vast and its documentation required the assistance of numerous artists. Given the patron's love for terrapins, it should come as no surprise he employed several artists to paint his prized specimens.

Here British natural history painter William King of Toteridge shows the snapping turtle in repose and in full length including the spiny tail, scaled skin, and sharp talons. King was contemporary of Georg Ehret and exhibited at the Free Society of Artists in London.

SNAKE CHARMER

Peter Collinson was content to care for his meticulously fashioned estate and visit foreign lands through plants as a "garden chair traveler." The American wilderness held such glorious specimens, yet he never traveled to the American colonies to experience them firsthand even when the opportunity presented itself. John Bartram invited Collinson to visit him in Pennsylvania to see plants in their natural setting. Collinson responded, "It is with pleasure when we read thy Excursions (& wish to bear thee Company), but then it is with concern that we reflect on the Fatigue one undergoes, the great risks of thy Healthy in Heats & Colds, but above all the Danger of Rattle-snakes. This would so curb my Ardent Desires to see vegitable Curiosities that I should be afraid to venter into your woods unless on Horseback & so Good guide as thee art by my side." (Armstrong, 41) Beyond the range of temperatures, and general fatigue, Collinson's fear of snakes was real and common amongst English gentlemen.

There was a universal belief amongst many untrained 18th-century colonial men that snakes would use the act of charming to retrieve a victim. Collinson was himself "charmed" by this mysterious animal's ability to manipulate men. The interest in England must have been considerable because Collinson was able to get an excerpt from an exchange with John Bartram printed in *Gentleman's Magazine* in November 1765, titled "Remarkable and Authentic Instances of the Fascinating Power of the Rattle-Snake over Men and Other Animals." Bartram wrote, "Mr. Nicolas Scull, a surveyor, told me, that when he was a young man, as he happened once to be leaning upon a fence, and looking over it, he saw a large rattle-snake in coil, looking steadfastly at him. He found himself listless immediately, and had no power for about a minute (as he thinks) but to look at the snake, and then he had the resolution to push himself from the fence, and turn away, feeling such horror and confusion as he would not undergo again for an consideration." (Gentleman's Magazine, snakes) According to Bartram, the death of a victim was inevitable once charmed, "The miserable creatures [the prey] strive by every possible means to escape, but alas! their endeavours are in vain, they at last lose the power of resistance, and flutter or move slowly, but reluctantly towards the yawning jaws of their devourers, and creep into their mouths or lay down and suffer themselves to be taken and swallowed." (Gentleman's Magazine, snakes)

Some folklore, like that recounted by John Bartram, was exaggerated for the English fantastical association with North American animals. However, colonial rattlesnakes were of considerable size. New Jersey rattlesnakes, in particular, were said to have heads like those of dogs, that could "bite off a man's leg as clear as if it had been hewn down with an axe" (Holmiensis, 53). This drawing titled *The Rattle Snake taken uppon the banks of G. Egharber River*, denotes the local of Great Egg Harbor, New Jersey. "Egg-harbour" most likely referred to the Beesley's Point area in Cape May County; which in those days meant Beesleys Point, on Great Egg Harbor. The area known as Beesley 's Point was first known as Goldin's (or Golden's) Point and in the latter 18th-century as Willets Point, followed by Stites Point (NPS 1991). A plantation and tavern on the Point was bought by Thomas Beesley, Sr. in 1803, and by 1834 "Beasley s Point" or "Beesley 's Town" was listed in gazetteers. (Eisenman, 67)

The New Jersey coastal region has been the focus of botanical exploration for centuries. Naturalists John and William Bartram visited numerous locations in this region including Amboy and Shrewsbury (1742), Little Egg Harbor (1763), Great Egg Harbor (1741, 1745, 1763), and Cape May (1741). William would have been an active participant in these jaunts. Given the level of confidence in this composition, it is likely this composition was more likely to have been drawn in the mid-1750s. Perhaps during an undocumented trip. William was in the southeast in 1763 so he was not likely present for John Bartram's 1763 trip.

The father and son duo probably took the route known as the Tuckerton Stage Road, which connected Philadelphia and Camden to Tuckerton and Little Egg Harbor. Taverns and inns dotted the itinerary along the way. One stop that was popular with early botanists (as well as current-day enthusiasts) was the pine barrens locale known as Quaker Bridge. This botanizing route remained an active area for naturalists, later attracting both Alexander Wilson and John James Audubon who followed in Bartrams' footsteps.

William Bartram's drawing of the rattlesnake at Egg harbor was not his only encounter with this "dreaded and formidable" beast. He wrote of another clash with this feared animal in his *Travels*, but in his

darkly romantic style he placed himself as the hero of a young man's epic journey:

> I approached the reptile, who instantly collected himself in a vast coil (their attitude of defence) I cast my missile weapon at him, which luckily taking his head, dispatched him instantly, and laid him trembling at my feet; I took out my knife, severed his head from his body, then turning about, the Indians complimented me with every demonstration of satisfaction and approbation for my heroism, and friendship for them. I carried off the head of the serpent bleeding in my hand as a trophy of victory, and taking out the mortal fangs, deposited them carefully amongst my collection.

Bartram went on the provide a general description of the rattlesnake, and recount the general fears of charming that most colonial men and their British counterparts believed:

> THE rattle snake is the largest serpent yet known to exist in North America, I have heard of their having been seen formerly, at the first settling of of Georgia, seven, eight and even ten feet in length, and six or eight inches diameter, but there are none of that size now to be seen, yet I have seen them above six feet in length, and about six inches in thickness, or as large as a man's leg, but their general size is four, five and six feet in length. They are supposed to have the power of fascination in an eminent degree, so as to inthral their prey. It is generally believed that they charm birds, rabbits, squirrels and other animals, and by stedfastly looking at them possess them with infatuation; be the cause what it may, the miserable creatures undoubtedly strive by every possible means to escape, but alas! their endeavours are in vain, they at last loose the power of resistance, and flutter or move slowly, but reluctantly towards the yawning jaws of their devourers, and creep into their mouths or lay down and suffer themselves to be taken and swallowed. (Bartram, *Travels*)

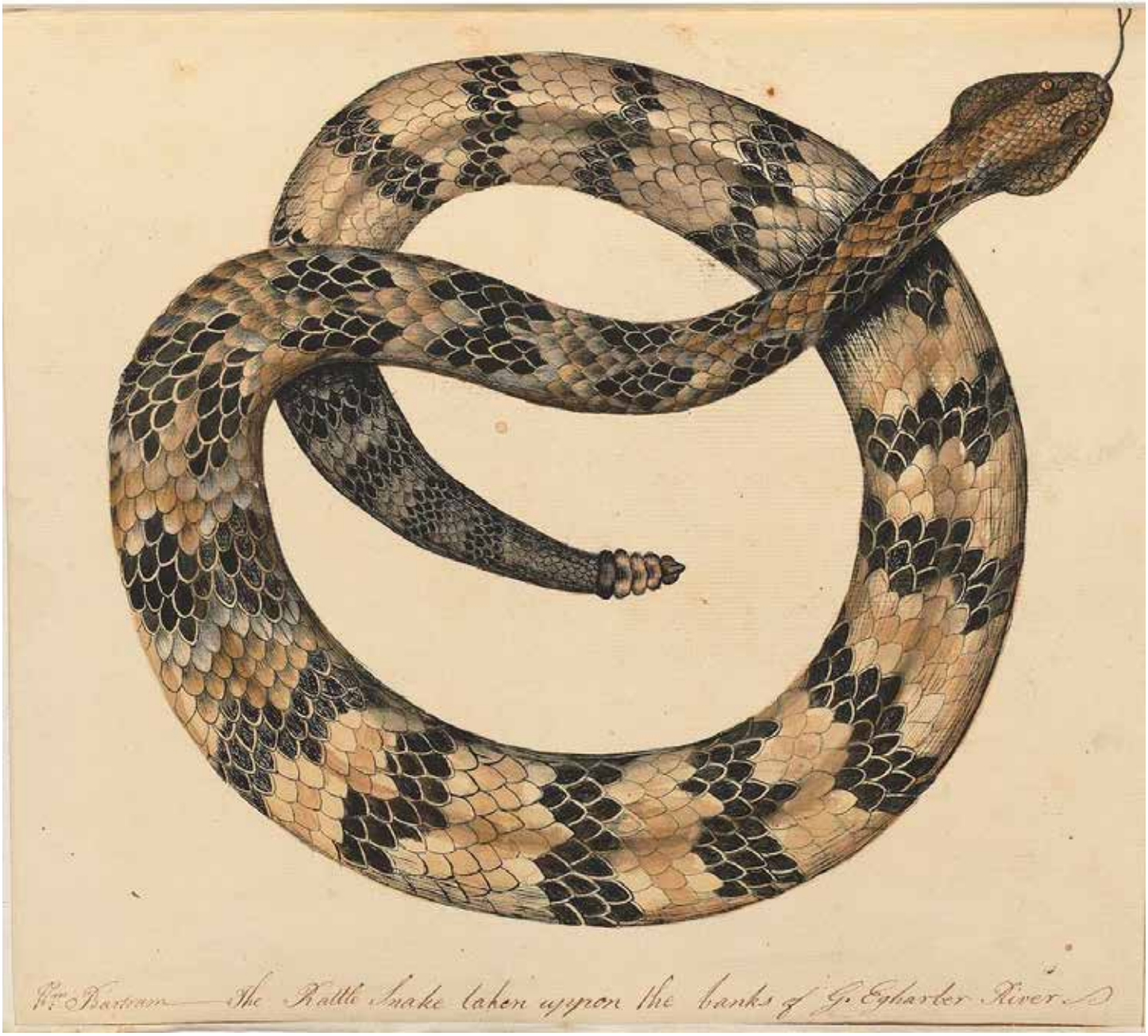


Fig. WILLIAM BARTRAM (1739-1823)
The Rattle Snake taken uppon the banks of G. Egharber River [Crotalus horridus (Timber Rattlesnake)]
[The Rattle Snake taken upon the banks of Great Egg Harbor River, New Jersey]
signed 'Wm: Bartram' (lower left), inscribed as titled
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
9 7/8 x 10 15/16 in.
[early 1750s]

LITERATURE:
T.P. Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram*, New York, 1996, pp.150-51 (illustrated).
A.W. Armstrong (ed.), "Forget not Mee & My Garden ...", Selected Letters, 1725-1768 of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., Philadelphia, 2002, p.34 (illustrated). Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffman eds. William Bartram The Search for Nature's Design Selected Art, Letters & Unpublished Writings. Athens Georgia: University of George Press, 2010, p. 20 (illustrated.)

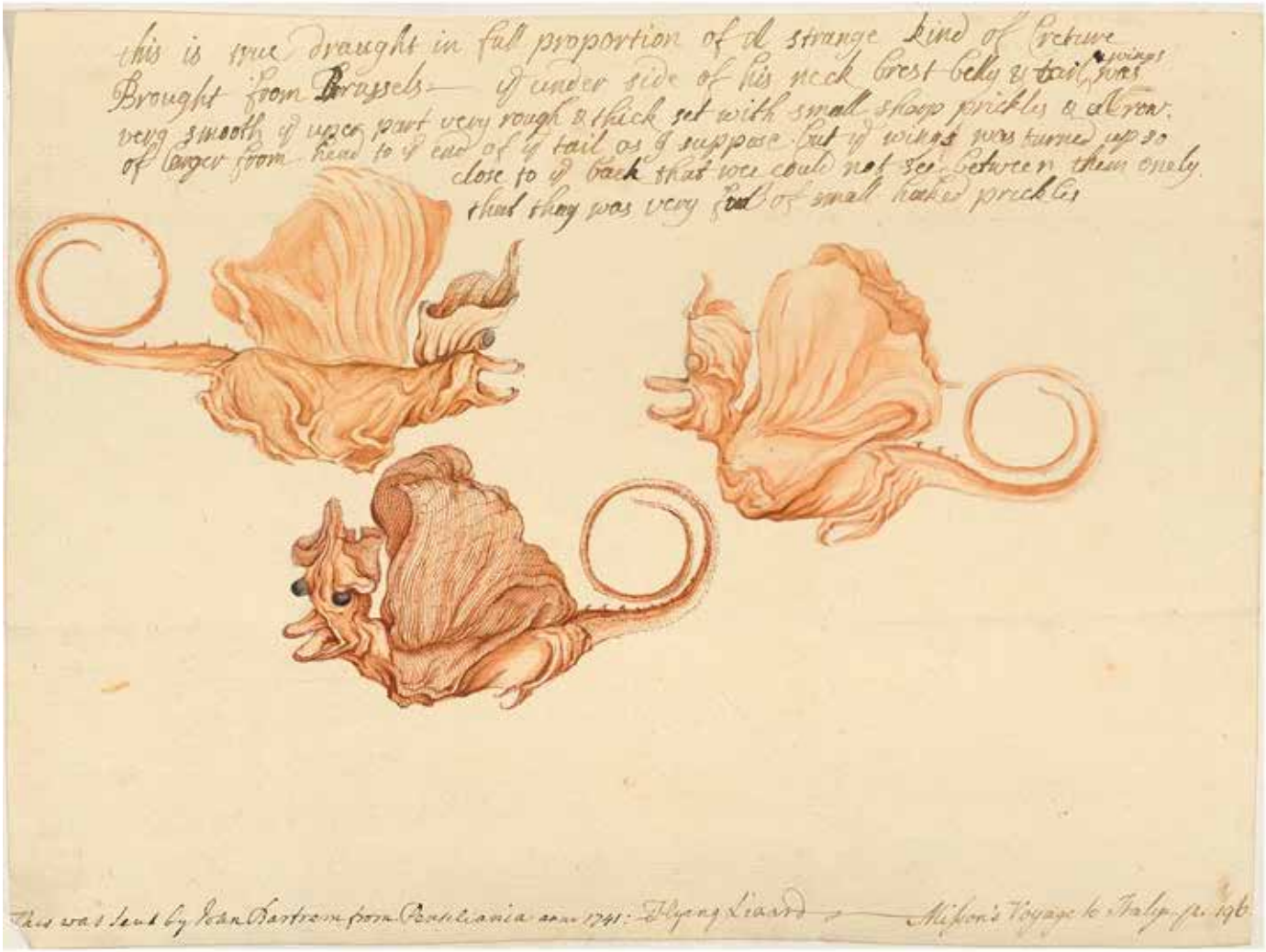


Fig. JOHN BARTRAM, or AMERICAN SCHOOL
Flying Lizards (Basilijks)
Inscribed by John Bartram 'this true draught in full proportion of a strange kind of Creature Brought from Brussels – of under side of neck brest belly & tail & wings was very smooth & upper part very rough and thick set with short prickles [in a row?] of larger from head to it(s) end of tail as I suppose but wings was turned up so close to it back that wee could not see between them only that that was very full of solid small haked prickles.' inscribed by Peter Collinson 'This was sent by John Bartram from Pensilvania anno 1741: Flying Lizards – Misson's Voyage to Italy p.196' (lower center)
inscribed 'For / Peter Collinson' on the reverse
pencil and watercolor on laid paper
8 ½ x 11 ¼in.
[1741]

Joel Fry, curator at Bartram's Garden, stated this watercolor is by John Bartram, or if not drawn by him, it could have been executed by an artist friend of this American naturalist. Given it is dated 1741, it clearly could not have been drawn by William Bartram, who would have been three years old.

Original drawings such as this by John Bartram are extraordinarily rare, but there is evidence of the eldest Bartram producing both maps and pictures mentioned by Collinson. Joel Fry substantiated this claim with letters between Bartram and Collinson dating around the time of this drawing. First, both the Collinson and Bartram correspondence mentions this exchange. Bartram writing to Collinson in early winter of 1738, "Col. Birds Lady persuaded me to mytly to draw plants she saw me draw the iron flourishes on the top of thair garden gates which please her so well that she said she was sure I could draw plants I could but try." Later, in March of 1742, we read that Peter Collinson expresses surprise at the quality of John Bartram's draughtsmanship in a letter to Cadwallader Colden. Writing,

I had a letter from J. Bartram... He really Surprised Mee with a Beautifull Draught on a Sheet

> of paper of the falls of Mohocks River which He took when he was there with a particular account of It [lost] and also a Mapp of His own Makeing of Hudson's River, Delaware, Katskil, & the bay which takes in the provinces of New York, Jerseys, Pensilvania, Maryld, & Virginia. For He has travelled all over these Countrys, the Unhabitated parts beyond the Mountains as well as the Inhabitated parts along the Bays & The Sea Shores from the Capes to your province. (This map is now in the collection of the American Philosophical Society.)

Second, John Bartram had a mind to paint in the field. Collinson wrote to John Bartram in February of 1741, "Thee tells Mee that the has a Mind to Draw or paint pray do" (Collinson to Bartram February 25, 1741). And, John was securing materials from abroad to improve his skill. Writing to Mark Catesby in the spring of 1742, "I should be much obliged to thee if thee would be so kind to send me a little of your best colors." (John Bartram to Mark Catesby late spring 1742, reference obtained from Joel Fry.)

John Bartram inscribed this curious drawing of flying lizards or small dragons: "this true draught in full proportion of a strange kind of Creature Brought from Brussels – of under side of neck brest belly & tail & wings was very smooth & upper part very rough and thick set with short prickles [in a row?] of larger from head to it(s) end of tail as I suppose but wings was turned up so close to it back that wee could not see between them only that that was very full of solid small haked prickles." Bartram's handwriting has been confirmed by Joel Fry.

And further inscribed by Peter Collinson: "this was sent by John Bartram from Pensilvania anno 1741: Flying Lizards – Misson's Voyage to Italy p.196." Here Collinson notes a specific reference and page, namely Maximilen Mission's *A new voyage to Italy...* (1739) page 196. Mission broached the subject of dishonest brokers. They manipulated species to sell them as unique forms of nature to appeal to naturalists wishing to expand their cabinet of curiosities. Presumably, Collinson had misgivings about this unusual species which Bartram must have procured, painted, and provided details to the Englishmen. Mission wrote:

> there are several Persons who scruple not to use a little Artifice to multiply and diversify the Rarities with which they design to fill a Cabinet. It cannot be denied, that Nature seems to divert herself sometimes with such Sorts of Metamorphoses; but it must also see confessed, that they are often counterfeited by Art. I know not whether you ever saw any of those pretended Animals, called Basilijks. The Invention is prettily contrived, and has deceived many. They take a small Ray , and having turned it after a certain Manner, and raised up the Fins in form of Wings, they fit a little Tongue to it, sharp like a Dart, and add Claws and Eyes of Enamel, with other little Knacks, dexterously pieced together; and this is the whole Secrecy of making Bafilifks. I am not ignorant another Sort of common Basilifk, without either Feet or Wings, which represent like a crowned Serpent; and many Naturalists affirm that it kills with its Breath and Looks Galen takes Notice of it as the most venemous of all Serpents; and tells us, that the Wezel only fears not it's Poison, but on the contrary, poisons it with its Breath. Yet I believe this Serpent is to be found only in the Land of Phoenixes, Unicorns, and flying Dragons. I MIGHT alledge many other little Cheats, The curious like that of the first Basilifk. (Mission, 196-197)

Cabinets of curiosities were incredibly popular amongst Italian elites of the 16th century. British high society became interested in this intriguing pursuit in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Collinson would have been party to this first wave of interest and enthusiasm to contribute to learned society. He wrote to Martine Folkes in 1741, (Folkes was the president of the Royal Society starting this year) inviting him for dinner and a tour of his budding collection. Writing, "be so kind to come and take a piece of mutton with me and see my little collection." (Peter Collinson to Martin Folkes, Armstrong, 93.)

