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Collecting Trouble: Sir Hans Sloane's Literary Reputation in Eighteenth-Century Britain [pre-print]

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COLLECTING TROUBLE: SIR HANS SLOANE'S LITERARY REPUTATION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

Sir Hans Sloane was the foremost British collector of the eighteenth century. His collections were vast in quantity and kind: hoards of manuscripts, books, plants, fossils, minerals, Egyptian and Roman antiquities, coins, medals, natural curiosities, cultural artefacts, paintings, vessels, art works—both collected and commissioned—and more. It even absorbed other men's collections, including those of William Coulten, Leonard Plukenet, and James Petiver.¹ By the time he died in 1753, the worth of the collection outstripped any private man's purse, so the great pile was—some said—forced down the throat of the country as nothing less than the British Museum. Sloane, embodied by his things, embodied the country.

Moreover, since Sloane also produced voluminous writings about his discoveries that parallel to his collection itself, he *represented* collecting itself in eighteenth-century British literary culture. The way British writers represented *him* thus reveals the way collecting as literary and cultural practice was regarded in the period. Although libel laws largely stifled mentions of him by name, in genres ranging from poetry to plays, satire to guidebooks, eighteenth-century writers demonstrate that Sloane epitomized the wonders and worries of collecting as his reputation shifted from that of benevolent physician, to charlatan, to toyman, and finally to entrepreneur. Sloane thus serves as a touchstone in the history of collecting.

I. Sloane the Restoration Physician, 1685-1700:

Sloane first appears in literature as a physician whose sociability and intimacy with such luminaries as Robert Boyle and John Ray enabled him rapidly to soar to become England's most famous and fashionable physician, a consultant even to royalty: he attended Queen Anne's deathbed and acted as physician to King George. At the same time, as his curiosity collection and that of the Royal Society grew in importance and notoriety, the twin aspects of Sloane melded. When he joined the Royal Society, Sloane enthusiastically supported the 'Repository,' its museum, established five years after its foundation, as well as Henry Oldenburg's *Philosophical Transactions*, the journal dedicated to discoveries in natural philosophy.² In 1696-7, the young John Locke records that he resorted to "Dr. Sloane...a very ingenious man, and a very good friend of mine" to publish Locke's observations in the *Transactions*.³

Sloane's curiosity, courage, openness to novelty, dedication to science, empirical precision, idealism, and unflagging industriousness seemed to most fellow scientists to model the ideal of the virtuoso, and he was deeply welcome as a home-grown, Protestant answer to the dazzling Continental examples of connoisseurs and collectors whose hoards formed de rigueur stops on the early Grand Tour. Surveying European curiosity cabinets had constituted a requisite exercise in self-polishing for elite travelers since the Renaissance, but as natural science was beginning to edge out more conventional art collections, Sloane's rose in importance.⁴ Since every serious collector visited Sloane's collections, usually more than once, many recorded their impressions while Sloane's writings began to claim a literary seriousness for the literature of collecting: his catalogues, his *Philosophical Transactions* papers, and his 1707 *A Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbadoes, Nieves, St. Christopher's, and Jamaica, with a natural history of the last*, dedicated to Queen Anne. On 16 April 1691, for example, John Evelyn recorded in his

Memoirs:

I went to see Dr. Sloane's curiosities, being an universal collection of the natural productions of Jamaica...collected with greate judgment....This collection , with his Journals and other philosophical and natural discourses and observations, is indeede very copious and extraordinary, sufficient to furnish a history of that island, to wch I encourag'd him.⁵

As collecting and empirical procedures began to dominate late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century culture, registering objects in prose rose as a central practice: describing exotic things to friends, to servants commissioned to purchase treasures, to fellow-scientists and readers, and to oneself in the diaries of a time preoccupied with autobiographical accounting.⁶ As Evelyn records, Sloane's "Journals,...discourses and observations" constitute the "philosophical" aspect of his collection that makes it "history," hence creating its cultural meaning. Indeed, Sloane's accuracy was as important as his assiduousness: John Ray wrote to him, "I cannot again but admire your industry in collecting so great a number of species in so short a time, and not only collecting, but so exactly observing and describing them."⁷

Especially important was Sloane's social posture, particularly his charity and benevolence. This elite manner testified to Society's benignity by identifying medicine with aristocratic noblesse oblige. However, Sloane's policy of dispensing advice free to the poor—a practice mimicked by quacks all over London—set the professional and the aristocratic aspects of his profession into opposition. Whereas a physician was traditionally a paid professional, as was an expert hired to collect for great men, a virtuoso collector—that is, one who assembled objects usually obtained by others into a collection—was an amateur enjoying the hobby of elite gentry. Sloane's blurring of these roles earned him enemies among physicians and apothecaries but it drew differing responses in literature. Sir Samuel Garth's *The Dispensary*, which memorialized the debate over fees and the professional status of medicine, endows Sloane with heroic stature.⁸ Since he supported Sloane, Garth depicts him as upholding the "traditional humanistic values" that were battling a new science apparently characterized by greed and selfishness.⁹ The practice of experimenting on the poor, however, could also be seen to denote the virtuoso's irresponsibility as he pretends to professionalism. In *The Virtuoso* (1676), Thomas Shadwell targets this by portraying the eponymous Sir Nicholas Gimcrack transfusing the blood of a sheep and a man, in imitation of Robert Boyle's experiments with transfusions in dogs. Sloane himself was so sure that smallpox inoculations worked that, with the help of his patron Princess Caroline, he contrived for six convicted prisoners from Newgate to allow themselves to be experimentally inoculated, and then to tend and lie with infected victims to prove the remedy (they all survived).¹⁰ Shadwell does not caricature Sloane directly, but as the foremost British virtuoso, the implication stuck. Albeit physicians lauded Sloane, Shadwell condemns the physician-virtuoso's for hypocrisy: his real indifference to the poor under his veil of benevolence.

While Garth sympathizes with Sloane, *The Dispensary* demonstrates that Restoration imaginative literature could best portray the fraught cultures of science as only mock-heroic.¹¹ Joseph Warton, indeed, considered the poem "the best satire on the physicians extant," and an important source for Pope's devices in *The Rape of the Lock*.¹² The poem helped popularize a

benevolent Sloane: after depicting the battle between the physicians and the apothecaries, Garth provides a copy of the disputed resolution that includes Sloane's and Garth's names, and by the time it had reached its seventh edition in 1714, the poem had acquired panegyric verses and a key for an audience enthusiastic but distant from the original controversy.¹³ Sloane's role remained vital: the verses "To my Friend the Author, desiring My Opinion of his Poem" by Colonel Codrington, Governor of the *Leeward-Islands*," commend "Learned H—" for his "healing Cares."¹⁴ Sloane's academic knowledge and physician's skill is differentiated from professionalism and associated with satiric cure.

