# A GUIDE TO THE DISPERSAL OF ZOOLOGICAL MATERIAL FROM CAPTAIN COOK'S VOYAGES\*

by P. J. P. Whitehead

For eighteenth-century zoology, the material brought back from Cook's three voyages was the most extensive yet collected and available for study from the Pacific region. With the natural world now neatly ordered by Linnaeus, and with such capable naturalist-collectors as Banks, Solander, Sparrman and J. R. Forster, one might have expected grand tomes on the zoological and other scientific results. In fact, Banks' primary interest in botany, Solander's early death, and Forster's dispute with the Admiralty were important factors in the dwindling interest in the zoological material and its gradual dispersion to numerous museums and small collections. The market value of these exciting natural and artificial curiosities speeded the dispersal.

As a result, the modem specialist trying to trace type or figured specimens must explore such famous old museums as the Leverian or Bullock's and he must probe the many small and ephemeral collections that time and again changed hands, at each step with some loss of material and of the information that accompanied it. A complex web of sales, loans, gifts and transfers must be unravelled if the specimen is to be located or its provenance authenticated. The task is time-consuming, and it is often held that such "historical taxonomy" is an old-fashioned and expensive luxury in modern systematic work. Yet the stringent rules of zoological nomenclature insist that such care be taken lest any ambiguity come between the name of an animal and its true identity (more fully elaborated in Whithead, 1978b).

For Pacific ethnology, the Cook artifacts form a critical base-line. For zoology and botany the specimens are equally important. They serve to confirm the identity of the material reported; they offer evidence of for-

<sup>\*</sup>We are pleased to print the definitive study on the dispersal of Cook's zoological specimens. For convenience, we have deviated from our usual method of footnoting in this article and have adopted the system used by most scientific journals.

#### Cook's Zoological Collections

mer distribution patterns before European interference with biotopes; they can help to date introductions; and they provide clues to species now extinct. In an earlier paper (Whitehead, 1969a), I made a preliminary study of the dispersal of the Cook voyages animal specimens, but a decade has passed and much has been published in the meantime. Adrienne Kaeppler's painstaking searches for Leverian, Bullock and other artifacts from the voyages, Michael Hoare's definitive biography of J. R. Forster, Harold Carter's immense study of Banks and a host of papers stimulated by the renewed interest in Cook have filled many gaps. The picture is by no means complete, but there is now need for a summary of the people and institutions involved in the zoological dispersal and the literature around it.

The extent of the zoological collections made on the three Cook voyages can be explored in various ways. Information can be culled from the accounts of the voyages by participants, from contemporary treatises on the zoology (Fabricius for insects, Latham for birds, Pennant for various animals and especially Forster in his Descriptiones animalium for all second voyage animals), or from later works in which Cook material finds mention. Another route is through the drawings made on the voyages, of which the vast majority were acquired by Joseph Banks, passed to the British Museum in 1827, and came to the Natural History Museum at South Kensington in 1881 (see summary in Whitehead, 1978a, with list of all non-avian drawings by George Forster; all bird drawings from Cook voyages listed by Lysaght, 1959). Of great value are some contemporary lists of Banksian drawings, also at South Kensington (Dryander, MSS 1-5. See Whitehead, 1978a for contents). Nearly 750 zoological drawings were made on the three voyages. The animals can also be located in the various lists made by Solander (MSS. 1-4 and Slips), again at South Kensington, as well as in some notes by George Forster. Titles of the Dryander, Forster, and Solander MSS., as well as those of Anderson and Clift, are given in the list of references below. Other documentary evidence comes from sale catalogues (see compilation by Chalmers-Hunt, 1976) and from the letters exchanged by those involved in the flurry of buying and selling while Cook material still commanded high prices.

I wish to express my very warm thanks and appreciation to all those who contributed data for this study. It would be impossible to list them all and invidious to select just some.

Because of the complexity of the dispersal, numerous cross-references have been made, shown by an asterisk \*. These should be checked since they usually lead to fuller information. The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

BM.	British Museum at Bloomsbury
BMHN.	British Museum (Natural History) at South Kensington
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography
Linn. Soc.	Linnean Society, London
LPL.	Liverpool Public Library
RCS.	Royal College of Surgeons

ALLAN, George, who bought the Tunstall Museum<sup>\*</sup>.

ALSTRÖMER, Johan (1742-86), half-brother of Clas, Patrick and August, who continued the large museum at Alingseas in Sweden begun by their father Jonas (d. 1761). Johan visited England in 1777-78 and acquired Cook shells from the Duchess of Portland\*, probably Solander\* and certainly Banks\*, who also gave him "a superb insect collection" (Rydén, 1960, with portrait; also, 1963, a fuller account, with excerpts from Johan's London Letters to his sister-in-law, now at Östad the provincial records office in Gothenburg). In 1787 the caretaker, Dr. Fragraeus, reported part of the collection destroyed by fire. A collection owned by Clas Alströmer at Kristinedal (Gamlestadsbro in Gothenburg) was reported to contain Cook voyages artifacts, especially from Tahiti, being duplicates presented by Banks to Clas (Upfostrings-Sälskapets Tidningar for 1784. See Larsson, 1961); it is not clear if these were in fact what Johan got from Banks. Another Clas collection was seen by General Francisco de Miranda (1752-1816) of Venezuela, this time at Gasevadholm near Kungsbacka south of Gothenburg, in 1787, where he saw an herbarium and also "countless curiosities from Otahity, New Holland, etc." (Rydén, 1950, 1960; Larsson, 1961). In 1848 Jonas and Oscar Alströmer presented the herbarium and ethnographic objects to the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm (Rydén, 1960; Lindroth, 1967); if zoological specimens were present, no Banks/Alströmer material can now be identified in the Naturhistoriska Riksmuseet in Stockholm (Per Inge Persson, in litt.). The second collection of Clas, which may have contained natural history materials from the first, was for the most part sent in 1790 as a gift to Åbo University, but in 1827 all was destroyed by fire (L8wegren, 1952:336).

**ANDERSON, Robert,** quartermaster on the *Endeavour* and gunner on the *Resolution* (second and third voyages), who collected material for sale, e.g. a colorful sea urchin sold to Lever\* and painted by de Barde\* (pl. 6,

56

No 56 in Bullock, 1814, with data); it was sold at the Leverian sale of 1806 to a Mr. Jenning<sup>\*</sup>. Anderson also contributed to a gift of "natural and artificial curiosities" to the British Museum <sup>\*</sup>.

**ANDERSON, William** (1748-78), Surgeon's Chief Mate on Cook's second voyage and Chief Surgeon on the third, who compiled a small notebook of animal descriptions from both voyages (Anderson, MS.). He died at sea and *fide* David Samwell's journal (3 August 1778) left his "collection of Plants & other Curiosities which he had procured this Voyage both natural and artificial to Mr. Banks" (Beaglehole, 1967: 1130). Biographical data in Keevil(1933), also Whitley (1970: 55).

**ANGUS.** Mrs. Angus sold her collection in 1821, including Cook shells, probably from Calonne<sup>\*</sup> (Dubois, 1821--annotated copy in Linn. Soc.).

**ARENBERG, Duc d',** who received first-voyage "curiosities" (? zoological specimens) from Banks according to a letter to Banks from João Magalhães (1722-90), physician and botanist (Paris, 28 December 1778--BM. Add. MS. 33977.86-87; copy in Banks corr., 1: 243 in BMNH.). A postscript states that the duke accompanied the writer to Banks' house shortly after the return from the first voyage and "You [Banks] made a present of various curiosities to the Duke, which he deposited in the Cabinet of Prince Charles of Bruxelles." I am indebted to Dr. Adrienne Kaeppler for chancing on this information.

**ATKINSON, Arthur John,** of The Downs, Bowden, Cheshire, who had two fine collections of shells about 1810, including a *Haliotis gigantea* once the possession of J. R. Forster, to whom it had been given by Catherine the Great when he was in Russia; it appears to have been bought by Atkinson from Parkinson, owner of the Leverian, for fifteen guineas. An Atkinson MS. of August 1826 in the Manchester Museum, entitled "The elements of conchology" states this and also reports on the shell collection of Swainson\* (I am indebted to Mrs. Nora McMillan for drawing my attention to this). Kaeppler (1974: 75) identified as Thomas the Atkinson who bought ethnographic material for Banks at the Leverian sale (based on a letter in the Cuming Museum), but assumed from Mullens (1915: 166) that he was an eminent naturalist; Mullens gave no first name, but was evidently referring to Arthur.

**BAILLIE, Mathew** (1761-1823), nephew and pupil of William Hunter\*, who inherited the use of the latter's museum before its eventual transfer to Glasgow\*; some £8000 was left for maintenance and acquisitions (DNB), hence "Bailey" at the Portland sale of 1786 may have been responsible for the Portland material at Glasgow; Laskey\* may also have brought Leverian items into the collection.

**BANKS, Sir Joseph** (1743-1820), the "hub around which the natural history of the voyages revolves" (Whitehead, 1969: 162) kept his own first-voyage material and acquired much of that from the other two voyages, storing it at his house at 14 New Burlington Street (South side, from April 1767 to April 1777) and then at 32 Soho Square (April-September, the move--Harold Carter, pers. comm.). Of his numerous but poorly documented acquisitions and subsequent donations, the following can be reported:

- In 1772, a purchase of Sydney Parkinson's first-voyage drawings and some shells (Preface to Parkinson, 1773).
- 20 January 1773, presented New Zealand birds to BM. (Book of Presents).
- 1 August 1775, letter Solander to Banks: birds in spirit from Cook to Banks (Dawson, 1958: 772).
- 22 August 1775, letter Solander to Banks: four second-voyage casks of fishes and birds addressed to Banks and sent by Cook to BM. (Dawson, 1958: 772).
- 5 September 1775, letter Solander to Banks: insects brought to BM. by J. R. Forster\* for Solander to distribute, some to Banks (Dawson, 1958: 772).
- 31 July 1776, letter Solander to Banks: the assistant Baker will bring the plants and animals to Banks' house (Dawson, 1958: 772).
- 9 August 1776, letter J. R. Forster to Banks: the Forster drawings bought by Banks (Dawson, 1958: 339).
- In 1776, a Banks note copied out by Robert Brown: the Forsters "did me the favour to present me with very many specimens, both of plants and animals which they had collected in the different countries they had visited." (Britten, 1885).
- 26 September 1778, letter to J. R. Forster to Banks: Banks had refused to buy Forster's shells (Dawson, 1958: 339).
- 23 October 1778, Banks presented Cook artifacts to BM. (Book of Presents).