In the early 1740s, botany was Peter Collinon's strong point, not mammals. So, he possibly fell prey to brokers selling false species, which would have touched a nerve when he read it in Mission's text. A clearly falsified specimen Collinson saw in Silvanus Bevan's collection in 1743 is a fine example of his novice in this area. Collinson wrote to Sir Hans Sloane about a mermaid specimen had reportedly been procured by explorers in Brazil. Noting, the "Maremaid's hand and arm...seems more human" than expected. (Collinson to Sloane Feb 4 1743. Armstrong, 106). Bartram was also new to such curious creatures of nature and the commercial deception to pedal them. He was not alone; the Basilifk contrivance was common amongst curious naturalists well into the 18th century.

GEORGE EDWARDS & EXOTIC BIRDS

"I have been for a good part of the Time empoy'd by many curious Gentlemen in London to draw such rare foreign Birds as they were possess'd of, and never neglected to take Draughts of them with their Permission, for my own Collection," wrote George Edwards in the introduction to his famed *Natural History of Birds* (Natural History of Birds, vol.1, xvi). Edwards was just the curious type of gentleman brought into the fold of the British naturalist elite; he was a knowledgeable naturalist, enthusiast of rare breeds, and could capture prized avian species with his able brush.

George Edwards' original watercolors for Peter Collinson offer a rare glimpse into the availability of exotic species in England during this period. Edwards admittedly did not travel far to observe new bird species; he saw them in private menageries in and around London. Thus, his compositions reflect indistinct locales offering instead generalized vegetation or the classic posture of a withered branch likely adopted from the Flemish masters he studied from prints in his youth. Instead, Edwards would often create more than one depiction of a species to show it from different angles showing "as many different Turns and Attitudes" as possible (Natural History of Birds, preface.) In Edwards' mind, if he could not see it in its native region, he wanted to breathe as much life into the bird as possible. The result is an extraordinary fidelity which did not go without notice. Linneaus wrote to Edwards of his skill: "nothing is wanting to the birds but their song." (Linneaus to George Edwards, 13 April 1764).

There is an exceptional variety of avian and mammalian figures offered in this collection of Edwards drawings. You will see birds from the New World, West and East Indies, Asia, and Africa. Initially, this amalgamation may appear very random. But, collectors in Edwards' circle bought birds procured by ship captains, notably the East India Company and local traders of exotic fauna. Some species were brought from specific foreign lands, while others were unidentified or misidentified. Bird provenance was problematic, particularly with African birds, because errors in bird origin were intimately connected to the slave trade. Edwards addressed this issue, writing, "many African Birds have got the name of Americans amongst us because they generally come to us from the West Indies; they being first brought thither from Africa in Ships, who trade in Negroe Slaves and presented by Captains to Governors and Planters in America, from whom they are often sent to England as presents to the Nobility, and out London Merchants, without mentioning their being Natives of Africa, by which Mistake many Birds are asserted to be Natives of Countries where they were not bred." (Natural History of Birds, vol. II, p. 111.)

The Collinson collection of bird watercolors by George Edwards represents a unique chance to own this snapshot in British avian menagerie history.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Crowned African Crane
Signed 'Edwards' l.r.
Inscribed 'Alive/from the Originall att Sr Hans Sloanes 1731 & ... Wagers' (by Peter Collinson) on verso
Gouache heightened with white on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
10 5/8 x 8 5/16 in.
[1731]

One of the most voracious collectors of natural history was Sir John Sloane, whose collection became the foundation of the British Museum. Sloane added to his herbarium and menagerie through like-minded contemporaries. Sloane was known to keep some unusual household pets, which the crowned crane must have been given the inscription on this watercolor by George Edwards, "Alive/from the Originall att Sr Hans Sloanes 1731."

Sloane commissioned George Edwards to describe and illustrate his imported exotic animals. Many of these original drawings are now at the British Museum. Even after Sloane retired, Edwards remained his eyes and ears to Royal society through weekly visits to Chelsea with news of the day for fourteen years.

The Crowned African Crane appears in volume IV, plate 192 of George Edwards' the *Natural History of Uncommon Birds*. As indicated on the verso of the watercolor, the artist wrote in his description of the plate: "The first of these Birds I drew at Sir Hans Sloane' s, the other at Sir Charles Wager's" and qualifies it with a locale from which it was procured "I find this Bird mentioned by several Authors there collected, which proves it to be a Crane of the Rivers Gambia and Senegal... This Bird hath escaped Mr. Albin's Notice."

Edwards describes the bird in full:

> It is a tall and stately Bird; when it walks with the Head raised, it seems to be more than a Yard in Height. The Leg, from the Knee to the Bottom of the Heel, is nine Inches long; from the Point of the Bill to the Feathers on the Forehead, is two Inches and three Quarters; from its Point to the Corner of the Mouth three Inches and three Quarters.
>
> The first Bird, which stands forwards on the Plate, hath its Bill short for a Crane, The Bill is straight and sharp-pointed, of a dusky or dark-ash-Colour; the Nostrils are placed distant from the Head; the Eyes are placed over the Angles of the Mouth and have their Irides of a Pearl-Colour; the Forehead is very round and prominent, and cover'd with black Feathers like Velvet; behind each Eye it hath a pearly-colour'd, hard, bare Skin, in the form of a Sheep's Kidney, which rises a little, and is tinctured on its upper and lower Part with Red. The black Feathers on the Head pass all round these Spots. From the Top of the Head there shoots out a Tuft of longish Feathers, or rather stiff Bristles, of a flattish Make, wreathed or twisted, of a dirty Orange-Colour, each of them being thinly beset on its Sides with light-colour'd Hairs, and a small Tuft of blackish Feathers at their Ends. These Bristles spread themselves very gracefully, in form of a Globe, and seem bigger than the Head itself. Under the Throat it hath a great red Skin, or Wattle, like the Domestick-Cock, but single; this is sometimes (welled out with Wind, by Means of a hoarse, disagreeable Note or Sound, which the Bird utters. The Neck, and whole Body above and beneath, are of a pleasant, light-bluish Ash-Colour; the Feathers are long, soft and narrow on the Neck; they are broader on the Back, but long and pointed. The Tail is Black, and the Feathers are pretty equal in Length. The greater Quills of the Wings are Black; the inner Quills are of a dirty Red, and fall over the Rump when the Wings are closed; all the Coverts of the Wings within and without are White, except those that fall over the black Quills, (and hide them) which are of a pale, dusky Yellow. The Legs are bare of Feathers pretty high above the Knees; the Legs, Feet and Claws, are of a dark-blackish Ash-Colour. The hinder Bird (which I take to be the Hen) differs from the first, in having the Space on its Cheek Red for the lower half, and White above, and in having a very small, almost imperceptible red Gill -on its Throat, and in being Black on the Neck and Body where the first is Ash-colour'd; in other Respects they are alike.

The Crowned Crane is a common species of savanna wetlands birds found throughout sub-Saharan Africa, from Senegal to the Rift Valley lakes of Ethiopia and the South Africa.

George Edwards, Volume IV, plate 192, "The Crowned African Crane." *The Natural History of Uncommon Birds.*

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Maturing Juvenile Carolina Parrot
Inscribed 'About 1/3 Larger then/~~Size of~~ Life from one of /Lady Wagers... Geo Edwards 1733' lower right
Watercolor on laid paper
1733
10 ½ x 8 1/8 in.

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Maturing Juvenile Carolina Parrot
Inscribed 'About 1/3 Larger then/~~Size of~~ Life from one of /Lady Wagers... Geo Edwards 1733' lower right
Watercolor on laid paper
1733
10 ½ x 8 1/8 in.

This may be the watercolor used for plate 234, "Yellow-faced Parakeet," in George Edwards *Natural History*. Edwards states the bird came from the West Indies, which was the general term for the West Indies and the American colonies in the early 18th century. He ends his description concluding the bird as "non-descript" meaning that he has yet to officially identify it against other parrots previously described. It is in fact a maturing juvenile carolina parrot.

The Carolina Parrot was the only parrot native to continental North America north of Mexico. Given the early date of this particular watercolor, 1733, Edwards would only possibly had access to one description of the Carolina Parrot in Mark Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina*. Catesby described the adult male bird with "the fore-part of the Head Orange-colour; the hind-part of the Head and Neck yellow. All the rest of the Bird appears green... The Wings are very long, as is the Tail; having the two middle-feathers longer than the others, by an inch and half, and end in a point." He does not describe or illustrate the female or juvenile of this species. The female was similarly colored just slightly smaller. However, the juvenile looked quite different; it was entirely green. Catesby's successor, John James Audubon would later describe the juvenile Carolina parrot, "The young bird is known by the comparative shortness of the tail, and the uniform green colour of the head." It is quite likely that the bird Edwards studied at Lady Wager's menagerie was a maturing juvenile Carolina parrot painted as the head feathers were transitioning from all green to the eventual full adult coloration of yellow and orange. Further, Audubon added to the description of the bird as having "with light blue reflections, lighter beneath. Primary coverts deep bluish-green" which are present in this maturing juvenile specimen.

Below is George Edwards description of the bird which he called the non-descript "yellow faced parakeet":

> The bird here figured is of the natural bigness, and is of that kind which has a long and pointed tail. It was a brisk lively bird, exercising its voice much, but expressing few words intelligibly.
>
> The bill is of an ash-colour, notably hooked, and angled, or waved on its edges; the skin that contains the nostrils is of the same colour: the iris of the eye is of an orange-colour; a bare space of a whitish skin encompasses the eye: the base of the bill all round, and the sides of the head all round the eyes, are covered with yellow or orange-coloured feathers, deeper or redder near the bill, and of a lighter yellow the farther they are backward from it: the middle of the crown of the head, the hinder part of the neck, the back, wings, rump, and tail, are all of a full grass-green colour, except the greater quills of the wings, and a few of their coverts, which are edged on their outer webs with blue: the fore part of the neck, the bread, belly, thighs, and covert-feathers beneath the tail, are of a lighter and yellowish green: the lower part of the belly is quite yellow: the inner fides of the quills, and the under side of the tail, are of a dusky-greenish colour: the legs and feet are formed after the usual manner, and of an ash-colour.
>
> This bird was the property of the first Lady of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, since Earl of Orford. Her Ladyship informed me it was brought from the West Indies, which I have since been farther confirmed in, by seeing six or more of the self-same species in a cage together, at the house of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wager, then First Lord of the Admiralty; whose Lady told me, they were brought from the West Indies. I can find no description of any species of Parrot agreeing with this; so I conclude it to be a non-descript.

For reference: George Edwards, Vol 1., Plate 234, "Yellow Faced Parakeet" in *Gleanings of Natural History*

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Arabian Bustard
Signed and dated 'Edwards Delin. May 1735'
Inscribed 'The Bird was brought from Africa and Given to Sr Hans Sloane of the Size of a Hen Turkey' (by Peter Collinson) lower edge
Gouache heightened with white on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
10 1/8 x 8 5/16 in.
[1735]

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Arabian Bustard
Signed and dated 'Edwards Delin. May 1735'
Inscribed 'The Bird was brought from Africa and Given to Sr Hans Sloane of the Size of a Hen Turkey' (by Peter Collinson) lower edge
Gouache heightened with white on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
10 1/8 x 8 5/16 in.
[1735]

George Edwards included the "The Arabian Bustard" as plate 12, in volume one of Natural History. He wrote of this bird:

> This Bird is about the Bigness of a Turkey, it is longer leg'd and neck'd, and slenderer-body'd than the common Bustard: It hath a Bill longer than is common to the Poultry-kind, of which this is a Species; From the Point of the Bill to the Angles of the Mouth is three Inches and a Half; the Bill is of a light Horn-colour, a little darker at the Point; the Nostrils are long, and placed near the forehead the Eyes are of a dark Colour; the Fore-part of the Head is white; above the Eye is a Line of black, ending in a Point toward the Forehead backward; it increases in Breadth, and forms a fort of black Crest, from which Crest proceeds a short black Line, and reaches almost to the hinder Part of the Eye ; the Neck forward, is Ash-colour'd, with small transverse Lines of a darker Colour; the hinder Part of the Neck and Back are of a brown Colour, with fine transverse blackish Lines; 'the Coverts of the Wings or the same Colour with the Back, the Tips of the Feathers being white, form Spots like Half moons: the Ridge of the Wing in the upper Part is White, from whence proceeds a broad white Bar, that separates the Covert from the Quill-feathers this Bar is sprinkled with small black Spots, few or none in the upper Part, thickly strewed in the lower; the bastard Wing is black, the Feathers having white Tips; the foremost of the prime Quills are black, the middlemost: are spotted black and white, being part of the above-mentioned Bar, drawn obliquely down the Wing ; the inner Quills, next the Back, are of the same Colour with it; the Breast, Belly, Thighs, and whole under Side, are purely White; the Tail on the upper Side, is colour'd like the Back, tho the outer Webs of the outfide Feathers are partly White, the under Side of the tail hath a Bar of Black across it, near the Tips of the Feathers; the Legs are pretty long; it has only three Toes, which are very short, all standing forward; the Legs are bare of Feathers for some Space above the Knees; both Legs and Feet are cover'd with a scaley Skin of a dirty white or light brown-ish Colour; the Claws of the same Colour.
>
> This Bird was kept alive many Years by my honoured Patron Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. at his House in London, whose Goodness always gave me free Leave to draw any curious Thing he had in his Possession. This Bird was brought from Mocha in Arabia Felix, and presented to Sir Hans Shane, by Charles Dubois, Efq; Treasurer to the India Company, It hath not yet been describ'd by any Author that I know of.

For reference: George Edwards, "The Arabian Bustard," vol. 1, plate 12 *Natural History...*

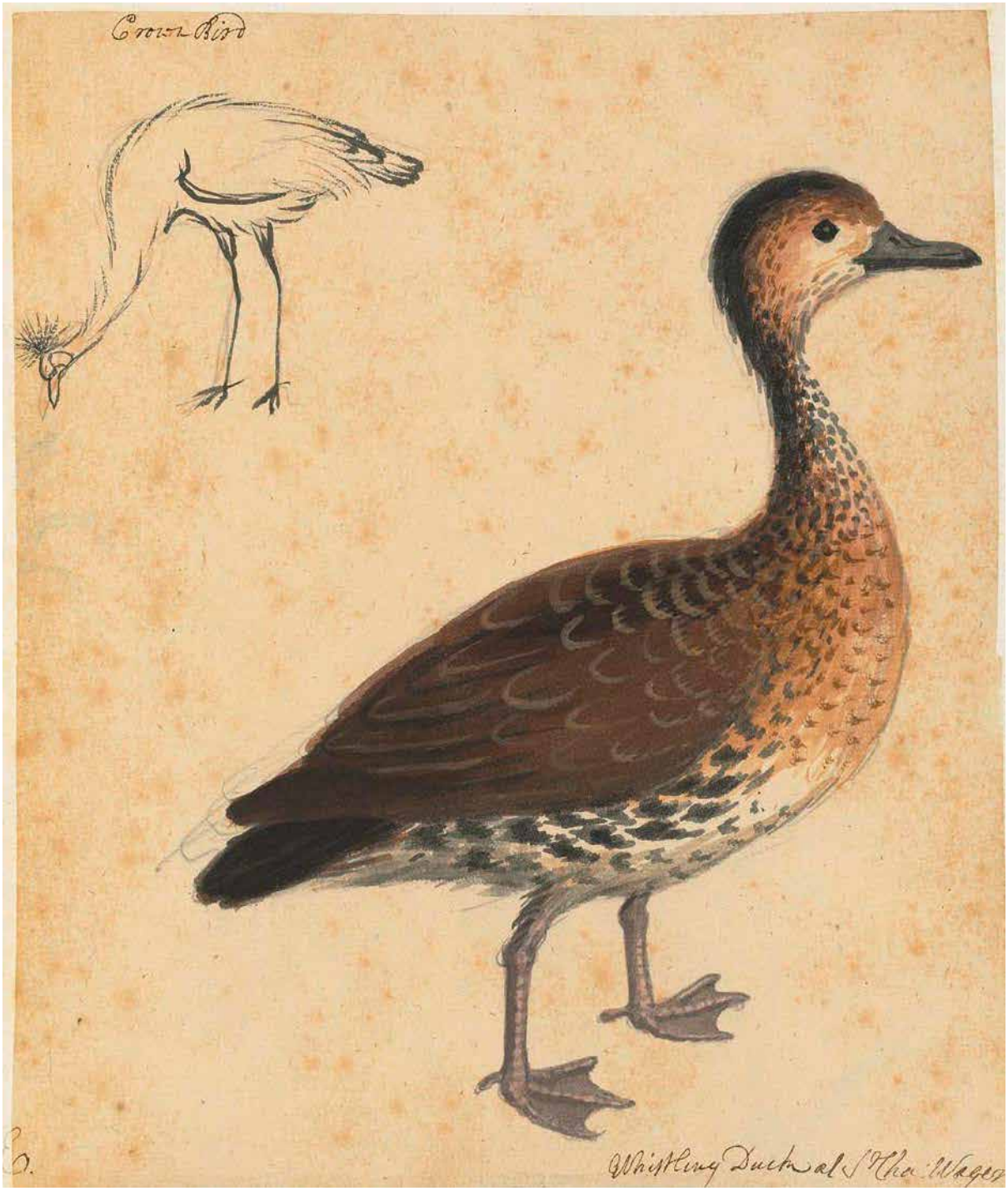


Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Whistling duck at Sr. Cha: Wager [Blackbill'd Whistling Duck (Fulvous Whistling-Duck) and a Crowned Crane]
Inscribed as titled, inscribed 'Crown Bird' upper left, remains of the initial 'E' lower left
Pencil and watercolor on laid paper
9 x 7 9/16 in.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Whistling duck at Sr. Cha: Wager [Blackbill'd Whistling Duck (Fulvous Whistling-Duck) and a Crowned Crane]
Inscribed as titled, inscribed 'Crown Bird' upper left, remains of the initial 'E' lower left
Pencil and watercolor on laid paper
9 x 7 9/16 in.

This image appears in Edwards' *Natural History* volume IV, plate 193, "The Black-bill'd Whistling Duck." The plate follows the crane, which may explain the small ink drawing of the crane in the upper left hand corner of this duck watercolor.

Edwards wrote of the whistling duck,

It is something smaller than a common Tame Duck, and longer legged in Proportion than other Ducks generally are.

The Bill is like that of a common Duck, pectinated on its Edges, a little hooked at the Point, and of a black or dusky Colour; the Eyes are of a Hazel-Colour. The Head on its Sides is- of a brown Colour; the Top of the Head is Black, the Feathers being long, and pointing backwards in form of a Crest; the Hinder-part of the Neck is of a dusky Colour; the under Sides of the Head, Throat and Neck, are White; the Neck is spotted with small black Spots; the Back, and upper Sides of the Wings are Brown; the greater Quills are dark Brown, approaching to Black ; the Covert-Feathers of the Wings have each of them a black Spot in their Middles. The Feathers of the Tail are Black, as are the Rump, and the Feathers that cover the Tail above; the Tail-Feathers are not of equal Length, the Tail being a little pointed in the Middle. The Breast or Craw, is of a bright—reddish Brown, spotted with Black, and its lower Part has a little Mixture of White; the whole Belly is White, having a large Mixture of Black on the Sides, and a very little down its Middle-part. The Covert-Feathers beneath the Tail are White, with round black Spots. The Legs are longer than what is common in the Duck-Kind; they are bare of Feathers a little above the Knees. The three forward Toes are all webbed together; it hath also a lateral Web on the Inside of each of its inner Toes ; the Legs and Feet are covered with Scales of a Lead-Colour; the Hinder-Toe is placed fo high as hardly to touch the Ground; the Claw's are Black.

