

**‘OBLIGING AND CURIOUS’: TAYLOR WHITE (1701-72) AND HIS
REMARKABLE COLLECTIONS**

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SUMMARY

Taylor White (1701-72) was by profession a barrister and judge, active in public life in London. White’s life as a jurist and as the long-serving Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital is documented in the records of his public appointments and in his own official correspondence. This article reveals the other Taylor White, a Fellow of the Royal Society (1725), and an active participant in the practice of science in the mid-eighteenth century. White accumulated a significant collection of specimens and drawings of plants, insects, birds and mammals. Over 900 of the zoological drawings are preserved in the Blacker Wood Natural History Collection at McGill University in Montreal. White’s passions for natural history and collecting are revealed tangentially through the very few letters in his hand, the notes he makes about his own collection, and infrequent references in the books and letters of his friends and fellow naturalists. This article seeks to document not only the sources of White’s collection, but also to extract a narrative of acquisition, transport and exchange of specimens that reveals the informal networks of eighteenth-century naturalists, which included not only scientists but also sailors, merchants and curious lawyers. It also explores the work and motivations of the collector engaged in building a reference collection of animal portraits, painted in their true colours, and ‘the size of life’. Close study of this collection positions Taylor White within the community of eighteenth-century naturalists and provides a deeply textured exploration of natural history and collecting in the age of Linnaeus.

Keywords: Collecting, scientific illustration, classification, networks of exchange, Taylor White



Figure 1: Charles Collins, 'The Summer Parrot' (Blue-fronted Amazon, *Amazona aestiva*), watercolour on paper, April 1740. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 286. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library

In the Blacker Wood Natural History Collection at McGill University Library in Montreal are 23 grey archival boxes ranged on metal shelves. Remove one, open a folder, and uncover a brilliant watercolour of an Amazon parrot, a fat-tailed squirrel, or goldfish swimming in a Chinese blue-and-white bowl. The colours are fresh, the paper smooth and unmarked, the pencilled inscriptions clear and clean. In the boxes are 938 watercolours of birds, fish, mammals and reptiles, part of a collection of watercolours assembled over a period of nearly forty years beginning in the 1730s by the British jurist, collector and Fellow of the Royal Society, Taylor White (1701-72). In addition, there are over 750 loose notes in White's distinctive hand - his manuscript catalogue, keyed to the drawings. During his lifetime White commissioned almost fifteen hundred watercolour drawings of birds and beasts, flowers, fungi and insects from some of the best natural history painters of the age, including George Edwards (1694-1773), the Irish still life painter Charles Collins (c. 1680-1744), Peter Paillou (c. 1712-82) and Eleazar Albin (fl. 1690 - c. 1742), as well as the botanical artists Jacob van Huysum (c.1687-1740) and the superlative Georg Ehret (1708-70). After his death in 1772 White's unique collection, celebrated in his lifetime, all but disappeared until sold at auction by Sotheby's in 1926.ⁱ In 1927 Dr Casey Wood, founder of the Blacker Wood Library of Zoology and Ornithology at McGill University, acquired the zoological drawings from the bookseller Bernard Quaritch.ⁱⁱ Thanks to a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in 2018, the collection of zoological watercolours and manuscript notes has now been fully catalogued and digitized, inscriptions and notes transcribed and translated from the Latin, and the animals identified with contemporary common and scientific names.ⁱⁱⁱ

White's collection is remarkable not only for the quality of the drawings, but also for the information it yields about White, his networks of friendship and exchange, his interests in natural history, and how he built and used his collection. White annotated the majority of the drawings, jotting down identifications on their versos, often noting where the specimen came from, and who gave it to him. He organized the drawings into a systematic order, numbering each on both front and back with volume and item numbers. In his manuscript catalogue he copied out specific descriptions from Linnaeus or other authors, supplemented by his own observations and thoughts on correct classification.^{iv} Despite his collections and active involvement with the Royal Society, White has not, however, been remembered as a naturalist. Unlike Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), White did not preside over the Royal Society nor leave to the nation a vast collection. He did not voyage like his colleague Joseph Banks (1743-1820) to the far reaches of the world, returning a public figure; his travels were confined to the long rides of the Northern Circuit.^v Nor did he publish his work like his friend Thomas Pennant (1726-98), but he did engage in the lively exchange of drawings and specimens characteristic of the period. White's portfolios of watercolours remained for over 150 years within the walls of the family home until they arrived at McGill in 1927. Averil Lysaght examined them in the 1960s for her work on *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador 1766* (1971), but the collection has been otherwise little studied.^{vi}

A LIFE IN BRIEF

Taylor White was born in 1701 into a well-to-do landowning family in Nottinghamshire, the second of five children. At the age of nineteen he moved to London to study law at Lincoln's

Inn, and was called to the bar in 1727. He was a successful barrister, later appointed Puisne Judge for Chester, and active in a surprising number of circles in London. He became a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn and eventually Master of the Library, honoured with his coat-of-arms inset into a stained-glass window in the chapel. He was a founding Governor of the Foundling Hospital, and served the institution until his death, the last twenty-five years as its Treasurer.^{vii} The outlines of this public life are visible in the registers of Lincoln's Inn and the Minute Books of the Hospital, and in the notices in the London newspapers of the day of his appointments and comings and goings on the circuit court. The newspapers also reveal something of his personal life, including his marriage in 1739 to Frances (Fanny) Armstrong (1720-63), daughter of the Chief Royal Engineer, or his encounter with a highwayman in Hertfordshire in 1751, while 'going on the Circuit'.^{viii} He was seen by contemporaries as honest and conscientious - he barely ever missed a meeting of the Hospital governors despite his travels for the court, and he took no emolument for his work on behalf of the Hospital. White and his family did, however, move to the East Wing of the Hospital in 1752, free of rent and with the wine cellar put at his disposal.^{ix} In a 1758 portrait in pastel by Francis Cotes (1726-70), now in the collection of the Foundling Museum, White shows a cheerful countenance, though he suffered several personal tragedies, including the death of his first wife, as well as three of his children. His second marriage to Fanny Armstrong seems to have been one of genuine affection if one can judge by his will - he left to his daughter-in-law the 'settees and Chairs which were worked by my dear Wife to remain in the Family.'^x

The young Taylor White was elected to the Royal Society in 1725, joining his brother John White (1699-1768), elected two years previously.^{xi} Taylor White became a Fellow before the formal requirement for a certificate of knowledge was introduced by Sir Hans Sloane in 1730, and his candidacy was passed without comment, amid discussions of workmen's bills and payments - 'Mr Taylor White was put to the Ballott and approved for a Candidate.'^{xii} His time as a Fellow is bracketed neatly between the Presidency of his older colleague, Sir Hans Sloane, and that of his younger colleague and friend Sir Joseph Banks.^{xiii} He became a member of the Repository Committee in 1733, when one of the periodic examinations of the Society's somewhat neglected collections was underway. In 1744, during the presidency of Martin Folkes (1690-1754), who was a friend and patron, he was appointed to the Council, and his name appears in the records of Council meetings throughout the 1750s and 60s. He presented only one paper to the Society, 'A discourse on the cinnamon, cassia, or canella', which appeared in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1759.^{xiv} The White brothers were also active in the social life of the Society, sharing meals and conversations with other members at Pontac's restaurant or at the Sun in St Paul's Churchyard, or a dish of coffee at Abingdon's or Tom's Coffee House. Thanks to the letters of his friend the poet John Byrom (1693-1762), also a Fellow, we know that White played chess and practised the German flute, and sometimes talked wildly about politics and religion.^{xv}

Like many of his colleagues in the Royal Society, White was well-known as a collector. Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville (1680-1765), who became a Fellow in 1750, described White's collection as 'one of the most curious in London for its excellent choice of shells, insects, birds, fish and plants, arranged in eight folio volumes.'^{xvi} Like many collectors of the period, White did not limit his collecting only to the area of natural history.^{xvii} Though never a member of the Antiquarian Society, White acquired a collection of gold and silver coins, chiefly English.^{xviii} He

also possessed an art collection, sold at auction in 1774 ('the genuine Collection of PICTURES of TAYLOR WHITE, Esq; deceased'). It included paintings by European artists popular at the period like Luca Giordano (1634-1705) and Salvator Rosa (1615-73), a number of flower and fruit pieces, a 'Peacock and parroquet' by David de Koninck (c. 1644-1701), as well as works by the English maritime painter Charles Brooking (c. 1723-59) and 'Four portraits of Cherokees in their proper habits', the latter testament to his work with the Georgia Trustees, for whom he acted as counsel.^{xix} While William Hogarth (1697-1764) has been credited with establishing the Foundling Hospital's art collection (which made it the first public art gallery in Britain), White also played a role in soliciting contributions from 'the great Artists in England to adorn the House ... as far as could be done without employing the Money of the Hospital ...'.^{xx} White certainly commissioned Brooking's monumental *A Flagship Before the Wind Under Easy Sail*, so large it had to be painted in situ at the Hospital.

Unlike many of his contemporaries with whom he shared the busy world of London courts and clubs, White unfortunately left no diaries and little private correspondence.^{xxi} Despite the scarcity of personal records, there are a number of sources that allow us to document his lifelong engagement in natural history and collecting. There are a few letters to his friend Robert More (1703-86) as well as references in the writings of other naturalists like George Edwards and Thomas Pennant, and descriptions of his collections by visitors. If these were the only fragments from which to reconstruct a life, it would be brief indeed, but in White's case, looking closely at the collection itself allows us to understand his practice, to see who and what he knew, what he read, and how he worked.