- 1 November 1780, letter David Samwell\* to Mathew Gregson: Banks monopolized the "very few natural curiosities" from the third voyage (Gregson corr., LPL.); Banks inherited specimens from William Anderson\* and Captain Clerke\*; some 220 birds of 159 species acquired (Dryander MS. 4), some being from Captain Furneaux\*.
- In 1787, presented shells and insects to Johan Alströmer\*, the boxes of shells being opened for the first time since the voy-age.
- In 1790, Banks presented a kangaroo skull to John Hunter\*.
- In 1792, presented a large collection of spirit material to John Hunter, being apparently all the 344 items of the New Holland Division catalogued in 1806 for the Royal College of Surgeons by Shaw (Clift MSS. 1, 2); a similar collection was presented in 1792 to the British Museum<sup>\*</sup>.
- In 1815, presented insects, crustaceans and shells to the Linnean Society\* (whence to British Museum in 1863); possibly Solander's also.
- In 1806, perhaps acquired natural history specimens as well as artifacts at Leverian.
- In 1820, his herbarium and library (including drawings) inherited by his third librarian, Robert Brown (1773-1858) and thence to the British Museum in 1827.

Banks' specimens and drawings were examined by numerous naturalists including Broussonet\*, Pennant\* and Latham\* who made copies of a number of the bird drawings; his house acted as a virtual natural history museum.

**BARDE, Alexandre Isidore Leroy,** Chevalier de (1777-1829), artist, who fled France for England during the Revolution and painted, among other works, six large and exquisitely detailed gouaches of objects in various collections, including the Leverian\* (birds l-10 in first painting, all in fourth and all shells in sixth); also tiger and boa constrictor in Bullock's Museum\* (fifth). Bullock exhibited the six gouaches in 1814, with an illustrated catalogue with data on specimens (Bullock, 1814--shells 1, 2, 25, 56, 69 all from Cook voyages, also sea urchin collected by Robert Anderson\*). The gouaches, now in the *Cabinet des Dessins* at the Louvre (colored photos in BMNH.), were exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1817. (For a biography of de Barde, see Braquehaye, 1896).

**BAYLY, William** (various spellings) (1737-1810), astronomer on the *Discovery*, who sold a collection of third-voyage specimens and artifacts in October 1780 (Beaglehole, 1967: 1560), some being bought by Samwell<sup>\*</sup> and also by the Reverend John White<sup>\*</sup> for Anna Blackburne<sup>\*</sup>. Bayly had apparently "saved a few tolerable good articles," of which Lever received some birds (Medway, 1976: 50). Bayly sold again in May 1799 (Chalmers-Hunt, 1976: 66), including "91. A large and fine sun shell, from New Zealand."

**BERLIN.** The Zoologisches Museum may have acquired Cook material bought by Lichtenstein\* at the Bullock sale of 1819, but no extant specimens (in particular birds) are recorded.

**BLACKBURNE, Anna** (1726-93), amateur naturalist and first cousin to Ashton Lever\*, who had a private collection at Orford Hall and later Fairfield near Warrington (Wystrach, 1974, 1977). She was offered and perhaps bought a collection from the third voyage by David Samwell, while the Reverend John White\* bought some third voyage birds for her at Bayly's sale\* (White to Mathew Gregson, 18 October 1780, Gregson corr., LPL.). She bequeathed her entire collection to her nephew John Blackburne, but it seems to have been dispersed (Wystrach, 1977: 162).

**BONELLI, Franco Andrea** (1784-1830), Director of the Turin Museum\* from 1811, who bought at Bullock's sale in 1819.

**BOULTER, Daniel** (1740-1802), of Yarmouth, private collector, whose *Museum Boulterianum* (1793) lists Humphrey<sup>\*</sup> and Lever<sup>\*</sup> as donors and contains a number of specimens with Cook localities (e.g. 10, 16, 30, 31, 53--birds; also many shells); Hawaiian material was surely from the third voyage (Southwell, 1891). The collection was later dispersed to members of the family. (See also *Gent's Mag.*, **76** (1):432 for 1806.)

**BOURBON,** Duke of, who acquired the celebrated pink variety of the Imperial sun shell that had been bought by Fillinham\* at the Leverian sale of 1806 (Donovan, 1822: pl. 11 and text); it was lot 84 in the Duke's sale of 13 April 1815, conducted after his return to France at his former residence in Orchard Street off Portman Square, and it was later acquired by the British Museum.

**BRISTOL.** Augustus John Hervey, Lord Bristol (1724-79), collector, to whom after the second voyage "All shells are to go" (Solander to Banks, 22 August 1775--Dawson, 1958: 772).

**BRITISH MUSEUM.** In existence for only twenty years at the time of the first voyage, it did not establish a solid reputation for natural history until revitalized by J. E. Gray from the 1830s (Gunther, 1975); the period from Solander's death (1782) to 1837 (Gray's registration system for specimens) was particularly bleak for records of zoological material. Some more specific indications can be found in the volumes entitled *Book of Presents* (of which vol. 1, for 1756-1823, was copied out as a vellum book entitled *Benefactions Book*) all in BM. archives; microfilms of vols 1-4 for 1756-1845 in BMNH. The following Cook material has been noted:

- 3 April 1772, received a Holland parrot from Dr. William Watson\* (*Book of Presents*).
- 20 January 1773, Banks presented New Zealand birds (Book of Presents).
- 5 September 1775 (see Banks), Forster insects received; also Forster fishes and birds (6 September), mammals and birds (8 September) and insects (20 September) (all in *Book of Presents*).
- 7 June 1776, specimens from Cook\* and Clerke\* (Book of Presents).
- 23 October 1778, Cook artifacts presented by Banks (Book of Presents).
- 11 November 1780, *fide* Solander's diary (BM. Add. MS. 45, 874, p. 25): donation by Banks\*, possibly including his inheritance of specimens from Anderson\* and Clerke\*. The *Book of Presents* records "several natural and artificial curiosities from the South Seas; from John Gore, James Burney, Lt. Phillips, Lt. Roberts, Mr. William Pickover and Mr. Robert Anderson\*, gunners, and Mr. Thomas Waling, quartermaster", to which Banks' name is associated in the *Book of Presents* for 10/24 November 1780. Banks "deposited at different times in the Museum numerous collections of natural and artificial curiosities from the newly discovered islands in the South Seas." (Synopsis of the contents of the British Museum, 11th ed., 1811: xxiv).

- In 1781, transfer of Royal Society's museum, which included Cook material (e.g. second voyage specimens from J. R. Forster\*).
- In 1792, Banks' donation of about half his spirit-preserved animals, the remainder going to William Hunter\*; much Cook material.
- In 1809, sale of a large collection of unwanted material to the Royal College of Surgeons\* for £175. 10s (half refunded later), including a selection supervised by Banks of "all the Articles of Natural History in the Basement Story of the Museum [except the horns] . . . and all Duplicates of Natural History" (*Special Reports,* 2 vols, 1805-7 and 1809, in BM. archives, with xeroxes of natural history pages in BMNH.; these are copies from the series Original Papers, 1743- -, and Official Reports, 1805-67, also in the BM. archives). The transaction was reported on by Clift\*; some of the specimens transferred will have been donated by Banks\* in 1792.
- In 1845, receipt of 348 animals from the Royal College of Surgeons\*, some being from the New Holland Division (the Banksian gift to the College in 1792) and others perhaps from the Banksian gift to the British Museum in the same year, transferred in 1809. Seven are marked "JB" in the BM. Register (BMNH. 1845.2.21.1 and 3, 9, 40, 187, 281, 384-fishes and birds), none matching "JB" specimens in Shaw's 1806 catalogue for the College (Clift MSS. 1, 2). However, two birds in spirit from this collection are cook specimens, the Hawaiian drepanid *Vestiaria coccinea* and the New Zealand callaeid *Creadon carunculatus*, both with painted Clift numbers (Burton, 1969).
- In 1863, receipt of Linnean Society collections (except those of Linnaeus), including Banks' collection of insects, crustaceans and shells (some of the latter surely Solander's--Dance, 1971: 367); the insects were incorporated by Butler (1870), while the shells, labelled "Hanley," were rediscovered by Wilkins (1955).

The BM. collections were transferred to the British Museum (Natural History) in 1881-3, together with most of Banks' collection of natural history drawings.

BRITISH MUSEUM (NATURAL HISTORY). Collections include the drawings of Parkinson\*, Herman Spöring and Alexander Buchan (first voyage), George Forster (second voyage, also William Hodges and Johannes Schumacher), and William Ellis (third voyage), as well as invaluable documentary material (Anderson MS., Dryander MSS. 1-5, Solander MSS. 1-4 and Slips). Some Cook specimens still exist, notably fishes (about fifty); birds (see British Museum\*; also skins labelled Cynorhamphus ulietanus and Nestor meridionalis and a hummingbird nest); possibly crustaceans (about forty marked "Banks Coll."); insects (fifty drawers of Banks' specimens), including butterflies studied by Butler (1870), Watkins (1923--who believed the low-written labels to be Forster's) and Corbet (1941), also cicadas studied by Dugdale & Fleming (1977--two firstvoyage specimens which are labelled "Forster"); and the Banks collection of shells (Wilkins, 1955). Of secondary material are the Latham bird drawings (some being copies of Cook voyages drawings) and ninety-three drawings by Sarah Stone\* of objects in the Leverian\*.

