

William Courten's lists of 'Things Bought' from the late seventeenth century

Sachiko Kusukawa

Among the Sloane manuscripts now at the British Library are papers relating to the naturalist and collector William Courten (1642-1702), whose collection at Middle Temple could be visited from around 1685. The papers contain lists of acquisitions by Courten from the late 1680s, and record dates, objects, prices and the people from whom he purchased collectable objects, both naturalia and artificialia. These lists, transcribed in an online appendix, provide evidence of his daily collecting habits and of the availability of collectable items in London; several of Courten's suppliers were Londoners who are otherwise unknown.

WILLIAM Courten (1642-1702), alias Charleton, is best known for his collection of 'natural and artificial curiosities' that he left to Hans [later Sir Hans] Sloane.¹ Amongst his papers surviving in the British Library are lists called 'things bought', dating between 1688 and 1698. Anthony Griffiths and Carol Gibson-Wood have drawn on these lists in their studies of prints and of drawings respectively, but few scholars have followed their lead in pursuing further how, when and from whom Courten acquired objects for his collection at Middle Temple that could be visited from the middle of the 1680s.² These lists are evidence of Courten's collecting activities of miscellaneous objects involving fellow collectors, naturalists, and several less well-known Londoners, and illustrate the availability and circulation of 'natural and artificial' collectables in the metropolis in the late seventeenth century. The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze Courten's collecting habits in light of these lists that have been transcribed and are offered in an online appendix to this paper.

The transcribed lists date from the years 1688 to 1690, 1692, 1697 and 1698 (Fig. 1).³ There is another, earlier record of acquisitions for a shorter period (between January 1666 and February 1668) found in a small notebook containing miscellaneous notes from the same period.⁴ While there is some continuity in the format of the lists that are more than twenty years apart, I have here focused on the later lists that cover a longer period, and for which there are useful related sources. The lists transcribed here by no means exhaust the surviving documents that can shed light on the extent of Courten's collections: there are, for example, extensive lists of his print and numismatic collections that also merit full transcription and investigation.⁵ My task here, then, is of a limited one in presenting a facet of Courten's collecting activity after he had set up his museum in Middle Temple. I shall first offer an overview of what is now known about Courten, and then discuss his collecting habits, to the extent that can be gleaned from his lists.

<H1>Courten's early life (1642-1669)

Courten's family had seen a spectacular rise and fall in their fortunes. Courten's grandfather, Sir William Courten (1572-1636) was a very successful merchant-trader

and financier, whose fortunes were eclipsed towards the end of his life.⁶ The financial problems were inherited by Courten's son, also named William, who had married in 1633 Katherine Egerton (c.1613 -1652), one of the fifteen children of John Egerton, 1st Earl of Bridgewater (1579-1649).⁷ Their daughter Katherine was born in 1637, but soon after their son William was born in 1642 disaster struck, as Courten's company lost three ships. He was rendered insolvent, and left for Florence in 1643, never to return.⁸ The remainder of the family appears to have stayed behind in England. In April 1650, Katherine Courten, presumably with her children, went to live with her sister Frances, Lady Hobart (1603-1664) at Chapelfield House in Norwich, where she died on 25 March 1652.⁹ At some point after their mother's death, William and possibly his sister Katherine joined their (paternal) aunt Anne and her second husband Sir Richard Knightley (1609/10–1661) at Fawsley, Northamptonshire.¹⁰ Courten's father died in Florence in 1655, and a portrait of the younger Courten from around this time survives.¹¹

Little is known about Courten's schooling. In his obituary of Courten, Sloane noted that he was 'well educated at home' before travelling to Europe.¹² The entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on Leonard Plukenet (bap. 1642-1706) and Robert Uvedale (1642-1722) state that they and Courten were contemporaries at Westminster School.¹³ This is ultimately based on Plukenet's description of both Courten and Uvedale as 'once a fellow student [*olim condiscipulus*]' in his *Phytographia* (1691).¹⁴ The attendance of Uvedale and Plukenet at Westminster School from 1656 is documented, but Courten's name cannot be found in the registers of the school.¹⁵ Given that this was the preferred school of the Knightleys, Westminster would have been a natural choice for Courten, and it may be that he did attend the school in some capacity that has not been recorded formally.¹⁶ Plukenet and Uvedale both became keen students of plants and are mentioned in Courten's lists. Courten attained majority in 1663, which is also the earliest known date inscribed in those of his books that have survived.¹⁷ Collinges noted that Courten had visited Italy after his father's death to confirm that he had died a Protestant despite being buried in Catholic grounds.¹⁸ If we assume that Courten did not travel until 1663, he may have travelled to Italy some time between 1664 and 1665.

It is from 1666, by which time Courten could write Italian, that we have more information about him. In 1666, he was taking notes about insects, butterflies, beetles and fossils from the works of Thomas Browne, William Camden, Ulisse Aldrovandi, Francesco Calzolari, Jan Jonstonius, Athanasius Kircher, and Lodovico Moscardo.¹⁹ These notes appear to have been for edification as well as for compiling a list of things he did not have.²⁰ During 1666 and 1667, Courten recorded the insects and butterflies he collected in locations where his near and distant relatives were based, such as Fawsley (the Knightleys), Richard's Castle (the Salweys) and Bawdley (the Littletons).²¹ Between January 1666 and February 1668, Courten visited London, where he purchased a variety of things, such as a West Indian bat (£1), an armadillo (5s.), minerals, insects, shells, birds' eggs, 'a glass of fruits in wax' (15s.), a prism (2s. 6d.), a nautilus cup with gold (£10), and a 'china perfuming cup & winding couch' (£7 14s.).²² Courten bought from

'Sigr^a Tradescant', namely Hester, the widow of John Tradescant the Younger, a head of a bird from Virginia for 2s. and a Virginia woodpecker for 2s. 6d, among other things.²³ Other suppliers recorded were Messrs Archer, Bidell, Bidalph, Cosford, Giffard, Hilyard (probably Charles, son of the artist Nicholas), Jenner, Nelthorpe, Van Mildert as well as one Mrs Dennis, with some addresses noted, such as 'Leadenhall Strada', 'Limehouse' and 'Poplar'.²⁴ A 'William Courten' is acknowledged in John Tradescant's *Museum Tradescantianum* (1656) and in Robert Hubert's *A Catalogue of Natural Rarities* (1664), but there is no other independent evidence for the younger Courten's collecting until 1666, so Gibson-Wood must be correct in her inference that these references are more likely to be to his father.²⁵ This would suggest a family interest in collecting and certainly a connection with the Tradescants that continued to the next generation.

<H1>Courten on the Continent (1670-1684)

At the beginning of 1670, Courten left for the Continent in order to evade lawsuits by creditors of his father's and grandfather's businesses.²⁶ By June 1670 Courten was in Bourbon l'Archambault, and then travelled to Moulins, Auvergne, Geneva, and Zurich, and Schaffhausen, returning to Moulins in 1672, collecting natural objects along the River Allier and in the Savoy Mountains.²⁷ In 1673, he was perhaps in the Netherlands where he learnt to draw from Jan Van der Vaart (1647-1727) (Fig. 2).²⁸ In 1675, Courten was in Lyon staying with the banker Jacques Selapris (Jacob Schlappritzi), through whom he met John Locke (1632-1704), with whom he travelled on to Montpellier.²⁹ Courten learnt from Locke, ten years his senior, the 'secret' of how to preserve insects, and possibly also how to make a herbarium.³⁰ Locke left Montpellier in February 1677. In the summer of the same year, Courten was planning a trip to Spain, but Locke advised against it because of an outbreak of the plague.³¹ During 1678 and 1679, Courten carried out experiments at Montpellier on the effects of poisons (in plants, vipers and scorpions) on dogs, though he did not mention whether they were carried out as part of university instruction.³² Courten ended up staying in Montpellier until 1681, and also relayed to Locke some weather measurements using the latter's thermometer.³³ At Montpellier, he became acquainted with Pierre Magnol (1638-1715), Charles de Barbeyrac (1629-1699), Dr Louis Paul, and the apothecary Henri Verchant.³⁴ Courten gathered plants from the King's garden at Montpellier, as well as from neighbouring areas such as Salneuf, Bois de Gramont and la Colombiere, Castelneuf, Boutoniere, Capouladou, and Esperau.³⁵ These were carefully dried and glued on to thick paper, and identified with references to Caspar Bauhin's *Pinax* and other works (Fig. 3).³⁶ In 1679, he was planning to leave Montpellier 'for England or else where' and arranged to ship back a few things to England via Locke, who was then in Paris. This shipment included fifty books, jars with seeds, serpent skins and a lizard, some prints, a framed portrait and '5 pieces of painting'.³⁷ The books were seized and inspected by the Parisian authorities, and it is not clear what proportion of these books reached England.³⁸

In May 1681, Courten wrote to Locke that he had resolved to return to England.³⁹ He left Montpellier at the end of 1681, shipping five crates back to England via Bordeaux.⁴⁰ He was in Bordeaux between December 1681 and March 1682, and arrived

in Paris by the summer of 1682.⁴¹ On 27 November 1682 (new style), Courten was arrested and sent to the Bastille on suspicion of corresponding with 'enemies of the state' in Languedoc.⁴² The immediate context of Courten's arrest was the heightened religious tensions in Montpellier. In November 1682, the Parlement of Toulouse ordered the demolition of the Protestant Church in Montpellier. Courten's friends at Montpellier, Barbeyrac, Magnol, and Verchant, with whom he most likely kept in touch, were all Protestants.⁴³ On the news of Courten's arrest, one of Courten's acquaintances from Montpellier, Thomas Tufton (son of the 4th Earl of Thanet), now in London, petitioned the Duke of York in London for Courten's protection, and Charles II asked the envoy to the Court of France, Richard Graham (1648-1695), Viscount Preston, for further information so that he could judge 'what is best to be done in order to protect and preserve him.' Courten was released on 13 December, and told Preston that he was 'examined in general upon some correspondence which they suspected he had with the Protestants of Montpellier and in Languedoc.'⁴⁴

