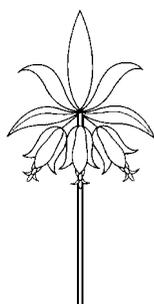


# HUNTIA

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## Some notes towards a reconstruction of Mark Catesby's library

E. Charles Nelson

**Abstract**

Mark Catesby's copies of Johann Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum in Imperio Ruteno* and Francis Barlow's illustrated *Æsop's Fables* are extant. He was a subscriber to George Edwards's *A Natural History of Birds*, John Hill's edition of *Theophrastus's History of Stones*, Philip Miller's *The Gardeners Dictionary* and Benjamin Parker's *A Survey of the Six Days Works of the Creation*, although his copies have not been traced. Catesby is also known to have carried an edition of Francis Willughby's work on ornithology to Carolina in 1722, and he also had two books by Carl Linnaeus—*Hortus Cliffortianus* and *Systema Naturae*. Annotations on herbarium labels demonstrate that Catesby consulted two parts of Leonard Plukenet's *Phytographia* as well as the first volume of Hendrik van Rheedee tot Draakenstein's *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* while in Carolina without providing proof that he owned these works, too.

While no account survives of the books in Mark Catesby's library, nor even any contemporary statement that he formed a library, there is ample evidence that he possessed certain books during his lifetime. Undoubtedly, he read many others including, axiomatically, the numerous works that are cited in his majestic *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (issued in parts between May 1729 and July 1747; Overstreet 2014) as well as in his several other publications and in some surviving manuscripts. However, those books or works that he cited could have been consulted, even perhaps borrowed, by him from the libraries of such institutions as the Royal Society of London of which, from April 1733, he was an

elected Fellow, or from his numerous contacts in London including, for example, Dr William Sherard and Sir Hans Sloane.

In these notes I attempt to bring together the clues, scattered in various sources, about the books he probably owned to provide a notion of what Catesby's library contained. (Any listing of works cited in Catesby's publications will be much more extensive.)

**1. AMMAN, Johann.** 1739. *Stirpium Rariorum in Imperio Rutheno Sponte Provenientium Icones et Descriptiones Collectae ab Ioanne Ammano... Instar Supplementi ad Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae*. [St Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences]. *Typographia Academiae Scientiarum*.

The copy of Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum...* in the Natural-History Rare Books collection of the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, Washington, DC, USA, has an inscription in ink on the title-page reading "For Mr. Catesby" (Fig. 1).

Dr Johann Amman FRS (1707–1741) was in London between 1729 and 1733 as curator of Sir Hans Sloane's collections and so would have had many opportunities to meet Catesby, who was certainly resident in London in the late 1720s (Nelson 2015). Moreover, Catesby is known to have had access to Sloane's collections because he copied pictures in Sloane's possession and adapted them for his own work (McBurney 1997, 2015, pp. 147–154). One example is Catesby's depiction of "Cancer terrestris" (Catesby [1729–1747], 2: tab. 32), which is a

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Tippitiwichee Cottage, Hall Road, Outwell, Wisbech PE14 8PE, United Kingdom