This Bird was the Property of Sir Charles Wager, at whose House, on Parsons-Green, I made a Draught of it. I was informed it came from the West-Indies, where it is called a Whistling-Duck. Sir Hans Sloane says, in his *Natural History of Jamaica*, Vol. II. P. 3 24, they make a whissling Noise, from whence they have their Name, and that it very usually perches on Trees, and is common in that Island.

For reference: George Edwards. Vol. IV, Plate 193.
Blackbill'd Whistling Duck.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Lory-Parakeet [Ornate Lorikeet (Trichoglossus ornatus)]
Signed and dated 'Edwards delin. May 1735' lower left
Inscribed 'This beautiful Paroquet was Brought From a French settlement in the East Indies and Given/ to Lady Wager by ... this is the Exact Size' (by Peter Collinson) lower edge
Inscribed '... East Indies 1734 presented to Lady Wager' on the reverse
Watercolor and bodycolor on laid paper
10 1/8 x 8 1/16 in.
[1735]

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Lory-Parakeet
Signed and dated 'Edwards delin. May 1735' lower left
Inscribed 'This beautiful Paroquet was Brought From a French settlement in the East Indies and Given/ to Lady Wager by ... this is the Exact Size' (by Peter Collinson) lower edge
Inscribed '... East Indies 1734 presented to Lady Wager' on the reverse
Watercolor and bodycolor on laid paper
10 1/8 x 8 1/16 in.
[1735]

George Edwards included this bird as "The Lory Parrakeet," plate 174 in his *Natural History*. Writing of this species,

> The Figure represents this Bird of its natural Size. Though it be Green in the Body, contrary to the other Lories, the Colour of whose Bodies are principally Red, yet it agrees with the first: two Sorts, in having a blackish-biue Cap, and with all the four la If describcd in the Shape and Colour of the Bill, Feet, and bare Skin round the Eyes, and in having the Throat and Bread: Red. In Beauty of Colouring and elegant Disposition of its Varieties of Colours, it gives Place to none.
>
> The Bill is of a bright Orange-Colour, pretty much hooked, and waved on the Edges of the upper Mandible the Nostrils are placed in a dusky Skin, on the upper Part of the Base of the Bill; the Irides of the Eyes are of a reddish Orange- Colour, encompassed with Spaces of bare Skin of an Ash-Colour; the Crown of the Head is cover'd with dark Feathers, with a fine blue Gloss; immediately behind these Feathers follows a Crescent of Scarlet-Feathers, the Horns of which point towards the Eyes. The Ears are cover'd with Plats of dark-blue Feathers, behind which the Feathers are Yellow. The Sides of the Head below the Eyes, and the Throat and Bread:, are cover'd with fine Red, or Scarlet-Feathers ; those of the Bread have their Tips fringed with blackish Green. The Hinder-part of the Neck, the Back, Wings, and whole under Side of the Body are Green, except some little Mixture of Yellow, etc. a longish yellow Spot on each Side, which parts the Red on the Bread -, from the Green on the Sides. The Middle of the Back, and the Sides of the Belly, have their Feathers tipped with Yellow, which appears in distinct Spots; the Wings have some of the Quills, next the Back, edged with Yellow ; the Feathers of the Bastard-Wing are also edged with Yellow; the Rest of the Wing is wholly Green; the upper Side of the Tail, and its Coverts, are Green ; the Feathers are long in the Middle, and shortening gradually towards the Sides. The Tail Feathers, on their under Sides, are Red at their Bottoms, and yellowish-Green at their Tips ; the Coverts beneath the Tail are of a light-yellowish Green; the Legs, Feet and Claws, are of a dark Ash-Colour; the Toes are disposed, two forwards and two backwards, as in all other Parrots.
>
> This Bird was the Property of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wager, for whose Lady I made a Draught of it, and, by her Permission, made another for myself. My Lady told me it was brought from the East-Indies, which I believed before I enquired, it agreeing in so many Particulars with the Red Indian Lories . This Draught was from the living Bird. I have since seen another of this Species, preserved dead, which differed from this in having a great Mixture of Yellow in the green Part of the Bird, so that it was hard to say whether the Green or Yellow mod prevail'd. I can find no Description of it, so that it appears to me an undoubted Non-descript. The Fly engraved on this Plate has the Head and Body of a dull Green; the Wings are of a dirty-purplish Brown, with some transparent Spots in them. I drew it from Nature, but forgot to note from whence it was brought; but I think it was from the West-Indies.

For reference: George Edwards, "The Lory Parrakeet," plate 174 in Natural History...

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Upapa or Hapo (Hoopoe)
Signed with initial 'E.' lower left
Inscribed as titled on the verso
Bodycolor on laid paper
12 ¾ x 9 ½ in.
[1759]

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Upapa or Hapo (Hoopoe)
Signed with initial 'E.' lower left
Inscribed as titled on the verso
Bodycolor on laid paper
12 ¾ x 9 ½ in.
[1759]

George Edwards engraved the "Hoopoe" as plate 345 in *Gleanings of Natural History*. Edwards wrote of this crested bird,

> THIS figure is a little reduced in order to bring it into the plate. Its bill, from the point to the angles of the mouth, is two inches and a half: the wing, when closed, measures five inches three quarters. It appears to be about the bigness of a Black-bird, (Merula.)
>
> The bill is long, slender, sharp-pointed, and a little bowed downward, dusky toward the point, and flesh-coloured at its basis. It is remarkable for a towering topping or crest of long feathers: the eyes are of a hazel colour : the feathers of the crest have black tips; below the tips is a little white: the remainder of the feathers of the crest, head, neck, and breast, are of a yellowish brown or cinnamon-colour. The back is cinnamon-colour and black mixed, in transverse lines. The rump, and covert-feathers of the tail above and beneath, are white. The tail is black both above and beneath, with a white bent bar across it, as represented in the figure; it hath only ten feathers. The outer quill is shorter by half than the second; the fourth is the longest: they are all black, except that the nine outer-most quills have each of them a white mark across them toward their tips: the seven succeeding quills have each of them four white bars across them: the lesser quills next the back are black, bordered with yellowish white on the edges of their outer webs: the first row of outer covert-feathers above the quills are black, with deep white tips; the second row of coverts are white; which all together form five bars of white across the wings: the small coverts about the ridge of the wing are reddish brown: the black on the insides of the quills is as strong as without. The belly, thighs, and about the vent, is covered with white feathers, a little shaded or clouded with reddish brown. The sides are marked with dusky strokes down the shafts of the feathers. The legs, feet, and claws, are dusky, or of a dark lead colour- The outer toes adhere a little at their bottoms to the middle ones.
>
> This Bird was shot in the neighbourhood of London, and given to me by Dr. Reeve, President of the College of Physicians; who being desirous of seeing a figure of it, I engraved it on the annexed plate. It is not properly a native of England, tho' a straggling Bird is sometimes taken in this country, where I believe they were never known to breed. It is common in most parts of the continent of Europe, where I believe it to be a Bird of Passage; tho' the Ornithologies, who have treated of it, are silent on that head. It is an Insect-eater, and is found (perhaps in winter only) in Ceylon in the East-Indies. I have seen a very exact drawing of it, as to size, shape, and colour, done from the life in the East-Indies by the procurement of John Gideon Loten, Efq; E. R. S. late Governor in the Island of Ceylon. All the authors on Birds have described it.

For reference: "The Hoopoe," plate 345 in *Gleanings of Natural History*

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Golden Thrush [Eurasian Golden Oriole]
Signed (?) with initial 'E.' lower right
Indistinctly inscribed 'Call'd-..al' on the verso
Bodycolor on laid paper
10 ¾ x 8 ½ in.

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Golden Thrush [Eurasian Golden Oriole]
Signed (?) with initial 'E.' lower right
Indistinctly inscribed 'Call'd-..al' on the verso
Bodycolor on laid paper
10 ¾ x 8 ½ in.

This may be George Edwards watercolor of the "Golden Thrush," which he engraved as plate 185, in his Natural History. The final composition varied, but the bird and description of the bird appear to match. Edwards wrote of this bird:

> The Figure represents the Bird of its natural Bigness: It is a Bird of Passage; they are found in the Southern Parts of Europe all the Summer Season, and I have received of them from Bengal in the East- Indies. The Bill is something stronger in Proportion than a Thrush's Bill, and of a red Colour. The Irides of its Eyes are red; [according to Mr. Willughby s Account, who had shot some of them in Germany] from the Angle of the Mouth to the Eye is drawn a black Line. The Head, Neck, whole Body, both above and beneath, Thighs, and upper and under Covert-Feathers of the Tail, are of a very fine Yellow, or Golden- Colour. The Wings are Black on their upper Sides, except the Quills, which have narrow Tips of Yellow, and the Coverts immediately above the Prime-Quills, call'd the Bastard-Wing, which are tipped also with Yellow, something deeper, and form a yellow Spot in the Wing; the inner Covert-Feathers of the Wing are Yellow; the Quills within Side are Dusky; the first Quill is very short, not exceeding half the Length of the Second, The Tail-Feathers are pretty equal in Length; the Middle-ones are wholly Black; the Side-Feathers are more than half Way Black towards their Roots, and of a Gold-Colour at their Tips; the Legs and Feet are like those of Thrushes, of a black, or dusky Colour.
>
> I have had one of these Birds sent me in Spirits from Bengal , and another from Gibraltar, shot there on the Rock. It is known in France by the Name Loriot. It is the Witwall, Galbula, Galgulus, feu Piciis Nidum-fujpejtdens, Aldrov. Oriolus AlbertiChloreus Ariflotelis, & Idler us Plinii. See Willughby* s Ornithology , F. 198. I take the Yellow Jay, and the Buff Jay, of Petiver, to be no other than the Cock and Hen of this Species. See Ray s Synopsis Methodic a Avium . P. 194, Fab. 1. Fig. 8, 9. Mr. Albin is the last Author that has figur'd this Bird. See his Yellow Bird from Bengal, Vol. III. P. .19. of his History of Birds; but he owns it was from a Picture brought from India. I have seen the said Picture in Mr. Dandridge's Hands and found it to be meanly 'perform'd, and contrary to Nature, for which Reason I have given this Draught directly from the Bird, and hope it will be acceptable to the Curious, because I do not know that any English Author has given a Draught of it from Nature. Albin was either ignorant of its being a Bird common in Europe , or design'd to impose it on the unknowing for an undescribed Species.

For reference: George Edwards
"The Golden Thrush", engraved as plate 185, in his *Natural History*..

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Southern Cassowary
Signed with initial 'E.' lower left
Inscribed 'This Cassowars' on the verso
Watercolor laid on paper
10 ½ x 8 5/8 in.
[1758]

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Southern Cassowary
Signed with initial 'E.' lower left
Inscribed 'This Cassowars' on the verso
Watercolor laid on paper
10 ½ x 8 5/8 in.
[1758]

George Edwards included this image in volume 2 of *Gleanings...*, plate 295 "The Curasso-bird, and the Cushew Bird." Edwards wrote of this bird:

> These birds are greatly reduced below their natural size, which is nearly that of a Hen Turkey. They are drawn from life; the Curasso-Bird, fig- 1, by myself; and the Cushew-Bird, fig. 2, by a Gentleman in the service of his Grace the Duke of Portland.
>
> The Curasso-Bird being in most respects like the Cushew-Bird, I shall only note wherein it differs from the latter: Its bill is black at the point, and is covered at its basis with a yellow skin: above the bill, between the nostrils, it hath a round hard knob of a yellow colour; and on its head is a crest of long black feathers, which turn forward at their points. (See one of the crest-feathers, of its natural size, at the bottom of the plate.) It hath not the tail tipped with white. In other respects these birds are alike. The hen of this species varies from the cock in wanting the knob on the bill, and in having the feathers diversified of brown, black, and ash-coloured, in transverse lines: others are wholly of a reddish-brown, with many varieties, as is common in domestic fowls. Sloane, in his Jamaica, vol. II. p. 302, tab. 260, has this bird, which he calls Galius Indiens. But where he says the tail is not above two inches long, if you read ten inches, it will be nearer the truth. (See the anatomical description of this bird in Mem. de l'Acad. Royale, tom. III. prem. par. pag. 223.) Sir Hans Sloane has enumerated all the authors before his time, who have wrote on this bird. I drew this from the life at the house of the late Sir Charles Wager, in Chelsea. It is to be noted, that neither of the birds here figured have the knobs over their bills in their first year.

For reference: George Edwards
Plate 295 "The Curasso-bird, and the Cushew Bird." volume 2
of *Gleanings...*

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Dancing Crane, The Demoiselle of Numidia (Demoiselle Crane)
Signed with initial 'E.' lower left extensively and indistinctly 'July 11 1769 A pair of these very Rare Birds was sent/ mee by Doc'... from Dantzing=they came from the Confines ... Podolia...' on verso
Varnished watercolor on laid paper
10 ¼ x 8 ¾ in.
[1769]

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Dancing Crane, The Demoiselle of Numidia (Demoiselle Crane)
Signed with initial 'E.' lower left extensively and indistinctly 'July 11 1769 A pair of these very Rare Birds was sent/mee by Doc'... from Dantzing=they came from the Confines ... Podolia...' on verso
Varnished watercolor on laid paper
10 ¼ x 8 ¾ in.
[1769]

This drawing appears with the addition of a background in volume III, plate 134 "The Demoiselle of Numidia." He wrote of this bird,

> The Drawing of this Bird being taken from the Life, as it walked in a Garden, I could get no Measures of it; and shall therefore give them from the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris, where a Dissection of it may be seen. From the Point of the Bill to the Ends of the Feet extended, it was three Feet and an half; the Beak measur'd two Inches. (I suppose it does not mean to the Angles of the Mouth, for that, I believe, would measure more.) From the Thigh-Bone to the Ex-tremity of the greatest Toe was ten Inches. (I suppose this lad Article means from what we call the Knee to the End of the greater Toe.) The above Measures mud be according to the Standard-Foot of Paris . The Bird appear'd to me to be something less than a Heron. It has its Name from its particular Action in walking, which refembks Dancing, by its frequent Leaping and turning round, varying the Motion of its Head at the same Time. The Bill of this Bird, tho' short for the Craner-kind, appear'd to me to be longer than the above Measure: It is straight and ends in a Point; the thicker Part next the Head is greenish; in the middle Part it gradually becomes Yellow; the Point is Red; the Irides of the Eyes are of a shining red Colour; the Head and upper Part of the Neck are Black, except the Crown, which is Grey. Immediately from behind each Eye fprings forth a Tuft of long, foft, white Feathers, which tend backward, and hang down behind in a very graceful Manner, and wave with the lead Air when the Bird is in Motion. The Fore-part of the Neck is cover'd with soft, long and slender black Feathers, which fall on the Bread in a very pretty Manner, sometimes close, at other Times detached like the Ends of a Lady's Tippet. The Hinder-part of the Neck, the whole Body, Wings and Tail are of a blueish Ash-Colour, except the greater Quills, which are of a dusky or black Colour; the Tips of the Tail-Feathers are also blackish. It hath pretty long Legs, the Feet not very long, all cover'd with dark or blackish Scales; the Claws Blacks; the Legs are bare of Feathers a good Space above the Knees.
>
> Three of these Birds were the Property of his Grace the late Duke of Montagu: They were kept at his House on Black-Heath, where the Duke obliged me with a Sight of them, in order to take Draughts... Mr. Albin has given a Figure and Description of this Bird: See his Numidian Crane in his History of Birds, Vol III. P. 79. which is no more than a very lame and imperfect Figure from that of the Academy, with some Fragments of its Description from the same Work, as may easily be seen, if any one thinks proper to compare them. It being a beautiful Bird, and rare with us, I thought an original Figure of it, with an immediate Description in our own Language, would be acceptable to the Curious. I believe the Cock and Hen differ little or not at all outwardly in this Species, for the above mention'd three, and two more which I saw at Sir Charles Wager's were all alike.

For reference: George Edwards. In *Natural History of Uncommon Birds*, volume III, plate 134 "The Demoiselle of Numidia."

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Green Heron (juvenile)
Signed with initial 'E.' cropped lower left
Inscribed 'The natural bigness of the /Bitterns head, the body is about the bignes of a Common/Tame pigeon's' on the verso
Further inscribed 'The bird was send Dry'd from Maryland/1730' (by another hand) on the verso
Pencil and watercolor on laid paper
10 ½ x 8 1/8 in.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The King Vulture
Watercolor on laid paper
9 3/8 x 8 1/16 in.

GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The King Vulture
Watercolor on laid paper
9 3/8 x 8 1/16 in.

George Edwards included "The King of the Vultures" in volume one, plate 2, of his *Natural History*. Writing,

This Bird is about the Bigness of a Hen-Turkey. I believe it is something less than the greater Sort of Vultures; nor has it such large Wings in Proportion. The Bill is pretty thick and strong, straight for a little way, then bends into a Hook, and over-hangs the lower Mandible- it is red at the Point, and black in the middle Part; the Bale of the Bill, both upper and lower Mandibles, are cover'd with a Skin, of an orange Colour, broad, and pointing to the Crown of the Head, on each Side above, in which Spaces are placed the Nostrils, of an oblong Shape: Between the Nostrils is a loose flap of Skin, scolloped, which falls indifferently on either Side of the Bill, when the Bird moves its Head. The Iris of the Eye is of a bright, pearly Whiteness; round the Eye, is an indifferent broad space of Scarlet Skin; the Head and Neck are cover'd with bare Skin; the Crown of a dirty, Flesh-colour, toward the Bill, and Scarlet in the hinder Part, behind which is. a little Tuft of black Hairs From this Tuft proceeds, on each Side, and parts the Head from the Neck, a fort of Stay of wrinkled Skin, of a brownish Colour, with a little Blue and Red in its hinder Part: The Sides of the Plead are of a black or dirty Colour, with Spots of brownish Purple behind the Angles of the Mouth; the Sides of the Neck are red, which gradually becomes yellow in its fore Part; there runs a dirty, yellow Lift down the hind Part of the Neck; and at the bottom of the Neck, a Ruff of loose, soft, ash-colour'd Feathers, quite round, in which, by Contraction, it can hide its whole Neck and Sides of the Head; the Breast, Belly, Thighs, and covert Feathers under the Tail are White, or a little inclining to Cream-colour; the back and upper Part of the Wings is of a light reddish brown, inclining to Buff-colour;, the Rump and upper covert Feathers of the Tail are White; the Quill-feathers of the Wings, black; some of the middle-most quills have their Shafts edged with white; the Row of Coverts, next above the Quills; is black, with light, brown Edges ; the Tail is wholly black; tho' Mr. Albin makes ' it black only at the End; the Legs and Feet are of a dirty, white Colour ; the forward Toes are joined a little way by a Membrane ; the Claws are black, not so great nor, crooked as in Eagles.

This Bird I drew at Sir Hans Sloane's, where it lived some Years. I have seen three or four of them ; but could discover no such Craw of bare Skin, as Albin has figured. The People who made a Shew of this Bird in London, told me it was brought from the East Indies; tho' I believe it rather to come from the West, I have seen an old Dutch Print of this Bird, very incorrect, intitled, Rex Warwouwarum, ex India Occident ali. Mr. Perry, a great Dealer in foreign Birds and Beasts, has assured me these Birds are brought only from America, Albin supposes it to be like the Brasilian Vulture, called, Urubu, Willoughby, pg. 68. tho' it differs widely from that which is no other than the Turkey Buzard, described in Catesby's History of Carolina. Had Mr. Albin been tolerably correct in his Figure of this Bird, I should not have published a second Draught.