There is little information on Courten after his arrest, though he must have stayed in Paris during 1683. Around this time, he probably met Tancred Robinson (1657/8-1748) and Hans Sloane (1660-1753), both of whom visited Paris for their medical training.⁴⁵ It is most probably during this stay in Paris and perhaps at Locke's suggestion that Courten commissioned from Nicolas Robert (1614-1685) drawings on vellum of birds, fishes, flowers, shells and other *naturalia*, which was reported to have cost Courten £300.⁴⁶ He also appears to have acquired some plates by Wenceslaus Hollar that depicted shells.⁴⁷

In early 1684, George Carew, who had bought up the Courten debts, appeared in Paris in order to obtain a royal grant for the recovery of debts from the French King's subjects 'in his new conquests in the Low Countries.'⁴⁸ Despite an informant's report that Carew was a 'very honest gentleman and a good subject' and Courten a spy for the French, Preston supported Courten: he thwarted Carew's petitions at Court and in the Parlement, requested the Advocate-General to transfer the case to England, and gave Courten a letter of introduction to Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State in London.⁴⁹ Preston received a representation from Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland (1641-1702) on behalf of Courten in June 1684, when he also reassured Courten that Carew's petitions in Paris had come to naught.⁵⁰ Courten later recounted the affair: 'after about 4 months of waging war, I got the better, and by a decree in Parliament he is no more to trouble their Courts of Judicature, his cause being caste out and damages allowed to me.'⁵¹

<H1>Courten's collection and collecting at Middle Temple after 1684

Courten was in London by the beginning of August 1684.⁵² In preparing to return to London, Courten told Locke that although he could stay with his relations, he preferred to find lodgings for himself as 'being not in so good a state of health as I was formerly and so not able to comply so far as I was wont' and asked him to find a lodging for 'two indifferent chambers with indifferent furniture' that was not far from Locke's base in London.⁵³ Courten ended up renting chambers in Middle Temple – why he chose Middle

Temple is not clear, though his uncle Peter Courten (whom he had never met) was admitted there in 1618.⁵⁴ It may have had to do with the fact that Middle Temple housed part of Elias Ashmole's collection, which had been lost in a fire in 1679.⁵⁵ In 1690, Courten gave his address as 'over Mr North's Chambers in Essex Court'.⁵⁶ This 'Mr North' was Roger North (1651-1734), a lawyer with artistic, scientific and musical interests.⁵⁷ In 1702, Courten was paying rent (£25 per year) to a 'Mr Earle'.⁵⁸ The practice of sub-letting chambers was common, though it now seems impossible to tell from the rent what kind of chambers Courten occupied.⁵⁹ We know from Courten's own records that his chamber and dining room had chimneys: at one point he had moved two bottles of insects from the chimney and put them 'into the next roome on one of the cabinets'.⁶⁰ When Martin Lister (1639-1712) had had drawings made of some of Courten's dried fish specimens in order to complete Francis Willughby's posthumous *Historia piscium* (1686), he reported that he could not see the teeth of an East Indian triggerfish in Courten's 'sixth cabinet' because it had to be seen through glass.⁶¹ So we can surmise that Courten had at least six cabinets, and that one of them had a glass front by 1686.⁶² Apart from these snippets of information, we have no contemporary description of the interior of Courten's collections.⁶³

When Courten returned to England in 1684, his collection consisted of objects he had collected before he had left the country in 1670, material he sent from France in 1679, another consignment of five boxes that were sent back in 1681, and things he brought back in person. His early English collection was probably kept at Fawsley until Courten returned from France, though he complained that they had not been well maintained and had set him back by £100.⁶⁴ In 1679, Courten had sent back from France jars of seeds, serpent skins, lizards, some prints, and a framed portrait of Jacques Selapris (on whom see above), and possibly some books.⁶⁵ The total value of this shipment was given by Courten as £184, though almost a third of it lay in the value of Selapris's portrait (£57).⁶⁶

The shipment in 1681 from Montpellier consisted of five boxes.⁶⁷ The first box contained twelve books, two albums of prints of the principal cities of France and Spain, eight small notebooks (marked 1 to 8), and eight further boxes containing '253 small boxes of insects'; 'several sorts of eggs, lizards, birds, some few plants and a small box of manna'; 'two bottles with four Lizards in each, of different kinds'; four small branches of corall (two red, one white, one flesh-coloured); sixty-four bottles with insects; some starfishes and a few shells of the Mediterranean. The second box contained '3 branches of sea plants, 3 sea rocks, 1 sea sponge growing to a stone, 2 sea hedge hogs and 2 fishes'. The third box held 'about 16 hundred plants glewd upon paper'.⁶⁸ The fourth box consisted of four smaller boxes with '9 embroidered pincushions or sachetts and 5 embroidered purses'; '7 bottles of the Queen of Hungary's water, 2 bottles eau d'Ange, and one of mille fleurs (i.e. 3 bottles of perfumed waters) to wash with, and 6 bottles of Cyprus powder'; seeds from Dr Magnol and another friend from the Pyrenean mountains; and a box of gifts for Locke.⁶⁹ The fifth box held '17 pictures in miniature with gilt frames of birds, Insects and plants' by Guillaume Toulouze and 'in loose sheets of paper some few plants'. Apart from the bottled waters, these appear to have arrived

in England safely.⁷⁰ In addition, he must have brought back in person the drawings by Robert as well as coins and medals. Courten had collected more than 100 coins between 1670 and 1674, but no record can be found of his collection for the rest of his stay on the Continent.⁷¹ The lack of record concerning coins collected on the Continent may well be related to the fact that he had ‘put all my medals and things of value out of [Carew’s] reach, and twas well I did, for he had obtained surreptitiously an order to seize on my effects without giving security for their being restored in case he was cast.’⁷²

Among the objects sent back from Montpellier, Courten clearly valued the pictures by Guillaume Toulouze, a master embroiderer at Montpellier, framed with glass panes.⁷³ They were valued at £691 10s. – with just one of them (Fig. 4), a picture of the ‘jangle (pintailed sandgrouse *Pterocles alchata*) and partridge (red-legged partridge *Alectoris rufa*)’, valued at £99 (£88 for the picture and £11 for the frame).⁷⁴ This seems to be an extraordinary amount in light of Courten’s other expenditure that we know about. Courten had spent a total of £2026 11s. 3d. between January 1678 and May 1681, an average of just under £50 a month.⁷⁵ He had one servant with him, and his lodgings at ‘Petit Paris’ charged 2 *livres* a day for ‘meat, drink, lodging, candle and fire’, amounting to £3 sterling a month.⁷⁶ An annual expenditure of just under £600 is comparable to Edward Ingram, 4th Viscount Irwin’s allowance of £600 a year in the Netherlands in 1704.⁷⁷ Spending more than his year’s expenditure on seventeen framed pictures of *naturalia* seems rather extravagant, and we should probably see this as a replacement value – what it meant for Courten to reacquire these pictures. We do not know the valuation of the total consignment was, but the estimated price of Toulouze’s seventeen pictures certainly is a measure of Courten’s esteem for pictorial works. We also know that Courten returned from France with Robert’s drawings as well as medals and coins.⁷⁸

John Evelyn (1620-1706) visited Courten’s collection in 1686 and his description tallies well with what we know Courten had collected: ‘miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medals, animals kept in spirits of wine, minerals, precious stones, vessels, curiosities in amber, agate, and crystal, etc.’⁷⁹ The collection did not stay static, as he continued to collect with the help of his friends, acquaintances, Londoners and travellers. In 1687, Locke sent from Amsterdam ‘26 Draughts of the inhabitants of several parts of the world especially the East Indies’ drawn by his servant, Sylvester Brounower, who had copied the woodcuts in Jean de Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1580) as well as Albert Eckhout’s original sketches.⁸⁰ In 1697, Courten further commissioned drawings of his *naturalia* on vellum from a ‘German doctor’.⁸¹ He accumulated seeds and plants via intermediaries – Chinese plants from James Cuninghame (d. 1709?), French plants from Charles Preston (1660-1711), and East Indian plants from Nathaniel Maidstone (fl. 1698-1723).⁸² As he kept on collecting, he continued to mount dried plants in a herbarium and put insects and lizards in spirits of wine.⁸³ Though it is possible that maintenance of the objects was done by a servant or a housekeeper, his notes suggest that he kept a close eye on how they were cleaned and preserved. He remarked that his *naturalia* had to be cleaned once a month and brushed once a week, but that when the (stuffed) birds were rubbed with turpentine the moths

were attracted to them the next day, and that rubbing brass coins with vinegar or lemon juice spoiled them.⁸⁴

By 1685, Courten's collection was accessible to visitors. Martin Lister had seen and taken drawings of shells and fishes in Courten's collections.⁸⁵ In 1686, Courten received a visit from the physician Charles Goodall (c.1642-1712) and other fellows of the Royal College of Physicians.⁸⁶ Evelyn first visited in 1686 with Anne Digby, Countess of Sunderland, and Courten's museum appears to have been popular with courtiers.⁸⁷ There was an obvious social hierarchy to Courten's visitors, as the Yorkshire antiquary Ralph Thoresby (1677-1734) was shooed out when Margaret Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and other ladies from the court turned up.⁸⁸ Visits from members of the polite society and scholars must have been frequent, since in 1698, when Courten was suffering from incessant headaches, he resolved not to 'show things two days consecutively'.⁸⁹ Courten's chambers in Middle Temple were also a meeting place for members of a botanical club that regularly met at the Temple Coffee House in Devereux Court, nearby.⁹⁰