BROUSSONET, Pierre Marie Auguste (1761-1807), naturalist and rural economist, whose career has been described by Carter (1964), Granel (1967) and Caillé (1972). In 1780, he spent two years working on fishes at Banks' house and the British Museum, publishing on dogfishes from the first and second voyages (Broussonet, 1780a, b) and on ten bony fishes from various voyages, being the first decade of a projected larger work (Broussonet, 1782); he also described a sailfish (third voyage) seen on a further visit to London in 1786 (Broussonet, 1786--type of Xiphias platypterus Shaw & Nodder, 1792, see Whitehead, 1964). He took Banksian specimens back to Montpellier\*, of which Cuvier (1828: 126) later received from the Faculty of Medicine; Bauchot (1969) found forty-four out of forty-six of these in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris (twenty-three Banksian, fourteen types). Broussonet unpublished names are pencilled on some Parkinson and Forster fish drawings and on a list of the drawings (Dryander MS.1), possibly by Broussonet himself; a number of these names were published (as nomina nuda) by Gmelin (1789, especially chaetodon, p. 1269; he must have seen Broussonet's manuscripts, now apparently lost).

**BULLOCK, William** (fl. 1795-1845), jeweller, silversmith, toyman and, from about 1795, owner of a museum in Sheffield (Bullock, 1799--first *Companion*). He then moved to Liverpool, the museum being in his house at 24 Church Street until 1805, when he installed it at his shop in Church

Street (museum handbill in Merseyside County Museums) and in 1809 he moved to London, where his collection was housed from 1811 at the famous Egyptian Hall at 22 Piccadilly (Egyptian facade by P. F. Robinson, figures of Isis and Osiris by Sebastian Gahagan. See Honour, 1954; similar façades at Devonport, Oddfellows Hall, by Foulson, 1823, and at Penzance, 1830. See Sunday Times, color suppl., 19 March 1972). Bullock published seventeen further Companions (seven Liverpool, ten London) in two sizes, occasionally two in one year or one reprinted the next (almost complete set in BMNH. See Kaeppler, 1974). Offered entire museum to Edinburgh via Robert Jameson, Professor of Natural History, in September 1818 since his son had no interest in it; also approached Banks, as Trustee of the British Museum (January 1819), then made a final offer to Edinburgh (£9000), with a list of 2,485 birds, 429 amphibians, and 232 mammals (1 February 1819), tried Banks again (31 March) and finally put it up for auction (26 April-11 June 1819, 3342 lots over 26 days. See Sweet, 1970a, chiefly on Jameson's correspondence, Pollok-Morris MSS.). Portrait of Bullock in Rowley (1822, 2: 101, pl. XLVIII, reproduced by Sweet, 1970a) and accounts of his museum by Mullens (1917-18) and Iredale (1948); his American sojourn and return to England in Shepperson (1961). Interior of museum with and without exhibits shown in Ackerman's Repository (pls. 35 and 45, the first reproduced by Sweet, 1970a), as also the exterior; interior shown on frontispiece of sale catalogue and much later photo in Shepperson (1961). Bullock exhibited the de Barde gouaches\* with catalogue (Bullock, 1814), some showing Cook specimens in Leverian, also the Bullock tiger and boa constrictor exhibit (now at Rawtenstall Museum\*--donated by Lord Hastings to the Norwich Castle Museum\*, but originally bought by Crossas lot 98 of tenth day at Bullock's sale of 1819). Bullock frequently boasted Cook material, especially birds (Bullock's 16th Companion, 1814: 53; Bullock, 1817: iv; sale catalogue of 1819, parrots on 14th day), but his claims may have been exaggerated (Clift, MS. 3, Bullock birds from Royal College of Surgeons\*; Medway, 1976: 18) he acquired most of the Cook birds from the Leverian (Stresemann, 1951), as also perhaps some Forster insects, of which one, a dipteran, may be the specimen labelled "S. Seas 1775 Forster" in Norwich Castle Museum<sup>\*</sup>. Substantial purchases at Bullock's sale were made by the British Museum\*, Edinburgh\*, Paris\*, Berlin\*, Leiden\* and Vienna\*; also the Linnean Society\* and the Earl of Derby (and thence to Liverpool<sup>\*</sup>). Annotated sale catalogues in BMNH. and Zoology Department Library, Cambridge, the latter believed by Newton (1891: 42) to have been annotated by Latham\*.

## Cook's Zoological Collections

**CALONNE, Charles Alexandre,** Duke of (1734-1802), collector, who bought many shells through his agent Dillon at the Portland sale\* of 1786, some being Cook specimens and listed in the "specification" of George Humphrey (1797); sale 25 May-22 June 1801 (priced catalogue in BMNH.).

**CALVERT, John**, who was said by his grandson (Calvert, 1893) to have been shown by Robert Brown artifacts and instruments donated by Cook, stored in a cupboard at 32 Soho Square; having bought Banks' house some years later, Calvert found the objects still in the cupboard, by then papered over, and he sold them to the Australian Museum. Their authenticity has been strongly doubted (Kaeppler, 1978); the painting of a black swan (Calvert, 1893) is quite erroneously implied to represent a Cook specimen (presumably from the cupboard), but no mention was made of black swans on Cook's voyages and they were first recorded from the eastern coast of Australia by the First Fleet (Disney, 1969).

**CAMBRIDGE.** Birds from the collection of William Swainson\* may have gone to Cambridge, possibly including Cook material. The Imperial sun shell bought by Seymer\* from Ingham Forster\* is in the Museum of Zoology. The Sedgwick Museum of Geology has twenty-eight watercolors by Sarah Stone\* depicting shells, fossils, etc. in the Leverian\*.

**CHAUNCEY.** In the Naturalist's repository Donovan (1822: pl. 34) claimed that Dr. Chauncey acquired (at least) one Cook shell *(Terebratula sanguinea).* 

**CHICHESTER, Arthur,** Baron Fisherwick and Marquess of Donegall (d. 1799), at whose sale in September 1800 were some probable Cook artifacts, also zoological specimens (e.g. p. 42, No. 129 "The Imperial sun shell, from New Zealand, *very rare"*). Another sale in March 1801.

**CLERKE, Captain Tobias** (1741-79), who died at sea on the third voyage, bequeathed his artificial and natural curiosities (birds specifically mentioned) to Banks (Clerke's final letter to Banks, Beaglehole, 1967: 1543); possibly Banks gave these to the British Museum\* in 1780 (Kaeppler, 1978). Daines Barrington claimed (mistakenly) that Clerke's third voyage natural history specimens, in addition to Cook's, were destined for the Leverian (his letter to Lord Sandwich, Beaglehole, 1967: 1558).

64

**CLIFT, William** (1775-1849), the conscientious curator of John Hunter's museum and later that of the Royal College of Surgeons, whose career was traced by Dobson (1954). Two of his catalogues provide useful clues to Cook material donated by Banks to Hunter (Clift MSS. 1, 2) and a report (Clift MS. 3) describes in scathing terms the material bought from the British Museum in 1809\*, whose intrinsic value "lay principally in the quantity of useful stoppered bottles . . . of every shape and degree of thickness and thinness, from almost the origins of Glassblowing," but of the specimens "great numbers had become quite dry mouldy and shrivelled, and utterly spoiled."

**COOK, Captain James** (1728-79), frequently cited as donor of objects, did in fact collect natural history material as well as artifacts. He presented, with Captain Clerke, "a collection of natural and artificial curiosities" from the second voyage to the British Museum\*; these included birds in alcohol, destined for Banks (Solander to Banks, 1 August and 22 August 1775, see Dawson, 1958: 772), following an earlier gift of artifacts alone (6 October 1775). Cook also presented objects (? specimens also) to George III. He sent "six Birds [second voyage] from the Cape to Leicester Fields" i.e. to the Leverian (Daines Barrington to Lord Sandwich. See Beaglehole, 1967: 1558) as well as at least one shell (Donovan, 1822, 1: pl. 34), and his third voyage material (but not that of Clerke\*; which went to Banks) also went to the Leverian Museum (newspaper article, 31 January 1781, Perceval corr., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, cited by Kaeppler, 1978: 47).

**COSTA, Emanuel Mendes da** (1717-91), naturalist, Clerk of the Royal Society and, after four years in prison, dealer, who illustrated Cook shells in his *Conchology* (1770-71) and may well have bought second or third-voyage specimens. For biography, see Whitehead (1977).

**CRACHERODE, Reverend Clayton Mordaunt** (1730-99), Trustee of the British Museum (to which he bequeathed his collection and books), possessed at least three Cook shells, perhaps bought through George Humphrey<sup>\*</sup> (Nos. 80, 204, 396. Whitehead, 1969a: 173); these were perhaps the first Cook shells to come to the Museum (Wilkins, 1957).

**CROSSTHWAITE, Daniel** (? or his son), who founded a museum at Keswick in 1780 and died about 1810, the museum being sold up in 1870, the

BM. buying thirty ethnographic objects, of which five or six were from Dixon (BM. Day Book and catalogue); Crossthwaite may also have had Cook voyages natural history material.

**CUMING, Richard** (1777-1870), amateur scientist and collector (cousin of Hugh Cuming the "Prince of shell collectors"), whose collection contained fifty-eight lots from the Leverian sale of 1806, as well as specimens from Goodall\* and Leverian material from Fillinham\*; a Cook fish, *Balistes vetula*, from the Leverian (lot 5077) is still extant (Whitehead, 1969a: 168). The Cuming Museum is now at Walworth Road, Southwark, London. Obituary in Anon. (1871).

**DALMER.** Unknown donor of at least three third-voyage birds to Göttingen\* (Streseman, 1950: 79, or Merrem).

**DANZIG.** The Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde (founded 1743) elected J. R. Forster\* as first honorary member (1776), and later Banks and Solander. Forster may have donated second-voyage material and Humphrey\* certainly sold second-voyage shells, which were later described by the curator Friedrich August von Plobsheim (1711-89), being the first report on Cook voyage shells (Zorn, 1778; see also Dance, 1971: 371).

