# Science, commerce and the international plant trade in an eighteenth-century correspondence

*The letters of William Malcolm, nurseryman in London, to David van Royen, professor of botany in Leiden, 1768-1773*

Gerline Sonneveld

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Introduced, edited and annotated by Gerline Sonneveld

MA Thesis Gerline Sonneveld
S1417533
Department of Media Studies
MA Programme Book and Digital Media Studies
Universiteit Leiden
First reader: Prof. dr. P.G. Hoftijzer
Second reader: Dr. G.A. van Uffelen
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# INTRODUCTION

In the Leiden University Library, the heritage of Leiden's rich botanical history can be found. Books and documents of well-known figures in the history of botany; such as the letters of Carolus Clusius, the publications of Herman Boerhaave and the archival documents on the development of the Hortus Botanicus from its beginning in 1590.

Furthermore, besides the known and studied works of prominent individuals in botany, the collections of the University Library hold thousands of other documents that are part of the same context but have not been the subject of research. An example is the correspondence of William Malcolm (d. 1798), a nurseryman and seedsman in London, to David van Royen (1727-1799), prefect of the Hortus Botanicus and professor of Botany at the university. These letters are the focus of this edition.

What makes these letters interesting is that a great deal of botanical knowledge is, in the words of the English botanical historian J.H. Harvey, 'owed directly to the nurserymen of the seventeenth and eighteenth century'.[1] They were important members within the botanical and commercial networks in this period.[2] There is, however, not much physical evidence, in the form of personal documents such as correspondence, ledgers or portraits, of their life and work. The survival of the letters of a nurseryman like William Malcolm, therefore, is especially valuable. These particular letters give insight in the study of botany in Leiden and the development of the Hortus Botanicus in the eighteenth century and they provide insight into the international plant trade and the extensive and varied networks that existed between scholars, naturalists, gardeners, nurserymen, seedsmen and merchants. To further illustrate this, this edition includes an additional letter of James Manson (1726-1788)[3], a Scottish tradesman residing in Rotterdam.[4] The letters also demonstrate the close relationship between science and commerce.

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[1] J.H. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore & Co., 1974), p. 9.
[2] S. Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce: Connoisseurship, Botany and the Plant Trade in London and Paris c. 1760-c.1815* (Published PhD, University of Warwick, 2009), p. 3.
[3] Fiona Sinclair, 'Caithness Family History, The Mansons', <http://www.fionamsinclair.co.uk/genealogy/caithness/Manson.htm> (10 October, 2017).
[4] Leiden University Library (UBL), Bibliotheca Publica Latina (BPL) 1900, 10 Letters by James Manson to David van Royen, 1766-1768. It is one of the ten letters in possession of the Leiden University Library. James Manson was a tradesman and an intermediary between William Malcolm and David van Royen. His address in Rotterdam is the delivery address for both Malcolm and van Royen. The letters also indicate how he provides contacts and valuable information for David van Royen. In this particular letter, written in 1768, Manson describes a visit to Malcolm's Kennington nursery, giving insight in how the contact between Malcolm and Van Royen was established.

There is a long tradition of publishing editions of the correspondence of botanists and naturalists. Editions concerning botany are for instance, Carolus Clusius' edition-in-progress of 1000 transcriptions and scans of the 1170 letters, that came online in December 2015.[5] One of the main editions concerning the Linnaean botanical debate is naturally the correspondence of Carl Linnaeus.[6] Other important editions from botanists and naturalists in the eighteenth century are Joseph Banks' letters[7], the collected correspondence of Daniel Solander, and John Harvey's two books on nurserymen and their catalogues, which include transcripts of letters of nurserymen.[8] There is a great variety of different types of editions. They include letters of scholars, naturalists and nurserymen, but also diaries or travelogues of expeditions. The letters in this edition offer, from a different perspective, a look on the same botanical debate; namely the introduction and establishment of the Linnaean binomial nomenclature and taxonomic method.

Editions such as these are published because of their significance for the research of cultural history and understanding the processes of the exchange of knowledge and information. Scholars who have contributed are, for example, S. Easterby-Smith, with studies on botanical history and the interplay between botanical knowledge and commerce, hereby placing the development of botany in a wider cultural framework of international trade and globalisation in second half of the eighteenth century.[9] E.J. Wilson has published several historical accounts of the nurseries in London and a short biography of one of the well-known nurseryman of the eighteenth century: James Lee of the Vineyard Nursery.[10] This gives insight in the lives of these skilled craftsmen who played an important role in the spreading of botanical knowledge and plants and seeds. A comprehensive study of nurserymen and their gardening catalogues has been done by J.H. Harvey.[11] William T. Stearn's valuable historical

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[5] For the Clusius Correspondence, see the website of the Huygens Instituut in Amsterdam, <http://clusiuscorrespondence.huygens.knaw.nl/> (28 October, 2017).
[6] The Linnaean Correspondence,<http://linnaeus.c18.net/> (2 August, 2017).
[7] N. Chambers (ed.), *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1765-1820* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007).
[8] Cf. the following contributions by J.H. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Sussex Phillimore & Co., 1974) and idem, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (London: Sussex Phillimore & Co., 1972).
[9] Cf. the following contributions by S. Easterby-Smith, 'Selling Beautiful Knowledge: Amateurship, Botany and the Market-Place in the Late Eighteenth-Century France', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36 (2013), pp. 531-543; idem, 'The Cultural Production of Natural Knowledge: Contexts, Terms, Themes', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36 (2013), pp. 471-476; idem, 'Reputation in a Box. Objects, Communication and Trust in the Late 18th-Century Botanical Networks', *History of Science*, 53:2 (2015), pp. 180-205; idem, *Cultivating Commerce: Connoisseurship, Botany and the Plant Trade in London and Paris c. 1760-c.1815* (Warwick: University of Warwick, 2009), pp. 1-424.
[10] E.J. Wilson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery* (London: Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961); idem, *West London Nursery Gardens, the Nursery Gardens of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington and a Part of Westminster, Founded before 1900* (London: The Fulham & Hammersmith Historical Society, 1982).
[11] J.H. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*; *Early Gardening Catalogues*.

research on Carl Linnaeus includes a study on the influence of Leiden on botany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[12] Esther van Gelder has edited a volume on the history of botany and its scientific progress in the Netherlands.[13] This sort of research is not possible without reliable sources such as editions.

In this edition I give a transcription of the letters, faithful to the original notation. An elaborate explanation of the method of transcribing and editing is given in the Editorial Notes. Furthermore, I will give a comprehensive introduction by means of the three aforementioned issues: the insight these letters provide in the study of botany in Leiden and the development of its botanical garden, the international plant trade and the extensive network of people involved in this, and the close relationship between science and commerce in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The focus of my research are the recipient and sender of the letters: David van Royen and William Malcolm. But this edition can be used for other, broader research on, for instance, knowledge networks, the relationship between science and commerce or the transference of knowledge and objects through people and places, like a botanical garden, in the eighteenth century.

[12] W.T. Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 1, No. 2 (December, 1962), pp. 137-158.
[13] E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012).

# PART ONE

## I - BOTANY IN LEIDEN

Leiden has a long botanical history, which started with the establishment of the Hortus Botanicus in 1590, fifteen years after William of Orange had founded the university as a reward for Leiden's resisting a Spanish siege. Leiden's botanical history includes men like Carolus Clusius (1526-1609), the founder of the garden, and Herman Boerhaave (1688-1738), professor of Botany, Medicine and Chemistry and prefect of the Hortus. To this day, plants from all over the world fill the garden, as do the visitors who come to see it.

### *David van Royen*

David van Royen (1727-1799) was, like Boerhaave, professor of Medicine and Botany at Leiden University as well as the 'Praefectus Horti', director of the Hortus from 1754 to 1786. His father, David van Royen Sr. (1699-1764), had been the secretary of the curators of the university, his uncle, Adriaan van Royen (1704-1779), was professor of Medicine and Botany and prefect of the Hortus before David from 1730- 1754. Adriaan van Royen had been a student of his predecessor, the renowned botanist and physician Herman Boerhaave, who had systemized medicine as a science and made sure that 'practically no captain, whether of a merchant ship or of a man-of-war, left our harbors without special instructions to collect everywhere seeds, roots, cuttings and shrubs and bring them back to Holland', thereby greatly enriching the collection of the Hortus Botanicus at Leiden.[14]

Adriaan van Royen had expanded the size of the Hortus Botanicus westward in 1736, doubling the size of the garden. The increase of the collection of the Hortus thanks to the many new species brought back from the maritime trade expeditions of the VOC, and the fear of losing medical students to the university of Utrecht, where the botanical garden had seen a rapid expansion, had made it necessary to increase the size of the garden. Also an orangery was erected to house plants from Mediterranean climates during the winter.[15]

Like his predecessors, Adriaan van Royen published a catalogue of the Hortus Botanicus, the *Florae Leydensis prodomus*, published by the university printer Samuel Luchtmans in 1740. These catalogues presented inventories of all the species and varieties that

[14] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 146.
[15] G.A. van Uffelen, 'Prefecten en hun planten', in van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis*, p.144.

were cultivated in the garden to the outside world, but it was also an instrument for the university to boast its prestige.[16]

When David van Royen succeeded his uncle in 1754, Adriaan van Royen also handed over his herbarium. Already in use in the sixteenth century, a herbarium contained flowers of plants between sheets of paper, which were pressed by weights so that the plants could dry, after which the sheets were bound together as a book.[17] The dried specimens functioned as a 'dry garden' (Herbarius siccus), providing a record of existing plants with names and notes added in ink.[18] Botanists would exchange dried plants with each other, thus enlarging its size. Even though a substantial part of this herbarium got lost, the remaining 12,000 specimens are nowadays being preserved at the National Herbarium/Naturalis in Leiden.[19]

Of David van Royen's term of office as the Praefectus Horti from 1754 till 1786 not much is known. This is due to the fact that David van Royen never published a catalogue of the plant collection of the Leiden botanical garden. So unfortunately, information about the size and additions to the plant collection is limited.[20] This is another reason why his correspondence with other botanists and nurserymen like Malcolm is of importance, as it adds to our understanding of Van Royen's activity and the contents of the Leiden Hortus in the second half of the eighteenth century.

For scholars like David van Royen, cultivating an extensive network of correspondents was important for several reasons. Correspondents were useful in the exchange of seeds, plants and specimens, both for the Hortus and for his own herbarium. At the same time, information was exchanged on the latest cultivation techniques. For that reason, maintaining a correspondence not only with fellow botanist scholars, but also with gardeners, nurserymen and amateur naturalists was a worthwhile undertaking.[21]

Letter writing had been an important tool of communication for scholars and scientists since the Renaissance.[22] In the eighteenth century, the rise of the affluent middle class and the emergence of a consumer society created a rise in the demand of goods for the home and garden.[23] Natural history and botany were regarded as a worthy pastime and leisure activity

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[16] L. Kooijmans, 'Tantalus in de hortus. Herman Boerhaave als plantkundige', in van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis*, p. 171.
[17] H.J. Cook, *Matters of exchange. Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 26.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] W.K.H. Karstens and H. Kleibrink, *De Leidse hortus. Een botanische erfenis* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1982), p. 42.
[21] P. Findlen, 'Natural History', in K. Park and L. Daston (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 455.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 183.

and many people were involved in collecting plants and naturalia and maintaining a correspondence with scholars and naturalists for the latest information.[24] As the participants of these botanical networks of exchange sometimes lived and worked at a great distance from each other, establishing a relationship through letters and sending objects was the way to transmit scientific information.[25]

David van Royen corresponded with many people. The University Library of Leiden holds letters to David van Royen by fellow botanists such as David de Gorter (1717-1783), botanist at the university of Harderwijk and physician to the Russian tsarina Elisabeth, Humphrey Sibthorp (1713-1797), a botanist and professor from Oxford, and Job Baster (1711-1775), a botanist and physician at Zierikzee and fellow of the Royal Society in London. But van Royen also sought contact with nurserymen in order to obtain knowledge about how to cultivate plants and propagate seeds.[26] In the British Isles this knowledge was mostly in the hands of skilled manual workers, the head gardeners, nurserymen and seedsmen who cultivated and traded plants and seeds.[27] Although of lower social and intellectual status, these men were usually very well connected and moved in the same botanical networks as the horticultural 'giants'; men like Joseph Banks, Sir Hans Sloane and other members of the Royal Society. Nurserymen were a vital part of the horticultural network in Europe.

In a letter David van Royen received in 1762 from William Bennet, a nurseryman from Lower Shadwell in London, the latter responded to van Royen's apparent wish for a correspondence and exchange of plants:

> […] & for the earnest desire you express'd […][28] my correspondence, which does me a very particular Honor, but fear it will neither afford the pleasure nor the advantage you seem to flatter yourself with. Mr Montague[29] has given you a too favorable opinion of my garden & me; in the first place, the garden has been establish'd above four or five years, & consequently can't be so well stock'd with plants as you are pleas'd to imagine. Then my situation in life engaging me in great variety of business, prevents my pursuing the pleasing & useful study of Botany so much as I cou'd wish, but as gardening is my favorite amusement, I will contribute all in my little power to your just desires of exchanging plants.[30]

[24] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 142.
[25] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box;, p. 192
[26] Arens, 'Flowerbeds and Hothouses', p. 276.
[27] Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce*, p. 4.
[28] Illegible words because of damage to the paper.
[29] Unidentified person. Most likely a descendant of Ralph Montagu (1638-1709), 1st Duke of Montagu, whose mansion, Montagu (or Montague) House, in Bloomsbury became the first home of the British Museum in 1759.
[30] UBL, BPL 1900, Letter by William Bennet to David van Royen, 25 May 1762. f. 1r.

David van Royen's correspondence with William Malcolm, published in this edition, is an example of a more fruitful relationship with a British nurseryman, as is demonstrated by the mentioning of many shipments to Leiden, in, for example, this letter written by Malcolm to van Royen in 1770:

> In the course of last year I sent you a basket of plants directed to the care of Mr. Manson of which I have never heard whether you received them in good or bad order, or whether att all or not; which gives me not little concern as they were plants I hoped would have given you pleasure, being many of them new in Holland: in hopes also that it would have fixed our correspondence on a lasting foundation.[31]

The 'Mr. Manson' mentioned in this letter is James Manson, a Scottish tradesman from Rotterdam, of whom one letter is included in this edition as well. His connection with David van Royen and William Malcolm and his place in the international plant trade and botanical network will be further explored in chapter II.

### *The botanical garden in the sixteenth century*

As professor of Botany and Medicine and prefect of the Hortus Botanicus, David van Royen was responsible for the collection of the garden and teaching students of medicine in the Hortus. This was in line with a long tradition of botanical gardens at universities that started around the sixteenth century. In that period plants were not yet studied as an independent academic discipline, but they were being studied none the less. Books about plants, so-called 'herbals' were published, richly illustrated with woodcuts. Famous herbalists like Rembertus Dodonaeus (1517-1585) and Mathias Lobelius (1538-1616) had their work published in Antwerp by Christopher Plantin (c.1520-1589), one of the main printers and publishers of the sixteenth century.[32] Plantin had excellent knowledge of book publishing and illustrations and was the centre of a large network scholars and artists, among whom Pieter van der Borcht (c.1540-1608), an acclaimed botanical illustrator.[33]

Rare plants were imported from Turkey, the Middle East and Spain, rousing horticultural and botanic interest among scholars and well-to-do citizens. Aristocrats and the wealthy bourgeoisie resided at country houses, surrounded with extensive grounds that were

[31] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 4, 16 July 1770, f. 1r.
[32] D. Imhof, 'De macht van de uitgever. De collectie botanische houtblokken van Plantijn', in Van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis*, p. 107.
[33] Ibid.

laid out as ornamental and herb gardens, combining utility and pleasure.[34] They often functioned as patrons for botanists and herbalists, providing money, contacts or employment as a gardener or consultant.[35]

As the medicinal use of plants was the domain of apothecaries and physicians, botany was mostly concerned with the problem of identifying plants.[36] Chaotic botanical nomenclature caused many errors in the identification of plants, sometimes resulting in deaths when used in medical treatment.[37] In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the approach to medical education changed and the practical experience of apothecaries became a requirement of medical students. A medical education no longer was provided only in the lecture halls and anatomic theatres of the university, but was extended to the botanical garden as well, in order to teach students about the medicinal properties of plants.[38]

This new approach, and the growing interest in botany by scholars and amateurs alike, caused numerous medical faculties at universities establish a *Hortus Medicus* for their teaching and appoint professors of *materia medica*.[39] Medicine now became more closely connected to botany and pharmacy.[40] Likely candidates for the position of professor of medical botany at universities no longer only were physicians, but also apothecaries who had turned to botany, or academically trained naturalists. The inclusion of botany as part of the medical training resulted in a new situation in which most medical students received some basic training in the medicinal utilization of plants and botany.[41]

At Leiden a botanical garden was established soon after the foundation of the university. Thanks to its prosperous cloth industry, the city had commercial connections with France, the British Isles, Germany and Scandinavia.[42] At the university students could study Medicine, Law and Theology and the Liberal Arts.[43] The curators of the newly founded university decided to establish a *Hortus Medicus* in 1590 for the education of students of Medicine, following the example of the gardens at the universities of Pisa, which had

[34] F. Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius: Natural History in the Making, 1550-1610* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), p. 12.
[35] Ibid., p. 20.
[36] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 146.
[37] E.M. Cappeletti and A.U. Savoia, 'Didactis in a Botanic Garden: Garden Plans and Botanical Education in the "Horto Medicinale" of Padua in the 16th Century', in S. Anagnostou, F. Egmond and C. Friedrich (eds.), *A Passion for Plants: Materia Medica and Botany in Scientific Networks from the 16th to 18th Centuries* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2012), p. 79.
[38] Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, p. 110.
[39] Ibid., p. 26.
[40] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 144.
[41] Findlen, 'Natural History', p. 444.
[42] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 140.
[43] G.A. van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus Botanicus in Leiden* (Leiden: Hortus Botanicus Leiden, 2015), p. 11.

established a *Hortus Medicus* in 1544, and Padua, that followed in 1545.[44] At that time there were only six botanical gardens in Europe.[45] This *Hortus Medicus* was used for the education of students of Leiden in the medicinal workings of plants. The city provided an area behind the university for the garden, measuring 35 by 40 meters, that had to be cultivated from scratch.[46]

What remained was to attract an experienced professor of medicine to establish the prestige of the new *Hortus Medicus*, as the renown and influence of a university in the sixteenth century depended on the 'knowledge, teaching abilities ideals and enthusiasm of a few professors'.[47] It was therefore important to attract the right person for the position. This took a while, but in 1593 the famous Netherlandish botanist Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Ecluse) arrived, having sent plants seeds and bulbs in advance.[48]

Clusius had studied law and medicine and had travelled extensively. He was passionate about plants and his network spanned a large part of Europe, his contacts being fellow botanists like Dodonaeus and Lobelius, but also apothecaries, merchants, physicians, members of high nobility and even women, all who assisted him in obtaining information or rare species.[49]

As professor of Medicine at Leiden, Clusius was also professor of Botany and the 'Praefectus horti', director of the botanical garden. Next in the hierarchy was the head gardener: the hortulanus. He was a professional gardener with good knowledge about seeds and plants and many years of experience in cultivation and propagation. To cultivate and study plants from other regions or even outside Europe it was important to transport them carefully. At first, the transport skills were not sufficient, which led to substantial losses during the long sea voyages. New and rare specimens were indeed valuable cargo. The hortulanus had to know how to take care of the plants that did arrive, which required exceptional knowledge and skills, talents which professional and private botanists competed for as it was 'a crucial resource to keep plants alive and productive.'[50]

The first hortulanus in Leiden was Dirck Cluyt, who helped Clusius to lay out the garden, both men contributing seeds and plants from their own collections. The planting of the garden was finished by the end of 1594. In that year the Hortus was described as being divided into four areas or quarters:

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[44] Hortus Botanicus Leiden, 'Historie', <https://www.hortusleiden.nl/de-hortus%20/historie> (2 August, 2017).
[45] Karstens, *De Leidse Hortus*, p. 12.
[46] Van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus* Botanicus, p. 11.
[47] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 140.
[48] Van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus* Botanicus, p. 17.
[49] F. Egmond, 'Science in the Pharmacy: Clusius, Apothecaries and Sixteenth-Century Natural History', in Anagnostou et al. (eds.), *A Passion for Plants*, p.18.
[50] Arens, 'Flowerbeds and Hothouses', p. 276.

> with three of the quarters containing sixteen beds and the other one twelve, with eighteen, twenty-six, or thirty-two plantings per bed (depending on the size of the specimens), for a possible total of fourteen hundred plantings; the inventory listed about 1,060 species. In keeping with the interests of the day, only about a third of the specimens had medical interest, the rest being exotics or ornamentals.[51]

Clusius was more interested in botany than in medicine. Like so many other physicians he had received the theoretical education, but not the practical training of a medical doctor.[52] Botany was his primary pursuit and consequently the garden in Leiden turned out to be more a *Hortus Botanicus* than a *Hortus Medicus*.[53] Simultaneously, botany slowly developed into a separate, independent field of study.[54] Clusius did not concern himself much with the medicinal workings of plants and was mostly interested in acquiring plants and specimens, anything he could get his hands on, thereby expanding the collection.[55] Following Leiden's example, botanical gardens were established in other cities in the Netherlands: Groningen (1626), Amsterdam (1638), and Utrecht (1639). These gardens were set up first and foremost as medicinal gardens but often housed exotic plants as well.[56]

*Botanical interest in the Dutch 'Golden Age'*

In the Dutch Republic botany and horticultural interest flourished at the end of the sixteenth century. The country had a federal, particularist governing system, as it had no monarch but was governed by the States General, in which representatives of the seven collaborating provinces were seated. The provinces were very independent and, having their own government, could disregard the States General to a certain degree. The province of Holland was the richest of the seven and the most influential in governing matters. This manner of governing ensured many opportunities for economic initiatives as the control by the States General was limited and the provinces were lenient, as long as it benefitted them financially and it didn't have disruptive consequences for society.[57]

The absence of a state religion, a certain amount of freedom of religion and thought and no formal organization of censorship made the Dutch Republic an appealing destination

[51] Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, p. 119.
[52] Findlen, 'Natural History', p. 459.
[53] Van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus Botanicus,* p. 15.
[54] Still, it would take until the late eighteenth century for botany to achieve the status of an independent discipline; cf. Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce*, p. 5.
[55] Hortus Botanicus Leiden, 'Historie', <https://www.hortusleiden.nl/de-hortus%20/historie> (2 August, 2017).
[56] Van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus Botanicus,* p. 25.
[57] J. Kennedy, *Een beknopte geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2017), p. 123.

for religious and economic immigrants.[58] After the fall of Antwerp as a largest port and important economic and financial centre of the Low Countries in 1585, many skilled workers and merchants left for the Dutch Republic, looking for religious freedom and economic opportunities. Amsterdam took over Antwerp's function an financial centre and main port of western Europe and new trading routes across the globe were established for the trade of exotic products.[59]

New technical innovations in the sixteenth century stimulated the maritime trade and resulted in a Dutch superiority in the international trade that would continue until the end of the seventeenth century.[60] The Dutch East-India Company (VOC, *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, founded 1602) and the Dutch West-India Company (WIC, *West-Indische Compagnie,* founded 1621) held monopolies for the trade in Asia, the Atlantic, North America and West Africa. Trading posts and colonies were established to be able to compete with countries such as Portugal, Spain and England.[61]

This exceptional social-economic position of the Republic at the end of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth century is called the Dutch 'Golden Age'. The hegemony on the international trade and the country's strong position as a maritime nation led to a period of unprecedented wealth and prosperity.[62] The overall standard of living was high and the good infrastructure of roads and waterways advanced the circulation of material and immaterial goods, including information and knowledge.[63] The economic flourishing and high rate of literacy resulted in the emergence of a middle class, which in its turn resulted in a dynamic climate in society. The numerous printers and publishers in the Republic made it easy for authors to have their writings published. A book published by Elzevier in Leiden or Johannes Janssonius or Blaeu in Amsterdam was certain to be widely and successfully distributed.[64] New ideas and opinions about theology, philosophy and science were discussed in relatively large segments of the population.[65] This open and intellectual climate attracted

[58] Ibid., p. 126.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., p. 123.
[61] Ibid., p. 126.
[62] Ibid., p. 165.
[63] P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', *European History Online*, 23 November, 2015, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/backgrounds/the-book-market/paul-g-hoftijzer-the-dutch-republic-centre-of-the-european-book-trade-in-the-17th-century> (15 June, 2017).
[64] F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, N.V., 1971), p. 159.
[65] Kennedy, *Een beknopte geschiedenis*, p. 141.

many foreigners, including students, who came to study at the new universities established in Leiden (1575), Harderwijk (1648), Utrecht (1636) and Franeker (1585).[66]

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic had a leading position in the areas of medicine and natural science, partly thanks to the introduction of plants from Asia.[67] Using the overseas outposts to provide material for study, ships and merchants brought back exotic specimens that could be grown and shown.[68] This was also possible thanks to technological innovations that allowed tropical plants to be cultivated in the cold and dark climate of the Netherlands.[69] Greenhouses and hothouses were established in the botanical gardens of Amsterdam and Leiden. Also orangeries with hothouses were built at manorial estates.