It is unclear whether Courten had a particular vision of the kind of museum he wanted to establish. Possibly he owned a catalogue of the museum of the Veronese physician, Lodovico Moscardo (1611-81) published in Padua in 1656, but there are no annotations in his copy; it is possible, however, that he visited it while he was in Italy, just as Ray and others had done.⁹¹ The first section of Moscardo's book listed his antiquities, starting with coins, busts, amulets, urns, tear bottles, buckles, talismans and a piece of Chinese writing; the second book was on minerals and things dug up from the earth, namely gems, ores, salts, and fossils; the third book was on *naturalia*, beginning with a large amount of shells, followed by tortoises, crocodiles, fishes, animal horns, and fruits, nuts, seeds and resins of plants. As his lists of acquisitions confirm, Courten certainly collected the kinds of objects listed in this book, from coins, tear bottles, mineral ores, fossils, tortoises, crocodiles, shells, and fishes to Chinese writing. The emphases on prints, drawings of *naturalia* and a particular interest in insects, butterflies and birds seem to reflect his own interests.⁹² Courten's museum was deemed significant in his time, as Humfrey Wanley suggested in 1695 that Courten should be encouraged to leave it to the Bodleian, to be named 'Museum Charltonianum', but nothing seems to have transpired of this proposal.⁹³

Courten's reputation among scholars rested primarily on his generosity to share objects from his collections. In 1686, Courten gave various corals and shells and a whole hammerhead shark to the newly established Ashmolean Museum.⁹⁴ Contemporary naturalists and virtuosi mentioned various objects in Courten's collections, such as dried fish specimens, shells, exotic botanical specimens, and an enormous glossopetra.⁹⁵ John Ray thanked Courten for showing him beanpods, dried tamarind, other vegetable curiosities, as well as a 'flying Indian Lizard', and received descriptions of some of his exotic animal specimens via Tancred Robinson.⁹⁶ Though Ray was fulsome in praising Courten's museum as 'well furnished with a vast stock of natural, artificial, rare and choice things, curiously, handsomely and elegantly preserved, such that you would not easily find anything comparable or better in the whole of Europe', he also noted that in

1693 that he found Agostino Scilla's *La vana speculazione* (1670), a rare book in England at the time, 'accidentally amongst Mr Charleton's rubbish, who has now placed it in his cabinet.'⁹⁷ Ray's comment suggests that Courten had not noticed the value of the book, and that he had a pile of things that had not made it into his cabinets. Indeed, comments by naturalists tend to refer to the objects in his collection rather than to Courten's expert knowledge, though a collection worthy of attention by scholars must be based on some familiarity with some of the scholarly literature. Most damning was the verdict by John Woodward (1665-1728), who had initially benefitted from Courten's generosity, when he wrote: "'tis a pity a Gentleman so very curious after things that were elegant and beautiful, should not have been as curious as to their Origin, their Uses, and their Natural History, about which he was so little solicitous'.⁹⁸ Even when Courten noted the origin of a fossil, Woodward grumbled that it was not precise enough.⁹⁹ Indeed Courten's collection displayed features characteristic of earlier collections that focused on the, rare, unusual and exotic, rather than on systematic coverage necessary for research that included the usual and the commonplace.¹⁰⁰

Courten frequently complained of giddiness and headaches, which appears to have intensified in 1698, as his entries in an almanac from that year indicate.¹⁰¹ He recorded advice from numerous physicians, Sloane, Robinson, Sir Thomas Millington, and John Ratcliffe, almost all of whom suggested that abstaining from wine might alleviate his symptoms.¹⁰² The frequency with which their advice was noted suggests perhaps that he was not heeding it well. Though he took notes from John Tillotson's sermons, he does not appear to have inherited his mother's or his aunt, Frances Hobart's abstemious Presbyterianism.¹⁰³ He died on 27 March 1702 in the village of Kensington Gravel Pits. In his will dated 10 March 1702, Courten distributed a total of £490 of gifts, the main beneficiaries being his nephew, Samuel Younge and Mrs Wood, 'who has lived with me severall years and attended me in my sickness' and her daughters.¹⁰⁴ Mrs Wood may have been more than a housekeeper, given the way Courten and Sloane referred to her in their letters.¹⁰⁵ In a codicil dated 20 March, he revised and distributed an additional legacy of £1,400 from his aunt, Anne Knightley, who had died on 5 February 1702.¹⁰⁶ Courten noted in his will that he had debts of £248 6s. 8d., and Sloane, as executor, was to settle the debt and distribute the specified gifts.¹⁰⁷ The 'residue of his estate' was given to Sloane, which was essentially Courten's collection, estimated to be around £5,000 to £8,000 during his lifetime.¹⁰⁸ By 11 May 1702, the collection had arrived at Sloane's house, though it lay 'all in confusion as yet, and will require some time to put them into order.'¹⁰⁹

<H1>The lists of 'Things Bought'

Courten's lists of 'Things Bought', now in the British Library, date from September 1688 to December 1690, January to December 1692 and January 1697 to December 1698, with partial lists for 1691 and 1693.¹¹⁰ These were not daily or even monthly ledgers, but a periodic recording of (every three or four months or at even longer intervals) acquisitions. On the left Courten recorded the number of items ('parcels'), followed by a description of an item, with its monetary value in the right-hand columns of pounds,

shillings and pence. Sometimes the date, and often the person from whom Courten acquired the item were also recorded. Some parts of the entries were written in cipher, such as names (e.g. 'Madam Ashmole'¹¹¹) or descriptions (e.g. 'false', 'copy' or 'counterfeit'), but it is not completely clear why Courten used ciphers in some cases and others not. Most of the things listed are collectable items, as well as equipment to keep and maintain his collection: a 'small cabinet', deal boxes, corks and bottles for insects, and spirit of wine to keep specimens. There are also some personal items such as small racks for 'roasting meat in my chamber' (in cipher) and a 'shagreen case to my Large French scissors' (not in cipher) that suggest the miscellaneous nature of his purchases. These lists did not represent Courten's entire outgoings, since rents or bills from tailors or apothecaries are not among them.

Often, there is more than one monetary value listed for an object, usually expressed with the abbreviations 'g' for guinea (e.g. g1g = 1 guinea), 'a' for pound (e.g. a2a = £2), 's' for shilling (e.g. s3s or 3s = 3s.) and 'j' for pence (e.g. j6 or 6) = 6d.). These could indicate a breakdown of the individual items that make up the parcel – for example the '3 mocho stones' bought in June 1689 for 14s. comprised one stone at 8s., and two stones at 3s. each, expressed as 's8s s3s s3s'. Some of the values were preceded or followed by 'E' or 'est.' indicating estimated values. For example, the 'large red oyster shell' bought for 1s. in 1688 had an estimated value of 1s. 6d. written as 'E1s6jE'. Such estimated values were usually more than the monetary value in the right-hand column.

Remarks such as 'f. c.' (for credit), 'in truck' or 'exchanged', indicate that cash did not necessarily change hands at the point of acquisition, except for one-off purchases of small value or when Courten specifically noted that something was bought with 'money', which in the period usually signified coins.¹¹² Moreover, the values recorded in the right-hand columns may not necessarily be the price he actually paid for, since Courten listed monetary values in these columns even of things that were given to him: for example, '9 sorts of seeds g[iven] by Plukenet' is noted as worth 1s. 6d. The estimated monetary value of such gifts probably served as a guide for Courten to determine a reciprocal gift of roughly equivalent value.¹¹³ Several gifts were priced in this way, while others were assigned no value, perhaps because they were part of a bulk purchase.¹¹⁴

'd' is for 'double', a word Courten used to indicate a duplicate of an object he already had: '... though I may have them already they will serve to change for other things that I want'.¹¹⁵ Fellow enthusiasts for *naturalia*, William Sherard (1659-1728) and Charles Dubois (bap. 1658 -1740), also referred to duplicate plant specimens as 'doubles' in their correspondence.¹¹⁶ Using *naturalia* as currency was an effective method of building up a collection amongst fellow collectors, especially when one had limited means of acquisition.

At the bottom of each sheet, monetary values in the right-hand columns were added up, then the page was folded up and endorsed with the date, total number of parcels and total value. But these sheets record not only purchases but gifts, so the added total does not necessarily reflect the amount Courten had actually spent on purchasing the objects listed. It may be more accurate to call them a list of 'acquisitions' therefore, except that sometimes sales are also recorded – the annotations 'sold' or 'x'

through an entry indicate that those objects were sold on or given away.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the estimated prices reflect what Courten believed the items to be worth, or the price at which he was willing to part with. Yet, when in 1693 Courten bought a 'large serpentine stone' for 2s. 6d. and estimated it to have double the value (ES5s = 5s.), he sold it to the goldsmith John Marlow for 3s. Thus the lists should not be treated as an actual record of cash transaction, but rather as a record of multiple values, both actual and virtual, determined by a range of people.