**DANTZIGER, J. W.**, natural history dealer of 35 Wardour Street, London, who might be confused with the above in sale catalogue annotations.

**DERBY, Lord Edward Smith Stanley,** 13th Earl of (1775-1851), who possessed one of the most important private collections of the period (twenty to 30,000 specimens in 1851), especially rich in birds (over 300 types, Brennan & Morgan, 1977: 20, with excellent summary of donors, including Banks, Bullock, Donovan, Latham and others known to have had Cook material). Known as the Knowsley Museum, it was presented to the City of Liverpool by the 14th Earl and formed the basis of the Free Public Museums (now Merseyside County Museums); the birds survived but some mammals were destroyed in the bombing of 1941 (Allan, 1941). The MS. inventory of whole museum 1822-23 by Sherlock and the 6 vol. MS catalogue in 1848-50 (incomplete) by Louis Fraser provide clues to Cook material. Leverian material bought through the London dealer Thompson, including lot 2698 of 23rd day, a New Zealand *kokako (Callaeas cinerea)* and lot 44 of penultimate day, two New Zealand *tui (Prosthemadera*)

66

*novaeseelandiae);* as noted by Newton (1891: 42), the Liverpool specimen of an *akialoa (Hemignathus obscurus)* bought at the Leverian was the one painted by Sydenham Edwards and reproduced by Audebert & Vieillot (1802: pl. 55); the same bird (?) was also figured in Latham's *General synopsis* (vol. 1, pl. 14, fig. 1) and in Shaw's *Museum Leverianum* (pl. 36. See Medway, 1976: 128, pl. 4). At least three Bullock birds from the Cook voyages went to Liverpool (lots 32, 33 of 14th day, lot 109 of 15th day); see Whitehead (1969a: 95), Medway (1976) and work in progress by Morgan and Wagstaffe.

**DILLON.** Acted as agent for the Duke of Calonne<sup>\*</sup> at the Portland sale of 1786<sup>\*</sup>.

DISCOVERY OFFICER. Recently found to have been David Samwell\*.

**DONEGALL.** See Chichester.

**DONOVAN, Edward** (1768-1837), naturalist, also illustrator and author of popular zoological works, who compiled the Leverian sale catalogue (Donovan, 1806). He later made reference to a number of Cook specimens (and illustrated some) in his *Naturalist's repository* (1822-27, 1834--e.g. vol. 1, pl. 11, the famous pink variety of the Imperial sun shell bought at the Leverian sale by Fillinham\*).

**EDINBURGH.** Robert Jameson, Professor of Natural History, corresponded with Bullock (September 1818-February 1819) over purchase of the latter's museum for the university (for £9000), with list of vertebrate specimens (except fishes), but declined (Sweet, 1970a). Some Bullock material was bought for Edinburgh by Walter Adam (1792-1857), assisted by William Leach\*, and nearly £350 was paid (Sweet, 1970a). Cook birds were present but destroyed by 1780 (A. S. Clarke, *in litt.*).

**FABRICIUS, Johan Christian** (1745-1808), who studied at Uppsala under Linnaeus, examined numerous Cook specimens during his many visits to England (1772-1791); in his autobiography he spoke of visiting Banks, Solander, William Hunter and Dru Drury (Fabricius, 1784; see Hope, 1845). Of approximately 1500 new species in his *Systema entomologiae* of 1775, about a third were based on Banksian specimens, although not all from the first voyage (Zimsen, 1964). There is also frequent reference to "Mus. Dom. Banks" in his later works (*Genera insectorum*, 1786; *Species in*-

*sectorum,* 1781; *Mantissa insectorum,* 1787; *Entomologia systematica,* 1792-94). Fabrician specimens in BMNH. and in Glasgow\* include Cook material.

**FICHTEL, Leopold von,** was commissioned to buy at the Leverian sale of 1806 for the Imperial Collections at Vienna\* (Pelzeln, 1873), where he acquired 204 birds, some from the Cook voyages (Stresemann, 1949; Medway, 1976); also fishes (one Cook specimen extant. Whitehead, 1961a: 169, pl. 2).

**FILLINHAM, J. J. A.**, who knew Lever well and may have had a connection with the auctioneers King & Lochée (Seymer Cuming to Perceval, Perceval corr., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). He bid at the Leverian sale of 1806, including lot 81 (last day), the pink variety of the Imperial sun shell (twenty-three guineas), which Lever had bought from George Humphrey\* for ten guineas; it later appeared in the collection of the Duke of Bourbon\* and was acquired by the British Museum; it was a second-voyage specimen and was painted by de Barde\* (Bullock, 1814: pl. 6, No. 25; Whitehead, 1969a: 190-191, pl. 2) and illustrated by Donovan in his *Naturalist's repository*, (vol. 1, pl. 11), who recounted its history. Fillinham's own annotated copy of the Leverian sale is owned by Jonathan King (BM).

**FORDYCE, George** (1736-1802), physician in Aberdeen and later at St. Thomas' in London, who had a fine shell collection, including Cook material from the third voyage (Martyn, 1780; also, Dance, 1971: 368: 369).

**FORSTER, Johann George Adam** (1754-94), natural history artist on second voyage, most of whose drawings are in the BMNH., having been bought by Banks in 1776\* (2 vols. botany, 2 vols. zoology) the latter with 271 drawings, listed by Lysaght (1959, birds only) and Whitehead (1978a, all non-avian); also, six drawings at Weimar, two at Jena and twenty-six gouaches (copies) at Gotha (Steiner & Baege, 1971; Whitehead, 1978a, listed, mostly birds) and 131 drawings of plants in Botanical Institute, Leningrad. A notebook of zoological observations from the second voyage (13 July 1772-1 January 1773 and 26 March-3 May 1773) in the Bibliothèque Centrale of Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris (MS. 189, xerox in BMNH.). **FORSTER, Ingham** (1752-82), dealer, brother of Jacob Forster<sup>\*</sup> and brother-in-law of George Humphrey<sup>\*</sup> (Whitehead, 1973), who acquired some second voyage material, e.g. an Imperial sun shell sold to Henrey Seymer<sup>\*</sup>. His collections sold in 1783-84 (See *Gent's Mag.*, 82 (1): 515 for 1812).

**FORSTER, Jacob** (1739-1806), dealer and mineral collector, brother of Ingham Forster<sup>\*</sup> and married to George Humphrey's sister<sup>\*</sup> (Whitehead, 1973), who must have handled Cook material and may be the "Forster" in some annotated sale catalogues. His own sale in 1808.

FORSTER, Johann Rheinhold (1727-98), naturalist on the second voyage, with his son George\* as natural history artist, whose collections were widely scattered. His Descriptiones animalium (Lichtenstein, 1844, MS. Lat. qu. 133-136 in Staatsbibliothek Preussische Kulturbesitz, West Berlin; also MS. Germ. qu. 222-227, his voyage Journal) includes all secondvoyage animals and reference to George's drawings (Whitehead, 1978a). Definitive biography by Hoare (1976), as well as publication of the voyage Journal (Hoare, 1978). Forster brought insects to the British Museum\* in early September 1775 for Solander to select for the BM., Royal Society\*, Banks\*, Tunstall\* and Lever\* (Solander to Banks--see Dawson, 1958: 772); insects accepted 20 September fide Book of Presents, which also shows presentation of 141 fishes and sixty-two birds (6 September) and Cape mammals and birds (8 September), the mammals also mentioned in Forster (1781). To Banks\* he presented "very many specimens, both of plants and animals" from the second voyage (MS. note by Banks, copied out by Robert Brown. see Britten, 1885). He also made an unsuccessful attempt to sell shells to Banks which were claimed unique to his collection (Forster to Banks, 26 September 1778--see Dawson, 1958: 339). He sent some second-voyage MSS. and "Natural curiosities" to Johann Karl Phillip Spener in Hamburg to forward to Linnaeus\* (Forster to Spener, 10 November 1775 and Spener to Linnaeus, 10 December 1775, Linnaeus corr., Linn. Soc.); he had already sent more than 150 specimens to Linnaeus in 1772, at least twenty-seven of which are in the Linnean Society (Day & Fitton, 1977. Not Cook specimens, but such may also be there). A Forster insect (dipteran labelled "S. Seas 1771 Forster") in the Joseph Sparshall collection in the Norwich Castle Museum<sup>\*</sup> is from the second voyage. Forster may also have sold specimens to Göttingen\* and other German universities, also Danzig\*. Drawings by George for J. R. Forster's projected Icones plantarum are in Leningrad and 196 plants (possibly those sent to Pallas<sup>\*</sup>) are at the Moscow State University, while a further 220 plant specimens and a list by George Forster were given by Buffon in 1799 and are at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris.

**FOTHERGILL, John** (1712-80), Quaker physician and owner of a large shell collection (reputed second only to the Duchess of Portland's\*), who acted as mediator over publication of Sydney Parkinson's posthumous *Journal* and the disposal of his collections and papers; as a result he acquired some of Sydney's first-voyage shells (Explanatory remarks in Parkinson, 1773: 7). In 1781, Fothergill's shells, corals, and insects were bought by William Hunter\* for £1100 and eventually came to Glasgow\*; Hunter intended selling Fothergill's duplicate shells, flies and perhaps corals after they were arranged and labelled by his assistant William Cruikshank (Hunter to Hugh Cuming, December 1781, Pulteney corr., Linn. Soc.). Fothergill's coral collection, basis for John Ellis and Solander's *Natural History of many curious and uncommon zoophytes* (1786), was claimed "'the foremost in Europe" (Lettsom, 1784: Liii). Fothergill undoubtedly had many Cook specimens. Biographical data in Lettsom (1784: iii-cxciii) and Fox (1919), also many of his letters in Corner & Booth (1971).