WHITE'S COLLECTION

When Dezallier d'Argenville described White's natural history collection in the 1757 edition of *La Conchyliologie*, as 'one of the most curious' in London, he was referring not to specimens, but to eight folios of drawings of shells, insects, birds, fish and plants. By 1763 when the French scientist Jérôme Lalande (1732-1807) visited White, the zoological portfolios alone had grown to 'ten volumes of birds and five of quadrupeds drawn large and painted in natural colours'.^{xxii} By his death in 1772, White would have 29 volumes holding almost 1500 images of flowers, fungi, birds, beasts, fish and reptiles. This was a substantial collection of original natural history works on paper. His friend Robert More, whose collection was sold at auction in 1780, had 'A Capital Collection of upwards of Eleven Hundred original Drawings of exotic and indigenous plants, fungesses, insects, quadrupeds, birds, and fish, by Ehret, Edwards, Albin, Collins, Paillou, Van Huysum &c.'. ^{xxiii} George Edwards believed he had 'more original Drawings of Birds from Nature, directly drawn by my own Hand, than any other Person in England has of their own performing ... I have about 500 particular and distinct Species of Birds and upwards of 100 other natural subjects'.^{xxiv} While the Edwards works were by a single hand, White's zoological collection boasted almost 950 drawings of birds and other subjects, almost all painted by the hands of two painters, Charles Collins and Peter Paillou. Not only was White's collection of natural history drawings substantial in number, it was also notable for the scale of the images. As Lalande noted, the birds and quadrupeds were drawn large. Each image is painted on good quality laid paper of uniform dimensions, measuring on average 39 by 55 cm. This is roughly the

same size as that used by Mark Catesby (1683-1749) for the first edition of *The natural history of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*, which was printed on sheets of Crown paper, approximately 38 by 52 cm. By way of comparison, many of George Edwards' watercolours in the Sloane collections are considerably smaller, painted on sheets that conform more closely to the size of the subsequent etchings in his books, which are published in quarto (23 x 29.2 cm).^{xxv} The watercolours in White's collection were also highly coloured - 'painted in natural colours'.^{xxvi} For many viewers who relied on the engraved plates in books, often sold uncoloured, or painted by indifferent colourists, these images were, as they are today, a revelation. Not only were they large and brightly painted, many of the birds and animals were also depicted 'size of life'. White kept the drawings loose in portfolios, so that they could be easily removed, and a viewer could compare relative sizes of hummingbirds and finches, parrots and macaws, or sort the images into groups according to contemporary classifications. White himself sorted and annotated his collection, working on it continuously for almost forty years until his death in 1772.^{xxvii} His obsessive practice owed much to the examples of members of the Royal Society and the shared enthusiasm of his fellow collectors.

THE REPOSITORY COMMITTEE

Did Taylor White already have an interest in collecting natural history drawings when he joined the Repository Committee of the Royal Society in March 1733?^{xxviii} He joined the Committee at a propitious time, when after years of neglect and thanks to the attention of Sir Hans Sloane, work had begun on a new catalogue, specimens had been sent out for restoration, cases repaired, and the repository room whitewashed.^{xxix} The Committee at this date met more or less weekly to examine the existing collections, and had a somewhat revolving attendance that included among others Mark Catesby, William Bogdani (1699-1771), Robert More, and Sir Joseph Ayloff (1708-81). In early May 1733, the members received an invitation from Sloane to visit his far vaster repository, 'in order to view the manner of the preserving and ranging of the severall [sic] sorts of Curiosities in his Collection, that they might the better judge what may be proper to be ordered in the Repository of the Royal Society'.^{xxx} They met at the President's house the following day. Sloane had amassed upward of 80,000 natural history specimens, as well as antiquities, over 23,000 coins and medals, and an enormous library of close to 50,000 printed books and manuscripts. He also had hundreds of original paintings of birds, fish, insects, mammals, snakes, and shells by European, Chinese and Indian artists, including Everhard Kickius (1636- after 1701), Nicolas Robert (1614-85) and Guillaume Toulouze (fl. 1665), as well as watercolours by contemporaries like George Edwards and Jacob van Huysum.^{xxxi}

Two weeks after the visit to Sloane, White, Ayloff, Bogdani and More examined 'the Books of the dried Plants' donated by the Society of Apothecaries in return for Sloane's gift of the Chelsea Physic Garden grounds in 1722.^{xxxii} Herbarium sheets were notoriously susceptible to damage. A rendering of a plant by a competent painter, however, could not only capture the character of the living plant but also represent its colour and habit of growth and was certainly easier to store and preserve than the fragile sheets.^{xxxiii} The Society already housed a collection of drawings, chiefly of items exhibited at the Society's meetings, and in its early deliberations, the Committee had noted it was 'reasonable that what shall be presented for the future and what

is here already not yet well figured by any author ought to be drawn.^{xxxiv} The examination of ‘the dried Plants’ and the visit to Sloane’s collection evidently renewed the discussion about ‘figures’ among the members of the Committee, particularly White, Ayloff, Bogdani and More.^{xxxv} A year after the visit to Sloane on 2 May 1734, Taylor White showed the Society a selection of plants painted by Jacob van Huysum, and proposed it as ‘a useful design to have the yearly collection of the Chelsea Garden Plants preserved in the like manner.’^{xxxvi} Van Huysum, who came from a family of Dutch flower painters, had left the Netherlands in 1721 and moved to England where he had begun a career as a botanical artist. White and the Committee members would have known his work from Martyn’s *Historia Plantarum Rariorum* (1728) and the Society of Gardeners’ *Catalogus Plantarum* (1730). They might also have viewed a set of lavish oil paintings - the *Twelve Months of Flowers* - painted by van Huysum in 1733, an evident advertisement of his skills.^{xxxvii} At the Council meeting two months later on 19 July, Sloane

spoke of Mr White's proposal of having Draughts made of the Plants in the Repository by the hand of Mr Van Huysen; and offered it as his opinion, that it might not be amiss to preserve copies of some of the rare or choicer Plants after this manner.^{xxxviii}

The Council adopted Taylor White’s recommendation, and ordered Philip Miller (1691-1771), Gardener for the Society of Apothecaries, to make a selection of rare plants from Chelsea to be captured on paper. Miller chose the succulent aloes, so hard to keep as dried specimens. The final drawings by van Huysum and Georg Ehret, who had recently arrived in London, were delivered by Miller in 1737; the bill was paid, but somewhat grudgingly, with the proviso that Miller ‘was desired not to proceed, except by Order of the Council for particular Non-descript Plants.’^{xxxix}

BUILDING A COLLECTION

White and his friends on the Repository Committee had evidently acquired a taste for collecting. Van Huysum was not only painting the aloes at Chelsea, he was busy with commissions for White, More and Ayloff. In June 1734 White wrote to Robert More that his collection of plants had increased greatly ‘both from seed and the plants that he bought in pots’; in time he says, he will become More’s rival if More ‘minds his weeds and neglects his plants.’^{xl} (A year later, White’s brother-in-law Sir John Heathcote wrote to More that ‘Mr Taylor is now gott much into your Hott house scheme.’^{xli}) In the same letter, White took the opportunity to boast to More that his portfolio of watercolours was already so full ‘it will hold no more drawings.’ White tells More that he is, however, hesitant to send More’s set of drawings to him at Shrewsbury, since until the seeds and seed vessels are added, they are imperfect - ‘There are indeed 2 pines and a fir which have the cones but they want the catkins.’ More had apparently requested not to send drawings of variegated flowers, but the ‘instruction came too late’ and van Huysum has painted some variegated roses, but they are so fine, White insists, More ‘will not repent the expense.’ He [White] will have them all, plus some ‘altheas and Ketmias’ (mallows and hibiscus). He will send More’s book of drawings to him, though he is ‘only vexed at the extravagance of the price.’ Six weeks later towards the end of July Philip Miller writes to More from Chelsea:

The Painter [van Huysum] applies himself closely to work at present. and generally makes 16 or 18 drawings a week, but M^r. White has permitted him to make one of each sort for S^r. Joseph Ayloff, so that the number for you and M^r. White is about 10 or 12 each week. but now he is beginning to put the Fruits to those drawings which were done in the Spring for which he is to be paid in proportion to the work there is in each. he has finished about 30 drawings since M^r. White left London for which I have paid him and is now at work upon three sorts more; he performs much better than when you was in Town
... ^{xlii}

In November 1735 White writes again to More at Shrewsbury. Now that he is back in London from the country, his first care will be to obey More's commands and see the effect of 'V. Huysens frolics'. In his absence van Huysum has done several drawings, 'most of them well', but he particularly wants More's opinion on 'Ehrett', whom he admires, notwithstanding the price of his drawings. Ehret has painted 'some of the granadilla kind which are undescrib'd with great beauty & exactness, but his price is great.'^{xliii}

White was one of Georg Ehret's first patrons in England. Ehret arrived in London in early 1735, then moved in 1736 to Holland to work with Linnaeus, returning to London toward the end of that year. Eventually Ehret would paint over 300 plants for White, and hundreds of additional works on paper and on vellum for More, Richard Mead, Hans Sloane, the Duchess of Portland and other patrons. In a letter dated only 'July 17' (but written likely in 1740 based on internal evidence), White writes that on arriving in Town from Nottingham in mid-July, he found More's letter. He will send More

by the Mondays carrier Ten Drawings of Collins. 12 of Ehret of Plants & 2 of Buterflyes on Vellum which I desire your opinion of as to the Manner & price they are not of the most beautifull flyers but what he happened to be doing for me. I shall enquire after ye Gull [? page torn] and the expense is as below.

	L	d.
12 Drawings of Ehret.	4.	4.
2 Ditto on Vellum_____	1.	1.
the vellum_____		4.
a book of Knaptons heads.		5.
	5.	14

White continues:

send me about a Score of your Drawings I would have the Vitis Idea fructu Ceruleo one, and the sorb I mentioned before. they are for Fanny to copy who now comes so near the originals that I am sure I could have deceived you by send[ing] some of hers instead of his & as I find him unwilling to lend me Drawings I am forced to trouble you for fear of her losing an opportunity of perfecting her self.^{xliv}

White had married Frances Armstrong in September 1739, and she was evidently an accomplished amateur. Copying was part of training, but making multiples of original drawings for sale was also an important part of professional practice, so that Ehret's reluctance to provide original drawings to a competent copyist was perhaps understandable.^{xliv} Fanny White and her daughter Frances would go on to prepare paintings in feathers, as prescribed by George Edwards in the second volume of his *Natural History*: 'For the Amusement of the Curious of either Sex, and to fulfil a Promise to some particular Ladies, I have here inserted a Receipt of the Manner of making Pictures of Birds with their Natural Feathers'.^{xlvi}

By 1740 White had also begun to study botany. He wrote to More: 'I wish you would not think me so incurious in Botany I am beginning to study it a little more than I have done.'^{xlvii} White's training as a lawyer gave him an excellent knowledge of Latin, and his familiarity with contemporary botanical literature is evident in the sources he quotes in his paper on the classification of cinnamon (read to the Society on 21 December 1758).^{xlvi} It is also evident in the reported annotations on his botanical drawing collection. Quaritch's 1927 catalogue describes Lot 216 as 'A superb collection of the highest botanical importance. Each drawing has a Latin inscription and in most cases references are made to the early and contemporary botanical works of Dodoens, Parkinson, Rumphius, Rheede van Draakenstein, Matthiolus, Miller, etc.' While it cannot be determined with certainty that White made these annotations, his practice of inscriptions on the zoological watercolours would suggest that he also wrote his identifications and references directly on the botanical drawings.