The prices of *naturalia* in Courten's lists varied considerably. For 1d., he could get hold of a white and red mussel shell from the West Indies, for 2d., a newt, or two pieces of crystal. For 6d. he could buy a starfish from Carolina, or two tops of a pineapple, or three snake eggs. A chameleon, a lachrymal urn, or an East Indian coconut, was 1s. each, two tusks of a boar found near Cheapside was 1s. 6d., one Egyptian beetle in agate was 2s., a phosphorous stone or a small rose of Jericho 2s. 6d., and a West Indian bird upon a pedestal cost 3s. For 5s. he could get a rhinoceros cup or a black scorpion, and for 12s. 9d. a crocodile from Jamaica. Mineral ores were relatively more expensive per item, ranging from 10s. to over £1. Furthermore, Courten paid £1 5s. for two pieces of teeth of an 'elephant' found near the Pindar of Wakefield (an inn at the northern end of Gray's Inn Lane) from John Conyers's wife.¹¹⁸

There were also natural objects for which Courten was prepared to pay a lot more: he paid £2 3s. in 1689 for the 'stella arborescens' (*Astrophyton muricatum*) that he had been looking for since at least 1685.¹¹⁹ He had also been looking for 'the great Phalangium, the teeth of which are usually set in gold to make tooth picks', a description derived from Piso and Marcgraf's natural history of Brazil, and repeated in Nehemiah Grew's catalogue of the Royal Society's repository.¹²⁰ In 1690, Courten paid £5 7s. 6d. to obtain this spider from 'Mr Coopman Lft at Ceylon'. Indeed, Courten paid over the odds for exotic *naturalia* from Coopman, which included the 'Scorpius Indicus', 'Amphisboena' and the 'Serpens hypnoticus' for £3 4s. 6d. each. The description of Coopman's objects follows verbatim the descriptions in a small booklet of the collection of the Museum at Leiden (*Index Musaei Indici*), from which Courten had earlier listed desirable objects.¹²¹ Objects found in printed catalogues of other collections thus appear to have commanded much higher prices. It is not clear whether the identification of objects with those in the *Index Musaei Indici* was done by Courten, or whether Coopman too had a copy of the *Index* and had designated the objects as such. Printed works provided the common language by which to describe objects, and this is certainly the way Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxford-shire* (1677) was used by Edward Lhuyd to send Courten some fossils from Oxford. Courten used Buonnani's *Ricreatione dell'occhio e della mente* (1681) as a reference work for shells in his list, as well as Aldrovandi and Worm, in his letters when describing his objects.¹²² Catalogues and printed sources not only guided Courten in what to collect, but also affected the value of those objects.¹²³ Compared to some of his serendipitous purchases on his perambulation around London, Courten was prepared to pay a higher price for desirable objects.

Courten's own judgement on the quality of items such as 'very fine' or 'very pretty' appears not to have affected the price much, as a 'very fine' toucan's beak

commanded the same price as a toucan's beak without further comment.¹²⁴ 'A 'nephritick dish with handles' described as 'counterfeit' was obtained for 15s., and estimated at 1 guinea. It is difficult to ascertain whether the 'false' nature of an object was something that both the supplier and Courten understood (i.e. Courten knowingly bought something that was being passed off as something else), or a judgement that Courten made of an object whose identity the supplier was not knowledgeable enough to ascertain. An entry such as a 'stone given me for the manat[ee]'s stone. an Lapis Judaicus' would suggest that there could be a gap between supplier and the purchaser regarding the identity of the object.¹²⁵ But it seems that Courten also knowingly and deliberately acquired such 'false' or 'counterfeit' items. A very fine small butterfly with sliver drops' listed as 'false', and its double (also noted as 'false') cost 10s. each. References to 'counterfeit' objects can also be found in Sloane's catalogues, and it is of course possible that Sloane's collection inadvertently contained such false objects when he bought up another collection, but it is also possible that collectors in this period thought that there was some point in obtaining 'false' or 'counterfeit' objects.¹²⁶

For human-made objects, Courten had acquired a variety of things in a range of prices: a cup from Surinam (6d.), a 'goose, Roman god found at (St) Pauls' (1s.), a wampum (1s. 6d.), a microscope (2s. 6d.), a 'Rhino cup' (5s.), a pair of Chinese ivory chopsticks (5s.), 'Alabaster box with flowers in silk wrought on it' (6s.), a Japan dagger (7s.), and 'a habit of an Indian woman made of beads' (10s.). Chinese objects seem to attract a premium: a 'silver gilt bottle carved after the Chinese manner' (£1 5s.), a 'Chinese figure of a woman sitting across a man leaning on a stone set with pearl' (£2 2s.), and two large Chinese figures, one of which 'picking his ears' (£2 3s.).

Courten's suppliers included members of the Temple coffee house 'botanic club', as well as other naturalists and collectors, such as Sir Andrew Balfour (1630-1694) or John Bagford (1650-1716). Some were dealers with obvious specialisms: print-sellers sold prints only; goldsmiths mostly sold coins or mineral ores. The goldsmith John Marlow supplied in addition to coins and ores a 'reed that they write upon in the Indies' and a 'piece of Chinese writing', and Courten sold to Marlow some 'spleen stones.' Plants and seeds were supplied by those known to have botanical interests, but those offering shells to Courten included a number of people less well-known than Martin Lister or Edward Lhuyd. Some were women, such as Mrs Alley and Mrs Harvey who occur more than once in Courten's lists, suggesting that he was a regular customer and they had a general idea of what he was looking for. One Mrs Bonfield was resourceful enough to sell him shells as well as fur for the neck from Russia, and some moss from the West Indies. Courten also visited the docks and those living near the dock. Here Courten was practising what he preached to Locke, namely approaching sailors because 'amongst the seamen many things may be had at easier rates then when they come into the possession of the curious and knowing men.'¹²⁷ Walking around London, Courten was only one step removed from objects from exotic places such as Africa, Barbados, Batavia, Carolina, Ceylon, China, East Indies, Hudson's Bay, Jamaica, Japan, Java, New York, Portugal, Russia, Surinam, Virginia, and West Indies.

Between 1690 to 1692, James Reed and his wife sold to Courten £6 worth of birds, shells, and plant seeds from Barbados. Reed was a Quaker and a gardener who was sent to the West Indies to gather plants for William Bentinck (1649-1709), Earl of Portland.¹²⁸ Prior to Reed's travel, Courten had given him instructions on what to collect: essentially two specimens each of birds, snakes, lizards, shells, fishes and other things that were unusual and beautifully coloured.¹²⁹ Reed would not have recognized the Latin names used in printed works of the period, and was presumably not conversant with how to preserve these objects, as Courten offered directions: beetles were to be put in boxes; butterflies must be pinned in boxes; spiders should be put in spirit of wine; and crabs and shells were to be put in a box with cotton.¹³⁰ Courten even equipped Reed with the tools he would need: scissors, glasses, paper, pins, hooks, knives, bottles, boxes and a gallon of spirit of wine at a cost of £1 12s.¹³¹ Thus, Courten was not only relying on his intermediaries in London to acquire things from around the world, but found travellers to collect objects on his behalf.

The lists transcribed do not, however, exhaust the information available about Courten's collection. In particular, a transcription and study of his catalogue of coins and medals are desiderata, especially since this is an area where Courten's reputation was most secure.¹³² Courten never made a full catalogue of his collection; nor did Sloane consistently identify the Courten provenance of the objects in his own catalogues. Courten's lists may therefore provide additional information on the provenance of objects that have survived, such as the 'Roman goose' or his prints.¹³³ Some of Courten's suppliers overlap with those for other collectors, as I have noted in the transcription. A more systematic compilation of suppliers and provenance of objects could lead to a better appreciation of the infrastructure, particularly of London, as a global metropolis, for material exchange.¹³⁴ The price entries in Courten's lists suggest that monetization of rarities and curiosities that Margocsy identified as observable by about 1700 was already underway by the later seventeenth century.¹³⁵ It is indeed important, as Margocsy warns us, not to take those prices as hard, fixed cash values. Rather, they reflect the material, aesthetic and intellectual values perceived by the collector and negotiated by others. More research into other accounts will help determine whether Courten was unusual in entering monetary values of objects in his lists. This form of documentation may well have been necessary for someone who lived in (relatively) reduced financial circumstances with no land or estate to his name, in a period that his friend Locke identified as short in cash, and functioned by means of credit.¹³⁶ Courten's family background in long-distance trade and financing would in many ways make him an ideal candidate to apply insights by recent scholars of book-keeping methods that shaped and organized notes and knowledge in the early modern period.¹³⁷ However, it is difficult at present, without a full and systematic study of Courten's papers, to determine the precise epistemic implications of these lists. What we can say about these lists is that they are evidence of a sustained, quotidian collecting habit of a dedicated collector.

Address for correspondence

Dr Sachiko Kusukawa, Trinity College, Cambridge CB2 1TQ.

Acknowledgements

An early draft of this paper was presented in a seminar of the Cabinet of Natural History at the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, where I received helpful comments from members of the audience. I am also grateful to members of the early modern 'club' at Trinity College, Cambridge – Nicholas Hardy, Dmitri Levitin, Joe Moshenska, Richard Serjeantson and Alexandra Walsham – for their advice and encouragement.

Notes and references

¹ Modern accounts of Courten's life, including B. D. Jackson, rev. A. J. Turner, 'Courten, William (1642–1702)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), are indebted to John Calder's entry (author identification from F. Henderson, rev. M. Harris, 'Calder, John (1733–1815)', *ibid.*) on the Courten family in A. Kippis (ed.), *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd edn, vol. iv (London, 1789), pp. 322–53, based on Courten's papers now in the British Library. Additional information may be gleaned from the papers of Richard Graham (1648–1695), Viscount Preston, printed in *The Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts Part I. Report and Appendix* (London, 1879), E. S. De Beer (ed.), *The Correspondence of John Locke* (Oxford, 1976), and J. E. Dandy, *The Sloane Herbarium* (London, 1958). The singular significant modern study of Courten's collection is C. Gibson-Wood, 'Classification and value in a seventeenth-century Museum', *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997), pp. 61–77. For Sloane's collection, see A. MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum* (London, 1994) and A. Walker, A. MacGregor, and M. Hunter (eds), *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections* (London, 2012).

² A. Griffiths (ed.), *Landmarks in Print Collecting* (London, 1996), pp. 23–7, 269–73; Gibson-Wood, *op. cit.* (note 1).