Sloane's limitless interest in the world around him largely appeared in the Restoration as a clarification of knowledge. Because he collected almost *everything*, he established the "habit of collecting" as a method of understanding and classifying experience itself, turning his curiosity cabinet a kind of university.¹⁵ One visitor in 1712 compares Sloane's museum to paradise because it showed "all natures face," enabling spectators to name, know, and admire every creature:

Thy crowded world thus do I now survey
wishing with wondering eyes for longer day
thus while I hear thee name Each bounteous part
Admire the maker's and the owners Art.
Phoebus the world which so fast you fly
Collected here, you pass regardless by.
Time has forgot for scenes of blood to go
And sure it might for scenes of knowledge too
If six whole days ye new born world employd
Six might in viewing thine be well enjoyd
Spent as seventh too by heavens command
In wondering at ye great Creators hand
Here all his works in beauty rang'd appear
If theres a paradise on earth tis here
No more the Traveller from pole to pole
Shall search the seas or round the earth shall hurll
Safe from the dangers of the deep may he
And visit nature while he visits thee.¹⁶

The poet underscores "knowing" as the divine capacity over creation imitated within Sloane's repository. Indeed, the penultimate line declares that, should the word hurl into confusion, "Thy Conquering knowledge should defy the wast" (101). Moreover, when visitors "Admire the maker's and the owner's art," the poet suggests that the museum functions as a substitute for the universe, a "second world," which works as a "Coppay" superceding "the Originals." (ll. 37, 40, 42). Furthermore, Sloane's enterprise appears to *make* knowledge: his "kinder art" in paintings creates an "Ever-green" world, just as repositories preserved creatures to prevent time's depredations by drying them (36).¹⁷ Instead of the Renaissance cabinet's fine items and representative rarities, Sloane's museum made the world's experiential phenomena ideal nature:

both loot and information. In praising Sloane's museum for its "collection" of earth's goods, including "scenes of knowledge," creatures, "arts & customs of the world," paintings of nature, jewels, and coins, this poem encapsulates Sloane's Restoration reputation as a beneficent dispenser of knowledge, as well as physic (l. 45).

II. Sloane the Charlatan Virtuoso, 1700-1725:

However, the problem for many social observers was that collecting as an activity, rather than a targeted procedure for acquiring art, presented a threat to conventional economies of value and meaning. Thanks to his visibility and his vast collection, Sloane came in the next century to represent this threat. Moreover, while a tradition of collecting artistic rarities had flourished since the Renaissance, the transference of this activity to objects of nature undermined the prestige and purpose of the hobby. Sloane's objects and his purpose violated conventional collecting practice: as J.C.H. King remarks, "Sloane was a virtuoso collector, rather than a princely one. His aim was to collect materials which, in themselves, and in his ordering of them, provided information and scientific understanding."¹⁸ However, as Sloane's reputation as a collector grew, the scientific practice of merely providing information that he exemplified destabilized the traditional structures of writing: narrative, moral utility, entertainment. In addition, as writing itself mutated from a genteel activity to a profession, its topics and techniques fell under pressure from new writers, discoveries and cultural concerns. In collecting everything, Sloane did not seem to discriminate between beautiful and ugly, useful and useless, valuable and valueless, common and unique items. Indeed, items need not even be entire: he regarded bits of things and human fragments as collectibles in their own right. Such disregard for conventional valuations threatened traditional culture, particularly because, in applying to *everything*, no matter how obvious or trivial, the same empirical procedure and vocabulary, Sloane (and thus the Collector in general) seemed to remove common phenomena from common discussion and mystify them so that people became alienated from their own experience. Thus multiplication of knowledge, and the inventing of categories and thus of language, won deep suspicion from conservative writers. Both Sloane's own writing and the literature about him record the way collecting invaded literary culture, and the way Sloane came to represent both the decay and the ascent of humanistic values.

When he became secretary of the Royal Society in 1693 and resurrected the *Philosophical Transactions*, Sloane became a general target for literary writers. Although compared to the irascible John Woodward or even the experimentalist Robert Boyle, Sloane remained in good odor for his long life, his increasing visibility and ballooning curiosity collection did draw satire. Along with his rapid success—he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society when only 25 years old, becoming a Fellow of College of Physicians only two years later—his early literary notoriety rested on his publications concerning his discoveries in Jamaica (1687-1689) and his oversight of the *Philosophical Transactions*. Sloane became subject to literary representations as a fraud, bloated with self-importance. Part of this may result from his accumulation of Courten's collection: Richard Pulteney reports in 1790 that, "Dr. Sloane began early to form a museum, and it was, by the collections made in his voyage, become considerable; but the aera of its celebrity was not till 1702, when it received the augmentation of Mr.

Courten's valuable stores."¹⁹ Moreover, the vastness of his collection, especially in the era of the South Sea Bubble, exemplified excess and greed. Sloane represented the invasion of science into culture.

Foremost among those to attack Sloane was the miscellaneous writer William King. Although Arthur MacGregor remarks that Sloane "did not fail to castigate those who contributed unnecessarily to the proliferation of terminology," the mystification wrought by his minute, Latinate categories was a prominent criticism of him.²⁰ The furiously jealous Dr. John Woodward later mocked Sloane publically at a Council of the Royal Society meeting for using incomprehensible language, a fracas that led to Woodward's expulsion in 1710 and unsavory publicity for the Society. While this aspect of Sloane's reputation—and of the reputation of collectors generally—had appeared earlier, it crested now because science was encroaching on the traditional occupation of the learned, writing.

Sloane's publications exemplified the new empirical method of writing by mixing technical description and reported narrative. His catalogues, begun in 1685 and continued into the 1740s, include all the circumstantial details of the item: its provenance, date of acquisition, narratives associated with its discovery, donors, prices, and vendors.²¹ They mingle cultural and natural items: a rope snapped by a strong man, an Italian stiletto, objects of virtu, raw materials, and experimental results.²² This organization both contextualizes items within the collection, and also defines each as unique by virtue of the narrative attached to it. Sloane's catalogue thus exhibits the literary tensions pulling at the written record of collected things: while part of the object's significance derives from its physical characteristics, part results from its story, and still more from its categorization as a virtuoso's curiosity. These different principles of meaning present the activity of collecting as the link between nature and culture.

