From lecture to leisure

An edition and translation of Pieter Jacob van Maanen's travel journal on his study tour in London.

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quidquid foris discetur, altum videtur
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Preface

This is the first annotated edition of the travel journal by Pieter Jacob van Maanen, a medical scholar who later became court physician to King Louis Bonaparte, about his journey to London in 1793 and 1794.

This journal not only provides a modern and personal insight into a foreigner’s experiences visiting London at the turn of the century, but also offers a glimpse into the student life of the late eighteenth century. Van Maanen occasionally mentions going to lectures and provided a catalogue of the operations he visited, yet the greater part of his journal is filled with entries about London’s many sights, theatre performances, and political debates.

The aim of this edition is to grant English readers access to a foreigner’s account of a visit to their capital in the late eighteenth century. Moreover, it provides the reader with a brief historical context of the text and numerous annotations about the various people, buildings, and events encountered during this stay.

I would like to thank the University of Amsterdam for its kind cooperation and for permitting me to work with the manuscript, and my friends and family for their interest and support during the work on this edition.

Hopefully, many readers will be able to enjoy this taste of the late eighteenth-century London as much as I did and perhaps some will be inspired to take up a translation project of their own.

Siebrand Boerema,

May 2016, Groningen.
List of abbreviations

**BWN** is short for van der Aa’s *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*.

**CL** is short for *A Companion To All The Principal Places Of Curiosity And Entertainment In And About London And Westminster*.

**EB** is short for an entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* from 1911.

**GTB** is short for *Geïntergreerde Taalbank*, and refers to an entry in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* which is accessible from the GTB’s site.

**OED** is short for an entry in the online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. 
1. On the author: Pieter Jacob van Maanen:

Pieter Jacob van Maanen was born on 2 November 1770 in The Hague. He was the second son of Johannes van Maanen (d. 24 February 1795), a councillor at the judicial court of Holland and Zeeland, and Maria van Overzee (d. 18 June 1820). He had one older brother and three younger ones. He was educated in Latin and Greek at the local grammar school, where he was praised for his intelligence and taste for art. He also attended lessons in physics at Vrouwe van Renswoude ('Lady of Renswoude'), a foundation that provided housing and education for orphans, and later on also for talented students that did not live at the foundation. In September 1788 he graduated from grammar school after giving a lecture on Hippocrates. Van Maanen matriculated at the University of Leiden, where he attended courses in logic, physics, botany, chemistry, pathology, nosology, and anatomy. Meanwhile he treated patients under the supervision of two professors. In the later years of his study he took up pharmaceutics as well and prepared medicine in an apothecary’s. Moreover, he was interested in the dissection and preservation of body parts and was skilled at drawing. After he had defended his dissertation on the absorption of solids he received his doctoral degree. Subsequently he went to England to study the practical side of medicine and obstetrics. Professor William Lowder and Professor John Haighton were his tutors in the field of obstetrics. The journal translated in this dissertation is the journal he kept during this journey. When he returned to the Netherlands he finished another doctoral degree in 1795. He settled in Kampen, where he was appointed as the secondary town physician.

1 Unless otherwise indicated A van der Boon’s Levensberigt van Pieter Jacob van Maanen is the source for this section.
2 BWN s.no. ‘Maanen, Johnannes van’.
3 Fundatie van Renswoude ‘Geschiedenis’.
4 BWN s.no. ‘Maanen, Pieter Jacobus van’.
and lector in discectomy, obstetrics, and medicine. After the invasion by the French Army he was appointed as supervisor of the military hospital that was established in Kamperveen. In December of the same year he was appointed professor of discectomy, obstetrics, and medicine in Harderwijk, but he declined this offer. However, the Geldersche Hoogeschool ('Guelders Academy' or 'University of Harderwijk') was persistent and offered him the position again a few months later. This time Van Maanen agreed and requested to be discharged of his duties at the hospital. His request was granted in March 1796 and he became professor at Harderwijk after his inaugural lecture about surgery in the Netherlands. In this lecture Van Maanen advocated that one should be skilled in surgery and in medicine in order to be a good physician and explicated that the study of medicine was in a poor state in the Netherlands. He also reasoned that most physicians only knew how to perform the most basic treatments. Several students, including his younger brother, received their doctorates under his supervision. He was the university's rector magnificus\(^5\) until 15 June 1798, the day of the university’s 150\(^{th}\) anniversary.

In October 1806 he was offered a position as professor at the University of Groningen, which he gladly accepted. However, due to the heavy winter and death of his father-in-law and colleague, Professor Rudolphus Forsten, he decided not to move yet, as the city of Harderwijk would have been without a town physician if he had left. He asked the University of Groningen for permission to stay in Harderwijk until a new doctor was appointed. The local authorities had grown very fond of Van Maanen and nominated him to be appointed the new town physician, despite the fact he had told them he wished to go to Groningen. On 26 May he received a letter from a clerk of King

\(^{5}\) rector magnificus; the Dutch equivalent of a university’s chancellor or president.
Louis Napoléon Bonaparte in which he asked him about his preference: Groningen or Harderwijk. He replied to this letter that he would rather go to Groningen; however, on 4 June he received word that the King had already decided on 27 May that Van Maanen should stay in Harderwijk as the town physician. Van Maanen did not immediately obey this order and went to the King’s residence only to find out that he had left a few days earlier. Therefore he wrote the King a letter in which he appealed against his decision and asked permission to go to Groningen instead. A month later Van Maanen received a letter in which the King stood by his decision that van Maanen was to stay in Harderwijk. A few months later, in December 1807, he was appointed advisory physician to the King. Hardly a year later (October 1808) he was personally appointed by the King as his court physician and as Commissioner-General of Health with the words:

Il-y-a un an, Monsieur van Maanen, que j’ai bien voulu faire plaisir aux Guelrois et à l’Académie de Hardervic, maintenant je désire faire quelque chose pour moi-même et pour tout le pays; je vous nomme mon Médecin ordinaire et Commissaire-général pour les affaires de Médecine. (There was a year, Mr van Maanen, that I wanted to please Gelre and the Academy of Harderwijk, but now I want something for myself and the entire country; I appoint you as my regular doctor and Commissioner-General of Medical Affairs.)

In his capacity of Commissioner-General he was in charge of the rescue operations during the flooding of Zuid-Holland and Gelderland in 1809. Throughout this flood he was granted to issue orders in the King’s name as he saw fit. Furthermore, he accompanied the King on his journeys and was knighted in the Order of the Union on 27
Augustus 1808. On 25 March 1812 he was granted the honour of Knight in the Order of the Réunion, an order that was disbanded on 5 April 1816. On July 1 1810 King Louis stepped down as the king of the Netherlands, and when the Netherlands were annexed by France a few weeks later, Van Maanen was relieved from his post as Commissioner-General.

He stayed in Amsterdam and was appointed professor of medicine at the Athenaeum Illustre and held a similar inaugural lecture to the one he had held in Harderwijk. There were no suitable facilities to properly organise anatomical lectures, and he repeatedly asked the city council to provide him with these necessities. His attempts were fruitless, and he decided to resign from his post at the Athenaeum and to solely work as a doctor. He was offered several university positions afterwards, but Van Maanen declined all of them. He continued practising as a doctor until 16 December 1848, when he resigned because of his old age. He died from a stroke on Monday 13 November 1854 and was buried on the following Friday.

Pieter van Maanen married twice. On 15 July 1798 he married Antonia Jacoba Forsten (1777-1806), the daughter of Professor Forsten. She died only eight years later on 4 April 1806 and left him two sons and a daughter. On 20 July 1820, he married his second wife, Maria Elise Helène van der Ley (1784-1844), with whom he had another daughter. His oldest son, Jean Rudolphe (27 April 1799 - 25 November 1883), became a physician in Amsterdam and later in Barneveld. He was an affluent man as he owned several properties and businesses. He also was a member of the provincial government of Gelderland from 1847-1850. His second son, Jean Marie (21 February 1801 - 24

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6 A precursor of the University of Amsterdam. The school was founded in 1626, but became officially recognized in 1815. It was not possible to obtain a doctorate degree there until 1877 (UvA par. 2).
7 Crebolder par. 1-5.
8 Huygens s.no. 'Jean Rudolphe van Maanen'.
December 1890), became president of the provincial government of Noord-Holland.\textsuperscript{9}

Pieter van Maanen was known as a learned, eloquent, and classy man, and as a person of good judgement and clear mind who easily made contact with someone regardless of class or rank. As a doctor he quickly gained his patients’ trust, and because of his meticulous care and capability to cheer up his patients, they often regarded him as their friend and councillor. During the period of French occupation he was popular amongst French officials and after the occupation amongst prominent families in Amsterdam – though he never neglected his poorer patients.

Van Maanen served in many committees and was a member of many societies. He was one of the 600 notables that were chosen to review the new constitution when William I returned to rule as the Netherlands’ rightful ruler. Moreover, he was asked several times to resume his duties as Commissioner-General of Health, yet he politely declined each time. In 1800 he joined the \textit{Genootschap ter bevordering der heelkunde} (‘Society for the Advancement of Surgery’), which he served as secretary from 1810 until 1852. Two weeks before his death he was still present at a meeting of the Society, a meeting in which he was appointed as an honorary board member. He was also a member of the \textit{Hollandsche maatschappij van kunsten en wetenschappen} (‘Dutch Society of Arts and Science’) in Haarlem for almost 50 years. He was invited into numerous other scientific, medical, and art societies across Europe. On his 50\textsuperscript{th} anniversary as a doctor King William II presented him with a Knight’s Cross in the Order of the Dutch Lion.

His publications include an essay about the right use of glasses, which was awarded with a silver medal by the \textit{Bataafsch genootschap van proefondervindelijke Huygens s.no. ‘Jean Marie van Maanen’}.
wijsbegeerte (‘Batavian Society of Empirical Philosophy’), a scientific society that focused on empirical research. He also published essays on the benefits of being in good health when undergoing intensive medical treatment and on the effectiveness of the vaccination for cow pox.

Pieter van Maanen's journey to London seems to have influenced him in several ways. Van Maanen wined and dined with several prominent English figures from the end of the eighteenth century who inspired him to look beyond medicine. Moreover, he witnessed surgical operations by the best surgeons of the time, was introduced into several scientific societies with a great range of scholars, and became interested in various aspects of arts and science. He became not only occupied with the field of medicine, but was also involved in political discussion and culture. It was in England where he grasped the opportunity to fully investigate his interests and where the foundations were laid for the man he was to become; a respected scholar, a skilful doctor, a reliable councillor, but above all an advocate to integrate the world of medicine and surgery.
2. Description of the manuscript

The manuscript containing the text edited and translated in this edition dates from 1794 and is kept at the Special Collections of the Library of the Universiteit of Amsterdam. The text covers Pieter Jacob van Maanen's journey to England from October 1793 to March 1794.