Scholars increasingly paid attention to the taxonomy of plant specimens, trying to describe, name and arrange plants accordingly.[70] Foreign plants were more easily cultivated and circulated rapidly in the academic community, soon passing through the hands of physicians, botanists and apothecaries once they had reached the Dutch ports.[71] According to historians, the Republic functioned in the seventeenth century as an 'entrepôt for matters, facts, and people' and the botanical gardens formed 'an intersection of people, plants and objects that continuously moved in, became transplanted or transformed, and then moved out again.'[72] The gardens of Amsterdam and Leiden were the centres of new plant introductions from the Cape of Good Hope, the West Indies and Ceylon. From there the plants circulated across the Republic and beyond, to, for instance, Britain, to end up in a naturalist's private collection, botanical gardens or nurseries.[73]

Besides the interest of the academic community in botany and gardening, the increasingly wealthy and powerful urban middle class took to collecting and growing plants and exotics for pleasure.[74] In the early seventeenth century the 'tulipmania' had sparked an interest in horticulture and botany in society.[75] People eagerly collected the newest plants, seeds, bulbs and shrubs from the Cape, Asia, the West Indies and North America for their

[66] Ibid., p. 140.
[67] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 145.
[68] Findlen, 'Natural History', p. 464.
[69] Van Gelder, 'Introductie', *Bloeiende kennis*, p.7.
[70] Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce*, p. 5.
[71] J. Rutgers, 'Linnaeus in the Netherlands', *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek*, 29:1-2 (2008), p. 265.
[72] Arens, 'Flowerbeds and Hothouses', p. 266.
[73] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 9.
[74] Ibid.; more recently A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania. Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
[75] Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce*, p. 7.

gardens and orangeries.[76] The *Kunstkamers* or curiosity cabinets owned by rich merchants were filled up with naturalia, drawings and artificialia from abroad.[77] These plants and objects came into their possession through an extensive network of commercial relations.[78] The study of natural history became a social and collective enterprise of both professionals and amateurs. Correspondence about newly acquired botanic knowledge based on observation thrived between dilettants and scientists.[79]

At the Hortus Botanicus in Leiden the amount of species rapidly increased with new plants mostly from Europe, South Africa and parts of Asia, thanks to the trade of the VOC in that area.[80] The Hortus contained over 1,000 species according to its first printed catalogue of 1601.[81] During the seventeenth century the number of plants increased to more than 3,000 in 1685.[82] The English botanist and historian William T. Stearn distinguishes several periods of plant introductions based on his research of botanical garden catalogues, as a result of the international trade, colonization and explorations overseas by Western European nations. In 1560 the European gardens were mostly filled with plants of European origin. Between 1560 and 1620 there was an influx from Western Asia and from 1620 till 1680 herbaceous plants from Eastern North America arrived. From 1680 till 1772 trees and shrubs came in from Eastern North America to satisfy the demand for the parks and outdoor gardens that were constructed. Also succulent plants and other species from South Africa were introduced, filling up the glasshouses.[83]

### *Botany in the mid-eighteenth century*

In the eighteenth century, the Dutch Republic experienced a decline in its position as a leading maritime nation. Its position was overtaken by neighbouring countries such as France and Britain, and the Republic was faced with a rising national debt.[84] The intellectual climate, however, was still very dynamic. This was partly because the universities were havens of religious tolerance and had a good (international) reputation. The botanical gardens in Amsterdam and Leiden were well stocked and botanists such as Herman Boerhaave and his

[76] Van Gelder, *Bloeiende kennis*, p. 7.
[77] Ibid.
[78] P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Boeken in de tuin. De bibliotheek van een Leidse tuinman', in Van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis*, p. 119.
[79] Egmond, 'Science in the Pharmacy: Clusius, Apothecaries and Sixteenth-Century Natural History', p. 33.
[80] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 145.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., p. 146.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Kennedy, *Een beknopte geschiedenis*, p. 194.

Amsterdam colleague Johannes Burman (1707-1779) were leading the study of plants, from Europe and beyond, and taxonomy.[85] Students in Leiden had access to the collection of the Hortus Botanicus that was 'probably richer in kinds and more varied in form than was available anywhere else in the world.'[86] The glass houses with heating devices for the winter period were already in use in Leiden by the mid-seventeenth century and the advanced technology of greenhouses and hothouses spread from the Republic to other regions, such as the British Isles.[87]

Besides, a prosperous urban middle-class, that felt it was not beneath their dignity to concern themselves with the 'practical and manual preoccupation with the things of Nature', continued to collect, correspond and discuss the latest ideas and approaches in botany and natural history.[88] Their involvement, financially and privately, generated an intellectual environment in which new scientific ideas and principles were able to gain a firm footing in society instantaneously, which was further accommodated by the flourishing book trade in the Republic.[89]

During much of the eighteenth century, the Dutch universities still attracted scores of foreign students. Leiden in particular is said to have functioned as 'the international university of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.'[90] One of these students was the Swede Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778)[91]. He travelled to the Republic in 1735 to obtain his doctoral degree at the university of Harderwijk.[92] Being particularly interested in botany, Linnaeus, through the botanist Jan Frederik Gronovius (1690-1762), arranged a meeting with Herman Boerhaave, the former professor of Medicine and Botany in Leiden and prefect of the Hortus till 1730.[93] Boerhaave was after his retirement still a renowned name in the scientific establishment and he further introduced Linneaus into the botanical establishment of the Republic, with botanists such as Johannes Burman and David de Gorter (1717-1783).[94]

Linnaeus had worked on a publication that introduced the idea of a hierarchical classification system of the natural world. He showed his manuscript to Gronovius and Boerhaave. The two men acted as patrons for the young Swede, whose potential they

[85] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 157.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Arens, 'Flowerbeds and Hothouses', p. 276.
[88] Stearn, 'The Influence of Leyden on Botany', p. 142.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p. 157.
[91] Also known after his ennoblement as Carl von Linné.
[92] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 10.
[93] Ibid., p. 8.
[94] Ibid., p. 11.

recognized. Gronovius offered to finance its publication, which appeared in 1735 in Leiden as *Systema naturae.* Boerhaave recommended Linnaeus to George Clifford (1685-1760), a wealthy Anglo-Dutch banker, who was an enthusiastic amateur botanist and owned an estate near Haarlem, the Hartecamp. Linnaeus went to work as Clifford's private physician at the Hartecamp where he had access to its richly stocked garden and orangery. He continued to work on his taxonomy while cataloguing Clifford's collection and managing the acquisition of new plants.[95] Linnaeus's classification system presented in *Systema naturae* was seized upon with great enthusiasm by botanists and naturalists in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere: 'at last there was a commonly agreed means of filing the products of the natural world into an orderly and natural system'.[96] It now was possible to study the products of the nature with with 'the dignity of a true science'.[97] Linnaeus's system helped with the task of arranging and classifying new species and strengthened the Enlightenment belief that 'like Adam and Eve of old, the human race was more and more the ruler of the natural world.'[98]

During his years in the Netherlands, Linnaeus published two other works on botanical taxonomy: the *Fundamenta botanica* (Leiden, 1736) and *Genera plantarum* (Leiden, 1737). His ideas were welcomed by an eminent group of scholars that included Boerhaave, Gronovius, Burman and Adriaan van Royen. With many of his Dutch contacts Linnaeus would maintain life-long friendships and correspondence. It was in the Netherlands that under their guidance his ideas were modelled.[99] Adriaan van Royen accepted Linnaeus's support in redesigning the Hortus Botanicus in Leiden in 1737, according to Linnaeus's newest publication on the classification of plants.[100] Together with Boerhaave, he also was one of the early adopters of Linnaeus's system. Through Adriaan van Royen's social standing and position as prefect of the Hortus Botanicus, Linnaeus had easy access to the numerous collections and cabinets of curiosity in the Republic filled with natural objects that had been brought back by ships of the VOC and WIC.[101] After his return to Sweden, Linnaeus and Van Royen continued to correspond with each other. When David van Royen succeeded his uncle Adriaan van Royen as Praefectus Horti he also corresponded with Linnaeus.[102]

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[95] Ibid., p. 159.
[96] J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 66.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., p. 99.
[99] anon., 'Herbarium A. van Royen (1704-1779)', <http://www.brill.com/herbarium-van-royen-1704-1779> (2 August, 2017).
[100] Arens, 'Flowerbeds and Hothouses', p. 270.
[101] Ibid.
[102] See the Linnaean Correspondence website: <http://linnaeus.c18.net/Letters/index.php> (2 August, 2017).

Back in Sweden Linnaeus worked as as physician the medical faculty of the university of Uppsala, later becoming responsible for the botanical garden. He did not travel much in his later years, but his 'gospel' was spread by his 'apostles'; the pupils he sent abroad, finding them placements with acknowledged botanists elsewhere in Europe.[103] Linnaeus kept corresponding with all of his pupils, who went on expeditions, sent letters, specimens and information back to him, filling up his study and expanding his herbarium.[104] Besides the ongoing correspondence with his pupils, Linnaeus was also the centre of an extensive correspondence network across Europe and even beyond.[105] Botanists and naturalists sought his advice on new species and sent new specimens for his herbarium and garden, that both grew exponentially.[106]

With the implementation of Linnaeus's system botanists were compelled to re-arrange their herbarium: 'instead of keeping his herbarium sheets in bound volumes – as was done before – he would keep them on loose sheets in a cabinet, sorted by genera and the sexual system."[107] This allowed the collector to re-file if necessary, in case of new acquisitions.[108] The herbarium now functioned not only as a storage device but equally as an apparatus to uncover the taxonomic relationships between plants.[109] Sometimes herbariums were sold after the death of the owner as they were considered valuable property, being the product of a life of research. After his death Linnaeus's herbarium was bought by James Edward Smith (1759-1828) and moved to Britain where it now resides with the Linnean Society of London and the Natural History Museum.[110]

[103] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 148.
[104] Müller-Wille and Charmantier, 'Natural History and Information Overload: The Case of Linnaeus', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 43 (2012), p. 5.
[105] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 112.
[106] Ibid.
[107] S. Müller-Wille, 'Collection and Collation: Theory and Practice of Linnaean Botany', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences,* 38 (2007), p. 558.
[108] Thijsse, 'Gedroogde schatten', p. 51.
[109] Müller-Wille, 'Collection and Collation', p. 558.
[110] The Linnaean Society of London, <https://www.linnean.org/> (2 August, 2017).

## II – THE INTERNATIONAL PLANT TRADE

David van Royen was part of an international botanical network that included a varied group of individuals from different nationalities, positions in society, occupations and scientific or commercial agendas. Through this extensive network of scholars, naturalists, botanists, gardeners, nurserymen, seedsmen and tradesmen, plants, seeds, shrubs, information, botanical objects and gossip was exchanged via correspondence and occasional personal visits. Tracing the exchanges of plants, seeds and botanical knowledge enables a deeper understanding of the agents involved in the plant trade and their impact on botany in the eighteenth century. One of these agents was William Malcolm, one of the many nurserymen and seedsmen residing in London during the second half of the eighteenth century. Characterized by both a commercial objective and a professional scientific interest concerning taxonomy and binomial nomenclature, nurserymen like William Malcolm contributed greatly to the scientific study of botany.[111]

### *William Malcolm*

The first nine letters in this edition are written by William Malcom. He sent these letters between 1768 and 1773 to David van Royen, the director of the Hortus Botanicus in Leiden and professor of Botany at the university. William Malcolm was of Scottish descent but not much is known about his earlier life. In any case, he was already active as a nurseryman of some standing in 1757, when Malcolm had a nursery in Kennington, London.[112] According to his trade card (fig. 1), found among the nine letters he sent to David van Royen, his nursery was located 'near Kennington Turnpike', which was a landmark near Vauxhall, in the London Borough of Lambeth.[113] The turnpike controlled the junction of the Clapham and Brixton Road.[114] Trade cards like these were distributed to clients and contacts and had the name and location(s) of the individual printed on it, alongside the merchandise and services they provided.

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[111] Easterby-Smith, *Cultivating Commerce*, p. 3.
[112] L.S. Snell (ed.*), Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society Incorporating the Middlesex Local History Council*, vol. 24 (London: Bishopsgate Institute, 1973), p. 188.
[113] E. Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens: The Nursery Trade in Hertfordshire', in D. Spring (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History. Vol. 2: Gardens Pleasant, Groves Delicious* (Hatfield: University of Herfordshire Press, 2012), p. 175.
[114] Vauxhall History, Online Archive, Kennington, <http://vauxhallhistory.org/kennington/> (2 August, 2017).


Figure 1: William Malcolm's trade card with, most likely, David van Royen's pencil note: 'near London'.

Malcolm's Kennington nursery was part of a larger area of 38 acres[115] that was curiously known as 'The Forty Acres' and that was mainly used for horticultural purposes.[116] Malcolm had a sub-lease on the land from 1757 and was required to 'provide in addition to a money rent one hundred of Asparagus in the Month of January in every Year."[117] His land was valued at £46 and would rise in value to £54 in 1761.[118] The following map of the Kennington area shows the original plots of land (1-6) that together formed the Forty Acres. Malcom rented plot 3 until 1789 (fig. 2).

[115] 38 acres is 15.38 hectare.
[116] Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 188.
[117] British History Online (BHO), 'Kennington: Introduction and the Demesne Lands', in *Survey of London: Vol. 26, Lambeth: Southern Area*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London: London County Council 1956), pp. 18-31, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol26/pp18-31> (15 June, 2017).
[118] Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 188.

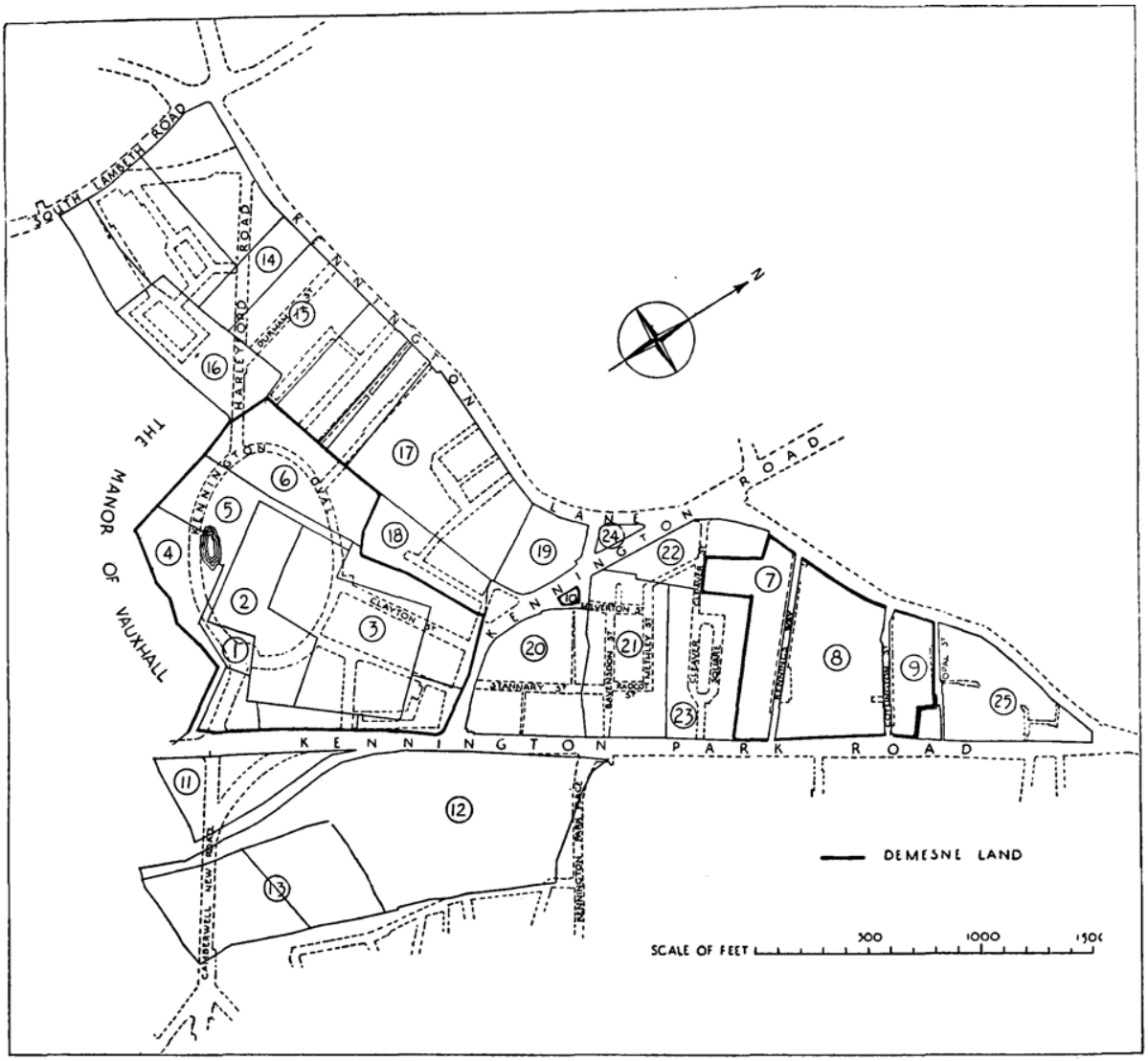


Figure 2: Map of the Kennington Oval/ Forty Acres in 1785. The broken lines show the modern street plan.

William Malcolm's nursery was successful, as a letter from 1773 to Van Royen indicates:

> I should also think my self happie & much pleased to correspond oft[e]ner but my business of late years has increased so much, that it engrosses all my time; and I further flatter myself one day of the pleasure of seeing [f. 1v] you at Leyden, as soon as my sons are master of the French tongue.[119]

[119] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, letter 8 (1773), f. 1r-v.

In 1788, Malcolm's nursery moved to Stockwell (fig. 3), in South Lambeth, where he had 50 acres.[120] It was located at Brixton Road (West side), at the conjunction of Clapham Road, Caldwell Street, Stockwell Park Road and Lorn Road.[121]


Figure 3: The Stockwell site in 1761.

By that time, Malcom's business, which continued to flourish under the name Malcolm & Son, was rated at £114.[122] In 1790, William Malcolm erected a house at the Stockwell site, which was 'most delightfully situated; on its south-east side are large hot-houses, conservatories, etc.'[123] Technical advancements made it possible to grow exotic plants in greenhouses in cold and rainy England. But as the tax on glass would not be abolished until 1845, greenhouses had

[120] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 88.
[121] Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 188
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

often only one side of glass. Heating was expensive and technically difficult, making the presence of a greenhouse or hot-house at a nursery such as Malcolm's a singularity.[124]

William Malcolm's trade card indicates that he was a nurseryman but also a seedsman, apparently combing his cultivation skills with the retail trade in seeds. The occupation of the seedsman developed parallel with those of the nurseryman, employed gardener and garden designer in the second half of the eighteenth century.[125] The rapid expansion of gardening, the interest in horticulture and botany and the flourishing market meant an increasing demand for seeds.[126] As it was too time-consuming and labour-intensive for gardeners to grow their own seeds, individual entrepreneurs began to specialize in this technically difficult activity.[127] The bad quality of seed became clear only many months after the purchase, when the seeds failed to sprout in the garden of the customer, making the reputation of a seedsman very inconsistent.[128] It was also a highly competitive market, as seedsmen had to offer exceptional seeds or produce higher quantities than was usually available in order to continue to have influence on the market.[129]

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the distinction between seedsmen and nurserymen became blurred 'as seedsmen sold seeds to nursery gardeners and nurserymen in turn sold plants and trees wholesale to seedsman.'[130] The profession of the seedsman was becoming more often combined with that of the florist or nurseryman. It was common that a nurseryman had a separate seed shop, besides his nursery. James Gordon (1708-1780), for instance, owned a nursery at Mile End in East London and had a separate seed shop; The Thistle & Crown, at 25 Fenchurch Street, London.[131] By the first half of the nineteenth century, a seed shop was considered essential for a nursery, as John Loudon (1783-1843) described in his *Encyclopeadia of Gardening* in 1822.[132]

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[124] E.J. Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens, the Nursery Gardens of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington and a Part of Westminster, Founded before 1900* (London: The Fulham & Hammersmith Historical Society, 1982), p. 7.
[125] M. Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England before the Late Eighteenth Century. Part 2: The Trade in Seeds to 1760', *Agricultural History Review*, 38 (1990), p. 109.
[126] Ibid., p. 114.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid., p. 113.
[129] K. Clark, 'What the Nurseryman Did for Us: The Roles and Influence of the Nursery Trade on the Landscape and Gardens of the Eighteenth Century', *Garden History*, 40:1 (2012), p. 28.
[130] Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England', p. 109.
[131] Snell (ed.*), Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 193; M. Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1985), p. 235.
[132] J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, and Landscape-Gardening, Including All the Latest Improvements; a General History of Gardening in All Countries; and a Statistical View of Its Present State, with Suggestions for Its Future Progress, in the British Isles* (London: Longman et al., 1822), p. 1193: 'The following seem objects desirable for a *complete* nursery: […] A *Seed-shop* and counting-house or office, which should be connected with the house for the master's

William Malcolm's trade card is of great value, as it indicates his location and interests as a nurseryman, offering 'English' and 'Exotic' plants. The location of his nursery can be located as near the Kennington Turnpike, on the Kennington Oval site. But the full text on his trade card reads: 'At the Pine Apple, near Kennington Turnpike', which creates some confusion. The 'Pine Apple' was a seed shop, not near the Kennington Turnpike but at Arlington Street in Piccadilly, at least in 1805.[133] As pineapples were very expensive during that time and seen as luxury items, naming a seed shop after it was an indication of its reputation. It is possible that Malcolm indicates both locations on his trade card, mentioning his nursery and the shop where he sold his seeds. It is, however, not possible to identify him as the owner of this seed shop in Piccadilly in the period 1757-1789, when his nursery resided at Kennington.

Another possibility is that 'The Pine Apple' on his trade card was not the same as the seed shop in Arlington Street. However, the existence of an establishment named 'The Pine Apple' near Kennington in the second half of the eighteenth century is not verifiable. Nonetheless, William Malcolm would not have put this text on his trade card, if it had not been a clear reference to his customers and future clients of his location, skills and abilities as a nurseryman. It is therefore more likely that Malcolm sold his seeds separately at the seed shop in London, indicating to his customers his two separate locations for the purchase of seeds and plants.

William Malcolm trained his sons in the nursery trade. His eldest son, William Malcolm Jr. (1769-1835), joined the firm in 1788, and the nursery was known as 'Malcolm and Son' from that year onwards.[134] The management of nurseries was often kept within the family, promoting sons or nephews to ensure succession.[135] Malcolm's son, William Jr., later continued the nursery with different partners. In 1805 William Malcolm Jr. leased the Kensington Nursery, the prestigious nursery established by Robert Furber (1674-1756) in the early 1700s, calling it Malcolm & Doughty, from 1805-1810.[136] In 1811 Malcom partnered with Robert Sweet (1783-1835), but the nursery closed in 1815.[137]

A quick succession of partners of a nursery was often a sign that business was not going well and that extra capital was needed, provided by this new partner.[138] The fact that William Malcolm Sr. had no partners, except for the admittance of his sons in the business, is an

convenience; but, at the same time, have each distinct entrances.'
[133] Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, p. 185.
[134] Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 188.
[135] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 7.
[136] Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 188.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 7.

additional indication of his success. The reputation of a nursery was also very dependent on the personality of the owner. The importance and fame of the Vineyard Nursery of James Lee (1715-1795), for example, declined after his death.[139] Malcolm's nursery suffered a similar fate, as the firm's importance in the trade diminished after the takeover by his sons and the succession of partnerships.[140]

*The English nursery trade*

As a nurseryman William Malcolm was part of an established professional activity, which in England can be traced back to the sixteenth century. At first, the occupation of nurseryman and seedsman were by-occupations as there were limited opportunities to live exclusively from growing plants and selling seeds.[141] The focus therefore was on market gardening to supply London, Oxford, York and other cities with fresh vegetables and fruit.[142] The supply of plants was in the hands of professional gardeners and the trade in plants was only considered a 'profitable side line' as gardeners supplied 'grafted fruit trees of the sorts kept and disposing of any surplus of seedling plants and seeds."[143] During the reign of Henry VII (1457-1509) there was an organized market trade in the London area where gardeners sold plants and did business, but an organized trade was not established till the mid seventeenth century.[144] With the dissolution of monasteries in 1536 by Henry VIII, following the separation of the Church of England from papal authority in Rome, many gardeners were forced out of their job and turned to work in the commercial garden business. They were a force of skilled labour and knowledge, giving the plant trade a boost.[145] During that time there was also an influx of plants form the New World. America had been conquered by the Spanish and new species were introduced in the gardens in Europe and Great Britain.[146]

The plant trade became more organized in the seventeenth century and evolved into a separate trade from market gardening. Two groups of nurserymen arose. Firstly, there were the professionals, skilled botanists according to the requirements of their day, the nurserymen whose names we know because they were chief gardeners of aristocratic estates or of royal

[139] Ibid., p. 4.
[140] Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, p. 188.
[141] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 1.
[142] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 32.
[143] Ibid., p. 36.
[144] Ibid., p. 32.
[145] Ibid.
[146] J.H. Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (London: Phillimore & Co., 1972), p. 24.

gardens.[147] For instance, John Rose (1619-1677), who was the gardener of Charles II and worked on St. James's Park.[148] Another famous name of the first half of the seventeenth century is John Tradescant (1570s-1638), who was the gardener of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, and later of the Duke of Buckingham.[149] Sent abroad by his employers he collected new and exotic plants. Later he became a full-time nurseryman and started his own nursery, where he showed his collection and expanded it by exchanges with other gardeners in London and abroad.[150]

Secondly, nurseries were being established by market gardeners. These men had been successful in trading and had accumulated enough capital to switch to a more profitable branch, which also presented opportunities for social advancement.[151] Both groups of nurserymen set up their businesses in and around London in the mid-seventeenth century.[152] The dominant position of London as the centre of the nursery trade was established during this time. As the most significant port of England, it provided the infrastructure for the nursery businesses as nurserymen could easily access the imported seeds, trees and shrubs that arrived.[153]

London's well developed maritime infrastructure provided easy access to the international trade routes and commercial networks.[154] Also, the sparsely inhabited boroughs that surrounded London were well suited for establishing a nursery. John Tradescant established his nursery in Lambeth, a borough of London, where Malcolm would establish his Kennington nursery around 119 years later. A map of London from 1779 shows that these areas; Lambeth, Hammersmith and Chelsea, at the time were at the periphery of the city (fig. 4). It was not until the turn of the century, when means of transport became easier and the boroughs saw extensive housing projects, that the nursery trade moved from London to the neighbouring counties.[155]

[147] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 37.
[148] R. Coulton, 'Curiosity, Commerce and Conversation: Nursery-Gardens and Nurserymen in Eighteenth-Century London', *The London Journal*, 43:1 (2017), p. 6.
[149] Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens', p. 178.
[150] Ibid., p. 178.
[151] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 37.
[152] Coulton, 'Curiosity, Commerce and Conversation', p. 3.
[153] Ibid., p. 5.
[154] Clark,'What the Nurseryman Did for Us', p. 18.
[155] Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens', p. 178.


Figure 4: A map of London and its southern surroundings in 1779.

The professionalization of the nursery trade developed properly during the reign of Charles II (1630-1685) from 1660 - 1685. After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, there was a revival of gardening and horticultural interest in Britain.[156] Inspired by the horticultural traditions of Central Asia and Persia, the standard of landscaping, planting and waterworks changed and brought about a profound change in the English landscape. Large estates were changed into 'fenced and walled parks, not for hunting but for pleasure' which 'became a national hobby and at times a mania.'[157] Whole villages were bought out, lakes and canals were dug and thousands of trees were planted, wholly transforming the English countryside.[158]

The demand for trees of all varieties resulted in the establishment of the Brompton Park Nursery in 1689. An organized trade that solely focused on the nursing and the sale of

[156] Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, p. 26.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.

plants had not existed before 1660.[159] Brompton Park Nursery had a near monopoly on the nursery trade and was the chief supplier for estates all over the country for the first fifteen, twenty years of its existence.[160] This nursery specialized in the production of large numbers of orchard and forest trees and transporting them across the country.[161]

The royal and aristocratic garden patronage continued under the reign of William III (1650 -1702) and Mary II (1662 -1694) from 1689 - 1702. William III was genuinely interested in gardening and brought with him the latest style of Dutch gardening which was influenced by Louis XIV's grand Baroque garden at Versailles.[162] As the weather in England was not suited for exactly copying French examples, the gardens in Great Britain developed their own, anglicized Baroque style.[163] The resemblance of the gardens at Hampton Court Palace in London and Het Loo in Apeldoorn shows the close relations that existed between the Dutch Republic and Britain during the reign of William III.