Although this was a typical technique—Ralph Thoresby and virtually every distinguished Restoration collector did the same—since Sloane was the ur-collector, his deployment of a rhetoric entirely without irony or suspicion stamped him as the progenitor of the credulity, anti-literary literalness, and dull cataloguing that characterized the writing of collecting. King expresses this cultural resentment by portraying Sloane as a cheap salesman of broken knowledge. Deploring Sloane's impertinent rise as he "slipp'd into the Post of Secretary" and resumption of *Philosophical Transactions* after its suspension in 1687, King published a satire in the form of a dialogue about "The Transactioneer," i.e., Sloane, between "A Virtuoso" and a "Gentleman" (1700). King's satirical nomenclature illuminates the resentment at Sloane's usurpation of both literary genre and social power. Although, as King himself notes, the *Philosophical Transactions* were not actually Sloane's enterprise, Sloane's notoriety made them especially popular, particularly as his first contribution concerned his discoveries in Jamaica. Sloane contributed several papers to the volumes xvii to xlx, and he was so powerfully associated with writing up experiments and sending information to the Royal Society that it seemed, to King and others, that he owned the Society and the publication.

The Transactioneer separates Sloane's two roles as author and editor. In the first dialogue, the Transactioneer, speaking as a third party, attempts to defend and explain the great man's character and papers; in the second, he does the same for those of the other contributors. Much of King's attack is conventional: Sloane appears as a magician-trickster deceiving people out of their senses, as a victim of self-delusion, as a master of fraud, ignorance, and arrogance.

These charges, however, reflect a more pervasive cultural anxiety about the usurpation of literary authority, and pollution of literary, and thus cultural, values that Sloane embodied. In his Preface, King announces,

By the following Dialogues it is Apparent, that by Industry alone a Man may get so much Reputation almost in any Profession as shall be sufficient to amuse the World, tho' he has neither Parts nor Learning to support it. The Person who makes the Chief Figure in them, has certainly nothing but a bustling temper to recommend him, and yet has gained so much upon many People, that they will scarce believe the Evidence of their own Senses'; but 'tis probable that those who are not past cure may now be undeciv'd.²³

Sloane's "bustling temper" of officious self-promotion contrasts with the aristocratic demeanor of casual grace that Aphra Behn, for one, saw characterizing elite literature.²⁴

It is not merely the manner of Sloane's writing, but its purpose that invades conventional literary culture. Blaming Sloane's professional industriousness and energetic curiosity for jumbling knowledge and corrupting language, King demands, "I know it may be said, he Writes in Hurry, and has not time to correct and finish it. But then who obliges him to Write at all? What occasion is there for it? Or what is the use of it?" King's attack thus expresses the contemporary uneasiness not merely at Sloane's rapid rise, but at science's encroachment on literary culture, and at the new men and new genres of information severed from moral narrative that were coming to dominate society: "He's a great Man in every thing; he's Universally Qualif'd: A great Botanist, a great Physitian, a great Philosopher, a great Man, and a great Naturalist," King sneers (14). His opening shot on "The Excellency of his Stile" savages Sloane's grammar, neologisms, and linguistic usage as sloppy and illiterate: not merely as bad English, but symptomatic of the loss of the organic integrity of culture and writing (4). After an admiring Virtuoso quotes Sloane, his gentleman companion asks, "Pray, Sir let me desire you to give me the meaning of what you have related in plain English, for the Sublimity of this way of Expression is above my mean Capacity." In ferreting out the inelegancies of Sloane's rhetoric, King suggests both that Sloane profiteers as he writes, and that he manufactures rarity out of common nature, and words out of nothing. Indeed, Sloane "make[s] precedents" that distrust language, thought, meaning, and purpose.

Mangled language indicates fragmented knowledge. King satirizes Sloane for shattering the classical value for integrity and multiply fractured meanings, and for the autodidactic creation of meaning: "he Publishes Notes forsooth, and Pieces of no more than 4, 6, or perhaps 8 lines; and what time can there be required for the Composal of such? [He] is Master of only Scraps pick'd upon from one and from another, or Collected out of this Book or that, and these all in confusion in his Head" (Preface). Like the Scriblerians, King targets the cataloguing, chronicling, documenting, and collecting temper of the New Science while also implying that Sloane collects others' knowledge by cherry-picking information to make a patchwork analogous to Sloane's curiosity cabinet with its bits of skin and bark. Such methods transform old knowledge to new, a sort of philosophical alchemy that replaces creation with accumulation.

The invasion of traditional literary culture by new scientific methods and terms also

appears in King's satire of Sloane's apparent deafness to language's beauty. Quoting again Sloane's first paper in the *Philosophical Transactions* on the Jamaica Pepper, the Transactioneer reports that the great Virtuoso and Physician combines "designed Poetry and Accidental Poetry":

*Myrtus Arborea soliis laurinis aromatica; sive
Piementa, Jamaica Pepper or all-Spice-Tree.
This Tree hath a Trunk as thick as ones Thigh,
Rising streight for about 30 foot High;*

The Virtuoso explains that, "the two First Verses were designed for Verses, but the Third and Fourth were writ for Prose; and happened to be Poetical; according to our Author's Genius" (9).

King's attack on Sloane as an editor reflects resentment at Sloane's cultural power. On the one hand, King derogates Sloane's vanity in publishing his coterie's papers—a court practice transferred to the courts of science—by declaring, "His Correspondence are most of them so like himself for Learning and Understanding, that a Man may almost swear they were cast in the same Mold: Indeed he has had a very lucky hit in the choice of them" (Preface). In his subsequent periodical *Useful Transactions in Philosophy* (1708/9), however, King criticizes Sloane for publishing papers by unlearned readers: "good Housewives, Trades-men, Boys, Pedlars, Semstresses, Poets, Gipsies, and indeed all sort of Professions...The Gentlewoman, who wrote the Discourse about the Invention of Samplers is...daily making new Collections of ancient Characters wrought in Embroidery, both upon Woollen and Linnen."²⁵ While levelling distinctions of class, education and value, collecting also raises the collector to pseudo-royal status.