PATRONAGE AND 'PROPER PAINTERS'

At the same time as he was delighting in Van Huysum's 'frolics', White was also beginning to expand his interests in natural history. In January 1734/35, he presented to the Society a watercolour of a long-tailed hummingbird painted by George Edwards, after a specimen from Black River, Jamaica, contributed to the Society the previous November by the astronomer Colin Campbell (d. 1752).^{xlix} In the White collection at McGill is another painting of hummingbirds by Edwards, also likely painted in 1734, depicting four species of hummingbird as well as two butterflies. On the verso, White pencilled:

1. The Hummingbird from Carolina the Cock & Hen & nest; 2. The Long-tailed Humming Bird from Jamaica cock & hen given to the Royal Society by Campbel; 3. A humming bird of Mine; 4. One of Sir Hans Sloanes'.^l

The Edwards composite is among the earliest drawings in the White archive at McGill and one of only five attributed to Edwards. In March 1736, John Byrom recorded a visit White and he made to Edwards at the Royal College of Physicians, where the latter was employed by Sloane as librarian and artist.^{li} The relationship between Edwards and his patron Sloane may have inspired White, for in that same year he engaged the Irish artist Charles Collins to paint birds.

Charles Collins had trained as a still life painter in Ireland and moved to England perhaps as early as 1730.^{lii} Two years later he was painting the fruits (to designs by Pieter Casteels) for

Robert Furber's *Twelve Months of Fruit* (1732). In September 1736 Collins announced his own publishing venture with the naturalist and collector John Lee of Essex, to produce 'a Collection of the small Birds that are to be met with in this Kingdom.' He advised potential subscribers that while there had been a great many prints of Foreign Birds publish'd, ... very little Notice has been taken of our own, which are a great Number, and of great Variety of Colours ...'. (Pieter Casteels had published a popular portfolio of engravings of 'foreign' birds in 1726.) Collins assured subscribers that the birds would not only be well drawn but would also be 'coloured to the greatest Exactness'.^{liii} It was likely the publication of *Icones Avium, cum nominibus anglicis* that brought Collins to White's attention. Over the next seven years Collins would paint for White almost 200 watercolours of birds, from domestic species to exotics, as well as a few mammals. Like van Huysum and Ehret, Collins did not work exclusively for White. In his July 17 letter to More, White writes '... you see I don't mention Collins, because you desired to keep that acc[oun]t your self.' Taylor White may, however, have been the artist's most exigent employer. Collins writes to More in July 1742 in a rather plaintive tone:

I beg pardon for giving you this trouble but if you please to send me the size of the Picture for the grouse[e] I shall be very much Oblige to you. for M^r. White has askd me severall times why I did not begin it. for he wants to se[e] it ...

PS. I shall in a few days send you some more drawings. and a drawing of a beast called the tyger Catt I will not fail of collecting as many of the beast as I can.^{liv}



Figure 2: Charles Collins, 'The Tyger Cat' (Ocelot, *Leopardus tigrinus*), watercolour on paper, May 1742. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 084. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library

Collins died in early 1744, described in the March 1744 notice of an auction of his works as 'the late Ingenious Mr. Charles Collins, Bird-Painter to the *Royal Society*'.^{lv} By then White had already retained the services of another painter. Peter Paillou represents the next generation of natural history artists. Member of a Huguenot family that had emigrated to London in the seventeenth century, he became a well-respected painter and a member of the Society of Artists, working not only for White, but also for More, Banks and Pennant. There are 138 signed works by Paillou in the White collection, but it is evident on stylistic grounds that the majority of the remaining birds and mammals (over 500) are by this artist.^{lvi} The earliest signed work dates possibly to January 1744, and the last to 1771.

With the engagement of first Collins and then Paillou, White moved from being a collector of pictures to acting as a patron.^{lvii} As a patron commissioning works, White could demand that his artists paint particular subjects, and to his specifications. That he was a demanding employer is evident in Collins' note to More - White asks several times why Collins has not begun the painting of the grouse, as he wants to see it, to ensure that it has been painted as he has specified, and perhaps to compare this image to the other paintings of grouse that Collins has already painted for him.^{lviii} In his article on the Cinnamon in *Philosophical Transactions*, White notes in passing that in 1755, he attempted to establish 'a society for the carrying on a General Natural History, to try proper experiments, and to employ proper painters and engravers suitable to the importance of the subject ...'.^{lix} In this he was unsuccessful, but his insistence on 'proper painters and engravers' reveals not only the extent to which he considered images important to the study of natural history, but also the significance of the artists' skill and its relationship to the utility of the painted representation to the practicing naturalist. When he first began to commission works in the early 1730s, he could look for examples to the recent printed illustrations of plants by van Huysum for Martyn's 1730 *Historia plantarum rariorum* and to those of birds and plants by his colleague Mark Catesby, who issued the first five parts of his first volume of *The Natural History of Carolina* ... between 1729 and 1732. In Sloane's collection, he would have seen how life-like the birds painted by Guillaume Toulouze and Nicolas Robert were in comparison to the uncoloured illustrations in Willughby's *Ornithology*. Working with van Huysum and particularly Ehret on the Royal Society project would also have acquainted him with the principles of botanical draftsmanship that Ehret had begun to absorb from the botanist Christoph Jacob Trew (1695-1769). Trew had begun Ehret's botanical education in 1733, and Linnaeus continued it when Ehret returned to Europe in 1736. We can also assume that White had the benefit of conversations with Mark Catesby, who was a member of the Repository Committee, and with Catesby's fellow painter George Edwards, from whom White would acquire his first watercolour of birds.

PAINTING NATURAL HISTORY

What did White demand of his ‘proper painters’? Kärin Nickelsen has described the detailed instructions that Christoph Jacob Trew (1695-1769) provided to the artists like Ehret with whom he worked on his botanical publications:

Trew not only had very set ideas of what a picture should look like if it were to satisfy his demands, he was also very clear on the different roles of the draughtsman and the botanist. Purely aesthetic questions, such as the design of the background, Trew left largely to Ehret’s discretion, merely proposing that a contrasting colour would make the illustration clearer. The way the plant was represented, however, was entirely up to the botanist: details of the fruit and seeds had to be integrated, since they revealed the essential characters of the species. Furthermore, each species was to be drawn on an individual sheet of paper; only when there were just variations in the colour of the flowers was it acceptable to place two small plants together.^{lx}

Unfortunately, the correspondence between White and the artists he commissioned is thin, but it is clear from the remarkable consistency of the works in his collection that he also had set ideas on how a bird or animal should be painted. With the exception of the Edwards composite drawing of hummingbirds acquired early in his collecting, each sheet in White’s collection shows a single animal, or in the case of some birds, a male and female, depicted according to the natural history conventions of the day. Birds are presented in profile, on twigs or against suitable backgrounds, sometimes in flight; animals are shown mostly in profile and occasionally in three-quarter view, posed on a patch of ground, or in the case of deer, against generic mountain backgrounds. White likely instructed his artists to paint, as Mark Catesby had recommended, ‘in a Flat, tho’ exact manner’.^{lxi} The large format paper he specified also enabled the artists to paint a subject, where possible, ‘size of life’, an annotation White makes frequently on the works themselves. When an animal or bird was too big to fit on a page, the artists would sometimes include a ‘size as’ outline sketch in pencil of the head or a portion of the body on the verso. White or his artists would also note specific measurements (if the living animal was tractable). On the verso of the watercolour of the White Stork (*Ciconia ciconia*), for example, White wrote: ‘The White heron. Or Stork as it was called at the D[uke] of Cumberland’s/ length of the Bill 8 inches/ from the pinion of the end of the flight 23 in/ length of the leg from the joint of the knee 10 Inches/ to the end of the Claws 13 inches/ length of Thigh is 10 inches’. In the case of the larger mammals like deer or buffalo, White compared them to familiar species (‘the size of a large Ox’, he notes on the Zebu - *Bos taurus (indicus)*). He also included measurements of exceptionally small mammals, whose resemblance to larger species might be confusing, as in the case of another Zebu breed, the ‘Smal Chinese buffalo’ (‘*Bubalus Orientalis*’).^{lxii}

White also demanded that the artists draw from a living animal, a mounted specimen, or a skin.^{lxiii} His jottings in pencil on the back of paintings and his catalogue notes detail how and where he acquired his specimens, and sometimes reveal surprising connections and unexpected sources. White himself kept a variety of live birds that became ‘sitters’ for artists. George Edwards, who relied on the specimens of myriad collectors, thanked ‘the obliging and curious Taylor White, Esq; of Lincoln’s Inn’ for favouring him with the sight of the ‘Malacca Gros-

beak' and 'the Jacarini' - 'The first was a dried specimen, ... The second bird was living in a cage, which I could not have home with me ...'.^{lxiv} In his own notes, White recorded that he kept his Jacarini 'alive a Considerable time', but that 'the seller did not know from whence it came'.^{lxv}



Figure 3: Peter Paillou, 'The Steel Bird' (*Volatinia jacarina*), watercolour on paper, n.d. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 638. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library; George Edwards, 'The Malacca Gros-beak, the Jacarini, and the Small Yellow Butterfly.' Pl. 306 in *Gleanings of Natural History*, Pt 2 (London, 1760). Taylor White noted 'The remarkable characteristic of this bird is that the tail is shaped like a fan narrow next the Body & spread into a fan like shape at the other End this I have not seen in any other Bird.' The shape of the tail is more naturally depicted in Paillou's drawing than in that of Edwards.