The manuscript is kept in a small white cardboard box. On top of the actual manuscript is a loose paper on which the manuscript's press mark, U.B. Ey 1, is written in the top left corner with a blue pen. The press mark is written on the top right side of this paper along with the text ‘57|1610’. There is a decorated rectangle textbox in the middle of the paper with the following text written inside it: ‘P.I. Van Maanen. Memoriaal gedurende Mijn Verblijf in Londen 1794-1795’. All of this is written in the same hand and with a blue pen. At the bottom of the textbox is an illustration of the crest of the Stadsdrukkerij Amsterdam (‘Amsterdam Printing House’) with Amsterdam’s three x’s vertically above one another. The word ‘Stadsdrukkerij’ is on the left side of this building and the word ‘Amsterdam’ on the right side. This paper was probably added at a later date to identify the manuscript.

The manuscript itself is in a good condition. Throughout the journal there are no tears, smudges, or folds that obstruct the legibility of the text. The entire manuscript is bound together at the middle of the page by a single piece of yarn. There are no clear writing lines visible, though the text is written in relatively straight lines. There is no set number of writing lines, but on average the author writes about 38 lines on a folio.

The cover is nicely decorated with a pattern of dark green outlines of diagonal squares. In the inner corner of each of these squares there is a solid, smaller green square. The outline of the green square is evenly divided into four parts by red lines.
Linear to the smaller green squares are solid red squares of the same size. This pattern repeats itself along the entire page, yet the outlines are not equally thick along the entire page; some places have very thick lines and at some places the ink is very thin. Moreover, the pattern is not neatly aligned throughout the entire page. At the bottom right corner of the front cover the ink is slightly smudged. The cover is made from the same paper as the paper inside and, as the paper is very thin, the ink of the decoration on the recto side can clearly been seen on the verso side of the paper.

The journal starts on the second folio’s recto side; the recto sides have been numbered with a pencil. These marks were added by someone at a later date as the hand differs significantly from that in the journal. The journal is written in a relatively neat eighteenth-century round hand which is slanting to the right. Van Maanen’s hand is very compact with hardly any frills. Capitals have some minor decorative curls, but other than that no effort is put into beautifying the hand. The same hand is used throughout the entire manuscript. On the first page of the journal a word is struck through, above which ‘Kensington’ is written. At first glance this looks like a different hand, but on closer inspection it seems that the correction was very carefully and neatly written in the author’s own hand. The same neat hand is used when the extra information ‘(Kokkels)’ is added above the line on the same page. Later corrections in the journal are not as carefully written, and the corrections inserted above the running lines are usually in a slightly thicker hand than the rest of the journal.

Each entry into the journal starts on a separate line unless nothing happened on a particular day. In these instances the date of the day is noted down and directly followed by the date of the next day. In the first entry of a month its name is mentioned. Van Maanen wrote October on a separate line above the first entry, whilst the
consequent months are added after the first day of the month in the running line. The names of the months are spelled out in full with the exception of December, which is abbreviated as *Dber*. Throughout the journal Van Maanen varies in his use of a left margin. On the first few folios he writes the dates in the margin, yet the second folio covers a long entry during which no left margin is used. When this entry ends on the third folio he no longer uses a left margin until a quarter into the verso side of the third folio, where he does start using a margin again. This irregular pattern is held throughout the entire manuscript.

On the last two folios of the manuscript Van Maanen has divided the page into four separate columns on both sides of the folio. The first column is titled *Dies operationis* ('Day of the operation'), the second *Nomen operationis* ('Name of the operation'), the third *Nomen Chirurgi* ('Name of the surgeon'), and the last *Nomen Nosocomii* ('Name of the Hospital'). These names are only on the first folio of this section and are not repeated on the later folios. In this section he notes down all operations he witnessed. No description of the operations is given, but only the name of the operation in Latin. In contrast with the first part of the journal, this catalogue is dated 1793-1794, which are the actual years of his stay in London.
3. Historical context

Pieter van Maanen’s journal should be read in the historical context of late eighteenth-century Europe. Therefore, a short account of the political and social climate in England during the 1790s will be given in the following section. Secondly the changes medical education has undergone up to the end of the eighteenth century are given to provide a broader context of the education Van Maanen receives. The last section examines the custom of Grand Tours and how Van Maanen’s journey relates to this tradition.

3.1 Britain’s political and social climate in the 1790s

Van Maanen visited Britain in a time of tumultuous political upheaval. The lower and middle classes hardly had any influence in the politics of the country. Only those of substantial wealth could vote in the election of the members of Parliament. Before the 1790s the lower and middle classes would resort to riots and would form massive mobs when they were dissatisfied with the government’s actions. But by the 1790s most protests were resolved relatively peacefully as they were channelled through formal political organisations.10

Nevertheless, the French Revolution of 1789 was closely watched in England. Edmund Burke’s political pamphlet *Reflections on the Revolution in France* became extremely popular. In it he reflects on the Revolution and makes several predictions about the stages to follow. But there were also political reformers who were inspired by the Revolution and wanted to follow the French example. Mary Wollstonecraft was

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10 White par. 1-5.
quick to respond to Burke with *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* in which she pleaded for a system of republicanism instead of the current system of aristocracy. Subsequently, Thomas Paine published *The Rights of Man*, which also advocated republicanism. The text became an enormous success, as its language was easily accessible and several cheap editions were printed. Before long it was condemned as a seditious libel and Paine fled to France in fear of the government’s repercussions.\(^{11}\)

The middle classes now started to form political movements and called for government reforms. The most influential society was the London Corresponding Society, which was in contact with several other reform groups in England. Van Maanen visited the service of a minister with a ‘very patriotic sermon’ and at least two meetings of such societies, which shows his interest in the London politics.\(^{12}\) Unfortunately, he does not describe his own opinion of these debates, and it is unclear whether he was primarily an observer or actually took an active part in these discussions. He does dine once with John Thelwall, one of the London Corresponding Society’s leaders, and states that he assisted him during one of his debates, yet he does not say what this assistance entails. The dinner with Thelwall is organised at their house by Mr Haskins, someone Van Maanen frequently visits. His housemate was clearly acquainted with Thelwall and Van Maanen’s reasons to attend these debates were probably more born out of an interest in English politics than out of his own ideology. After all, he was just a foreigner in London with the intention to return to the Netherlands. Had he been a fervent proponent of the English patriots, his journal probably would have contained more occasions in which he engaged in political activities and debates.

Naturally, the patriots were not the only ones to show their political preference.

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\(^{11}\) Mather par. 1, 2; White par. 6.

\(^{12}\) p. 55; p. 45; p. 63
The King’s supporters, the loyalists, also published pamphlets in support of the government and started their own societies. The government regarded the reform societies as radical, and when the war with France broke out in 1793 William Pitt’s administration did everything in its power to disrupt its meetings and arrest its leaders, as they were supposedly a threat to national security. Spies infiltrated the societies and wrote exaggerated reports on the meetings.13

Meanwhile, the English were encouraged to arm themselves against a possible French invasion, and therefore anyone suspected of being disloyal to the Crown faced physical intimidation by armed loyalists. Large mobs would sometimes incite violence against members of radical movements. In 1794 the government suspended the right to habeas corpus, a legal recourse that allowed someone to appeal his or her unlawful detainment, which allowed them to imprison people with having a trial first. A year later a ban was put on political meetings of more than 50 people. Because of William Pitt’s ‘Reign of Terror’ the English Revolution never happened.14

The Dutch patriots were inspired by the French Revolution’s ideology, wanted more democracy, and resisted the pro-English aristocracy. Thus many of them sought refuge in Paris when the Dutch Republic declared war on France after the execution of Louis XVI. Van Maanen’s older brother was known as a moderate patriot15 and it is clear Van Maanen was interested in patriotism himself as well. Nevertheless, if Van Maanen had been a true patriot his choice would probably have been Paris rather than London. So despite his interest in patriotism, it seems unlikely that his journey was politically motivated. Apparently, there were more reasons for him to prefer London over Paris. The next section supplies a possible reason as to why he chose London.

13 Mather par. 3-5
14 Mather par. 4, 5; Wolfe par. 3; White par. 7, 8.
15 Molhuysen 803
3.2 The history of medical education up to the eighteenth century

Pieter van Maanen graduated from the University of Leiden, a medical school that has left a large impact on the education of medicine. It was the forerunner in combining theoretical education with the practical side of medicine, and in the eighteenth-century medical training in the form of lectures and dissections paired with apprenticeships in the hospitals started to become the standard in medical education.

By the sixteenth century medical practitioners were divided into four different types: physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and barbers. Traditionally, a physician’s education was limited to studying medical texts only. A medical student received an M.D. title when he graduated from university, a title that grant the right to call oneself a physician. Physicians were the highest class of doctors; those learned enough to diagnose someone’s internal organs. It was not uncommon for surgeons that had earned enough money to enrol in university to be schooled as a physician as well.16

A class lower were the surgeons, who were allowed to conduct major surgery under the supervision of a physician. Nevertheless, these surgeons were nothing like the surgeons nowadays, and as there were no anaesthetics yet operations were generally limited to amputations and lithotomies.17 Surgeons were trained by way of apprenticeship, in which the apprentice paid a fee to an already qualified surgeon and lived at his house. The length of these apprenticeships varied between five to seven years, after which the apprentice would receive a certificate which verified their education from their master. However, the quality of this education relied heavily on the skill and disposition of the master. Some newly ‘qualified’ surgeons had hardly spent any time with patients as they had been given the undesirable tasks of cleaning

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16 Reinarz 43-44
17 ‘Hospitals’ par. 8
instruments or preparing medicine during their education. As a result the skill of surgeons fluctuated tremendously, and a surgeon's certificates were not necessarily a sign of appropriate training.\textsuperscript{18}

After the surgeons came the apothecaries. Originally 'apothecary' was a word for a shop where wine, herbs, and spices were sold. Some apothecaries started selling a much wider selection of goods and became known as grocers. Other apothecaries started to specialise as spicer-apothecaries and occupied themselves with preparing substances for medical use, and by the mid-sixteenth century apothecaries had become the modern day equivalent of a pharmacist.