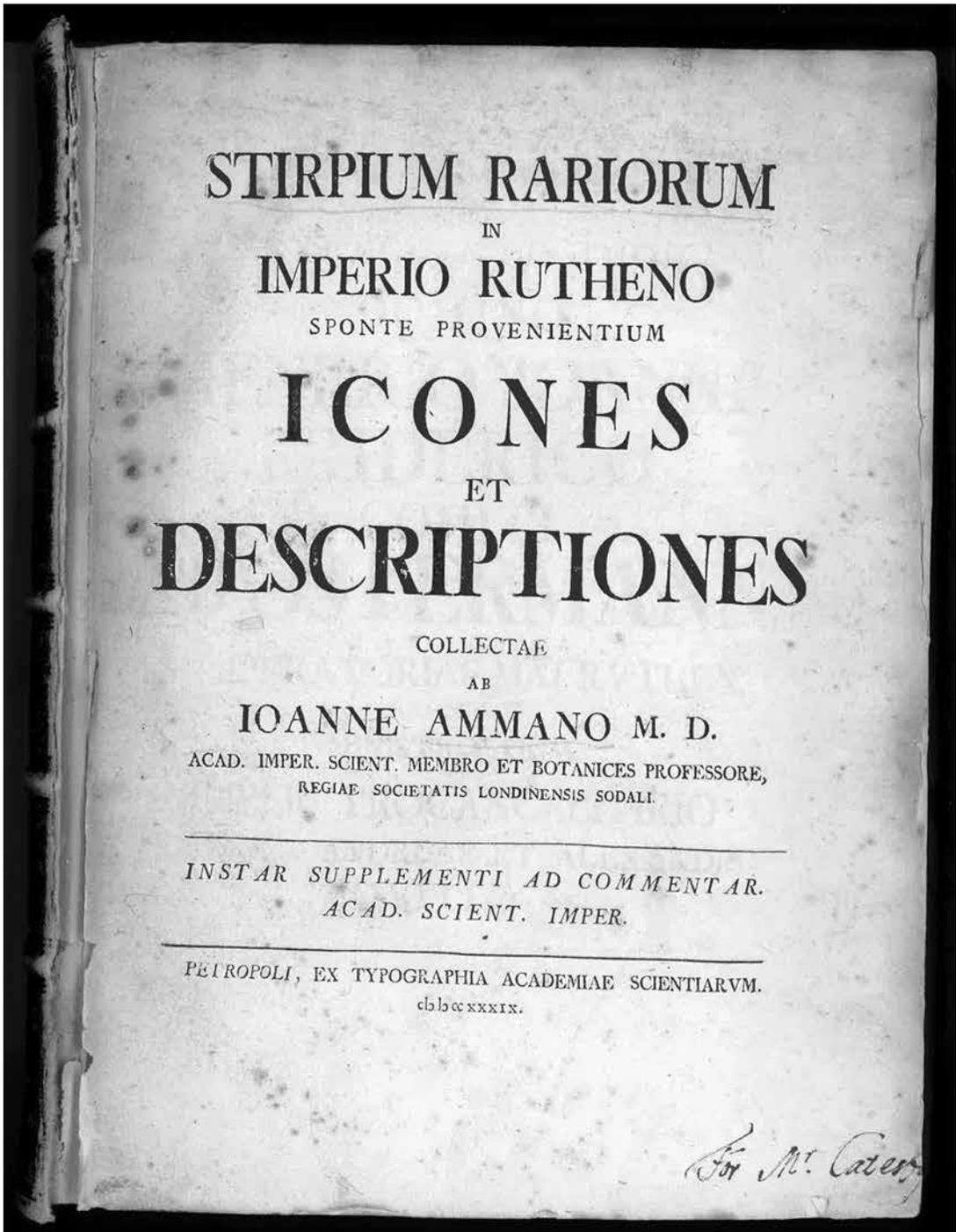


Figure 1. The title-page of Johann Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum in Imperio Rutheno Sponte Provenientium ...* (1739) with Amman's inscription "For M. Catesby" (reproduced by Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution Libraries). The bookplate of the Manchester Library is on the inside front cover, indicating that this was at one time in Chetham's Library, Manchester. The catalogue number 5412 inscribed on that bookplate indicates that the book was in Chetham's Library by 1791. The library sold the copy at auction on 26 November 1980.

copy of “A Lande Crabe” (Sloane ms 5270, f. 16; see Meyers 1997, pp. 20–21; Allmon 2007). Amman brought Catesby as a guest to meetings of the Royal Society at its premises in Crane Court, off Fleet Street, before Catesby's own election as a Fellow (Frick and Stearns 1961, p. 38). After Amman's move to St Petersburg, he continued to correspond with Catesby, who, on 4 September 1735, read one of Amman's letters to the Royal Society, the topic being the animals of Russia, especially of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Frick and Stearns 1961, p. 40). Catesby sent botanical specimens to Amman, including several from Gibraltar that must have been collected by his younger brother Lieutenant John Catesby (see below; Nelson 2013, p. 361).

Amman was listed as one of the “Encouragers” of Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina*... and is known to have received successive parts through Sir Hans Sloane. Given that he died in St Petersburg on 14 December 1741, Amman would not have seen the final two parts of *The Natural History of Carolina*... (see Overstreet 2014).

It is probable that the inscribed copy of *Stirpium Rariorum*..., illustrated with 34 engravings, was an exchange gift, in return for one or more parts of *The Natural History of Carolina*...

**2. BARLOW, Francis.** 1703. *Æsop's Fables, with His Life: In English, French, and Latin. Newly Translated. Illustrated with One Hundred and Twelve Sculptures. To This Edition Are Likewise Added, Thirty One New Figures Representing His Life by Francis Barlow.* London: Printed by R. Newcomb, for Francis Barlow, and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster.

A copy in a private library is unique because it bears Mark Catesby's autograph signature on the title-page as well as the date 1720 (see Nelson 2015), which presumably was when he acquired the book (Fig. 2).

There is another link between Catesby and Francis Barlow (ca.1626–1704; see Flis 2011) that has not yet been explored by scholars with the exception of Alex Seltzer, who pointed out these similarities to me.<sup>1</sup> There is a striking resemblance between the pose of Catesby's dramatic portrait of the bald eagle (Catesby [1729–1747], 1: tab. 1), the first plate in his book, and the eagle in several of Francis Barlow's undated etchings, including one showing an eagle attacking a flock of chickens in a farm yard (from a collection entitled *Various Birds and Beasts Drawn from Life*; Barlow undated).<sup>2</sup> The images are sufficiently similar to make coincidence unlikely. As already noted, Catesby was not averse to copying and adapting images of other artists (McBurney 2015, pp. 147–154). That he probably adapted the pose of the bald eagle from an eagle in Barlow's engravings is therefore not unique, and as Flis (2011, p. 489) noted, several of Catesby's associates including Sir Hans Sloane and George Edwards had copies of Barlow's prints in their albums.

There is evidence, some of it mentioned below, that Catesby was able to read French, and he may well have been fluent in the language. He also must have had a working knowledge of Latin and probably learned it at school (although no record of his schooling has been found). Thus, a trilingual, illustrated edition of *Æsop's Fables* would not be out of character for him.

**3. EDWARDS, George.** 1743. *A Natural History of Birds. Most of Which Have Not Been Figur'd or Describ'd, and Others Very Little Known from Obscure or Too Brief Descriptions without Figures, or from Figures Very Ill Design'd, [Part I].* London: Printed for the author, at the College of Physicians in Warwick-Lane.

EDWARDS, George. 1747. *A Natural History of Birds, Most of Which Have Not Been Figured or Described, and Others Very Little Known, from Obscure or Too Brief Descriptions*