The eighteenth century brought new gardening styles and consequently new business opportunities for nurserymen. The strict regularity of the Baroque gardens was replaced by a more loose and irregular landscaped garden, the 'jardin anglais', which placed England, rather than France, in the forefront of garden design.[164] For the nursery trade this meant a growing demand for a great variety of plants, shrubs, climbers and herbaceous plants.[165] The Brompton Park Nursery could not adequately fulfil this demand, losing its monopoly position to smaller, but increasingly important nurseries in and around London.[166] By 1760 at least thirty nurseries were established and a dozen or so seedsmen.[167] These firms were owned by market gardeners turned nurserymen and new entrepreneurs who had previously worked at Brompton Park Nursery or under head gardeners at large estates. They now put their expertise to work in their own establishments or at the royal gardens.[168]

These early eighteenth-century nurseries in and around London were of various sizes, but it is difficult to estimate the total number of acres they cultivated. Of Brompton Park Nursery it is known that it covered about 50 acres during its prime, but evidently most of the new nurseries were smaller.[169] The costs of running a nursery were high, as rents were

[159] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 36.
[160] J.H. Harvey, 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries', *Agricultural History Review*, 22:1 (1974), p. 19.
[161] Coulton, 'Curiosity, Commerce and Conversation', p. 8.
[162] Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, p. 26; Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 2.
[163] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 75.
[164] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 183.
[165] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 76.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., p. 6.
[168] Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens', p. 177.
[169] Harvey, 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries', p. 19.

substantial, for which reason nurserymen often changed sites, and partners.[170] Besides that, it was not unusual for nurserymen to lease scattered parcels of land from different owners on the outskirts of London.[171]

The names of some of the nurserymen from this period are known, men like Robert Furber (c. 1674-1756) of Kensington, James Lee of the Vineyard Nursery in Hammersmith, James Gordon of Mile End, Christopher Gray (1694-1764) of Fulham and Philip Miller (1691-1771) of the Chelsea Physic Garden. This last garden had started out as an apothecary's garden and was developed under the patronage of Sir Hans Sloane into a richly stocked botanic garden. All these aforementioned men were contemporaries of William Malcolm and known for their outstanding stock and competence. Malcolm and his colleagues were not highly educated men, but their practical knowledge of the cultivation of exotic and native plant species was sought after by botanists, gardeners and naturalists.

Like Malcolm, many of the eighteenth-century nurserymen were of Scottish origin. This is significant, because before 1707 most nurserymen were English. These men had substantial firms and had enjoyed their training at large country estates or in the royal gardens. After the act of Union, many Scots emigrated to England for economic reasons. They found work at country estates or established their own nurseries around London.[172] Most of the eighteenth-century specialist plant nurseries in and around London had Scottish proprietors.[173] Two of the most influential nurserymen of the mid-eighteenth century were the Scots James Gordon and James Lee. The latter had been an apprentice of Philip Miller at the Chelsea Physic Garden and later established the Vineyard Nursery with James Kennedy. Together with James Gordon of the Mile End nursery, James Lee dominated the trade from the 1740s. He also was responsible for many plant introductions and corresponded, amongst others, with Carl Linnaeus.[174]

*Eighteenth-century England as transit trade country*

The establishment of commercial nurseries signified a new era in gardening and botany in which William Malcolm played a significant role. The letters from William Malcolm to David van Royen, dated between 1768 and 1773, were written during an important period in British

[170] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 114.
[171] Harvey,'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries', p. 19.
[172] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 83.
[173] R. McEwen, 'The Northern Lads: The Migration of Scottisch Gardeners with Especial Reference to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew', *Journal of Botanic Garden Horticulture*, 11 (2013), p. 110.
[174] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 89.

history. In the second half of the eighteenth century the British Empire had established itself as the strongest maritime nation of Europe. It now dominated international trading routes by sea and overtook the Dutch Republic's leading position, thus bringing the Dutch 'Golden Age' to an end.

At the same time, the Industrial Revolution took place and a consumer society was born, with favourable economic and social conditions, which caused an increase in the production and consumption of goods and services. Money could now be spent on a great variety of things besides the absolute necessities. This can be observed in newspaper advertisements, which promoted the latest innovations and products, anticipating the demand of the population.[175] At the London port many of these commodities, including exotic plants and new species, arrived to be dispersed among a clientele that was eager for novelties from abroad.

The British Isles at this period functioned as transit country for the global trade, which contributed greatly to the success of nurserymen like William Malcolm. The influx of new species that were brought back from the sea voyages across the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, created the possibility for nurserymen to specialize and grow exclusively new and rare exotic plants. These exotic plants required expertise and extra attention, but could be sold for extremely high prices.[176] Specialization turned out to be a new means of livelihood for the nurserymen. Although some went bankrupt, others were able to turn specialisation into a venture that 'opened a path to success and even renown.'[177] This strategy is also evident from William Malcom's career. His trade card indicates that he dealt in exotics as well as 'English' plants; the common garden plants. In the letters to David van Royen, however, his foremost concern is with exotic plants, suppliers abroad and information about the cultivation of these plants.

As a nurseryman William Malcolm had to maintain many contacts in order to keep his business successful. Contacts were a vital part of the effort of obtaining stock for the nursery. First of all, a nurseryman could obtain his stock through the auction sales following the death of a colleague or private garden owner. Nurserymen also purchased plants, shrubs and seeds from each other. Together they formed a closely knit group which depended on mutual assistance and cooperation. This sense of mutual dependency and the need of a combined effort kept rivalry within limits.[178] A nurseryman would, for instance, recommend his clients a

[175] Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England', p. 110.
[176] Harvey, 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries', p. 23.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 91.

good gardener who was trained as an apprentice in his own nursery. These gardeners, in return, turned to their former master's nursery in order to obtain plants for their gardens.[179]

Rivalry and malice were not absent, however, and sometimes this behaviour went as far as a violation of the law. James Manson writes in one of his letters to David van Royen about the gardens in London being plagued with thieves in 1768:

> The garden of the Curious here are at present greatly infested by Tuyn dieven.[180] About 10 days ago they made an uncommon Havock at P. Collinson's.[181] I was there about [f. 2v] three weeks ago & saw several very rare American Plants most of which are now gone. His Kalmia Angustif[olia]. was by far the finest in England. Several such Robberys have been committed this last Summer. […] These Villians are the common Enemys of the Science and of all the Plants Mr. Collinson has lost I don't believe one will survive being mostly in Flower.[182]

Another nurseryman, Robert Sweet, who was the later partner of William Malcolm Jr., was arrested for stealing plants from Kew Gardens in 1826. Although he was discharged of the crime, documents suggest that the charge was made by Mr. William Townsend Aiton (1766-1849), son and successor of William Aiton (1731-1793), the director of Kew Gardens.[183] Evidently, jealously and animosity were part of the nursery trade as well. These men were dependent on each other but were also entangled in a fierce competition for customers by successfully cultivating native and exotic plants and seeds. Exotic specimens were worth a lot of money and were important for the reputation of a nurseryman, as they were difficult to obtain and cultivate.

On the whole, most nurserymen dealt only with British clients. William Malcolm's nursery provided plants and seeds to different customers. He supplied plants to grand country house gardens and the smaller private gardens for the well-to-do middle class and his business was not limited to the London area. There is evidence that he was the supplier for the gardens of Woodall Park in Hertfordshire and to the Dowager Princess of Wales for the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew.[184] The continuous expansion of private and commercial gardens was accompanied by a rise of the number of plants cultivated. Exotic plants from abroad and native plants were rapidly introduced into the great gardens of England.[185]

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[179] Ibid., p. 92.
[180] Garden thieves.
[181] Peter Collinson (1694-1768), botanist at Peckham, London. Imported North American seeds to England.
[182] UBL, BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen, 1768, f. 2r-v.
[183] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 116.
[184] Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens', p. 188.
[185] Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England', p. 105.

Besides British customers, Malcolm also provided plants and seeds to relations abroad. The exchange of plants and seeds and knowledge continued, stimulated and provided for by the international trade and a vast correspondence network. Especially London was a vibrant place where the botanical establishment met at different social levels and where the port functioned as a vital element for obtaining and exchanging new species, knowledge and making valuable connections. Members of the Royal Society, such as Joseph Banks and Sir Hans Sloane, but also gardeners, amateur botanists, nurserymen, seedsmen and florists, moved within the same botanical establishment. This complex network, of which William Malcolm was an active participant, intertwined botany, science and trade.

One of the opportunities to exchange plants and to make contact with knowledgeable people elsewhere, was the interchange of collections. The Chelsea Garden organised an interchange of exotic plants in 1771 between 'noblemen, gentlemen and others'.[186] Among the collections that participated were the gardens of the Princess Dowager's at Kew, the Duke of Northumberland, Richard Anthony Salisbury (1761-1829), who was the first secretary of the Royal Horticultural Society, but also nurserymen like James Gordon of Mile End and James Lee of the Vineyard Nursery. The list shows a varied group of people from different layers of society, but all fervidly involved in botany.[187]

Besides the provision of new plant species and seeds to England through overseas expeditions, there also were seed and plant exchanges with relations in other countries. The correspondence of William Malcolm, but also his trade card and two published plant catalogues, demonstrate that nurserymen obtained their stock from individual collectors, botanists and naturalists abroad, such as in North America, France and the Dutch Republic.[188] Plants and seeds were received as gifts through the exchange of other collectors, sending stock from their own garden back in return.[189]

Contacts in other countries proved to be valuable business connections for nurserymen. For instance, John Bartram (1699-1777), a farmer and self-taught botanist from Philadelphia, collected seeds and plants of North America and sent these to Peter Collinson (1694-1768), the gardener in London who suffered from plant thieves in 1768, as was mentioned in James Manson's letter to David van Royen. Collinson functioned as an intermediary for the exchange of plants and seeds, importing them from North America for English collectors, botanists and nurserymen. He distributed the plants and seeds from Bartram to his customers,

[186] E.J. Wilson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery* (London: Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961), p. 26.
[187] Ibid.
188 Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 5; Clark, 'What the Nurseryman Did for Us', p. 27.
[189] Wilson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery*, p. 26.

men like Philip Miller of the Chelsea Garden and James Gordon of Mile End. The costs of a box with seeds was about 5 guineas, which is 500 pounds in today's money.[190]

*Correspondence*

As already mentioned in chapter I, correspondence between the participants in a botanical network was a necessity, as they often lived and worked at a great distance from each other, in Europe but also in other parts of the globe.[191] Maintaining a correspondence was the way to keep in touch with peers, arranging introductions with relevant contacts and exchange botanical knowledge and information. Corresponding in the eighteenth century involved certain social conventions.[192] For instance, honesty was valued greatly, but political connotations in letters were not appreciated. The participant had the obligation to respond to the letter and show gratitude, something that can also be seen in William Malcom's letters.

Correspondents were, in principal, equal, but the reality was often different. More often a patron-client relationship existed between correspondents.[193] Academics, like David van Royen, had more elevated positions in society and in the botanical establishment. They had easy access to books and to the knowledge of other peers, social contacts and the ability to travel. Their place in this network was defined by their power and resources, while others, like William Malcolm or a tradesman like James Manson, had 'only' knowledge, contacts or information to offer.[194]

Another convention was that the pattern of exchanges of plants, seeds, information or an introduction to another valuable agent in the botanical establishment, had to be equal: in exchange for what you received you gave an comparable amount of goods or information in return.[195] This way, money was not an issue, as one would be guaranteed of a similar favour in return in the future. It also explains the apparent willingness of Malcolm to present his plants and information to David van Royen and the absence of any mention of money in the letters. Refusing to comply with this pattern of exchange would mean a gross violation of social conventions and a stain on a gentleman's reputation. Reputation was everything for a nurseryman, seedsman or botanist, in a field in which good relationships guaranteed access to resources, knowledge and new plants and seeds. An example can be found in the letter of

[190] Clark, 'What the Nurseryman Did for Us', p. 26.
[191] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 192.
[192] Rutgers, 'Linneaus in the Netherlands', p. 105.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Egmond, 'Science in the Pharmacy', p. 18.

James Manson, included in this edition, in which he excuses Philip Miller for the delay in sending a book:

> Together with my own Book Mr Miller [f. 1v] sent me a Copy of the Dictionary for you & I sent it to a Friend in Town in order to be forwarded to Rotterdam. Upon Receit of your last Letter I made Enquiry after the Book & find it was put on board Cap't[ain] Scott only 12 days ago & that the vessell was not yet sailed. This neglect of my Friend's has vexed me a good deal because it naturally led you to consider Mr. Miller as a Trifler whereas he is really not to blame.[196]

James Manson was an important contact for David van Royen, as he provided useful connections on the British Isles for him. Manson was a tradesman from Scotland living in Rotterdam. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Rotterdam had become a centre of economic activity with Britain, hence its nickname 'Little London'.[197] British tradesmen were present in abundance in Rotterdam, and a Scottish community had developed which had been granted their own presbyterian church.[198] Rotterdam was conveniently located for the international trade, as it was connected via the Northsea and the rivers Rhine and Meuse to other parts of Europe.[199]

It is very likely that James Manson established the connection between William Malcolm and David van Royen. In the letter included in this edition, James Manson mentions a visit to Malcom's nursery in Kennington, in order to deliver a letter of David van Royen to Malcolm:

> Yesterday afternoon I made an Excursion to Kennington to deliver your Letter to Malcolm & to see whether he had any rare Plants. He was not at Home, but the Meester Knegt[200] came to me. He told me of your civility to him in Holland, open'd your letter without any ceremony & beg'd I would interpret it to him, the young man apears to me a very good Gardener, their collection is in good order and they have several curious things.[201]

James Manson had access to the Dutch market through his Dutch connections and functioned as an intermediary between Britain and the Dutch Republic. Such agents were highly necessary, as they travelled a lot and had extensive commercial networks from which they

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[196] UBL, BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen, 1768, f. 1r-v.
[197] P. Klein, 'Little London: British Merchants in Rotterdam during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in D. Coleman and P. Mathias (eds.), *Enterprise and History: Essays in Honour of Charles Wilson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 116.
[198] Ibid., p. 121.
[199] Ibid., p. 117.
[200] Foreman.
[201] UBL, BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen, 12 July, 1768, f. 2r.

obtained news and information.[202] As a scholar, botanist or nurseryman one had to make connections beyond one's circle of acquaintances. The essence of the work of an intermediary tradesman was to establish a foundation of trust.[203] For botanical scholars it was of importance to receive accurate information and new plants. For nurserymen and seedsmen, receiving healthy and profitable plants and seeds was of the utmost importance for their livelihood depended on this.[204]

Intermediaries, such as merchants like James Manson, could provide this trust and information, as they travelled much more and had dealings with people from all layers of society.[205] Their correspondences are, therefore, often characterised by the exchange of news and gossip within the network. This information was willingly shared, as 'everyone stood to gain from the smooth functioning of the network.'[206]

*Expeditions and transportation of plants*

The emergence of a consumer society, increased wealth, international trade and plant introductions from abroad stimulated the interest in natural history, horticulture and botany in England. The eighteenth century was the era of plant collectors, specialists nurseries and plant introductions.[207] Eminent men like Joseph Banks (1743-1820) did much to improve it. Banks was a well educated, wealthy man and part of the botanical establishment in England. He had many contacts abroad and made several successful overseas expeditions with his companion Daniel Solander (1733-1782). Solander was one of Linnaeus's 'apostles' and was sent to England to spread Linnaeus's taxonomic method and binomial nomenclature. Together Banks and Solander collected thousands of new species and introduced them back home. One of their expeditions was with James Cook on the HMS Endeavour to the South Pacific Ocean from 1768 to 1771. This voyage is mentioned by James Manson to David van Royen in his letter of 1768, just before the Endeavour departed:

[202] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 184.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.
[205] For instance, James Manson met Joseph Banks in 1773, when the latter visited Rotterdam. Banks writes in his travel journal: 'we'd dined with Mr. Manson a very agreeable and ingenious man'. State Library New South Wales, inv. SAFE/Banks Papers/Series 02.01, Journal of a Tour in Holland, 12 February – 22 March 1773, f. 73. A letter of Manson can also be found among Banks's correspondence in the British Library (BL), Add. Ms. 33977, ff. 20-21, James Manson (Rotterdam) to Joseph Banks, 8 March, 1771.
[206] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 196.
[207] McEwen, 'The Northern Lads', p. 110.

> Mr. Banks, a very great Liefhebber[208] & a Man of considerable Fortune is now upon his departure for the South Sea.[209] Doctor Solander (who is consider'd here as the ablest Man in Natural History they ever had in England) goes with Mr. Banks also two very good Painters[210] who are already accustomed to express the Generic and Specifick Characters in their Drawings. They propose making some stay at the Kaap[211] in their Return and to be two years absent from England.[212]

That this expedition was viewed upon with high expectations by anyone connected to botany, is shown in a letter from Malcolm to David van Royen. A few months after the return of Banks and Solander he wrote:

> I hope in a few years we shall be able to present you with many new plants (particularly should the seeds brought home by Mr. Blanks [!] & Solander) prove good, as they think that one fourth may be added to those yet known.[213]

This letter indicates the importance of London in the ongoing distribution of plants and seeds after they arrived in the city's harbour. The seeds that were brought home by Banks were distributed among botanists, nurserymen, seedsmen and gardeners in England. Cultivated in Malcom's nursery, the plants that he could spare were sent to Leiden, from where David van Royen in exchange would return seeds or plants from his network.

A connection with directors of botanical gardens, botanists on expeditions and tradesmen, which could result in a steady correspondence and exchange of plants meant much for the success of a nursery. Malcolm's contact with van Royen was therefore highly valued by him, as can be derived from a letter sent by him to Leiden in 1770:

> The purpose of the present letter is requesting the favour of an answer, informing me how you do; whither any sickness or cause of that kind has prevented your writting; or whither you rec'd[214] the plants, or letter of advise and what success you hade with them or the former plants, what others there are in this country that I have in my power to help you to.[215]

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[208] Devotee.
[209] James Cook's expedition to the South Pacific in 1768.
[210] Among the four artists who joined James Cook's expedition to the South Pacific in 1768 on the *HMS Endeavour*, were Sydney Parkinson (c. 1745-1771), a famous botanical illustrator, and Alexander Buchan (?-1769), a landscape painter. Both men died during the expedition.
[211] Cape of Good Hope
[212] UBL, BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen, 1768, f. 2v.
[213] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 6, 1771, f. 1r.
[214] received.
[215] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 4, 1770, f. 1r.

In another letter Malcolm mentions that he was expecting specimens and seeds from the Cape of Good Hope through the connection with a man, who apparently had travelled there:

> From a man sent to the Cape of Good Hope we have infinite numbers of specimens & seeds of new and beautifull shrubs & bulbs particularly the Ericas, Gnaphaliums, Proteas, Diosmas, Lucodendrons and new Guneras, and from which we have the most sanguine expectations of success. We have also many new plants from the East Indies, as soon as to spare you shall partake with me.[216]

So far it is not known if William Malcolm personally employed people abroad to collect plants and seeds for him. Of James Lee, of the Vineyard Nursery, it is known that he made use of agents and collectors overseas. He also enjoyed aristocratic patronage, which provided him with financial support for these expeditions.[217] William Malcolm must have been almost as successful a nurseryman as Lee, as he is often named in connection with him and with James Gordon, as the men who shaped the English nursery trade in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is therefore possible that Malcolm also had the funds to employ agents abroad.

Another possibility is that Malcolm had struck a deal with the people who went on these expeditions, the person who commissioned them, or tradesmen like James Manson, to ensure a share in the cargo. James Lee, William Aiton, the director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, or scientific botanists like Sir Hans Sloane or Joseph Banks, had the contacts, funds and purpose to employ agents for collecting plants and seeds abroad, or to travel there themselves. As the nursery trade was dependent on mutual trust and granting each other favours, business deals such as these were very common.

As England was a transit country for the international trade of plants, there often were problems with transportation. Getting plants alive and well to their customers at home was a difficult enough task for the nurserymen, but sending plants overseas proved to be quite a hazardous undertaking. Seeds and bulbs travelled better, but still the cargo could easily get lost or damaged because of sea water that caused rotted and damped goods.[218] The voyage from America to Europe on average took two months and even when a ship had reached a port delays in unloading were common. The boxes and parcels could be lost, disappear, or be delayed at Customs.[219]

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[216] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 9, 1773, f. 1v. It was common in the eighteenth century to send botanists on expeditions to collect plants, specimens and seeds for research, acquisition and cultivation.
[217] Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, p. 236.
[218] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 6.
[219] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 185.

Packing, therefore, was very important, as plant survival depended on it, but it could cost a considerable amount. Water transport was the cheapest and quickest way of transport, but required a high standard of packing to ensure good protection during the journey, thereby increasing the costs.[220] The method of packing was considered to reflect on the character of the sender, so a successful arrival of parcels encouraged confidence between sender and recipient and improved their business relationship and reputation.[221] As agents often couldn't meet with each other in person, a relationship was being defined by the contents of the packages, but also the quality of the packaging of the boxes, parcels and caskets.[222]

Plants were often packed in straw and mats, with moss around the roots, placed in wicker baskets. Seeds were often transported in casks. Creative efforts were made to protect the plants. For instance, for the transportation of plants overseas it was recommended that 'plants likely to be more than eight days on their journey should be rubbed with honey before being covered with moss and put in boxes.'[223] The ingenuity of the eighteenth-century nurserymen, who were able to successfully transport and grow plants from all over the world with limited equipment is impressive.

William Malcolm refers in a letter to David van Royen from 1773 on the packing method he used to send the plants van Royen had ordered. Besides the attention and care Malcolm gave to Van Royen's order, this letter also gives an insight into the packing methods of a nurseryman:

> I ordered the best and most valuable seeds of that country to be gathered at proper season, and pack'd into a cask, first a stratum of dry sand, then a stratum of seeds pressing down the sand as much as could be, and so on till full, then clos[e]ly cover in that manner those seeds in the bottle were sent me; how they succeed time will show, but I once before tryed that method, and raised more Laurel leaved Magnolias then ever was done in England.[224]

That the transportation of the plants was not always successful can be deducted from the same letter, when Malcolm mentions the unfortunate damage some of the plants had suffered on their way from Leiden to Londen:

> [...] from being so long on board, & detained sometime at the Custom House proved fatal to several, viz. the cactus were both rotted by dampe, the one quite dead, the

[220] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 6.
[221] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 194.
[222] Ibid., p. 193.
[223] Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, p. 6.
[224] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 8, 1773, f. 1r.

> Glauca not so far gone that I cut off all the infected part[s], and have laid in the dry till no[w], hence I hope to save it.[225]

The risk of losing cargo was ever present and a nurseryman took a substantial risk sending plants and seeds abroad. Also, his reputation as a reliable and capable professional was at stake. The loss, disappearance or bad quality of the order reflected on the nursery and its owner. But taking the risk of sending orders overseas was deemed worth the effort, as these shipments enhanced one's advantage. Malcolm's connection with people like David van Royen, who was the director of a famous botanical garden, a distinguished scientist and well-connected, was of great value. Supplying van Royen with practical knowledge, plants and species, was in Malcom's commercial interest as it guaranteed favours in return from a man who had access to resources that Malcolm did not have.[226]

After a ship had arrived at a port it was of the utmost importance for the survival of the cargo that the port was as close as possible to the final destination.[227] After a long and gruelling sea journey, the final journey overland could 'finish off the already weakened specimens.'[228] In case of the parcels sent between David van Royen and William Malcolm, James Manson's house in Rotterdam functioned as the delivery address. Malcolm often refers in his letters to the plants he had directed for Van Royen to the care of Mr Manson.[229] Together with the letters of James Manson to David van Royen, instructions were included for the dispatch of plants (fig. 5). In one letter, a note on the back indicates the way van Royen sent his parcels to James Manson, who most likely further settled the shipment (fig. 6). Manson lived at the Boompjes in Rotterdam next to the harbour, but also had a 'buytenplaats', or country estate, near the 'Blijdorpse Waatermolen' (the water mill at Blijdorp) on the outskirts of the city, which was a conveniently located near the river Schie, along which the canal boats from Rotterdam to Delft, The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and other cities, passed.[230]

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[225] Ibid.
[226] Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England', p. 115.
[227] Easterby-Smith, 'Reputation in a Box', p. 185.
[228] Ibid.
[229] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 3, 1769, f. 1r.
[230] James Manson mentions his residence in his letter to David van Royen: [f. 1r] 'In case you should, during the ensuing vacancy, take a Tour of this part of the Province, it would give me infinite pleasure to to see you at my Table. I live in the Boompjes and from my win- [f. 1v] dow you will have a perfect view of the River and I persuade myself you would be amused in considering minutely the compleatest Town in Europe for the purpose of commerce.' UBL, BPL 1900, Letter 25 May, 1767.

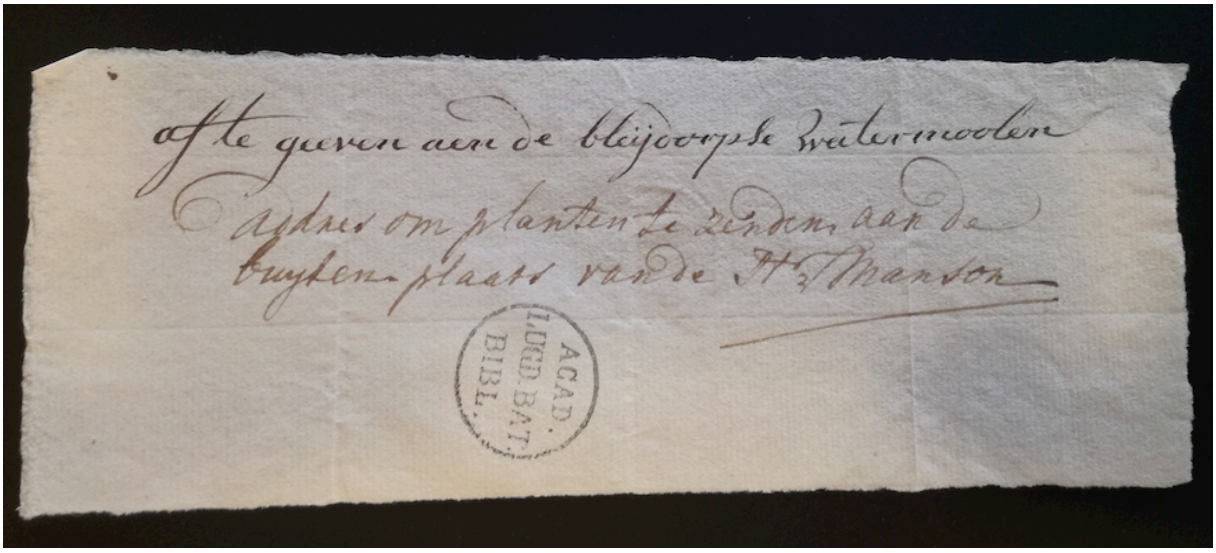


Figure 5: Separate note accompanying Manson's letter of 15 June, 1767, with the order to deliver the plants 'aan de buyten plaats van de Hr. Manson'.