Indeed, part of the bitterness Sloane prompted sprang from his sensational social influence that made him renowned enough to be widely known by his forename alone.²⁶ When she visited him, for example, Laetitia Pilkington reiterates the attacks on him for vanity, hypocrisy, condescension and self-importance. After quoting Pope's lines from *Epistle to Burlington* (see below), she reports, that, although drenched and despite a "Compliment" sent to him, she waited two hours until,

I was at length permitted to enter to his Supreme Majesty; but sure the Pope himself in all his pontifical Robes never was half so proud...I saw an old Fellow, who I am very well convinced never saw me, for he did not even vouchsafe to turn his Eyes off a Paper he was writing to see who came in, till, at last a Beggar-woman entered with a sore-eyed Child; the inside of whose Eyelids he very charitably tore out with a Beard of Corn, under which cruel Operation the Girl fainted, but he said that was good for her: It may be so, for by two-headed *Janus* Nature has framed strange Doctors in her Time... Of this latter sort was Sir *Ha-s*. Though I had sent him a Letter, which lay before him, he asked me what I wanted! If I had bad Eyes, he said he would brush them up for Charity; but, as they happened to be tollerably good, I excused myself by telling him I had brought him that Letter; and indeed I was quick-sighted enough to find out, that his Honor (as the Beggar-woman called him) was a conceited, ridiculous

imperious old Fool. He then considered my Letter over, and finding by the Contents Dr. *Mead* had recommended me to him, said “Poor Creature! I suppose you want Charity. There’s Half a Crown for you.” I could hardly resist a strong Inclination I had to quoit it, as *Falstaff* says, into his Face...I have here done with the Great Sir *H–ns S–ne, B–r–n of O–k–m....*²⁷

By this extended rhetorical play on eyesight, Mrs. Pilkington reprises the slur on virtuosi as deluded by the empirical with particular force, since Sloane was famous for his remedy for sore eyes. Her description of the encounter, however, documents the attack on Sloane for pride, a charge only when Sloane had risen to the heights of his profession.

Sloane’s reputation as a collector was so strong that it spawned other collections. Notably, he furnished items for the Cabinet of Curiosities run in a coffee house by his some-time servant James Salter.²⁸ Founded in 1690, this has been identified as London’s first public museum, but it also served to parody Sloane’s cabinet. When he visited the curiosity display in 1709, Sir Richard Steele mocked the credulity and confusion of collecting in *The Tatler* by analyzing that claim of “Pontius Pilate’s Wife’s Chambermaid’s Sister’s Hat,” a mock-heroic provenance that cast doubt on the reality and status of all collected things.²⁹

III. Sloane the Toyman, 1725-1753:

Many of the charges—excessiveness, greed, fraud, mystification, pride—that shaped Sloane’s reputation during the first part of the eighteenth-century persist until the establishment of the British Museum. Nonetheless, in the last twenty-five years of his life, the animus behind these charges changes. Although when in 1725 Sloane published his highly detailed, second volume of the *Natural History of Jamaica*, dedicated to King George I., the account itself seems to have escaped criticism, the fact of its appearance, along with his election as President of the Royal Society in 1727, brought Sloane sharply into public focus. For satirists and critics of roughly the second third of the century, Sloane no longer represents a charlatan, nor is does his fame rest on his medical skills. Rather, he appears as an almost childish enthusiast. When Lord Hervey sneers at Sloane’s desire “To show such wonders as well never seen, / And give up accounts of what had never been,” he depicts an essentially harmless drudge who wastes time, rather than spreading corruption.³⁰ Sloane’s voracious energy for collecting and indiscriminate tastes thus display what contemporaries perceived as the dangers and delusions of opulence, consumption, contemporary triviality and the preference for quantity over quality.

Sloane’s natural history and curiosity collections, and the activity of collecting itself, appeared ceaseless, and Sloane insatiable. The satirist, diplomat and sometime Sloane patient Sir Charles Hanbury Williams gently ridicules this in his ode “To Sir Hans Sloane, Who saved his life, and desired him to send over all the rarities he could find in his travels” (1732).³¹ Williams states that Sloane insists he send not just some or even the best rarities, but *all*, repeating that Sloane asks for “curious things of *ev’ry* kind; / And send you *all* that I should find” (ll. 5, 7-8; my italics). Linked to Sloane’s greed was his expanding social power, that makes his patients famous:

This my wish, it is my glory,

To furnish your nicknackatory;
I only beg that when you show 'em,
You'll tell your friends to whom you owe 'em,
Which may your other patients teach
To do, as has done your's, C.H. (ll. 66-71)

This parting quatrain implies that Williams “furnishes” Sloane’s nicknackatory not only by the curiosities he supplies, but by becoming one of them, an example of Sloane’s medical talent. Moreover, Sloane’s bonds of friendship with fellow virtuosi are differentiated here from his relations with his “other patients”: the first share the pleasure of observing the rarities, which the second provide, in body and by gift. The verse thus expresses the ambiguity of the value and exchange represented by Sloane’s hoard. When Williams figures himself as a collectible equivalent to other items in the nicknackatory, indeed, he harkens to the seventeenth-century practice of owners of important *Wunderkammern* who acquired people as well as exchanging items to advance their intellectual status.³² Sloane’s exchange of professional medical service for objects of unclear value underscores the ambiguity of Sloane’s social network of obligation and credit, itself partly manifested by Sloane’s exhibition of his gifts. Sloane, in a sense, becomes princely, displaying wonders brought as tributes from his “subjects.” Sloane and his museum embody the clash between humanistic and commercial values.³³

In his 72-line poem, Williams reveals the way Sloane’s collections represented not only his own peculiarities, but the cultural problems and literary consequences of the activity of collecting itself. Sloane’s enterprise confuses conceptual, medical, material, and mythical categories: along with such physical items as three drops of Jove’s golden shower that seduced Danae, the arrow that Cupid shot at Mark Anthony, Dido’s sword, Eve’s snake-skin, Adam’s fig-leaf, Noah’s stuffed pigeon, and a ring made of Samson’s hair, Williams collects Abel’s death-blow, Cleopatra’s love-glance, and some strains of Cicero’s eloquence. This limpid juxtaposition of the material and the metaphorical resembles the grammatical device of syllepsis or zeugma, by which one verb links two nouns, one literal and the other symbolic. Pope excels at this device as in, for example, “Or strain her Honour, or her new Brocade” (*Rape of the Lock*, II: 107), and Williams’ use of it here demonstrates the way Sloane *represented* a paradoxically idealistic materialism. Even at the poem’s start, the distinctions between humanity and natural history vanish: Williams declares, “I’ve ravag’d air, earth, seas, and caverns, / Men, women, children, towns, and taverns” (ll. 9-10). The distinction between “ravaging” a woman and a cavern remains merely to be inferred by the reader: the cataloguing urge of collecting and writing about collecting has no room for it. As in Pope’s case, Williams’ juxtapositions direct irony at a literalistic, commodifying society.