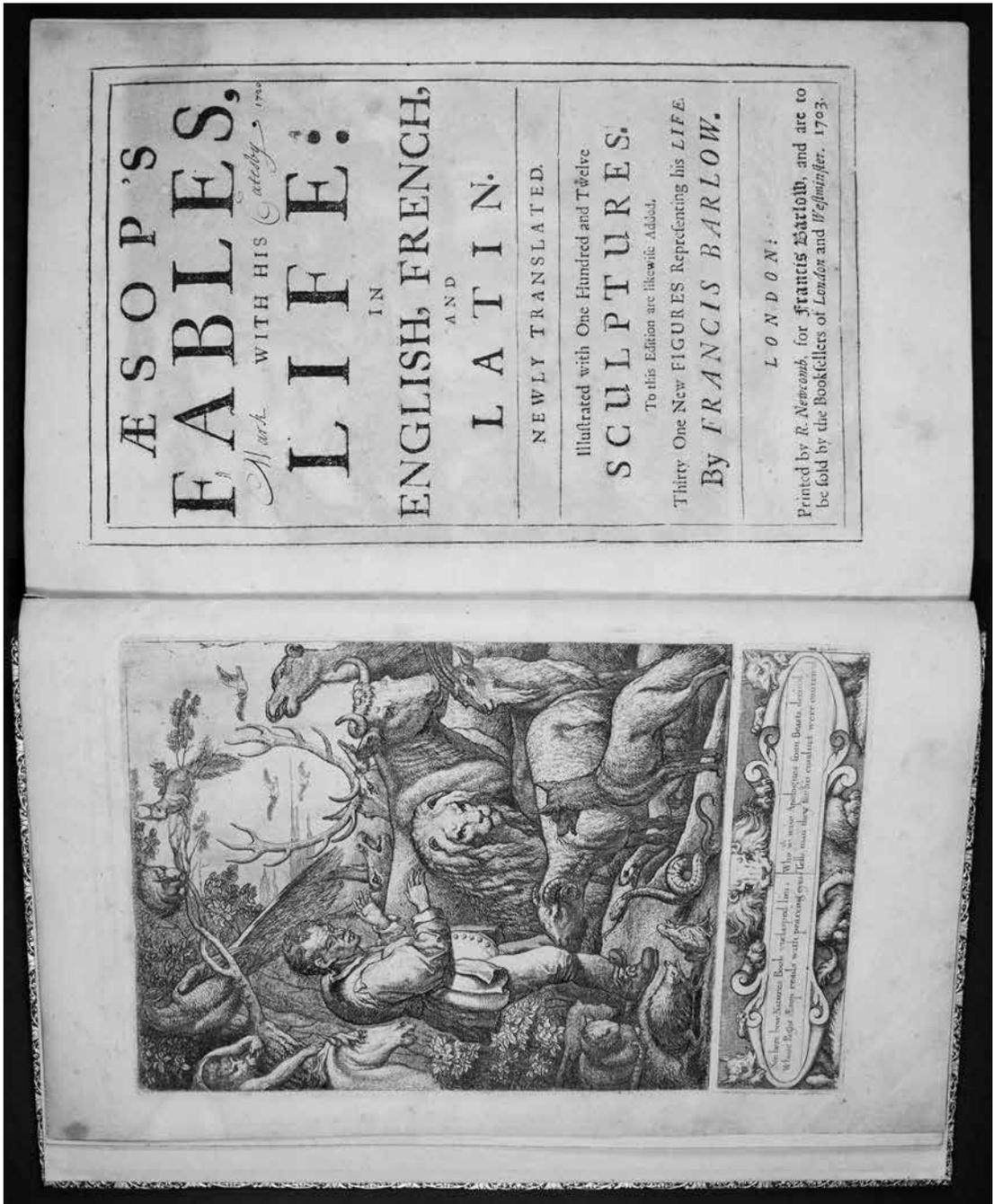


Figure 2. In 1720 Mark Catesby signed and dated the title-page of his copy of *Æsop's Fables*. Its history after Catesby's death is unknown (reproduced by courtesy of Tom Schreck; photograph by James Dewrance).

without Figures, or from Figures Very Ill Designed, Part II. London: Printed for the author, at the College of Physicians in Warwick-Lane.

Edwards's part-work was published irregularly over a period of eight years, the first in 1743 and the fourth and final part in 1751. Among Edwards's illustrations are six based on specimens that Mark Catesby provided. For example, in the first part Edwards included "The Greatest Martin or Swift" (plate 27) and "The Blue-throat Redstart" (plate 28), both from Gibraltar. These were among specimens sent from the Rock by Mark's brother, Lieutenant John Catesby (see Nelson 2013).

In "The names of the generous encouragers of this work" issued with the first part, Mark Catesby was listed, so it may be assumed that he paid a subscription and received at least the first and the second parts, those that were published before his death in December 1749. Alternatively, the authors may have "exchanged" parts of their respective works, given that George Edwards was among the "Encouragers" of Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina*. ...

There were close links between Catesby and Edwards. They were elected to membership of the Society of Gentlemen of Spalding on the same occasion (Allen 1937; Nelson 2015). Edwards was among the mourners at Catesby's funeral on 27 December 1749 and subsequently provided biographical information about Catesby to Thomas Pennant (Nelson 2015). The new title-page for the 1754 edition of *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands ... By the Late Mark Catesby, F. R. S.* stated that the work was "Revis'd by Mr. Edwards, of the Royal College of Physicians, London." Overstreet (2015) noted that copies of this edition are often made up of pages left over from the original issue as well as pages purposefully reprinted (but not corrected), so it is impossible to determine the extent of Edwards's "revision." A third edition,

"printed for Benjamin White, as Horace's Head, Fleetstreet" and issued in 1771, also had "Revised by Mr. Edwards..." on the title-page. Edwards is sometimes considered to have compiled the "Linnæan Index of the Animals and Plants" added to this edition although there is no evidence he was the index's author.

**4. HILL, John.** 1746. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΕΣΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΙΘΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ. *Theophrastus's History of Stones. With an English Version, and Critical and Philosophical Notes, Including the Modern History of the Gems, &c. Described by That Author, and of Many Other of the Native Fossils. ... To Which Are Added, Two Letters: One to Dr. James Parsons, F.R.S., on the Colours of the Sapphire and Turquoise. And the Other, to Martin Folkes, Esq; Doctor of Laws, and President of the Royal Society; upon the Effects of Different Menstruums on Copper. Both Tending to Illustrate the Doctrine of Gems Being Coloured by Metalline Particles.* London: Printed for C. Davis, against Grays-Inn in Holborn, Printer to the Royal Society.