For reference: George Edwards, "The King of the Vultures" in volume one, plate 2, of his *Natural History*.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
European Bee-eater
Inscribed as titled on the verso
Watercolor on laid paper
10 ¾ x 8 5/8 in.

While not indicated here, the insect in the upper left may have been seen by Edwards in the collection of Dr. Robert Nesbitt. Nesbitt had a very fine collection of Chinese butterflies and insects which he made available to the artist. In the case of beetles, Edwards tended to view these new species in the collection of Dr. Matthew Lee.

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
Northern Lapwing (juvenile)
Signed 'G:Edwards' l.l.
Watercolor on laid paper
8 7/8 x 6 5/8 in.

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Rhododendron Maximum (Mountain Laurel, White Laurel, Rosebay Rhododendron)
inscribed 'Ehret / Rhododendron Maximu[m]' (lower left and lower right)
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
14 7/8 x 9 ¼in. (the sheet cropped on the right with a leaf extending to the edge of the mount)

GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Rhododendron Maximum (Mountain Laurel, White Laurel, Rosebay Rhododendron)
inscribed 'Ehret / Rhododendron Maximu[m]' (lower left and lower right)
watercolor heightened with gum arabic on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys
14 7/8 x 9 ¼in. (the sheet cropped on the right with a leaf extending to the edge of the mount)

Rhododendron maximum and Sanguinaria canadensis are among the species that Collinson introduced to England. Given Collinson's introduction of this plant, it is highly likely that Ehret painted this plant at Mill Hill, where it flourished. Further, this drawing incomplete retains the outline of leaves on the left, and maybe the artist's onsite drawing is used to prepare a more finished work in the studio.

John Bartram sent seeds and perhaps a clipping of this specimen Rhododendron maximum in late 1737 or early 1738. Peter Collinson thanked Bartram, "I know it was with great fatigue & pains that those Laurells was procured from the Mountains, so I would not willing be behind In Making Some Acknowledgement… The cones of the Swamp Rose bay or Laurell are much wanted." However, it took some time for this species to flourish and flower. A Collinson memorandum reads as follows, "1756, June 25. The great Mountain Laurel, or Rhododendron, flowered for the first time in my garden." "The Chamaerhododendron (the original name for this family of plants) of Catesby's Natural History flowered this year, 1760, most charmingly, in seven years from seed in my garden at Mill Hill. P. Collinson" Writing to Bartram Aug. 4, 1763, he says, "The great Rhododendron has been glorious beyond expression."

The modern name R. maximum was ascribed in 1753 by Linneaus, who undoubtedly saw it, perhaps for the first time, in Peter Collinson's garden in Peckham. It became a favorite of George II, who bought another painting of the plant by Ehret, which is now in the Royal Collection.

Native to the Appalachians, Rhododendron maximum is common in the shady understory of upland forests from New England in the north to Georgia in the south.

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Mesembryanthemum Annum Calendula folio Latiore by Docr: Delinium
signed and with inscrption 'Drawn by / G.D. Ehre[t] / 1735' (lower right), inscribed as titled (upper center), further inscribed with bibliographical references (lower center)
watercolor on laid paper watermarked fleur de lys LVC(?)
14 1/8 x 10 ¼in.
[1735]

Fig. JAMES BOLTON (1735-1799)
Flowers and Butterflies
Signed 'Bolton' (upper left), indistinctly inscribed '... P. Collinson Esq ... 1757 ... / ... Bolton. Pinx 1757 – ' on the reverse
watercolor heightened with white on laid paper
9 1/16 x 8 in.
[1757]

James Bolton, like fellow artists William King of Totteridge, Georg Ehret, and George Edwards, was summoned to Peter Collinson's garden to paint new and unusual species of flora and fauna. Here the arist depicts a blossoming bright pink flower with three species of butterflies.

James Bolton was born near Warley in the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1735, the son of William Bolton, a weaver. James initially followed his father's trade, but later became a self-taught art teacher and finally a tavern owner in his home village of Warley. James and his older brother, Thomas Bolton (1722–1778), were keen naturalists, both contributed to the natural history section in *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax in Yorkshire*, published in 1775 by John Watson.

Bolton subsequently developed his interest further by writing or illustrating a number of important natural history books including Richard Relhan's *Flora Cantabrigiensis* (1785), his *Filices Britannicae* (1785), and his three-volume work, *A History of Fungusses growing about Halifax* (1788-1790). His final published work was *Harmonia ruralis*, an "essay towards a natural history of British songbirds," issued in two volumes (1794–6). Birds and their nests were drawn from life, and the text contained many of Bolton's first-hand observations. The popularity of the subject matter led to two subsequent but posthumous editions in 1830 and 1845.

An exhibition devoted to James Bolton and his works was held at the Liverpool Museum in 1995-6 and he was one of the artists featured in the *Nature Observed* exhibition at the University of London in 2006.

Fig. ENGLISH SCHOOL
Cypripedium album [The North East American Wild Orchid]
Fragment of a cropped signature 'J.Inni..' l.r.
Inscribed 'Cypripedium album. Hort: Kew' l.c. recto, and 'Hort:Peter Collinson Mill Hill./June 1798' verso
Pencil, pen and ink, and watercolor on laid paper watermarked 'J.Whatman 1794'
16 ¼ x 10 ¼ in.

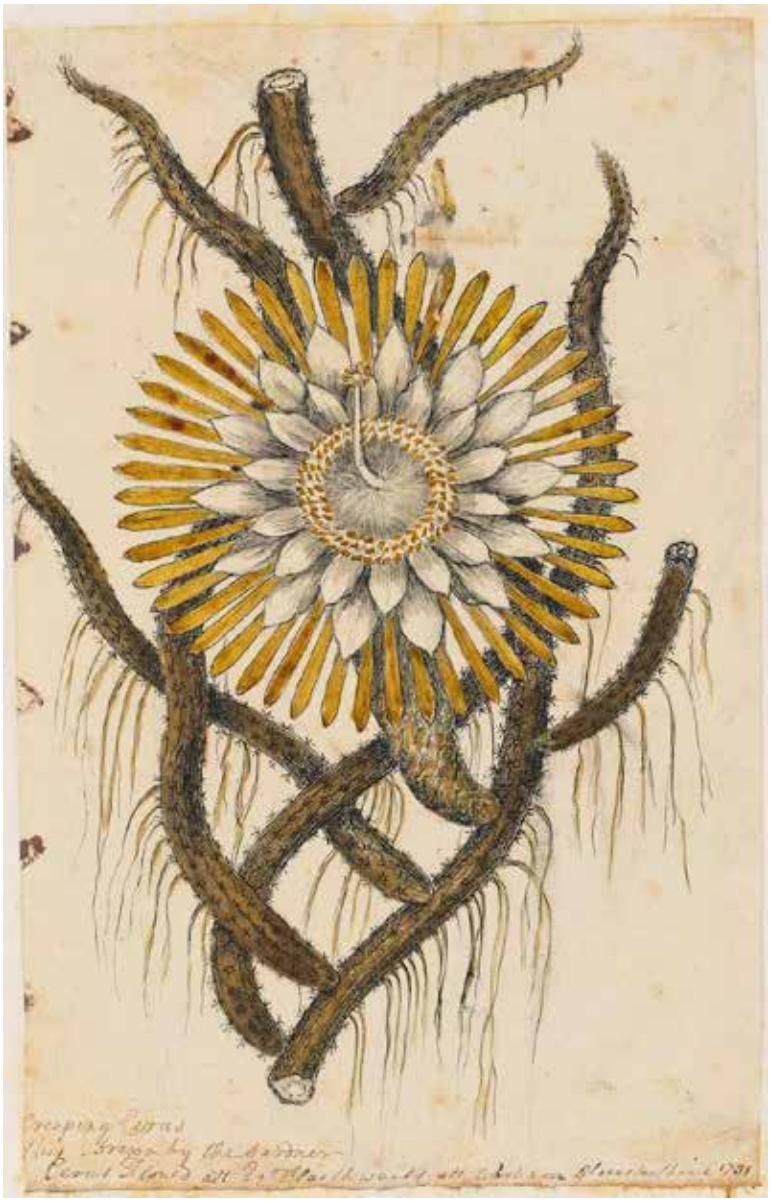


Fig. ENGLISH SCHOOL, 1731
Creeping Cerus
inscribed 'Creeping Cerus / This Drawn by the Gardner / Cerus Flow'd att Eqr Blaethwaits att Dasham Gloceste..hire 1731' (lower center)
pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
11 5/8 x 7 3/8in.
[ca. 1731]

The flowers of the night-blooming cereus are short lived, and some of these species, such as Selenicereus grandiflorus, bloom only once a year, for a single night. This fleeting beauty from the West Indies and South America would have made for an enchanting 18th-century novelty.

Collinson was enamoured with the Night Blowing Cereus. Writing to Richard Richardson in 1746 regarding a variety at the garden of the late Lord Petre:

> As I am on a vist at Lady Petres...The Great Stove is the most Extraordinary Sight in the World. All the plants are of Such Magnitude & the Novelty of the apperance strikes one with every pleasure. The Trecilles all around cover'd with ... the Creeping great Flowering Cerus Blows annually with Such Quantities of Flowers that surprises every one with their Beauty & at the Same Time perfumes the House with their scent. There is a variety of Cerus that have Carried up their perpendicular Heads to the very Top. (Armstrong, 133)

Fig. ENGLISH SCHOOL
A crested bird
With initials 'MC' lower right
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
5 5/8 x 5 ½ in.

ENGLISH SCHOOL
A bird perched on a tree stump
Pen and ink and watercolor on laid paper
5 ¾ x 4 13/16 in.

[in progress]

Fig. ENGLISH SCHOOL
[in progress]

PRINTS IN PETER COLLINSON'S COMMONPLACE BOOK

(IN PROGRESS)

Etchings by Mark Catesby for *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*

Possibly proof plates as a number of these works contain changes to the nomenclature and notes regarding color. [In progress]

Fig.

Fig.

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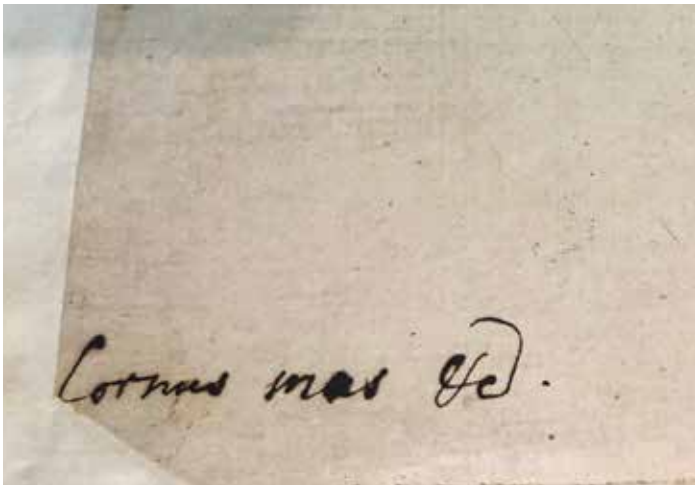
Possible proof plate etchings by Mark Catesby for *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands...*as a number of these works contain changes to the nomenclature and notes regarding color. [In progress]

Fig.



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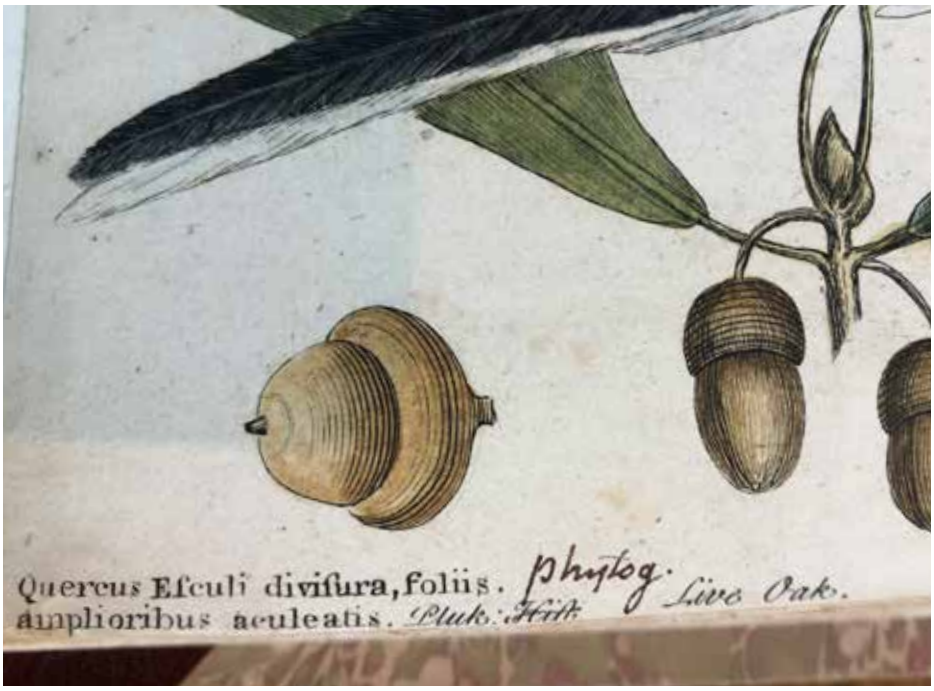


Fig. “Hist.,” crossed out and replaced with ink “Phytog.”(?)
Here alterations are made to the source, and the tree is identified as “Live Oak.” The final first edition print calls this the “Red Oak.”

Fig.

Fig. “The Fieldfare,” ink cursive over printed text.

Fig. “The Snake Root.” ink cursive over printed text.


Turdus Americanus
The Blew Bird
Smilax &c.

Fig.


Turdus Americanus
The Blew Bird

Fig.


Smilax &c.

Fig.


Frutex - &c
Pluvialis vociferus.

Fig.

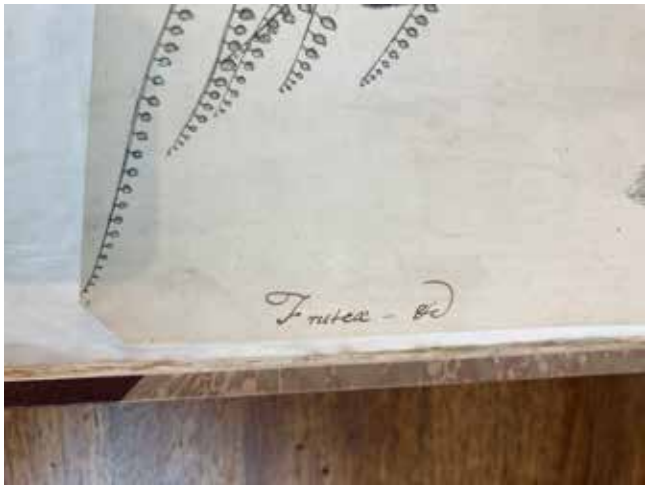

Frutex - &c

Fig.


Pluvialis vociferus.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.


Floridana.
Painted Finch.
Avis Tricolor.

Fig.

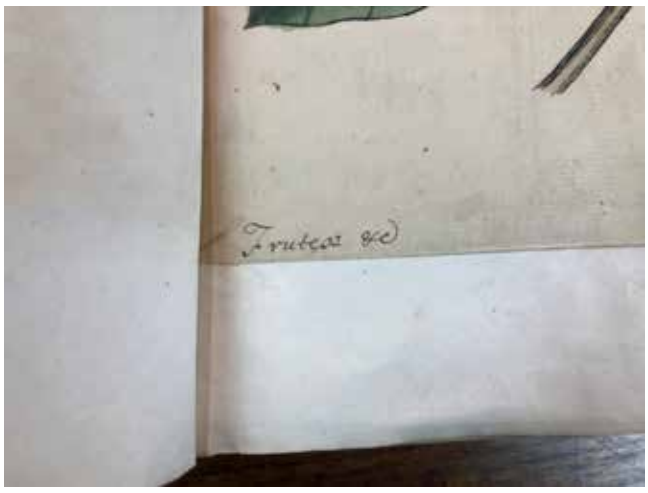

Floridana.

Fig.


Painted Finch.
Avis Tricolor.

Fig.

Fig.



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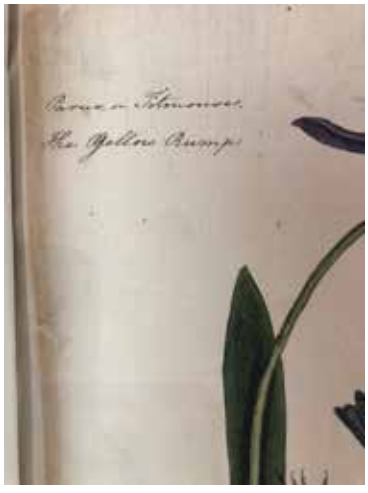

Fig.

Fig.


Guartia
named so in Compt to the Earl of Bute.

Fig.


Guartia
named so in Compt to the Earl of Bute.

Fig.

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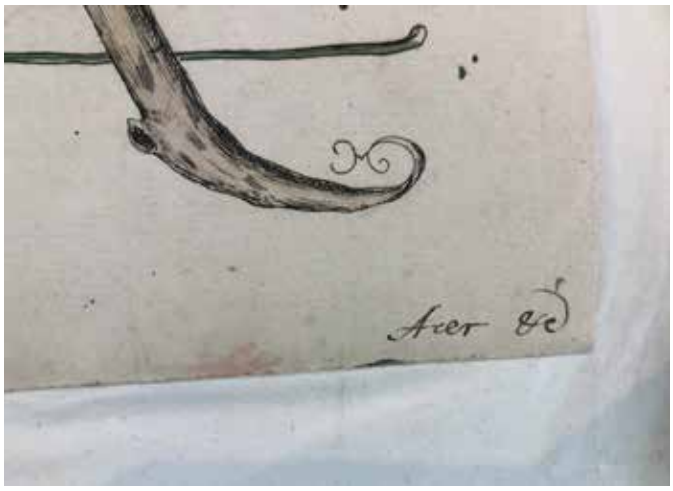

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.


Muscicapa vertice nigro.
Alni-folice &c

Fig.

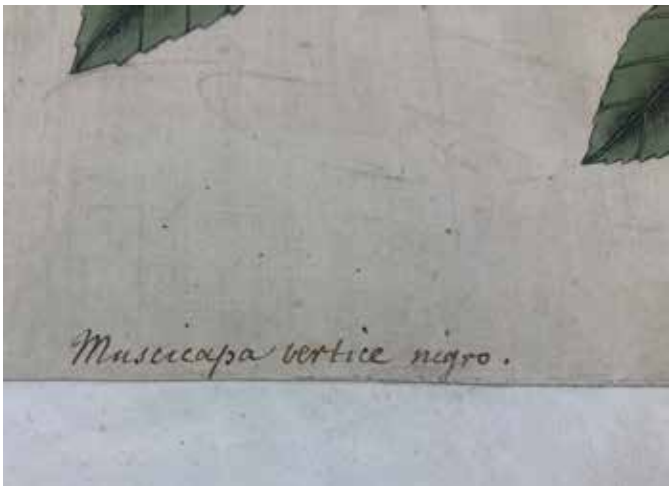
Muscicapa vertice nigro.

Fig.


Alni-folice &c

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.


Nux jaglans Virginiana
alba &c.
The Hiccory Tree.
The Red Bird.

Fig.


Nux jaglans Virginiana
alba &c.
The Hiccory Tree.

Fig.


The Red Bird.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.


Parus luteus.
Laurus Carolinensis

Fig.