Williams also directs this irony at Sloane specifically. The confusion of real and ideal implies that Sloane cannot detect either frauds or symbols, even as a physician. Williams claims he has acquired useful medicines:

The stone whereby Goliath died,
Which cures the head-ache, well apply’d...
Then I’ve, most curious to be seen,
A Scorpion’s bite, to cure the spleen;
A goad, that rightly us’d, will prove

A certain remedy to love.
 As Moore cures worms in stomach bred,
 I've pills cure maggots in the head;
 With the receipts, too, how to take 'em,
 * * * * * * * * * * (19-20, 43-50)

Such remedies parody Sloane's passionate pursuit of new cures, but they also suggest that his medical beliefs resemble religious myth (David's stone) and magic (the goad). Indeed, by hinting that the cure for love is a goad "rightly us'd," Williams scandalously implies that castration cures love, a bathetic reduction of the ideal to the basely carnal. The prominence of Williams' Biblical imagery—there are six references—intensifies the paradoxical juxtaposition of the material and the symbolic, and the resultant evisceration of ideal meaning. Williams satirizes the professional obligation of physicians to preserve the secrecy of their remedies by a line of asterisks that conceals the medical directions of a rare cure for madness; Sloane apparently treated him for migraine.³⁴ Williams' use of this device predates Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, but it similarly underscores the artifice and disingenuity of writing. Here, the aims of health conflict with the conventions of medicine, and the stage for their conflict is the written word.

Perhaps the most famous remark about Sloane, however, was delivered by Edward Young in his *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion. In Seven Characteristical Satires*, originally published in seven parts from 1725-28. In the fourth satire, Young identifies Sloane as a typical "character" sunk in the delusive pursuit of the empty bubble of fame: "the foremost Toyman of his Time." The phrase became so closely identified with Sloane that Samuel Johnson quotes it alone to define "Toyman" in his 1785 *Dictionary*, although not in the 1755 one, an indication of Sloane's posthumous prestige.³⁵ Young represents Sloane as the Collector Type, incarnate in a neologism, "Toyman," that articulates the tangle of things and people. A toy, according to the OED, means "A thing of little or no value or importance, a trifle, a piece of nonsense," as well as a child's play-thing and "A small article of little intrinsic value, but prized as an ornament or curiosity; a pretty commodity," or knick-knack. A toyman is "a man who sells toys or who keeps a toy shop," with the first use dated at 1707. Although shops selling curiosities as items of pleasure had been popular since the seventeenth century, Sloane becomes the embodiment of the buyer and seller of baubles. At the same time, he is himself a Toy-man: a man made into a toy by these things, and the unscrupulous con-men and salesmen that supply him.

Young's attack reflects the prominence accorded Sloane as the embodiment of "curious Ambition," that is, advancement by means of things: the attempt to swell oneself by swelling one's possessions. While such discourse dates from the satirical "Character" of the Antiquary whose identity vanishes into his objects, Sloane appears as the ultimate consumer, mesmerized by the possibility of owning history through objects. Young's satire thus expresses the contemporary anxiety about the usurpation of moral or spiritual values by means of commodities, or commodified things, and collectibles.

But what in oddness can be more Sublime
 Than *S-----, the foremost *toyman* of his time?
 His nice Ambition lies in curious Fancies,
 His Daughter's Portion a rich *shell* inhances,
 And *Ashmole's* Baby-house is, in his View,

Britannia's golden Mine, a rich Peru!
How his eyes Languish? how his thoughts adore
That painted coat which *Joseph never* wore?
He shews on *holidays* a sacred pin,
That toucht the ruff, that toucht Queen *Bess's* chin.³⁶

In aesthetic theory, sublimity is intended to express the awe-inspiring effects of an art that lifts the audience above nature to glimpse God's immensity. Sublimity therefore violates nature's limits, and becomes associated, throughout the early-modern period and even earlier, with things that transgress their own natures, like two-headed babies and humans with horns.³⁷ In Young's satire, Sloane, the collector of *ludi naturae*, becomes his own *lusus naturae*, the epitome of oddity, mesmerized by the margins of culture, the brinks of all we hate. Pope, indeed, develops this inversion of sublime and ridiculous in *Peri Bathous*, his parody of Lucretius's treatise *On the Sublime*, published soon afterwards in March 1728.

Significantly, however, Young does not merely reiterate the eighteenth-century criticism that curious men—that is, collectors—become curiosities themselves. Sloane is not merely the *subject* of this satire. He also informs its technique, and it is this effect that made Sloane and all he represented so unsettling to eighteenth-century literary writers. Young attacks Sloane's equation of "a rich Shell" with his daughter's dowry as a selfish delusion—a point Thomas Shadwell made in *The Virtuoso* by portraying Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, the titular collector, as designing to use his wards' fortunes to buy curiosities for his laboratory. Similarly, he sneers at the comparison of the curiosity-stuffed Ashmolean Museum with the Renaissance conquest of the fabulously wealthy Peru. Yet he can only do this by himself juxtaposing the rival objects as equated nouns: his style itself catalogues, scant of detail but repeating "rich," just as the empirical collector does. Moreover, in the final quatrain, Young satirizes Sloane's substitution of a "Coat" and "Pin" for "adoring" and "sacred" sentiments, but in the same fashion, his noun-heavy lines replace spiritual feelings with commodities.

Sloane's triviality appears in the following stanza as an enthusiastic passion that oversets normal valuations of tragedy:

"Since that great *dearth* our Chronicles deplore,
"Since the great *plague* that swept as many more,
"Was ever year unblest as *this*?" he'll cry,
"It has not brought us one new *butterfly*!"
In times that suffer such learn'd men as *these*,
Unhappy **I-!* how came *you* to please? (IV, 113-28).³⁸

Sloane's reputation for infantile enthusiasm is indicated here by his despairing cry that is reproduced in italics, with an exclamation point.

Disproportionate as Sloane's response is, Young pairs it with the delusive pursuit of titled men, lords whose ephemeral fame and glittering costume make them human butterflies:

Not gawdy butterflies are *Lico's* game,
But, in effect, his chace is much the same.
Warm in pursuit, he *levées all the great*,

Stanch to the foot of *title*, and *estate*. (IV, 129-32)

Sloane's identification with Lico, however, also hints that his social success earned him the reputation of a sycophant. Lico, depicted as a doggedly hanger-on still unsuccessful at buttering up the grand Lordships, becomes a commodity: a "*crutch* to prop a rotten peer" (141), a "living *pendant*, dangling at his ear," (142), a mirror, a "happy *pin* to stick upon his sleeve, / When my Lord's gracious and vouchsafes *it* leave"(147-8), a cushion, a butt (145,147, 149, 151). Like the "Toyman," the yes-man has become an object.