"Mr. Mark Catesby, F.R.S." is listed as a subscriber to Hill's book, and as it was published several years before Catesby's death, he surely had a copy in his possession.

**5. LINNAEUS, Carl.** "1737" [1738]. *Hortus Cliffortianus Plantas Exhibens Quas in Hortis Tam Vivis quam Siccis, Hartecampi in Hollandia, Coluit Vir Nobilissimus et Generosissimus Georgius Clifford*. ... Amsterdam.

In the sale catalogue of the library of Thomas Knowlton jun., auctioned by L. A. Lewis in February 1846, a copy of *Hortus Cliffortianus* was described thus: "George Clifford gave this book to Mark Catesby, and he at his death will'd it to Thos. Knowlton" (Lewis 1846; Henrey 1986, p. 292).

Thomas Knowlton (sen., 1691–1781), a nurseryman and bibliophil, was well known to Mark Catesby, and he was listed among the "Encouragers" of *The Natural History of Carolina*. ... Moreover, Knowlton actively

helped Catesby obtain subscriptions for his work, and among those subscribers was the Earl of Burlington, Knowlton's employer: Burlington purchased three copies. Knowlton had been gardener to the Duke of Chandos, the person who headed the list of sponsors of Catesby's expedition in 1722 to Carolina and the Bahamas.

*Hortus Cliffortianus* was not published for sale, as Knowlton told Dr Richard Richardson in a letter dated 10 October 1739 (see Henrey 1986, p. 186): "D<sup>r</sup> Chambers tels me y<sup>e</sup> Hortus Clifordianus [*sic*] is not to be Bought he makeng onely preseants to his frainds." (Dr Chambers was very probably William Chambers MD of Hull whose name appears just below Catesby's in the list of the "generous encouragers" of Edwards's *A Natural History of Birds*.) This suggests that Knowlton longed to obtain a copy and Catesby promised him his. No copy of Mark Catesby's will has survived, and none is recorded in probate records, so the statement that Catesby "at his death will'd" this copy to Knowlton suggests, but does not prove, there was a will at one time.

"George Clifford, *Esq.*" listed among the "Encouragers" of *The Natural History of Carolina* ... is undoubtedly George Clifford III (1685–1760) of Hartekamp. A further connection between Clifford and Catesby is the artist Georg Dionysus Ehret (1708–1770), who provided the illustrations for *Hortus Cliffortianus* and later collaborated with Catesby (see McBurney 1997, 2015; Nelson 2014a).

**6. LINNAEUS, Carl.** 1735. *Systema Naturae, sive Regna Tria Naturae Systematicae Proposita per Classes, Ordines, Genera, et Species*. Leiden: Apud Theodorum Haak, ex Typographia Johannis Wilhelmi de Groot.

Johann Friedrich Gronovius sent Catesby a copy of *Systema Naturae*. According to the archives of the Royal Society of London, this copy was received on 18 December 1735. Catesby promised to "give an account of its contents" to the Royal Society (Frick and

Stearns 1961, pp. 39–40) but subsequently declined. There is no copy of this edition in the current collections of the Royal Society, but as it was sent to Catesby personally and not the Society, Catesby presumably kept this copy.

On the other hand, *Systema Naturae* was summarized for the Royal Society by Dr Thomas Stack; his account of the work was read on 8 July 1738.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Catesby handed over the copy he had been sent? Stack was Catesby's occasional guest at Royal Society meetings, and Catesby was among the Fellows who nominated Stack for election as a Fellow.

Gronovius, with Dr Isaac Lawson, financed the printing of *Systema Naturae*, which was published "between 9 and 13 December" 1735 (Stafleu 1971, p. 11). In other words the copy sent to Catesby must have been among the first distributed.

**7. MILLER, Philip.** 1731. *The Gardeners Dictionary*. London: The author.

In February 1730 "proposals for printing by subscription" *The Gardeners Dictionary* along with a 3-page "Brief Account of the Work" were published in *The Monthly Catalogue* ([Miller] 1730). The names of subscribers, who were invited to subscribe either £1 5s. 0d. for the standard version or £1 15s. 0d. for a copy "on a large Paper," "shall be Alphabetically printed at the Beginning." Among those listed was Mark Catesby, and he acquired one of the large-paper copies (Brigham 1998, p. 134).

Miller presented a copy of the *Dictionary* to the Royal Society on 1 April 1731, and the work was made available to the general public by 13 April (see Henrey 1975, 2:215). On publication the prices stated for the different issues were £1 10s. 0d. for the standard and £2. 0s. 0d. for the large-paper issue (Henrey 1975, 2:215).

It is possible that Miller and Catesby exchanged publications: Miller was later (1743) named among the "Encouragers" of Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina*. ... It is noteworthy, however, that the entire large-

paper issue of *The Gardeners Dictionary* cost the same as one part of Catesby's book. Cost comparisons are not really valid because Miller's work, while comprising around 200 sheets, was not profusely illustrated with hand-coloured plates: there was an uncoloured, engraved frontispiece and four other illustrations.

Philip Miller took charge of the Society of Apothecaries' garden at Chelsea in 1722 on the recommendation of Sir Hans Sloane. Catesby certainly had visited the Physic Garden before he sailed for Charleston in the early months of that same year because he referred to trees of "Black Walnut" and "Hickory Nut" that he had "seen ... in Chelsey Garden" in a letter to Dr William Sherard written from South Carolina on 4 January 1722/3.<sup>4</sup>

**8. PARKER, Benjamin.** 1745. *A Survey of the Six Days Works of the Creation: Philosophically Proving the Truth of the Account Thereof, As Deliver'd by Moses in the First Chapter of Genesis. Wherein the Magnificent Grandeur, Inexpressible Beauty, Order and Harmony of This System in General, and of This Habitable World in Particular, Are Largely Display'd. The Whole Intermix'd with Many Novel and Curious Observations, Metaphysically Considered and Religiously Apply'd.* London: Printed for the author in Fulwood's Rents, Holborn; Benjamin Stichall, Bookbinder, in Blackmore-Street, Clare Market; and sold by R. Baldwin and J. Jefferies, near Stationers Hall.