Lastly, the fourth type of medical practitioner was the barber, who was trained to perform minor surgeries, such as pulling teeth and bloodletting.

From the seventeenth century onward, the patient's bedside started to become the place to observe and learn about illnesses. The Dutch played a large role in this change of philosophy, and clinical lectures were being set up at the University of Leiden. Unfortunately, most professors were reluctant to go along with this change in lecturing, as they feared student numbers would drop drastically. As a result these clinical lectures usually lasted only a couple of years.\textsuperscript{19}

It took a century before this teaching method truly became popular. At the onset of the eighteenth century Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), a professor in Leiden, diligently carried out clinical teaching six months of the year. He visited the hospital with a group of students two times a week and connected his theoretical knowledge with the practical side of medicine. Meanwhile, he stressed the importance of seeing patients during a medical education. After he had completed his rounds he advised the

\textsuperscript{18} Reinarz 44
\textsuperscript{19} Reinarz 45
matron and master of the hospital which treatment and drugs should be given to a
certain patient, and in doing so he established a closer link between education and
treatment. The students at the University of Leiden first studied the basic sciences and
concluded their degree with these clinical lessons. This approach attracted a great
number of students to Leiden. Furthermore, as Leiden accepted anyone that wished to
enrol, regardless of class, ethnicity, or rank, it started to tear down the traditional split
between physicians and surgeons.20

A great number of hospitals opened in London during the eighteenth century and
Van Maanen visits many of these relatively new hospitals during his stay in London. He
attends operations in four different hospitals and mentions visiting two other hospitals
as well. The city already had three established hospitals: St Bartholomew’s, St Thomas’,
and Bethlem Hospital. Many philanthropists wished to improve the conditions of the
poor which started to deteriorate because of the ever increasing population in London.
From 1720 to 1758 alone, eight new hospitals were established in London. Guy’s
Hospital was founded near St Thomas’ in 1721, The London Hospital was founded in
1740, and the Magdalen was founded in 1758. Likewise, many ‘Lying-in hospitals’ were
founded, which were hospitals established to assist women in childbirth.21

Despite this surge in the amount of hospitals the London doctors were much
more conservative, and the medical staff of most hospitals favoured traditionally
trained physicians, even though the most successful ones often started their own
private practice. Even still, the St Bartholomew’s hospital staff offered students private
lectures in anatomy and started pushing for the establishment of a dissection room in
1722. Several surgeons started giving lectures in their private residences, and in 1765

20 Reinarz 46
21 ‘Hospitals’ par. 4-6
teaching had moved from their houses to the hospitals. Van Maanen sometimes mentions the anatomical theatre of the hospital where he attends a lecture, but never mentions a lecture taking place at a lecturer’s own residence. It is very likely that by this time most lectures were given in the hospital’s anatomical theatres. Hospital governors did not always favour these teaching institutions in their hospital, but it made economic sense. The apprentices were a workforce of free labour, and practitioners were able to earn significantly more as the fee to accompany a physician or surgeon was roughly 50 pounds.22

However, the clinical lessons did have their weaknesses. The rounds were often rushed and unstructured and to be allowed into the medical wards surgical students had to pay an additional fee. The most popular physicians could attract up to a hundred students, so during operations one had to be lucky to actually see the operation that was being performed. Therefore, some physician rendered their services as private instructors; naturally, for a greater fee. These private instructors were very appealing to wealthy and foreign students, as they did not want to spend time performing lowly tasks like apprentices had to.

Nonetheless, Van Maanen never mentions hiring a private instructor, but he never complains about the surgeries he attends either. He visits several operations performed by Dr Cline and Dr Cooper, who were very popular at the time, so these operations were probably very crowded. It cannot be said for certain that he did not hire a private instructor, but given the variety of surgeons he attends there is no clear indication that he did. Moreover, the caption above his catalogue reads ‘Operationum Chirurgicarum, quas Londini mihi videre licuit’ (‘surgical operations that I was allowed

22 Reinarz 48; ‘St Thomas’s Hospital Medical School’
to see in London’) which implies he was not allowed to attended all surgeries.

Still the London hospitals probably served Van Maanen's needs better than their Parisian colleagues could have done. Hospitals in Paris were more authoritarian and bureaucratic, whereas the London ones relied on private initiative, which was exactly what the wealthy and foreign students wished as they wanted to compose their own study programme. Four London hospitals boasted several recognised schools of medicine in the later part of the century, and due to the success of the anatomy courses by William and John Hunter the demand for anatomical lectures soared. By the end of the eighteenth century London’s reputation had begun to dislodge Paris as the capital of clinical education.23

As London with its flourishing medical schools and private practices was more in sway than Paris, it seems likely that this weighted in on Van Maanen's decision to study in London rather than in Paris. He had already graduated from a prestigious university, but by now Leiden was surpassed by several other universities. To have studied medicine in the city that was considered ‘the Metropolis of the whole world for practical medicine’24 would certainly improve his reputation as a doctor. The surge in the number of hospitals in London might have been another contributing factor that influenced Van Maanen to visit London, so he could see these relatively new modern hospitals with his own eyes. Moreover, with the possibility to handpick his own courses in London, he would be able to skip the basic training he had already received.

23 Reinarz 48-50
24 Reinarz 50
3.3 The Grand Tour tradition

Van Maanen's journey to London bears resemblance to that of a Grand Tour, a young man's journey abroad to finish his university education, but also differs from it in several aspects. This section will elaborate on the tradition Grand Tours and analyse to what degree to Van Maanen's journey can be characterised as a Grand Tour.

The tradition of the Grand Tour was established in the sixteenth century. The upper-class members of society started sending their sons, usually under the supervision of a tutor, to Europe as part of their education. Van Maanen's journal attests to the fact that these tours were still being undertaken in the late eighteenth century, as on 11 October 1793 he mentions a meal where a medical student from Götttingen was also present with his tutor. While he does not specifically mention the relation between these two people, a eulogy on the student’s father shows that this student, John Miers Lettsom, had been on a study-tour with his tutor, Dr Sims.25

Even though the English are generally credited for the institution of the Grand Tour, it was certainly not exclusive of the English upper class. At the time the educational journeys had a mixture of motives: educational, political, and religious. The church and government were closely interwoven, and the upper class were the chosen ones to protect the country from all social evil. Simultaneously, the government was in need of diplomats and spies, and these well-educated young men were excellent candidates as they formed friendships abroad and gained insight into foreign customs.26

As explained in the earlier sections, Van Maanen frequented a few political meetings, but his motivations to travel to London are probably better sought in terms of his education. The religious motivation of a Grand Tour, however, has not been

25 MS f1r; ‘Eulogy’ 49
26 Brodsky-Porges 177-178
mentioned. Van Maanen does attend church services of several denominations in London and also states that 'there is still a lot of bigotry in the Church of England.'\(^\text{27}\) He faithfully visits the services and spends quite some time around Rev. van Essen and Rev. Putman, both Dutch ministers. Yet besides his comment on the Church of England there is no mention of other opinions on proper religion, but his visits to several different churches do show that he has taken an interest in other denominations.

In the late seventeenth century the Grand Tour tradition primarily focused on Paris and Italy, which were the heart of the Renaissance, and these journeys are seen as the stereotypical Grand Tour. Nevertheless, it would be short-sighted to exclude journeys that did not venture to these specific places from the Grand Tour tradition.

Towner demonstrates a shift in several aspects of these tours in his analysis of 108 English travel journals from 1547 to 1840. In the early period of the tours (1600-1700) journeys tended to focus mainly on education and took relatively long with some journeys taking up to 40 months. Details in the earlier travel journals were mostly educational notes and notes about city life. Occasionally, there were comments on the scenery as well, but these were not very frequent; cities were the main point of interest. Moreover, the average age of people undertaking a Grand Tour was in their early twenties, and a little more than half of them attended university. In this period the majority of travellers were aristocrats and landed classes and provided 40-80 per cent of the population of Towner's sample.\(^\text{28}\)

Even though Pieter van Maanen embarked on his journey over a century later it does tick several boxes of these traditional Grand Tours. He goes for walks in Hackney

\(^{27}\) p. 56
\(^{28}\) Towner 303-310; 314
and comments on the landscape on only two occasions. Nevertheless, he comments on city life, customs, and architecture much more frequently. He describes the churches he visits, the building style of the English, visits the trails at the Old Bailey, and compares English traditions to those in Holland.

By the later eighteenth century the demographics of these journeys had shifted. The middle class was now the predominant class. Whereas from 1714 to 1740 students on their Grand Tour accounted for 40 per cent of the sample and another 35 per cent was undertaking a Grand Tour as a tutor, this percentage had dropped drastically in the period of 1781 to 1791. Naturally, the rate of travellers attending university dropped as well and the average age of travellers rose to 40. Moreover, in even later journals from 1814 to 1820 travellers commented more on the scenery they encountered than on city life.

Although Van Maanen’s stay seems to fit in more with earlier traditions, he never mentions being accompanied by a tutor at all. On the contrary, he seems to be able to go wherever he pleases, as he lived in a house together with others, in what could was perhaps the equivalent of a modern student flat. He writes about passing the evening in a student-like manner, hiring a boat to go see the Lord Mayor’s parade, and going on a trip to Chatham with his housemates. As becomes apparent in his journal, several members of Van Maanen’s family resided in London and he often mentions visiting his cousin, Mr Paats. Perhaps this is the reason a tutor was not necessary, as his parents would have heard about it if he misbehaved and squandered part of the family fortune

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29 p. 44
30 p. 35; p. 55; p. 56
31 p. 38
32 p. 59
33 MS: p. 56; p. 58; p. 60
34 Towner 303-312; 314
35 p. 20; p. 54
during his journey, which might have been an incentive to actually put effort into his studies in London as well.

Another study on Dutch travel journals by Dekker, supports Towner’s results of a relative decline in students undertaking a traditional Grand Tour. His study focused on Dutch travel journals and was part of a project to categorize a wide range of egodocumenten. Not only does he mention the Grand Tours of the seventeenth century in which France and Italy were predominantly visited, but also that Dutch travellers referred to journeys to other destinations by the same name. More importantly, the number of seventeenth-century journals about a Grand Tour is relatively greater than those of the eighteenth century. Out of the 80 seventeenth-century travel journals twenty of them were about a Grand Tour, whereas there were only seventeen about a grand tour from the eighteenth-century travel journals, while the number of journals from that period totals 315. Even though these numbers do not definitively prove that Grand Tours were in decline, they do show that travelling was no longer reserved to the privileged few.