³ British Library (hereafter BL), Sloane MS 3962, fols 26–8, 31–4, 36–40, 42–3, 48–9, 52–63, 56, transcribed in Appendix I.

⁴ BL, Sloane MS 3988, fols 1–15.

⁵ BL, Sloane MSS 3961 and 3962.

⁶ J. C. Appleby, 'Courten, Sir William (c.1568–1636), including Courten, William (d. 1655)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

⁷ L. A. Knafla, 'Egerton, John, First Earl of Bridgewater (1579–1649)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

⁸ Calder, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 328.

⁹ Date of Katherine Courten's death from John Collinges, 'The narrative of the life and death of the Lady Katharine Courten,' in his *Par nobile* (London, 1669), pp. 295–56. For the Hobarts' support for the Presbyterian minister, J. Collinges, see S. Wright, 'Collinges, John (1623/4–1691)', and E. Allen, 'Hobart, Lady Frances (1603–1664)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁰ S. Kelsey, 'Knightley, Sir Richard (1609/10–1661)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

¹¹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/william-courten-alias-charleton-16421702-when-young-191669>. Sloane had a copy of this portrait made by Thomas Murray, K. Sloan, 'Sloane's "pictures and drawings in frames" and "books, miniature & painting, designs, &c"' in Walker *et al.*, op. cit. (note 1), p. 287 n. 66, but its whereabouts cannot be ascertained at present. I thank Kim Sloane and Marjorie Caygill for their advice on the Murray portrait.

¹² BL, Sloane MS 3515, fol. 49r.

¹³ D. E. Allen, 'Plukenet, Leonard' and G. S. Boulger, and rev. A. McConnell, 'Uvedale, Robert' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). See also Dandy, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 183–7 (Plukenet) and pp. 223–6 (Uvedale).

¹⁴ '... nobile specimen nobis dedit Insignis et in omni naturali scientia vir magna iudicii soliditate si quis alius praecellens D. Guilelmus Courtene, olim condisciplinus et semper mei amicissimus'; 'Cl[arissimus] vir et olim condisciplinus noster D. Uvedal, LLD.' L. Plukenet, *Phytographia* (London, 1691), pls 32 (no. 6) and 138 (no. 3), my insertion.

¹⁵ G. F. Russell Barker and A. H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminster* (London, 1928), vol. II, pp. 742 (Plukenet), 941 (Uvedale), both entered the school in 1656. Plukenet then went up to Oxford (Uvedale went to Cambridge), but there is no record of Courten matriculating at Oxford either.

¹⁶ G. F. R. Barker, *Memoir of Richard Busby, D.D. (1606–1695): With Some Account of Westminster School in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1895), p. 121.

¹⁷ The inscription 'William Courten 1663' may be found in copies of Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (1659), BL, 1019.c.14, and John Dod, *A plain and familiar exposition of the Ten commandments* (1635), BL, 1016.l.4. Neither contains annotations. For Courten's books, see Sloane Printed Books (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/sloane/about.aspx>). Dod was a well-known puritan who was supported by the Knightleys, J. Fielding, 'Dod, John (1550–1645)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). His popular *Ten Commandments* was also read by Courten's aunt, Frances Hobart, when she was a child, Collinges, op. cit. (note 9), p. 22.

¹⁸ Collinges, op. cit. (note 9), p. 270, described Courten as '... having since the death both of his Mother and Father visited Italy (where his Father died) is able to statisfie the world, that his Father died in communion of the Protestant Church (notwithstanding the impudent assertions of some Popelings amongst us) being so kept by the power of God ...'

¹⁹ BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 119r–125v (Kircher), 142r–145v (Jonstonius), 151r–152v (Camden), 218r–221v (Calcolari and Moscardo). Sloane MS 3987 (dated 1663), fols 76v (Aldrovandi), 77r–v (Browne). The British Library copy of L. Moscardo, *Note overo memorie del museo* (Padua, 1656), 726.l.4, may have belonged to Courten, given the presence of his price code, but contains no annotations by him.

²⁰ E.g. 'Cose naturali che non haveva 1667', BL Sloane MS 3987, fol. 74r. For the development of 'desiderata' lists, see V. Keller, 'Accounting for Invention: Guido Pancirolli's lost and found things and the development of desiderata', *Journal for the History of Ideas* 73 (2012), pp. 223–45.

²¹ For the Knightleys, see note 10 above. Courten's aunt, Hester Courten, married Sir Edward Littleton MP (c.1599–c.1657), whose sister Anne had married Humphrey Salwey (1575–1652) of Moore Park, whose son was Richard Salwey, MP of Richard's

Castle (1616-1686). BL, Sloane MS 3988, fols 2r, 8v, 14v. For objects collected from this period, see Sloane MS 3962, fols 130r-141v; 147r-150v; 159r-160v.

²² BL, Sloane MS 3988, fols 5r-15r.

²³ BL, Sloane MS 3988, fols 12v-13v ('Sig^{ra} Tradescant'), also noted by M. Welch, 'The Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum', in A. MacGregor (ed.), *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 40-58, at pp. 42-3. Other suppliers recorded are: Messrs Archer, Bidell, Bidalph, Cosford, Giffard, Hilyard, Jenner, Nelthorpe, Van Mildert and Mrs Dennis, and Mrs May.

²⁴ Between October 1666 and May 1669 crates containing objects acquired in London were sent to Fawsley, amounting to a total value of £932. BL, Sloane MS 3988, fols 29v-32v.

²⁵ John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum: Or, a Collection of Rarities* (London, 1656), a3r (list of benefactors): 'William Curteene, Esq.'; Robert Hubert, *A Catalogue of Many Natural Rarities, with Great Industry, Cost, and Thirty Years of Travel in Foreign Countries* (London, 1664), p. 30: 'A great crocodile, given by Noble squire Courtine, a lover of virtue and ingenuity', as noted in Gibson-Wood, op. cit. (note 1) pp. 62, 75 n.12 and 13.

²⁶ 'Its now near 14 years since ought of either kind was agitated against you & presume you forgot not Lloyds persecution that persued you to Lands end about January 1670, who having commenced his suit in chancery against you or prosecuted you for not Ansering (tho then beyond sea) to a commission of Rebellion returnable in Easter term 1671 & upon a Non-insecutus obliged I think an ordr for a jurist at arms to locke you into custody?' Richard Salwey to Courten, 8 August 1684, BL, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 191r. This 'Lloyd' is probably William Lloyd, whose lawsuit against Courten, Richard Salwey, Anne Knightly and others is preserved at the National Archives, c6/196/80 and/84 (1669); c6/187/70 (1670).

²⁷ BL, Sloane MS 3988, fols 34v--26v (written from the back, upside down).

Viscount Preston reported that Courten 'hath been thro' all of Switzerland, a great part of Germany and of France', *Seventh Report* (note 1), 275a. Note that he does not mention Italy.

²⁸ Jan Van der Vaart moved to England only in 1674. For Courten's sketchbook (BL, Sloane MS 5251) that originally contained Van der Vaart's landscape drawings (British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 1928-2-10-93), see K. Sloan, 'A noble art': *Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600-1800* (London, 2000), p. 86.

²⁹ J. Lough, *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679, as related in his Journals, Correspondence and other Papers* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 4. Courten seems to have travelled with Locke to Avignon, and thence to Montpellier, *ibid.* p. 13. There is no evidence, as Gibson-Wood pointed out, op. cit. (note 1), p. 75 n. 11, that Courten was at Montpellier before 1675, *pace* Jackson, op. cit. (note 1) or Calder, op. cit. (note 1) p. 336.

³⁰ *Locke's Correspondence* (note 1), vol. II, p. 448 (no. 663). Locke seems to have learnt how to make a herbarium from the Bobarts while in Oxford, see P. R. Anstey and S. A. Harris, 'Locke and botany', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 37 (2006), pp. 151-71, at p. 156.

³¹ John Locke to Courten, 16 August 1677 (old style), *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. I, p. 510 (no. 350).

³² His notes were published posthumously by Sloane as 'Experiments and observations of the effects of several poisons upon animals etc. made at Montpellier in

the years 1678 and 1679 by the late William Courten', *Philosophical Transactions* 27 no. 335 (1712), pp. 395–426.

³³ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. I, pp. 676–7 (no. 445). His observations for 1698 are recorded in Apollo Anglicanus's *Almanack* (London, 1698), BL, Add. MS 4956; Courten (BL, Sloane MS 3988, fol. 16v) also mentioned keeping observations in an almanac for 1669 by Thomas Gallen, which I have been unable to locate. For Courten's recipes for preserving insects as well as other natural objects, see BL, Sloane MS 3997, fol. 6r, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 192r. For various techniques of preserving birds, see K. Schulze-Hagen, F. Steinheimer, R. Kinzelbach and C. Gasser, 'Avian taxidermy in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance', *Journal of Ornithology* 144 (2003), pp. 459–78.

³⁴ See references to them in *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. I, p. 674 (no. 445), 685 (no. 449); vol. II, p. 152 (no. 526), p. 159 (no. 531), p. 223 (no. 559), etc.

³⁵ Dandy, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 116–17.

³⁶ The herbaria are now H.S. 16, 56–60, Natural History Museum, London. I thank Dr Charlie Jarvis for enabling me access to these albums.

³⁷ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 674–78 (no. 445). Together with a gift to Locke (bouettes of seeds and eighteen books).

³⁸ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 6–7 (no. 465). Courten suggested Locke sell the books if they were too troublesome, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 674 (no. 445).

³⁹ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 399 (no. 646).

⁴⁰ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 439–40 (no. 659), pp. 447–51 (nos 663 and 664).

⁴¹ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 461 (no. 670) and pp. 494–94 (no. 691).

⁴² *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 553 n. 4. Lough, op. cit. (note 29), p. 4 n. 6. *Seventh Report* (note 1), pp. 275a, 276a.