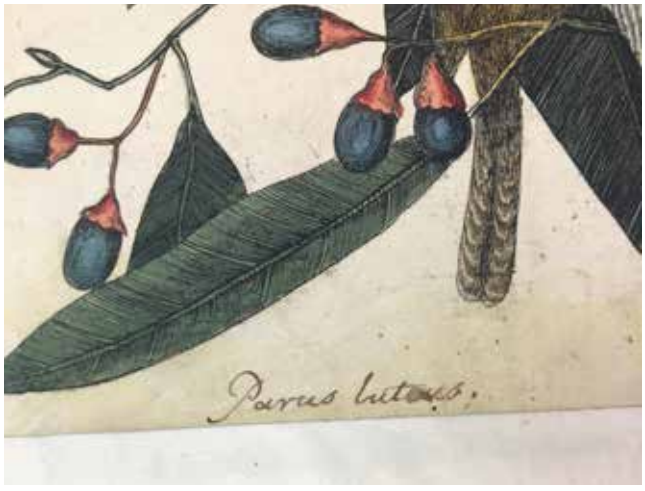
Parus luteus.

Fig.

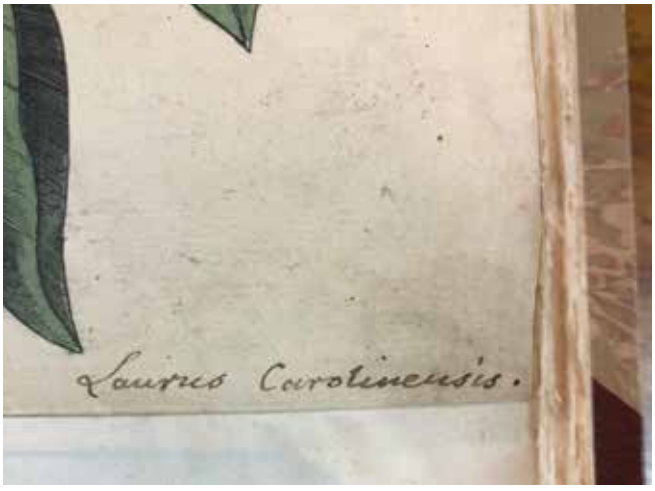
Laurus Carolinensis.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.


Iris Yellow.
Ardea alba.
Katmia &c.

Fig.


Iris Yellow.

Fig.


Ardea alba.
Katmia &c.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

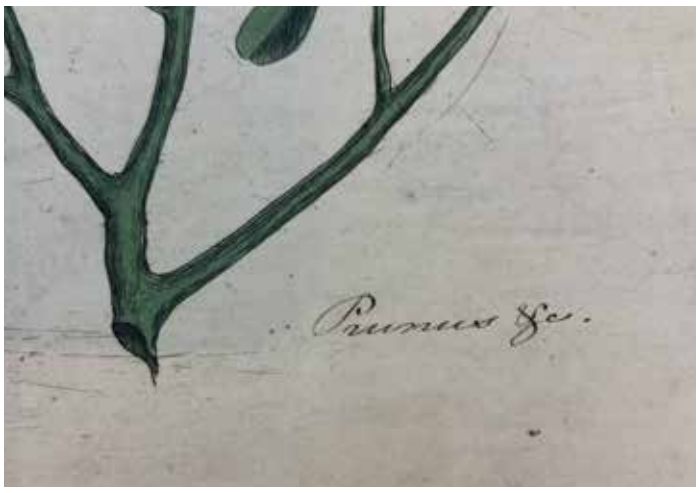

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.


Anser Canadensis.
DG
Chrysanthemum &c.

Fig.


Anser Canadensis.
DG

Fig.


Chrysanthemum &c.

Fig.

Fig.

Fig.

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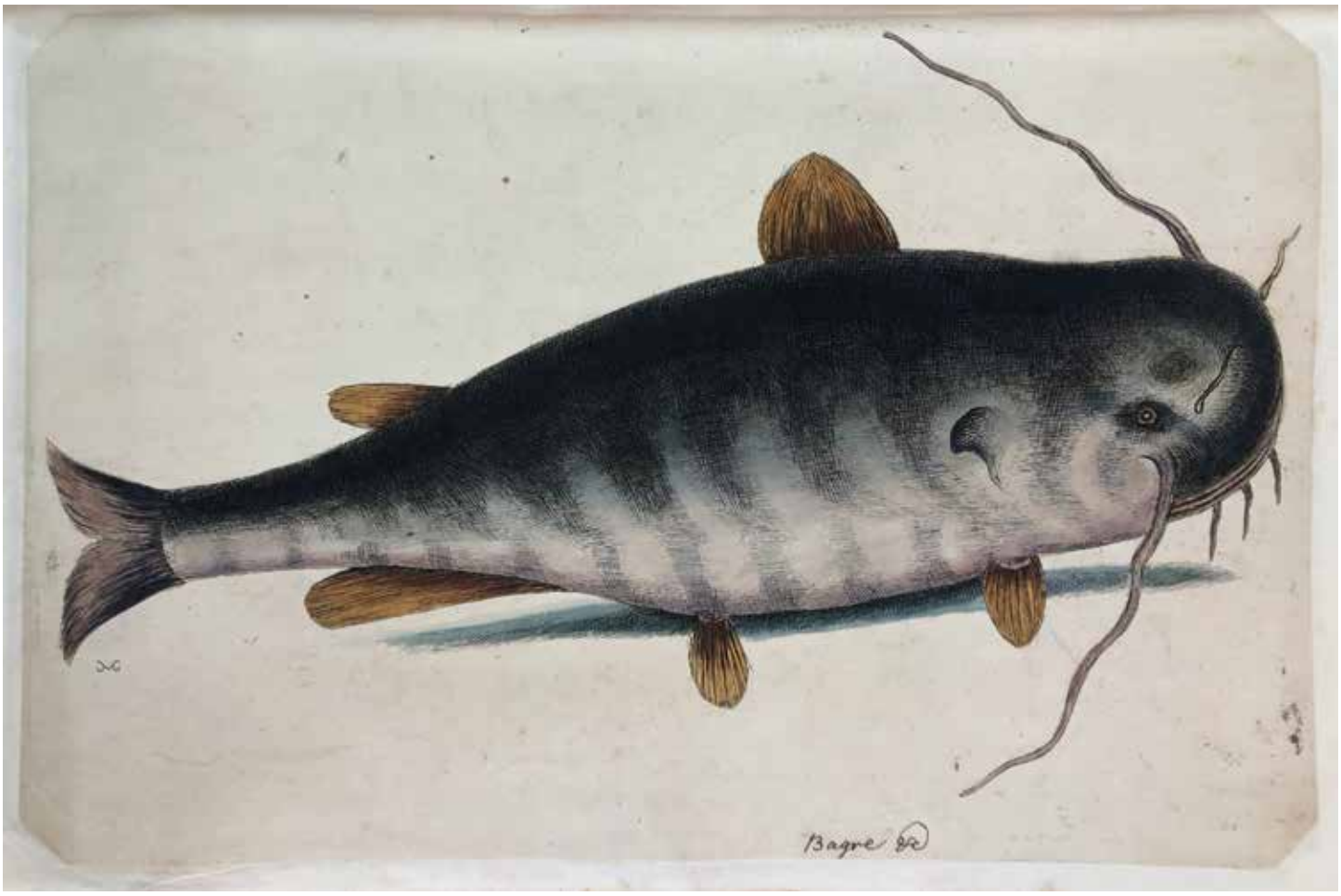

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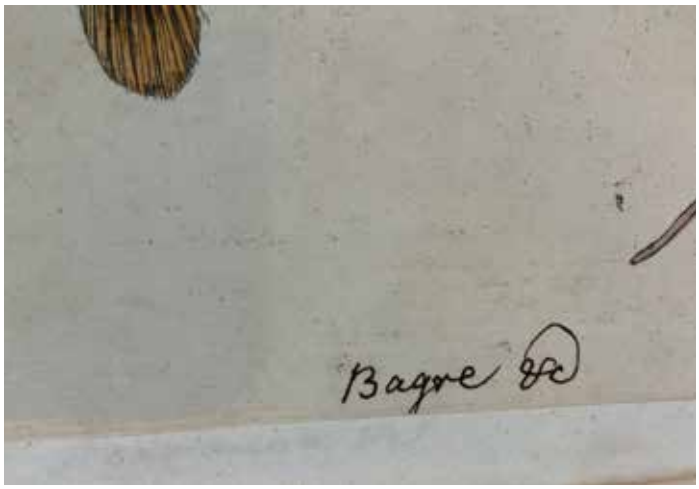

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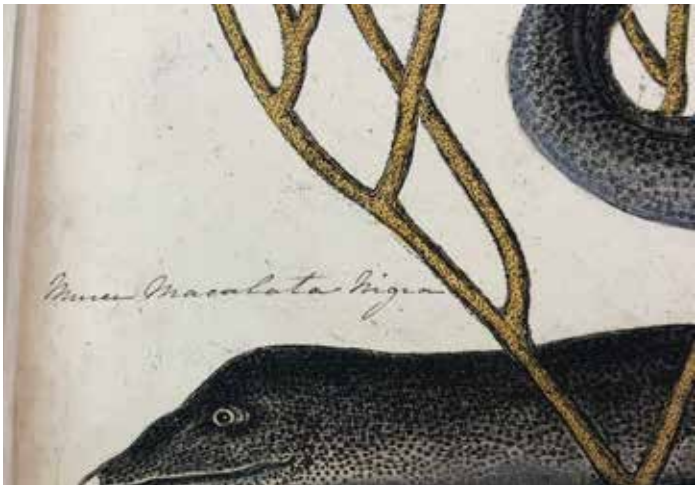

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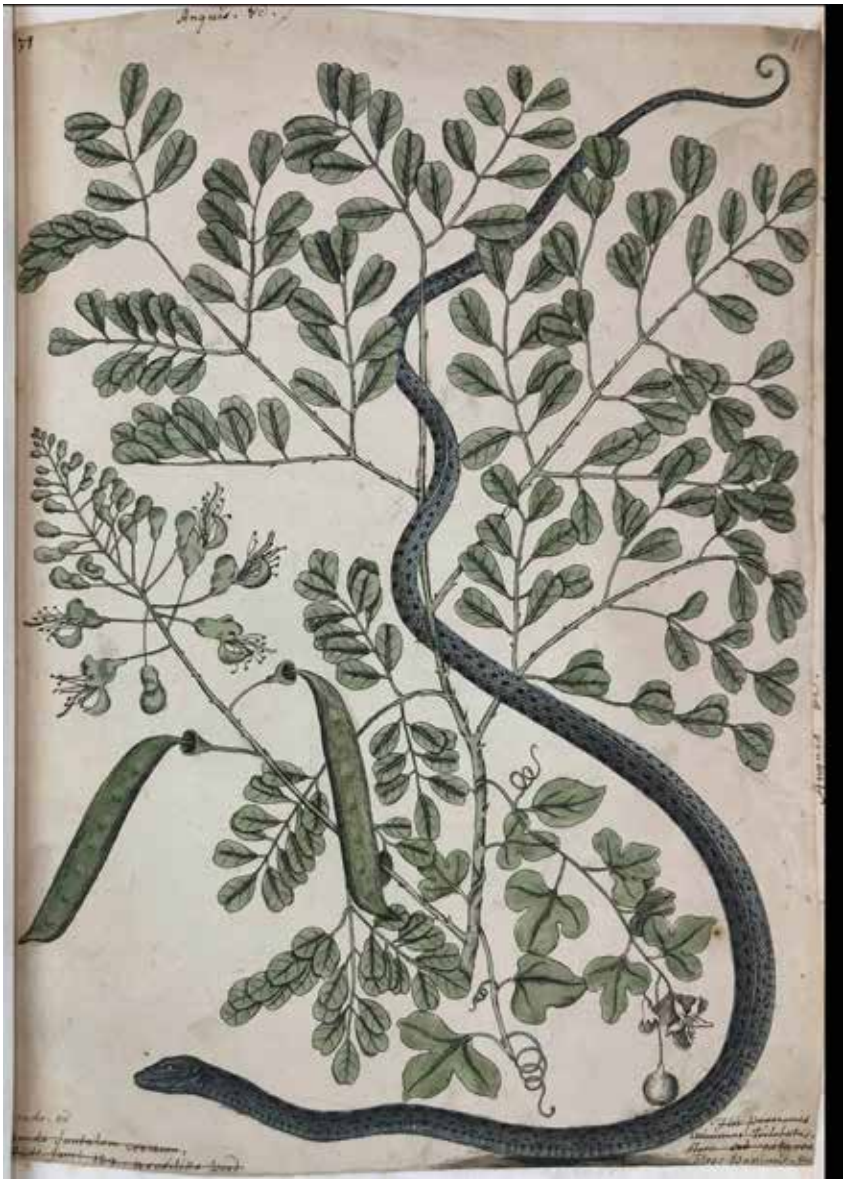

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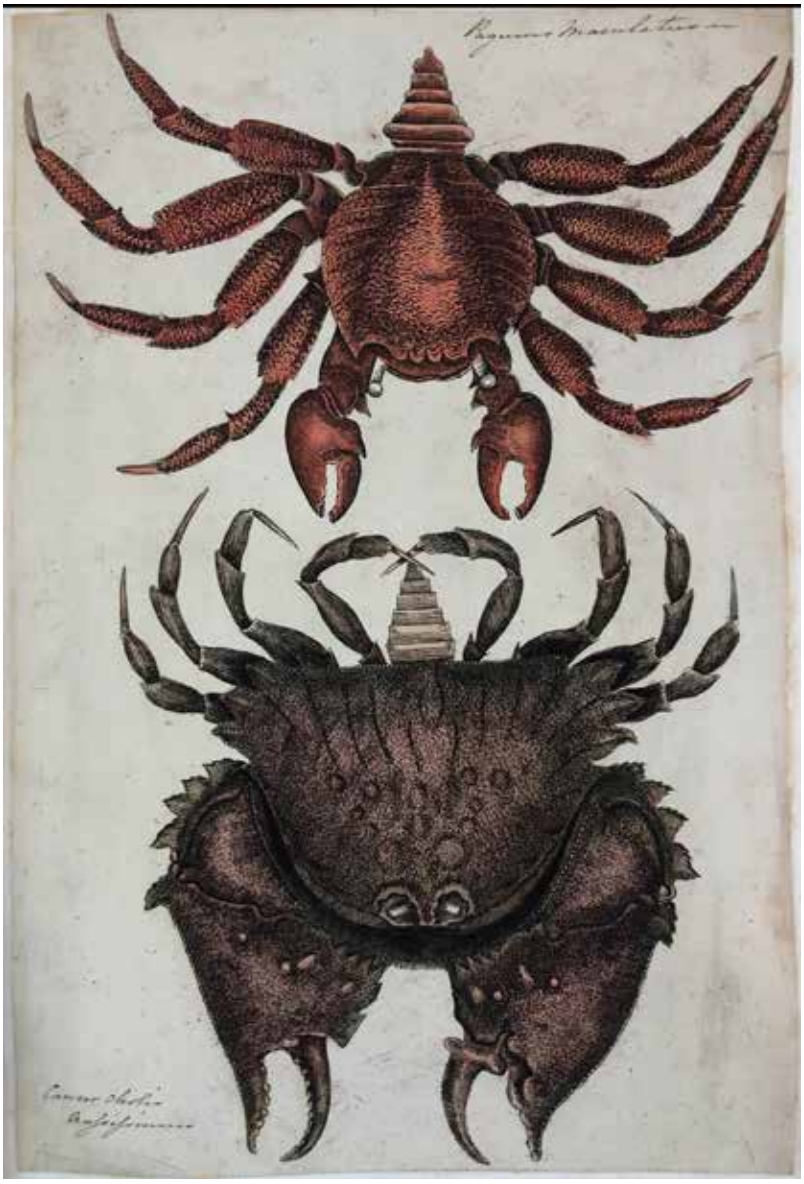

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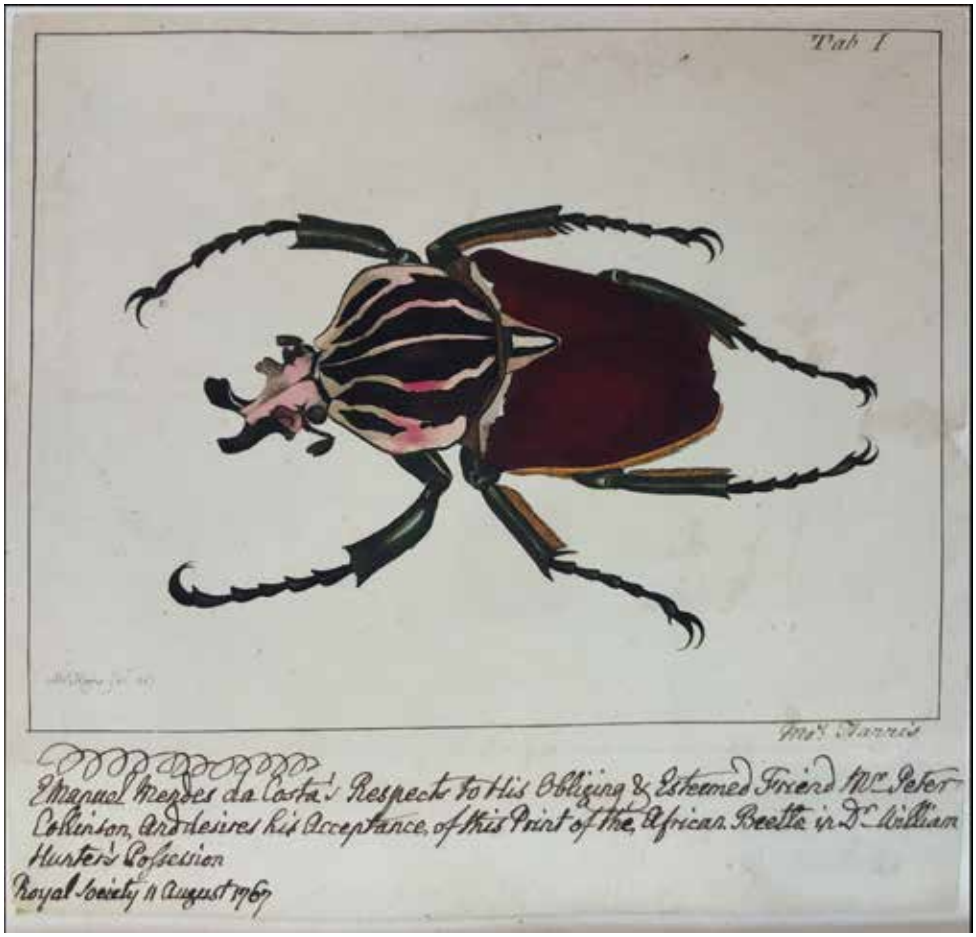

Fig. MOSES HARRIS (1730-1788)
"African Beetle" [William Hunter's Goliath beetle, Goliathus goliatus]
Inscribed 'Emanuel Mendes da Costa's Respects to his Obliging & Esteemed Friend Mr Peter Collinson and desires his acceptance of this present of the African Beetle in Dr. William Hunter's Possession, Royal Society 1767."
Hand-colored engraving before letters, with extensive manuscript detail
Paper size:
Literature: Forget not me garden p. 276 (illustrated). For more information on William Hunter and this beetle, please see "William Hunter's Goliath beetle, Goliathus goliatus (Linnaeus, 1771), revisted." *Archives of Natural History* 36: 218-230.

Moses Harris' image of the goliath beetle is the only known example destined to have been Plate 1 of an unpublished work by Emanuel da Costa. Harris used this image to create the engraving for Plate XXXI in Dru Drury's Illustrations of natural history (1770-1782).