Also, like the trend in the early nineteenth-century journals of the English, the late eighteenth-century Dutch journals show a considerable increase of comments on the environment. Furthermore, there are first accounts of short ‘pleasure trips’ lasting one to three weeks. Dekker tentatively concludes that the travel trends amongst the elite were changing towards entertainment and that the middle class was starting to discover travelling as well.

Van Maanen’s journey also seems to be geared towards entertainment, as he visits a great number of tourist attractions, theatres, coffeehouses, and taverns. He visits

36 egodocument: a historical document in which the author describes his or her personal experiences. This is a wide variety of documents ranging from personal correspondences to autobiographies.
37 Dekker 8-9
most of the main sights of the time that were mentioned in the companions to London. He goes to see the Tower and its collection of exotic animals,38 he goes to see Salmon’s Wax Works,39 which was the Madame Tussauds of the time, the Guild Hall,40 and British Museum,41 to name just a few. In particular, he seems to be fond of the theatre, as he visits it at least once a month. There were hardly any theatres in the Dutch Republic, and the plays that were performed were often limited to French classical plays. Plays with a political character or religious themes were forbidden by the church and were hence not performed in theatres.42 By the end of the eighteenth century London alone had seven theatres, whereas in the Republic some of the larger cities were lucky to have one. Perhaps this diversity and originality of the English plays appealed to him and encouraged him to choose London.

All in all, his stay in London seems to be a mixture of Grand Tour traditions and a journey for pleasure. On the one hand he visits London to increase the prestige of his education: he went to to inaugural lectures of certain, usually prestigious, professors, kept a catalogue of the surgeries he attended, and visits a great number of meetings of medical and scientific societies. On the other hand entertainment clearly played a role as well. Still, cultural and social education and maturation were aims of Grand Tours as well. In that sense, Van Maanen seems to have struck a good balance between his formal education and his socio-cultural education and can be seen as a somewhat more modern variant of the traditional Grand Tour.

38 p. 67
39 p. 22
40 p. 64
41 p. 61
42 Worps 261-289
4. Language

Nowadays one should be careful about what to post on the internet; one grammatical slip and it seems like the entire world is aching to correct it. Scholars have had their disputes about proper language use too, but it was not until the start of the nineteenth century that an official spelling and grammar of Dutch were published. Since the seventeenth century scholars had been developing a standard for Dutch written language based on Holland’s dialect. Their written standard was a highly artificial one, as it did not resemble the spoken language of the time.

In the eighteenth century the written language was held in high regard, and several grammatical rules were taught in schools, even though there was no official grammar yet. The ideal Dutch language was supposed to be as good as Latin. For instance, scholars frantically tried to hold on to grammatical cases, which had already disappeared in almost all spoken language. Whereas these scholars developed prescriptive grammars, Lambert ten Kate published a descriptive observation of the Dutch language. His Aenleiding tot de kennis van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake (‘Guide to the knowledge of the distinguished part of the Dutch language’), a work in two volumes full of observations on the differences between the spoken and the written language. Authors like Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken also advocated the use of a simple and natural style of writing. For instance, their book Historie van meijuffrouw Sara Burgerhart (‘The story of Ms Sara Burgerhart’) is notable for its colourful characters with their own, simple, kind of language use. With its short sentences the text is much easier to read than most other texts from the same period.43

43 Van der Sijs 228, 229, 242-245; Ten Kate; Deken.
The standard written language became a language for the well-educated, higher social classes because of its artificial character. The formal, most widely published eighteenth-century Dutch is most known for its long, posh, convoluted sentences. Although Van Maanen was a highly educated man, he hardly uses such long sentences in his travel journal. The reason for this is probably quite straightforward: long intricate sentences are not easy to read, and his journal was most likely meant for personal use only. In contrast, in his publications Van Maanen’s language is much more posh and artificial. However, in a text written for personal purposes it is much more practical to use short simple sentences. Van Maanen writes in a compact style rather than writing full grammatical sentences. His sentences are short and often omit personal pronouns and verbs. In the description of Van Maanen’s life, Van Boonen mentioned that Van Maanen had an excellent memory, even in his old age. This journal probably functioned as a personal reference to see what he had done on a certain day.

One of the features of eighteenth-century Dutch that are present in this journal is the use of demonstrative pronouns that have since fallen in disuse. Pronouns such as dezelve, hetzelve, and zulks are frequently used in eighteenth-century texts, whereas these pronouns were only used in very solemn texts in the nineteenth century. In more modern texts these longer demonstrative pronouns have been replaced with the much simpler and shorter pronouns deze, die, dit, and dat. Van Maanen also uses these shorter pronouns, but the frequency of the longer pronouns is much higher than that of later texts.

A very popular grammatical feature in the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century is a different use of hetzelve and dezelve. Namely, these

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44 Van der Boon 60
45 Horst 424
demonstrative pronouns were also used instead of a personal or possessive pronoun when the antecedent of the pronoun is not the subject of the sentence. This special use is stipulated in many old grammar books. In a sentence such as ‘Jan vermoordde Klaas en zijn vrouw’ (‘Jan killed Klaas and his wife’) grammarians argued that *zijn* can only refer to the subject of the sentence, Jan, which means Jan killed Klaas and his own wife. If the author meant to say that Jan killed Klaas and Klaas’ wife, he had to use *dezelfs* instead of *zijn*, so ‘Jan vermoordde Klaas en dezelfs vrouw’ would be the appropriate way to write this sentence. In the nineteenth century many grammarians wanted to get rid of this arbitrary rule, and the use of *dezelve* and *hetzelve* was perceived as ridiculous from the middle of the nineteenth century. From then on it was only used in facetious posh use.46

Another feature of eighteenth-century Dutch is the use of the relative pronouns *hetwelke, welke, and hetgeen*. In later texts these pronouns were replaced with the pronouns *wat* and *dat*. Van Maanen uses *wat* only once, but as an indefinite pronoun. He does use the word *dat* as a relative pronoun to refer to an entire sentence or phrase in a few instances, which is a use of *dat* later replaced by *wat*. The shift from *d* to *w* also occurred in the relative pronoun *daar*, which shifted to *waar*. This is apparent in Van Maanen’s text, as he uses *alwaar en aldaar* interchangeably.47

Van Maanen does inflect the article *de*, and uses *den* for the accusative and dative case, and he uses *der* to indicate a genitive case. This can be seen in the phrases ‘den dienst bijgewoond in St Margarets’48 (‘attended the service at St Margaret’s’) and ‘het vuur der bomben en der canonnen’49 (‘the fire of the bombs and the cannons’). While in

46 Komen 412-413
47 Van der Horst 424-425
48 p. 69
49 p. 71
the sixteenth and seventeenth century the inflected and uninflected articles were used freely, this was no longer the case in the eighteenth century, as influential grammarians of the time advocated that these inflections should be preserved.\(^50\) These inflections abound in the *Statenbijbel* as well, which was the standard Bible at the time. Therefore, Van Maanen must have been very familiar with them. Also, it is very likely that Van Maanen had to learn using these inflections during his education at grammar school.

In the eighteenth century physical adjectives were also inflected, and Van Maanen uses these inflections as well. This rule differs from the modern rule of inflection. If the noun qualified by the adjective is either feminine or plural, the adjective should end in an -e, instead of the regular inflection which ends in -en. The author writes *crystalle kroonen*,\(^51\) instead of *crystallen kroonen* and *ijsere kokers*\(^52\) instead of *ijseren kokers*. These inflections were not exclusively used for physical adjectives but for other adjectives as well. Van Maanen occasionally uses the inflections for other adjectives as well, for instance in *gebakke tongen*.\(^53\) The author uses *verscheide* instead of *verscheidene*, which was another common practice as well.\(^54\)

A development from the Middle Dutch period (1200-1500) is the use of *te* in combination with an infinitive in groups of verbs. So, instead of writing *begonden worden*, Van Maanen writes *begonden (...) te worden*.\(^55\) There are no instances in which he does not write *te* in such combinations.\(^56\)

The frequency of the present participle in eighteenth-century Dutch is much

\(^{50}\) Komen 406
\(^{51}\) p. 95
\(^{52}\) p. 76
\(^{53}\) p. 76
\(^{54}\) Komen 413
\(^{55}\) p. 76
\(^{56}\) Van der Horst 422
greater than in modern Dutch.\textsuperscript{57} Van Maanen uses the present participle regularly, while in modern Dutch the present participle is used to a much lesser extent and is becoming quite rare. Moreover, Van Maanen’s style is reminiscent of Latin and Greek’s use of the present participle; it is used to describe an action or a state which is taking place at the same time as the action or state of the main verb. This becomes apparent in the following sentence: ‘In ’t midden is een colossaale statue van wit marmer staande op een pedestal, verbeeldende de koning.’\textsuperscript{58} The main verb of this sentence is is, while staande and verbeeldende describe the different states the statue is in at the same time. Nowadays the present participle is usually replaced by a subordinate clause. Sentences like ‘de fietsende jongen viel’ are nowadays often rephrased to sentences such as ‘de jongen die aan het fietsen was viel.’

Van Maanen’s inflection of the verb worden is indicative of dated language use. He used weird for the past tense of the verb instead of werd. Several sources claim that by the sixteenth and seventeenth century werd was the standard inflection and that weird merely remained in regional dialects, yet a study by Rutten shows that a great number of contemporary sources still used weird and werd interchangeably.\textsuperscript{59}

Finally, there are two other small elements Van Maanen uses that typify its eighteenth-century character. Firstly, he uses als in the modern usage of zoals, on several occasions such as in the sentence ‘Hij opend de zak en haalt daar uit verscheide rariteijten die hij meedegebracht heeft, als een nationale cocrade.’\textsuperscript{60} This practice disappeared in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{61} Secondly, he uses the old word dewij\textsuperscript{62} once.

\textsuperscript{57} Rutten 44-52  
\textsuperscript{58} p. 82  
\textsuperscript{59} Rutten 43  
\textsuperscript{60} p. 73  
\textsuperscript{61} Komen 428  
\textsuperscript{62} p. 86
which is no longer at the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{63}

All in all, this journal is not a schoolbook example of an eighteenth-century text meant for publication, as the main characteristic of long convoluted sentences is hardly used. The text is more likely in the style of language used for private memoirs in which it was not necessary to show off one’s ability to form elaborate sentences. Van Maanen’s other publications clearly show that he was able to write in a formal style, which makes it even more probably he had never meant for his journal to be published.