White likely acquired live birds from London animal dealers like Michael Bland at Tower Dock, or Brooke's Menagerie, a short walk from the Foundling Hospital. He also received gifts of living animals directly from a network of contacts who knew of his interests. On the verso of the drawing of a 'lanner' that 'lived in London all the hard Winter, 1739', he wrote, 'A falcon which was given me by the Hudson bay Company it settled on a ship of theirs 360 Leagues distant from the nearest Land which was the north of Ireland'.^{lxvi} On the verso of a watercolour of the Nicobar Pigeon painted by Collins in April 1740, White has noted 'The Pigeon from Pegu' came from Hans Sloane and was also 'kept long alive', whether by Sloane or White is unclear.^{lxvii} The Levant merchant James Fremeaux (1704-99) presented White in 1770 with a pair of angora goats brought from Smyrna to Hackney. (White recorded their behaviour: 'It was remarkable that one of the Beasts I kept died the other stood over it till it died also. I thought with no other Distemper then greif [sic]. which I have also observe to have happened to some birds.'^{lxviii}) White's family

connections also gave his artists access to animals in private collections.^{lxi} His sister Bridget, married to Sir John Heathcote, a governor of the East India Company, had a Golden pheasant, painted by Collins (and also by Edwards). His father-in-law, General John Armstrong (1674-1742), the Chief Royal Engineer, resided at the Tower where White's artists painted both mammals and birds in the Royal Menagerie.^{lxx} White's membership in the Royal Society may have also facilitated access to aristocratic collectors. In the 1760s, Paillou drew a deer, lions, a leopard, a jackal, and a lemur from the menagerie of the Duke of Cumberland at Windsor Forest.^{lxxi} In 1767 Paillou also painted a tiger, zebra, a pair of nilgai, a ram and several deer, owned by Lord Clive (1725-74) - 'This Deer was brought from Benghall by Ld Clive in the year 1767, & bred in his park at Greenwich.'^{lxxii} Paillou might have been sent as well to the residence of the Duke of Richmond (1701-50) to paint his goldfish, swimming in a blue-and-white porcelain bowl.^{lxxiii}



Figure 4: Attributed to Peter Paillou, 'The Gold Fish' (*Carassius auratus*), watercolour on paper, n.d. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 937. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library

White also possessed skins and dried specimens. Country born and bred, he seemed to have been a handy shot.^{lxxiv} He records the following specimens - and their local names - all taken in 1738: 'The Greater Crested or Horned Doucker W. 340. This Bird was shot in Shropshire at a lake called Aquilet Meier. I think there called Adam & Eve'; 'The Greatest Speckled Diver or Loon ... NB I shot this bird in the fens in lincolnshire'; 'The Avosetta of the Italians Recurvirostra W. 321. We shot these birds at Lynn in Norfolk where they were called Shoing Horns and John Barkers'.^{lxxv} His friends also dispatched specimens to London. A 'Speckled Cormorant' was 'sent me from Lincolnshire where it settled on the Ground in a severe Winter and could not raise it self from the ground'.^{lxxvi} The cock and hen cold finches (*Ficedula hypoleuca*, Item 691) that Collins painted in 1740, were 'procur'd ... from the *Peak* in *Derbyshire*' according to Edwards, who painted the same pair.^{lxxvii} The British Museum also provided White with loans of skins and specimens for study and depiction.^{lxxviii} Some of his more exotic acquisitions came through William Harrison (1728-1815), son of the celebrated John Harrison (1693-1776), inventor of the naval chronometer. White helped organize the Royal Society's support for Harrison's 1761 voyage to Jamaica to test the timekeeper, and in 1763 the Harrisons also turned to White for assistance in preparing a brief to Parliament, in order to receive compensation for their invention.^{lxxix} Despite White's efforts, William Harrison was forced to make a second trial in 1764, sailing with the timekeeper to Barbados. While undoubtedly frustrating for Harrison, the voyage resulted in brilliant new specimens for White's collection, including five toucans. In his catalogue note to Paillou's drawing of the 'Red-billed toucan', White wrote: 'These Birds came from the Islands called the Grenades & were brought me by Mr Wm Harrison with many others in [the] year 1764 when he returned from Barbadoes after the trial of his time keeper for the discovery of the Longitude'.^{lxxx} The naval vessel *Tartar* on which Harrison sailed also spent several months in Jamaica, and three months in Pensacola, the origin of White's specimen of the Red-rumped Cacique (*Cacicus haemorrhous*). While there is no record in any of the journals or logs of specimen collecting, White records at least seventeen birds from the Grenadines, Pensacola or Barbados.^{lxxxi} White also received numerous specimens from Joseph Banks, who sailed to Newfoundland and Labrador in 1766. Averil Lysaght has written extensively about this voyage, uncovering the connections between Banks and White, whose families lived near each other in the country.^{lxxxii} In addition to the Newfoundland birds, Banks gave other specimens to White, including a Cotinga from Brazil that Banks may have acquired in Lisbon on the voyage home, and the skin of 'The Great American Penguin'.^{lxxxiii}

White's insistence on his artists' painting from life also meant that he rarely borrowed drawings from other collectors for copying, but he made an exception for the Dutch naturalist Joan Gideon Loten (1710-89). White (and other naturalists like Banks and Pennant) consulted the collection of pictures painted by Cornelius de Bevere (1722- c.1781), made for Loten when he was Governor of Zeylan (Sri Lanka).^{lxxxiv} White wrote in the note to the 'Cinglose Walmica' that 'This Drawing was copied from one of Mr Loton who was Governor of Ceylon ... from the authority of this Curious observer and the Difficulty of Procuring the Original I have given it a place in this Collection'.^{lxxxv} White waived his insistence on a life drawing of an 'Original' due to his trust in both Loten and his artist.



Figure 5: Peter Paillou, after Cornelius de Bevere, 'The Cinglose Walmica' (Indian Spotted Chevrotain, *Moschiola meminna*), watercolour on paper, after 1759. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 152. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library

CONSULTING THE PORTFOLIOS

By the 1750s White's curious collection had become well enough known to be on the itinerary for visiting scientists like Dezallier d'Argenville, and later for Jérôme Lalande. It had also become a reference collection for White's friends and colleagues. George Edwards, for example, visited White to examine his drawing of a bittern. Edwards had drawn a Little Brown Bittern 'brought from Aleppo by Dr Russel, who gave me liberty to make a drawing of it', and on the same plate had added an inset drawing of a similar bird 'from Dr. Shaw's print, and coloured from his description ... in his Travels in Barbary and the Levant, pa. 255.' Edwards compared Shaw's bittern with a drawing in White's collection: 'Taylor White, Esq; shewed me the drawing of a Bird agreeing very nearly with what Dr. Shaw has figured and described, having the top of the head black; which Bird, I think he told me, was shot in Wales.'^{lxxxvi} There is also an intriguing reference in the Banks correspondence to a 'Mr. White' who called upon Banks at Thomas Pennant's request, and left with Banks 'some Specimens of Birds one of which M: Atricapilla I had not seen the others M : Trochilus & M : Montifringilla'. Banks wrote that he intended 'tomorrow to Call upon him at Horaces head & hold Ornithological Converse.' It has been assumed that this was Gilbert White (1720-93), but on evidence of the birds mentioned (paintings of which are in the White collection), it is more likely Taylor White who would meet Banks at Benjamin White's bookstore at Horace's Head, either carrying the specimens or the paintings.^{lxxxvii} Thomas Pennant also used White's collection. He notes in *Arctic Zoology* that he had discovered the Corsac Fox 'among the drawings of the late Taylor White Esq; who informed me that it came from North America, I imagine, from Hudson's Bay.'^{lxxxviii} Pennant also says in *British Zoology* that he found a Spotted Redshank in the collection of Taylor White, Esq. though it is not clear if he is referring to a specimen or a drawing.^{lxxxix} This referencing of specimens to image or image to image was also part of Taylor White's own practice of natural history. Tucked among the leaves of White's manuscript catalogue is a small folded note, addressed 'To Taylor White Esq at the Foundling Hospital': 'Mr Pennant presents his compliments to Mr White & acquaints him that the Falcon in the Falco peregrinus familia vide Fal 24 of an Italian work now at Mr White's Bookseller Fleetstreet. Monday morning.'^{xc} The Italian work that Pennant browsed at Benjamin White's bookstore was Saverio Manetti's (1723-85) *Ornithologia methodice digesta, atque iconibus aeneis ad vivum illuminatis ornata*, the first volume published in Florence in 1767.^{xc} Did White make his way that afternoon to examine the recently published work? Did he bring with him the watercolour of the Peregrine Falcon, painted by Paillou? And did he confirm his own identification, thanks to comparison with the coloured engraving of the bird on plate XXIV in Manetti?

Like other naturalists of the period, White also relied on authoritative textual descriptions to identify specimens. His first resource for birds was Willughby's *Ornithology* (1678) which he cited on the verso of the watercolours as 'W.', followed by the page number on which the description of the bird appeared. Céline Stantina notes in her article on White's work on classification that he turned to Linnaeus as a reference for identification of birds and mammals following the publication of the tenth edition of *Systema naturae* in 1758.^{xcii} His note on the Angora sheep he acquired from Smyrna provides a glimpse of this practice. He writes that the drawing by Paillou is so accurate that it matched the description in Linnaeus' *Systema naturae* (12th edition, 1766): 'Mammalia Pecora Capra No 14. Angorensis ... L.S.N. ed. 12. p. 95. ... The Drawing is so exact and agrees so well with the above description of Linaeus [sic] that it is

not to be doubted but it is the animal he intended to describe ...'.^{xciii} One can see his frustration, however, in his efforts to identify the Harlequin Duck (*Histrionicus histrionicus*). Collins painted a specimen from the collections at the Tower in January 1741.