**FURNEAUX, Captain Tobias** (1735-81), who commanded the *Adventure* and seems to have donated a number of second-voyage birds to Banks\* (Dryander MS. 5).

**GENEVA.** Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, which has almost intact the shell collection of Christian Hwass\*, which contained Cook material.

**GENTLEMAN.** There were many sales by "Gentleman" (Deceased, Foreign, Going Abroad, etc.). At one such sale, of "A Gentleman, (Deceased)" in June 1798, there were probable Cook specimens (e.g. p. 27, No. 113 "The Imperial sun shell, from Dusky Bay, New Zealand, very scarce.").

**GEORGE III.** Received from Banks and Solander late in 1772 "Some beautiful birds from the South Sea Islands" (Rauschenberg, 1968: 41); apparently presented two third-voyage birds to Göttingen\*.

**GLASGOW.** William Hunter\* bequeathed his museum to the University after a period of use by his nephew William Baillie\* and his anatomical assistant William Cumberland Cruikshank (Gunther, 1925; also DNB un-

der Hunter); it came to the University in 1807, with the zoological material transferred to the Zoology Department in 1923. There is a MS. list of Hunter's collection, made by the Trustees just after his death, and a 2 vol. catalogue in pencil of shells to 1885 (none marked as Hunter, however). Five cabinets of insects extant (probably labelled by William Cruikshank, not Fabricius), but localities usually given only for non-descripts (Dermestes felinus, possible Cook specimen, an exception, as noted by Staig, 1931, 1940, coleoptera only) including twenty-six other insect specimens first described from Banks, Solander or Forster material, hence these are possibly syntypes. The named insect species bear references (? by Cruikshank) to the Species insectorum of Fabricius\*. Kerr (1910) listed over 150 species in this collection, including the corals (with reference to Ellis & Solander's Natural history . . . of zoophytes, 1786); he also mentioned 200 insects (but 2000 intended). Of shells, at least fifty specimens have Cook localities, some being from Fothergill's collection\*, bought by Hunter in 1781; if the MS. catalogue by Lettsom\* of Fothergill's shells could be found, many would surely match. Laskey (1813) recorded such Fothergill shells, but Wilkins (1955) said none could be recognized. Data on collection kindly supplied by Dr. Helen Brock, who plans to publish on it. The description by Laskey\* is still useful.

**GOODALL, Joseph** (1760-1840), Headmaster and later Provost of Eton, who bought at the Bullock sale of 1819 and may have had Cook shells (Wilkins, 1955). Some of Goodall's specimens went to Richard Cuming<sup>\*</sup>.

**GÖTTINGEN.** The Göttingen Naturalienkabinett is said to have had three examples of the Hawaiian 'i'iwi (Vestiaria coccinea), acquired from a Mr. Dalmer, one being illustrated by B. Merrem (Stresemann, 1950; also 1949 and 1951); four further specimens of this bird, the basis for George Forster's description, were brought to Cassel by Bartholdi (or Bartholemi) Lohmann, a sailor on the third voyage. Another Hawaiian bird, the now extinct 'o'o (Moho nobilis), was presented by George III\*, Elector of Hanover (Streseman, 1950: 80); it is perhaps the one listed, together with an 'i'iwi, in an ethnographic collection sold by George Humphrey\* on the suggestion of Johan Blumenbach in 1782 (the list and the 'i'iwi now in the Institüt für Volkekunde, together with the ethnographic items). A second collection of Cook artifacts reached Göttingen from J. R. Forster's widow in 1799 (matching the Forster collection at Oxford. See Gathercole, n.d.), but it probably did not contain Cook natural history material. A set of Forster second-voyage plants is in the Botanisches Institüt, perhaps donated during George Forster's time in Göttingen.

GREENE. See Litchfield.

# HANCOCK MUSEUM. See Tunstall.

**HESLOP.** As yet unidentified purchaser at Leverian sale, who bought lot 5264, three Cook voyages fishes.

HUMPHREY, George (1739-1826), London dealer and collector of natural history and ethnographic objects, also amateur conchologist, who lived at 48 Long Acre and later 30 St. Martin's Lane, where his Museum Humfredianum flourished for a year before its sale in 1779 (Humphrey, 1779; see Whitehead, 1977). He catalogued many natural history sales (e.g. Fothergill in 1781 and Calonne in 1797) and in about 1786 moved to 4 Leicester St., off Leicester Square; his final sale (shells) was in 1823. He bought first-voyage shells (Humphrey to da Costa, ? July, 1771, da Costa corr., BM. See Whitehead, 1977: 18) and also large numbers of secondvoyage shells directly from the crew of the Resolution (for nearly £150), some of which were sold to the Duchess of Portland\* (Pulteney corr., BMNH., with numbered list sent by Humphrey to Henry Seymer, 29 September 1775); some of these shells were sold to Danzig\*. For third-voyage shells, he spent only £20, buying direct from the crews of the Resolution and the Discovery (Thomas Martyn\* to Seymer\*, Pulteney corr., BMNH.). He sold artifacts which reached Göttingen\* via George III, the collection also including two Hawaiian birds. Humphrey's sister, Elizabeth, married Jacob Forster\*, brother of Ingham Forster\*. A fairly detailed genealogy was required for litigation by one of Humphrey's grandchildren and is now in the Supreme Court papers in the Tasmanian Archives, Hobart (I am indebted to Tom Vallance for this information).

**HUNTER, John** (1728-93), surgeon-anatomist who, after some years in partnership with his brother William<sup>\*</sup>, decided about 1763 to form a museum at his house in Jermyn Street, moving it in 1785 to the area between Castle Street and his Leicester Square house. It was opened for teaching purposes in 1787 and on his death was bought by the nation and became in 1800 the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. In 1790, Hunter received from Banks (or possibly prior to this) the skull of a Great grey kangaroo (first voyage; see Hunter in White, 1790: 272), but this was not the model for the drawing by Nathaniel Dance among the Parkinson drawings<sup>\*</sup> (Morrison-Scott & Sawyer, 1950, Dance drawing and photo of skull, the later destroyed in Second World War). In 1792, Hunter re-

72

ceived a large collection of Cook specimens in spirits from Banks<sup>\*</sup>, which were kept separate, labelled "J.B." and numbered by the curator William Clift<sup>\*</sup>. A catalogue of these was made by George Shaw in 1806 after Hunter's museum had passed to the Royal College of Surgeons, Hunter may have bought shells (possibly Cook specimens) at the Portland sale<sup>\*</sup>, some of which later came to Glasgow<sup>\*</sup> (Laskey, 1813). In 1802 a "collection of mammals brought back from the South Sea Islands by Captain Cook" was seen in the museum by Louis Dufresne of Paris (Sweet, 1970b). See also Royal College of Surgeons<sup>\*</sup>.

**HUNTER, William** (1718-82), brother of John and Court Physician to Queen Charlotte, who in 1770 founded a lecture theatre, dissecting rooms and museum in Great Windmill Street (site of a later famous theatre, also with an emphasis on anatomy). Hunter's collection was bequeathed to Glasgow\* after a period of use by his nephew William Baillie\* and his anatomical assistant William Cruikshank. A MS. list of purchases of his museum was in the BM., Department of Antiquities (DNB.), but cannot be located.

**HUNTERIAN MUSEUM.** Both John Hunter<sup>\*</sup> and his brother William<sup>\*</sup> formed important museums, the first becoming the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons<sup>\*</sup> in London, the second the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow<sup>\*</sup>. Both contained material from the Cook voyages.

**HWASS, Christian** (1731-1803), conchologist, whose large shell collection is preserved almost intact at the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle in Geneva\* (Dance, 1971: 374), including at least one Cook specimen, the type of *Conus caledonicus* Hwass, bought at the Portland sale\* (Mermod, 1947).

**JACKSON, George,** carpenter's mate on the *Resolution,* who may have been the one who sold Cook material (Henry Seymer to Richard Pulteney, 28 November 1775. Pulteney corr., Linn. Soc.).

**JACKSON, Samuel**, dealer, said to have purchased second-voyage specimens from the *Resolution* at Portsmouth; both Lever\* and Humphrey\* bought at Samuel Jackson's sale in March 1776 (Kaeppler, 1978).

**JENNING, H. Constant** (1732-1819), who bought a colorful sea urchin (lot 56) at the Leverian sale, which had been sold to Lever\* by Robert Anderson\*.

**KEATE, George,** whose sale catalogue of 5 April (? 1802 *fide* Chalmers-Hunt, 1976: 179) has possible Cook specimens (e.g. 3rd day, No. 21 "Ostrea malleus, *very large and fine,* from the South Seas, *rare*" and other shells from Otaheite, etc.). Some 1440 lots over twelve days, thus, a large collection.

LASKEY, Captain John, author of the account of the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow<sup>\*</sup> (Laskey, 1813), who bought for that museum (and possibly for himself) at the Leverian sale of 1806 (e.g. lot 5277 on 44th day, a spotted shag. Medway, 1976: 121). Laskey's own collection was sold in July 1808 (Chalmers-Hunt, 1976: 71).

LATHAM, John (1740-1837), ornithologist, whose 3 vols. *General synopsis of birds* (1781-85) described numerous new species based on Leverian and Banksian material (vernacular names, given binomials by Gmelin in 13th ed. of *Systema naturae* of 1788-93, although some already named by Sparrman in his *Museum Carlsonianum* of 1786-89). Medway (1976: 52) was perhaps the first to note that Latham claimed (*General synopsis,* **3:** i-ii) a personal collection containing Cook specimens (e.g. the *kaka, kokako* and *tui*). He bought at the Leverian sale of 1806 (e.g. lots 2790, 3070, the Hawaiian *mamo* and '*i*'*iwi*). Most of his birds were dispersed when he left Kent in 1796 (Mathews, 1931: 473). In addition to using Cook specimens, Latham had copied some of George Forster's drawings\*(e.g. the South Island bush wren. Medway, 1976: fig. 2), now in BMNH.