\textsuperscript{63} Komen 427
5. Editorial principles

5.1 The transcription

Van Maanen’s journal is generally understandable to native speakers of Dutch. The purpose of the edition is to provide an accurate representation of the original manuscript, which is at the same time easier to read than the handwritten original. The edition did undergo some minor editing in order to achieve this.

The original line breaks and pagination have not been maintained. Odd indentations have also been omitted. The folio numbers that were added with pencil have been included in the transcription to assist the reader that wishes to collate the edition to the original manuscript. These numbers have been added between brackets.

Eighteenth-century Dutch had no standard rules for capitalisation or spelling. As the capitals in the original text do not add anything to the understanding of the text, capitalisation has been standardised to modern conventions for ease of reading. However, the author’s original spelling has been retained in most cases, as it hardly poses a problem for the readability of the text. Where the old spelling might impair the reader’s understanding of a word, the spelling has been adapted to the modern spelling while the original spelling given in a footnote. An instance of this is Chymie, as the ‘y’ is not a very frequent letter in modern Dutch it might throw some readers off. Therefore, Chymie becomes Chemie with the original spelling given in a footnote. In contrast, misspellings of foreign names have been retained to provide the reader with an insight into the - often Dutch phonetic - spelling of the author compared to the person’s actual name used in the translation.

The punctuation in the manuscript resembles modern punctuation, yet Van Maanen sometimes placed a period in the middle of a running sentence, and it is unclear
whether the author intentionally put the periods in the middle of a sentence or if these were a mistake. The periods in the middle of the sentence have been omitted and the modern conventions of punctuation have been applied. Also, the author does not consistently place a period after the number of each day; for consistency these periods have been added in the transcription.

The author used the colon to signify an abbreviation; in the transcription these abbreviations have been expanded between brackets. For instance *Proff:* becomes *Professor*.

For ease of reading the superscript letters used for abbreviations have been omitted. They have been replaced with the modern Dutch style for abbreviations. Thus, *Hr* becomes *Hr* and *St* becomes *St*. Note that *Do* becomes *Do* for *Dominee* (‘Reverend’) and is not replaced by the modern abbreviation *Ds*.

Insertions in the margins and insertions signified with a symbol have been moved to their appropriate place in the edition. Whenever this occurs it is mentioned in a footnote. Erased text that was clearly not intended to be part of the main text has been omitted. Illegible fragments are marked with [… …] along with a possible solution in the footnotes. These markers should not be confused with the periods without brackets, as the author sometimes uses a series of periods if he does not remember a person’s name or to repeat part of the sentence above. Whenever the author used the periods to repeat part of a sentence, the repetition has been expanded between brackets.

Lastly, underlined words in the text are displayed in italics in the edition in accordance with modern textual conventions.
5.2 The English translation

The aim of the English translation is to provide a fluent contemporary English text while at the same time staying as close to the Dutch original as possible. However, a word-for-word translation of the original often results in awkward or unnatural sentences in English. As the main significance of the text lies in its content and not in its stylistic and linguistic elements, the Dutch sentence structure is not retained in the English translation. The fluency of the English text is more important than a precise representation of the original, yet the translation never diverts from the message the author intended to convey.

As mentioned in the language section of the introduction, Van Maanen writes in a very compact manner, probably because his journal was intended for personal use only. This style often makes for short and incomplete sentences. The author hardly ever uses personal pronouns and often omits obvious verbs from his sentences. Reading such short, staccato sentences would make it a strenuous task to read through the text, which is why pronouns and missing verbs have been added to these short sentences. Van Maanen’s frequent genitives with van are translated by an s-genitive when possible, as this also improves the flow of a sentence. Lastly, sometimes more than one sentences or sentence fragments have been compounded into longer and more natural sentences. For example, a close translation of the entry on 21 October is:

21. Ate at Mr Cahais’. Drank tea at Mr Greeves. Heard a physiological lecture of Mr Haighton about digestion. Had supper at Mr Greenwood’s.

For this edition pronouns were added and the short sentences have been linked together so that the entry is translated as follows:
21. I ate at Mr Cahais’ and drank tea with Mr Greeves. I heard Mr Highton’s physiological lecture about digestion and had supper at Mr Greenwood’s.

The four short sentences, which made the reader pause four times, have been edited into two longer, more fluent, sentences that are not different at all in meaning.

In contrast with the transcription, the misspelled place names and proper names have been corrected in the translation. Van Maanen seems to have understood English fairly well, as he never complains about the difficulty of the language. Spelling the language is an entirely different matter though. For example, it takes him five months to finally get the spelling of one of his supervisors, John Highton, right. In total he uses three different variations, and the first time he writes down his name it has been erased and wrongly corrected. The alternative spelling of the name was retained in instances where it was uncertain if the author referred to the same person he had mentioned before. For instance, the author mentions the name ‘Clers’ throughout his journal. Yet on 16 March 1794 he mentions a Mr Clare.\textsuperscript{64} While these two different spellings sound the same in Dutch, it cannot be said with certainty that the author indeed meant the same person, as he did not give any further information about his relationship with either Mr Clers or Mr Clare.

Furthermore, the manuscript only has the month’s names written on the first day of the month, which makes it difficult to quickly see which month the author is writing about while browsing. To increase the overview of the dates in the journal, the months have been added in a larger, bold typeface above the first entry of the month.

Lastly, the references to the footnotes have been placed directly after the names

\textsuperscript{64} p. 66
rather than at the end of the entire sentence, as on several occasions Van Maanen mentions several people in one sentence. Even though this is not ideal, placing all the references at the end of the sentence would make it unclear about which part of the sentence the note refers to. Alternatively, putting a marker in the footnote to which part of the sentence the note pertains to would make them unnecessarily long. Whenever a footnote relates to the entire sentence or fragment the reference is placed at the end of the sentence or fragment.
Journal of my visit to London in 1793-1794.¹

October

1. I saw Professor Lowder’s² office and went to Lloyd’s Coffeehouse³ above the stock exchange.

2. In the operating theatre of Guy’s Hospital, I heard Professor Saunders⁴ inaugural lecture about the wrist and the various causes that change the wrist in several ways. I went for an afternoon stroll with Mr Webb⁵ to St James Park and saw the waterworks at London Bridge. There were sedan chairs in Westminster.

3. 4. I dined at Mr van Mathals’ with four other gentlemen at six o’clock. We had two courses and four times wine.

5. I ate at Mr van Essen’s with the Mr Cahais, Mr Bosman, and Mr Guetard. I spoke with two girls, one of thirteen and the other fourteen, who understood Greek and Latin. I

¹ The manuscript reads 1794-1795. The actual period must have been 1793-1794, as the dates of the church services the author visited fall on Mondays in 1794, but on Sundays in 1793. Moreover, in October 1794 Dr Priestley, whom he also visits, had already emigrated to America (Schofield par. 40-41). Finally, the medical catalogue embedded in this manuscript is also dated 1793-1794.
² William Lowder, M.D., (d. 1801) practised midwifery and was a well-known lecturer on the subject (Munk 362). He is listed as an honorary member and former president of Guy’s Physical Society (Physical Society 3).
³ This coffeehouse was originally situated in Lombard Street as a place underwriters and insurers of ships’ cargoes could go for a drink. It moved to the stock exchange in February 1774. It was the principal place to receive earliest news about the arrival and sailing of ships, ships lost at sea or captured, and other naval news (Timbs 289-293).
⁴ William Saunders (1743-1890) was a long-time physician at Guy’s Hospital and was the first to advertise clinical lectures of which he is said to have made £1,000 per year (Moore).
⁵ Possibly Francis Webb (1736-1815), a General Baptist minister and writer. He was pastor of the General Baptist chapel in London from 1761-1766 and was deputy searcher at Gravesend until he retired to Dorset in 1777. He married in 1764 in Dorset (Webb par.1-2). On 16 December Mr Webb eats with Van Maanen and Mr Haskins. On 17 November Mr and Mrs Haskins leave for Honiton, a town close to Dorset, where Webb has also been pastor. Later, on 20 December, another party is thrown by Mr and Mrs Haskins in honour of their departure with Mr Webb leaving the next day. Perhaps these three people regularly visited London.
heard Mr Babington's\textsuperscript{6} inaugural lecture about the necessity of knowledge of chemistry, which was supported by different experiments of combining conflicting ingredients. I also saw Dr Priestley.\textsuperscript{7}

6. I went to St Paul's Church and saw the exterior of Somerset House. I visited the service in St Margaret's, which is a small but neat church. All the benches inside are lined with green cloth. The curators of the church are dressed in blue coats with gold and carry ebony staves with silver. There are scarlet cushions with gold in the churches. I strolled in St James' Park, Green Park, Hyde Park, and Kensington Gardens. There are hundreds of people and a lot of carriages on these walkways on Sundays. I saw a remarkable carriage there and saw the funeral of a child by two women and a man at St Saviour's cemetery.

7. Double St Jacob's scallops are being sold in London; its fishes are eaten as mussels (cockles). I heard Professor Haighton's\textsuperscript{8} inaugural lecture about the enlightenment of current physiology compared to earlier physiology and how this benefits the field of medicine.

\textsuperscript{6}William Babington (1756-1833) was a successful physician and mineralogist. He was more interested in chemistry and minerology than in medicine and lectured on chemistry at Guy's Hospital for many years. He was friends with Joseph Priestley (Payne par. 2-3).

\textsuperscript{7}Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), famous theologian and natural philosopher, is nowadays primarily remembered for his discovery of seven gases, including oxygen. In his time he was known as very liberal and in favour of reforms in government, education, and theology; much to the dismay of the clergy who tried to silence him. In the 'Priestley riots of 1791' his house in Birmingham was destroyed, and he fled to Hackney where he became the morning preacher. However, the government tried to silence all criticism and was keeping a close watch on him. Therefore, he immigrated to America in 1794 where he died in 1804 (Schofield).