To eighteenth-century writers, butterflies exemplified Sloane's collecting tastes, not merely because he collected them (he acquired Petiver's huge collection and added his own), but because they embody the transference of aesthetic appreciation from artworks to works of nature.³⁹ Moreover, they incarnate metamorphosis: their evolution from crawling worm to gorgeous, air-bound insect demonstrated the delusiveness of physical appearance but also the promise of transformation. In his early imitation of the Earl of Dorset, "Phryne" (1709; publ. 1727), Alexander Pope draws an analogy between the promiscuous eponymous maiden who marries and puffs herself up with jewels and clothes, and the duplicitous insect:

So I have known those Insects fair,
(Which curious *Germans* hold so rare,)
Still vary Shapes and Dyes;
Still gain new Titles with new Forms;
First Grubs obscene, then wiggling Worms,
Then painted Butterflies. (19-24)

Pope's verse indicates that he saw butterflies as visual lies: illusions of beauty concealing dirt. In "To Mr. John Moore, Author of the Celebrated Worm Power" (1716), he again identifies the insect with the delusions of material form. In the catalogue of worm-like human types, from Book-worms to Statesmen, Pope includes as his one example of the metamorphosed creature the fashion-hound:

The Fops are painted Butterflies,
That flutter for a Day;
First from a Worm they take their Rise,
And in a Worm decay (stanza 5, ll. 17-20).

This characterization identifies Sloane with butterflies as symbols of ephemeral fashion, fragility and seeming uselessness, a waste of time, money and attention. Pope repeats this trope in *The Rape of the Lock*, in which Belinda's lock has traveled to the "Lunar Sphere" that houses "all things lost on Earth" including "Cages for Gnats, and Chains to Yoak a Flea; / Dry'd Butterflies, and Tomes of Casuistry" ((V, 113-4, V,121-22). The roster of curiosities underscores that preserved butterflies are a metamorphosis of "lost" value.

Pope identifies Sloane as the epitome of the futility of collecting. In his *Epistle to Burlington. On the Use of Riches* (1730-31), Sloane's fetish-butterflies—is the least substantial of collectibles:

Is it less strange [than misers not enjoying accumulated riches], the Prodigal should wast
 His wealth, to purchase what he ne'er can taste?
 Not for himself he sees, or hears, or eats;
 Artists must chuse his Pictures, Music, Meats:
 He buys for Topham, Drawings and Designs,
 For Pembroke Statues, dirty Gods, and Coins;
 Rare monkish Manuscripts for Hearne alone,
 And Books for Mead, and Butterflies for Sloane.
 Think we all these are for himself? no more
 Than his fine Wife, alas! or finer Whore. (2-12)

Sloane's butterflies, the sole example of a natural rather than a cultural rarity, stand as the final word in triviality, delusion and decadence. By turning nature into culture—butterflies into collectibles—Sloane reverses the procedure of civilization, which builds culture from nature, and the Prodigal's slavish imitation demonstrates the accompanying scattering of self. Sloane thus exemplifies the diversion of value into visual deceit.

For Pope, collecting entails a loss of integrity that Sloane exemplifies. In his translation of Donne's satire, *Satires of Dr. John Donne, IV*, Sloane's hobby appears to be collecting wonders, rather than scientific examples of natural history. Written around 1713 (publ.1733), the poem reflects the earlier sense of Sloane as a rarity-monger rather than a naif. In satirizing the "Thing" he met at Court, Pope equates Sloane's natural monstrosities with political ones:

Scarce was I enter'd, when behold! there came
 A Thing which *Adam* had been pos'd to name;
Noah had refus'd it lodging in his Ark,
 Where all the Race of *Reptiles* might embark,
 A verier Monster than on *Africk's* Shore
 The Sun ne're got, or slimy *Nilus* bore
 Or *Sloane*, or *Woodward's* wondrous Shelves contain;
 Nay all that lying Travellers can feign. (24-31)

Pope furnishes the collections of Sloane and Woodward with the exotic animals and relics of Biblical myth associated with the travel lies of fantasists: "wonders" hideous, useless, even potentially dangerous.

IV. Sloane the Entrepreneur, 1753-1800:

Sloane's reputation as an insatiable collector crested when he died in 1753 and his collection became the nation's property. Sloane's death was attended by a huge number of people, more than had ever gathered in Chelsea before, and held "fifty thousand books and manuscripts, twenty-three thousand coins and medals, eight thousand one hundred and eighty-six quadrupeds and their parts, five thousand eight hundred and forty-five shells, etc. five thousand four hundred and thirty-nine insects, seven hundred and fifty-six anatomical preparations of human bodies, parts of mummies, etc.," and thousands of other items.⁴⁰ Learning he had been named a trustee, Horace Walpole, although himself a collector, sneered, "You will scarce guess

how I employ my time; chiefly at present in the guardianship of embryos and cockleshells. Sir Hans [sic] Sloane is dead, and has made me one of the trustees to his museum...He valued it at fourscore thousand; and so would any body who loves hippopotamuses, sharks with one ear, and spiders as big as geese!"⁴¹ Yet Sloane's national status commanded a Royal attention that stamped his collection as valuable, not merely peculiar. When the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Chelsea in 1748, Dr. Mortimer, the Secretary to the Royal Society who served as their conductor, wrote a long account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* stressing the Prince's grateful reverence on behalf of the nation. Although Sloane's valuable jewels receive particular attention, not merely for their wealth, but as sublime occasions demonstrating the value of science and the beauty of God's creation, Mortimer notes that even the diseases that cause bezoars and blister pearls are themselves lovely, and "raised the mind to praise the great creator of all things."⁴² In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1753, Sloane's obituary lauds his collection as "perhaps the most magnificent private, if not publick, collection on earth," open to all.⁴³ Sloane's reputation as public benefactor had resumed.