**LAUGIER, Baron Mieffern,** de Chartrouse, ornithologist, who bought at the Bullock sale of 1819, for Paris\* as well as perhaps for himself (e.g. lot 4, 11th day and lot 115, 14th day--Cook birds). Part of his collection (309 birds) was bought by the British Museum in June 1837 (Sharpe, 1906: 409).

**LEACH, William Elford** (1790-1836), zoologist at the British Museum, who offered to act as agent for Edinburgh\* at the Bullock sale of 1819 and assisted Walter Adam in that capacity (Sweet, 1970a); he also bought for himself (e.g. two Banksian petrels from first voyage on 11th day). It was Leach who urged members of the Linnean Society to black-ball Bullock\*, but without success (Linn. Soc., Minute Book).

**LEADBEATER.** Leadbeater & Son, leading London natural history agents at Brewer Street (Sharpe, 1906: 411), who bought at the Bullock sale of 1819 (Sweet, 1970a: 27-28), possibly for the British Museum.

**LEIDEN.** Bullock material was bought for Leiden by Temminck<sup>\*</sup> and at least five Cook birds are in the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie (Whitehead, 1969a: 195); in all, 536 birds of 363 species were bought (Stresemann, 1951). Bullock specimens in Leiden mentioned in *Mus. Hist. nat. Pays-Bas*, Leiden, **2**: 2 (*Perni*), 12 (*Circe*), 25 (*Astures*); **3**: 88, 95 (*Psittaci*, possible Gmelin type); **6**: 13, 14 (*Procellaria*), 30 (*Pelecani*); **9**: 127, 153; **11**: 7; **12**: 93; also Cook material in **4**: 162 (*Columbae*) and **5**: 26 (*Ralli*).

LEROY. See Barde, Chevalier de.

**LETTSOM, John Coakley** (1744-1815), Quaker physician and friend of John Fothergill, also his biographer (Lettsom, 1784), who apparently made a MS. catalogue of his shells (possibly left with his books to the London Medical Society). He greatly admired Fothergill's "accurate knowledge of shells", to which da Costa\* was much indebted in his *British Conchology* of 1778 (Lettsom, **1**: 52). Portrait in Wellcome Institute (with his family, artist unknown).

LEVER, Sir Ashton (1729-88) formed a small museum and aviary at his home Alkrington Hall near Manchester (Gent's Mag., 43: 219-221 for 1773), bringing it to London in 1775, where it was housed at Leicester House, Leicester Square and was known as the Leverian Museum or Holphusikon (Mullens, 1915; also Smith, 1960 and Europeans Mag., 1: 17-21 for January 1782). Biographical data in Smith (1962). For his efforts, Lever was knighted in 1778, but by 1781 could not afford upkeep of the museum and appealed for public support, offered it to the Empress of Russia and petitioned the Government to purchase it (but Banks seems to have advised against it--Farringdon Diaries, BM. 12: 3352). Lever finally sold it by lottery in 1786 (Ashton, 1893; Smith, 1960) and it was acquired by James Parkinson, who moved it to the Rotunda\* in Albion Street on the south side of Blackfriars Bridge. Entrance to the Rotunda in watercolor, possibly by Sarah Stone, now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu (reproduced in color by Kaeppler, 1978) and the interior by Sarah Stone<sup>\*</sup> as engraving in the Companion (Anon., 1790); another version of interior in Ella (c. 1805). In 1806, the museum was auctioned (64 days, 5 May-18

July) and at least 135 people bid for the 7879 lots (catalogued by Donovan, 1806); its dispersal was much regretted (e.g. Shaw, 1805). Annotated sale catalogues in BM., BMNH., Linn. Soc., Cuming Museum\*, Cambridge\* and Liverpool\* (the Earl of Derby's copy); the copy annotated by William Clift\* in possession of Jonathan King (BM). Cook material came to the Leverian by many (mostly unrecorded) routes. Insects from Forster\* came via the British Museum\* in 1775, and six Cape birds (second voyage) came from Cook\*, as also his third-voyage material (ethnographic, but possibly also natural history). Some Cook voyages animals can be located in contemporary accounts of the museum (Anon., 1790 and Shaw, 1792-6; but not in Ella, c. 1805, useful room-by-room-description, with mention of Cook artifacts but not animals) and also in certain zoological works, either before or after the transfer to Parkinson; these include Audebert & Vieillot's Oiseaux doré (2 vols., 1802, a number of birds illustrated from paintings by Sydenham Edwards of Leverian specimens, also some owned by Humphrey\*); Shaw & Nodder's Naturalist's miscellany (24 vols., 1789-1813); Shaw's General Zoology (14 vols., 1800-26); Donovan's Naturalist's repository (5 vols., 1822-34); Latham's General synopsis of birds (3 vols., 1781-85 and Supplement 1787); Latham's Index ornithologicus (2 vols., 1790, Supplement 1801); Pennant's Histoy of quadrupeds (2 vols., 1781; preface, p. 8); and Pennant's Arctic zoology (2 vols., 1784-85). Contemporary accounts of the museum include that of Robert Jameson (1774-1854) of Edinburgh\*, who visited the museum about a dozen times in 1793 and recorded his impressions (Sweet, 1963). Visual records of Leverian zoological material include ninety-three watercolors by Sarah Stone\* of 1781-85 (BMNH.) and twenty-eight watercolors and pencil drawings in the Sedgwick Museum of Geology, Cambridge; also, her Sketchbook No 1 with 132 watercolors is in the Australian Museum, Sydney (Anderson, 1928; Hindwood, 1964) and Sketchbooks 2 and 3 (Cook artifacts, but also three Hawaiian birds) are in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu (Force & Force, 1968). A bound volume of watercolors by Thomas Davies (1737?-1812), once owned by Lady Brassey and now in the Hastings Museum, shows Cook artifacts in the Leverian, but the fifty-one animals are probably all non-Leverian. Another visual record is the gouaches by de Barde\*, exhibited and catalogued by Bullock (1814). Owner of Leverian in 1790 is still James Parkinson (Companion, title), but his son John probably took over later.

**LICHTENSTEIN, Martin Heinrich Karl** (1780-1857), director of the Zoologisches Museum in Berlin, who bought artifacts for the Königlichen

Preussische Kunstkammer at Bullock's sale of 1819 (Kaeppler, 1974: 80-81) and may well have bought zoological specimens also. He edited J. R. Forster's *Descriptiones animalium*, which had already been seen in MS. by J. G. Schneider in the Königlichen Bibliothek and used in his *Systema ichthyologiae* of 1801 (Whitehead, 1978a).

LINNAEUS, Carl (1707-78), whose 12th edition of the *Systema naturae* (Stockholm, 1766) was the essential *vade mecum* for all Cook voyages naturalists. He was sent a parcel of manuscripts and "natural curiosities" by J. R. Forster\* after the second voyage; some of the latter may be in the Linnaean collections bought by J. E. Smith in 1784 and now in the Linnean Society\*; amongst these may also be some of the 200 shells sent to Linnaeus by Tunstall\* in 1772 from the first voyage (Linnaeus corr., **15**: 395, Linn. Soc.; Dance, 1967: 3). Solander\* had studied under Linnaeus, as also had Fabricius\* and Alströmer\*.

**LINNEAN SOCIETY.** Possessed an important museum until it was given to the British Museum in 1863 (except for Linnaeus' material). Banks was never a Fellow but assisted in various ways and in 1815 donated a collection of insects and crustaceans (Anon., 1815), where they were seen and some illustrated by Swainson (1820-23, e.g. pl. 23, a first-voyage specimen) and later by Donovan (1822-34. Banksian insects figured, also some Leverian specimens); Solander's shells from the first voyage were also present (seen by Leach\*). The presence in this collection of Forster insects sent to Linnaeus in 1772 (thus pre-voyage) and brought back to London with the purchase of the Linnaean collections by J. E. Smith in 1784 (Day & Fitton, 1977), suggests that the Forster's specimens sent to Linnaeus in 1775 may also be present.

**LITCHFIELD.** Litchfield Museum, Staffordshire, begun by Richard Greene (1716-93), a surgeon, and said to contain Cook voyages specimens (*Gent's Mag.*, 1788 (2): 477, interior of museum shown, with glass case on left "A collection fo South-sea rarities brought over by Capt. Cook"); some Cook objects may have come from David Samwell\* via the writer Ann Seward (Kaeppler, 1978), but perhaps these were only artifacts. The museum passed to Greene's son and on 29 June 1803 (and two following days) at least a part was sold, including possible Cook artifacts and (2nd day, p. 17) "Preserved birds in glass case" containing "No 5. Cinereous hawk from New Holland, *rare*" (catalogue not listed by Chalmers-Hunt in 1976, but John Laskey's copy in possession of Jonathan King, BM., not an-

# 78 Cook's Zoological Collections

notated). At this time (? at this sale) part of the museum went to Sir St John St Aubyn (minerals only), part to Bullock (armor), and the rest to Walter Honeywood Yate, this latter part subsequently being bought by Greene's grandson Richard Wright in 1805. In August 1821, it was sold and scattered (catalogue at Royal College of Surgeons). Succinct history of museum by Torrens (1974, with interior shown).

**LIVERPOOL.** Lord Derby's Knowsley Museum formed the basis for the Free Public Museums in Liverpool (now Merseyside County Museums) and some Cook specimens can still be located amongst the material left by Lord Derby\*.

**MARRA, John,** gunner's mate on the *Resolution,* who addressed Banks with an offer of second-voyage material, stating "I have procured your Honour a few curiosities as good as could be expected from a person of my capacity. Together with a small assortment of shells, Such as was esteemed by pretended Judges of Shells". (Smith, 1911). Banks\* must have been offered many such collections.