\textsuperscript{8}John Haighton (1755-1823), surgeon and physiologist, lectured in St Thomas' and Guy's about physiology and midwifery. He was called the 'Merciless Doctor' by his opponents, because of his ruthless physiological experiments. Haighton often presided at the Physical Society's meetings at Guy's Hospital (Bettany).
8. I heard Mr Cline’s\textsuperscript{9} anatomical lecture in the operating theatre of St Thomas’ Hospital about the \textit{tela cellulose},\textsuperscript{10} and heard Dr Relph’s\textsuperscript{11} inaugural lecture in Guy’s Theatre about a patient suffering from \textit{colica pictunum}.\textsuperscript{12}

9. I saw several exotic animals in Exeter Change and Rackstrow’s Museum.\textsuperscript{13} In the afternoon I went for a stroll and visited Mr Salader. In the evening I dined at Mr Cahais’; we had pickled salmon. I saw part of the Dog and Duck.\textsuperscript{14}

10. I saw big carts with nine horses going to Islington and a watercart on London Bridge. I also saw the Tower’s surroundings and heard Professor Roberts’\textsuperscript{15} inaugural physics lecture about the specific weight of bodies.

11. I dined at Mr White’s with Mr Quatteri,\textsuperscript{16} professor of botany, Dr Cooke from London Hospital,\textsuperscript{17} Dr Cooper,\textsuperscript{18} Dr Relph from Guy’s Hospital, Mr Lettsom, surgeon,\textsuperscript{19} Mr

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\textsuperscript{9} Henry Cline (1750-1827) was a surgeon of St Thomas’ Hospital. Besides his profession he was also interested in politics and was friends with Horne Took and John Thelwall, two radical republicans (Bevan par. 2).

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{tela cellulose}; cellular tissue.

\textsuperscript{11} John Relph (d. 1804), M.D. and physician to Guy’s Hospital, is listed as an honorary member and former president of Guy’s Physical Society (Physical Society 4; Deaths; Munk 345). He is also the author of a book about the medical efficacy of Peruvian bark (Relph).

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Colica pictum}, or lead poisoning, was often caused by cider and other beverages contaminated by lead in eighteenth century England (Eisinger 283). For an extensive discussion of the disease see Eisinger (279-302).

\textsuperscript{13} Founded by Benjamin Rackstrow, the museum contained wax figures, body parts in preservative liquids, and life and dried animals. For a full catalogue from 1792, see Rackstrow.

\textsuperscript{14} The Dog and Duck, established around 1642, was an inn which sold water recommended by physicians. Its name derives from the practice of duck-hunting, which used to be done at the ponds near it. Around 1785 it had got a bad reputation; by 1796 it lost its license. The building was used as a school for the blind from 1799 until it was torn down in 1811, to make room for the new Bethlehem Hospital (Wroth 271-277).

\textsuperscript{15} Edward Roberts (1762-1846) became a fellow of the College of Physicians on 30 September 1793. He was elected physician to St Bartholomew’s Hospital in 1794 and retired from his post there in 1834 (Munk 426).

\textsuperscript{16} The 1799 edition of The London Medical Journal mentions Dr Quatteri, who is a professor of botany in Parma (Souter 189).

\textsuperscript{17} John Cooke (c.1756-1838) was elected physician to London Hospital in 1784, an office he held for 23 years. His \textit{A Treatise on Nervous Diseases} shows he had great knowledge of the subject (Moore par. 1-3).

\textsuperscript{18} Sir Astley Paston Cooper (1768-1841) was a surgeon and had been a pupil of Henry Cline, whose political views he also shared. This caused him to be imprisoned in France. Cline used his influence there and got him released. He treated numerous influential patients and removed a cyst from the scalp of King George IV, who created him baronet in 1821 (Bynum par. 2, 7).
Lettsom, student of Medicine from Göttingen, Dr Sims, Mr Smith, Mr White, and two others. We ate a half uncut cod, brown ragout, a ham, a piece of beef, two chickens, cooked French beans, and potatoes. For dessert we had: celery, cheese, and nuts. For drinks we had: port, wine, Madeira, and champagne. During the meal we brought out several toasts in turn. We sang and at half past eight we drank tea. We played card games and had supper in the meantime. I went home at half past twelve.

12. I attended the meeting of the Medical Society in Guy's Hospital, which was presided over by Mr Haighton. This meeting was quite nonsensical.

13. I had breakfast at Mr Graves' and ate at Mrs Descotes' in Hackney with Rev. van Essen and his daughters. I went to church at the Dissenters Meeting with Rev. Palmer. An explanation of the saying 'J'ai perdu la tramontane' was given to me by Rev. van Essen. Before the invention of the compass, sailors used the North Star to navigate, which was visible above the Alps from Mediterranean Sea. When the ships arrived at a certain point where they could not see the North Star, or if it was not visible due to bad weather, they could not sail, as they had lost their guide; 'parce qu'alors ils avaient perdu la Tramontane.' There were guards with loaded rifles on Hackney Road, greeting...

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19 John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815) was one of founders of the London Medical Society. A philanthropist at heart, he founded several other valuable institutions. Lettsom, a very sociable man, was a highly successful doctor, who acquired many prominent patients and also published several books. (Payne par. 3-10).

20 John Miers Lettsom (1771-1799) was a promising physician and John Coakley Lettsom's eldest son. He undertook a study-tour with Dr Sims through Europe and studied at Göttingen for two years. At the age of 28 he died from a twelve-day fever in his house in London (Payne par. 5; Pettigrew Eulogy 49, Memoirs 62).

21 James Sims (1741-1820), physician, was president of the London Medical Society from 1786 to 1806, when he was displaced by Astley Cooper and William Babington (Power par. 1-2).

22 Samuel Palmer (1741-1813) was the morning preacher at St Thomas' Square in Hackney. He is known for The Protestant Dissenter's Catechism (1772) and The Nonconformist's Memorial (2 vols., 1775) and emphasised practical religion in his sermons (Gordon par. 1-4).

23 'I have lost the North Star/the guide.' Figuratively used as: 'to be disoriented' (TLFi s.v. 'transmontane').
passers-by with ‘good night.’ Dutch herring is sold in England. The English’ current building style is to have gardens and poplar trees in front of new houses.

14. I heard a lecture by Mr Cline about the ligaments and went to Sadler’s Wells in the evening. There was an inscription above the curtain: ‘Vive la Bagatelle.’ The play was opened by a group of acrobats. There was a dance by twelve dancers on the occasion of the marriage of a seventh couple, which was very pretty.

The siege of Valenciennes by the English and the Austrians is displayed next. The fire of bombs and cannons from both the besiegers and the besieged are shown. The fire in the city and the collapse of several large buildings and churches all seem very natural. The bombardment stops when the besieged hoist the red flag instead of the national flag. General Ferrand wants to surrender and sends an officer and trumpets to the besiegers. The citizens are dismayed and want to continue fighting until the end. Therefore, the bombardment continues and the city is raised to the ground. The acceptance of defeat is shown: the commander hands over the keys to the Duke of York and the garrison lays down its arms. Then there is a display of the situation within Valenciennes after the surrender: masses of dead and wounded everywhere.

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24 The name of Sadler’s Wells derives from an ancient well with peculiar carvings which was uncovered in Mr Sadler’s garden. He had the water examined by a doctor who advised him to brew ale with it. This ale became very popular and remained famous for a long time. For more about Sadler’s Wells see Wroth (43-53).

25 Literally: ‘success to frivolity or nonsense.’ The saying expresses a carefree attitude of life (Speake).

26 The Siege of Valenciennes took place from 13 June to 28 July 1793.

27 Jean Henri Ferrand (1736-1805), general, was commander of the garrison in Valenciennes. With only 9,000 men he defended the city for three months from an enemy army of 150,000. He was appointed Prefect of the Meuse-Inférieure (Lower Meuse) but retired in 1804 due to bad health (Hoefer 491).

28 Prince Frederick, the second son of George III, was Duke of York at the time and was in command of the British army sent to Flanders to co-operate with the Austrian army under the command of the Prince of Coburg. York was brave but inexperienced and relied chiefly on his staff. This campaign was unsuccessful and the army retreated in December 1794. Despite this failure the King promoted York to be field marshal on 18 February 1795 and to commander-in-chief of the army on 3 April 1798 (Stephens par. 1-4).
Two French women sing a duet, mourning the loss of their relatives and the city of Mainz.29

Next up was a ridiculous scene between a few French sansculottes30 on the run and some English soldiers dressed in ridiculous clothing. A sansculotte who fled from Valenciennes finds a tuber of which he gregariously takes a bite while singing a solo. Da Capo.31 Three municipal officers dressed in black with national sashes around the waist are playing a game of checkers in front of the room of the Queen of France. A sansculotte, ridiculously dressed, is standing guard in front of the room. The three officers are eating and the behaviour of the guard is nonsensical. The tocsin32 is sounded. A meeting of the National Convention is shown. All members are dressed in black with national cockades and sashes. The president notifies the convention about the capitulation of Valenciennes. There is great discontent and there are deliberations about what to do to retake the city. The decision is made that the Dauphin will be taken from the Queen and that the Queen must be brought to the Conciergerie.33 The Queen and her family are brought in and informed about this decision. The Queen has a calm attitude and refuses to sign a letter with a request to the allies to lay down arms against France. The Queen prepares to leave and says goodbye to the Dauphin, Madame Elisabeth, and others. The municipal officers and sansculottes treat her and her family roughly. The Queen gathers her clothing and belongings and wants to tie these in a

29 Mainz was besieged at the same time Valenciennes was and fell into the hands of the Prussians on 23 July 1793.
30 People from the French lower social class were called sansculottes. A culotte is a knee-breach, clothing only the higher social classes wore. Sansculotte means ‘without knee-breaches’ (OED s.v. ‘sans-culottes’).
31 Da capo; a musical term signalling a repetition from the beginning or from a certain part (Naxos s.v. ‘Da capo’).
32 Tocsin; a signal of alarm by the ringing of a bell (OED s.v. ‘tocsin’).
33 The Conciergerie was the former palace of the French Kings. In 1391, part of the palace was converted into a prison. During the Reign of Terror the prison was known as the ‘antechamber to the guillotine.’ It was the main prison of Paris, and over 2700 prisoners were executed by guillotine (Ministère de la Justice).
cloth. However, a municipal sees the *fleurs-de-lis* embroidered on the corners of the cloth and rips them off. The Queen gets into a carriage and rides in it to the Conciergerie. The warden and his servant receive her and violently force her inside. She tries to flee, but is stopped by a guard and is coarsely brought back. Several debates by the municipals to raise suspicion against the Queen are shown. A woman is corrupted into bringing her a note hidden in a bouquet, which is supposedly written by one of leaders of the counterrevolutionaries, to prove that she is in correspondence with him. The bouquet is delivered to her but is examined by a municipal that discovers the note. There were unpleasant accusations about this. The Queen is shown in a horrible den in the Conciergerie. A sack of straw, a jug of water, and bread are brought to her and the Queen gets desperate upon seeing this. All of this was brilliantly acted. She falls in despair on the sack of straw. The curtain falls.