Mark Catesby was listed among the subscribers (p. xxv). Benjamin Stichall, one of the named publishers, was a subscriber to Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina ...* and later was one of the publishers of the posthumous second edition issued in 1754.

**9. RAY, John.** 1678. *The Ornithology of Francis Willughby of Middleton in the County of Warwick Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society. In Three Books. Wherein All the Birds Hitherto Known, Being Reduced into a Method Sutable to Their Natures, Are Accurately Described. The*

*Descriptions Illustrated by Most Elegant Figures, Nearly Resembling the Live Birds, Engraven in LXXVIII Copper Plates. Translated into English, and Enlarged with Many Additions. ...* London: Printed by A. C. for John Martyn, Printer to the Royal Society, at the Bell in St. Pauls Church-yard.

It is more likely that Catesby had a copy of this English edition, by the Reverend John Ray (1627–1705), of Francis Willughby's *Ornithologia* than the first edition in Latin (Willughby 1676). Catesby carried the book with him on his second voyage to North America. He referred to Willughby's work in the letter to William Sherard written two days after he had landed in Charleston: "On the Coasts of America we had several other Birds come on Board us which gave me an oportunity of discribing some of them as well as some fish. Amongst the Birds the Turn stone or Sea plover of Mr Willoughby was one which by comparing with his discription of it agrees exactly."<sup>5</sup> (In Ray's edition, however, there is no reference to the turnstone being called "Sea Plover.")

When he came to compose the text to accompany the plate of the ruddy turnstone (Catesby [1729–1747], 1: tab. 72), published in the fourth fascicle of *The Natural History of Carolina ...*, Catesby used similar but more explicit wording:

... In a Voyage to *America*, Anno 1722, in 31 Deg. N. Lat. and 40 Leagues from the Coast of *Florida*, the Bird from which this was figur'd flew on Board us and was taken. It was very active in turning up Stones, which we put into its Cage; but not finding under them the usual Food, it died, In this Action it moved only the upper Mandible; yet would with great Dexterity and Quickness turn over Stones of above three Pounds Weight. This Property Nature seems to have given it for the finding of its Food; which is probably Worms and Insects on the Sea-Shore. By Comparing This with the Description of that in *Will. Ornithog.* which I had then on board, I found this to be the same Kind with that he describes.

Given that this volume was aboard the ship on the westward voyage to the Carolinas, it is perhaps unlikely that it survived the vicissitudes of travel to be brought home again by Catesby in 1726.

Catesby's probable possession of a copy of Ray's English version of Willughby's *Ornithology* may have other significance: the copy may have been a gift from Ray. As noted above, an important source of biographical information about Catesby is a letter written by George Edwards, Catesby's friend and, indeed, pupil, to the Welsh zoologist, author and antiquary, Thomas Pennant (1726–1798); this well-known letter (see transcription in Frick 1960) is now in The Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Literary and Historical Manuscripts, New York. Most noteworthy was Edwards's remark that Catesby "... Hapned in his youth to fall into the acquaintance of the great naturalist M<sup>r</sup> Ray ... and this acquaintance inspird Catesby with a genus [*sic*] for natural history. ..." Until recently, however, some of Edwards's information about Catesby appeared to be dubious,<sup>6</sup> casting doubt on the claim that Catesby, when a boy or young man, would have known John Ray. However, we no longer have to rely on Edwards, and his letter's authority is actually supported by another important contemporary document. In the spring of 1748 the Finnish naturalist Pehr Kalm (1716–1771) visited London on his way to North America. He was introduced to Catesby at a meeting of the Royal Society on 21 April (Kalm 1753, p. 366; Frick and Stearns 1961, p. 47), and a few weeks later, on 23 May, visited Catesby at home (Kalm 1753, pp. 420–421; Frick and Stearns 1961, p. 47). Kalm recorded this visit in his handwritten diary remarking that as a small boy Mark Catesby had "often visited" Ray (Mead 2013, p. 44). This particular portion of Kalm's diary, the original manuscript of which is in the National Library of Finland, Helsinki,<sup>7</sup> was not printed

in the edition published in 1753 (so is absent from the English translation by Lucas 1892). A new English translation of the un-redacted original manuscript, prepared and published by the late Professor W. R. Mead (1915–2014), made this passage accessible to Catesby's biographers. It is particularly interesting that Kalm went on to comment that in England it "was curious that a large number of the leading men in natural history came from Essex"—he was clearly well informed about those he had met, and the names he listed are mostly connected in one way or another with Mark Catesby, including Ray, Samuel Dale of Braintree, and Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of The Royal Society, who was to describe *The Natural History of Carolina* ... as "the most magnificent Work I know of, since the Art of Printing has been discover'd ..." (Mortimer 1748, p. 173). Samuel Dale (1659–1739) apparently was Catesby's main correspondent during his sojourn in Virginia (1712–1719).

#### "Review" copies

Works cited by Catesby in the published text of *The Natural History of Carolina* ... all could have been consulted during his years of writing that work, between at least 1728–1729 and 1747, in public or private libraries in London. While he might have possessed copies of, for example, an edition of William Dampier's *A New Voyage around the World* ... or the 1714 London printing of John Lawson's *The History of Carolina*, both quoted, the latter most extensively (see Preston and Preston 2015; Simpson 2015), in *The Natural History of Carolina* ..., no unassailable case can be sustained for his possessing copies, and no association copies are known.