**MARTYN, Thomas** (fl. 1760-1816), dealer and author of the *Universal conchologist* (1784-87), who claimed to have bought two-thirds of the third-voyage shells (for 400 guineas) from the crews of *Resolution* and *Discovery* (Martyn to Henry Seymer, copy of original, Pulteney corr., BMNH.).

**MOLINARI.** Unidentified purchaser of at least one Cook bird (lot 104, 17th day) at Bullock's sale of 1819.

**MONTPELLIER.** Banksian fishes, mostly from the Cook voyages, were brought to the university by Broussonet<sup>\*</sup> and some forty-six specimens were in the Faculty of Medicine until transferred (prior to 1828) to Paris<sup>\*</sup> (Cuvier, 1828: 126).

**NEWCASTLE.** Nearly a century after its foundation, the Hancock Museum acquired the large collection of Marmaduke Tunstall\*, important for its Cook birds and perhaps insects.

**NORWICH.** Norwich Castle Museum has at least one second-voyage insect, a dipteran labelled "S. Seas 1775 Forster," which was found in one of the three cabinets of insects formerly owned by Joseph Sparshall; the provenance of this specimen is not Clear since Sparshall bought an insect collection from W. J. Hooker, while the Sparshall collection was subsequently augmented by other specimens at Norwich. (See *Trans. Norfolk Norwich Nats Soc.*, **13**: 91 and the *Annual Report of the Norwich Castle Museum* for 1845, pp. 10, 15).

**OXFORD.** The Ashmolean Museum received in November 1775 or later a collection of 177 artifacts from the second voyage from J. R. Forster (perhaps at the time he received his honorary degree at Oxford); these are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Gathercole, n.d.), but there is no indication that he parted with natural history specimens (list still extant, all ethnographic).

**PALLAS, Peter Simon** (1741-1811), naturalist at St. Petersburg, who was offered second-voyage plants and shells by J. R. Forster in exchange for Siberian material, but refused, telling Pennant\* that "I would rather choose to send a collection to Mr. Banks himself, than through the mediation of Mr. Forster's . . ." (undated, No. 4 in Urness, 1967). However, Forster later sent to Pallas "a collection of between four and five hundred specimens of Plants fr. the Cape & South-Sea-islands" (17 August 1780, Urness, 1967). These are perhaps the specimens in Moscow State University, said to be Forster's\*.

**PARIS.** In the collection of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Bauchot (1969) discovered forty-four of the forty-six fishes which had been brought from Banks' collection by Broussonet\* to Montpellier\*; at least twenty-three were definitely Banksian, many being from the Cook voyages and fourteen being types. See also Laugier and Bullock (birds), and Forster (plants).

**PARKINSON,** Stanfield, who after the first voyage claimed his brother Sydney's collections, drawings and manuscripts, as well as the right to publish his *Journal of a voyage to the South Seas;* Banks held otherwise, since he had employed Sydney. John Fothergill acted as mediator (see below).

**PARKINSON, Sydney** (1745?-71), natural history artist (specifically for botany *fide* his brother Stanfield in Preface to Parkinson, 1773), who died on the first voyage and whose drawings were bought by Banks (now in BMNH., eighteen botanical and three zoological volumes, the latter with

301 drawings, of which eleven are by Alexander Buchan, nine by Herman Spöring and one by Nathaniel Dance. But 377 zoological drawings by Parkinson and thirty-three by Buchan listed by Dryander, MS. 1, therefore some missing). Among Parkinson's effects was "A very large parcel of curious shells, corals, and other marine productions, many of them beautiful and rare," from which Stanfield Parkinson selected for Banks "such as he might not have in his collection" (Preface to Parkinson, 1773: xii-xiv); Fothergill\* later bought some of the shells and the rest seem to have been sold by Stanfield (Explanatory remarks in Parkinson, 1773: 7). Some Parkinson fish drawings reproduced by collotype in Whitehead, *Forty drawings of fishes . . . by Captain Cook's artists* (1969b, erroneously 1968 on title page).

**PENNANT, Thomas** (1726-98), naturalist and author of the *History of quadrupeds* (2 vols., 1781) and *Arctic zoology* (2 vols., 1784-85) in which Cook voyages specimens are mentioned, some in the Leverian Museum<sup>\*</sup>. Pennant acquired Cook artifacts (e.g. a Maori shell trumpet. Gathercole, 1977) and with his interest in zoology must surely have had Cook animals as well.

**PORTLAND**, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of (1714-85), who had at Bulstrode House one of the foremost private collections of the time, chiefly of shells, which were arranged and labelled by Solander\*, the information being added to his projected 13th edition of the Systema naturae (Solander, MS. Slips) (see Dance, 1966). The collection was sold after her death to meet debts, the Portland catalogue being compiled by her chaplain, the Reverend John Lightfoot (1786, 4156 lots in 39 days); annotated copies owned by Gilbert Whitley and Tom Iredale, also in BM., and others with inserted printed list of purchasers e.g. in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The highlight was the Portland vase (see frontispiece); many Cook voyages specimens were present, some apparently bought by John Hunter\*, the Duke of Calonne\*, Christian Hwass\*, "Bailey" (perhaps Mathew Baillie<sup>\*</sup>, hence Portland shells and possibly insects in Glasgow<sup>\*</sup>), Humphrey\* and others. The Duchess had earlier paid £15 for second-voyage shells from Humphrey\* and in 1787 she apparently gave shells (and a hundred live goldfishes) to Johan Alströmer\*, some of the shells being from the Cook voyages.

**PRINGLE, Sir John** (1707-82), President of the Royal Society, who received third-voyage artifacts from Cook's widow (? also some natural his-

tory specimens) and donated them in 1781 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh (see Society's records and *An account of the in*stitution and progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland); nine artifacts now in the Royal Scottish Museum.

**PULTENEY, Richard** (1730-1801), physician and botanist, as well as shell collector, whose correspondence is an invaluable mine of information on Cook material (BMNH. and Linn. Soc.).

**RAWTENSTALL.** The museum has the tiger and boa constrictor exhibit from Bullock's Museum, which was painted by de Barde\* (engraving 5 in Bullock, 1814) and was lot 98 of the 10th day of Bullock's sale in 1819 (bought by Cross). Its history will be published by Geoff Hancock, to whom I am indebted for information.

**ROTUNDA.** The building in Albion Street to which James Parkinson moved the Leverian Museum after 1784. It lay just across Blackfriars Bridge, on the southern (Surrey) side, beyond Albion Place and on the right, later to become the Surrey Institution, then the Rotunda Wine Rooms (1826), then the Globe Theatre (1833), and finally (as 3 Blackfriar's Road) Burn Bros. Engineers (site now built over). For contemporary pictures, see Lever\*.

**ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.** On the death of John Hunter<sup>\*</sup>, his museum was offered to the nation, but Banks was not in favor and Pitt exclaimed: "What: Buy preparations: I have not money enough for gunpowder!" [many modern parallels] (Cole, 1944: 460-463; Dobson, 1959). In 1795 the Government relented and it was bought for £15,000, some 13,682 specimens being handed over to the Company of Surgeons four years later, the whole becoming the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons on its incorporation in 1800; in 1806 it was moved to its present site in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Very shortly before this the natural history specimens were catalogued by George Shaw (1757-1813), then Assistant Keeper at the British Museum (Best, 1829; also Gent's Mag., 83 (2): 290-292 for 1813), the catalogue later to be copied out by Clift (MSS. 1, 2), who stated that Shaw adopted the numbers that Clift had painted on the tops of the jars shortly before Hunter's death in 1793. Banks' gift to Hunter of 1792 was dubbed the 'New Holland Division' and comprised 344 items, all of which were said to be marked "J.B." (although only twenty-nine are stated as such in Clift MS. 1, and only two in MS. 2,

### Cook's Zoological Collections

hence the great difficulty in tracing Cook specimens in the Banks donation). Banks also donated about two dozen specimens to the College after 1800 (Clift, MS. 4), among which three bottles were possible Cook material, listed as "small specimens of reptiles &c from the South Seas." In 1809, the College bought from the British Museum\* for £175.10s, but half refunded later) a collection of unwanted or duplicate specimens, a number of which must have been those donated by Banks in 1792, thus possible Cook material; Clift reported the gift with mounting indignation at the state of the material (Clift, MS. 3, which gives some data on the Banks gift to Hunter of 1792). In 1845 the College donated 348 natural history specimens to the British Museum, some being from the New Holland Division (thus some from Banks to BM., to RCS., and back to BM.!). Of about six hundred wet preparations catalogued in 1830, all but sixty-five were destroyed by the bombing in May 1941. Two extant Cook specimens are a tunicate, Boltenia reniformis, given in the 1830 catalogue as "collected by Sir Joseph Banks in his voyage round the world with Captain Cook;" and the remains of a large calamary (mouthparts, sagittal section), named Enoploteuthis cookii by Richard Owen, then Assistant Conservator at the College, being almost certainly the moribund cuttlefish collected (and partly eaten) by Banks on 3 March 1769 (Beaglehole, 1962, 1: 236).

### ROYAL SWEDISH ACADEMY. See Alströmer.

**ROYAL SOCIETY.** Some of the insects brought to the British Museum<sup>\*</sup> by Forster<sup>\*</sup> in September 1775 were intended for the Royal Society, presumably on Forster's instructions (Solander to Banks, 5 September 1775-Dawson, 1958: 772). Evidence of second-voyage material (not only insects) in the Society's collection occurs in Peter Brown's *New illustrations of zoology* (1776, e.g. pl., 35 caption). The Society's collections came to the British Museum in 1781, where they seem to have lost their identity (and were probably later mixed with the Banks donation of 1792). See also *Gent's Mag.*, 82: 514 for 1781.