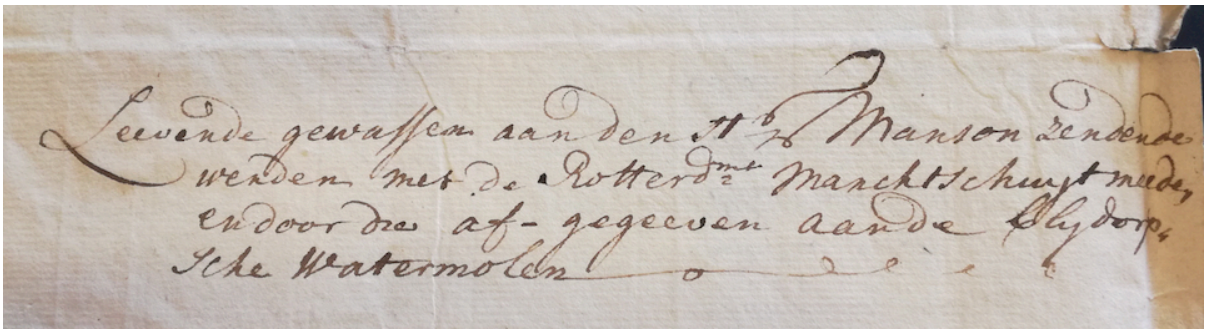

Figure 6: Note on the back of a letter of James Manson from 25 May, 1767, with instructions to send 'levende gewassen' (cultivated plants) to Manson's country house.

## III – SCIENCE AND COMMERCE

As described in the previous chapters, Linnaeus's taxonomic method (in *Systema Naturae*, published in 1735) and binomial nomenclature (in *Species plantarum*, published in 1753) found a firm footing in England among scholars, naturalists, botanists and nurserymen. But before his ideas reached across the North Sea, nurserymen like William Malcolm, had to work with the latest developments in botanical research in order to be informed about the newest species, cultivation methods and plant names so he could provide his clients with the right information. And this was not an easy task. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had seen an unprecedented increase in the number of new plant and animal species, thanks to the expeditions overseas. The first half of the eighteenth century was not a period of great botanical activity in England.[231] The physical sciences, due to Isaac Newton's work, overshadowed botany and natural history until the middle of the century.[232]

But the main reason for this limited botanical activity was that plant research had been hindered by the lack of a generally accepted taxonomic method and nomenclature. Plants and animals often had more than two Latin names, together with a short description. Although people had always divided the natural world into groups, differentiating between trees, shrubs, medical plants and others, an easier and better method was needed. Naturalists and botanists all over Europe had become obsessed with the quest for universal, simple principles that would provide the method by 'which all nature could be reduced to a simple set of characteristics.'[233] The introduction of many hundreds of new species required an unambiguous approach to create order in the chaos that had emerged in botany.[234]

In Britain, the naturalist and botanist John Ray (1627-1705) had substantially contributed to the classification method of plants with his publication *Methodus plantarum nova* (1682), proposing a classification based on structural characteristics such as germination and internal anatomy.[235] Another publication of Ray, the *Synopsis methodica stirpium britannicarum* (1690) was to be the main British vademecum for many years.[236] In France, the

[231] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 25.
[232] Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks*, p. 73.
[233] Findlen, 'Natural History', p. 464.
[234] Kooijmans, 'Tantalus in de hortus', p. 164.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 199.

botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708) drew partly on the work done by Ray.[237] He focused on classification genera's based on the characteristics of flowers and fruits of plants.[238]

In the Dutch Republic, the plants in the Hortus Botanicus in Amsterdam were grouped according to John Ray's method. In the Leiden botanical garden, the approach was different. The use of varying systems by different professors in the past had resulted in an untidy classification system that prefect Herman Boerhaave had attempted to reorganize with the help of William Sherard (1659-1728). Sherard had been a student of De Tournefort in Paris and Paul Hermann (1646–1695) in Leiden. Sherard had helped Hermann with determining new plant species from the Cape of Good Hope, that Hermann had collected personally.[239] Herman Boerhaave regularly corresponded with Sherard, who's extensive network of fellow botanists helped shape the progress in methods of classification and nomenclature. It would be Carl Linnaeus's Leiden publications on classification and nomenclature in the 1730s that would definitively steer botany into a new direction. But without the considerable work of botanists such as Ray, Sherard, Hermann and De Tournefort, Linnaeus's contribution to botany wouldn't have been possible.

*Linnaeus*

In the course of the eighteenth century there were many systems and methods to classify and name plants. Botanists, gardeners and nurserymen in England and elsewhere often did not use the same name for the same species, which gave rise to much confusion among the various professions. As Stafleu writes, 'no two botanists used the same name for the same species.'[240] The arrival of many new plants and the explosion of information in the end proved too much for all the systems that were created.

Linnaeus's greatest achievement was that he provided a stable taxonomic method and nomenclature precisely during the time in which the influx of new plants into Europe made it necessary to systematically order and document them. With his practical system and nomenclature, the species that were brought back from voyages all over the globe could be studied and ordered in a scientific way.[241]

[237] Ibid., p. 91.
[238] Ibid., p. 92.
[239] S. Veldman, 'Prins der botanici. De reizen, verzamelingen en studies van Paul Hermann', in van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis*, p. 155.
[240] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, pp. 2, 25.
[241] Ibid., p. 82.

With his *Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus presented a hierarchical system that divided plants, animals and minerals into three kingdoms of nature.[242] Each kingdom was then further subdivided into class, order, genera, species and varieties.[243] Linnaeus subdivided the kingdom of plants into 24 classes, based on their flowers. He had found it was easier to classify plants on the basis of their reproductive characteristics, that were clear and easy to establish.[244] This was truly revolutionary, because the role of the sexual system for the classification of plants was controversial. In an era where speaking of sexuality was deemed immodest, Linnaeus designed a simple system with which one could easily identify and classify plants on the base of distinctive male and female reproductive organs (the stamens and pistils) of plants.[245]

Linnaeus was not the first who recognized the importance of the sexual reproduction systems of plants for their classification. Sébastien Vaillant (1669-1722), the director of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, had introduced the importance of the reproductive system of plants in a lecture in 1717. He caused great commotion with the idea that plants could have a sex life.[246] His theory was not picked up by many botanists, expect for some, like Herman Boerhaave, who showed an interest in Vaillant's work to the extent that he even published an edition of his lecture in Leiden in 1718.[247] Years later this was one of the reasons why Linnaeus was confident in Boerhaave's interest in his system when he tried to gain a foothold in the Dutch botanical establishment.[248]

In 1753 Linnaeus published his *Species plantarum,* in which the body of ideas he had presented in the *Systema naturae* was further matured. With this publication he established the use of a binominal nomenclature, a uniform system in Latin for naming plant species. According to Linnaeus's use of binomial names, the first word given to a living organism indicates the group (the genus) and the second the individual name, the epithet, which indicates the species of the plant. Whoever is responsible for the name giving and description of the organism, his name is mentioned after the binomial name. In Linnaeus's case that is an L.[249]

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[242] *Encyclopeadia Britannica*, 'Carolus Linnaeus', <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Carolus-Linnaeus - ref59538> (2 August, 2017).
[243] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 28.
[244] Kooijmans, 'Tantalus in de hortus', p. 171.
[245] *Encyclopeadia Brit*annica, 'Carolus Linnaeus', <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Carolus-Linnaeus - ref59538> (2 August, 2017).
[246] Kooijmans, 'Tantalus in de hortus', p. 165.
[247] Ibid., p. 166.
[248] Ibid., p. 171.
[249] Van Uffelen, 'Prefecten en hun planten', p. 133.

Even though a binomial nomenclature was not necessarily of great significance to Linnaeus, it turned out to be the great attraction of his system.[250] For botanists and naturalists it 'greatly facilitated the task of neatly docketing away new species.'[251] Before Linnaeus's nomenclature was accepted as the norm, names could become tediously long, by the constant adding of names to indicate new subspecies or variants. This elaborate system of descriptive phrases and adding names collapsed under its own weight and became an inconvenient instrument to work with. The binomial nomenclature, however, acted as the new 'guiding thread through the labyrinths of nature.'[252] It was considered to be a capital improved in the study of plants. New species could be added to the genus and descriptions could be changed, without having to change the name. That is why Linnaeus's system became so popular, and why his *Species plantarum* eventually formed the basis for the international agreement on nomenclature, the *International Code of Nomenclature for Algae, Fungi and Plants*, established in 1905.[253] The classification system of Linnaeus is no longer in use today, but this system standardized the usage in the eighteenth century till in the nineteenth century Darwin's theory of evolution was introduced.[254]

Especially Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature greatly facilitated botanists in the task of arranging species, dismissing the elaborate systems and methods that had been used previously.[255] The adoption of binomial names took time, and although in Leiden men like Adriaan van Royen, Jan Frederik Gronovius and Herman Boerhaave were at an early stage convinced of Linnaeus's reformative ideas, in England it took a little while longer. Even professionals like Philip Miller, the renowned head gardener of the Chelsea Gardens, did not adopt the binomial nomenclature in his *Gardener's Dictionary* until its last edition of 1768.[256]

Miller corresponded with Linnaeus and exchanged specimens with him but was not convinced of the use of the binomial Latin names for plants. James Manson, in his letter to David van Royen in 1768, mentions Miller's refusal to adopt Linnaeus's nomenclature in the

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[250] Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks*, p. 99.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Wikipedia, 'International Code of Nomenclature for Algae, Fungi and Plants', <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Code_of_Nomenclature_for_algae,_fungi,_and_plants> (10 October, 2017).
[254] Van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus* Botanicus, p. 40.
[255] Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks*, p. 99.
[256] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 109. Philip Miller's *The Gardeners Dictionary* saw eight editions during his lifetime, from 1731 till 1768. It provided 'the best and newest methods of cultivating and improving the kitchen, fruit, flower garden and nursery.' Biodiversity Heritage Library (BHL), *The Gardener's Dictionary* by Philip Miller, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/541#/summary> (2 August, 2017).

earlier editions of his *Dictionary,* retaining the 'old science', the old method, consequently rendering these publications imperfect and not useable for reference. Manson writes:

> Mr. Miller lives quite Recluse & has no sort of Intercourse with the present Race of Nursery Men so that he can get little in Exchange nor does he see what they are doing which renders his Dictionary very imperfect and indeed his Culture of tender Plants is too much according to the Oude Studie.[257] His not having given the Method of raising Kalmias & Rhodod[endrons]. from seed is impardonable and you will find many chasms[258] & many Blunders in his Book also many puerile Reasons for his disent from the Linnean Syst. in his arangement, his argumentation being frequently Felo de se.[259]

When Miller eventually did adopt Linnaeus's nomenclature, it helped a great deal in popularizing the Linnaean nomenclature among the British botanical establishment. His dictionary was one of the most popular reference works in the mid-eighteenth century, as was William Hudson's (1730-1793) *Flora Anglica*, which adopted the Linnaean principles in 1762.[260]

Linnaeus's botanical method pervaded not only academically educated botanists and naturalists within the British botanical establishment, but also the practically trained gardener, nurseryman and seedsman. In William Malcolm's letters his knowledge of Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature is striking. The first surviving letter of him to David van Royen from 1768 is probably not the first letter he wrote to Leiden, as he apparently continues a correspondence that had already been going on for some time. But as early as 1768 Malcolm did use binomial Latin names; the genus and species, in his letters. That this was not very common among nurserymen is evident from James Manson's remark to David van Royen in a letter from 1767 concerning an order of van Royen:

> I likewise propose reducing as much as I can of the list you sent me into the English Trivialia by which means I may get some of them from other friends. You wo[ul]'d be amazed by the ignorance of the Nursery men in regard to the names.[261]

William Malcolm is now considered to be a pioneer on the use of binomial nomenclature in Britain.[262] This is not only shown by his letters, but also by his two nursery catalogues published in 1771 and 1778. He was one of the very first to issue a scientific catalogue on the basis of the botanical principles of Linnaeus.[263]

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[257] Translation: old method.
[258] A profound difference in viewpoint.
[259] Felo de se: Latin expression for an act of deliberate self-destruction. UBL, BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen, 1768, f. 1v.
[260] Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans*, p. 109.
[261] UBL, BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen, 25 May, 1767, f. 1v.
[262] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen,* p. 88.
[263] Ibid., p. 11.

*Nursery catalogues*

Nursery and seed catalogues functioned in the eighteenth century as a vehicle for the plant and seed trade and for plant introductions.[264] The constant influx of new species from abroad had created a great market for the nurseryman and seedsman. In addition, technical innovation made it possible to grow exotics in greenhouses and cultivate them in cold and rainy Britain. To give their colleagues, clients and botanists a presentation of the plants in their nurseries, nurserymen and seedsmen in Britain regularly issued publications of trade catalogues from as early as 1727. These catalogues helped to spread information about the newest (exotic) plants, seeds, shrubs and trees and which nurseryman or seedsman sold them.[265]

Before the eighteenth century, such printed catalogues of plants and seeds are extremely rare, although lists of plants grown in gardens, composed by academic or amateur botanists, already existed. Even in the Middle ages lists of plants were compiled and spread.[266] The earliest English printed lists of seedsmen and nurserymen date from 1670. They were simple broadside sheets printed on one side along with the name and address of the seedsman or nurseryman.[267]

The later catalogues were more elaborate. Robert Furber (1674-1756) gained distinction for being the first nurseryman to publish an extravagantly illustrated catalogue titled *Twelve Months of Flowers* in 1730 and James Gordon and Christopher Gray issued catalogues as well.[268] Not only nurserymen and seedsmen issued catalogues, also head gardeners of important gardens such as the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew, founded in 1759, published such lists. William Aiton published the authoritative *Hortus Kewensis; Or a Catalogue of the Plants Cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew* in 1789.[269]

A catalogue was the ideal media for a nurseryman or seedsman to introduce new species. This way a nurseryman could exhibit his cultivation skills and botanic knowledge to fellow nurserymen and seedsmen, botanists, naturalists and possible clients. The name of William Malcolm comes up in several catalogues in connection with the introduction of new

[264] Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, p. 46.
[265] Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England', p. 105.
[266] Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, p. 7.
[267] Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England', p. 111.
[268] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 78; Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, p. 237.
[269] Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, p. 231.

plants. For instance, his name appears in William Aiton's *Hortus Kewensis*.[270] Nursery catalogues never were isolated publications, as nurserymen were very willing to help each other. William Aiton had help from botanists in the composition of the catalogue of the garden at Kew.[271]

It was, moreover, in the commercial interest of nurserymen and seedsmen to communicate to their customers what they had to offer in terms of practical advice concerning cultivation or with regard to the newest exotic plants, seeds and shrubs. A personal recommendation by word or letter was customary, in order to obtain customers for nurseries and seed shops, besides the regular group of local clients and the occasional pedestrian walking by the nursery.[272]

After 1725, in most of the country weekly newspapers, and later daily newspapers, were distributed, carrying the local and regional news as well as advertisements.[273] Nurserymen and seedsmen began to use the newspaper advertisements in order to disseminate printed catalogues among a wider group of potential clients (fig. 7).[274] Besides distributing plant catalogues and garden manuals, such as Miller's already mentioned *The Gardeners Dictionary*, some nurserymen and seedsmen produced trade cards that could be handed out to contacts.[275] The presence of William Malcom's trade card among the letters to David van Royen is evidence of this practice, and additional proof of the long term business relationship between the two men.

[270] W. Aiton, *Hortus Kewensis, or, a Catalogue of the Plants Cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden Kew: Octandria-Monadelphia,* vol. 2 (London: George Nicol, 1789), p. 76.
[271] Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1985), p. 231.
[272] Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, p. 91.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Clark, 'What the Nurseryman Did for Us', p. 22.

TO be Sold, fifteen Couple of ſteady HARRIERS, loud, and about eighteen Inches high, and though bred from the Vermine Hound, will hunt the loweſt Scent.

Alſo ſome Hunters, particularly the Huntſman's, being remarkably good for that Purpoſe, ſeven Years old, about fifteen Hands and an Inch high, well bred, and without Blemiſh.

For further Particulars enquire of John Laſſell, Cabinet-maker, in Princes-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields.

TO be Sold, by William Malcolm, at his Nurſery, near Kennington Turnpike, Surry,

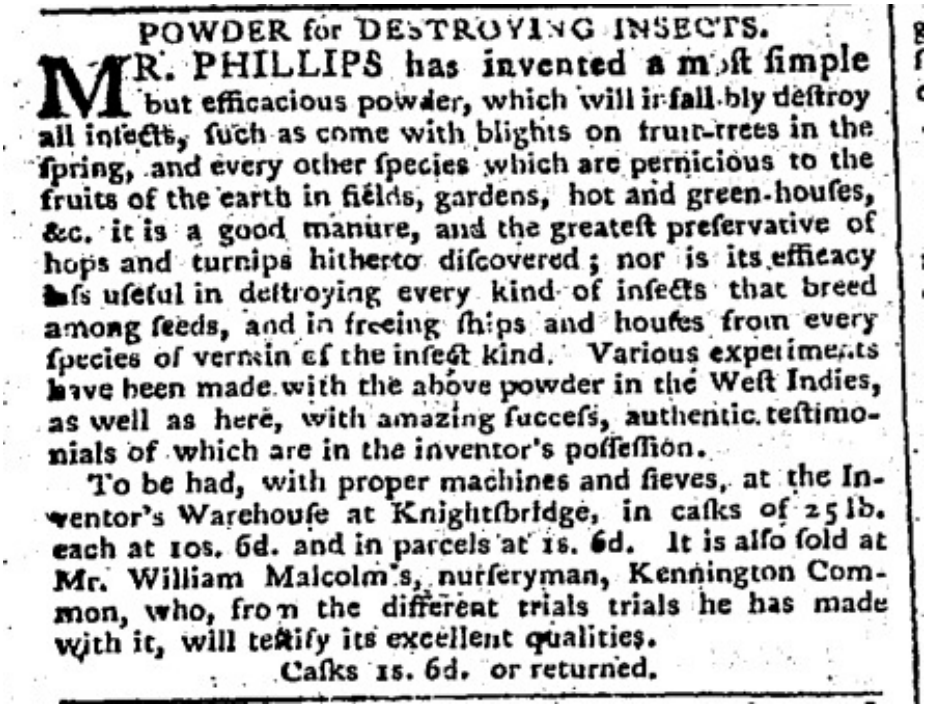
A large Quantity of Scotch Firs, at 3l. per Thouſand. They are juſt landed, and in good Condition.

At the ſame Place may be had all Sorts of Fruit and Foreſt Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Greenhouſe and Hothouſe Plants, Seeds and Mats.

TO be Lett, a very convenient Houſe, furniſhed or unfurniſhed, with a Coach-houſe, and Stable for five Horſes, ſituate at Twickenham in Middleſex, for one or two Years, and entered upon immediately.

Enquire of Mr. Foll, the Tenant, in Poſſeſſion thereof.

Figure 7: Advertisement for the Kennington nursery of William Malcolm in 1767.



POWDER for DESTROYING INSECTS.

MR. PHILLIPS has invented a moſt ſimple but efficacious powder, which will infallibly deſtroy all inſects, ſuch as come with blights on fruit-trees in the ſpring, and every other ſpecies which are pernicious to the fruits of the earth in fields, gardens, hot and green-houſes, &c. it is a good manure, and the greateſt preſervative of hops and turnips hitherto diſcovered; nor is its efficacy leſs uſeful in deſtroying every kind of inſects that breed among ſeeds, and in freeing ſhips and houſes from every ſpecies of vermin of the inſect kind. Various experiments have been made with the above powder in the Weſt Indies, as well as here, with amazing ſucceſs, authentic teſtimonials of which are in the inventor's poſſeſſion.

To be had, with proper machines and ſieves, at the Inventor's Warehouſe at Knightſbridge, in caſks of 25 lb. each at 10s. 6d. and in parcels at 1s. 6d. It is alſo ſold at Mr. William Malcolm's, nurſeryman, Kennington Common, who, from the different trials trials he has made with it, will teſtify its excellent qualities.

Caſks 1s. 6d. or returned.

Figure 8: Advertisement for an insect repellent, sold at William Malcolm's nursery in 1778.

Nursery catalogues are important sources as they give an indication of the development of the trade in seeds and plants from the seventeenth century onwards. The prices of plants and seeds would vary according to the market conditions, and were not fixed for a whole season. Therefore, prices of seeds and plants are rarely found in nursery or seed catalogues before the

mid-eighteenth century, but they are preserved in the supply bills.[276] The first priced catalogues appear in catalogues from the late eighteenth century, the first known one is dated 1775.[277] By this time, the favourable economic and social conditions in England had caused a remarkable growth of the middle classes, who could now afford to buy at the nurseries, although not the latest exotic specimens. The priced catalogues of what was to be had at the London nurseries stimulated this demand considerably.[278]

*William Malcolm's nursery catalogues*

In 1771 William Malcom sent his first printed catalogue, titled *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants, Fruit and Forest Trees: Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools* (London: J. Dixwell, 1771) (fig. 9), to David van Royen, so that 'whatever plant is therein contained (if I have two of a sort) one of them is very much at your command.'[279] Van Royen probably used this catalogue to order plants from Malcolm, as can be derived from the latter's letter of 15 June, 1772:

> You write me for the Diosma Odorata which I presume you take from my Catalogue, in which I call that specimen, that with us has been called Diosma Rubra. But it haveing a white flower and the most sweet smelling of all of them, and also there being another species more exactly answering Lin[naeus] character of the rubra, I have presumed to call it Odorata. But [I] do imagin you have it.[280]

William Malcom was one of the first in Britain to print a trade catalogue to introduce plants and merchandise and thereby tying the plant names to the new Linnaean system for naming, raking and classifying organisms, thus making a more distinct identification possible.[281] In the preface of his first catalogue of 1771, Malcolm writes:

> Having presumed in the following Catalogue to deviate form the Order generally persued in Publications of this Nature; I thought it necessary to prefix a few words in Explanation of the Method which I have chosen, and to convince the Reader I did not quit the beaten Path thro' Affectation or singularity, but from a Conviction of the Difficulties which all Lovers of Plants labour under, from the confused Manner of

[276] Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues*, p. 17.
[277] Ibid., p. 46.
[278] Ibid.
[279] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 6, 1771, f. 1r.
[280] UBL, BPL 1900, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Letter 7, 1772, f. 1r.
[281] Harvey, 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries', p. 23; Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens', p. 179.

> Arrangement in many Books, and particularly in printed Catalogues, in many of which the same Plant is placed under different Heads, and called by different Names according to the various Opinions of the Writers, who seldom adhere to any one System, each chusing that which best suits his fancy.[282]

Malcolm provides a powerful argumentation to explain the scientific method used in this catalogue and why he has deviated from the 'beaten Path'.[283] He continues to explain why he is using the Linnaean method and why it is superior to all others:

> Nor can I see any other effectual Remedy for this Evil, but at once to abolish all the synonymous and abstruse Terms and Names of ancient Writers, and to fix upon the most correct and explicit modern Author, as a Standard for a general Catalogue; and for the effecting of which, as some System must necessarily be adopted, I know of none, in my Opinion, in any Degree equal to the *Linnaean*, being by far the most correct and most universally received.[284]

Malcolm issued a second catalogue in 1778 (fig. 10). Again he explains his method of working and recommends 'one regular and universal System of Botany, from hence one general Catalogue, wherein the same plants are expressed and perfectly understood by all.'[285] By then, a few years had gone by since the publication of his first catalogue and Linnaeus's method had spread further among botanists, gardeners and nurserymen in England. Still, Malcolm felt obliged to explain how he had organized his catalogue, which indicates that the Linnaean method was not yet completely admitted as the norm.

> To preface a work of so little importance to the Public as the following Catalogue, may by some be deemed unnecessary, were it not to explain the Plan, and recommend one regular and universal System of Botany, from hence one general Catalogue, wherein the same plants are expressed and perfectly understood by all.[286]

Malcolm was such a fervent advocate because 'The figures in Geometry, the Scale of Music, are the same in all Countries.'[287] So, he is convinced, should be the generic characters of plants, wherever they are from:

> for example, a monoandrious plant (i.e. of one stamen) in Jamaica, China, Siberia or the Orkneys, remains unalterably the same when brought to England (some Lusus Naturæ excepted) hence the Sexual System of Linnaeus has the preference to any other;

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[282] *A Catalogue of Hot-house and Green-House Plants, Fruit and Forest Trees* (1771), p. iii.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid., pp. iii-iv.
[285] *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants Fruit and Forest Trees* (1778), p. iii.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.

> because whatever attempts are made to improve it, the principle must still continue: I therefore make use of his generic and specific Names, to which I have annexed the most intelligent and best known English ones, so far as they have any.[288]

These prefaces indicate that Malcolm was aware of the importance of implementing Linnaeus in his working method, but also tried to convince his colleagues, clients and others that his catalogues follow the right direction for botany and the nursery trade. Simultaneously, William Malcolm exhibits and advertises his excellent knowledge of botany and the latest scientific research, to his commercial advantage.

To further promote himself as a shrewd nurseryman and advocate of the Linnaean method, Malcolm added a rich allegorical frontispiece to his 1771 catalogue, designed by the well known botanical engraver John Miller and executed by his son John Frederick Miller (fig. 11).[289] In it, Britannia is depicted seated, being surrounded by a group of three women representing trade, science and technology. The last is holding a thermometer, demonstrating the right temperature needed for cultivating exotic species. In the lower right corner Linnaeus's publications are shown. Britannia receives plants from three exotic men, representing Africa, Arabia and the Americas. The native American holds the much high-priced pineapple. In the upper right corner, Father Time; holding a scythe, Prudentia; holding a mirror, and the Zodiac overlook the scene, indicating the time, diligence and the labours of the months that are involved in taking care of vulnerable plants.[290] In the background, Malcolm's two greenhouses are depicted, with glass on at least one side of the roof; the south side, this way ensuring the sunshine and economize on heating the glasshouse manually.