In January 1734/5 Catesby was asked by the Royal Society to prepare a summary of René-Antoine Ferchault Réaumur's work *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire des Insectes*, and he did

so, at least of the first four, of the six, volumes. He presented his account of the first volume at four meetings of the society between March 1736 and November 1736. He also reviewed the second volume at meetings in March and April 1737, the third in 1738 and the fourth in 1740 (Frick and Stearns 1961, p. 39). As Frick and Stearns (1961, p. 39) noted, Catesby's text comprises quite lengthy descriptions of the work rather than critical comments, as well as an extensive translation of part of one of Réaumur's chapters.<sup>8</sup> Did Catesby sit, day upon day, in the Royal Society's rooms in Crane Court reading and translating Réaumur's work? Or, did he have his own copies in his house "behind St. Luke's church, in Old street"? The Royal Society's library contains Réaumur's *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire des Insectes*, stamped "ex dono Auctoris." The volumes contain no indications that they came via Catesby or that they were seen by him, and, indeed, they appear to have been rarely used.

### Herbarium labels

As already noted, Catesby stated he had a copy of Willughby's book about birds on board the ship that brought him to Charles Town (Charleston), Carolina, in 1722. When he labelled herbarium specimens for sending from Charleston to London between May 1722 and the early part of 1725, in other words before his own return to England (which probably occurred late in 1726 or early in 1727), he indicated at least two botanical works, which he may then have possessed. It is unlikely that Catesby had such an excellent memory that he could recall images from books he might have studied before leaving London, so any work mentioned on herbarium labels surely would have been immediately at hand. Furthermore, these specimens and their labels did not return to Catesby's possession. Unlike his paintings, which he kept for the rest of

his life, he is unlikely to have had continuing access to many of the herbarium specimens (with the possible exception of those he had sent to Sloane), and there is very little likelihood that he augmented information on any of the labels after he returned to London; indeed there is no indication that the labels were altered by him after he wrote them in America. The paintings, on the other hand, were his templates for the etchings for *The Natural History of Carolina...*, and annotations could have been added at any time up to his death in December 1749.

There are references to two published works on Catesby's herbarium labels.

**10. PLUKENET, Leonard.** 1691. *Phytographia, sive Stirpium Illustriorum et Minus Cognitarum Icones. Tabulis Aeneis. Summa Diligentia Elaboratae; ... Pars Prior.* London: Sumtibus auctoris.

PLUKENET, Leonard. 1694. *Phytographia; seu Plantae Quamplurinae Novae, et Literis Hucusque Incognitae, ex Variis, et Remotissimis Provinciis, Ipsisque Indiis Allatae; Nomine et Iconibus, Tabulis Aeneis, Magna cum Industria, et Insigni Sani in Successores Beneficio, Illustratae. Pars Tertia.* London: Sumtibus auctoris.

On two labels among the specimens in Sir Hans Sloane's herbarium, Catesby alluded to "Dr Plucknet"—Leonhard Plukenet. A specimen of *Liquidambar styraciflua* in the Sloane collection was labelled "Styrax Aceris folio of Dr Plucknet or Sweet Gum" (BM HS 232-034-0634). The label for a specimen of *Kalmia latifolia* was inscribed: "This I take to be Dr Plucknets Cistus Semper Vivens [*sic*] I sent Specimens in flower last time these are the seed..." (BM HS 232-054-0603).

Two parts of Plukenet's *Phytographia* contain images that correspond; the first contained *Liquidambar* (tab. XLII, fig. 6 "Liquid-ambari arbor. s. Styracifera Aceris folio..."), while the third has an image of *Kalmia* (tab. CLXI, fig. 3 "Cistus sempervirens, Laurifolia...").

As with *Hortus Malabaricus* (see following) it is possible Catesby had access to the parts of *Phytographia* ... in Charleston, rather than owning them and transporting them around. The only firm conclusion is that he was able to compare his specimens with the figures when he was in South Carolina.

**11. RHEEDE TOT DRAAKENSTEIN, Hendrik van.** 1678. *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus, Continens Regni Malabarici apud Indos Celeberrimi Omnis Generis Plantas Rariores, Latinis, Malabaricis, Arabicis, et Bramanum Characteribus Nominibusque Expressas, Una cum Floribus, Fructibus et Seminibus, Naturali Magnitudine a Peritissimis Pictoribus Delineatas, et ad Vivum Exhibitas. ... Pars Prima Horti Malabarici de Arboribus.* Amsterdam: Sumptibus Joannis van Someren, et Joannis van Dyck.

Likewise, on two labels for separate specimens of *Catalpa bignonioides*, one sent to Sherard (now in OXF) and the other sent to Sloane (now in BM), Catesby referred to "Hortus Malabaricus":

... The flower ... resembles in Shape and bigness that of Cumbulu fig: 41 in Hortus Malabaricus ... (OXF)

... The flower ... resembles in Shape and bigness that of Cumbulu in Hortus Malabaricus ... (BM HS 212-061-0444)

As the labels he wrote for an early set of specimens of *Catalpa*, prepared before he had seen the flowers (probably a year earlier), make no reference to "Hortus Malabaricus," instead identifying the tree as a "Syringa (of which it seems to be a kind) ..." (OXF 1249 3), it is clear he consulted a copy after the flowers of *Catalpa* were available, and, moreover, the comparison is true.

Thus, Catesby must have had access to or possessed at least a copy of the first volume of this twelve-volume work because that is the volume containing the plate of "Cumbulu." It seems rather improbable he carried all twelve

volumes with him in the field or even that he would transport the entire *Hortus* across the Atlantic. The only other possibility is that he consulted a copy in South Carolina. He may not have had the original edition, because in 1720 a Dutch translation by Abraham van Poot with the title *Malabaarse Kruidhof* was re-issued in The Hague: again, the first volume contained the image of "Cumbulu."