But there is a difference: in the last half of the century, Sloane appears as the epitome of private enterprise. The final stage of Sloane's reputation in the eighteenth-century followed the publication of his will. This document, the will evoked two, very different literary contexts. Its series of codicils leaving bequests to his daughters and then retracting them presented a portrait of a man whose value for things outstripped his love of his own children. This literary trope had been familiar to the public since Joseph Addison's fictional "*Will of a Virtuoso*" (1710). Purportedly the last testament of the Sir Nicholas Gimcrack in Thomas Shadwell's satire against the Royal Society, *The Virtuoso* (1676), its first item is "One Box of Butterflies," bequeathed to Gimcrack's wife, while subsequent codicils leave "My Receipt for preserving dead Caterpillars" to his daughter Elizabeth, "Three Crocodile Eggs" to his daughter Fanny, and so on.⁴⁴ Aside from a "Horned *Scarabaeus*, The Skin of a Rattle-Snake, and The Mummy of an *Egyptian King*," Gimcrack leaves nothing to his nephew, and entirely disinherits his eldest son (134). Although Addison's satire predates Sloane's will by over forty years, its notoriety and the similarity in its contents—shells, skeletons, birds-nests, etc.—is echoed in Horace Walpole's evaluation of the estate upon Sloane's death.

However, Sloane's will also evoked the Classical trope of the selfless patriot whose love for his nation outstrips his personal interests. Like Julius Caesar's will, made notorious by Shakespeare's play in which Mark Anthony uses it to sway the populace to civil war, Sloane's will includes the pious aim of "satisfying the desires of the curious" and facilitating "the improvement, knowledge and information of all persons."⁴⁵ In his late-century *Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England*, Richard Pulteney stamps Sloane as a model of disinterested scientific investigation, commending him for making collecting into knowledge, for dedication and energy.⁴⁶ Sloane, Pulteney asserts, was "the first man of learning from the love of science alone had led from *England*, to that distant part of the globe [Jamaica]": an exemplar of personal energy and private initiative (II, 69). In Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, Matthew Bramble remarks, "the British Museum [is] a noble collection, and even stupendous, if we consider it was made by a private man, a physician, who was obliged to make his own fortune at the same time."⁴⁷

Conclusion:

Sloane's reputation in literary culture moves from that of a model physician and

benefactor, to a charlatan, to a toyman, finally to an entrepreneur. Of course, the four stages of Sloane's reputation do not fit seamlessly into the time-scheme proposed here: his fame as a physician lasted well into the 1740s and his reputation as a benefactor persisted despite satire, while his characterization as the deluded virtuoso runs steadily throughout the first half of the century. However, the shifts in the dominant discourse about him trace the changing perception of collecting itself in the period. Sloane's activities recast the natural world as a treasure-house stuffed with collectibles and collecting as an ambiguous but national practice of imperialistic acquisition.⁴⁸ When on 15 January, 1759 of the British Museum opened for "study and public inspection," Sloane stood as the exemplar of the collector and the father of a new British identity.⁴⁹

NOTES

1. William Jardine, "Memoir of Sir Hans Sloane," *The Naturalist's Library*, ed. Sir William Jardine, Bart. Vol (Edinburgh: W. H. Lizars, et al, 1843): vol. 5, 25-26. Also Arthur MacGregor, "The Life, Character and Career of Sir Hans Sloane" in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 23.
2. Arthur MacGregor, "The Life, Character and Career of Sir Hans Sloane" in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 20.
3. John Locke, *Some familiar letters between Mr. Locke, and several of his friends* (London: for A. and J. Churchill, 1708): Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux, 22 Feb. 1696/7.
4. Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Polity Press, 1990), 121.
5. *Memoirs, Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S.....Comprising his Diary, from the Year 1641 to 1705-6, and a Selection of his Familiar Letters*. 2nd edition (London: for Henry Colburn, 1819), 25 (16 April 1691).
6. See Cynthia Sundberg Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), esp. 112-13; Katie Whitaker, "The Culture of Curiosity" in N. Jardine and E.C. Spary (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 75-90: 82-4; see Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Press, 2006). ftn. 59, p. 62.
7. Quoted in MacGregor, "Sir Hans Sloane, 14: John Ray, *The Correspondence of John Ray*, ed. Edwin Lankester (London: 1848), 261.
8. For Sloane's role in the debate, see John F. Sena. *The Best-Natured Man: Sir Samuel Garth, Physician and Poet* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 132-33. In 1687, the College of Physicians Fellows non-unanimously resolved to give advice gratuitously to the poor and to established a cost-price dispensary. Many physicians refused to participate, fearing to alienate apothecaries paid by the poor; as a result, the College split into two factions. See *Some Aspects of the Life and Times of Sir Hans Sloane*, Presidential Address to the Ulster Medical Society, Session 1937-8 by W. W. D. Thomson, Professor of Medicine in the Queen's University, Belfast (Reprinted from *The Ulster Medical Journal*, January 1938), 9-10.
9. Sena. *The Best-Natured Man*, 48.
10. Thomson, *Some Aspects*, 11.

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11. Geoffrey Tillotson, "Introduction," to Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. with selected annotations by John Butt (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1963), 112.
12. Joseph Warton, *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (London: M. Cooper, 1756), 216, 238; see Sena, *op. Cit*, fn. 39, p. 177.
13. Dr. Samuel Garth, *The Dispensary: A Poem in Six Cantos* 2nd. Ed. Corrected by the Author (London: John Nutt, 1699).
14. Garth, *The Dispensary*, *op. cit*: "In the Second Copy of Verses, written by the late Colonel Codrington, Governour of the *Leeward-Islands*," in *A Compleat Key to the Seventh Edition of the Dispensary* (London: for J. Roberts, 1714): l. 36, p. 6-7.
15. Mark A. Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (Routledge: New York and London, 2002), 193-4.
16. "A poem occasioned by the viewing Dr. Sloans museum London Dec: 1712," B.L. 1968. (Fol. 192.22), ll.2, 13-30).
17. Harold J. Cook, "Time's Bodies: Crafting the Preparation and Preservation of Naturalia," in *Merchants and Marvels*, eds. Smith and Findlen, *op. cit.*, 243, *passim*.
18. J. C. H. King, 'Ethnographic Collections: Collecting in the Context of Sloane's Catalogue of "Miscellanies"' in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (For the Trustees of the British Museum: British Museum Press in association with Alistair McAlpine, 1994), 228.
19. Richard Pulteney, *Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1790): II, 74.
20. MacGregor, "Sir Hans Sloane," 14 .
21. Neil Kenny, *The Palace of Secrets: Béroalde de Verville and Renaissance Conceptions of Knowledge* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991), 244; M. Day, 'Humana: Anatomical, pathological and curious human specimens in Sloane's museum,' in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (For the Trustees of the British Museum: British Museum Press in association with Alistair McAlpine, 1994), 67-9. J. C. H. King, 'Ethnographic Collections: Collecting in the Context of Sloane's Catalogue of "Miscellanies"' in *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (For the Trustees of the British Museum: British

Museum Press in association with Alistair McAlpine, 1994), 229.