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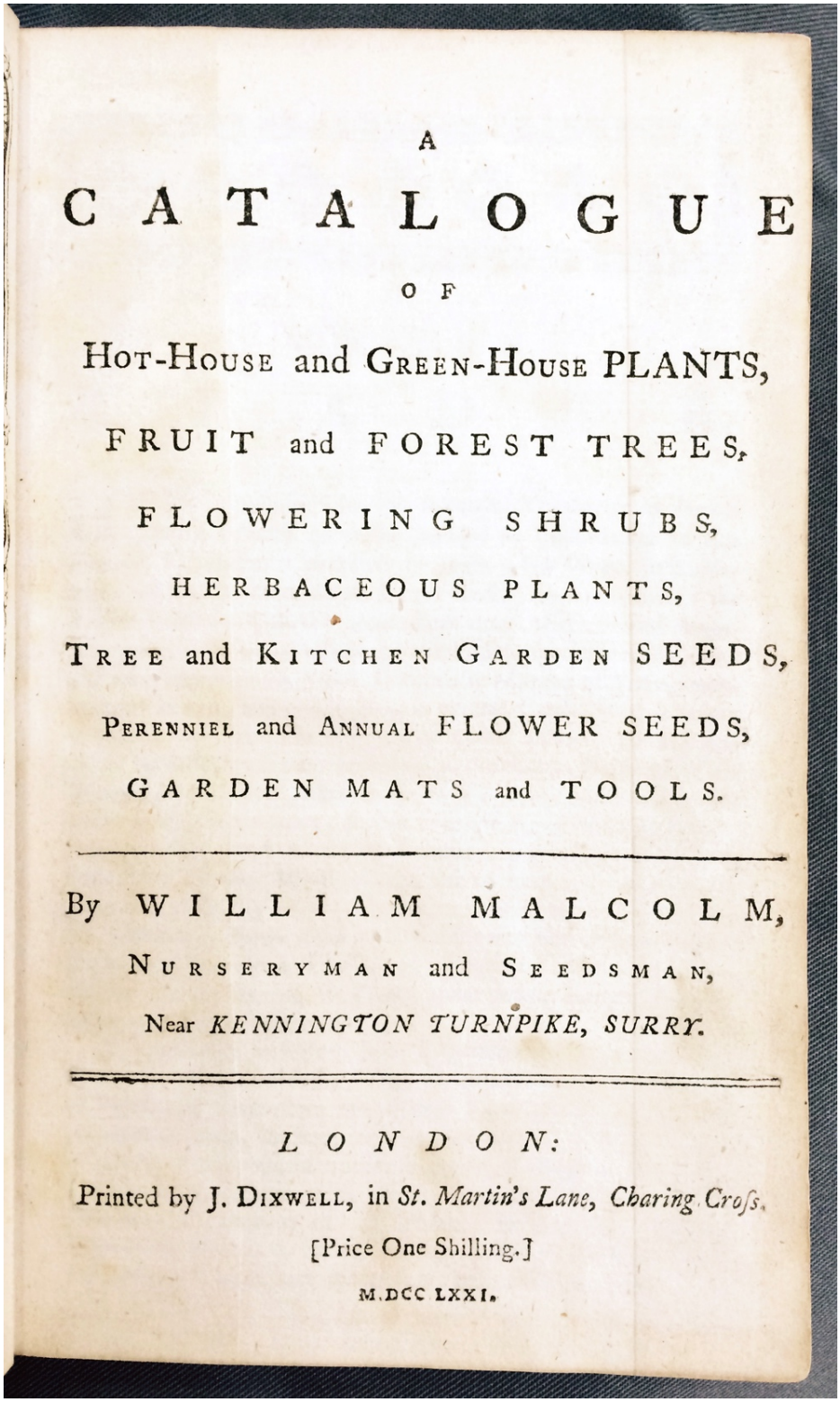
[288] Ibid.

[289] Miller, John (1715?-1790?), Wikisource Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 37, <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Miller,_John_(1715%3F-1790%3F)_(DNB00)>(21 April, 2018).

[290] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghen des verstants* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644), online facsimile, 1971, Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL), <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/pers001cesa01_01/> (20 October, 2017). Pers was also the translator.



A

# CATALOGUE

OF

HOT-HOUSE and GREEN-HOUSE PLANTS,

FRUIT and FOREST TREES,

FLOWERING SHRUBS,

HERBACEOUS PLANTS,

TREE and KITCHEN GARDEN SEEDS,

PERENNIEL and ANNUAL FLOWER SEEDS,

GARDEN MATS and TOOLS.

---

By WILLIAM MALCOLM,

NURSERYMAN and SEEDSMAN,

Near *KENNINGTON TURNPIKE, SURRY.*

---

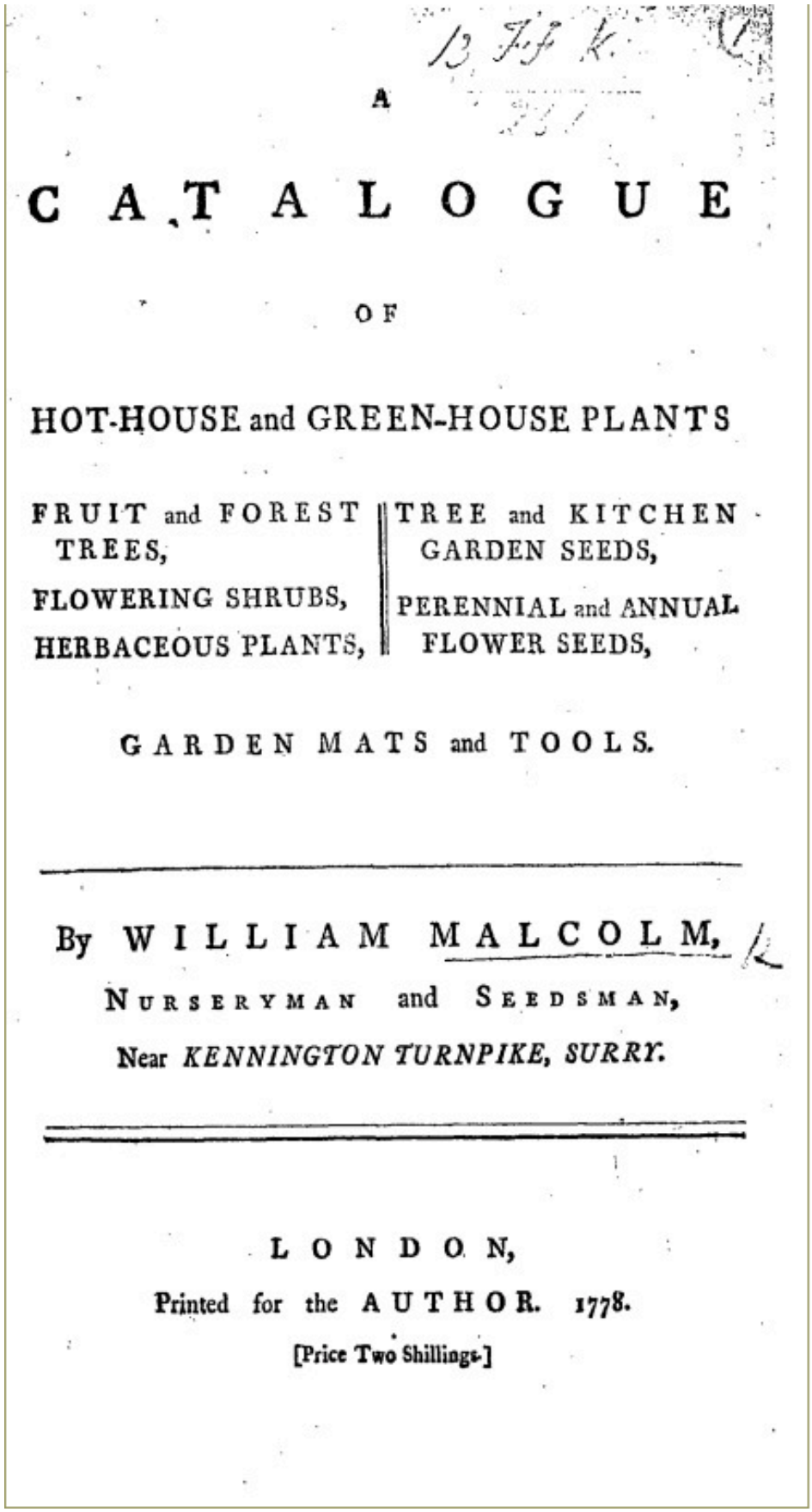
*LONDON:*

Printed by J. DIXWELL, in *St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross.*

[Price One Shilling.]

M.DCC LXXI.

Figure 9: Title-page of William Malcom's first catalogue of 1771.



A

# CATALOGUE

OF

## HOT-HOUSE and GREEN-HOUSE PLANTS

FRUIT and FOREST TREES,
FLOWERING SHRUBS,
HERBACEOUS PLANTS,

TREE and KITCHEN GARDEN SEEDS,
PERENNIAL and ANNUAL FLOWER SEEDS,

GARDEN MATS and TOOLS.

---

By WILLIAM MALCOLM,

NURSERYMAN and SEEDSMAN,

Near *KENNINGTON TURNPIKE, SURRY.*

---

LONDON,

Printed for the AUTHOR. 1778.

[Price Two Shillings.]

Figure 10: Title-page of William Malcolm's second catalogue of 1778.


Figure 11: Frontispiece of Malcolm's catalogue of 1771. The frontispiece is signed 'I. Miller inv. et del.' and 'I.F. Miller sc:'.

**PART TWO**

## THE LETTERS: MATERIAL ASPECTS

According to the acquisition register of the University Library of Leiden, the letters with the shelfmark BPL 1900 were transferred from the library of the Hortus Botanicus in June 1907. BPL 1900 contains letters David van Royen received from a wide range of international correspondents, among them William Malcolm and James Manson.[291]

The letters of William Malcolm are written in black ink on 210x290 mm sized paper, folded into an envelope (fig. 12)

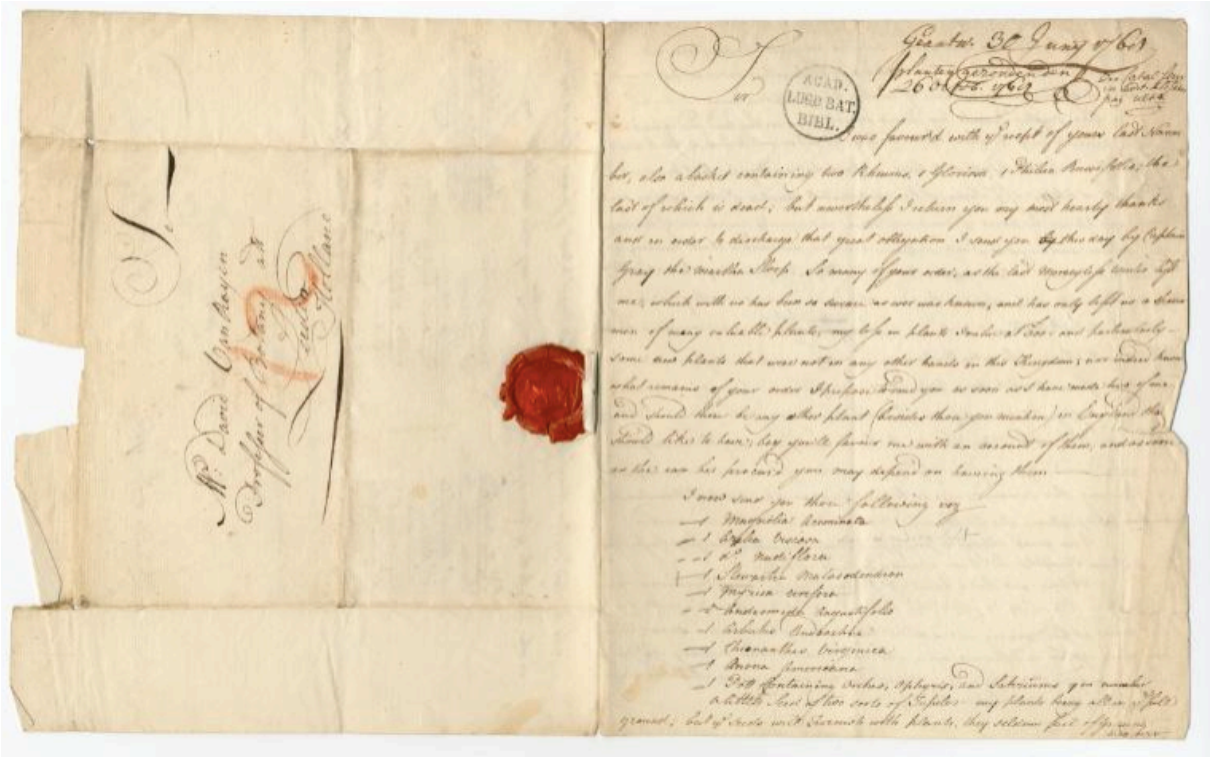



Figure 12: Letter 1, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 10 June 1768. In the right upper corner a note of David van Royen in Dutch.

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On every letter there is a red wax seal, with the exception of the sixth letter of September 10th, 1771. In the first five letters of 1768, 1769, 1770 and 1771, the wax seal is the image of a four legged animal, standing upright with a stick, in all likelihood a bear (fig 13).

Figure 13: Wax seal of William Malcolm on his letter of William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 4 September 1769, f. 1v.

From the seventh letter, written in 1772, onwards the wax seal shows the embellished initials WM of William Malcolm (fig. 14).

Figure 14: Wax seal of William Malcolm on his letter of William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 15 October, 1772, f. 2v.

On the letter of James Manson of 12 July, 1768, a red wax seal is present, depicting a reclining figure with a globe, surrounded by a spyglass and instruments for navigation, such as a fore-staff (left) and quadrant against the background of a sailing ship (fig. 15). It indicates James Manson's occupation as a tradesman.

Figure 15: Wax seal of James Manson on his letter of 12 July, 1768, f. 4v.

On some of the letters of William Malcolm notes and markings, added in ink or pencil in a different handwriting, can be found. Two of these handwritings can be identified as belonging to David van Royen and of a later curator. For the editorial treatment of these notes and marks I refer to the Editorial Notes and footnotes in the transcription.

In the letters of James Manson, occasionally Dutch words are used, such as 'Oude Studie', 'veen aarde' and 'Meester Knegt', indicating Manson's familiarity with the Dutch language. As a tradesman, located in Rotterdam and with international contacts, the necessity of learning another language was apparent. Another letter of Manson, from 1766, is completely written in Dutch.[292]

[292] BPL 1900, James Manson to David van Royen (1766-1727-1799), 10 letters, 1766-1768.

## EDITORIAL NOTES

To present these manuscript letters in this edition, a note on the choices and considerations of transcribing and editing is required. Editions make, according to Michael Hunter's *Editing Early Modern Texts,* the inaccessible accessible.[293] In order to present a linguistically and historically interesting transcription and simultaneously a text which is accessible for a larger audience, the work method of the transcription and edition of the nine letters of William Malcolm, the letter of James Manson and part of a letter, quoted in chapter I, by William Bennet, is as follows.

The text has been transcribed exactly as found in the source text, complete with incorrect or archaic spelling, repetitions or any other way of writing that might otherwise be taken as an error of transcription. The use of [ ] indicates interference of the editor, always accompanied by an explanatory footnote. The use of [!] indicates notable instances that may provide a hindrance for reading.

Abbreviations such as 'favour'd', 'wo'd', 'oblig'd', 'tho" have not been written in full but kept exactly as found in the source text. In the case of 'rec'd' in letter 4, f. 1r, an explanatory footnote is given, considering the abbreviation is too short to be familiar. Underlined words in the letters are underlined in the transcription as well. Line-breaks are not provided, but page breaks are indicated by the foliation [f. 1r] or [f. 1v]. Strikethroughs have been ignored as the majority is illegible and does not contribute to the understanding of the text. For instance, in letter 1, f. 1r, the original text: 'I send you ~~by~~ this day by Captain Gray the Martha sloop' has been transcribed as: 'I send you this day by Captain Gray [of] the Martha sloop.' An exception has been made concerning the plant names: the strikethroughs have been included in the transcription only when legible. For instance, in letter 3, f. 1r, 'Rotundofolia' in the 'Myrtus Pimento ~~Rotundofolia~~' has been included, indicated by a strikethrough.

Lacunae are reconstructed, if possible, between [ ], and if not possible, by [...]. In all cases, an explanatory footnote is provided. Grammatical and spelling errors are not corrected. For example: errors such as 'prepose' instead of 'propose' or 'disent' instead of 'dissent' equally are not corrected. Punctuation has been silently added when necessary. Words that have been later added above or below the sentence have been silently corrected, without a footnote.

[293] M. Hunter, *Editing Early Modern Texts. An introduction to Principles and Practice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 1.

On William Malcolm's letters, several notes and markings in ink or pencil, in a different handwriting can be found. Handwriting that is not William Malcom's is transcribed in italic and an explanatory footnote is given. A small hand-written symbol (fig. 16), in James Manson's letter of 12 July, 1768, f. 3r, is transcribed as ⊙. This symbol means that the plant referred to is an annual plant. Its cycle from seed to flower is preformed in one growing season.

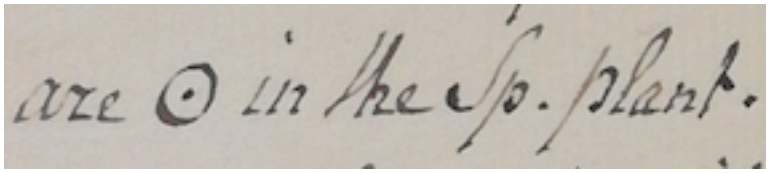

Figure 16: Detail of annual plant symbol in letter 10, 12 July, 1768, f. 3r.

Plant names are made up of two parts: the generic (or genus) part and the specific name (species) or epithet. In case a plant name is not legible it is transcribed as […], with an explanatory footnote. The transcription of the Latin description of the Theobroma affinis, in letter 8, f. 1v, of April 27, 1773, has been provided by Prof. P.G. Hoftijzer (Leiden University).

William Malcolm uses a capital letter for the Latin genus and the species name of plants. However, with the implementation of Linnaeus's nomenclature in botany, only the genus is written with a capital. Nevertheless, the Latin names have been transcribed as found in the text, mostly with a capital letter for both the genus and the species name. Also, erroneous writing of the Latin plant names in the letters has not been corrected. In Appendix I a list is provided with the transcribed Latin names, the corrected notation, the modern nomenclature and commentary with the common names. The corrected notation and common names are based on William Malcom's plant catalogue of 1778 and the eighth edition of Philip Miller's authoritative *The Gardeners Dictionary* of 1768.[294] The modern nomenclature in Appendix I has been provided for by Dr. G.A. van Uffelen (Hortus Botanicus, Leiden).

[294] W. Malcolm, *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants Fruit and Forest Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools. By William Malcolm, Nurseryman and Seedsman, Near Kennington Turnpike, Surry* (London: Printed for the author, 1778). BL, General Reference Collection, DRT Digital Store, inv. T.251.(1.). P. Miller, *The Gardeners Dictionary*, eight edn. (London: Printed for the author and sold by John and Francis Rivington, 1768). Biodiversity Heritage Library, *The Gardener's Dictionary* by Philip Miller, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/541#/summary> (2 August, 2017).

**TRANSCRIPTION**

**Letter 1**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 10 June, 1768

[f. 1r] *Geantw. 30 Junij 1768*

*Planten gezonden den 26 octob. 1768*[295]

*Zie Catalogus […] in hort LB*[296] *sator pag ultra*[297]

Sir,

I was favour'd with the receipt of yours last November, also a basket containing two Rheums, 1 Gloriosa, 1 Phylica Buxifolis, the last of which is dead; but nevertheless I return you my most hearty thanks and in order to discharge that great obligation I send you this day by Captain Gray [of] the Martha sloop[298] so many of your order; as the last mercyless winter left me; which with us has been so severe as ever was known; and has only left us a specimen of many valuable plants; my loss in plants I value at 300 £[299] and particularly some new plants that were not in any other hands in this Kingdom, nor indeed known.

What remains of your order I prepose to send you as soon as I have made two of one and should there be any other plants (besides those you mention) in England that you should like to have, beg you'll favour me with an account of them; and as soon as the[y] can be procur'd you may depend on having them.

I now send you those following viz.[300]

1 Magnolia Acuminata

1 Azalea Viscosa […][301]

1 d[itt]o Nudiflora

1 Stewartia Malacodendron

1 Myrica Cerifera

1 Andromida Angustifolis

1 Arbutus Andrachne

---

[295] Most likely David van Royen's handwriting. Translation: 'Answered: 30 July 1768. Plants send on 26th October 1768.'

[296] Lugdunum Batavorum, the Latin name for Leiden.

[297] Translation: 'See the last page of the Catalogue […] of the Leiden garden.' This sentence is in another hand, most likely a note from a curator, referencing to the last page of an unidentified catalogue of the Leiden Hortus Botanicus.

[298] A sloop, derived from Dutch *sloep*, is a sailing boat with a single mast and a fore-and-aft rig and only one head sail; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sloop> (28 October, 2017).

[299] The *libra* sign for the English pound, which had a value of about 11 Dutch guilders.

[300] Illegible pencil marks next to the plant names, on the left.

[301] Unidentified text in pencil.

1 Chionanthus Virginica

1 Anona Americana

1 pott containing Orchis, Ophyris, and Satyriums 9 in number

a little seed of two sorts of Tupelos, my plants being all in the full

ground; but the seeds will furnish with plants, they seldom fail of growing

turn over

[f. 1v] N.B. They are a little tender while young, but after two years stands the open air.

I am sorey to learn by your letter that the Calacanthus was in so bad a condition, should it die, and you are desirous of an other please let me know.

The Myrtus Pimento has flowered several times in England, and is now in flower; it proves to be the Myrtus Dioica of Linnaeus[302], but we are inclined to think that he was led into a mistake by other authors; we know that [it] is the Myrtus that produces the the [!] Pimento or Alspic[303] of the shops; of this we have two varieties the other having oval leaves, and placed by pairs the same as the other; the wood & leaves are of brownish red colour, and as yet the only difference we have discovered it not having yet flowered with us.

The Myrtus Chytraculia, My[rtus] Zuzygium, My[rtus] Caryophyllo[…] and My[rtus] Pimento we have not in England at present and we are rather inclined to think that Sr. H. Sloane[304], & Brown[305] has [!] taken similar varieties for distinct species; for notwithstanding the many new plants from Jamaica[306] and other of our West Indian Islands none of those have come to hand.

I had last year some plants from thence, among which was a Passiflora which we take to be the Maliformis; its leaves nearly answering that discription and are the most elegant of any of the species we have yet seen. I am in hopes of its flowering this summer; also an elegant plant we take it to be the Bombax Heptaphyllum; also Hippomine Brylandulosa, and other undiscribed.

---

[302] Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), Swedish physician, botanist and zoologist.

[303] Allspice. A pepper spice being the dried fruit of the Myrtus Dioica or Pimenta dioica (in modern nomenclature).

[304] Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), a British physician and natural history collector.

[305] Unidentified person. Most likely Jacob Breyne, or Breyn(ius) (1637-1697), son of a Dutch merchant who had settled in Danzig, Poland. Breyne was a botanist and collector of specimens.His correspondence network included many Dutch based connections like Paul Hermann and William Sherard. His herbarium is kept in Leiden. The reference could also relate to his son, Johann Philipp Breyne (1680 -1764), who was a student of Herman Boerhaave and a botanist. Proposed by Hans Sloane he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Cf. A. Fleisher, 'Passie voor planten. Het botanische netwerk van Hieronymus van Beveringh', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis*, p. 79.

[306] Sir Hans Sloane visited Jamaicia in 1668. He later published a travel journal and two illustrated volumes of the plant species he had found there.

I am much oblig'd for the other of serving me with the Saxifraga Crossifolia and the Pionia Tinnifolia, but I am already possess'd of both.

We have not that I know off the Corona Regalis, Farinosa nor the Gardinia Floralutea; of the latter both single & double die away yellowed. But now at first coming out is of that colour, but white only, we was [!] impos'd some years ago, by an infamous man who had raised some seedling of the Gardinia and gave out (for the sake of selling them) that their flowers were in blue in place of which they were white & single.

[f. 2r] As the last Phylica Buxifolia failed with me; I must intreat the favour of you to send me another, and also the following (if you can possibly spare them, or any other new plant) viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Phylica Buxifolia | Royena Glabra | Malphighia Latifolia |
| Diosma flora rubra | d[itt]o Hirsuta | Hebenstretia Cordata |
| d[itt]o Oppositifolia | Albuca Major | Frittillaria Corona regia |
| d[itt]o Ciliata | Phyllanthus Epiphylanthus | |
| d[itt]o Lanceolata | Aletris Fragrans | |
| Ficus Nymphæfolium | Black Wood | |
| d[itt[o Longifolia | | |

or any other; particularly new plant or seed. I unfortunately last winter lost all my Proteas of both sorts, should any good seed of either fall in your way, should esteem to a very great favour your furnishing me with a better. I am

Sir,

Your most obedient & most hum[ble] ser[vant]

Wm. Malcolm

Kinington 10 June 1768

[f. 2v] Mr. David Van Royen
Professor of Botany at
Leiden
Holland

**Letter 2**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 14 December, 1768

[f. 1r] Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have been favour'd with your three last letters, and also the basket of plants very safe, the first instant notwithstanding the long time they were aboard the ship. I am in full hopes they will all succeed.

I acknowledge the great obligation you have laid me under by those two new acquisitions; as they are quite new in this Kingdom; and it will give me equal pleasure, not only in replaicing your loss of the Pimento, but in furnishing you with some others, new to the Gardens of Holland.

Sickness in my familie (of which providence has been pleas'd to inflict us with), an unparalleled wet summer & Autumn, in so much that our country at present, and has been for months past under water, which has so much retarded business that we are several months behind with work.[307]

It will be imprudent to attempt the sending you those plants before the spring is advanced; these following I have set apart for your viz.

Magnolia Tripetula
d[itt]o Glaucca
Gardenia Flo[re] Simplice
Kelmea Angustifolia
Stewartia Mala[codendon]
Castenia Pumela
Nyssa
Passiflora Maliformis, quit[e] new
a plant like a Rosemary, unknown
Halisia
Myrtus Pimento

please turn over

[f. 1v] and such others as I think may be new to you. I hope you will succeed in the propigation[308] of the Phylica Buxifolia, Royena Hirsuta &c, both are scarce with us. I think its

[307] Cf. reports of notably bad weather with 1247 mm of rain that year in London and major flooding along the river Thames during December; <https://www.booty.org.uk/booty.weather/climate/wxevents.htm> (7 November, 2017).

[308] Propagation: reproduction of plants.

agreed hear [!] that the Protea you favour'd me is understood to [be] the Conifera of Linn[aeus], and I further think it show'd bloom in Kew Gardens about fifteen months ago, which confirm'd it to be so; the first species of Protea is very rare with us, and we are inform'd that Holland has annually seeds of both from the Cape.

You have a variety of other plants that we have not in England, apart of which when convenient will be gratefully received.