Collinson's image of this coveted variety is annotated with a note from a contemporary naturalist, "Emanuel Mendes da Costa's Respects to his Obliging & Esteemed Friend Mr. Peter Collinson and desires his acceptance of this present of the African Beetle in Dr. William Hunter's Possession, Royal Society 1767." At first, this may appear an innocuous gift; it is, in fact, evidence of a contested debate about ownership of the beetle and its subsequent documentation.

William Hunter, a fellow member of the Royal Society and highly respected doctor, acquired this beetle in 1766 from a navy surgeon called David Ogilvie. The surgeon procured the insect from a ship captain who found it alive as it floated down the River Gabon. The zebra or Goliath beetle was the largest beetle known in the 18th century and remains one of the biggest to date. Curious naturalists could view this unusual find at Hunter's home, which served as a salon for the period's curious naturalists. Hunter lent the specimen insect to naturalist Emanuel Mendez da Costa, who claimed he intended to include it in his forthcoming publication "Gleanings of Natural History." Da Costa commissioned artist Moses Harris to create an engraving. He then made 250 engravings and had them hand-colored. Shortly after, Da Costa was sent to prison for his part in an embezzlement scandal in the Royal Society where he was a clerk. Da Costa's debt was settled by selling off his possessions, including the copper-plate for this infamous beetle. The naturalist Dru Drury was the plate's pur

chaser, and he named it Goliathus druryi (plate XXXI) in his book Illustrations of natural history (1770-1782). Drury wrote the following description of the insect:

> The Head, of this uncommon insect, is at top of a flesh colour, but black underneath, being about three-fourths of an inch in length from the neck to the extremity, where it terminates in two blunt, obtuse, and irregular Horns. — Two other thick and jagged Horns also issue from its sides, that are much shorter than the former. Its breadth, next the neck, is half an inch; having a small projecting ridge running along the middle, from thence to the extremity, at the roots of the horns. — The Eyes, are black, and placed (as in others of this genus) so, as to discern above and below. — The Antenna, are knobbed and cleft at their extremities. — The Thorax, is an inch and a half long, being principally black; but along the sides is flesh coloured. It has also five narrow, and irregular waved lines, of a flesh colour, running from the anterior to the posterior edges; one of which, being in the middle of the thorax, is narrower than the rest. The two next this; terminate at the posterior edges, in a fine rose colour. Those next the lateral edges,are broadefl ; having, likewife, a patch of rofe colour next the wing-cases. About the middle of the thorax, these external lines sepatate and divide ; continuing fo almost to the anterior edges, where they unite. The under part of the thorax rs flesh colour; but in the middle, of a yellowish brown. — The Escutcheon, is triangular and black; but the middle is oblong, and of a clear white; the end, next the thorax, being square. — The Wing-Cases, are of a beautiful chocolate colour, and appear to be covered with a great number of short fine hairs, resembling the pile on velvet; the anterior parts that join to the thorax, are verged with a narrow and indented margin, of a cream colour; with which the escutcheon is surrounded on two sides. Over this part it measures full two inches from side to side. — The Legs, are of a very dark green colour, almost black. - The hairs, which are generallv, if not always, seen on the hinder and middle Thighs and Shins, of this genus of beetles, being of a dark yellow. — The Abdomen, is of a very dark green, being furnished on the sides and edge with dark yellow hairs. — The Gorget, is pretty long, but not remarkably so; being like moft others of this kind. — The Bearers-, consist of five articulations, besides the claws.
>
> It is an undoubted non descript. It was brought from Africa by Mr. Ogilvic, now surgeon of his Majesty's ship the Renown; being found floating dead in the river Gaboon, opposite Prince' Island, near the equinoctial line.

William Hunter was understandably angry with what he saw as theft. Da Costa first misled him, then Drury did not note Hunter was the source of the unusual insect. Hoping to locate his own goliath beetle, Drury corresponded with many entomologists worldwide from India to Jamaica and America, offering payment for any insect of any size from merchant ships' officers. Subsequent searches were done, but because the beetle's origin was unknown, the quest was fruitless. Nonetheless, the damage was done to Hunter, and he wrote a scathing letter to Da Costa, who he viewed as the originator of the thievery. This controversy was so widely known within the following century that there was a silhouette lithograph made of the moment William Hunter wrote to Da Costa. An example of this engraving is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

From a young age, Moses Harris had a great interest in entomology. In 1762 he became secretary of the Society of Aurelians. Harris was a skilled artist, displaying some of his insect drawings at the Royal Academy in 1785. He drew and engraved illustrations for books, including Dru Drury's Illustrations of Natural History (3 volumes, 1770–1782) and John Coakley Lettsom's The Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion (1772). And, published his The Aurelian or natural history of English insects in 1766.

For reference: Moses Harris' Plate XXXI in Dru Drury's Illustrations of natural history (1770-1782). And, lithograph silhouette of William Hunter composing his letter to Emanuel Da Costa.

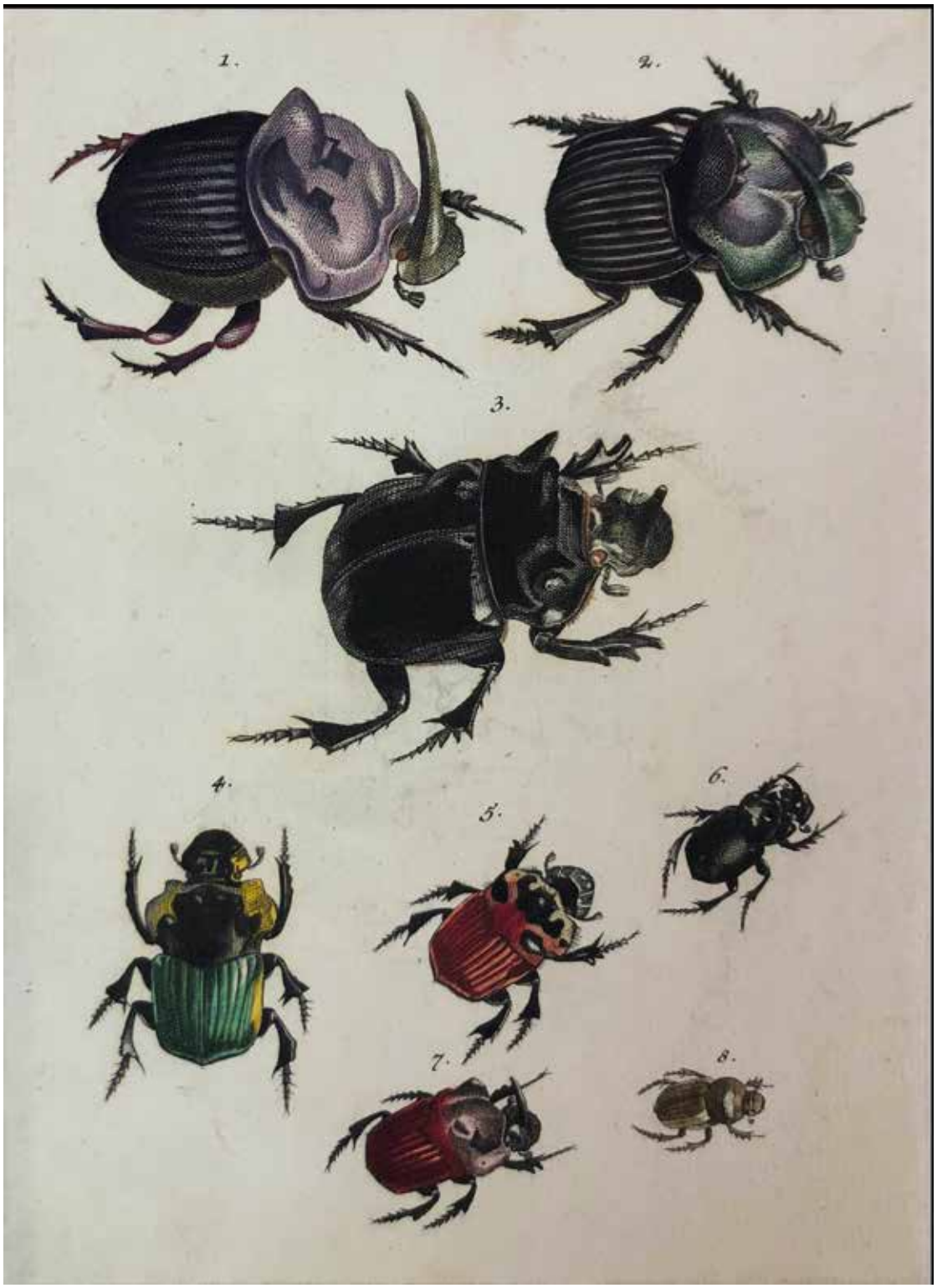

Fig. MOSES HARRIS (1730-1788)
[Study of Various Beetles]
Hand-colored engraving before letters

Possibly prepared for Emanuel Mendez da Costa's intended *Gleanings of Natural History*. It does not appear in Dru Drury's *Illustrations of natural history* (1770-1782).

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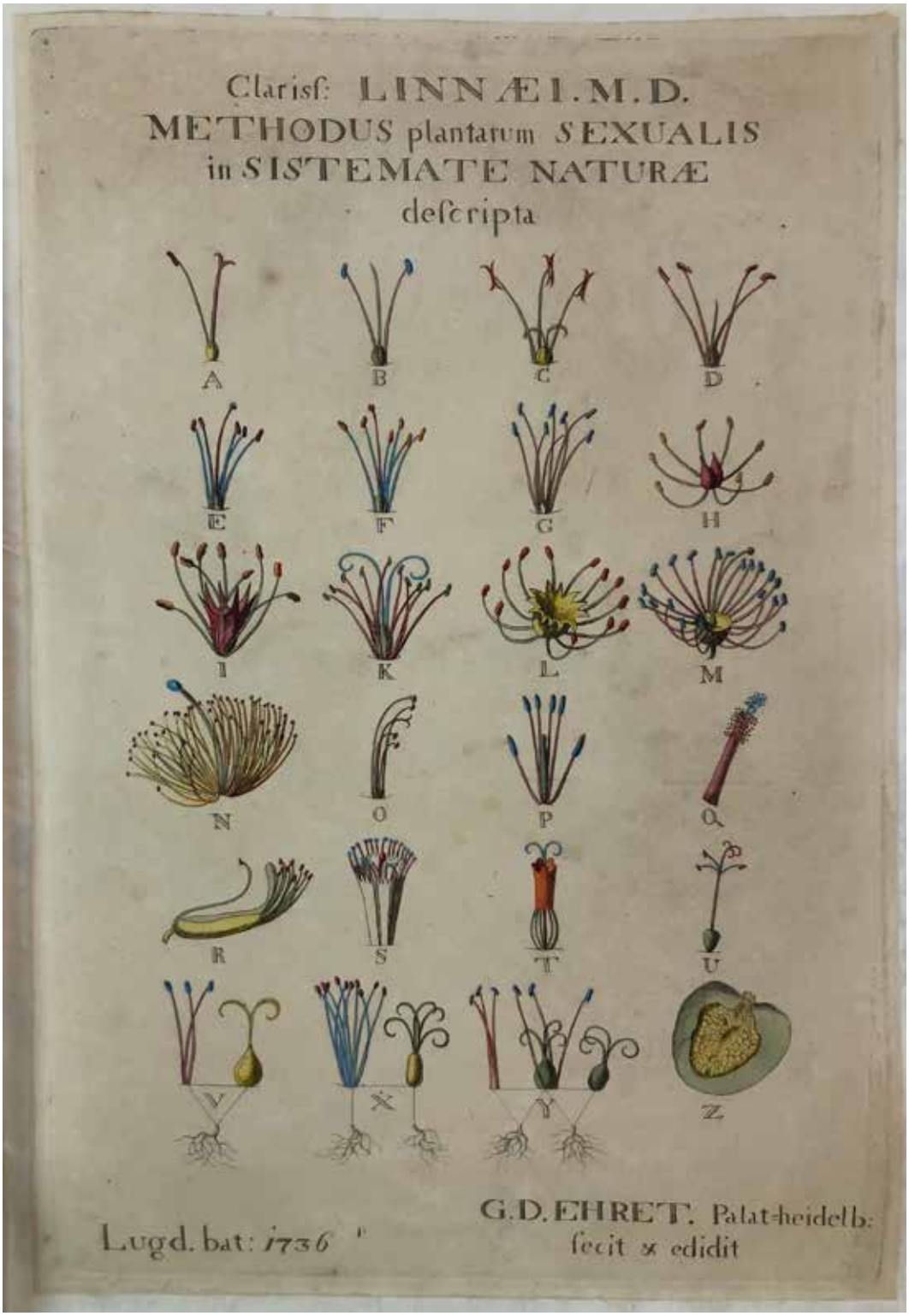

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Clarisf: Linnaei. M.D. Methodus Plantarum Sexualis in Sistemate Naturae Descripta
[The twenty-four classes of Linnaeus' sexual system]
Handcolored engraving
Leiden, 1736
Paper size:

*** Research in progress ***

Fig. GEORG DIONYSIUS EHRET (1708-1770)
Clarisf: Linnaei. M.D. Methodus Plantarum Sexualis in Sistemate Naturae Descripta
[The twenty-four classes of Linnaeus' sexual system]
Handcolored engraving
Leiden, 1736
Paper size:

*** Research in progress ***

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
The Argus, A species of Pheasant from the Northernmost part of China of the size of a Cock Turkey
Handcolored engraving

Manuscript notes on top and bottom margins, and on the verso.

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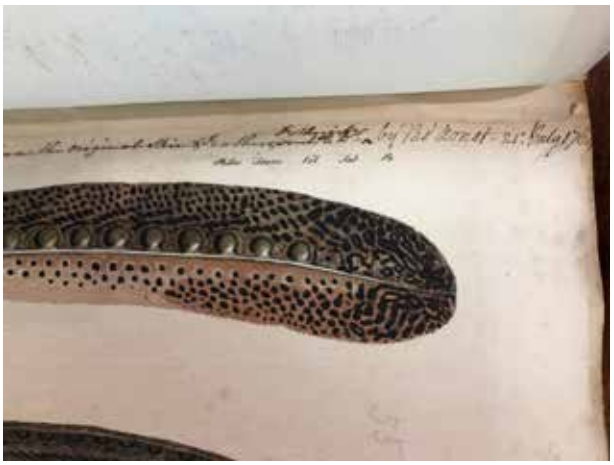

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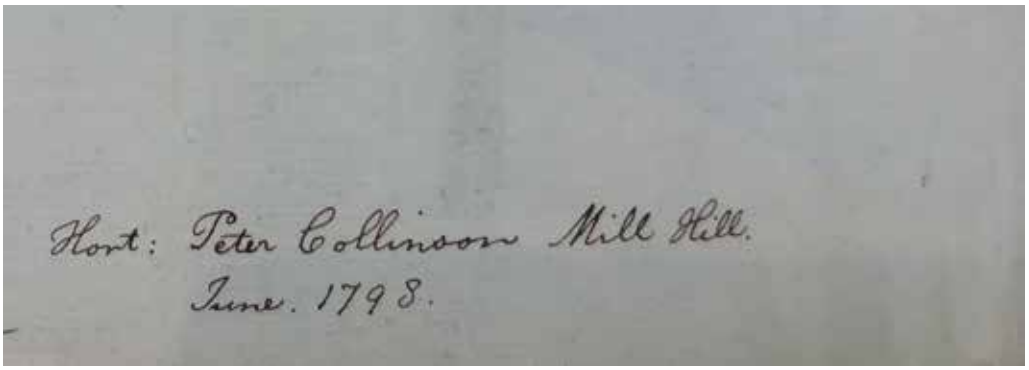

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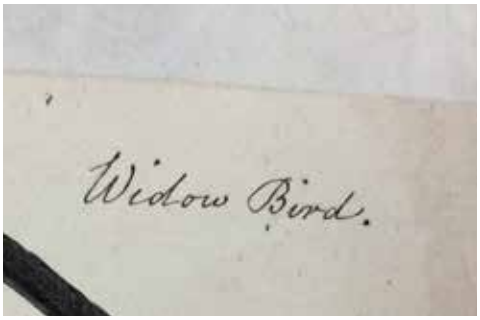

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
[Widow Bird?]
Handcolored engraving

Manuscript notes on top and bottom margins

*** Research in progress ***

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)
[The King of the Vultures]
Handcolored engraving
Manuscript note on the bottom margin
Inscribed “alive at Sr Hans Sloans”

*** Research in progress ***

Fig. GEORGE EDWARDS (1694-1773)

Handcolored engraving
Manuscript notes
Inscribed

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Manuscript notes
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Fig. JOHANN JACOB DILLENIUS (1684-1747)

Handcolored engraving

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Handcolored engraving

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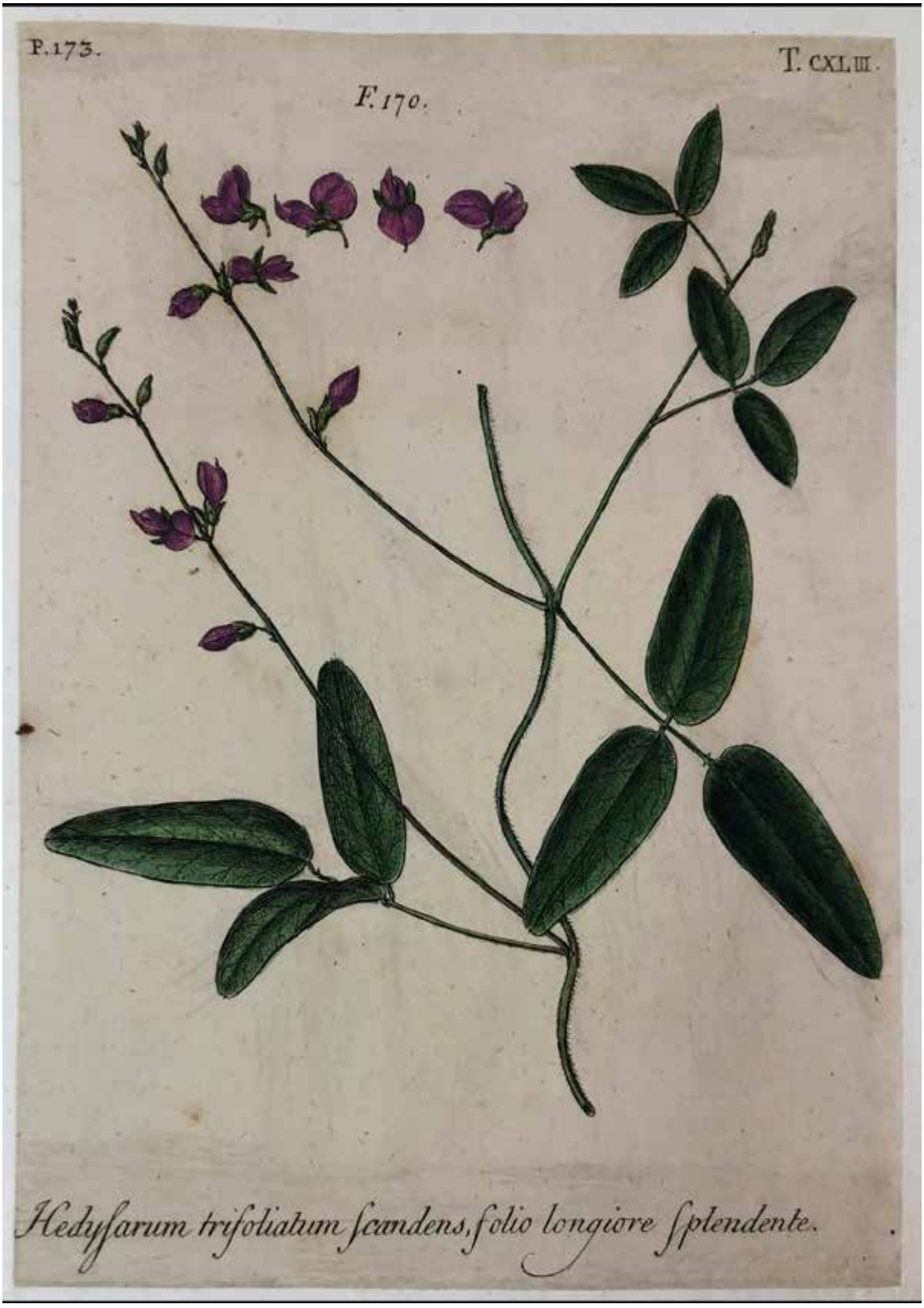