22. King, 'Ethnographic Collections', 228-44, esp. 230.

23. [William King], *The Transactioneer. With some of his Philosophical Fancies: in Two Dialogues*. (London: for the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1700), Preface.

24. See Aphra Behn, "Letter to Lysander" in *Miscellany, Being A Collection of POEMS by Several Hands. Together with Reflections on Morality, or Seneca Unmasked* (London: for Joseph Knight, 1685).

25. [William King] *Useful Transactions in Philosophy, And other sorts of Learning, for the Months of January and February, 1708/9* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1708/9), Numb. VI, 49: 1-2.

26. He became a baronet, a consultant of Queen Anne on her deathbed, and the first physician to George II, but even before he reached this eminence, his collegiality, public visibility, and social habits made him famous. As well as freely dispensing advice to poor patients, he was famously benevolent, giving his entire salary to Christ's Hospital, hosting weekly dinners for the members of the College of Physicians and the Royal Society.

27. *Memoirs of Mrs. Laetitia Pilkington, Wife to the Rev. Mr. Matthew Pilkington*, 2 vols. (Dublin: for the author, 1748), vol. 2, 162-4; partially quoted in E. St. John Brooks, *Sir Hans Sloane: The Great Collector and his Circle* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1954), 211-212.

28. R. D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1978), p. 17.

29. D. and E. Rigby, *Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting* (Philadelphia, New York, London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1944), 244; Barbara M. Benedict, "Saying Things: Collecting Conflicts in Eighteenth-Century Object Literatures," *Blackwell's Literature Compass: The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 3 (2006): 599-719. Sir Richard Steele, *The Tatler*, No. 34 (June 28, 1709). See also King, *Useful Transactions*, Preface.

30. Brooks, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 183.

31. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, *The Works of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Hanbury Williams*, 3 vols., with notes by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford (London: Edward Jeffery and Son, 1822): I, 125 (9 September 1732); The Earl of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke, *The Life of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams: Poet, Wit, and Diplomatist* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1928), 35, n. 2.

32. Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels," 194.

33. Paula Findlen, "Inventing Nature: Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet

of Curiosities” in *Merchants and Marvels*, ed. Smith and Findlen, 300. See also Paula Findlen, “The Economy of Scientific exchange in Early Modern Italy,” in *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European Court, 1500-1750*, ed. Bruce T. Moran (Rochester, New York, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1991), 5-24. See James Delbourgo, “‘Exceeding the Age in Every Thing’,” *Spontaneous Generations: A Journal for the History and Philosophy of Science*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2009): 41-54, esp. 45; also Delbourgo, “When the Printer Met the Virtuoso,” *Reviews in American History* 36 (2008), 491.

34. Ilchester, *Life of Sir Charles*, 35

35. Harold Foster, *Edward Young: The Poet of the Night Thoughts, 1683-1765* (Norfolk, U.K.: The Erskine Press, 1986), 89. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W. Strahan, 1755); Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J. F. C. Rivington, et al, 1785).

36. Edward Young, *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion in Six Characteristical Satires*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Tonson, 1728). With marginalia by Horace Walpole: Satire IV, ll. 113-122. In another edition, the italics are replaced with capitals: Edward Young, *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion. In Seven Characteristical Satires*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Sarah Powell, for George Ewing, 1728); Satire IV, ll 113-22

37. L. Daston and K. Park, *Wonders and The Order of Nature* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

38. In the Dublin second edition (pirated?), the italics are replaced by capitals: Toyman, Time, Shall, Eyes, Coat, Pin, Ruff, Chin. In the marginalia of his edition, Walpole glosses S— as “Sr Hans Sloane, the Physician and Virtuoso,” and “I” as “Archibald Compbell Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyle” (70-71).

39. For some treatments of the significance of butterflies in the period, see Deidre Coleman, “Entertaining Entomology: Insects and Insect Performers in the Eighteenth-Century,” *ECL*, vol. 30, no. 3: 107-34; also J.A. Means, “Pope’s Butterfly-Collector: ‘Dandridge the Aurelian’,” *N&Q*, ns. 20: 209-11.

40. Thomson, *Some Aspects*, 18; R. Blunt, *In Cheyne Walk and Thereabout. Containing Short Accounts of Some Ingenious People and Famous Places that were by the Riverside at Chelsea* (London: Mills and Boon, Ltd., 1914), 258.

41. Horace Walpole, “Lord Orford is very ready to oblige any curious persons” (London: 1792); Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, ed. Peter Cunningham, 4 vols. (Cirencester, U.K.: The Ecco Library, 2006): II, 158-9; to Sir Horace Mann, 14 Feb 1753. Walpole identified Sloane as “Sr Hans Sloane, the Physician and Virtuoso” in his marginalia to Edward Young, *Love of Fame*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Tonson, 1728): IV, ll. 113-122. In another edition, the italics are replaced with capitals: Edward Young, *Love of Fame, the Universal*

Passion. In Seven Characteristical Satires, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Sarah Powell, for George Ewing, 1728): IV, 70.

42. Dr. Mortimer, *Gentleman's Magazine* vol. 18 (748): 301.

43. *Gentleman's Magazine* (January, 1753): "Historical Chronicle Account of Sir Hans, no. 27: 52.

44. Joseph Addison, *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), no. 216 (26 August 1710): III, 133-4.

45. *Authentic Copies of the Codicils Belonging to the Last Will and Testament of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. deceased, Which relate to his Collection of Books and Curiosities* (London: Printed by Order of the Executors) by Daniel Crowne, near *Temple-Bar*, 1753), 4, 19.

46. Richard Pulteney, *Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1790), II, 42, 68.

47. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London" for W. Johnston, 1772), I, 215. My thanks to James Delbourgo.

48. M. and C. H. B. Quennell, *A History of Everyday Things in England, 2: 1500-1799* (London: B.T.Batsford, 1950), p. 197; C. Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary. Being the Diary of Celia Fiennes*. With an Introduction by The Hon. Mrs. Griffiths (London: Field and Tuer, The Leadenhall Press, E. C.; Simpkin, Marshall and Co.; Hamilton, Adams and Co; New York: Scribner and Welford, 1888), Preface.

49. Thomson, *Some Aspects*, 18.