Between both acts there was a man with a large sack displayed as if he came from France. He opens the sack and produces several rarities he brought with him, such as a national cockade, a broken bell from the National Convention, and so on. Meanwhile he sings a very large, amusing aria, which is greatly applauded. Da Capo. Apparently the men do not want to hear this, as they start setting up a tightrope. There was unusual commotion about this. The people raising the rope are being bombarded with nuts, apples, and more. The aria is repeated. Richer\(^{34}\) and a woman dance remarkably well on the tightrope. Another person crawls like a snake in between the rungs of a ladder. Several musical pieces were played in a delightful way on glasses filled with water by

\(^{34}\) Possibly the name of the dancer. Highfill mentions 'Mr Andrew’s Company’, a company of dancers and tumblers that came from London and moved to Bristol. There were several members of the Richards’ family in this company. Perhaps Richer is someone from this family (Highfill s.no. ‘Mr.Richards’).
stroking with a wet finger along the edge of the glass, while the accompaniment is being played with the left hand.

The next play is *Pandora’s box*. Vulcan’s smithy is shown in which Cyclopes are busy crafting all kinds of weaponry. Vulcan walks through it while giving out orders. There are four or five furnaces. A statue, which is supposed to be metal, is in the foreground. This is a most excellent play. The Cyclopes sing a chorus, and afterwards Vulcan sings. Mercury, Apollo, Venus, Minerva, and Juno come to visit Vulcan. Jupiter descends in a cloud, which unfolds itself, and Jupiter gets off his throne. All the gods greet him and they inspect Vulcan’s smithy. Jupiter orders to break down the metal statue and make weapons out of it. The Cyclopes hack it to pieces and Pandora emerges from it, who moves towards Jupiter while singing, who in turn answers by singing. All of the gods sing the chorus. Jupiter commands Mercury to fetch a box from the cloud and to give it to Pandora. He climbs back into the cloud and disappears, after that the gods leave. Pandora sets down the box, which moves by itself on the ground. She wishes to open the box, though it keeps dodging her. Finally, she takes off the lid upon which the box significantly increases in size. Discord appears from box, and after that all seeds of Discord appear, played by children. Seeds like Avarice, Gambling, Pride, Wrath, Drunkenness, Fickleness, Deceit, and a great number of others that were sent out by Discord to do evil everywhere. Afterwards all of the seeds of Discord appear separately and hit the people with their rod from which Disagreement, Vanity, Duelling, Sorcery, Retaliation, Intrigue, Foolishness, Thievery, Deceit, and others, emerge. Vanity wore fake calves, a camisole with a ruff collar, suspenders (gallows\(^35\)), a fake stomach, and fake hair. Sorcery had an abundance of things. A harlequin does hilarious impressions

\(^35\)gallows; old word for suspenders, nowadays only in Scottish and American dialect (OED s.v. ‘gallows’).
during all of this. Meanwhile, Time appears with its scythe, on which is stated: ‘Time will change everything’. Hope also emerges from Pandora’s box, as a sign that there is hope of recovery from all this. Deceit is portrayed by a Dutch sea view in which Dutch fishermen swindle the English with smelly fish. After all these seeds of Discord have achieved their goals, Justice, Moderation, and Prudence appear, who lead all the seeds of Discord after them in chains and plunge them into the Cave of Reflection, where they are tortured. The Temple of Happiness is shown. In the foreground is Hope; farther away are Justice, Moderation, and Prudence on beautiful thrones. The temple rests on more than twenty columns, each of which has a statue displaying some or other virtue. These virtues are sitting at the base of each column and are played by the same children that played the vices before. Time steps forward and waves his scythe around as a sign that everything has changed. Twelve winged genies that symbolise twelve hours come forward. Each genie has a tablet on which an hour is engraved. Justice, Moderation, and Prudence get off their thrones and join Hope. The play ends with a jointly sung chorus and an excellent dance around Time by the genies. The décor has changed over a hundred times.

15. I heard Dr Saunders’ first clinical lecture.

16. I dined at Mr Smith’s with the same people that were present at Mr White’s with the addition of Mr Cooke, Miss Smith Junior, and another gentleman. We had excellent haddock and baked soles, vegetable soup, a ham, veal’s head, lamb roast, beef ragout, duck, poultry, pigeon pie, and more. For vegetables we had potatoes, cooked cabbage, carrots, et cetera. For drinks we had Madeira, port, wine and claret. As dessert we had apples, pears, cantaloupe, grapes, and nuts. Tea and coffee were served at eight o’clock.
played piquet\textsuperscript{36} with Dr Sims. We had punch and went home at half past eleven. Fish is sold all over London. It is bad quality fish, as good fish is extremely expensive. I saw big red shrimp (Crims\textsuperscript{37}) and a multitude of large crabs.

17. I drank tea at Mr N. C. Paats, visited Mr N. A. Paats when I left there, and had supper with Mr A. Paats. I had a fairly good ray at home that was served in its eternity. In the morning I saw a Panorama which portrayed the sea so naturally that some women began to get seasick.\textsuperscript{38} A pack of cards is very expensive in London: 30 shillings for one game.

18. Iron pipes are attached to these houses to extinguish the torches.\textsuperscript{39} There are iron scrapers on all the houses. There was applause of women, and there were people on the streets with large bells.

19. I went to St Bartholomew’s and Westminster Hospital and went to Apollo Garden\textsuperscript{40} and the Dog and Duck in the evening. The room in Apollo Garden was very bright and frescoed.

20. I walked along Newington to Kensington at eight o’clock and had breakfast there at Mr and Mrs Haskins’. Subsequently I strolled through Kensington, Hammersmith, Kew,

\textsuperscript{36} A trick taking-card game for two players, previously known as ‘cent’ or ‘sant’. In the 17\textsuperscript{th} century the French name piquet was adapted. The first person to reach a score of 100 wins (EB s.n. ‘piquet’).

\textsuperscript{37} Possibly a phonetic spelling by the authors for ‘shrimps’. He might have been unaware of the English spelling of the word. The ‘c’ in Dutch can be pronounced as either a ‘k’ or an ‘s’.

\textsuperscript{38} An article in the magazine \textit{Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen} from 1804 claimed Robert Barker invented the panorama more than six years before and describes a panorama of London as being the first panorama (Simonzs). The author sent a letter to the magazine in which he explained there was a different Panorama in London ten years ago, which portrayed the Isle of Wight and the English fleet. So according to the author the invention must at least older than ten years and of a different painting (van Maanen). In fact, both are wrong as the first panorama painted by Barker was that of Edinburgh, which was first publicly displayed in 1788 (Harrison par. 2-3).

\textsuperscript{39} The author may refer to houses in a line that has been crossed out before this sentence, or to the style of houses he mentioned earlier on 13 October.

\textsuperscript{40} Apollo Garden opened in 1788 and was known as a ‘resort of cheats and pickpockets’ by 1792. The magistrates suppressed the Apollo. The owner went bankrupt, and the Gardens closed down somewhere between 1793 and 1796 (Wroth 268-270).
and Isleworth to Richmond, where I ate. According to the Londoners, the marvellous view from there over the valley and river is the prettiest in the kingdom. I had supper at Mr Haskins’ in the evening. I walked approximately 30 miles on this day and saw the parade at St James’ Park that same morning during my stroll. There was an impressive group of twelve musicians along with three Moors who were royally clad and played on the bass drum, the cymbals, and the tambourine. I saw roses, yellow irises, and a variety of other summer flowers. I also saw a peculiar shape of coffins.

21. I had a meal at Mr Cahais’ and drank tea with Mr Greeves. I heard a physiological lecture by Mr Haighton about digestion and I had supper at Mr Greenwood.

22. I had lunch and dinner at Mr C. Paats’.

23. I ate at Mr Cooke's in Stratford with roughly the same company as with Mr White and Smith with the addition of the Mr Harvey, a surgeon's assistant in St Bartholomew's Hospital, Mr Tumbal, Rev. Jeffreys and one other gentleman. We ate brown ragout, cod which was served in its entirety surrounded by baked whiting, a loin of lamb, smoked bacon, poultry, hare, partridges, pigeons, chicken, and more. As for vegetables we had cooked savoy cabbage, tubers, potatoes, and carrots. For drinks we had Madeira, port, wine, and sherry. We had an excellent dessert. I rode to Stratford with Mr Smith and passed the village of Bow which looks very bad. Stratford is a very spacious and airy village. The landscape there quite resembles the Dutch landscapes. I saw the funeral of an unmarried person. There were large white plumes on the horses and coffin and white lamps, and so on. They use black ones for married people.
24. I ate at Mr Smith's. In the evening I attended the meeting of the Disputing Room in Capel Court, where more than a thousand people, both male and female, were present. There were enthusiastic orators and a lot of patriots. The English are very unruly.41

25. I ate with Mr Guetard in a tavern and drank tea with muffins in a coffeehouse. In the evening I had supper with Mr Greeves in the Sun Tavern,42 at the society *Rosa sub tegmine tuti*43 which has over 3000 members.

26. I ate with Mr Guetard at Rev. van Essen's at Hackney. The lifestyle of the gentleman is remarkable.

27. I had a meal with Cousin C. Paats and I went for a short stroll outside of the city in the afternoon. I ate with the same people in the evening.

28. In the evening I attended a physiological lecture by Dr Haighton about digestion.

29. In the afternoon I visited Mr and Mrs Haskins and had supper there in the evening.

30. I saw Mr Longbottom's cabinet of skeletons and other anatomical specimens44 and in the evening I went to the theatre in Covent Garden45 where *Hamlet* and *the Little

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41 John Thelwall (1764-1834), a political reformer and lecturer, who at the time lived near Guy's and St Thomas' Hospitals, was present at this meeting. He was a close friend of Astley Cooper, attended Cline's and Babington's lectures and was a member of the Physical Society at Guy's until October 1793. He gave public lectures on politics, supporting government reform. Many people came to listen to him, and in 1794 he was arrested, but eventually acquitted. He concluded his political career in 1796 when he was attacked wherever he wanted to speak (Roe par. 1-6). At this particular meeting Thelwall had not intended to take part in the debate, but he was asked to when he was discovered by the audience. He told an allegory of a tyrannous gamecock, King Chanticleer, who was eventually beheaded because he treated his subjects badly. The publicist Daniel Isaac Eaton spruced it up, published it on pamphlets, and was jailed on charges of libel. He spent three months in jail before his trial came on, after which he was acquitted. Nevertheless, the King's reputation had suffered greatly and the government's animosity towards Thelwall grew (Thale 67; Thelwall 107-111).