**SAMWELL, David,** surgeon's mate on the *Discovery* (third voyage), who made a collection of natural and artificial curiosities, some of which he later offered for £100 to Anna Blackbume\* (Samwell to Mathew Gregson, 1 November 1780, Gregson corr., LPL.); it is not known if she accepted. In 1780, he bought at the sale of William Bayly\* (Samwell to Gregson, as above), but the following year sold his own collection, under the name "Discovery Officer" (14-15 June 1781, 248 lots--only recently identified as Samwell's sale by Kaeppler, 1978); the collection consisted of fifty-six

natural history lots (nine birds, of which two Hawaiian; forty-six lots of shells) and buyers included Lever\*, Humphrey\* and John Hunter\*. He also gave specimens to the author Anna Seward, who passed some to Richard Greene\* (Kaeppler, 1978). Samwell studied at the Hunterian school in 1780-81 (5 February 1781, Gregson corr., LPL). For biography, see Kaeppler (in prep.).

**SEYMER, Henry** (1745-1800), naturalist and collector, who acquired at least one of the celebrated shells from the voyages, an Imperial sun shell (second voyage) bought for £2. 17s from "Forster" (probably Ingham Forster\*); he had been offered a similar shell for £5. 5s by Humphrey\* (Seymer to Richard Pulteney, Pulteney corr., BMNH.). The Seymer shell is now in the Museum of Zoology, Cambridge\* (Dance, 1966: pl. XV; also Whitehead, 1969: pl. 2). Portrait in Linnean Society.

SOLANDER, Daniel (1733-82), pupil of Linnaeus, assistant to Banks on the first voyage (apparently no journal kept) and assistant and librarian to Banks on the latter's return (as well as Assistant and later Keeper at the British Museum). His manuscripts (in BMNH.) are invaluable for Cook specimens (Solander, MSS. 1-4 and Slips, the latter being notes for a projected 13th edition of the Systema naturae). His receipt of Forster's insects\* in September 1775, as well as the official material brought to the British Museum\* in August (including that intended for Banks\*) have been described above. In 1778-81, he arranged and labelled the shells in the collection of the Duchess of Portland\*. In his official diary (BM. Add. MS. 45, 874, p. 25 for 11 November 1781) he noted a Banksian donation to the British Museum<sup>\*</sup>, but the diary is disappointing for the most part. In 1787, he may have given Cook-voyages shells from his own collection to Johan Alströmer\* (Rydén, 1963); the remainder of his collection apparently went to the Linnean Society together with that of Banks, where it was seen by Leach prior to 1821 (Molluscorum Britanniae synopsis, ed. J. E. Gray, p. 254) and by Swainson (1820-23), thence passing in 1863 to the British Museum\* and losing its identity in the Banks collection (Dance, 1971: 367). For biographical data see Iredale (1913) and especially Rauschenberg (1968).

**SONNERAT, Pierre** (1749-1814), naturalist, who for the first time illustrated an Australia kookaburra, erroneously as a New Guinea bird, in his *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée* (1776); in fact he had received the specimen among "some new birds" given to him by Banks at the Cape in 1770 (letter Sonnerat to Banks, cited by Whitley, 1970: 48).

**SPARRMAN, Anders** (1748-1820), Swedish naturalist and pupil of Linnaeus, who was residing at Cape Town when he joined the *Resolution* in November 1772 as paid assistant to J. R. Forster. He was promised "part of such natural curiosities as they might chance to collect" (Sparrman, 1786: pt. 1, 84). He left the ship at Cape Town in April 1775 and arrived back in Sweden in July 1776. Some of his bird specimens were acquired by Johan Gustav von Carlson and were later described by Sparrman (1786-89) in his *Museum Carlsonianum*. In 1801, about one hundred of Carlson's birds went to the Kungl. Vetenskapsakadamiens in Stockholm and the remainder to A. U. Grill and Gustaf Paykull, as well as Uppsala University. Many of the surviving Carlson (and also Paykull) specimens came to the Naturhistoriska Riksmuseet in Stockholm, where some Sparrman specimens are still extant (e.g. Spotted shag *Sticticarbo punctatus*. See Medway, 1976: 53,121).

### STOCKHOLM. See Sparrman.

84

STONE, Sarah (by 1806, Mrs. Smith, still active in 1830), a talented artist whose watercolors of specimens and artifacts in the Leverian\* are often the only extant record or means of authenticating objects in that museum, particularly those from the Cook voyages. She exhibited over a thousand "transparent drawings in watercolours" at the Leverian (Morning Post, 25 March 1784). Her watercolor with C. Ryley of the interior of the Rotunda, on which was based the engraving in Part 1 of the Companion (Anon., 1790), was lot 887 in the Leverian sale of 1806 (bought by "Oliphant"); watercolor of entrance to Rotunda possibly also by her (se under Lever\*). Three sketchbooks exist depicting objects in the Leverian; vol. 1 in the Australian Museum, Sydney, showing 132 plants and animals (Anderson, 1928; Hindwood, 1964); vols. 2 and 3 (164 drawings) at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, mainly showing artifacts but including three Hawaiian birds ('o'o, 'i'iwi, 'akialoa--reproduced in color by Force & Force, 1968: 47, 49, 51); a collection of ninety-three natural history watercolors in BMNH., based on Leverian material of 1781-85, and twenty-eight similar watercolors and pencil drawings of 1780 and 1782 in the Sedgwick Museum of Geology, Cambridge (possibly part of the series of "transparent drawings in watercolours," as perhaps also those in the three sketchbooks; a few are known to be in private hands, but surely many more remain to be discovered). Some of her drawings were published in the Journal of John White, Surgeon General to the First Fleet (White, 1790).

SWAINSON, William (1789-1855), naturalist and author of a number of popular zoological works, who had a fairly large collection that contained Bullock material, including possibly some animals from the Cook voyages (Kaeppler, 1974). He illustrated Cook specimens formerly owned by Banks and by then in the Linnean Society\* (Swainson, 1820-23). He had a very poor opinion of the state of the British Museum collections, which he likened to the catacombs at Palermo (Swainson, 1840: 237-240) and he sold what he called "our first collection . . . more than 2510 species, and about 6150 specimens" to the Manchester Natural History Society in 1826 (Swainson, 1840: 78); a report on the shells in this transaction (sold for £650) was made by Arthur Atkinson\*, a copy of which exists in his MS. "The elements of conchology" in the Manchester Museum (which eventually received Swainson's collection, but did not label the items as such). Swainson's birds may have gone to Cambridge. He put an earlier collection up for sale in June 1823 (part 3, birds and insects from New Holland); Humphrey\* bought at least one shell from Swainson (Voluta nodosa, which appeared in his own sale of the same year); Swainson had a second sale in July 1840 before leaving for Tasmania, but took a large collection with him (his books and drawings were sent in the Prince Rupert and only some books survived shipwreck--Nora McMillan, pers. comm.).

**TANKERVILLE.** The Earl of, acquired Calonne<sup>\*</sup> shells via the collection of the Duchess of Portland<sup>\*</sup>, some of which may have been from the Cook voyages (Dance, 1966). At 'least one third-voyage shell was bought by Tankerville at the Leverian sale of 1806 (lot 87 of antepenultimate day. Dance, 1971: 370).

**TEMMINCK, Coenraad Jacob** (1770-1858), who bought for the Leiden Museum at Bullock's sale of 1819 (Sharpe, 1906: 409), purchasing over five hundred bird specimens (Stresemann, 1951). See Leiden\*.

**THOMPSON.** A London natural history dealer who bought for the Earl of Derby\* at the Leverian sale of 1806.

**TUNSTALL, Marmaduke** (1743-90), naturalist, who had a large natural history collection (especially birds-second only to Latham's), which he housed in the 1770s at Welbeck Street, London, but in 1780 or 1781 he moved it to his country house at Wycliffe, Yorkshire. At his death, the Tunstall or Wycliffe Museum was bought by George Allan, continued by

### Cook's Zoological Collections

his son, then sold in 1822 to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society for £400; from 1820 the collections were shared with the Natural History Society, which in turn housed them from 1835 until transfer to the Hancock Museum building in 1884. Some second-voyage Forster insects' were intended by Solander for Tunstall (Solander to Banks, 5 September 1775--see Dawson, 1958: 772). Tunstall received from Banks at least three first-voyage birds (*kokako, tui* and Rainbow lorikeet. Medway, 1976: 133; Whitehead, 1969a: 175). In 1772, Tunstall sent about two hundred shells from the first voyage to Linnaeus\*. In a catalogue of the "Newcastle Museum," Fox (1827) claimed that Tunstall's catalogues could not be found, but that one volume had described "a large collection of curiosities, brought by Capt. Cook from Otaheite, &c."

**TURIN. Franco Andrea Bonelli**, Director of the Regio Museo di Zoologia, bought eighty-seven zoological specimens at the Bullock\* sale of 1819 (three fishes, nine mammals, seventy-five birds). For twelve birds of nine species a Cook voyages provenance is indicated in the catalogue and four are still extant (*Vestiaria coccinea, Picus varius* 0, *P. erythrocephalus* and *P. pubescens*  $\mathcal{F}$ ). Information most kindly supplied by Dr. Pietro d' Entrèves (*in litt.*).

**VIENNA.** Purchases for the Imperial Collection at the Leverian sale of 1806 were made by Leopold von Fichtel\*, the most important being the 204 birds and the Cook artifacts. Lot 5078, a Cook voyage surgeonfish, is still extant (Whitehead, 1969a: pl. 2), as well as at least nine birds (Whitehead, 1969a: 195, and Medway, 1976: 121-131). The purchases are reported by Pelzeln (1873).

**WATSON, Dr. William** (1717-87), a Trustee of the British Museum, who presented to the museum a New Holland parrot early in April 1772 (*Book of Presents*), apparently the first Cook specimen to be incorporated.

**WHITE, Reverend John,** brother of Gilbert and Benjamin, who bought a few third-voyage birds for Anna Blackburne\* at the sale of Bayly's collection\* in October 1780, although White himself had been on board one or both ships and saw "but one baskett of shells and not a Single bird' (letter to Mathew Gregson, 18 October 1780, Gregson corr., LPL).

WRIGHT. See Litchfield.

WYCLIFFE MUSEUM. See Tunstall.

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