Fig. JOHANN JACOB DILLENIUS (1684-1747)

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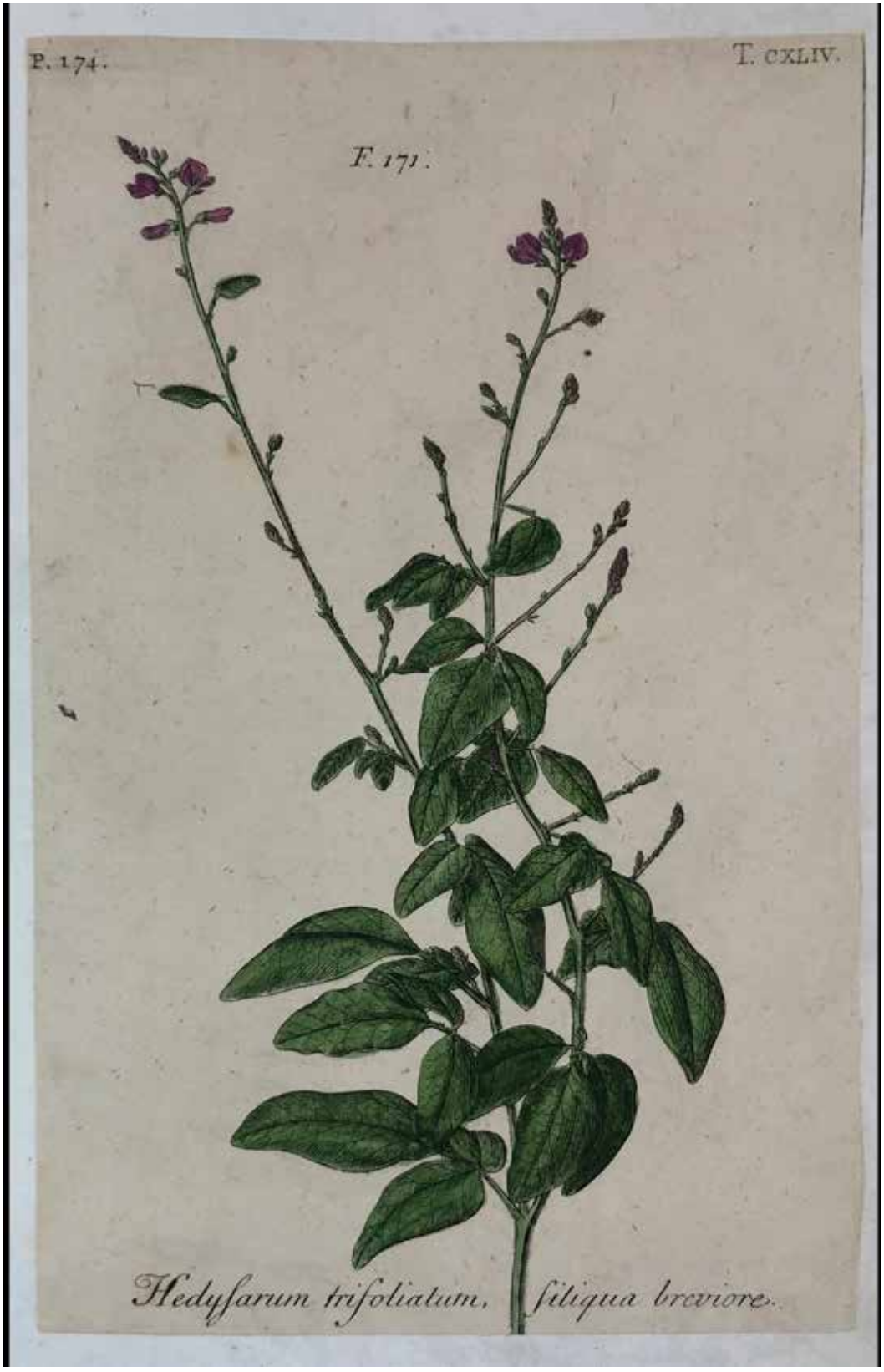

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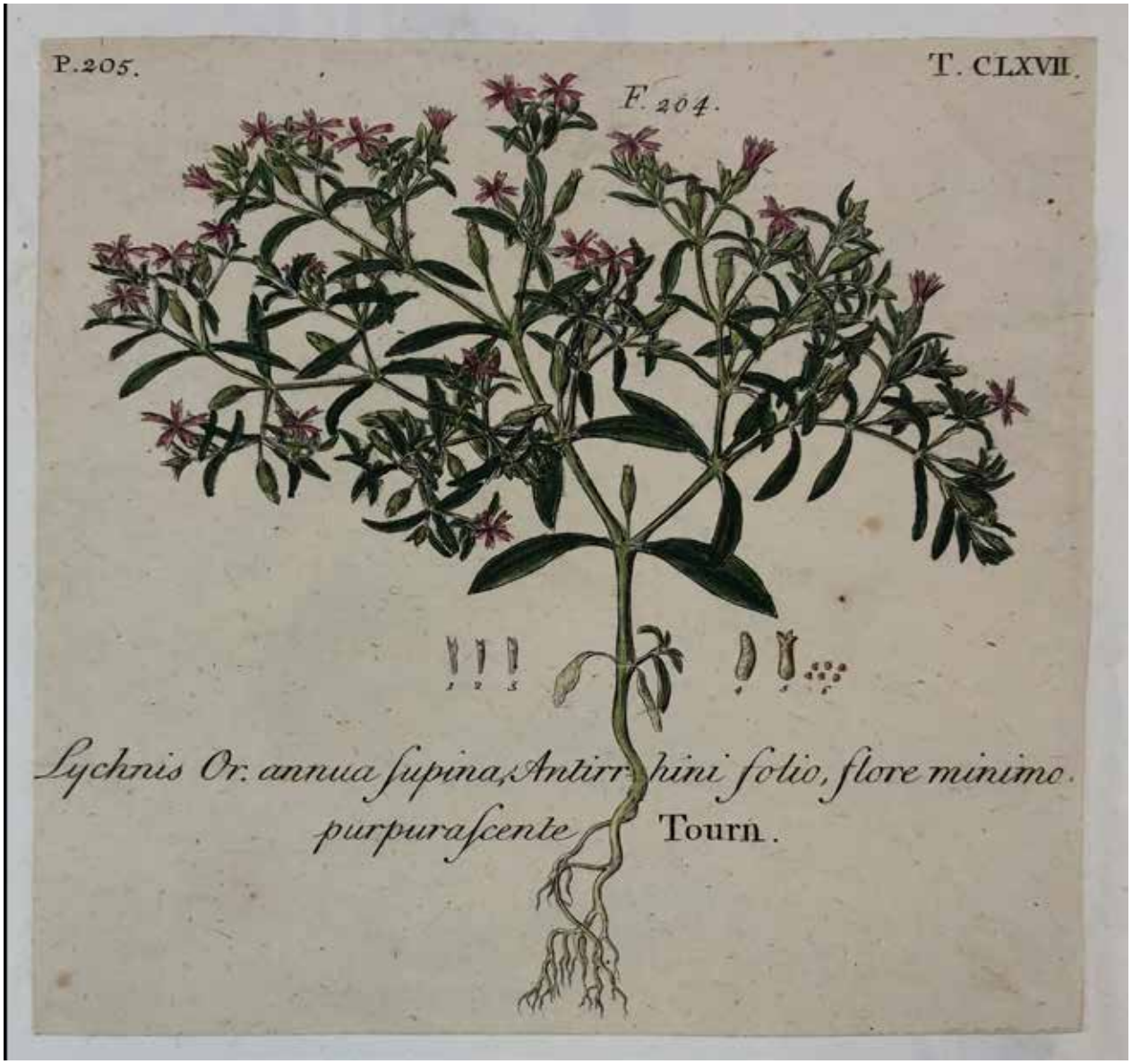

Fig. JOHANN JACOB DILLENIUS (1684-1747)

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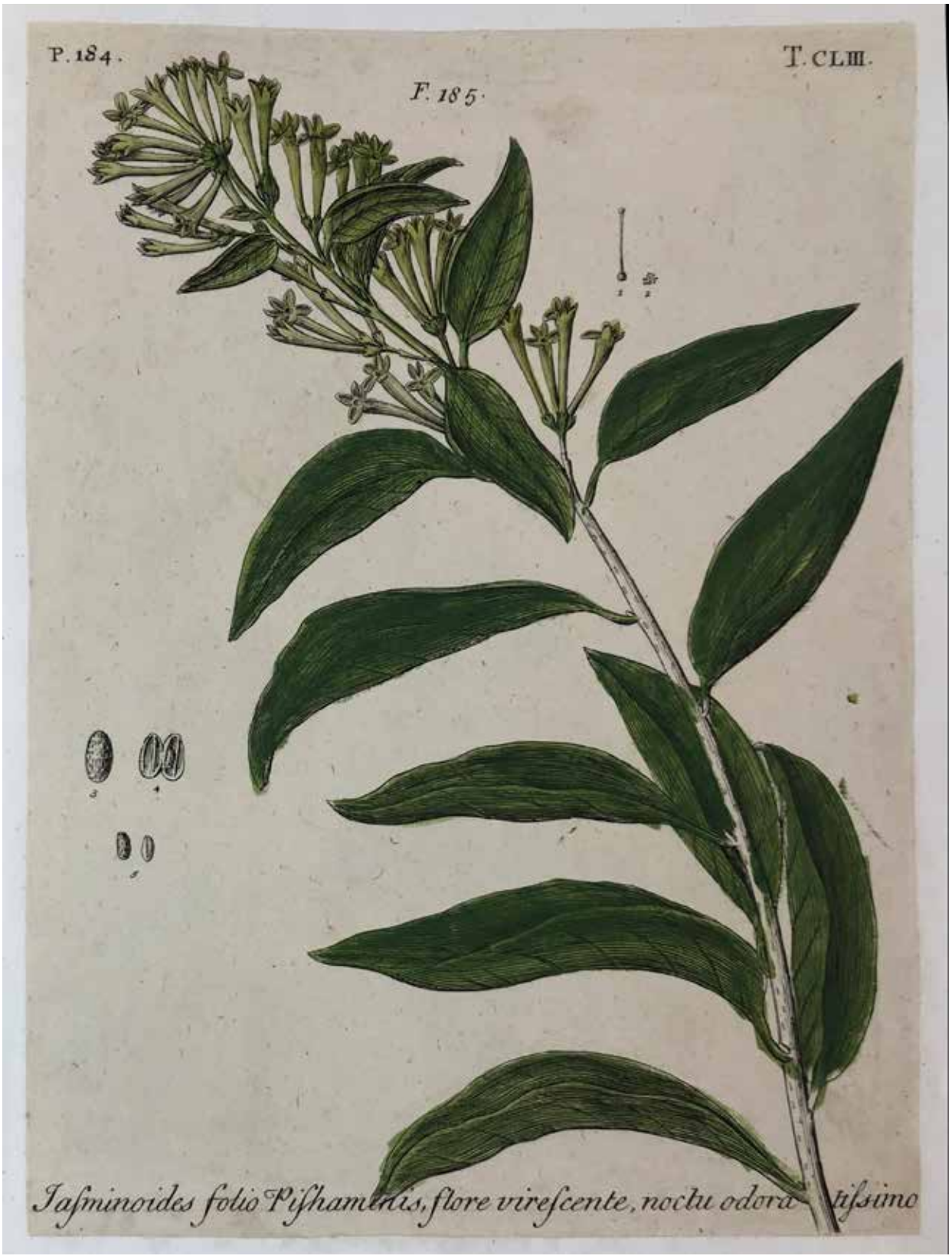

Fig. JOHANN JACOB DILLENIUS (1684-1747)

Handcolored engraving

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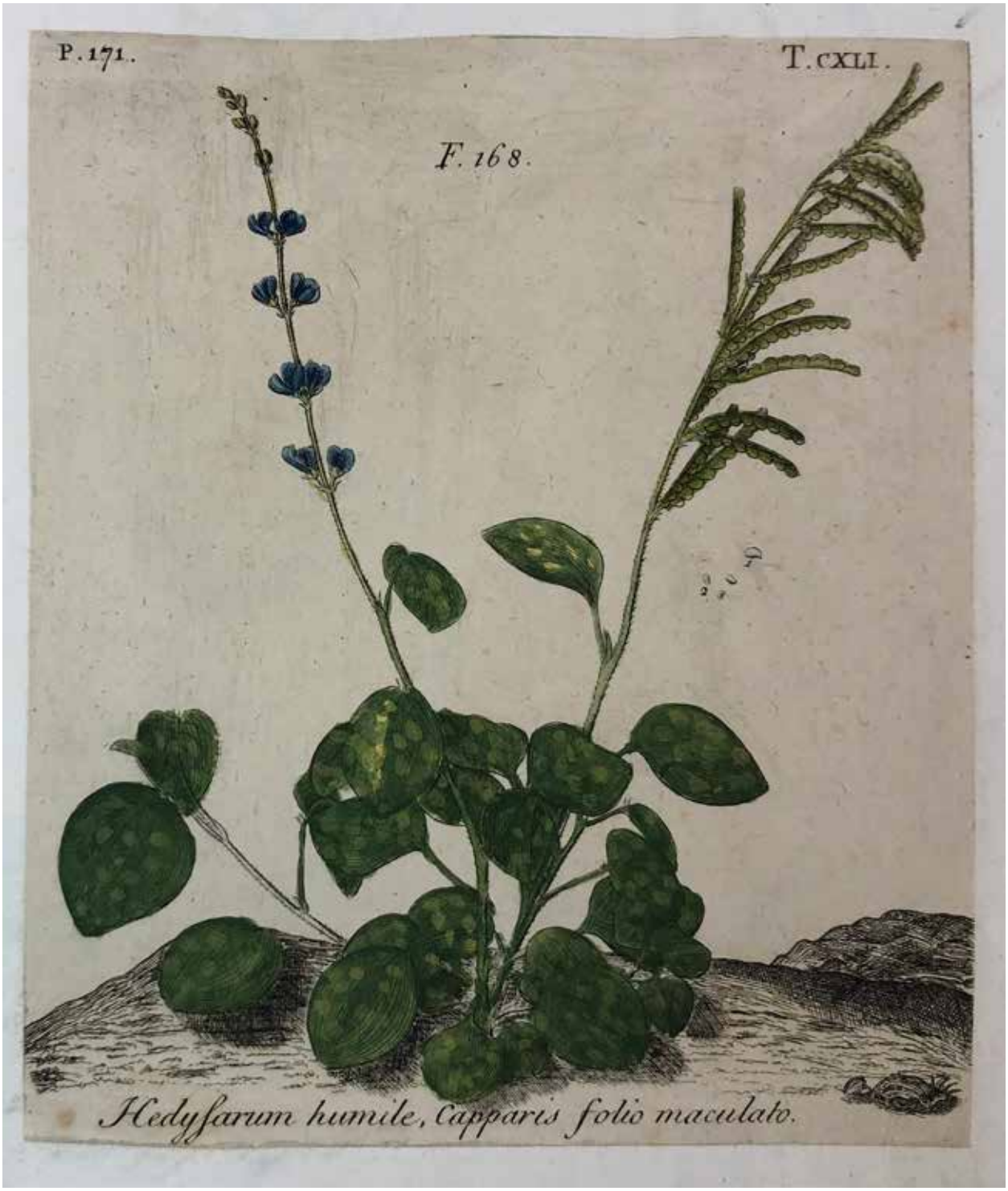

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Handcolored engraving

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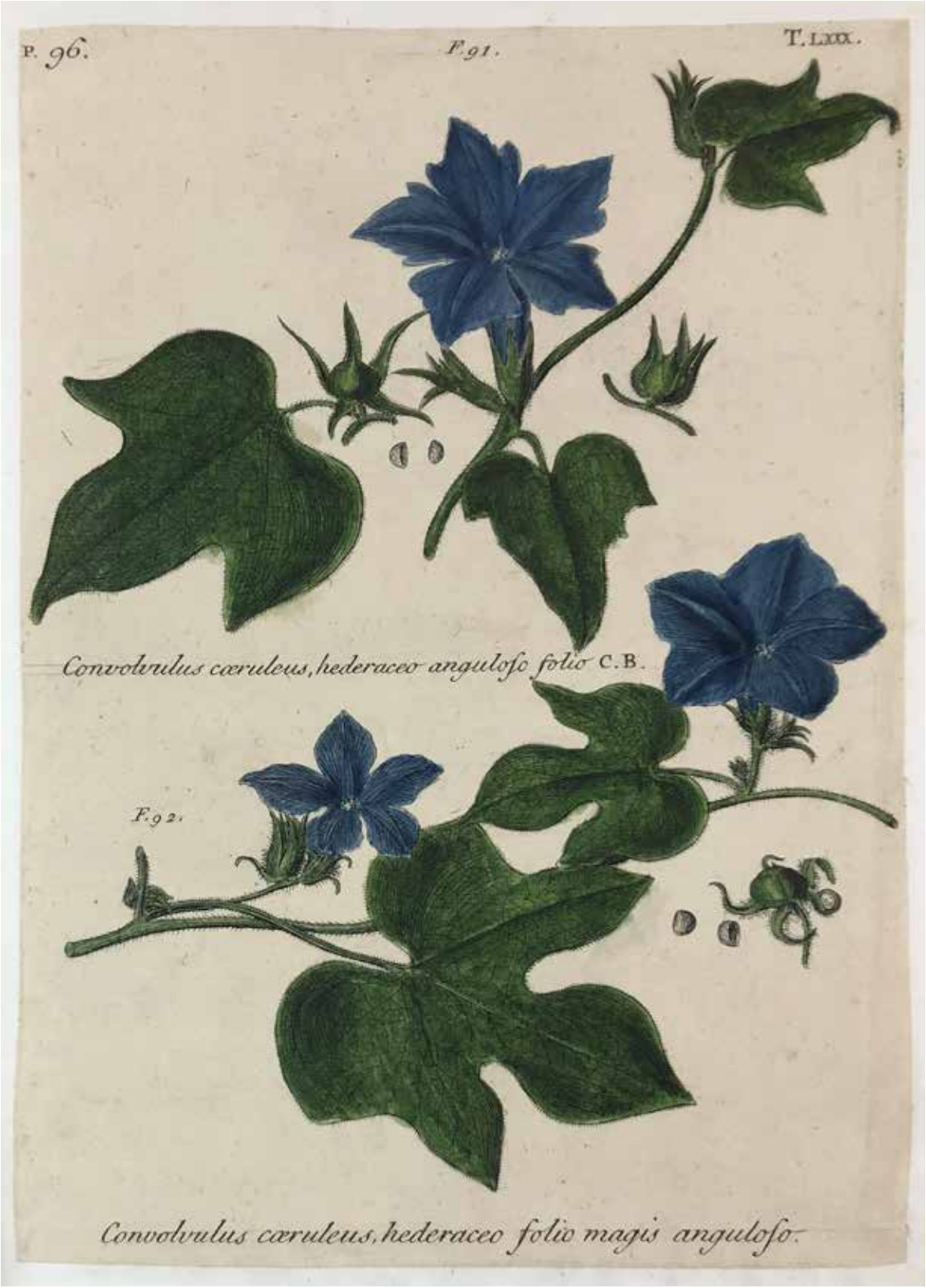