⁴³ Locke estimated that three-quarters of the population of Montpellier were Protestants. Lough, op. cit. (note 29), p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Seventh Report* (note 1), pp. 361b, 360b, 276a. It is perhaps worth noting that his cousin, the 2nd Earl of Bridgewater, was a privy councilor at the time.

⁴⁵ Courten mentioned 'one doctor Sloane' on 16 October 1684, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 642. Note, however, Sloane's herbarium of plants probably from Hampstead Heath 'about the year 1682 for my own and Mr Courten's collection' would suggest an earlier acquaintance, C. Jarvis, M. Spencer and R. Huxley, 'Sloane's plant specimens and fossils', in Walker *et al.*, op. cit. (note 1), p. 138. For Robinson, see G. S. Boulger, rev. Kaye Bagshaw, 'Robinson, Sir Tancred (1657/8–1748)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). As noted in Gibson-Wood, op. cit. (note 1), p. 68, in September 1683, Courten promised Robinson (who was by then at Montpellier) that he would send a sketch of a bird called the 'macreuse' and a stuffed sample for John Ray, E. Lankester (ed.), *The Correspondence of John Ray* (London, 1848), pp. 135, 147. John Ray, 'Letter to Dr Robinson concerning the French macreuse', *Philosophical Transactions* 15 (1685), pp. 1041–4; For the drawing, see British Museum, Prints and Drawings, SL. 5277.35.

⁴⁶ Cost reported in E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford, 1955), vol. IV, p. 532, as also noted in Gibson-Wood, op. cit. (note 1), p. 66. These drawings are now in the British Museum, Prints and Drawings, SL. 5277 and SL. 5288; a catalogue compiled by Scheuchzer is at BL, Sloane MS 1968, fols 134r–51v. Assuming that few had been lost, this would mean each drawing would have cost about £2. In 1677, Locke had seen

Robert's work at the King's Library in Paris '19 large folios of plants, drawn to the life in miniature, and 6 of birds, soe exactly well donne that who ever knew any of the plants or birds before, would there know them at first sight, the figure, proportions & colours being all soe lively & natural. They are done by one Mr Robert who is still imploid to goe on with the same work which, if he could live to finish, would certainly be the best of this kinde was yet ever seen. They are drawn upon velum.' Lough, op. cit. (note 29), p. 160. Courten may have been in Paris earlier during his stay on the Continent and could have had a chance to commission the miniatures, but since these are not listed in the consignment from Montpellier in 1681, it is likely that they were commissioned at this later stage.

⁴⁷ These were seen by Martin Lister, A. M. Roos, *Web of Nature: Martin Lister (1639-1712), the First Arachnologist* (Leiden, 2011), p. 308.

⁴⁸ *Seventh Report* (note 1), 300a. The disputes between Carew and the Courten familiar are too complex to discuss here, but the starting point is Calder, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 329-34, George Carew bought up the Courten debts in 1660, on the basis of which he applied successfully for letters of marque in 1665 (during the Second Anglo-Dutch War), on the basis that much of the Courten possessions (ships and cargo) had been taken by the Dutch. After the Treaty of Breda, and even after his letters of marque were recalled in 1680, Carew issued pamphlets claiming his rights. Carew fled England after a warrant of arrest was issued in 1682 for refusing to surrender the letters of marque.

⁴⁹ The informant reported that Courten had 'great correspondence with Rouvigni, with Mr Justel, with one Mr Salway, a great Whig, with Argyle and several others, and that he had a pension from the French to those purposes' and that he extracted information from Preston's secretaries at Foster's tavern which he then reported to the French. *Seventh Report* (note 1), p. 399a. For Preston's actions, see *ibid.*, pp. 302a, 306a, 307b, 308a, 332b.

⁵⁰ *Seventh Report* (note 1), 306a, 308a. Preston acknowledged receipt of Courten's letter of 19 June, which suggests that Courten was back in England by then.

⁵¹ Letter to Locke, 16 October 1684, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 642 (no. 788). At the same time, his cousin Richard Salwey was somewhat circumspect that Courten's legal troubles were not quite over yet. Letter to Courten, 8 August 1684, BL Sloane MS 3962, fol. 191r. Carew died in Dunkirk in November 1684, *Seventh Report* (note 1), p. 320b, as also noted in *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 641 n. 2.

⁵² *Correspondence of John Ray* (note 51), pp. 147-8, on 1 August 1684, Robinson reported to Ray that Courten was 'now in London'.

⁵³ Letter to Locke, 13/23 March 1682 (no. 691), *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 495. Locke usually stayed at the Earl of Shaftesbury's residence, Thanet House, on Aldersgate Street, when in London. By the time Courten had returned to London, however, Locke had fled to the Netherlands because of the Rye House Plot.

⁵⁴ H. A. C. Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple* (London, 1949), vol. I, p. 108. For Sir Peter Courten (d. 1624/5), see Appleby, op. cit. (note 6).

⁵⁵ R. F. Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum 1683-1894* (Oxford, 1986), p. 13. The remainder of the collection (at Lambeth) was installed in Oxford.

⁵⁶ Courten to Edward Lhuyd, 29 April 1690, Early Modern Letters Online (<http://tinyurl.com/89bo2sa> [Accessed 29/8/2014]: 'Please to direct your letter for me over Mr North's chamber in Essex Court'; Cf. Sloane's letter to Courten (11 July 1690) addressed to his Chambers 'over Mr North's in Brick Court', BL, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 314r.

⁵⁷ He was the younger brother of Francis North, Lord Keeper of the Seal, and executor of Peter Lely's will, Mary Chan, 'North, Roger (1651–1734)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). North gave up his chamber in Brick Court in June 1683 for a bench chamber in Essex Court and was assigned the uppermost chamber over the Great Gate from 1684, P. Millard (ed.), *Notes of Me: The Autobiography of Roger North* (Toronto, 2000), p. 270 n. 121. Compare £53 17s. paid to Thomas Murray for Queen Anne's portrait and frame in 1703, C. H. Hopwood (ed.), *Calendars of Middle Temple Records* (London, 1903), p. 190.

⁵⁸ BL, Sloane MS 3961, fol. 98r. Most likely William Erle, fourth son of Thomas Erle, merchant in Bristol, was admitted to the Middle Temple in March 1678/79, Sturgess, op. cit. (note 59), vol. I, p. 199.

⁵⁹ R. D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 14 states that there were 'ten rooms' though I cannot verify this.

⁶⁰ 'July 1691 Taken from over ye chimney ps 2 \small/ bottles spirits with Insects & put into ye next roome on one of ye cabinets', BL, Sloane MS 3961, fol. 85r; '17th June 1698, Both Ye Chimneys were swept in my chamber & ye dining room', BL, Add MS 4956, fol. 27v.

⁶¹ F. Willughby, *Historia Piscium* (London, 1686), Appendix p. 19: 'dentes non potui videre, quod trans vitrum illum depingi feci; . . . é penu 6 Viri D. Charleton'. For Lister's role in its publication, see Roos, op. cit. (note 47), pp. 318–30. For a drawing of one of Courten's specimens, see S. Kusukawa, 'The sources of *Historia Piscium*', in T. R. Birkhead (ed.), *Virtuoso by Nature: The Scientific Worlds of Francis Willughby* (Leiden, 2015), fig. 6.

⁶² Few cabinets from this period seem to have survived, see A. Bowett, *English Furniture, 1660-1714 : From Charles II to Queen Anne* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 36–67, 196–226. Cf. D. Price, 'John Woodward and surviving geological collection from the early eighteenth century', *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989), pp. 79–95.

⁶³ In fact, few descriptions, apart from those of visitors, survive of the interior arrangements of collections, though see M. Caygill, 'Sloane's catalogues and the arrangement of his collections', in Walker *et al.* op. cit. (note 1), pp. 120–36.

⁶⁴ 'I wish I had found the things I left when I went abroad in as good condition it would have been a 100 ll in my way'. *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 642 (no. 788).

⁶⁵ For the contents of the boxes, see his letter to Locke, 4/14 February 1679, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. I, p. 678 (no. 445). For the books, see note 39 above. The current location of Selapris's portrait is unknown.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ The following description is amalgamated from his letters to Locke, 14 October 1681 (no. 663) and to John Richards (merchant in Little Distaff Lane near Old Fish Street, London) of the same date (no. 664), *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 447–51. The boxes were to be sent via Bordeaux to the East India Company warehouse in Leadenhall, London.

⁶⁸ Now part of the Sloane herbarium at the Natural History Museum, London, see Dandy, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 115–17. See also Courten's list of the plants he shipped back from Montpellier in BL, Sloane MS 3961, fol. 71r.

⁶⁹ The gift of box included '6 bottles of the Queen of Hungary's water, 3 bottles of perfumed water and 4 bottles of Ciprus powder', *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. I, p. 450 (no. 663). For the cypress powder of Montpellier, made by perfumiers from the

'moss of green oak', see Robinson to Ray, 10 September 1683, Lankester, op. cit. (note 50), p. 136. The seeds were sent on to Jacob Bobart the Younger by Locke, S. A. Harris and P. R. Anstey, 'John Locke's seed lists: a case study in botanical exchange', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 40 (2009), pp. 256–64, at p. 259. Note also Courten's active role in distributing seeds to Gideon Bonnivert, Sloane and Henry Barham, BL, Sloane MS 3961, fols 44r–45r, 50r–51r. Cf. BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 62r–110v.

⁷⁰ 'bottles of eau d'ange and mille fleurs, sufferr'd only by the Extremity of the weather'. *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 642 (no. 788).

⁷¹ For his list of coins 'bought since 1670', see BL Sloane MS 3988, fols 17r–22v.