Figure 6: Charles Collins, 'The Harlequin Duck' (*Histrionicus histrionicus*, male), watercolour on paper, January 1741. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 885. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library

White noted on the verso, 'This from Newfoundland the label was wrote in Lond. This bird is undescribed unless 'tis the Scaup W[illughby]. 365 & that description is too imperfect to form a judgment from.' Almost twenty years later, when White had access to the tenth edition of *Systema naturae*, he was able to identify the duck correctly in his catalogue note as '*Anas histrionica*'.^{xciv} White usually copied a description from Linnaeus word for word, but he sometimes added his own direct observations, based on both specimen and image. To the *Systema naturae* (1766) description of *Simia paniseus*, he added in English, 'That which I saw was wholly [sic] black as in the Drawing'.^{xcv} When he could find no apt description in a published text, he was confident enough in his observation of the specimen or the accuracy of the drawing to write his own description and name a new species. For example, he created a ninth species in the Linnaean genus *Pelecanus* and called his specimen *Maculata*, or spotted, and asserted that 'It is a species intirely diferent from any described by Lineus [sic], & not a variety arising from age or sex.' In this he was incorrect. White was aware of sex-specific plumage in birds, but like many naturalists who had limited opportunity to observe birds in the field, he had

difficulty in identifying juvenile birds.^{xcvi} The ‘*Pelecanus maculata*’ or ‘Specled Cormorant’ was an immature European Shag (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*). The watercolour by Collins includes on the verso a pencil sketch of the head and body, life-size.^{xcvii}



Figure 7: Charles Collins, recto: ‘*Pelecanus maculata*’ (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*), watercolour on paper, December 1742; verso: sketch, pencil on paper. Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 846. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library

The Collins watercolour of the immature Shag was an accurate rendition of the specimen, but a drawing could also be misleading. In the summer of 1771, White borrowed specimens from the British Museum, including a Harrier that Paillou painted in July, and two ‘shearwaters’, the watercolours also attributed to Paillou. White puzzled over the classification of these two birds, relying again on *Systema naturae* (1766). From the beak shape, which Linnaeus considered diagnostic, the two birds were evidently ‘Ryncops’ (*Rostrum mandibula superiore brevior* – ‘The upper mandible of the beak is shorter’), but the second bird differed substantially from the first. The first, identified on the verso of the drawing in Paillou’s writing as ‘The Cut Water / Le Bec en Ciseaux’ (Black skimmer), was undoubtedly the *Rynchops nigricans* of Linnaeus, the other, with a similar bill, was odd: ‘This Bird & the Preceding I had from the British musaeum, its size shape & colour differ so much from the former That I concluded it must be a diferent species.’^{xcviii} He named it ‘*Rhynchops minor*’. He was correct in assuming these were not the same species, but incorrect in creating a new species of *Rhynchops*. The second bird was likely an imperfect rendering by Paillou of what must have been an imperfect specimen of a juvenile Auk (*Alca torda*), the lower bill uncharacteristically protruding.

‘THE OBLIGING AND CURIOUS TAYLOR WHITE’

White’s work on his collection was a lifelong preoccupation. As can be seen in the example of the ‘shearwaters’, White was at work annotating, re-arranging and classifying the collection almost up until his death in spring 1772. This work of assembling paintings and ordering illustrations was the way in which White attempted to understand natural order.^{xcix} The paintings were the raw materials for classification. Despite the oft quoted comment by Linnaeus concerning the inadvisability of using illustrations in classification, Isabelle Charmantier has shown the importance of illustrations and drawings in his identifications and descriptions.^c (He particularly appreciated the work of Ehret, whose images papered his room in Uppsala.) Unlike the illustrations prepared by the botanical illustrators, however, which delineated the ‘model’ of the plant and included not only flowers but fruits and other details, plates of birds and mammals usually showed only a single aspect of a specimen.^{ci} Often neither artists nor naturalists could determine with certainty if the specimen were male or female, juvenile or adult, in or out of breeding plumage, or a regional variety, which contributed to errors of identification. These images nevertheless provided naturalists with sometimes their only view of a new animal or bird. Linnaeus seemed particularly fulsome in his praise of Edwards. In 1758, he wrote to the artist, ‘Nothing can more conduce to the advancement of solid natural knowledge, than such beautiful and excellent figures, accompanied by such exact descriptions.’ Several years later, he wrote again to congratulate him

on the acquisition of such beautiful and innumerable rare birds, beyond what any other person has seen, or is likely to meet with; still less is any other hand likely to equal your representations, in which nothing is wanting to the birds but their song.^{cii}

Linnaeus often cited an illustration by Edwards in his species descriptions (see, for example, *Histrionicus histrionicus*, ‘Anas 30’ in *Systema naturae* (1758), where Linnaeus includes the reference ‘*Edw. av. 99. / 99.*’).^{ciii} Edwards was not, however, always a reliable source, since his original specimens were sometimes damaged or occasionally poorly rendered in the etchings.^{civ}

Edwards himself did not publish his illustrations in systematic order.^{cv} By the 1760s, however, White was organizing his portfolios after the Linnaean system. For example, in his notes on the *Simia* (Volume 1 in the Mammals), he includes a page listing the four genera in the Order Primates and identifies the eighteen drawings of *Simia* by their Linnaean names (half of the Linnaean species) in the *Systema naturae* (1766). He also includes a note describing all six species of *Vespertilio* (Bats), despite the lack of any illustrations of bats in his collection, an indication perhaps of aspiration to provide images of all known species. As he confided to Daniel Solander (1733-82) at a meeting of the Royal Society in 1762, White himself hoped to publish ‘his figures in a Systematic Order’ but he evidently failed to find financial support.^{cvi} It would seem, however, that he continued to share his original drawings with his colleagues for reference or even publication. Among the watercolours by Peter Paillou in the Banks portfolios at the British Museum are a number that look like they were made for White, on similar size paper and with measured pencil sketches on the versos. Did White lend these to his good friend Mr. Banks, or were these duplicates executed by Paillou? At some point White must have lent

the ‘Painted stork’ (*Mycteria leucocephala*), probably to Pennant, to be engraved or copied, as the sheet has been folded and the drawing gridded in pencil.^{cvii}

White’s curious collection continued to be appreciated by younger naturalists, who were not only viewers of images but also observers of the natural world. Gilbert White wrote in 1770 to his friend Daines Barrington (1727/28-1800), who sat with White on the Chester bench, requesting that Barrington arrange a visit to White’s museum: ‘The Collection of Taylor White Esq^r is often mentioned as curious in birds, etc.: can't I be introduced when in town, and see this Museum of my namesake’s?’^{cviii} But by 1770, after the death of his elder brother in 1768, Taylor White and his portfolios had moved to the White family seat at Wallingwells. White died at Bath taking the waters in March 1772, and his portfolios and notes were put away for over 150 years until Dr Casey Wood acquired them in 1927. They are well worth close reading for what they tell us about the practice of eighteenth-century natural history and the life and work of a curious lawyer and naturalist.

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NOTES

ⁱ In the 1926 Sotheby's sale catalogue, White's collection (Lot 657A) is described as 'A Magnificent Collection of Fourteen Hundred and Sixty-Two Original Water-Colour Drawings of Natural History Subjects'. These included besides the birds and animals, '495 drawings of flowers and insects, including 190 by J. Van Huysum, *signed, some on vellum*, the others by G.D. Ehret, of Flowers, Fruit, Dragonflies, and Butterflies ...'. Transcript of Sotheby's Catalogue, British Library, courtesy of Felicity Roberts.

ⁱⁱ Unfortunately, Wood did not purchase the botanical drawings, also acquired by Quaritch at the Sotheby's auction, and not yet located for study.

ⁱⁱⁱ The White collection at McGill was made available online in 2019; see <https://archivalcollections.library.mcgill.ca/index.php/taylor-white-collection>. For further exploration, see the Taylor White Project website: <https://taylor-white.library.mcgill.ca/?p=2103>. See also Céline Stantina, 'Le musée du papier de Taylor White' in *Espèces, Revue d'histoire naturelle*, 37, 60-66 (sept-nov 2020).

^{iv} Céline Stantina and Emilienne Greenfield also explored further White's classification work and his note-taking practices. See Céline Stantina 'Taylor White's paper museum (1725-72): Understanding the scientific work of an unpublished naturalist' (published ahead of print, 2021), *Notes Rec.*

(<http://doi.org/10.1098/rsnr.2020.0069>); Emilienne Greenfield, 'The practice of note-taking in Taylor White's natural history collection' (published ahead of print, 2021), *Notes Rec.* (<http://doi.org/10.1098/rsnr.2020.0067>).

^v White began his legal career by riding the circuit to attend the assizes. The most rigorous, in terms of distance and extremes of climate, was the Northern circuit, which always took in York and Lancaster and extended to Durham and Carlisle in the summer, at least a 650-mile round trip from London, and aptly called 'The Long Circuit'. See the description in David Lemmings, *Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (2000) (DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198207214.001.0001).

^{vi} Averil Lysaght, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766: His Dairy, Manuscripts and Collection* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971). White's collection was mentioned by Christine Jackson in *Bird etchings: the illustrators and their books, 1655-1855*. (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1985), and by David Allen in *Books and Naturalists* (Collins, London, 2010). Victoria Dickenson included some White collection images in *Drawn from Life. Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (UTP, Toronto, 1998).

^{vii} White became acquainted with Thomas Coram, the founder of the Hospital, through his work with the Georgia Trustees. He was one of Thomas Coram's pallbearers in 1751.

^{viii} 'News', *London Evening Post*, March 9, 1751 - March 12, 1751. *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, link-gale-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/apps/doc/Z2000654314/BBCN?u=crepuq_mcgill&sid=BBCN&xid=bb4e82c1 (accessed 18 April, 2021).

^{ix} 'He would never accept any emolument for his services to the hospital, lest, as he said, it should afterwards induce the appointment of a person more studious of his own profit than of the welfare of the charity.' Rev. William Betham, *The Baronetage of England* (Printed for E. Lloyd, London, 1805) vol. 5, pp. 501-2. See also David S. Allin, *Taylor White (1701-1772); Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital (1746-1772)* (Published by the Author, London, 2019) p. 82.

^x In a letter to his daughter Anne in 1768, White makes a somewhat poignant observation: 'I went to Mr More in the evening but did not see his Lady they say she is an agreeable sensible woman abt 40 yrs old and will bring him upwards of 50,000 pds, he looks quite well has recovered all complaints and is a proof what good is to be expected from a wife.' Fanny had died in 1763. Mary H. Towry White, *Memoirs of the House of White of Wallingwells and of its Collateral Branches* (Printed for Private Circulation, 1880) p. 37. The family history has been updated by Christopher White in 2018.