I have enclosed you a print[309] of a plant a native of North America, is the most singular of its kinds that has yet come to our knowledge. As well as quite new, it has a sensible faculty, or contracting, and elapsing hold of any insect, or other thing that touches the exterior part of the leaf, which has the appearance of a joint. It is an herbaceous plant, very low of growth, grows in wet soils, and only found in one part of the above country and at present is in the hands of only a very few persons who hold them very dear. As soon as they can be bought at a moderate price [I] shall send you one.

It is not yet settled what class it belongs to, but a proper description has been sent to Linneus[310] we expect [f. 2r] it properly enscribed in his Systema[311]. Beg to hear from you before the time I should sent you the plants, fixing the time you should shure to have them. I am
Sir
your most obedient & most hum[ble] ser[vant]

Wm Malcolm

Kennington
Dec[ember] 14th 1768

[f. 2v] To Mr David van Royen
Professor of Botany at Leyden
Holland

[309] The print is not included with the letter. It was most likely a botanical illustration.
[310] Linnaeus.
[311] The *Systema naturae* (Leiden: Theodorus Haak, 1735) is one of Linnaeus's major works, in which he introduced the Linnaean taxonomy. He outlined his ideas for the classification of the natural world hierarchically in three kingdoms: the mineral, animal and plant kingdom.

**Letter 3**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 4 September 1769

[f. 1r] Dear Sir,

In the course of my last [letter], I then engaged my promises of sending you some plants in the spring, but being short then of some of the sorts, together with the hurrie of business & particularly the badeness of the spring induced me to postpone the sending [of] them till the autumn. In consequence of that promise I have this day sent on board the Indian Trader for Rotter[dam] John Blacket Captain one large matted basket directed for you to the care of Mr Manson[312] containing the following plants. Viz.

N[umber]

1 Gardenia flores Simplici

2 Myrtus Pimento ~~Rotundofolia~~ solus ovatis a new varietie [!]

3 Passiflora Maliforme

4 Hibiscus Rosa Sinus Flora Fleno

5 Laurus Sassefras

6 Rhododendrum Maximum

7 Kalmia Latifolio

8 d[itt]o Angustifolio

9 Anona Americana

and as they are at present in very good health, well pack'd and the wind fair I make no doubt but you [will] receive them and meet with your aprobation.

This Pimento is a different varietie to the former I sent you, which you'll observe from the form of the leaf and colour. And tho[ugh] both is [!] undisputablie the Myrtus Pimento, it agrees with the character of the Myrtus Dioica of Linnaeus; this species having flower'd with us has put it out of doubt.

The Passiflora, I rais'd from seed, and seems to agree with the ch[aracte]r of the maliformis, but not having yet flower'd we are not quite certain.

I fail'd in my layers of the other species of Pimento but when recoverd that loss, [I] will furnish you with an other plant, and also such others as you wanted. When you have receiv'd these and find a convenient oppertunity [I] beg to be favour'd with your acknowledgement of there [!] going safe; and also to favour me any new plant, or such of them as you can spare, which favour take be gratefully acknowledged by

[312] James Manson (1726-1788), a Scottish merchant in Rotterdam.

Dear Sir

Your most obedient and most hum[ble] ser[vant]

Wm Malcolm

Kennington Sept[ember] 4th: 1769

[Marginal note on f. 1r]

P.S.: The following are plants that I want

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Royena Hirsuta | Black Wood | Guttarda speciosa |
| Phyllica Buxifolia | Laurus camphora | Phyllantus's or any new [...][313] |
| Diosma oppositifolia | Sago palm | Royena [...][314] |

The Rheum Palmatum Dentatum[315] proves to be only our common Rhubarb, which I suppose happened by mistake.

[f. 1v]

To Mr David van Royen

Professor of Botany at Leyden

Holland

*De planten zyn den 10e te Leiden gekomen*[316]

NB: I have lately got the Tea Tree, the Laurus Cinnamomum & Mango. As soon as I can propagate them [I] will furnish you and various others new plants of less consequence. In Holland there is a species of Aeschynomene with very long perinice which is not in this country.

The Aeschynomene Arborea of Lin[naeus] proves to be a Mimosa undescribed by him. It flowered with me last year.

Adieu

[313] Cut in page.
[314] Cut in page.
[315] The Rheum Palmatum and Rheum Dentatum are two separate plants.
[316] Translation: The plants arrived at Leiden on the 10th. Written in ink and most likely David van Royen's hand.

**Letter 4**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 16 July, 1770

[f. 1r] Sir,

In the course of last year I sent you a basket of plants directed to the care of Mr. Manson of which I have never heard whether you received them in good or bad order, or whether att all or not; which gives me not little concern as they were plants I hoped would have given you pleasure, being many of them new in Holland: in hopes also that it would have fixed our correspondence on a lasting foundation.

The purpose of the present letter is requesting the favour of an answer, informing me how you do; whither any sickness or cause of that kind has prevented your writting; or whither you rec'd[317] the plants, or letter of advise and what success you hade with them or the former plants, what others there are in this country that I have in my power to help you to.

I belive since I wrote you last, I have been so fortunate to procure several valuable plants, such as the Laurus Cinnamomum, Mangifera Indica and many others, tho[ugh] of less worth, the two first I have succeeded very well which is the first time they have done so in England. But[I] have not been yet able to make much progress in increase; particularly of the latter, it does not appear as if it would be propegated by any other ways then seede.

please turn over

[f. 1v] When I hade the favour of your last [letter] you there in mentioned a great probability of your succeeding in the propegation of severall plants that I wrote to you about, that in case you did, I should have a part of them. [I] Should be extremely happie in being favour'd with any or all of those plants I before wrote to you for, and also a more frequent corresponding by letter.

A few days ago I dined with Mr. Aiton[318] at Kew, who heartly joined with me in drinking your health, and begged your acceptance of our compliments. The collection of plants there[319] is grand, and almost infinit and yet dayly increasing, and in the highest perfection that can be expressed. And whatever he, or I are possessed of (if two of a sort) is at your command.

In full hopes of hearing from you soon I am

Sir,

[317] received.

[318] William Aiton (1731-1793) was head gardener of the Botanic Gardens at Kew from 1759 until his death. He is the author of the *Hortus Kewensis, or, A Catalogue of the Plants Cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew* (London: George Nicol, 1789).

[319] 'there' meaning: the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

Your most hum[ble] ser[vant]

Wm Malcolm

Kennington
July 16, 1770

[f. 2r] P.S. The following plants that I much want
Royena Myrtifolia
d[itt]o Hirsuta
Phylica Buxifolia
Baccharis Neriifolia
Amaryllis Orientalis, or Brunsvigia
Scinus Aneria
Gallarda Speciosa
Ficus Nymphæfolium
Benjamin Tree
Alletris Hyacinthoides
Doisma Rubra
d[itt]o Oppositifolia
Gnaphalium Flora Rubra

[f. 2v] To Mr. David Van Royen Professor of Botany at
Leyden
Holland

**Letter 5**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 22 April, 1771

[f. 1r] Sir,

My duty calls me to first beg your pardon for neglecting both the answering your favours, and making the necessary return the which was occasioned by various causes too tedious [to] mention. First Sir, I acknowledge the receipt of yours containing a few seeds, and a second I was favour'd with containing advise of some plants being sent for me and two for Dr. Matty[320], all of which was received tolerably safe except the Protea & the Geranium Hirta; the Protea was dead, and the Geranium was not to be found at all, neither pot nor any remains of the plant.

I have unfortunately lost the Diosma Ericoides which gives me much concern [it] being a very fine plant. And the Ficus Nymphæfolium had only been a cutting stuck into the pot which hade not formed any kind of root, therefore that is gone. The other Geranium gives me great satisfaction being new to me. Having thus far acknowledge[d] the receipt of your letter, seeds and plants, my nixt duty is to advise you of the method I have taken to discharge some part of the obligation, to do which I have this day shipped on board the Ann & Mary Sloop, Captain Anderson, a matted basket containing the following plants and as the ship is to sail this evening, or tomorrow morning, the weather being mild.

please turn over

[f. 1v] The plants [are] in good condition & well pack'd. I give you the greatest assurance of receiving them safe and giving you pleasure; though I am under some concern, not being able to return [to] you the whole number of plants you wrote for, but as soon as the others can be spared [I] will with great pleas[ur]e send them, but I with great concern inform you that such a Destruction has not happined among [the] vegetables during anytime any thing equall to the to this year to such a degree that many of the most common plants are totally killed. I shall be happie in hearing that you receive[d] your plants safe and that they gave you satisfaction. And when any of the Diosma's the dryed specimens of which you sent me can be spared, I should be glad to partake some of them, which favour shall be gratefully acknowledged by him who esteems it a pleasure to subscrib[e] himself

Sir,

Your most obedient and most hum[ble] ser[vant]

Wm Malcolm

[320] The Huguenot Mathew Maty (1718-1776) studied medicine at Leiden and later moved to London. He was secretary of the Royal Society and an Under Librarian at the British Museum.

Kennington,
April 22, 1771

[f. 2r]
N[umber]
1 Aralia Nudicaulis } these plants are not properly described by any author
2 d[itt]o [...][321]
3 Magnolia Glaueca
4 d[itt]o Acuminata
5 d[itt]o Umberella
6 Nyssa Aquatica
7 Myrtus Pimento
8 Halisia
9 Sibthorpia Europæa
10 Serritula Spicata
11 Rudbeckia Purpurea
12 Silphium Perfoliatum in place of Laciniatum
13 Brunia Nudiflora comes nixt
The last I sent being a new plant with us, but whether so in Holland I do not know.

[f. 2v] To Mr. Van Royen Professor of Botany at
Leyden
Holland

[321] Unidentified, but probably the same species.

**Letter 6**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 10 September, 1771

[f. 1r] Dear Sir,

My not having the pleasure of hearing from you since I sent you the last plants, makes me desirous of knowing in what condition you received them, and to inform you that I have sent one of my catalogues[322] of plants to you for your acceptance by the way of messieurs Kreps[323] florists at Haarlem, that should you have any oppertunity of send that way you'll find one there directed for you, and whatever plant is therein contained (if I have two of a sort) one of them is very much at your command.

I am greatly concerned to inform you that I lost both the Diosmas & the Geraniums, all of them plants that I much wanted, one of the Geraniums viz. the Hirtum was not to be found among the plants when they was [!] unpack'd, which I presume might have been omitted in packing.

Should you have any of the Diosmas, Geraniums or any of the other plants I mention'd before, I should esteem it [f. 1v] a singular favour to be furnished with them this Autumn. And such of your order as was not compleated I well endeavour to make the good the first oppertunity.

I hope in a few years we shall be able to present you with many new plants (particularly should the seeds brought home by Mr. Blanks [!] & Solander[324]) prove good, as they think that one fourth may be added to those yet known.

The Ficus Nymphæfolium was only a cutting that had never rooted therefore dead. The rest are alive and growing.

I am,

Sir,

with gratefull Esteem

Your most obed[ien]t and most hum[ble] ser[van]t

Wm Malcolm

[322] William Malcolm published his first catalogue in the same year: *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants, Fruit and Forest Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools* (London: J. Dixwell, 1771).

[323] Jean Kreps (d.1777), owner of the nursery 'het Hof van Flora' (Flora's Court), situated at the Kleine Houtweg in Haarlem. Cf. D.O. Wijnands, *The Botany of the Commelins* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1983), p. 22.

[324] Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), British explorer, botanist and naturalist, president of the Royal Society and advisor to the Botanic Gardens at Kew. Sailing with James Cook's expedition to the South Pacific in 1768, Banks was accompanied by Daniel Solander (1733-1782), a Swedish naturalist and former pupil of Carl Linnaeus.

Kennington
Sep[tember] 10th 1771

[f. 2r] NB
Geranium Tern[...][325]um
d[itt]o Hirtum
Diosma Rubra } all dead but wanted
d[itt]o Ericoides
Ficus Nymphæfolio
Mesembryanthemum Albidum
Phyllanthus Emblica
Gnaphalium Rubra
Tree Benjiman or any other plant [...][326] in my catalogue

[f. 2v] To Mr. Van Royen Professor
of Botany at Leiden
Holland

[325] Unidentified.
[326] Cut in paper.

**Letter 7**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 15 October, 1772

[f. 1r] Kennington Oct[ober] 15th, 1772

Dear Sir,

In June 1771 I wrote to you acknowledging the receipt of the plants you was so oblidging to send me, and the condition I received them.[327] And in March [17]72 I wrote you by a gentleman who was going to Holland, but to neither have I been yet so happy as to have an answer and I am greatly at a loss to assign a reason for it.[328] Nevertheless, I the third time do myself the pleasure of writting to you and beg to inform you that I shipped on board the Duke of York of Captain Wilcox directed to you to the care of Mr Manson merchant in Rotterdam, two baskets containing the following plants, which I hope you'll receive them safe & give you pleasure, but I am greatly concerned I could not at the present send you more of those contain'd in your list. Nevertheless, I will persevere in sending them till I have compleated it. From my great demand for plant[s] & from the loss of some curious plants I have not lost above one of some, and of others none; however, I have rais'd severale new plants this summer, which as soon as they are capable of transporting you may expect to partake of them.

Permitt me also to inform you that I hope nixt time to send you the Baleria Prionitis, and the Randia Aculiata; but the Myrtus Zeylanica of our Gardens is the same of your specimen, but I'm informed by Mr Aiton of Kew, (who have raised severall from seed that they differ greatly in size & in form of the leaf) and of those plants he raised he showed me some whose leaves were like your dried specimens and others exactly the same with our Zeylon in common. Yet I am of opinion that yours is a distinct species from ours, nor do I think it is [in] England.

We known very little of your African shrub. I think in Holland you call it Genipa, but the plant has made very little progress with me, nor do [I] know that it has ever flower'd with us, so that we know nothing of its parts of fructification or genus.

You write me for the Diosma Odorata which I presume you take from my Catalogue, in which I call that specimen, that with us has been called Diosma Rubra. But it haveing a white flower and the most sweet smelling of all of them, and also there being another species more

[327] This letter is not preserved. It may have gone missing.
[328] This letter is not preserved.

exactly answering Lin[naeus] character of the rubra, I have presumed to call it Odorata. But [I] do imagin you have it.

[f. 1v] Among the several plants I have favoured with from you, & have lost, I most lament the loss of the Diosma Rubra, Diosma Ericoides, & Phylica Buxifolia, which was unfortunately lost and which was very rare with us. Consequently, I must beg it as a favour that whenever you can spare any or all of them you'll be pleas'd to furnish me with them, and such others as you find are not contained in my catalogue.

My only reason for postponing so long sending you plants was my not being able to spare any quantity, and fewer was not worth your acceptance.

I am very sorey to inform you that tho[ugh] I was the only one in England that hade any stocke of the true Laurus Cinnamonum, I have lost every plant of them, and except some I supplied my friend Mr. Aiton with, they are all lost in the kingdom.

On receipt of your plants I beg you'll inform me in what state you find [them]. As the weather has been mild & very favourable I expect you will have the plants as soon as the letter of advice, and also what new plants you have yet introduced since your last [letter], which [I] greatly oblige

Sir
Your most obedient and most hum[ble] servant

Wm Malcolm

[f. 2r] A list of the plants sent
N[umber].
1 Amaryllis Regina
2 Bignonia Leucoxillon
3 Ficus Pumila
4 Limodorum Tuberosum
5 Passiflora Murucuja
6 d[itt]o Suberosa
7 [ditto] Minima
8 Plumeria Alba
9 Ronclitia Americana

10 Achillea Eegyptiaca[329] died[330]

11 Diosma Odorata

12 Jasminum Indicum

13 Mesembryanthemum Expansum

14 Polygala Myrtyfolia

15 Andromida Polifolia

16 [Andromida] Calyculata

17 Thymbra Spicata

18 Morus Papyrifera

19 Rhodendron Maxima

20 Spiræa Tomentosa

21 Allysum hyperborium

22 Anemona Dichotoma

23 Centaurea Crocodylon

24 Convillaria Verticilliata

25 Cyprepedium Luteum

26 Gentiana Vernum

27 Gnaphalium Plantaginifolia

28. Helianthus Decapitalis

29 Iris Florentina

30 [Iris] Orientalis

31 [Iris] Martinicensis

32 Orchis & Ophrys 3 sorts

33 Pancratium Maritimum

34 Phlox Flo Alba

35 [dito] Carolina

36 [dito] Ovata

37 Potentilla Fragariodes

38 Sarasina Purpurea

39 Saxifraga Umbrosa

40 Sini[…][331] Americana

41 Silphium Latifolium

[329] Both words struck through with pencil.
[330] Written in pencil, most likely by David van Royen, considering the pencil marks on earlier letters.
[331] Unidentified.

42 Ficus Racemosus

43 Passiflora Laurifolia

44 Andromida Mariana

45 [Andromeda] --- paniculata

[f. 2v] To Mr. Van Royen Professor

of Botany at Leiden

Holland

**Letter 8**
William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 27 April, 1773

[f. 1r] Dear Sir,

I beg first to acknowledge the honor of your kind letter of 26 of last Nov[ember], and your further goodness in the basket of plant[s] the 8th of Dec[ember] mostly in tolereble state, for which I heartly thank you. I cannot find words to express the pleasure your last of plants give me, being so many new plants, but the damage they received from being so long on board, & detained sometime at the Custom House proved fatal to several, viz. the cactus were both rotted by dampe, the one quite dead, the Glauca not so far gone that I cut of[f] all the infected part[s], and have laid in the dry[332] till no[w], hence I hope to save it. A list of the dead [plants] follows hereafter.

In yours you express a desire of having some American seed, for some friends. The 18[th] of April I received two baskets seeds, from thence. This Americans are grown so knowing in the trade of seeds that they never send us half of them good, but such as they do send, I have divided with you, of which some are done up in papers & there [!] names wrote upon, others are put into a bottle as I received them; viz. I ordered the best and most valuable seeds of that country to be gathered at proper season, and pack'd into a cask, first a stratum of dry sand, then a stratum of seeds pressing down the sand as much as could be, and so on till full, then clos[e]ly cover in that manner those seeds in the bottle were sent me; how they succeed time will show, but I once before tryed that method, and raised more Laurel leaved Magnolias then ever was done in England.

In order to fill up the box I ordred my foreman to put in some cones of some sorts of pines & Iris, and also some seeds I hade from China, among which is the Theobroma, a new species undescribed. My correspondent there sent me the following discription[333]: the seeds of which grown almost every seed, and though sowed late in the Summer, every plant have[!] stood the winter. We have also raised many newplants, particularly at Kew, and more is comeing dayly, as will those already in your list as those new ones. Whenever I have any to spare you may rely on going partners with me.

I should also think my self happie & much pleased to correspond oft[e]ner but my business of late years has increased so much, that it engrosses all my time; and I further flatter myself one day of the pleasure of seeing [f. 1v] you at Leyden, as soon as my sons are master of

[332] Probable meaning: 'have laid it to dry'.
[333] Latin description of the Theobroma affinis on f. 1v.

the French tongue. And lastly [I] beg that if any of the plants I before mentioned wanting, or any new ones to spare, beg you will be so oblidgeing as [to] send them.

For which and all former favours I beg to return my most gratefull acknowledgements, and beli[e]ve me to be with sincerity,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most hum[ble] ser[van]t

Wm Malcolm

Kennington

Ap[ri]l 27. [17]73

A list of dead plants

Serophel […][334]

Psoralea Aculeata

Spondias Lutea

Manulea Tomentosa

Solanum Radianum

Sophora Bifolia

Anthospermum Spinosum

Solanum Sodomaeum

Cactus Lanuginosus

| | |
|---|---|
| Glycine Apios | a plant we raise often but does not stand with us |
| Cineraria Siyberica | this plant was thrown out of the pot but seems an agreeable smelling plant. |

Veronica Siberica

Grhoiranthus Indica

Antholyza […]

The Lantana is new to me, though it is in England, but it is not the Odorata, indeed its smell is disagreeable.

I am greatly in love with the different sorts of Diosmas and the Phylica Buxifolia, the Royana Myrtifolia, and I'm informed you have got what we call the true Benjamin tree; we do not know any classicall name for it, nor did I ever see it but at Mr. Miller's at Chelsea[335], and it

[334] Unidentified.

[335] Philip Miller (1691-1771), English botanist. He was the chief gardener at the Chelsea Physic Garden and author of the *The Gardeners Dictionary*, eight edn. (London: London: Printed for the author and sold by John and Francis Rivington, 1735-1768).

died some years ago. We take it to be an African plant, and we was [!] informed Mr. Richard[336] at Tre[…][337] Gardens has raised many from seed and some are come [to] [f. 2r] Holland, and my man tells me [he] saw it also in Holland.

Description of the Theobroma affinis[338].
Polyadelphia 3 andria, 5 t[…]nia
Calyx involucrum 2, 3 vel 4 floreni Toll[…] plures lancioli[…]
Percanthium proprium, […]partitum, ovato lanciola[…]tum, potulum, persistans.
Cor: Petola quinque nectarfera, elastica, variegata, florum chochleares concava, margine incorvata ciliata, fundo nectaria unque glaudulosa instia [?] singula appendicum hab[…] magna ovatas subralundum, pa[…]forma coloratum maca[…]entum, unque minimo flexile intra petali apuum [?] inscitam deci[…]
Nectarium monophyllum campanalatum simiquinque petulis minus variegatum ciliatum, lacini oblonga[…] obtuse obtuse emergana[..] parum [?] reflexe.
Stem. [?] filamenta f[…] occulo [?] nudo vix visibilia ex utraque icisura nectaria externe […]sita [?] – anthera totidem compres[…], didyma simil[…]nata imbricata contingentes.
Pis… Germ[…] subovatum [?] perlangulatum, style quinque Filiformis fere longitudine nectaria contingentes.
[…]ymata acuta minima.
Per. capsula magna olongata, ales quinque, (ap[…]bus satioribus truncatus) alata quinquelocularis, apice [?] quinqueforum dehiscens, in centro pilosa.
Semina numerosa obeli [?] bravi pedicullatu ordine, 4 f[…] ex membrantibus duobus in utraque loculo positis.

NB. Your box of seeds is on board the Duke of York, Cap[tain] Wilcox directed to the care of Mr. Manson at Rotterdam & was to sail 22 ult[imo].[339]

[f. 2v] To Mr. Van Royen Professor
of Botany at Leyden
Holland

[336] Unidentified.
[337] Unidentified.
[338] Affinis is used when a species is still unnamed but is recognized as akin to another species. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glossary_of_botanical_terms> (23 October, 2017).
[339] last month.

**Letter 9**

William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, August 1773

[f. 1r] Sir,

I beg to acquaint you that I received the last plants you was [!] so kind to send in a very good condition, in so much that most of them are alive and do well. For which I return you my most Hearty thanks; and also to inform you that sometime the end of nixt month I prepose to send you what I have to spare of the remains of your former order (in case you are not already provided with them), if you are beg to inform me of such as you have got.

In your last but one [letter] you desired to know if we know'd [!] any thing of a plant you sent a specimen of and in Holland you call it Tevicia or African shrub. I know I hade the plant several years by that name – Mr. Banks & Solander found it at the Cape and calls it the most beautifull of all the Jesmine kind, even superior even to the Gardenia Sinus which we have raised several seedlings of it,

turn over

[f. 1v] and they prove to be the same plant in their treatment of which I think we must have been mistaken. We have always kept it in the Stove in which its growth is very slow, and never flowers. I have since put my plant among my greenhouse plants now out of doors, and hope it will succeed better there.

From a man sent to the Cape of Good Hopewe have infinite numbers of specimens & seeds of new and beautifull shrubs & bulbs particularly the Ericas, Gnaphaliums, Proteas, Diosmas, Lucodendrons and new Guneras, and from which we have the most sanguine expectations of success.[340] We have also many new plants from the East Indies, as soon as to spare you shall partake with me.

I think I observ'd to you that I hade lost the Phyllica Buxifolia, the Diosma Ericoides, Royana Myrtifolia and a plant which we call the true Benjiman Tree. Should you at any time have any of them to share I shall esteem it a very singular favour to furnish me with one of each.

[f. 2r] I am

Sir

Your most obed[ien]t and most hum[ble] ser[van]t

[340] It was common in the eighteenth century to send botanists on expeditions to collect plants, specimens and seeds for research, acquisition and cultivation.

Wm Malcolm

Kennington Aug[ust] [...][341] 6 [17]73

[f. 2v] To Mr. David Van Royen Professor of Botany at Leyden
Holland

[341] Unidentified.

**Letter 10**

James Manson to David van Royen, Kensington Gore, 12 July, 1768

[f. 1r] Sir,

It was with the greatest concern that I read the first period of your letter of 30th June which came to my Hands last Friday. I most sincerely sympathize with you under this heavy dispensation with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit you, by depriving suddenly of what was dearer to you than all the World beside.[342] As your loss is irreparable Time only can bring you to a dutiful Resignation & I heartily wish you may be blessed with Fortitude of Mind to employ yourself constantly in the Functions of your Office, which I consider as the best preservative from immoderate Grief.

This I speak, in some measure, from Experience, since my arrival here I have been threatned, for months together, with a Misfortune similar to your's. Thro[ugh]' want of necessary occupation, I lost relish for such as was meerly of Amusement, and it is but very lately that a dawn of Hope of my Wife's Recovery has led me to resume my favorite Amusement.

Indeed I am quite ashamed that your much esteem'd Letter [of] 15th March remains unanswer'd. In regard to the seeds from Mr. Miller[343] they were forwarded immediatly & I am glad they came safe. Some time after I bought from him a copy of his last Edition of the Gardiner's dictionary, which He offer'd to make me a present of, but I wo'd by no means accept as Faineants[344] the old Man is very far from being rich. For tho' great sums are squander'd here among Mr Miller & the Hortus are very parsimoniously endowed. Together with my own Book Mr Miller [f. 1v] sent me a Copy of the Dictionary for you & I sent it to a Friend in Town in order to be forwarded to Rotterdam. Upon Receit of your last Letter I made Enquiry after the Book & find it was put on board Cap't[ain] Scott only 12 days ago & that the vessell was not yet sailed. This neglect of my Friend's has vexed me a good deal because it naturally led you to consider Mr. Miller as a Trifler whereas he is really not to blame. This leads me also to excuse Him for not having set you the Plants you mention in your letters to me, the Kalmia latif[olia]: et angustif[olia], and Rhododendron max[imum]. are not in the Hortus neither do I remember to have seen there the Stewartia, Sassafras, Pimento or Halesia. In short they are all very scare & very high priced. Mr. Miller lives quite Recluse & has no sort of Intercourse with the present Race of Nursery Men so that he can get little in Exchange nor does he see what they are doing

[342] David van Royen's wife, Barbera van Royen-van der Burch (1724-1768), had died on 12 April, 1768.
[343] See note 335.
[344] Faineants, from the French *fait* and *néant*: people who do nothing in spite of all their pretensions.

which renders his Dictionary very imperfect and indeed his Culture of tender Plants is too much according to the Oude Studie.[345] His not having given the Method of raising Kalmias & Rhodod[endrons]. from seed is impardonable and you will find many chasms[346] & many Blunders in his Book also many puerile Reasons for his disent from the Linnean Syst. in his arangement, his argumentation being frequently Felo de se.[347]

The Uva Ursi I sent you was taken up at an improper time & I consider it as an Enfant Perdu,[348] but I can get another in September. The two other Plants are Kalmia latif[olia]. and Rhododen'n: maxim.