⁷² Letter to Locke, 16 October 1684, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 641 (no. 788). 'cast' here means beaten in a law suit (*OED*).

⁷³ These are now in British Museum, Prints and Drawings, Sl, 5279.

⁷⁴ BL, Sloane MS 3961, fol. 100r. See Appendix III. I thank Tim Birkhead for the identification of these birds, see I. Charmantier, and T. R. Birkhead, 'Willughby's Angel: The Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles Alchata*)', *Journal of Ornithology*, 149 (2008), pp. 469–72.

⁷⁵ Records of Courten's bills, settled by Richard Salwey the Younger (son of Richard Salwey, MP, Courten's cousin) for this period has survived: BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 303v–306r. It should be noted that the bulk of the income from this period seems to have come from Carew.

⁷⁶ Courten's servant 'John' left him in 1678 and Selapris found him a replacement, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. I, p. 545 (no. 369). Courten was apparently fond of his 'sweet chamber' in Petit Paris, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 653 (no. 429). For the charges at Petit Paris – 2 livres a day (13 livres = 1 pound sterling) – see Lough, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 16, lxvi.

⁷⁷ C. D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden, 1993) p. 101. Earlier (in 1642) James Howell advised that the upper classes needed at least £300 a year in order to travel in style, not counting the cost of servants, which was £50 a year, *ibid.*, p. 100. I have not been able to determine how exactly Courten was able to sustain such a standard of living on the Continent when he had ostensibly fled England to avoid the family's creditors.

⁷⁸ See note 72. Courten must have acquired quite a few prints and Old Master drawings while on the Continent also, but we know very little about when or how, Gibson-Wood, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 71–2; J. Rowlands, 'Prints and drawings' in MacGregor, op. cit. (note 1), p. 247 (Sl. 5236, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings).

⁷⁹ De Beer, op. cit. (note 46), vol. IV, pp. 531–2.

⁸⁰ Now BL, Add. MS 5253, fols 26, 27, 31–56. P. J. P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil: Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 85–8, pls 52–3. Brounower was graphically proficient: see his plumbago portrait of Locke (c. 1685) now at the National Portrait Gallery, NPG 4061. Eckhout's original drawings appear to have been lost.

⁸¹ See Appendix I.

⁸² Appendix I. For the sources of Courten's herbaria, see Dandy, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 116–19, 160, 188. See also C. E. Jarvis, and J. H. Cooper, 'Maidstone's Woodpecker -

an unexpected bird specimen in the herbarium of Sir Hans Sloane', *Archives of Natural History*, 41 (2014), 230-39, especially p. 235.

⁸³ For recipes for preserving natural objects, see BL, Sloane MS 3997, fols 6r-8r.

⁸⁴ BL, Sloane MS 3961, fols 46r (1692), 58r (1698).

⁸⁵ Roos, op. cit. (note 47), pp. 308-10.

⁸⁶ Letter to Locke, 31 August 1686 (no. 864), *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. III, p. 32.

⁸⁷ De Beer, op. cit. (note 46), vol. IV, p. 531. For the visit of Margaret Holles, Duchess of Newcastle and her friends, see BL, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 312r.

⁸⁸ J. Hunter, (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, FRS. Author of the Topography of Leeds (1677-1734)* (London, 1830), vol. I, pp. 299-300. Cf. also a list of coins sold to her husband, Thomas Herbert (1656-1733), 8th Earl of Pembroke in 1699, BL, Sloane MS 3961, fol. 84r.

⁸⁹ BL, MS Add. 4956, fol. 36r.

⁹⁰ M. Riley, 'The club at the Temple Coffee House revisited', *Archives of Natural History*, 33 (2006), pp. 90-100, at p. 93. The members included Martin Lister, Tancred Robinson, James Petiver, Samuel Doody, Charles Hatton, Hans Sloane, Gedeon Bonnivert, Charles Preston, Samuel Dale, Charles Dubois, Leonard Plukenet, and others.

⁹¹ See note 19 for Courten's copy. For John Ray's visit, see his *Observations Topographical, Moral, & Physiological Made in a Journey through Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France* (London, 1673), p. 219, but see now M. Hunter, 'John Ray in Italy: lost manuscripts rediscovered', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 68 (2014), pp. 93-109, at p. 96.

⁹² Indeed, Gibson-Wood suggests that Sloane's foray into coins, medals, prints and drawings may be due to Courten's collections, op. cit. (note 1), p. 64. For Sloane's interests in drawings and paintings, see Sloan, op. cit. (note 11) and K. Sloan, 'Sir Hans Sloane's pictures: the science of connoisseurship or the art of collecting?', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78 (2015), pp. 381-415.

⁹³ Ovenell, op. cit. (note 55), p. 83.

⁹⁴ Ovenell, op. cit. (note 55), p. 48. A copy of the donation may be found at British Library, Sloane MS 3988, fol. 7r.

⁹⁵ Willughby, op. cit. (note 61), p. b1v; M. Lister, *Historiae Conchyliorum* (London, 1685-1692), fol. 3r (unpaginated, copy used: Cambridge University Library, Keynes R.7.6); Plukenet, op. cit. (note 14), tabs 32 (no. 6), 48 (no. 9), 64 (3a), 65 (no. 1), 111 (no. 1), 117 (no. 2), 189 (no. 2); R. Morison, *Plantarum Historiae Universalis Oxoniensis Pars Tertia* (Oxford, 1699), 423 (a specimen in Courten's herbarium, reported by Sherard), 654 (soft coral attributed to Courten); C. Leigh, *The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak, in Derbyshire* (Oxford, 1700), explanation to plate (2), fig. 12 (glossopetra).

⁹⁶ John Ray, *Historiae Plantarum Tomus Secundus cum Duplici Indice* (London, 1688), pp. 1741, 1771, 1800; John Ray, *Synopsis methodica animalium quadrupedum et serpentini* (London, 1693), pp. 160-61, 201, 230, 271, 330-31 (these descriptions came via Tancred Robinson), and pp. 275-76 (Ray reports that he himself had seen the flying Indian Lizard). C. Raven, *John Ray Naturalist: His Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1942), p. 229, also noted in Gibson-Wood, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 76 n. 38, 76 n. 49.

⁹⁷ Ray, op. cit. [*Historia plantarum*] (note 96), 1800; Ray to Edward Lhuyd, Black Notley, 22 March 1693, R. T. Gunther (ed.), *Further Correspondence of John Ray* (London, 1928), p. 235. For the significance of Scilla's book, see P. Findlen, 'The specimen and the

image: John Woodward, Agostino Scilla and the depiction of fossils', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78 (2015), pp. 217–61.

⁹⁸ See Appendix I. It was Courten who introduced Woodward to Edward Lhuyd, 29 April 1690 (see note 56). J. Woodward, *An Attempt towards a Natural History of the Fossils in England* (London, 1728), vol. II, 'A catalogue of the foreign fossils Part I', p. 47, also noted in J. M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's Shield: History, Science, and Satire in Augustan England* (Berkeley, 1977), p. 96.

⁹⁹ Woodward, op. cit. (note 98), 'A catalogue of the foreign fossils Part II', p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ M. Hunter, 'Between cabinet of curiosities and research collection: the history of the Royal Society's Repository', in M. Hunter, *Establishing the New Science* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 123–55.

¹⁰¹ See Locke to Courten, 2/12 August 1687, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 235 (no. 949), for snuff as the source of Courten's constant headache. For the medical advice given him in 1698, mostly recorded in cipher, see BL, Add. MS 4956.

¹⁰² BL, Add. MS 4956, fols 29r–29v, 36r, 45v. R. L. Martensen, 'Radcliffe, John (Bap. 1650, D. 1714)' and A. J. Turner, 'Millington, Sir Thomas (1628–1704)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁰³ His notes are in BL, Sloane MS 4023, fols 31r–83v, and must be after 1695, as they are from Tillotson's *Of Sincerity and Constancy*, first printed in 1695. Cf. BL, Sloane MS 4936, fol. 30r, Robinson to Sloane, 6 December 1687, 'Mr Charleton is very well, and increases daily in knowledge, and natural treasures. Wee often drink your heath in Noble Florence.'

¹⁰⁴ Courten's will, approved 4 April 1702, National Archives, PROB 11/464/151. See also the list in cipher of names of beneficiaries (some of his relatives and Anne Knightley's household staff) and amounts of bequests in BL, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 171r, which was revised at 191r.

¹⁰⁵ Sloane signed off his letter offering his services to Mrs Wood, BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 308r, 310r, 312r, and Courten returned her services to Sloane, BL, Sloane MS 4036, fol. 39r. According to Courten's will, Mrs Wood's eldest daughter was called Katherine (the name of his mother and sister).

¹⁰⁶ Anne Knightley's will, the National Archives PROB 11/468/349, approved 15 February 1702. The approval excluded provisions by the late Elizabeth (Egerton) Cecil (d. 1688), Countess Dowager of Exeter, another of Courten's aunts. This most likely refers to a jointure she assigned to him after her death.

¹⁰⁷ Courten's will (note 104). The debt consisted of £200 to Mrs Wood; £30 to Edward Salway, his 'cousin' (the son of Courten's cousin, Richard Salway); £5 16s. 8d. to his tailor, Mr Marshall; £12 10s. to Mr Earl for the rent of his chambers at Middle Temple, BL, Sloane MS 3961, fol. 98r (March 1702). A copy of this list of debts and Courten's will – presumably Sloane's copy as executor – are found at BL, Add. MS 5156, fols 1–6.

¹⁰⁸ In 1686, Evelyn reported an estimate of £8,000 (De Beer, op. cit. (note 46), vol. IV, p. 532); Thoresby in 1695 mentioned £7,000 to £8,000 (Hunter, op. cit. (note 88), vol. I, p. 299); in 1701, William Nicolson reported that Courten had 'laid out, as himself said, 5,000 lb in his Knacks', H. Ware, 'Bishop Nicolson's Diaries', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* new ser. 1 (1901), pp. 1–51, at p. 42.