^{xi} Their election at such young ages, while not unheard of, might imply some interest in the Society's pursuits, though as Maurice Crosland points out, at this period an interest in science was not required. Maurice Crosland, 'Explicit Qualifications as a Criterion for Membership of the Royal Society: A Historical Review' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, **37** (2) 167–87 (1983) at p. 167.

^{xii} Taylor White is elected on 29 August. Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society, 29 August 1725. GB 117 The Royal Society Ref. No CMO/2/322.

^{xiii} Sloane was President from 1727 to 1741, and Banks from 1778 to 1839.

^{xiv} Taylor White and Combes Thomas 'CXVI. A discourse on the cinnamon, cassia, or canella' *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* **50**, 860–76 (1757).

^{xv} White was likely a Dissenter, like his elder brother. John Byrom, *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, 2 vols (Printed for the Chetham Society, 1856) vol. 2, pt 1.

^{xvi} Author's translation of 'une des plus curieuses de Londres pour le beau choix des coquilles, des insectes, des oiseaux, des poissons & des plantes, rangées en huit volumes in-folio.' A. Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *La conchyliologie, ou histoire naturelle des coquilles de mer, d'eau douce, terrestres et fossiles: avec un traité de la zoomorphose, ou représentation des animaux que les habitent* Troisième édition ... (Chez Guillaume de Bure fils aîné, Paris, 1780) p. 324. Available from: Biodiversity Library (accessed 31 October 2020).

^{xvii} The physician Richard Mead (1673–1754), for example, while best known for his collections of books, art, and antiquities, also possessed a miscellaneous assortment of fossils, scientific instruments, anatomical specimens and curiosities, as well as more than 200 paintings of plants and insects by Ehret. With White, Mead was one of Ehret's first patrons in England.

^{xviii} The coins were stolen from White's house in Lincoln's Inn in 1744 but eventually recovered. The theft and recovery of the coins is documented in the record of a trial at the Old Bailey, which makes fascinating reading: H[arrison, J]ohn], Theft: theft from a specified place, 10th May 1744; Reference Number - t17440510-32. <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=17440510> (accessed 4 September 2020).

^{xix} See 'Advertisements and Notices', *Public Advertiser*, 3 December 1774. *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, link-gale-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/apps/doc/Z2001151842/BBCN?u=crepuq_mcgill&sid=BBCN&xid=a1cae4aa (accessed 26 March 2021). Most of the works were bought by Philip Joseph Tassaert (1736–1803), an artist who was employed by James Christie to catalogue and value pictures, and likely exhibited in Tassaert's museum that opened in the Strand exhibition room on 15 April 1777. List of White works at auction courtesy of the Getty Provenance Index Database.

^{xx} David Allin emphasizes White's role in creating the Hospital collection. Allin, *Taylor White*, p. 25.

^{xxi} Christopher White, a descendant of Taylor White, was kind enough to search family records for additional materials on his ancestor. There are a number of portraits but unfortunately few documents.

^{xxii} Jérôme Lalande, 'Diary of a Trip to England 1763', Translated from the original manuscript by Richard Watkins (Kingston, Tasmania, Australia. Published by Richard Watkins 2002, 2014) p. 21. <http://www.watkinsr.id.au/Lalande.pdf> (accessed 31 October 2020).

^{xxiii} 'Advertisements and Notices', *Morning Post*, 18 April 1780. *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, link-gale-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/apps/doc/Z2000943051/BBCN?u=crepuq_mcgill&sid=BBCN&xid=2b22bd dc (accessed 1 April 2021).

^{xxiv} Edwards in *Gleanings*, Quoted in Arthur Macgregor, 'Patrons and collectors: contributors of zoological subjects to the works of George Edwards (1694–1773)' *Journal of the History of Collections*, **26**, 1, 35–44, (2014) at p. 41 (<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fht023>).

^{xxv} Drayton Hall in Charleston, North Carolina (National Trust for Historic Preservation) holds a portfolio of Edwards original watercolours dated 1733. They are painted in watercolours on laid paper,

approximately 22 x 27 cm (8.75 x 10.5 in.). See <https://www.draytonhall.org/george-edwards-watercolors-gibbes/> (accessed 30 April 2021).

^{xxvi} See the discussion on natural colours in Dickenson and Garland, See article by Dickenson and Garland, *Notes Rec. R. Soc. Lond.* **75** (4) (December 2021) (<https://doi.org/10.1098/rsnr.2021.0020>).

^{xxvii} White spent upwards of the equivalent of 305,000 pounds on his collections, based on analysis of costs per painting noted in his letters and the account book of Peter Paillou.

^{xxviii} There is a tantalizing entry in the subscriber list to Furber's *Twelve Months of Flowers* (1730) for a 'Mrs White'. This might be Taylor White's first wife, Anne Errington, who died in October 1730, or perhaps White's mother Bridget, who died in 1761.

^{xxix} When the Committee was re-established in 1729, the collections were in a sad state, and the condition of the Repository was viewed by some contemporary critics as evidence of the Society's decline. See discussion in Jennifer Thomas, 'Compiling "God's Great Book [of] Universal Nature": the Royal Society's collecting strategies' *Journal of the History of Collections*, **23**, (1), 1–13 (May 2011) (<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhq013>).

^{xxx} Minutes of a meeting of the Repository Committee of the Royal Society, 8 May 1733, GB 117 The Royal Society, Ref No CMB/63/60.

^{xxxi} Kim Sloan, 'Sir Hans Sloane's Pictures: The Science of Connoisseurship or the Art of Collecting?' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, **78** (2) 381–415 (2015) at pp. 401–2. See also K. Sloane and Julianne Nyhan, 'Enlightenment architectures. The reconstruction of Sir Hans Sloane's cabinets of "Miscellanies"' *Journal of the History of Collections* (20001205), at p. 3 (doi:10.1093/jhc/fhaa034). My thanks to Kim Sloan for her guidance and assistance in arranging for me to view the Sloane albums in the British Museum and in the British Library. Sloane's albums in the British Library include many small drawings glued onto the pages, often with notes added on or below the drawings, as well as letters from artists or collectors bound into the volume.

^{xxxii} Minutes of a meeting of the Repository Committee of the Royal Society, 25 May 1733 GB 117 The Royal Society, Ref No CMB/63/65.

^{xxxiii} Kärin Nickelson notes that the botanist Johann Simon Kerner stressed the longevity of printed illustrations over the herbarium, which he said 'is doomed to fall apart eventually'. 'Image and nature', in H. Curry, N. Jardine, J. Secord, & E. Spary (Eds.), *Worlds of Natural History*, 221–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (doi:10.1017/9781108225229.014).

^{xxxiv} Unfortunately, the 'Book of Drawings' has not survived. Sachiko Kusukawa, 'Picturing knowledge in the early Royal Society: the examples of Richard Waller and Henry Hunt', *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* **65**, 273–94 (2011) (<http://doi.org/10.1098/rsnr.2010.0094>). Minutes of a meeting of the Repository committee of the R.S., Ref No CMB/63/13, 30 April 1730, in Alice Marples, 'Scientific administration in the early eighteenth century: reinterpreting the Royal Society's Repository' *Historical Research*, **92** (255) 183–204 (2019) at p. 202. (<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12257>)

^{xxxv} William Bogdani was the son of the well-known still-life painter Jakob Bogdani (1658–1724), who had moved to London in 1688 and painted birds, animals and flowers in the Dutch style for both Queen Anne and William III. Bogdani's brilliant flower paintings were an excellent example of what might be achieved by art. See, for example, *A vase of flowers* c.1690–1710, oil on canvas, RCIN 405620 in the Royal Collections, acquired by Queen Anne from Admiral George Churchill (1654–1710). Churchill also constructed an aviary at Frogmore in Windsor Great Park where Bogdani painted birds.

^{xxxvi} Journal Book 2 May 1734, quoted in Ruth Stungo, 'Recording the Aloes at Chelsea - A Singular Solution to a Difficult Problem', *Notes Rec. R. Soc. Lond.* **50** (1), 47–57 (1996) at p. 47.

^{xxxvii} The *Twelve Months of Flowers* were acquired by the botanist Robert James, Lord Petre (1713–42) and are now in the collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is tempting to speculate on a

meeting between Lord Petre and Taylor White. In the late 1730s Petre designed the gardens at Worksope Manor, which is situated only three miles from Wallingwells.

^{xxxviii} Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society, 19 July 1734 GB 117 The Royal Society, Ref No CMO/3/57 (Alt Ref No CMO/3/142)

^{xxxix} Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society, 29 June 1737 GB 117 The Royal Society, Ref No CMO/3/72 (Alt Ref No CMO/3/178). Ruth Stungo in her article on 'Recording the Aloes' suggests that the lessening of the Society's interest was due to an increase in cost. Stungo, 'Recording the Aloes', at p. 48.

^{xl} Taylor White to Robert More, 15 June 1734, transcript; courtesy of the Shropshire Archives. Elected to Parliament at the age of twenty-four, More was a colleague of John White, and became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1729. In 1731 More inherited property in Shropshire, and in the 1740s built a new house at Linley with extensive gardens.

^{xli} Sir John Heathcote to Robert More, 1735. Shropshire Archives, Document Reference X9071/A/9/2/1. White may well have inherited a family interest in horticulture. That he was a competent or at least confident gardener might also be inferred by his presentation in October 1744 of 'a plan for the garden' of the Foundling Hospital, followed in December by 'a list of plants for the Physick Garden'. See Allin, *Taylor White*, pp. 17-18.

^{xlii} Philip Miller to Robert More, 25 July 1734; Shropshire Archives, document 4947/7/15.

^{xliii} Taylor White to Robert More, 5 November 1735, transcript; Shropshire Archives. In the library of the Natural History Museum in London are a number of van Huysum watercolours, with details painted and signed by Ehret. For such a hybrid example, see 'Original Drawings by J. van Huysum', South Kensington Botany Special Collections (BAUER UNIT SHELF F 4) no. 18, the Granadilla, with catalogue note by Ludwig Heidrun, written in 1990. For more information on artists' pricing, see the article by Dickenson and Garland.

^{xliv} Taylor White to Robert More, 17 July [1740?]; Shropshire Archives, document 4947/7/53. White married Fanny Armstrong on 18 September 1739. 'Knaptons heads' refers to Thomas Birch's *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*, published by John and Paul Knapton, London, beginning in 1737.