These endure the severest cold very well in the open ground, & I observe they thrive best in a poor soil mixed with Turf mould. I expect our veen aarde[349] will do admirably.

A Northern Exposition is the best, the mid-day sun destroys them & if your Plants are exposed to it I would advise a Scherm.[350] If both the plants sent you are Kalmias, my Gardener has kept, by mistake, the two Rhododendrons, in that case we shall exchange as I orderd him to send you one of each and to keep one of each. I am much pleased that I had it in my Power to send you these, as they are very difficult to obtain here. They flower'd only at Kew last Month, and to speak in the florist's stile we may justly call them, especially the Kalmia, Gloria fruticosa.

[f. 2r] Yesterday afternoon I made an Excursion to Kennington to deliver your Letter to Malcolm & to see whether he had any rare Plants. He was not at Home, but the Meester Knegt[351] came to me. He told me of your civility to him in Holland, open'd your letter without any ceremony & beg'd I would interpret it to him, the young man apears to me a very good Gardener, their collection is in good order and they have several curious things.

He extorted from me a Promise to call again and as they have not some of the Plants you require I shall use my best endeavours to supply these. I doubt much whether the Panax is in England. The Kalmia angustif[olia]. is exceeding scarce. I saw three Guineas[352] paid for an indifferent Plant of it. If you want the Laurus Borbonia I saw plenty of it at Malcolm's, they call it Blew [Blue] Berried Carolina Bay.

I have got the 12[th] Edit[ion]. of the Syst[ema]. Nat[urae].[353] and am pleased to find there

[345] Translation: old method.
[346] A profound difference in viewpoint.
[347] Felo de se: Latin expression for an act of deliberate self-destruction.
[348] French expression, meaning 'lost children'.
[349] Peat soil.
[350] Screen.
[351] Foreman.
[352] A gold coin worth one pound and one shilling. There are 20 shillings to the pound.
[353] See note 311.

the new Genus of Leea in honor of Mr. James Lee, Nurseryman near the Turnpike at Hammersmith in Middlesex, you would be surprised at the Extent of this Man's Knowledge in Natural History.

He as a large collection of Hardy Plants & I would recomend Him to you as the best Corespondent you could have here were it not for one unlucky Circumstance, namely that he is join'd with an ignorant Partner or Companion whom I take to be very interested & has no inclination to exchange plants for any thing besides Money. I believe Lee to be of a generous Disposition and very accurate in sending the species ordered which very few of the Nurserymen here can do from the Linnaean Names. I shall be glad to know whether you have a living Plant of the Leea or even a dry specimen. I wo'd willingly procure that for him also the Scarabaeus Trullo[354] which he imagines is to be found in Holland. If you want English Insects he's an excellent Hand or indeed for any thing wherein his Partner has no property.

The garden of the Curious here are at present greatly infested by Tuyn dieven.[355] About 10 days ago they made an uncommon Havock at P. Collinson's.[356] I was there about [f. 2v] three weeks ago & saw several very rare American Plants most of which are now gone. His Kalmia Angustif[olia]. was by far the finest in England. Several such Robberys have been committed this last Summer. Gordon[357] lost 30 Magnolia Acuminata and it is said here many of these Plants were carry'd to Holland and exchanged for Bulbs &ct. Should you hear of any thing that might lead to a discovery I beg you may make a Memorandum of it until I have the Honour of seeing you. These Villians are the common Enemys of the Science and of all the Plants Mr. Collinson has lost I don't believe one will survive being mostly in Flower. Some of them were non descriptae.[358]

Mr. Banks, a very great Liefhebber[359] & a Man of considerable Fortune is now upon his departure for the South Sea.[360] Doctor Solander (who is consider'd here as the ablest Man in Natural History they ever had in England) goes with Mr. Banks also two very good Painters[361] who are already accustomed to express the Generic and Specificiek Characters in their Drawings. They propose making some stay at the Kaap[362] in their Return and to be two years

[354] A beetle species, described by Linnaeus.
[355] Garden thieves.
[356] Peter Collinson (1694-1768), botanist at Peckham, London. He imported North American seeds to England.
[357] James Gordon (1708-1780), nurseryman at Mile's End, London.
[358] Not described.
[359] Devotee.
[360] James Cook's expedition to the South Pacific in 1768.
[361] Among the four artists who joined James Cook's expedition to the South Pacific in 1768 on *HMS Endeavour*, were Sydney Parkinson (c. 1745-1771), a famous botanical illustrator, and Alexander Buchan (d. 1769), a landscape painter. Both men died during the expedition.
[362] Cape of Good Hope.

absent from England. There is a person named to officiate for Doctor Solander in the Museum[363] and I hear that Mr. B[anks] has settled upon him an annuity for Life. Besides this the Doctor is to have the whole Benefit of the Publications after their Return. I have seen him frequently & he apears to me very deserving.

Doctor Hill[364] has just published Hortus Kewensis in 8vo[365] with what he calls a new System but I take to be no more than meer Plagiarism. I have seen the Book which apears to me very contemptible. He has omitted severall Plants, of those I know, which were in the Garden two years ago & are there now so that his book won't answer the purpose of a common Catalogue & tho' the Price is only 5 shillings I have no Intention of buying it.

[f. 3r] Of the two new Books you mention I have seen the Bergii pl.: Cap.[366] but have not yet had oportunity of confronting any Part of it with the Plants. None of the Booksellers here have yet received the Flora Indica.[367]

The person from whom I had the the Kalmia & Rhod[odendron]. tells me that he believes we are much better provided in Holland with varietys and even species of the Ixia & Gladiolus than they are here. I do not imagine you cultivate varietys, but you may probably know the principal ones of both Genera as well as the Species.

Neither have they here the Triodes nodiforum, Copticum, Pomeridianum, all which are ⊙[368] in the Sp. plant. My friend wants the Sphaeranthus Indicus. He says it died last winter, if I remember right.

I am in Hopes of being at home sometime this month or early in August and if my wife continues well I may be able to pay my respects to you at Leyden some time in the Autumn. In the mean time & always I am in the greatest Regard,

Sir

Your most humble & most obed[ien]t servant

James Manson

---

[363] Daniel Solander at the time worked at the British Museum, cataloguing the natural history collection.

[364] In 1768 Sir John Hill (1716-1775) published a catalogue of the collection, which has been reckoned to include 3,389 species. In 1789 William Aition helped by a number of botanists, published a more accurate and critical list, *Hortus Kewensis*, which named 5,535 species in cultivation. Cf. F. Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius: Natural History in the Making, 1550-1610* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), p. 231.

[365] Octavo, a small book format.

[366] Peter Jonas Bergius, *Description ex Capite Bonae Spei* (Stockholm: Laur. Salvius, 1767). Bergius (1730-1790) was a Swedish medical doctor and botanist.

[367] The *Flora Indica* (Leiden: Cornelis Haak / Amsterdam: Johannes Schreuderus, 1768) was written by Nicolaas Laurens Burman (1734-1793), son of Johannes Burman. Like his father he was professor of Botany and director of the Amsterdam botanical garden. He corresponded with Carl Linnaeus.

[368] An annual plant. Its cycle from seed to flower is preformed in one growing season.

Kensington Gore,[369]
near London, 12t[h] July 1768

[f. 4v][370]
a Monsieur
Monsieur David van Royen
Professeur en Botanique &c. &c.
Leyde

[369] James Manson most likely visited London often, in order to pay visits to clients and meet new contacts that might prove valuable in future transactions. Other letters of Manson to David van Royen are dated in Rotterdam.
[370] ff. 3v and 4r are blank.

# APPENDICES

**APPENDIX I**

Plants mentioned in the letters

**Letter 1: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 10 June, 1768**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rheum | | Rheum | Rhubarb genus, of which several species are cultivated. |
| Gloriosa | | Gloriosa | Genus of twelve species in the Colchicaceae family. Described by Linnaeus. Common names include: flame lily. |
| Phylica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Box phylica |
| Magnolia Acuminata | | Magnolia acuminata | Cucumber tree |
| Azalea Viscosa | | Rhododendron viscosum | Swamp azalea |
| [Azalea] Nudiflora | Azalea nudiflora | Rhododendron nudiflorum | Pink azalea |
| Stewartia Malacodendron | | Stewartia malacodendron | Silky camellia |
| Myrica Cerifera | | Morella cerifera | Wax myrtle |
| Andromida Angustifolis | Andromeda angustifolia | Chamaedaphne calyculata | Leatherleaf |
| Arbutus Andrachne | | Arbutus andrachne | Greek strawberry tree |
| Chionanthus Virginica | | Chionanthus virginicus | White fringetree |
| Anona Americana | Annona | Annona | Annonaceae genus. Malcolm most likely meant an American species. |
| Orchis | | Orchis | Genus in the Orchidaceae family. |
| Ophyris | | Ophrys | |
| Tupelos | Nyssa | Nyssa | Tupelo is the common name. Nyssa is the genus of tupelo trees. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calacanthus | | Calycanthus | Sweetshrub. A genus of flowering plants in the Calycanthaceae family. |
| Myrtus Pimento | | Pimenta racemosa | Most likely Myrtus pimentoides, now Pimenta racemosa. Species of plant in the myrtle family Myrtaceae. |
| Myrtus Dioica | | Pimenta dioica | Midcanopy tree. Its dried unripe fruit produces the spice Allspice. |
| Myrtus Chytraculia | | Calyptranthes chytraculia | Lidflowers. Genus of flowering plants in the Myrtaceae family. |
| My[rtus] Zuzygium | Myrtus zuzygium | Calyptranthes zuzygium | |
| My[rtus] Caryophyllo[...] | Myrtus caryophyllus | Syzygium aromaticum | Clove |
| Passiflora Maliformis | | Passiflora maliformis | Passionfruit |
| Bombax Heptaphyllum | | Pseudobombax septenatum | Genus of flowering plants in the Bombacoideae subfamily of the Malvaceae family. |
| Hippomine Brylandulosa | Hippomane biglandulosa | Sapium glandulosum | Milktree. Species of tree in the Euphorbiaceae family. |
| Saxifraga Crossifolia | | Bergenia crassifolia | Korean elephant-ear. Species of the genus Bergenia. |
| Pionia Tinnifolia | | Paeonia tenuifolia | Peony |
| Corona Regalis | Coronna Regalis | Fritillaria imperialis | Lily |
| Farinosa | | Primula farinosa | Primrose |
| Gardinia floralutea | | Gardenia | Genus in the family Rubiaceae with yellow flowers (flore lutea). |
| Phylica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Genus of plants in the Rhamnaceae family. |
| Diosma flora rubra | | Diosma hirsuta | Bitter buchu, with red flowers (flore rubra). |
| d[itt]o Oppositifolia | Diosma oppositifolia | Diosma oppositifolia | Bitter buchu |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| d[itt]o Ciliata | | Agothosma ciliata | Buchus. Agathosma is a genus of plants in the Rutaceae family. |
| d[itt]o Lanceolata | | Agathosma lanceolata | Buchus |
| Ficus Nymphæfolium | | Ficus nymphaeifolia | Strangler fig |
| [Ficus] Longifolia | Ficus longifolia | Ficus longifolia | Narrow leaf fig |
| Royena Glabra | | Diospyros glabra | Fynbos star-apple |
| [Royena] Hirsuta | Royena hirsuta | Diospyros pubescens | Species in the genus Diospyros (Ebenaceae family). |
| Albuca Major | | Albuca canadensis | Slime lily |
| Phyllanthus Epiphylanthus | | Phyllanthus epiphyllanthus | Rock bush. Genus in the flowering Phyllanthaceae family. |
| Aletris Fragrans | | Dracaena fragrans | Cornstalk dracaena. Species in the genus Dracaena (Asparagaceae family). |
| Black Wood | | | Unidentified. Can be several kinds of timber trees. |
| Malphighia Latifolia | | Malpighia latifolia | Species in the Malpighia genus. |
| Hebenstretia Cordata | | Hebenstretia cordata | Species in the Hebenstretia genus (Scrophulariaceae family). |
| Frittillaria Corona Fegia | Fritillaria imperialis | Fritillaria imperialis | Malcolm probably meant Fritallaria corona-imperialis, which is now Fritillaria imperialis (Crown imperial), a flowering plant in the lily family. |
| Protea(s) | Protea | Protea | Botanical name and the English common name of a genus of South African flowering plants, sometimes also called sugarbushes. |

**Letter 2: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 14 December, 1768**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Magnolia Tripetula | | Magnolia tripetala | Umbrella magnolia |
| [Magnolia] Glauca | Magnolia glauca | Magnolia virginiana | Sweetbay magnolia |
| Gardenia Flo[re] Simplice | | Gardenia | Gardenia species with several flowers. |
| Kelmea Angustifolia | | Kelmea angustifolia | Sheep laurel |
| Stewartia Mala[codendon] | | Stewartia malacodendron | Silky camellia |
| Castenia Pumela | | Castanea pumila | Dwarf chestnut, a species of chestnut native to the southeastern United States. |
| Nyssa | | Nyssa | See letter 1, Tupelo/Nyssa. |
| Passiflora Maliformis | | Passiflora maliformis | Sweet calabash |
| Rosemary | | Rosmarinus officinalis | Rosemary, a herb. |
| Halisia | | Halesia | Bell tree |
| Myrtus Pimento | | Pimenta racemosa | Species in the Myrtaceae (myrtle) family. |
| Phylica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Box phylica, species in the genus Phylica, Rhamnaceae family. |
| Royena Hirsuta | | Diospyros pubescens | Species in the genus Diospyros, Ebenaceae family. |
| Protea | | Protea | Sugarbushes |
| Conifera | | | Possibly the Protea conifera, described by Linnaeus. This is not an established name. |

**Letter 3: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 4 September, 1769**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gardenia flores Simplici | | Gardenia | Gardenia species with several flowers. |
| Myrtus Pimento | | Pimenta racemosa | Species of the Myrtaceae family. |
| Passiflora Maliforme | Passiflora maliformis | Passiflora maliformis | Sweet calabash |
| Hibiscus Rosa Sinus Flora Fleno | | Hibiscus rosa-sinensis | Flore pleno: with double flowers. |
| Laurus Sassefras | | Sassafras albidum | Species of Sassafras, native to eastern North America. |
| Rhododendrum Maximum | | Rhododendron maximum | Great laurel, Great rhododendron, Rosebay rhododendron. |
| Kalmia Latifolio | Kalmia latifolia | Kalmia latifolia | Mountain laurel |
| [Kalmia] Angustifolio | Kalmia angustifolia | Kalmia angustifolia | Sheep laurel |
| Anona Americana | Annona | Annona | An American species. |
| Myrtus Pimento | | Pimenta racemosa | |
| Myrtus Dioca | | Pimenta dioica | |
| Passiflora Maliformis | | Passiflora maliformis | |
| Royena Hirsuta | | Diospyros pubescens | |
| Phyllica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Box phylica |
| Diosma oppositifolia | | Diosma oppositifolia | |
| Black Wood | | | See letter 1 |
| Laurus camphora | | Cinnamomum camphora | Evergreen tree |
| Sago palm | | Metroxylon sagu | Sagopalm |
| Guttarda speciosa | | Guettarda speciosa | Species of shrub in the Rubiaceae family. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Phyllanthus | | Phyllanthus | Argest, genus in the flowering Phyllanthaceae family. |
| Royena | | Diospyros | |
| Rheum Palmatum Dentatum | Rheum palmatum | Rheum palmatum | Rhubarb |
| | Rheum dentatum | Rheum | Rhubarb. Not established as an accepted name. |
| Tea Tree | | Melaleuca alternifolia | Species of tree or tall shrub in the Myrtaceae family. Tea tree oil is extracted from the leaves of this tree. |
| Laurus Cinnamomum | | Cinnamomum verum | Cinnamon tree |
| Aeschynomene | | Aeschynomene | Genus of flowering plants in the Fabaceae or Mimosa family. |
| Aeschynomene arborea | | Desmodium ramosissimum | Same family as Mimosa. |

**Letter 4: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 16 July, 1770**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Laurus Cinnamomum | | Cinnamomum verum | |
| Mangifera Indica | | Mangifera indica | |
| Royena Myrtifolia | | Diospyros glabra | Species in the genus Diospyros, Ebenaceae family. |
| d[itt]o Hirsuta | Royena hirsuta | Diospyros pubescens | |
| Phylica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | |
| Baccharis Neriifolia | | Brachylaena neriifolia | Species in the genus Brachylaena, Compositae family. |
| Amaryllis Orientalis or Brunsvigia | | Brunsvigia orientalis | Species in the genus Brunsvigia, Amaryllidaceae family. |
| Scinus Aneria | | | Possibly Schinus andina, a synonym for Schinus microphyllus. |
| Gallarda Speciosa | Guettarda speciosa | Guettarda speciosa | Beach gardenia |
| Ficus Nymphæfolium | | Ficus nymphaeifolia | Fig tree. Species in the genus Ficus, Moraceae family. |
| Benjamin Tree | | Lindera benzoin | Shrub in the laurel family. |
| Alletris Hyacinthoides | Aletris hyacinthoides | Sansevieria hyacinthoides | Species in the genus Sansevieria, Asparagaceae family. |
| Diosma Rubra | | Diosma hirsuta | Bitter buchu, with red flowers (flore rubra). |
| [Diosma] Oppositifolia | Diosma oppositifolia | Diosma oppositifolia | Bitter buchu |
| Gnaphalium Flora Rubra | | Gnaphalium | With red flowers. |

**Letter 5: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 22 April, 1771**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Protea | | Protea | Sugarbushes |
| Geranium Hirta | | Pelargonium hirtum | Species in the genus Pelargonium |
| Diosma Ericoides | | Diosma hirsuta | Species in the genus Diosma (Rutaceae family). |
| Ficus Nymphæfolium | | Ficus nymphaeifolia | Strangler fig |
| Geranium | | Geranium or Pelargonium | The genus of Pelargonium was first described in 1789. |
| Diosma's | | Diosma | |
| Aralia Nudicaulis | | Aralia nudicaulis | Wild sarsaparilla |
| [Aralia] [...] | | unidentifed | |
| Magnolia Glaueca | | Magnolia virginiana | Sweetbay |
| [Magnolia] Acuminata | Magnolia acuminata | Magnolia acuminata | Cucumber tree magnolia, blue magnolia |
| [Magnolia] Umberella | Magnolia umbrella | Magnolia tripetala | Umbrella magnola, umbrella-tree |
| Nyssa Aquatica | | Nyssa Aquatica | Water tupelo |
| Myrtus Pimento | | Pimenta racemosa | Species in the Myrtaceae family. |
| Halisia | | Halesia | Silverbell, snowdrop tree |
| Sibthorpia Europæa | | Sibthorpia Europæa | Cornish moneywort |
| Serritula Spicata | Serratula spicata | Liatris spicata | Dense blazing star, prairie gay feather |
| Rudbeckia Purpurea | | Echinacea purpurea | Species in the genus Echinacea, Compositae family. |
| Silphium Perfoliatum | | Silphium Perfoliatum | Cup-plant |
| Laciniatum | | | Not identified |
| Brunia Nudiflora | Brunia nodiflora | Brunia nodiflora | Common snowbush |

**Letter 6: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 10 September, 1771**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Diosmas | | Diosma | Diosma species |
| Geraniums | | Geranium or Pelargonium | Crane's bill |
| Geraniums viz. The Hirtum | Geranium hirtum | Pelargonium hirtum | Stork's bill. Hirtum means hairy |
| Ficus Nymphæfolium | | Ficus nymphaeifolia | Fig |
| Geranium Tern[...] um | | Geranium ternatum [Publ. 1782] or Pelargonium ternatum [publ. after 1786] | |
| [Geranium] Hirtum | Geranium hirtum | Pelargonium hirtum | Stork's bill |
| Diosma Rubra | | Diosma hirsuta | Wild buchu |
| [Diosma] Ericoides | Diosma ericoides | Diosma hirsuta | Wild buchu |
| Ficus Nymphæfolio | Ficus nymphæfolium | Ficus nymphaeifolia | Fig |
| Mesembryanthemum Albidum | | Machairophyllum albidum | Forest fruit tree |
| Phyllanthus Emblica | | Phyllanthus emblica | Indian gooseberry |
| Gnaphalium Rubra | | Gnaphalium rubriflorum | Gnaphalium is a genus of flowering plants in the sunflower family, commonly called cudweeds. |
| Tree Benjiman | Tree Benjamin | Lindera benzoin | Shrub in the laurel family. |

**Letter 7: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 15 October, 1772**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baleria Prionitis | | Barleria prionitis | Porcupine flower |
| Randia Aculiata | Randia aculeata | Randia aculeata | White indigoberry |
| Myrtus Zeylanica | | Syzygium zeylanicum | Belongs to the myrtle family, Myrtaceae |
| Zeylon | | specific species unidentified | |
| Genipa | | Genipa | Genus of trees in the family Rubiaceae |
| Diosma Odorata | | Agathosma crenulata | Buchu, long-leaf buchu |
| Diosma Rubra | | Diosma hirsuta | Wild buchu |
| Diosma Ericoides | | Diosma hirsuta | Wild buchu |
| Phylica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Box phylica |
| Laurus Cinnamonum | Laurus Cinnamomum | Cinnamomum verum | True cinnamon tree, Ceylon cinnamon tree |
| Amaryllis Regina | Amaryllis reginae | Hippeastrum reginae | Mexican lily |
| Bignonia Leucoxillon | Bignonia leucoxylon | Tabebuia heterophylla | Pink trumpet tree |
| Ficus Pumila | | Ficus Pumila | Creeping fig |
| Limodorum Tuberosum | | Calopogon tuberosus | Tuberous grass pink, orchid |
| Passiflora Murucuja | | Passiflora murucuja | Virgin Island passionflower |
| [Passiflora] Suberosa | Passiflora suberosa | Passiflora suberosa L. (1753) or P. tuberosa | Corksystem passionflower or tuberous passionflower |
| [Passiflora] Minima | Passiflora minima | Passiflora suberosa | Corksytem passionflower |
| Plumeria Alba | | Plumeria alba | Caterpillar tree |
| Ronclitia Americana | | Rondeletia americana | A genus of flowering plants in the Rubiaceae family. |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Achillea Eegyptiaca | | Achillea aegyptiaca | |
| Diosma Odorata | | Agathosma crenulata | Buchu, long-leaf buchu |
| Jasminum Indicum | | | Not identified. |
| Mesembryanthemum Expansum | | Mesembryanthemum expansum | Genus of flowering plants in the Aizoaceae family. |
| Polygala Myrtyfolia | Polygala myrtifolia | Polygala Myrtifolia | Species in the genus Polygala (Polygalaceae family), September bush. |
| Andromida Polifolia | Andromeda polifolia | Andromeda polifolia | Bog rosemary |
| [Andromida] Calyculata | Andromeda calyculata | Chamaedaphne calyculata | Leatherleaf |
| Thymbra Spicata | | Thymbra spicata | Mediterranean thyme |
| Morus Papyrifera | | Broussonetia papyrifera | Paper mulberry |
| Rhodendron Maxima | Rhododendron maximum | Rhododendron maximum | Great rhododendron, great laurel |
| Spiræa Tomentosa | | Spiræa tomentosa | Steeplebush |
| Allysum hyperborium | Allysum hyperboreum | Alyssum hyperboreum | Flowering plant in the Brassicaceae family. |
| Anemona Dichotoma | Anemone dichotoma | Anemone dichotoma | Meadow windflower |
| Centaurea Crocodylon | Centaurea crocodylium | Centaurea crocodylium | Species in the genus Centaurea |
| Convillaria Verticilliata | Convallaria verticillata | Polygonatum verticillatum | Whorled Solomon's-seal |
| Cyprepedium Luteum | | Cypripedium flavum or C. Parviflorum | Lady's slipper orchid or yellow lady's slipper orchid |
| Gentiana Vernum | | Gentiana verna | Gentian, felwort |
| Gnaphalium Plantaginifolia | Gnaphalium plantaginifolium | Antennaria plantaginifolia | Pussytoes, plaintain-leaved |
| Helianthus Decapitalis | | Helianthus decapetalus | Thinleaf sunflower |
| Iris Florentina | | Iris florentina | White flowered iris, tall bearded iris |
| [Iris] Orientalis | | Iris orientalis | Yellow banded iris |
| [Iris] Martinicensis | | Trimezia martinicensis | Species of bulbous plant in the Iridaceae family. |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Orchis | | Orchis | Orchid |
| Ophrys | | Ophrys | Orchid |
| Pancratium Maritimum | | Pancratium maritimum | Sea daffodil |
| Phlox Flo Alba | | Phlox | Genus of 67 species in the Polemoniaceae family. |
| [Phlox] Carolina | Phlox carolina | Phlox carolina | Thickleaf phlox |
| [Phlox] Ovata | Phlox ovata | Phlox ovata | Wideflower phlox |
| Potentilla Fragariodes | | Potentilla fragarioides | Member of the Rosaceae family. |
| Sarasina Purpurea | Sarracenia purpurea | Sarracenia purpurea | Purple pitcher plant |
| Saxifraga Umbrosa | | Saxifraga umbrosa | Species in the genus Saxifraga, rockfoils. |
| Sini[...] Americana | | Most likely Sida americana | Sida americana is a synonym of Abuliton abutiloides, Indian mallow. |
| Silphium Latifolium | | Silphium latifolium | |
| Ficus Racemosus | | Ficus racemosa | Cluster fig tree, Indian fig tree |
| Passiflora Laurifolia | | Passiflora laurifolia | Water lemon, Jamaican honeysuckle |
| Andromida Mariana | Andromeda mariana | Pieris mariana | |
| [Andromeda] paniculata | Andromeda paniculata | Eubotrys racemosa | Swamp deciduous dog-laurel, sweetbells |

**Letter 8: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 27 April, 1773**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Glauca | | | Genus unkown. |
| Laurel leaved Magnolias | | Magnolia | Genus unknown. Magnolia laurifolia is a fossil. |
| Theobroma | | Theobroma | Theobroma cacao is a small evergreen tree in the Malvaceae family. |
| Serophel [...] | | | Not indentified. |
| Psoralea Aculeata | | Psoralea aculeata | A genus in the legume family Fabaceae. |
| Spondias Lutea | | Spondias mombin | Yellow mombin, hog plum |
| Manulea Tomentosa | | Manulea tomentosa | Species in the genus Manulea. |
| Solanum Radianum | Solanum radiatum | Lycianthes radiata | Species in the genus Lycianthes. |
| Sophora Bifolia | | Ammodendron bifolium | Sand acacias |
| Anthospermum Spinosum | | | Not indentified. |
| Solanum Sodomaeum | | Solanum sodomeum | |
| Cactus Lanuginosus | | Pilosocereus lanuginosus | |
| Glycine Apios | | Apios americana | |
| Cineraria Siyberica | Cineraria sibirica | Ligularia sibirica | |
| Veronica Siberica | Veronica sibirica | Leptandra sibirica | |
| Grhoiranthus Indica | | Copianthus indica | |
| Antholyza [...] | | | Genus of southern African bulbous plants (Iridaceae family). |
| Lantana | Lantana odorata | Lantana involucrata | |
| Diosma | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Phylica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Box phylica |
| Royana Myrtifolia | | Diospyros glabra | |
| Benjamin tree | | Lindera benzoin | |

**Letter 9: William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, August 1773**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tevicia | | | Trevia or Trevesia. Both not African. |
| Gardenia Sinus | Gardenia sinensis | Benkara sinensis | |
| Ericas | | Erica | |
| Gnaphaliums | | Gnaphalium | |
| Proteas | | Protea | |
| Diosmas | | Diosma | |
| Lucodendrons | | Leucadendron | |
| Guneras | | Gunnera | |
| Phyllica Buxifolia | | Phylica buxifolia | Box phylica |
| Diosma Ericoides, | | Diosma hirsuta | |
| Royana Myrtifolia | | Diospyros glabra | |
| Benjiman Tree | Benjamin Tree | Lindera benzoin | |

**Letter 10: James Manson to David van Royen, Kensington Gore, 12 July, 1768**

| Malcolm's name | Full name | Modern nomenclature | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kalmia latif[olia] | | Kalmia latifolia | |
| et angustif[olia] | | Kalmia angustifolia | |
| Rhododendron max[imum] | | Rhododendron maximum | |
| Stewartia | | Stewartia | |
| Sassafras | | Sassafras | |
| Pimento | | Pimenta racemosa | |
| Halesia | | Haleisa | |
| Uva Ursi | | Arctostaphylos uva-ursi | Bearberry |
| Kalmia latif[olia] | | Kalmia latifolia | |
| Rhododen'n: maxin | | Rhododendron maximum | |
| Gloria fruticosa | | | Not identified. |
| Panax | | Panax | Ginseng |
| Kalmia angustif[olia | | Kalmia angustifolia | |
| Laurus Borbonia | | Persea borbonia | Red bay |
| Blew [Blue] Berried Carolina Bay | | Persea palustris | Swamp bay. Similar to the Persea borbonia. |
| Leea | | Leea | Genus of plants; the genus was named by Linnaeus after James Lee, nurseryman in London. |
| Kalmia Angustif[olia] | | Kalmia angustifolia | |
| Magnolia Acuminata | | Magnolia acuminata | |
| Kalmia | | Kalmia | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rhod[odendron] | | Rhododendron | |
| Ixia | | Ixia | |
| Gladiolus | | Gladiolus | |
| Triodes nodiforum | | Possibly Mesembryanthemum nodiflorum | |
| Copticum | | Possibly Mesembryanthemum copticum | |
| Pomeridianum | | Possibly Mesembryanthemum pomeridianum | |
| Sphaeranthus Indicus | | Sphaeranthus indicus | |

## APPENDIX II

People involved in the international plant trade

**William Aiton** (1731-1793), a Scottish botanist. He was an assistant to Philip Miller and later became the director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in 1759. William Aiton published the authoritative *Hortus Kewensis; Or a Catalogue of the Plants Cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew* (London: George Nicol) in 1789.

M. Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1985), p. 231.

**William Townsend Aiton** (1766-1849), the son and successor of William Aiton as director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew.

E.J. Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens, the Nursery Gardens of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington and a Part of Westminster, Founded before 1900* (London: The Fulham & Hammersmith Historical Society, 1982), p. 116.

**Sir Joseph Banks** (1743-1820), an English naturalist, botanist, president of the Royal Society and managing director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew from 1797.
Banks went on several scientific expeditions, collecting and documenting species. One of his well known expedition, is on the HMS Endeavour with James Cook to the South Pacific Ocean from 1768 to 1771. He was accompanied by Daniel Solander.

J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

**John Bartram** (1699-1777), an American botanist and explorer from Philadelphia. He collected seeds and plants and send these to many European gardeners. One of them was Peter Collinson, a horticulturist and member of the Royal Society, who distributed Bartram's shipments among a wide group of clients.

K. Clark, 'What the Nurseryman Did for Us: The Roles and Influence of the Nursery Trade on the Landscape and Gardens of the Eighteenth Century', *Garden History*, 40:1 (2012), p. 26.

**Job Baster** (1711-1775), a botanist and physician at Zierikzee and fellow of the Royal Society in London. He studied in Leiden under Herman Boerhaave and later corresponded with David van Royen.

UBL, BPL 1900, Job Baster to David van Royen, 1767-1768.

**William Bennet** (date unknown), a nurseryman from Lower Shadwell in London. He corresponded with David van Royen in 1762.

UBL, BPL 1900, William Bennet to David van Royen, 25 May 1762.

**Peter Jonas Bergius** (1730-1790), a Swedish botanist and physician. He published *Description ex Capite Bonae Spei* (Stockholm: Lars Salvius) in 1767. He corresponded with Carl Linnaeus.

The Linnaean Correspondence, <http://linnaeus.c18.net/> (2 August, 2017).

**Herman Boerhaave** (1688-1738), a Dutch botanist and physician. He was professor of Botany and Medicine and prefect of the Hortus from 1709 -1730. His fame as talented teacher and scientist had spread across Europe. He greatly enriched the Hortus Botanicus at Leiden with new species. Carl Linnaeus, who came to Holland in 1735 to meet Boerhaave and continued to correspond with him.

F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, N.V., 1971), p. 146.

**Pieter van der Borcht** (c.1540-1608), an acclaimed Flemish botanical illustrator. He worked for Christopher Plantin, providing drawings for the works of botanists such as Rembertus Dodonaeus and Mathias Lobelius.

D. Imhof, 'De macht van de uitgever. De collectie botanische houtblokken van Plantijn', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), p. 107.

**Jacob Breyne,** or Breyn(ius) (1637-1697), son of a Dutch merchant who had settled in Danzig, Poland. Breyne was a botanist and collector of specimens. His correspondence network included many Dutch based connections like Paul Hermann and William Sherard. His herbarium is kept in Leiden. His son, **Johann Philipp Breyne** (1680 -1764), was a student of Herman Boerhaave and also a botanist. Proposed by Hans Sloane he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

A. Fleisher, 'Passie voor planten. Het botanische netwerk van Hieronymus van Beveringh', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), p. 79.

**Johannes Burman** (1707-1779), a Dutch botanist and physician. He studied under Herman Boerhaave in Leiden and became the Professor of Botany in Amsterdam where he worked at

the Hortus Botanicus. In 1735 he met Carl Linnaeus and introduced him to George Clifford, who offered Linnaeus to work at his estate; the Hartecamp. Burman maintained a correspondence with Linnaeus when the latter returned to Sweden.

F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971), p. 157.

**Nicolaas Laurens Burman** (1734-1793), son of Johannes Burman and a Dutch botanist. He studied in Leiden and under Carl Linnaeus at the university of Uppsala. He succeeded his father as Professor of Botany in 1777 and published the *Flora Indica* (Leiden: Cornelis Haak / Amsterdam: Johannes Schreuderus) in 1768. Like his father, he also corresponded with Carl Linnaeus.

The Linnaean Correspondence,<http://linnaeus.c18.net/> (2 August, 2017).

**George Clifford** (1685-1760), a wealthy Anglo-Dutch banker, who was an enthusiastic amateur botanist and owned an estate near Haarlem, the Hartecamp. In 1736 he was introduced to Carl Linnaeus by Boerhaave and Burman. Linnaeus went to work as Clifford's private physician at the Hartecamp from 1736 - 1738.

F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, N.V., 1971), p. 11.

**Carolus Clusius** (1526-1609), a Flemish botanist and physician. In 1593 he arrived in Leiden as the new professor of Botany and Medicine and director of the newly established botanical garden. Together with head gardener Dirck Cluyt, Clusius layed out the garden in Leiden. Clusius had travelled extensively and his network of correspondents spanned a large part of Europe.

G.A. van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus Botanicus in Leiden* (Leiden: Hortus Botanicus Leiden, 2015), p. 17.

**Dirck Cluyt** (1546-1598), a Dutch pharmacist and the first hortulanus/head gardener of the Hortus Botanicus at Leiden. Together with Carolus Clusius, Cluyt laid out the Hortus in 1593 and contributed seeds and plants from his own collection.

H.J. Cook, *Matters of Exchange. Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 119.

**Peter Collinson** (1694-1768), an English horticulturist in London and fellow of the Royal Society. He acted as intermediary between seed and plant collector John Bartram in America and nurserymen and botanists in England, distributing Bartram's shipments.
K. Clark, 'What the Nurseryman Did for Us: The Roles and Influence of the Nursery Trade on the Landscape and Gardens of the Eighteenth Century', *Garden History*, 40:1 (2012), p. 26.

**James Cook** (1728-1779), an English explorer and captain in the Royal Navy. Cook made several voyages to the South Pacific. On the expedition on the HMS Endeavour to the South Pacific Ocean from 1768 to 1771, he was accompanied by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander.
R. Schilling, '"Dutchman, Lazier than Any Other Race of Mankind." Joseph Banks bezoekt de Nederlandse Republiek (1773)', *Studium*, 8:2 (2015), p. 101.

**Rembertus Dodonaeus** (1517- 1585), a Flemish physician and botanist. Dodonaeus was a celebrated botanist of his day and contemporary of Mathias Lobelius and Carolus Clusius. His work was published by Christopher Plantin.
F. Egmond, 'Trefpunt van kennis. Clusius en de plantenliefhebbers in Leiden', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), p. 12.

**Robert Furber** (1674-1756), an English horticulturist, nurseryman and author. He owned the Kennington Nursery in London and gained distinction for being the first nurseryman to publish an extravagantly illustrated catalogue titled *Twelve Months of Flowers* in 1730.
J.H. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore & Co., 1974), p. 78.

**James Gordon** (1708-1780), a Scottish nurseryman and seed merchant in London. He owned a nursery at Mile End in East London and had a separate seed shop, The Thistle & Crown, at 25 Fenchurch Street, London. He corresponded with Carl Linnaeus and published a catalogue in 1770.
L.S. Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society incorporating the Middlesex Local History Council,* vol. 24 (London: Bishopsgate Institute, 1973), p. 193; M. Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1985), p. 235.

**David de Gorter** (1717-1783), a Dutch botanist at the university of Harderwijk and physician to the Russian tsarina Elisabeth. He corresponded with with David van Royen and Carl Linnaeus.
UBL BPL 1900 David van Gorter to David van Royen, 1765.

**Christopher Gray** (1694-1764), an English nurseryman and owner of the Fulham Nursery. He was one of the clients of Peter Collinson's plant exchange with John Bartram, cultivating American species in his nursery. Together with Robert Furber and Philip Miller, Gray was a nurseryman of outstanding fame in the first half of the eighteenth century. He published *A Catalogue of American Trees and Shrubs That Will Endure the Climate of England* in 1740.
J.H. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore & Co., 1974), p. 78.

**Jan Frederik Gronovius** (1690-1762), a Dutch botanist and one of the patrons of Carl Linnaeus. He financed Linnaeus's publication's during his time in the Netherlands, from 1735-1737 and introducing him to other notable botanists.
F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971), p. 8.

**John Hill** ((1716-1775), an English botanist and author. He published a catalogue, *Hortus Kewensis*, of the collection of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, including 3,389 species. In 1789 William Action, helped by a number of botanists, published a more accurate and critical list, *Hortus Kewensis*, which named 5,535 species in cultivation.
F. Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius: Natural History in the Making, 1550-1610* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), p. 231.

**William Hudson** (1730-1793), an English botanist, fellow of the Royal Society and author of popular *Flora Anglica* (1762) in which he adopted the Linnaean principles, thereby greatly attributing to the spreading of these principles in Britain.
F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971), p. 109.

**Carl Linnaeus** (1707-1778), a Swedish botanist, physician and botanist. He is known as the 'father of taxonomy' as he established a universally accepted Latin nomenclature for organisms: the binomial nomenclature. Linnaeus visited the Netherlands between 1735 and 1738 and met many acknowledged botanists, such as Boerhaave, Gronovius, Burman, and Clifford. With support from his Dutch contacts, Linneaus was able to work on his ideas and publish them. On a short visit to England he met Sir Hans Sloane, Philip Miller and many others. He returned to Sweden in 1738 where he was appointed professor of Medicine at Uppsala, teaching often in the botanical garden. Promising students of Linnaeus, such as Daniel Solander, were called his 'apostles' and went on expeditions and collected specimens for

him. Many of them found placements with renowned botanists in Europe. Linnaeus maintained a correspondence with his former students and was the centre of an extensive correspondence network across Europe.

F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971).

**James Lee** (1715-1795), a Scottish nurseryman and co-owner of the notable Vineyard Nursery, together with Lewis Kennedy (c.1721-1782). James Lee had been an apprentice of Philip Miller at the Chelsea Physic Garden and corresponded with Carl Linnaeus. Together with fellow Scottish nurseryman James Gordon of the Mile End nursery, Lee dominated the nursery trade from the 1740's. He published a catalogue in 1774.

J.H. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore & Co., 1974) p. 89.

**Mathias Lobelius** (1538-1616), a Flemish botanist and physician. He published many highly valued works on botany and medicine, published by Christopher Plantin. He was a contemporary of Rembertus Dodonaeus and Carolus Clusius.

F. Egmond, 'Trefpunt van kennis. Clusius en de plantenliefhebbers in Leiden', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), p. 12.

**John Loudon** (1783-1843), a Scottish botanist and author of popular horticultural and landscape design publications, among which the *Encyclopeadia of Gardening* (1822) and the *Gardener's Magazine* (1826), a horticultural periodical.

J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, and Landscape-Gardening, Including All the Latest Improvements; a General History of Gardening in All Countries; and a Statistical View of Its Present State, with Suggestions for Its Future Progress, in the British Isles* (London: Longman et al., 1822).

**William Malcolm** (d.1798), a Scottish nurseryman and seedsman in London. Malcolm had a successful nursery 'near Kennington Turnpike' in Lambeth of 38 acres till 1789, after which he moved his nursery to Stockwell, a site of 50 acres. He corresponded with David van Royen about the exchange of plants and seeds. William Malcolm is known for being one of the first nurserymen in Britain to print a trade catalogue to introduce plants and merchandise and thereby tying the plant names to the new Linnaean system for naming, raking and classifying organisms. He published two catalogues. The first; *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants, Fruit and Forest Trees: Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden*

*Seeds, Perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools*, was published in 1771, a second catalogue in 1778. After his death in 1798 his son continued his nursery with different partners till 1815.

UBL, BPL 1900, 9 Letters by William Malcolm to David van Royen, 1768-1773.

J.H. Harvey, 'The Stocks Held by Early Nurseries', *Agricultural History Review*, 22:1 (1974), p. 179.

Royal Horticultural Society, Lindley Library, London, inv. 63314-1001, *A Catalogue of Hot-house and Green-House Plants, Fruit and Forest Trees: Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools. by William Malcolm, Nurseryman and Seedsman, near Kennington Turnpike, Surry* (London: J. Dixwell, 1771).

BL, General Reference Collection DRT, Digital Store, inv. T.251. (1.), *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants Fruit and Forest Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools. By William Malcolm, Nurseryman and Seedsman, Near Kennington Turnpike, Surry* (London: Printed for the author, 1778).

**William Malcolm Jr.** (1769-1835), an English nurseryman and the son of William Malcolm. He joined his father's firm in 1788, and the nursery was known as 'Malcolm and Son' from that year onwards. In 1805 William Malcolm Jr. leased the Kensington Nursery, the prestigious nursery established by Robert Furber in the early 1700s, calling it Malcolm & Doughty, from 1805-1810. In 1811 Malcom partnered with Robert Sweet but the nursery closed in 1815.

L.S. Snell (ed.), *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society Incorporating the Middlesex Local History Council,* vol. 24 (London: Bishopsgate Institute, 1973), p. 188.

**James Manson** (1726-1788), a Scottish tradesman living in Rotterdam. He corresponded with David van Royen. James Manson provided connections between botanists, tradesmen and nurserymen in Britain and the Netherlands. He functioned as an intermediary between David van Royen and William Malcolm; visiting Malcolm's nursery in London and van Royen in Leiden. Manson also took care of the exchange of seeds and plants between them, as his address in Rotterdam is the delivery address for both Malcolm and van Royen. Manson had many botanical contacts in Britain and the Netherlands, such as Joseph Banks, James Lee and Philip Miller.

UBL, BPL 1900, 10 Letters by James Manson to David van Royen, 1766-1768.

**Mathew Maty** (1718-1776), a Dutch physician, studied medicine at Leiden and later moved to London. He was secretary of the Royal Society and an Under Librarian at the British Museum.
The British Museum, Collection Online, ' Matthew Maty',
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1618618&partId=1> (28 October, 2017).

**Philip Miller** (1691-1771), a Scottish botanist and chief gardener of the Chelsea Physic Garden. He published the authoritative *The Gardeners Dictionary*, which saw eight editions during his lifetime, from 1731 till 1768. His dictionary was one of the most popular reference works in the mid-eighteenth century. Miller corresponded with many other botanist, all over the world, including Carl Linnaeus. Miller was hesitant to use Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature but when he did it helped a great deal in popularizing the Linnaean nomenclature among the British botanical establishment. Many well known nurserymen and gardeners of the second half of the eighteenth century, such as James Lee and William Aiton, where apprentices of Miller at the Chelsea Garden.
F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971), p. 109.

**Christophe Plantin** (c.1520-1589), a French book printer and publisher, based in Antwerp and, later in his life, in Leiden. Plantin was a prolific publisher of the sixteenth century, known for his excellent knowledge of book publishing and illustrations. He was at the centre of a large network of humanist scholars, botanists and artists, bringing knowledge, expertise and resources together, publishing many religious, humanistic and scientific works.
D. Imhof, 'De macht van de uitgever. De collectie botanische houtblokken van Plantijn', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), pp. 104-122.

**John Ray** (1627-1705), an English naturalist, botanist and author. Ray substantially contributed to the classification method of plants with his publication *Methodus plantarum nova* (1682), proposing a classification based on structural characteristics such as germination and internal anatomy. Another publication of Ray, the *Synopsis methodica stirpium britannicarum* (1690) the main British vademecum for many years before Carl Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature was established as the new standard.
F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971), p. 199.

**Adriaan van Royen** (1704-1779), a Dutch botanist and physician. He was professor of Medicine and Botany and prefect of the Hortus Botanicus in Leiden. He was trained by Herman Boerhaave and met Carl Linnaeus in 1735 with whom he formed a close relationship and continued to correspond when Linnaeus returned to Sweden. Van Royen published a catalogue of the Hortus Botanicus, the *Florae Leydensis prodomus*, published by the university printer Samuel Luchtmans in 1740.

G.A. van Uffelen, *425 jaar Hortus Botanicus in Leiden* (Leiden: Hortus Botanicus Leiden, 2015), p. 144.

**David van Royen Sr.** (1699-1764), a Dutch lawyer and secretary of the curators of Leiden University. His brother was Adriaan van Royen (1704-1779) and he was the father of David van Royen (1727-1799).

*Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, ' David van Royen',
<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/ -
page=431&accessor=accessor_index&view=transcriptiePane&size=682&source=10>(2 August, 2017).

**David van Royen** (1727-1799), a Dutch physician and botanist in Leiden. He succeeded his uncle Adriaan van Royen in 1754 as prefect of the Hortus Botanicus till 1786 and as professor of Botany at the university of Leiden. He corresponded with many botanists, including Carl Linnaeus.

Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek, ' David van Royen',
<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/ -
page=431&accessor=accessor_index&view=transcriptiePane&size=682&source=10 >(2 August, 2017).

**Richard Anthony Salisbury** (1761-1829), a British Botanist. He was the first secretary of the Horticultural Society of London (later the Royal Horticultural Society).

JSTOR, *Global Plants*, 'Salisbury, Richard Anthony (1761-1829)',
<http://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.person.bm000153806> (28 October, 2017).

**William Sherard** (1659-1728), an English botanist. Like John Ray, Sherard is considered to be one of the leading botanists of his day. William Sherard had been a student of J.P. De Tournefort in Paris and Paul Hermann in Leiden and corresponded with Herman Boerhaave.

S. Veldman, 'Prins der botanici. De reizen, verzamelingen en studies van Paul Hermann', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), p. 155.

**Sir Hans Sloane** (1660-1753), an Irish physician and naturalist. His collection provided the foundation of the British Museum and the grounds for the Chelsea Physic Garden. This garden had started out as an apothecary's garden and was developed under the patronage of Sir Hans Sloane and the direction of Philip Miller into a richly stocked botanic garden.

Encyclopeadia Britannica, 'Sir Hans Sloane', <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sir-Hans-Sloane-Baronet> 2 August, 2017).

**Humphrey Sibthorp** (1713-1797), a British botanist and professor of Botany at the university of Oxford. He corresponded with David van Royen.

UBL BPL 1900 Humphrey Sibthrop to David van Royen, 1759-1762.

**James Edward Smith** (1759-1828), a British botanist and founder of the Linnaean Society in 1788. He purchased the herbarium of Carl Linnaeus in 1784 after his friend Sir Joseph Banks was offered the book collection and herbarium of Linnaeus but declined.

The Linnaean Society of London, <https://www.linnean.org/> (2 August, 2017).

**John Rose** (1619-1677), an English gardener and nurseryman. He was the head gardener of King Charles II and worked on St. James's Park.

R. Coulton, 'Curiosity, Commerce and Conversation: Nursery-Gardens and Nurserymen in Eighteenth-Century London', *The London Journal*, 43: 1 (2017), p. 6.

**Robert Sweet** (1783-1835), an English botanist and nurseryman. He was the former partner of William Malcolm Jr. from 1811-1815 and published several illustrated works of plants in Britain. He was arrested for stealing plants from Kew Gardens in 1826. Although he was discharged of the crime, documents suggest that the charge was made by Mr. William Townsend Aiton son and successor of William Aiton, the director of Kew Gardens.

E.J. Wilson, *West London Nursery Gardens, the Nursery Gardens of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington and a Part of Westminster, Founded before 1900* (London: The Fulham & Hammersmith Historical Society, 1982), p. 116.

**John Tradescant** (1570s-1638), a British gardener, collector and traveller. He was the gardener of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, and later of the Duke of Buckingham.

E. Waugh, 'Planting the Gardens: The Nursery Trade in Hertfordshire', in D. Spring (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History. Vol. 2: Gardens Pleasant, Groves Delicious* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2012), p. 178.

**Joseph Pitton de Tournefort** (1656-1708), a French botanist and contemporary of John Ray and William Sherard. He is notable for his classification of genera based on the characteristics of flowers and fruits of plants.

F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linneans. The Spreading of Their Ideas in Systematic Botany, 1735-1789* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1971), p. 92.

**Sébastien Vaillant** (1669-1722), a French botanist and the director of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. Before Linnaeus, he introduced the importance of the reproductive system of plants in a lecture in 1717. Herman Boerhaave showed interest in his work and published an edition of his lecture in Leiden in 1718.

L. Kooijmans, 'Tantalus in de hortus. Herman Boerhaave als plantkundige', in E. van Gelder (ed.), *Bloeiende kennis: Groene ontdekkingen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), p. 165.

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2. *Map of the Kennington Oval/ Forty Acres in 1785.*
   *British History Online*, 'Kennington: Introduction and the Demesne Lands', in *Survey of London: Vol. 26, Lambeth: Southern Area*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London: London County Council 1956), pp. 18-31, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol26/pp18-31> (15 June, 2017).

3. *The Stockwell site of William Malcolm, in 1761.*
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4. *A map of London in 1779.*
   Universitätsbibliothek Bern, MUE Ruh 1806:46, inv. 000992787, *Provincia di Surrey* (Venice: Antonia Zatta, 1779), <http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV01&con_lng=GER&func=find-b&find_code=SYS&request=000992787> (10 October, 2017).

5. *Separate note accompanying Manson's letter of 15 June, 1767, with the order to deliver the plants 'aan de buyten plaats van de Hr. Manson'.*
   Leiden University Library, BPL 1900, Letters of James Manson to David van Royen (1727-1799), 10 letters, 1766-1768.

6. *Note on the back of a letter of James Manson from 25 May, 1767, with instructions to send 'levende gewassen' (cultivated plants)) to Manson's country house.*
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7. *Advertisement for the Kennington nursery of William Malcolm in 1767.*
   British Library, London, 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers, *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, February 26, 1767 – February 28, 1767, Issue 935, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/burney-collection> (27 October, 2017).

8. *Advertisement for an insect repellent, sold at William Malcolm's nursery in 1778.*
   British Library, London, 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Friday, 17 April, 1778, Issue 15 343, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/burney-collection> (27 October, 2017).

9. *Title-page of William Malcom's first catalogue of 1771.*
   RHS Lindley Library, London, inv. 63314-1001, Trade catalogue W. Malcolm, *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants Fruit and Forest Trees: Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools. by William Malcolm, Nurseryman and Seedsman, Near Kennington Turnpike, Surry* (London: J. Dixwell in St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, 1771).

10. *Title-page of William Malcolm's second catalogue of 1778.*
    British Library (BL), London, General Reference Collection DRT Digital Store, inv. T.251.(1.), Trade Catalogue W. Malcolm, *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants Fruit and Forest Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and Annual flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools. By William Malcolm, Nurseryman and Seedsman, Near Kennington Turnpike, Surry* (London: printed for the author, 1778).

11. *Frontispiece of Malcolm's catalogue of 1771.*
    RHS Lindley Library (RHS) London, inv. 63314-1001, Trade catalogue W. Malcolm, *A Catalogue of Hot-House and Green-House Plants Fruit and Forest Trees: Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous plants, Tree and Kitchen Garden Seeds, Perennial and Annual Flower Seeds, Garden Mats and Tools. by William Malcolm, Nurseryman and Seedsman, near Kennington Turnpike, Surry* (London: J. Dixwell in St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, 1771).

12. *Letter 1, William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 10 1768. In right upper corner a note of David van Royen in Dutch.*
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13. *Wax seal of William Malcolm on his letter of William Malcolm to David van Royen, Kennington, 4 September 1769, f. 1v.*
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15. *Wax seal of James Manson on his letter of 12 July, 1768, f. 4v.*
    Leiden University Library, BPL 1900, Letters of James Manson to David van Royen (1727-1799), 10 letters, 1766-1768.

16. *Detail of small drawing in letter 10, 12 July, 1768, f. 3r.*
    Leiden University Library, BPL 1900, Letters of James Manson to David van Royen (1727-1799), 10 letters, 1766-1768.

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