¹⁰⁹ A. MacGregor, 'The life, character and career of Sir Hans Sloane', in MacGregor, op. cit. (note 1), p. 42 n. 142. Cf. William Nicolson's visit in 1712 to Sloane's museum, C.

Jones, and G. S. Holmes (ed.), *The London Diaries of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle 1702-1718* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 699–700.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix I.

¹¹¹ On 19 June 1692, Courten bought from Mrs Ashmole (née Elizabeth Dugdale, 1632-1701), coins and gold for £7 10s. Elias Ashmole died at his house at Lambeth on 18 or 19 May 1692, and his will (The National Archives, PROB 11/410/151) was approved, 11 June, 8 days before this transaction. Mrs Ashmole, who was the executor, may have been looking for some ready cash at this point

¹¹² The small Greek letter sigma (Courten's cipher for 'p') appears frequently in the list, but it is not clear whether Courten meant by this 'paid' and if so, whether he meant that it was paid by himself or by somebody else. 'Money' was used in the period most often in reference to coins alone (and not in reference to instruments of credit), C. Muldrew, "'Hard food for Midas": cash and its social value in early modern England', *Past and Present* 170 (2001), pp. 78–120, at p. 85.

¹¹³ E.g. Courten to Locke, 24 March 1685 (no. 816), *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 705.

¹¹⁴ E.g. the purchase in 1690 from 'a Doctor of ship from East India' of a rhinoceros cup and gum of a tree from Persia, followed by several items not priced, Appendix I.

¹¹⁵ Courten to Locke, 26 July 1687, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. III, p. 235 (no. 949). Indeed, to the Dutch collector through whom Locke had obtained objects for him, Courten offered 'doubles I have preserved in spirit of wine which I had at Montpellier (and as well conditions as when first put into the glasses), a black, and grey scorpion, a strange sort of locust, a large peice [*sic*] of chrystall with mosse in it, and a small parcel of rich silver ore', letter to Locke, 24 March 1685 (no. 816), *ibid.*, 2: 705. Cf. Perhaps extending the sense of 'double' as 'a duplicate, copy or transcript of a writing', *OED*.

¹¹⁶ BL, Sloane MS 4036, fol. 334 (Sherard to Sloane, 1697), and Sloane MS 4039, fol. 220 (Dubois to Sloane, 1703). B. D. Jackson, rev. P. E. Kell, 'Dubois, Charles (bap. 1658, d. 1740), and D. E. Allen, 'Sherard, William (1659–1728)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

¹¹⁷ There is no comparable list of sales of items, though see the shorter lists at BL, Sloane MS 3961, fols 24r, 54r, 84r, 169r.

¹¹⁸ Cf. 'An elephant's body was found in a field near Sir John Oldcastle's, not far from Battle Bridge, by Mr John Coniers, an Apothecary, and a great searcher after Antiquities, as he was digging there'. J. Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. J. Strype (London, 1720), vol. II, Appendix, p. 24. Strype's first map in vol. I, 'New plan of the City of London, Westminster, and Southwark', marks the 'Pindar of Wakefield' underneath Battle Bridge.

¹¹⁹ *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 705, 717; vol. III, pp. 18, 33 (nos. 816, 821, 856, 864). As noted in *ibid.*, p. 705 n. 2, the name derives from G. Rondelet, *De piscibus marinis* (Lyon, 1554), vol. II, p. 121 (Courten's copy of this book is now at Goettingen University Library (PPN 150373562), with an inscription date of 1668), and was discussed in J. Winthrop, 'Concerning some natural curiosities' *Philosophical Transactions* 5 (1670), pp. 1152–53, fig.1, and 'A further account of the Stellar Fish', *Philosophical Transactions* 6 (1671), pp. 2221–22.

¹²⁰ Letters to Locke, 24 March 1685, 12 April 1685, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 705, 717 (nos. 816, 821). W. Piso and G. Markgraf, *Historia Naturalis*

Brasiliae (Leiden, 1648), p. 248; N. Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis. Or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society* (London, 1681), p. 174.

¹²¹ Courten to Locke, 26 July 1687, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 235 (no. 949). Courten also consulted a catalogue of the collection of the Prince of Holstein, published by Adam Olearius (German edition 1651, French edition 1659, English translation 1662), for desirable objects, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 33 (no. 864).

¹²² Courten to Locke, 28 August 1687, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. III, p. 252 (no. 956).

¹²³ Courten to Locke, 24 March 1685, *Correspondence of Locke* (note 1), vol. II, p. 705 (no. 816).

¹²⁴ It is of course possible that prices for these objects levelled out because of other compensating factors (size, for example). But Courten's positive or negative remarks do not automatically correlate to higher or lower prices respectively.

¹²⁵ The 'Lapis Judaicus' is typically a fossilized echini arm. For a description of a 'stone' in the manatee's head, see C. Clusius, *Exoticorum Libri Decem* (Antwerp, 1605), p. 326.

¹²⁶ Cf. his classification of his medals into 'doubles', 'not duplicates', 'common', 'rare', 'falso', 'doubtful', 'effaced and plated', and 'burnt', BL, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 196r. For natural history as an unstable knowledge system, see D. Margócsy, 'Certain fakes and uncertain facts: Jan Jonston and the question of truth in religion and natural history', M. Beretta, and M. Comforti (eds), *Hoaxes, Counterfeits and Deception in Early Modern Science* (Sagamore Beach, MA, 2014), pp. 190-225.

¹²⁷ Courten to Locke, 24 March 1685, *Locke's correspondence* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 705-6 (no. 816).

¹²⁸ Plukenet, op. cit. (note 14), pl. 238, no. 4 ('Jacob Reede'). It appears that Lister had also made some arrangements with Read about collecting naturalia on this trip (R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, vol. XIV: *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd, Second Keeper of the Musaeum Ashmoleanum* (Oxford, 1945), pp. 94-95) and Lister to Lhuyd, 12 December 1690, Early Modern Letters Online, <http://tinyurl.com/7knq68z> [Accessed 29 August 2014]. Some of Read's objects also made their way into Hans Sloane's collection of 'Vegetable Substances': I owe this information to Victoria Pickering.

¹²⁹ BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 188r-v. Courten issued a similar request to his relative, Posthumous Salwey (1686), later Commander of the *Crowne* who died in Barbados in 1698, the National Archives, PROB 11/449/334. BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 186r-187v, also noted by M. Fitton and P. Gilbert, 'Insect collections' in MacGregor, op. cit. (note 1), p. 120. For transcription for both instructions, see Appendix II.

¹³⁰ See Appendix II.

¹³¹ Not all of his requests were heeded, as he ruefully recorded: 'July 1688 Mr Peters went for Turkey upon ye Smirna factor & promised to send me medals & curiosities; he returned 1691 but neither sent nor brought any medals.' BL, Sloane MS 3962, fol. 214r.

¹³² O. Walker, *The Greek and Roman History Illustrated by Coins & Medals* (London, 1692), A2r-5v (dedication to Courten); J. Evelyn, *Numismata, a Discourse of Medals, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1697), p. 282. Courten also bought, sold and exchanged information on coins and medals with Henry Hare (1636-1708), Lord Coleraine, BL, Sloane MS 3962, fols 54r-54v, 225r-281v. See also note 88. Sloane did not have a

systematic collection of coins and medals until he inherited Courten's collection, M. Archibald, 'Coins and medals' in MacGregor, op. cit. (note 1), p. 151.

¹³³ I. Jenkins, 'Classical antiquities: Sloane's "Repository of Time"', in MacGregor, op. cit. (note 1), p. 169; Griffiths, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 269-73. See also J. Clutton-Brock, 'Vertebrate collections'; J. Thackray, 'Mineral and fossil collections'; M. Fitton and P. Gilbert, 'Invertebrate Collections', MacGregor, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 84-6 (birds' nest and eggs), 126 (*Babirousa*), 117 (*Scarabeus capricornus*). Courten's objects may also be found in Sloane's collection of 'Vegetable Substances', Natural History Museum, London: I thank Victoria Pickering for this information.

¹³⁴ See for example the appendix to A. MacGregor, 'Patrons and collectors: contributors of zoological subjects to the works of George Edwards (1694-1773)', *Journal of the history of collections* 25 (2013), pp. 35-44, and appendix. For London's place in global exchanges, see Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keen, Marjolein 't Hart, and Herman van der Wee (eds), *Urban achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge, 2001); R. Iliffe, 'Material doubts: Hooke, artisan culture and the exchange of information in 1670s London', *British Journal for the History of Science* 28 (1995), pp. 285-318.

¹³⁵ D. Margócsy, 'The fuzzy metrics of money: the finances of travel and the reception of curiosities in early modern Europe', *Annals of Science* 70 (2013), pp. 381-404. For the importance of commercial and financial considerations in collecting and publishing natural history, see also D. Margócsy, *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, 2014).

¹³⁶ For the shortage of cash and its social and cultural implications, see Muldrew, op. cit. (note 112), and C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London, 1998). The extent and source of Courten's income is still unclear, though it is likely that he was a recipient of indentures of his female relatives.

¹³⁷ F. Kraemer, 'Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Pandechion Epistemonicon* and the use of paper technology in Renaissance natural history', *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2014), pp. 398-423; A. Vine, 'Commercial commonplacing: Francis Bacon, the waste-book, and the ledger', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 16 (2011), pp. 197-218; Keller, op. cit. (note 20); cf. other forms of note-taking among Fellows of the Royal Society, R. Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi and Early Modern Science* (Chicago, 2014).