(In 1774 John Hill issued an edition of the first part of *Hortus Malabaricus* in which he introduced Linnaean binomials. For "Cumbulu," Hill gave the binomial *Bignonia catalpa* and cited Catesby's work in the synonymy (although there was an error in the plate number: Hill gave "t. 29," recte 49). The poorly re-engraved illustration was labelled "Cumbulu / Bignonia Catalpa.")

## Conclusions

The list of books that Catesby consulted when he was writing for his two-volume work on the natural history of the Carolinas and Bahama islands is much more substantial than the list of books provided here, those that he used on his travels and those that we know he had at one stage in his possession.

However, this shorter list of works he owned, or most probably had in his possession, as well as those he reviewed, gives some clues to his capacity for languages because they appear to be separate from any works he may have consulted in London libraries when he also could have been helped in gleaning information from foreign-language texts or translating them by associates.

To have been able to read and summarize, even if he did not write a critical review of the contents, Réaumur's *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire des Insectes* clearly demonstrates his capacity to read and comprehend French. Catesby's use of parallel French and English text in *The Natural History of Carolina* ... is

unusual but not unique. He attributed the French text

... to a very ingenious Gentleman, a Doctor of Physick, and a *French-man* born, whose Modesty will not permit me to mention his Name.

... un de mes Amis, Docteur en Médecine & François, a bien voulu s'en donner la peine, à condition qu'ils ne seroit pas nommé.

This individual has not been identified. However, he must have been a friend of Catesby's for around two decades and was also most probably resident in London because they did not complete their joint task of writing *The Natural History of Carolina*... until, presumably, early in 1747—in a letter dated 16 April 1747 Peter Collinson told Carl Linnaeus that Catesby's "noble work is finished," and Catesby presented the final part, the "Appendix," to the Royal Society on 2 July 1747 (Stearns 1970, p. 320; Overstreet 2014).

The parallel French text usually is a competent version of the English text, but there are occasions when the writer of the French paragraphs deviates in relatively minor ways from the text contained in the English paragraphs.<sup>9</sup> If Catesby was himself the translator, hiding behind the statement that the French text was prepared by a friend, there is a lot to explain, not least his reasons for dissembling. No matter, it is clear from his precis of Réaumur's work on insects that Catesby was competent at least in reading French, and he may have been involved in writing the brief parallel French text, which also occurred in Christopher Gray's catalogue for which Catesby etched *Magnolia grandiflora* and probably the entire text too (Gray ca.1740; Nelson 2014a).

Mark Catesby's capacity to read and understand Latin might be taken for granted, given his use of Latin scientific phrase-names, although he acknowledged William Sherard's contribution: "As to the Plants... for the *Latin*

Names I was beholden to the... Learned and accurate Botanist Dr. *Sherard*." There can be no doubt Catesby was a well-educated man. At school, being the son of a gentleman, he is likely to have learned Latin irrespective of the career he was expected to follow. His autograph letters are usually well written, and although the spelling was often inconsistent, that was a characteristic of the early 18th century when standardized spelling had not yet been established.

The books identified as being in Mark Catesby's possession also indicate the broad range of his interests in natural history: his reading was certainly not narrowly confined. That he was prepared to tackle the six volumes of Réaumur's work on insects perhaps throws a light on the relative profusion of invertebrates in the tenth part (published in December 1743) and the Appendix (published in July 1747) to *The Natural History of Carolina*... Insects are otherwise rarely represented in the plates in the first nine parts.<sup>10</sup> The most intriguing of Catesby's books is John Hill's edition of *Theophrastus's History of Stones*, to which Catesby was a subscriber, because it lies outside his main natural history interests. A few essentially geological topics were briefly mentioned in *The Natural History of Carolina*...; for example, in his "Account of Carolina, and the Bahama Islands," usually bound in the front of the first volume (although not issued until 1743), Catesby reported fossilized teeth of sharks and "elephants" (see Elliott 2015).

The books also provide some additional insights into Mark Catesby's network of correspondents. The list of "Encouragers" published with *The Natural History of Carolina*... included Amman, Clifford and Gronovius, all of whom were involved in sending books to Catesby. That Gronovius should have been the conduit for the copy of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae*, and not Linnaeus himself, is hard to explain. There is no

information that Catesby had any direct contact with Linnaeus before the 1740s; apparently they did not meet when Linnaeus visited England in the summer of 1736. Linnaeus was not a subscriber to *The Natural History of Carolina*... and was to complain about its cost although he knew the work and cited many of the plates in his own works (Jarvis 2015).

### Acknowledgments

I am most grateful to Leslie Overstreet (Curator, Natural-History Rare Book, Smithsonian Institution Libraries) especially for pointing out Catesby's name in the subscribers' list of Miller's *Dictionary*, and for other helpful comments. I also acknowledge comments and assistance from David J. Elliott (Catesby Commemorative Trust) and Alex Seltzer.