^{xlv} Ehret prepared multiple versions of his more elaborate plant portraits. There are duplicate watercolours of the 'Musa' (Banana) at McGill and at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (see <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/70246/>; accessed 11 December 2020). Thanks to John Edmonson for the information on Ehret's copying practices.

^{xlvi} George Edwards, *A natural history of birds: most of which have not been figured or described* ... part II. (London, printed for the author, at the College of Physicians in Warwick-Lane, 1747-1748), pp. 119-24. John Latham reported years later that he 'Met with one of these [Military macaw] at the house of the late Taylor White Esq; preserved on paper by his daughter, after the manner recommended by Mr. Edwards in his History of Birds, which is now to be seen among others in the Leverian Collection.' See John Latham, *Supplement to the General synopsis of birds* (Leigh & Sotheby, London, 1787) p. 202. In the sale catalogue of the Leverian Museum collections, on 13 May 1806 number 1037 is 'Psittacus militaris, executed in the feathers of the bird, after the manner described by George Edwards; framed and glazed', *Catalogue of the Leverian Museum: part I[-VI]* (London, s.n., 1806).

^{xlvii} Taylor White to Robert More, 17 July [1740?]; Shropshire Archives, Document Reference 4947/7/53.

^{xlviii} 'The matter of the present inquiry is, whether the Cinnamon of Ceylon is the same sort of plant with that growing in Malabar, Sumatra, differing only by the soil or climate, in which it grows, which is the opinion of Garcias; or from the culture or manner of curing the plant, as I am inclined to believe; or whether it is really a different genus or species of plant, as many people believe, and some botanical writers seem to indicate.' White and Combes, 'A Discourse on the Cinnamon' at p. 862. The article also includes an engraving by Georg Ehret.

^{xlix} The hummingbird presented by Campbell is a Red-billed Streamertail (*Trochilus polytmus*), indigenous to Jamaica. '7 Birds' in Royal Society, 'A Complete Catalogue of the seve[ral] Donations ...

extracted from the Journal Books with the dates when given & the Donors Names annexed', p. 89. Royal Society Archives.

ⁱ Taylor White Collection: MSG BW002, Item 720. Blacker Wood Collection, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill Library. The watercolour is labelled 'G. Edwards 1725' but the signature is not consistent with others by George Edwards, though the attribution is correct. The birds depicted are a pair of Ruby-throated Hummingbirds (*Archilochus colubris*), the male in flight and the female on the nest; two Streamertails suspended by their beaks (the gift of Mr. Campbell); a specimen of the Scissor-tailed Hummingbird (*Hylonympha macrocerca*), 'pinned' to the page, the bird belonging to Sloane; and a Green-throated Carib (*Eulampis holosericeus*), which according to Edwards belonged to White. Edwards etched and coloured all these birds for the first volume of his *Natural History*, printed in 1743. George Edwards, *A natural history of birds: most of which have not been figured or described ...* part I (London, printed for the author, at the College of Physicians in Warwick-Lane, 1743) pls 33-36.

ⁱⁱ 'Monday, [March] 29th: called upon Taylor White ... came with him to the painter of birds, College of Physicians' noted in Byrom, *Private Journal*, p. 26.

^{lii} A 'Charles Collins' appears as a subscriber to Furber's *Twelve Months of Flowers* (1730).

^{liii} 'Advertisements and Notices', *London Evening Post*, November 30, 1736 - December 2, 1736.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection, link-gale-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/apps/doc/Z2000636473/BBCN?u=crepuq_mcgill&sid=BBCN&xid=dd3c9262 (accessed 19 April 2021).

^{liv} Charles Collins, London To Robert More in Shrewsbury, 17 July 1742. Shropshire Archives, Document Reference 4947/7/22. This may be one of the 'big cats' that Richard Perry offered for sale at the Exeter Change in the early 1740s. Caroline Grigson, *Menagerie: The History of Exotic Animals in England 1100-1837* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016) p. 52.

^{lv} 'Advertisements and Notices', *Daily Advertiser*, 27 March 1744. *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, link-gale-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/apps/doc/Z2000149506/BBCN?u=crepuq_mcgill&sid=BBCN&xid=56fcffad (accessed 26 March 2021).

^{lvi} The attributions were made by Hayley Eaves, a member of the Taylor White research group. See the paper by Garland and Dickenson.

^{lvii} White also played this role at the Foundling Hospital, where he commissioned Charles Brooking.

^{lviii} Collins painted a number of grouse for White in 1737, 1740 and 1741. The only birds resembling the 'grouse' dated after July 1742 in the McGill collection are a number of partridges (MSG BW002 Items 526-528). Collins specialized in game paintings, but it is unclear whether he distinguished in naming between a grouse and a partridge, or is this a work no longer part of the White collection?

^{lix} White and Combes, *op cit.* (note 14), p. 869.

^{lx} Kärin Nickelsen, *Draughtsmen, botanists and nature: the construction of eighteenth-century botanical illustrations*. Archimedes, v. 15 (Springer, Dordrecht, 2006), p. 34 (doi: 10.1007/978-1-4020-4820-3).

^{lxi} Both Collins and Paillou worked in oils and depicted animals in a 'painter-like' way, showing myriad birds artfully arranged in pastoral or dramatic settings. Pennant was later to charge Paillou with giving his subjects 'gaudy colours'. See *The literary life of the late Thomas Pennant, Esq.* (London, Benjamin and John White ... and Robert Faulder ..., 1793.) p. 3. For Catesby's discussion of natural history painting, see Mark Catesby, *The natural history of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands: containing the figures of birds, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, and plants ...* (London, Printed for B. White, 1771) vol. 1, p. vi. Available from: Biodiversity Library (accessed 31 October 2020)

^{lxii} White Stork (*Ciconia ciconia*) MSG BW002 Item 727; Zebu - *Bos taurus (indicus)*, Item 201; 'Chinese buffalo' - *Bos Taurus (indicus)*, Item 209.

^{lxiii} The first image in Willughby's *Ornithology*, for example, is a Golden Eagle copied from a woodcut in Ulysse Aldrovandi, published some eighty years earlier, which was in turn largely copied from the

illustration in Conrad Gesner's mid-sixteenth century *Historia animalium*. White insisted, however, that his artists work from actual specimens.

^{lxiv} George Edwards, *Gleanings of natural history, exhibiting figures of quadrupedes, birds, plants, etc. Most of which have not, till now, been either figured or described: with descriptions of seventy different subjects, designed, engraved, and coloured after nature, on fifty copper-plate prints ...* part II (London: printed for the Author, at the Royal College of Physicians, 1760) p. 203. Edwards drew Lady Heathcote's Painted Pheasant from China, 'newly dead'. For an exhaustive list of Edward's suppliers, see Arthur Macgregor, 'Patrons and collectors'.

^{lxv} 'The Steel Bird proba[b]ly the Brasilian Jacarini of Margrave'. In the manuscript note, White measured and described his bird: 'from the tip of the Bill to the end of ye [the] Tail is 3 inches & 8 Tenths of an Inch. its Bill is short & thick. its legs is almost[,] which the whole Body is[,] of a Dark blue like steel coloured Blue by the fire. Except that the Edges of the feathers of ye [the] Back of the head & Neck & on the side of ye [the] breast have an Edge of a pale Green colour. The remarkable characteristic of this bird is that the tail is shaped like a fan narrow next the Body & spread into a fan like shape at the other End this I have not seen in any other Bird.' Note to MSG BW002, Item 638.

^{lxvi} What White called the 'Lanner' was painted by Charles Collins in 1739: Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus*), MSG BW002, Item 386. Edwards wrote that he was also 'favour'd with a Sight of this Bird by Taylor White, Esq; who gave me Liberty to draw it.' George Edwards, *A Natural History ...* part I, p. 4.

^{lxvii} Inscription on verso of Nicobar Pigeon (*Caloenas nicobarica*), MSG BW002, Item 588.

^{lxviii} White, Notes to MSG BW002, Items 179-180.

^{lxix} This was particularly important for the depiction of mammals. There are 255 drawings of mammals in White's portfolios, ranging from squirrels and rabbits to deer, moose, large cats and primates. Seven of the smaller mammals were noted as borrowed from the British Museum.

^{lxx} George Holmes, the Keeper of Records at the Tower, provided White with a Red-breasted Merganser, painted by Charles Collins in 1741. In addition, White's artists painted a wolf, lions and a lioness, a caracal, a civet, a wolverine, as well as a Golden Eagle from the Tower collections.

^{lxxi} For a view of Cumberland Lodge with deer and ostriches grazing on the lawns, see Thomas Sandby (1721-98) *Cumberland Lodge*, 1768 (RCIN 451431; <https://www.rct.uk/collection/451431/cumberland-lodge>)

^{lxxii} White, Note to Chital (*Axis axis*), MSG BW002, Item 588. Lord Clive was a tenant for some time in the former Duke of Bolton's house at Westcombe Park near Greenwich. See *The Environs of London*, vol. 4. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-environs/vol4/pp426-493> (accessed 1 December 2020).

^{lxxiii} George Edwards also drew these exotic fish: 'His Grace the late Duke of Richmond had a large Chinese earthen Vesel [sic] full of these Fish, brought alive to England.' Edwards, *Natural History*, part II, p. 209.

^{lxxiv} An oil painting by Hans Hysing (1678-c. 1752), still in the family collections, shows White, his brother John and sister Bridget as children; John holds a gun, Taylor a jay, newly shot.

^{lxxv} White's manuscript notes for Great Crested Grebe (*Podiceps cristatus*), MSG BW002, Item 854; Red-throated loon (*Gavia stellata*), Item 860; Pied Avocet (*Recurvirostra avosetta*), Item 790. 'W.340' and W.321' refer to page numbers in White's copy of John Ray, *The ornithology of Francis Willughby of Middleton in the county of Warwick, esq. ... : in three books* (John Martyn, London, 1678.) 'Aquilaet Meier' is Aqualate Mere, the largest natural lake in the English Midlands.

^{lxxvi} The winter of 1739-40 was particularly severe. White, manuscript note for European shag (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*), MSG BW002, Item 846, painted by Collins in 1739.