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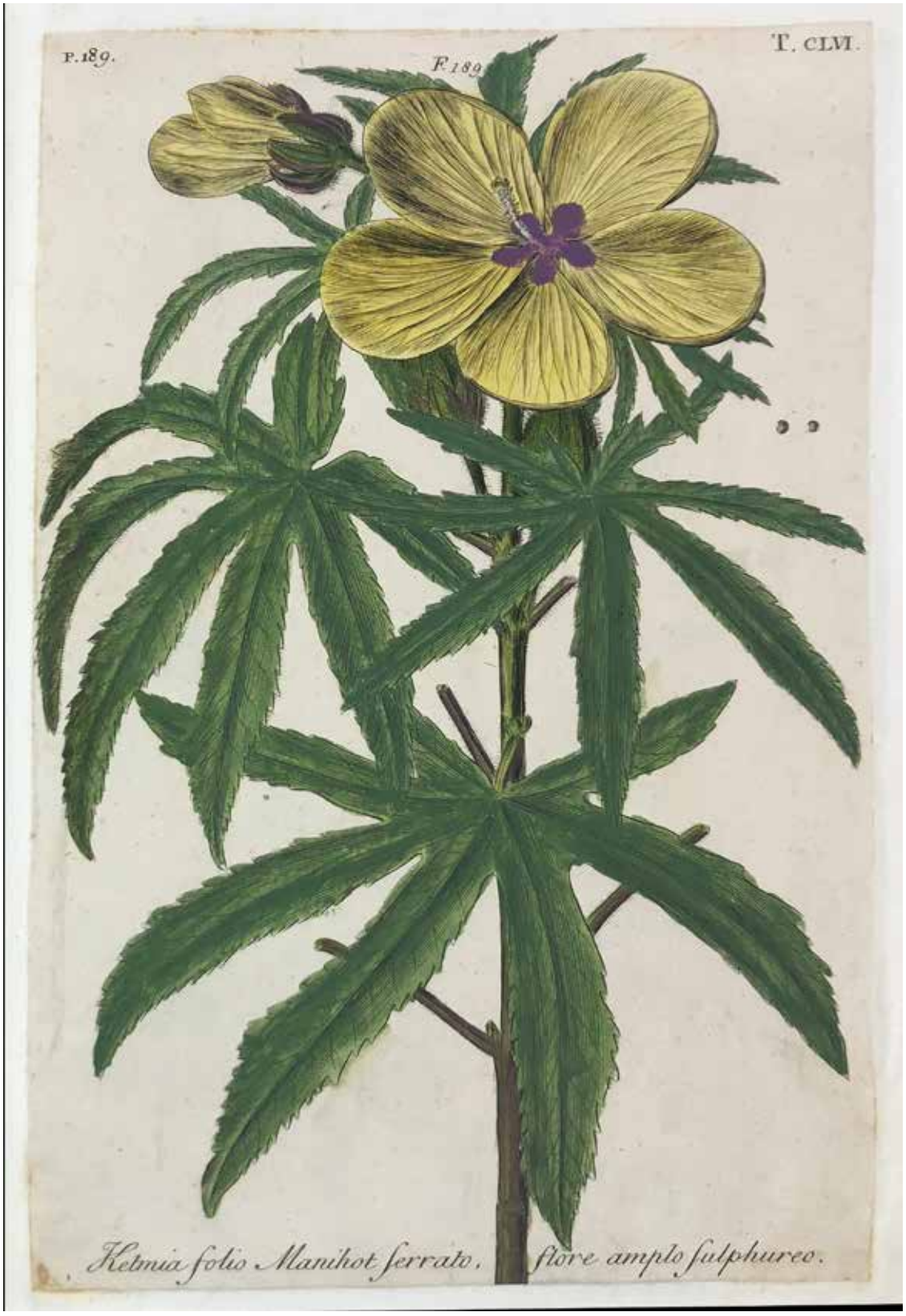

Fig. JOHANN JACOB DILLENIUS (1684-1747)

Handcolored engraving

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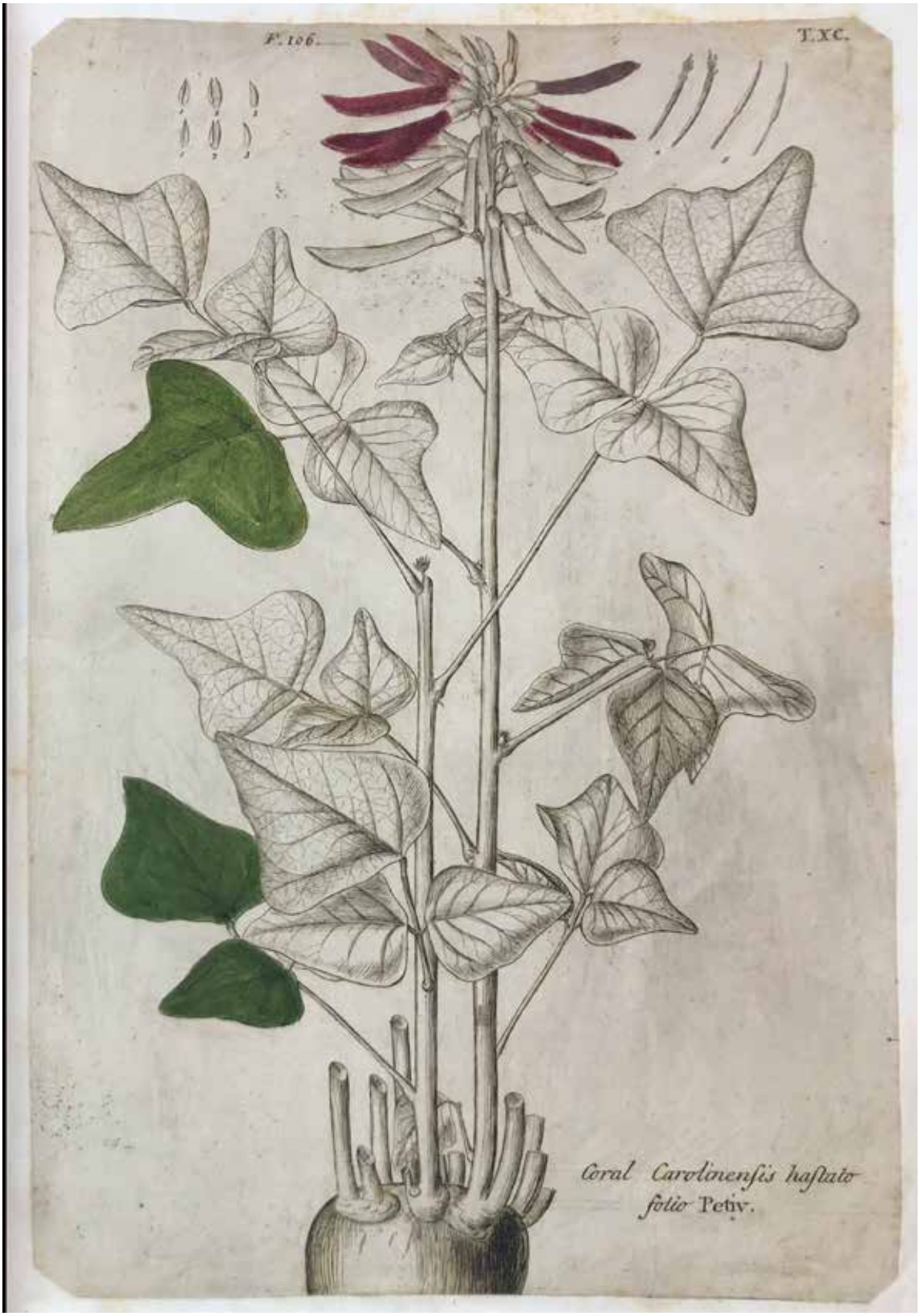

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Handcolored engraving

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Fig. JOHANN JACOB DILLENIUS (1684-1747)

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Inscribed “

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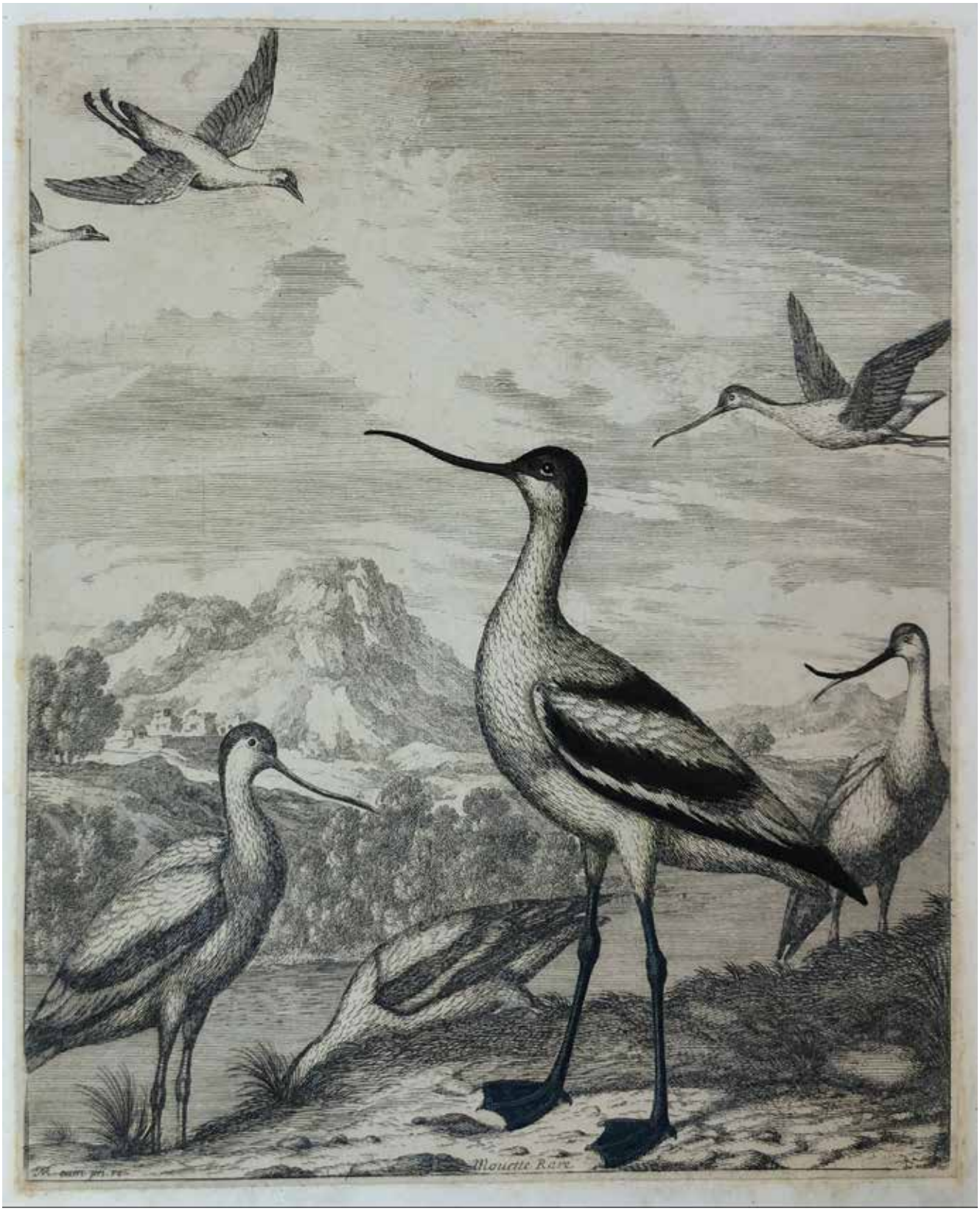

Fig.
[Avocet in a landscape]

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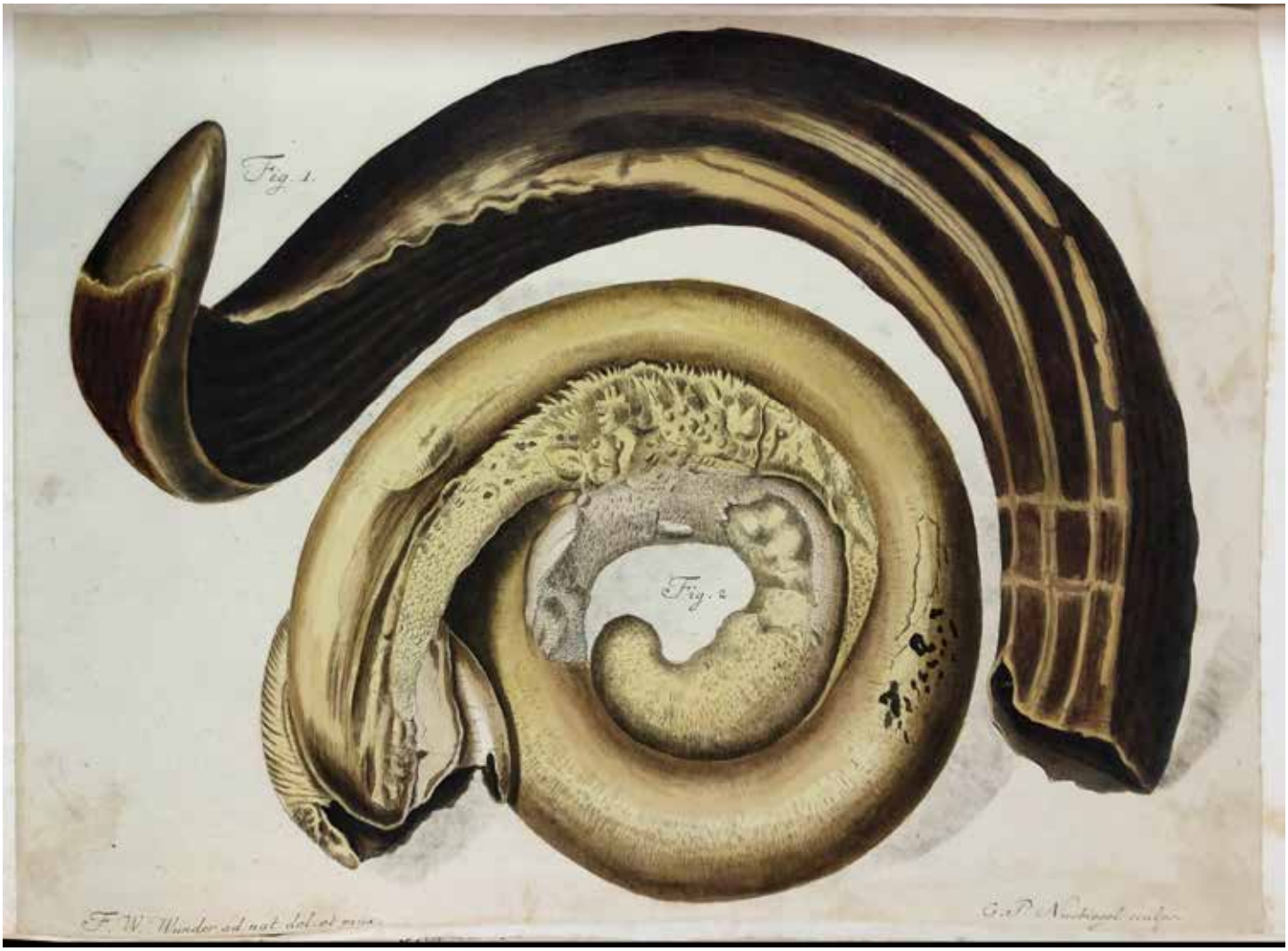

Fig.
[Snakeskin and Horn]
Engraving

*** Research in progress ***

Fig. Workshop of DING LIANGXIAN
A Basket of Flowers [Magnolia, Wild Apple, and Peony]
Another example of this woodcut is present in the collections at the British Museum-Bequeathed by Sir Hans Sloane (Transferred from the Library where this print formed part of Sloane manuscript 5252)
Woodcut printed in color and gauffrage on paper
c. 1735-1750

"The inscription on this print identifies the Ding family as coming from [near] the Jinchang pavilion. The Jinchang pavilion was near the Chang gate, in north-western Suzhou. This is the area where the district of Taohuawu was located, which had many hundreds of print workshops in the early Qing dynasty. Each print in the series is of an auspicious subject accompanied by a verse which is a pun on the motifs depicted. The basket is an attribute of Lan Caihe, one of the Eight Immortals. Representing a receptacle of riches, it was a motif which was often used to evoke harmony. In this case, it comes with the wishes that one's luck would be as fragrant and plentiful as the flowers in the basket. The magnolia, wild apple and peony are all symbols of spring, and so this print would presumably have been used during the Chinese New Year. When the magnolia and wild apple are depicted together, it means 'May your halls be rich and honored.' The peony was also known as a fugue hua, the flower of riches and honor." (The British Museum, via Google Arts and Culture. Accessed May 2021).

Fig. Workshop of DING LIANGXIAN
A Basket of Flowers [Magnolia, Wild Apple, and Peony]
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Woodcut printed in color and gauffrage on paper
c. 1735-1750

*** Research in progress ***

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CORRESPONDENCE (Date order)

Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane ca. 1730

Peter Collinson to Col. John Custis, October 20, 1734

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 1735

Peter Collinson to John Bartram March 1, 1735

Peter Collinson to John Bartram December 1735

Peter Collinson to John Bartram December 20, 1737

Peter Collinson to John Bartram late 1737 or early 1738

John Bartram to Peter Collinson, early winter of 1738

Peter Collinson to John Bartram, October 20, 1740

Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane ca. 1740

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 1741

Peter Collinson to Martin Folkes 1741

John Bartram to Mark Catesby late spring 1742, reference obtained from Joel Fry.

Peter Collinson to John Blackburne October 20, 1742

Peter Collinson to Sir Hans Sloane February 4, 1743

Peter Collinson to Christopher Jacob Trew March 20, 1746

Mark Catesby to John Bartram April 15, 1746

Peter Collinson to John Bartram, the winter of 1753

Peter Collinson to Henry Hollyday January 18, 1753

Peter Collinson to John Bartram August 10, 1753

John Bartram to Peter Collinson August 20, 1753

John Bartram to Carl Linnaeus November 11, 1753

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 13, 1754

John Bartram to Peter Collinson on November 3, 1754

John Bartram to Peter Collinson March 6, 1755

John Bartram to Peter Collinson April 27, 1755

Peter Collinson to John Bartram, February 4, 1756

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 18, 1756

John Bartram to Peter Collinson May 30, 1756

Peter Collinson to Carl Linneaus May 17, 1756

Peter Collinson to John Bartram February 2, 1760

Peter Collinson to John Bartram September 15, 1760

Peter Collinson to John Bartram October 5, 1762

John Ellis to Carl Linnaeus May 29, 1763

Peter Collinson to William Bartram Aug. 4, 1763

Carl Linneaus to George Edwards, April 13, 1764.

Peter Collinson to William Bartram July 28, 1767

William Bartram to Benjamin Rush December 5, 1767

Peter Collinson to William Bartram February 16, 1768

Peter Collinson to William Bartram February 17, 1768

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