### Notes

1. Alex Seltzer, pers. comm. (emails), 11 July 2014, 11 March 2015. I was privileged to read a draft of his paper "Catesby's eclecticism and the origins of his style," presented (under the title "New sources for Catesby's birds") at the 2013 conference of East Central/American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies in Philadelphia, which he informed me (11 March 2015) is to be published in a forthcoming part of *1650–1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*.
2. Untitled plate numbered 45 "Fra. Barlow delin" (Tate Gallery: ref. T11265); see also plate numbered 65 "F. Barlo [sic] Del. E. Cooper Ex." showing various raptors, ducks and other unnamed birds (Tate Gallery: ref. T11285); "Falcon, Heron, Monkey, Vulture..." (Tate Gallery: ref. T11235); a similar smaller hawk is shown in the engraving entitled "The Bass Island" (lower right; Tate Gallery: ref. T11223).  
"The Bass Island" also has (top right) an unnamed bird with a posture similar to that of Catesby's "Tropick Bird" (Catesby [1729–1747], 2: Appendix tab. 14).  
Catesby's "Blew Jay" (Catesby [1729–1747], 1: tab. 15) is similar in its posture to various depictions of a magpie in Barlow's etchings, including one with an owl as the principal bird "F. Barlow delin. F. Place fecit P. Tempest ex." (Tate Gallery: ref. T11546), and, lower left in the depiction of a cock turkey and other farmyard birds (Tate Gallery: ref. T11233).
3. Two separate manuscripts are extant in the archives of the Royal Society, London:

CI.P/22ii/75 ("Account by Thomas Stack[.] Details of Linnaeus' natural history under the heads mineral, vegetable and animal... printed at Leyden in 1735[.] Read to the Royal Society on 8 June 1738") and RBO/21/29 ("Doctor Stack's Account of a Book intitled: Caroli Linnaei Systema Naturae sive Regna tria naturae systematice proposita per Classes, Ordines, Genera et Species") (URL <https://collections.royalsociety.org/> accessed 26 July 2015).

4. Royal Society, London. William Sherard letters, CCLIII no. 168.
5. Royal Society, London. William Sherard letters, CCLIII no. 163.
6. Edwards's letter, dated 5 December 1761, provided information about Catesby's death, which had occurred almost exactly twelve years previously. He recorded that Mark had fallen when "Crossing the way in holbore" (High Holborn, a well-known London thoroughfare) and was knocked unconscious ("senseless"). He was brought back to his house where he died a few days later without regaining consciousness (see Frick 1960).  
What caused doubt was Edwards's additional comment that Catesby's son, "a Boy of 8 years old," had been with his father when he fell but could not help. According to genealogical information available before 2017 (see Nelson 2015, p. 15), only one son, named Mark (born 15 April 1731), was alive in December 1749; he would have been a young man of 18, surely well able to assist. However, in 2017 records were found of another (a third) son, born on 26 June 1740, who was also christened Mark, in St Luke's, Old Street, on 6 July 1740. Elizabeth and Mark Catesby would not have given the name Mark to a second son had his older brother and namesake been alive, although no record of the older boy's burial has turned up in London parochial records.  
Thus Edwards's account is no longer troublesome—he was largely accurate, as far as can be determined. We can trace the young Mark Catesby further. He was apprenticed to Francis Rooker, "Cit[izen] & Haberdasher of London," on 2 July 1756 for seven years as a watchmaker and almost three years afterwards was "turned over" to Thomas Harris, "Cit[izen] & clockmaker." The apprenticeship fee paid was the relatively large sum of £25. The apprenticeship record was explicit that the apprentice's father was Mark Catesby "late of the Parish of S<sup>t</sup>. Luke in the County of Midd[lesex] Gentleman dec[ease]d."
7. I am grateful to Ilona Fors, National Library of Finland, for a scan of folio 400 of Kalm's journal containing the passage about Catesby's link with John Ray.

8. Royal Society, London: RBO/20/10 ("Mr Catesby's Account of a Book intituled: Memoires pour servir a l'histoire des Insectes by M de Reaumur") and RBO/20/27 ("Mark Catesby's account of a book entitled 'Memoires pour servir a l'histoire des Insectes par Mr de Reaumur de l'Academie des Sciences Tome second'"). The first manuscript comprises 70 sides, while the second comprises 16 sides.
9. The latest dated information in the text of *The Natural History of Carolina* ... referred to September 1744, although there is also a statement that *Kalmia latifolia* "produced its blossoms at Peckham in September 1743 and several succeeding years," indicating a possible date after 1744. Thus Catesby and his translator must have been in contact until after the close of 1744.
- Interestingly the French text about *Kalmia* ("Chamædaphne semper virens ...; Catesby [1729–1747], 2: Appendix tab. 17) differs from the English omitting the reference to "and several succeeding years" but including details not in the English text: "Cet Arbrisseau, don't la fleur est si belle, fut envoyé de Pensylvanie à Mons. Pierre Collinson par mon bon Ami Mons. Bartram, que chacun sçait être si curieux de ces sortes de choses. ..."
10. According to Reveal (2015) the 24 insects depicted in Catesby's plates are

## Vol. 1

- 8 *Neocurtilla hexadactyla* (northern mole cricket)  
 35 *Hypercompe scribonia* (giant leopard moth)  
 55 unidentified

## Vol. 2

- 83 *Papilio glaucus* (tiger swallowtail)  
 84 *Actias luna* (luna moth)  
 86 *Hyalophora cecropia* (cecropia moth)  
 88 *Danaus plexippus* (monarch butterfly)  
 89 *Dissosteira carolinus* (Carolina grasshopper)  
 90 & 91 *Antheraea polyphemus* (polyphemus moth)  
 94 *Citheronia regalis* (horned devils caterpillar)  
 95 *Zerynthia rumina* (Spanish festoon [butterfly])  
 96 *Utetheisa bella* (ornate moth)  
 97 *Papilio glaucus* (tiger swallowtail)  
 100 *Protographium marcellus* (zebra swallowtail)

## Appendix

- 4 *Megarhyssa atrata* (giant ichneumon wasp)  
 5 *Chalybion californicum* (blue mud wasp)  
 10 *Tunga penetrans* (chigoe flea)  
 beetle, possibly Carabidae  
*Periplaneta americana* (American cockroach)  
*Blaptica dubia* (dubia cockroach)  
*Necrophila americana* (American carrion beetle)

- 11 *Canthon pilularius* (dung beetle)  
*Phanaeus vindex* (rainbow scarab beetle)  
 15 *Dasyntulla occidentalis* (velvet ant)

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