^{lxxvii} Edwards, *Natural History*, part I, p. 30. These charming birds were recreated in porcelain at Bow in 1752. See Paul Crane, 'Nature, Porcelain and the Age of the Enlightenment. A Natural History of Early English Porcelain and its place in the eighteenth century home' *Art Antiques London*.

https://haughtongallery.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/AAL_2015_Paul-Crane-article.pdf (accessed 25 November 2020).

^{lxxviii} See Mary White, *Memoirs*, p. 50. Daniel Wray (1701-83), one of White's colleagues on the Repository Committee, who later became a trustee of the British Museum, may have facilitated these loans to White after his retirement to Wallingwells. White's notes reveal he was borrowing specimens as late as July 1771.

^{lxxix} White was the probable author of the *Account of the proceedings in order to the discovery of the longitude* by a 'A Member of the Royal Society', presented to Parliament in 1763. See Seymour L. Chapin, 'Lalande and the Longitude: A Little Known London Voyage of 1763' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, **32** (2) 165-180 (Mar. 1978), at p. 172. (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/531726>). White was also among those who proposed Harrison to the Royal Society in 1765.

^{lxxx} Note to White-throated Toucan (*Rhamphastos erythrorhynchus*), MSG BW002, Item 313. Grenada and the archipelago of the Grenadines are located to the east of Barbados. The logbooks of HMS *Tartar* do not record that Harrison stopped in any of the Grenadines on the voyage out, but it is possible the ships stopped on the return. See 'The Voyage to Barbados' in *Longitude Essays*, Cambridge Digital Library, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/ES-LON-00002/1> (accessed 6 September 2020).

^{lxxxi} Red-rumped Cacique (*Cacicus haemorrhous*) MSG BW002, Item 449. Whether these were shot by Harrison himself, or by his companions, or purchased from local inhabitants is not recorded. See the HMS *Tartar* logbooks, Manuscripts of the National Maritime Museum in the Cambridge Digital Library (https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/nmm_mss/1).

^{lxxxii} 'This Bird with many others were brought me from the North America by my learned friend Hodgkinson Banks Esq'. White, Note to Eskimo curlew (*Numenius borealis*), MSG BW002, Item 766. See also Lysaght, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador 1766*, for a discussion of the Banks-White connection, pp. 104-5.

^{lxxxiii} Banded Cotinga (*Cotinga maculata*), MSG BW002, Item 610 'Habitat in Brasilia. aves Pulcherrima nitidissima This Bird I had from Mr Banks about the size of a Starling. it has a blue collar passes thru its breast.' King Penguin (*Aptenodytes patagonicus*), MSG BW002, Item 837. The penguin was likely painted by Paillou from the same skin Parkinson used for his rendering of the 'Patagonian Penguin' in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1768. See 'XIV. Account of the different species of the birds, called Pinguins' *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* **58**, 91-99 (<http://doi.org/10.1098/rstl.1768.0014>).

^{lxxxiv} Loten moved to London in 1759, becoming a member of the Royal Society in 1760. The collection of de Bevere watercolours at the Natural History Museum in London have copious annotations by Loten.

^{lxxxv} Chevrotain (*Moschiola meminna*), White Note to MSG BW002, Item 152.

^{lxxxvi} George Edwards, *Gleanings of Natural History*, part II, p. 137.

^{lxxxvii} Prior to the standardization of scientific nomenclature, identification of specimens based on name only can be difficult. 'M' might refer to the Muscicapidae, or the family of Old World flycatchers and chats, and used by Banks to refer to a number of small birds, now known by different names. White's collection did contain drawings of three small birds that might be those described by Banks: the Cold Finch (*Muscicapa atricapilla*), MSG BW002, Item 691; the Willow Warbler (*Phylloscopus trochilus*), Item 686; and the Brambling (*Fringilla montefringilla*), Item 673. Banks to Pennant, 5 May 1767, Letter 10 in Chambers, *Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, vol. 1, p. 12. Thanks to Céline Stantina for this reference.

^{lxxxviii} Thomas Pennant, *Arctic Zoology*, vol. 1, p. 47 (Printed for Henry Hughs, London, 1784-85). White was incorrect. The Corsac fox (*Vulpes corsac*) is native to Central Asia. There does not appear to be a 'Corsak' fox drawing in the collection. Perhaps Pennant borrowed it?

^{lxxxix} Thomas Pennant, *British Zoology*, 4th ed. (Warrington: Printed by William Eyres, for Benjamin White..., London, 1776-77) p. 377. Available from: Biodiversity Library (accessed 31 October 2020)

^{xc} Pennant to White, supplementary note to MSG BW002, Item 389 [1767 or 1768].

^{xcii} Saverio Manetti, *Ornithologia methodice digesta, atque iconibus aeneis ad vivum illuminatis ornata*, vol. I (Florentiae, In Aedibus Mouchianis, 1767-76). Available from: Biodiversity Library (accessed 31 December 2020).

^{xciii} See Céline M. Stantina, 'Taylor White's "paper museum" (1725–1772): understanding the scientific work of an unpublished naturalist' *Notes Rec.* 75, pp. 543–557 (2021) (<http://doi.org/10.1098/rsnr.2020.0069>).

^{xciii} The Levant merchant James Fremeaux (1704-99) presented White in 1770 with a pair of angora goats brought from Smyrna to Hackney: 'This Goat or sheep for it difficult to distinguish which I had presented to me by Mr Fremeau a very worthy merchant who had a house in Smyrna but afterwards came to reside in England & lived at Hackney. they were sent as the Male & female but differed so little I suspected them to be female.' White MSG BW002, Note 179.

^{xciv} The bird might have had a 'label' indicating its origin. The drawing shows the very evidently stuffed bird floating outstretched in water. Harlequin Duck (*Histrionicus histrionicus*) White, MSG BW002, Item 885. See Carolus Linnaeus, *Systema naturae* (10th ed.) (Holmiae: Impensis Direct. Laurentii Salvii, 1758-59) *Anas histrionica*, number '30' on p. 127. Available from: Biodiversity Library (accessed 31 October 2020).

^{xcv} Manuscript note to MSG BW002, Item 014.

^{xcvi} That he was aware of differences in breeding plumage in familiar birds is apparent in the instruction he must have given to Collins. When Collins began working for White in 1736, he at first copied some birds directly from *Icones Avium*. The two grey wagtails (*Motacilla cinerea*) which featured in the *Icones* and in an oil painting of the same subject, show identical plumage. The pair of grey wagtails Collins painted for White in 1739, however, show the distinctive breeding plumage.

^{xcvii} European Shag, imm. (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*), MSG BW002, Item 846.

^{xcviii} Black Skimmer (*Rynchops niger*), MSG BW002, Item 816; Razorbill (*Alca torda*), Item 817. Linnaeus listed only two 'Rhynchops', the first *Rhynchops nigra* and the second *Rhynchops fulva*, on pp. 228-9 in *Systema naturae* (12th edition).

^{xcix} As Nick Grindle has written in discussing Willughby and his collections, the work was not in the appreciation of a single drawing, but in viewing the assemblage as an analogue of the natural order. Nick Grindle, "No other sign or note than the very order": Francis Willughby, John Ray and the importance of collecting pictures', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 17, 1, 15–22 (2005) (<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhi006>).

^c Isabelle Charmantier, 'Carl Linnaeus and the Visual Representation of Nature', *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences*, Vol. 41, 4 (2011), 365-404. (DOI: 10.1525/hsns.2011.41.4.365).

^{ci} See discussion of the 'model' in Nickelsen, *Draughtsmen, Botanists and Nature*, chapter 3.

^{cii} The fact that Edwards provided Linnaeus with pre-publication plates may also have figured in the naturalist's appreciation. Letters translated from the Latin in James Edward Smith, *A selection of the correspondence of Linnaeus and other naturalists, from the original manuscripts* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821) vol. 2, 497, pp. 503-5. Available from Biodiversity Heritage Library (accessed 1 April 2021).

^{ciii} 'The Dusky and Spotted Duck' in Edwards, *A Natural History*, I, p. 99. Edwards noted, 'This Bird was brought with others, preserved, from Newfoundland in America: ... I cannot discover any Figure, or the least Hint of Description of this Bird; so I believe I may venture to pronounce it a non descript.' Edwards acquired the specimen from 'Mr. Holms' at the Tower, who likely also lent the same to White.

^{civ} For example, in 1764, Linnaeus wrote to Edwards for clarification of the drawing of wasps on plate 336 in *Gleanings*: 'But, what chiefly induces me now to write, is your tab. 336, in which you represent some "Vegetating Wasps", and which appear to be *Vespae*, provided they have four wings, a circumstance I wish to be informed of. My thoughts are so taken up with these productions, that I cannot sleep with out dreaming of them. I conjure you, by the Author of Nature, to write to me the first day you

can spare, to explain this phaemomenon [sic].’ Wasps have four wings, though the smaller second pair can be difficult to see. Linnaeus must have wondered had Edwards missed them or was this a new and undescribed insect? Carolus Linnaeus to George Edwards, 13 April 1764, translated from the Latin in Smith, *A selection of the correspondence of Linnaeus*... vol 2, p. 504.

^{cv} To remedy this lack, in 1776 James Robson published *A catalogue of the birds, beasts, fishes, insects, plants, &c. contained in Edwards's natural history in seven volumes* ... prepared by ‘Sir C. Linnaeus’, which included generic and specific names for the animals illustrated in all seven volumes of Edwards.

^{cvi} Daniel Solander to John Ellis, 5 March 1762, L5552, Linnean Collections (<http://linnean-online.org/777774128/>). See Stantina’s article for more on White’s conversation with Solander.

^{cvi} Painted stork (*Mycteria leucocephala*) MSG BW002, Item 743. Perhaps the original model for the White-headed Ibis in *Indian Zoology*? See Thomas Pennant, *Indian Zoology* (London, np, 1769), P. X, engraved by Peter Mazell. Available from Biodiversity Heritage Library (accessed 1 April 2021).

^{cvi} The passage is in square brackets, inserted by the editor, Richard Bowdler Sharpe, into the 1900 edition from original MS letters in the British Museum, and was not included in earlier published editions of *The natural history*. Taylor White was no relation to Gilbert White. Gilbert White, *The natural history & antiquities of Selborne; & A garden kalendar* (London: S.T. Freemantle, 1900) p. 17. (<https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.28480>)