42 The Sun Tavern was later called Temple Bar Stores (Thornbury 74).

43 *Rosa sub tegmine tuti*, 'Rose under the protection of a roof'.

44 The British Museum has two trade cards from H. Longbottom, son of the late Nathaniel Longbottom, who sold skeletons at 109 King Street, Southwark, London.
Hunchback\textsuperscript{46} were played. It had four and a half rows with lodges above each other and 26 lodges on each row. It had no separate place for the King and his family. The scene in Hamlet in which Ophelia is buried was excellently performed. There was an organ in the orchestra. There is a new theatre on Drury Lane, where eleven people work. \textsuperscript{47} There was a large crowd of common whores in the vicinity of the theatre, including girls of twelve and thirteen.

31. –

November

1 November. In the evening I attended the medical meeting at Hunter’s Lyceum,\textsuperscript{48} which was mostly arranged as the medical society in Guy’s Hospital.

2. I drank tea at Mr and Mrs Haskins’ and attended the meeting at Guy’s Hospital in the evening.

3. In the morning I went to church in Hackney at Dr Priestley’s. After church I strolled through Hackney with Rev. van Essen and saw the Institute of Education of the Young, which is partially arranged like the colleges in the German Universities. In the afternoon I ate at Mrs Descotes’ and went to church at Rev. Maurice’s\textsuperscript{49} service. I passed the evening at Mrs Descotes’ with Rev. van Essen and Mr Guetard.

\textsuperscript{45} Covent Garden theatre was built in 1732 and rebuilt in 1792. The second building was destroyed by a fire in 1808. The current building was built in 1858 and became known as the Royal Opera House in 1892 (Hildy ‘Covent Garden’).

\textsuperscript{46} Farce by playwright O’Keefe; it is also called A Frolic in Bagdad. The story is almost literally taken from Arabian Nights. It was first performed on 14 April 1789 (London Stage 1145; European Magazine 327).

\textsuperscript{47} The theatre was rebuilt for the third time in 1794, after it had been demolished in 1791. It was advertised as fireproof but nevertheless burned to the ground in 1809 (Hildy s.n. ‘Drury Lane’).

\textsuperscript{48} Hunter’s Lyceum is officially called the Lyceum Medicum Londinense.

\textsuperscript{49} Possibly Thomas Maurice (1754-1824), orientalist and librarian. He was a curator and vicar for several churches in and around London and had also been a military chaplain (Leask par. 2-3).
4. I pleasantly passed the evening in a student-like manner together with my housemates and Mr Guetard. I played Whisk\textsuperscript{50} for the first time.

5. There were festivities on this day, as it is the celebration of the discovery of the conspiracy by Guy Fawkes and 300 other prominent Catholics against the King and the members of the parliament some 150 years ago. There was a large crowd of beggars with a Guy Fawkes figure on a stick. There were fireworks all over the city and in the evening there were bonfires on crossroads in which his effigy was burnt. The entire day there were flags on the towers, cannons firing, and bells tolling. Jews were walking the streets with an abundance of pomegranates.\textsuperscript{51}

6. I had a meal at Mr Cahais' and in the evening I went to a comedy in Covent Garden, where \textit{Lover's Quarrels}\textsuperscript{52} was performed at the request of the King.\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Hartfort Bridge},\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Harlequin's Chaplet},\textsuperscript{55} and the taking of Toulon were also performed.\textsuperscript{56} To enter the comedy one almost had to risk one’s life. I saw the King, the Queen, the three oldest princesses, and two princes, all in mourning over the Queen of France. More than seven

\textsuperscript{50}Whisk, or Whist, is a popular trick-taking card game derived from the sixteenth century game of trump. ‘Whist’ means quiet, silent, or attentive. Attentiveness plays a major role in this game, as the key to success lays in the ability to remember which cards have been played to deduce the cards still in play. Several books have been written on the strategies of Whist. Hearts and Spades are games derived from Whist (EB s.n. ‘Whist’).

\textsuperscript{51}In Judaism there is considerable symbolism connected to the pomegranate. It was one of the fruits the twelve spies brought back (Numbers 13:23) and the land of Israel was known for (Deuteronomy 8:8). The robe of the high priest had images of the pomegranate on it (Exodus 28:33). During Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, it is customary to eat symbolic foods, such as the pomegranate. In 1794 Rosh Hashanah fell on 25 September and it is unclear if the Jews sold pomegranates on this day specifically. It is more likely that is just one of the author’s many observations about life in London.

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Lover’s Quarrels} was first performed on 11 February 1792 at Covent Garden (Burnim 189).

\textsuperscript{53}The Royal Family was to go to these plays on 23 October, but ‘the melancholy tidings of the death of the Queen of France prevented the royal visit’ then (London Stage 1592).

\textsuperscript{54}William Pearce’s (1748-1829) operatic farce \textit{Hartfort Bridge}, or \textit{The Skirts of the Camp} was first performed on 3 November 1792 (Taylor 159). The full script is available online from Hathi Trust (Pearce).

\textsuperscript{55}A pantomime by the playwright James Wild (1749-1801). It was first performed on 21 December 1789 (Highfill s.no. ‘Wild, James’).

\textsuperscript{56}The taking of Toulon performance had decors on which the British, Spanish, and French fleets were displayed manoeuvring the harbour of Toulon on the 29\textsuperscript{th} of August 1793. The performance included music and singing.
eights of the audience were in mourning as well. Before the performance started there was singing by 20 to 30 actors and actresses, who were all in mourning. They sang: ‘God save great George our King’. Every time most of the audience joined in at the chorus. Between Act I and Act II *Rule Britannia* was sung according to its own melody, and each time it was followed by wild hurray’s and applause. After the performance *God Save the King* was sung again by 50 to 60 actors and actresses and all of the audience.

7. I saw the meeting room of the Antiquarian Society, which boasted a copper model of a marvellous Chinese temple. I was introduced into the Royal Society by Dr Simmons. There was a marble bust of George III as protector of the society above the chimney, and opposite there was a bust of Charles II as founder of the society above the mantelpiece. The room was decorated with several remarkable portraits of prominent English scientists.

8. I had supper in Rope at *Rosa sub tegmine tuti*.

9. Today was Lord Mayor’s Day. I rented a boat with my housemates and rowed up to the place where the new Lord Mayor got out of the state coach and went into the yacht accompanied by the former Lord Mayor, the sheriffs, and the aldermen. There were eleven valuable yachts of different guilds decorated with a great number of flags and

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57 Founded in 1707, it held weekly meetings in the Mitre Tavern. Many members of this Society also belonged to the Royal Society. A history of the society is found in Sweet, pp. 81-119.
58 Founded in 1660, it emerged from informal weekly meetings; the Royal Charter was granted by King Charles II in 1662. Several histories of the society have been written, the first one by Thomas Sprat in 1667.
59 Samuel Foart Simmons (1750-1813), physician, was a fellow of the Royal Society and expert on insanity. He was called for during George III’s illness in 1804 and was appointed physician-extraordinary to the king. The king loathed him for his treatment of total restraint and dismissed him. After this he was called for several times, but the royal family hardly co-operated with him anymore (Brock par. 1, 5).
60 Sir Paul Le Mesurier (1755-1805) was the Lord Mayor from 1793-1794 and ‘used a mixture of firmness and expediency effectively to deal with riots directed against the “crimping” of men into the army and with unruly protests about assessments under the new Militia Act’ (Meyer par. 1, 4).
61 Sir James Sanderson was Lord Mayor from 1792-1793 (Beaven).
other ornaments. On each yacht there were eighteen rowers wearing different clothing
and multi-coloured cockades and musicians in varying clothes. The Goldsmiths’ Guild’s
costly yacht was freshly gilded with 2,000 booklets of gold leave. All the rowers were
in orange and blue. The Furriers’ Guild’s rowers were dressed in cotton jerkins dyed
like ermine with red velvet hats with ermine edges. The captain of the Lord Mayor’s
yacht wore a luxurious blue satin costume with a high fur hat and a commander’s staff.
An untold number of boats and sloops were on the Thames. There was one Englishman
in a canoe. We followed the yachts until Westminster Bridge and saw the landing of the
Lord Mayor and his consorts under continuous music, tolling of bells, and cannon fire. A
large sword, a sceptre, and other insignia were carried in front of the Lord Mayor. The
Lord Mayor’s following was impressive; there were the sheriffs, aldermen, and other
members of the Magistrate, all with their servants in beautiful liveries and with
different cockades, including some with three different ones on each side of their hats.
They were followed immediately afterwards by all guild masters, all dressed in black
tabards with furry edges. We saw the return of parliament from Westminster Hall in
London Coffeehouse. Ahead of them there were two companies of city militia playing
music. The two colonels were beautifully dressed holding their sceptres in hand whilst
riding on cream-coloured horses, which were most excellently harnessed. There was a
company of pike men with large spears and shields, who were dressed in blue tabards
decorated with orange and wore black velvet bonnets with red, white, and blue ribbons.
We saw the flags of the different guilds, timpani on horseback and some other
musicians, some coaches of the aldermen, and the Lord Mayor’s Coach (an old heavy

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62 A book of gold leaf was a measurement unit for 250 pages of gold leaves, although the size of these
pages is not specified here.
63 London Coffeehouse opened in 1731 and was located in a bastion of the old Roman city wall where
several fragments of statues and a grave monument had been found (Timbs 345-346).
thing, much like State Coach in The Hague) with six maroon horses, which were magnificently harnessed. The coach of the former Lord Mayor had six ash-coloured horses and is very valuable. We also saw some coaches of the aldermen and other members of the police.

10. I ate at Cousin C. Paats’. There are hatchments above the houses of the deceased.64

11. 12. I ate at Cousin A. Paats’.

13. I saw Lever’s Museum. The contents of this museum were collected by Sir Astley Lever,65 at the expense of more than 50,000 Pound Sterling. Later, he sold it because of a lack of funds. Having been offered to several people without success, it was sold by means of a lottery, with 20,000 lottery tickets, which cost one guinea per ticket. The museum was turned over to Mr Parkinson, an attorney,66 who had a beautiful building constructed on the site of the museum, in which the collection can nowadays be seen for one shilling.67 It consists of ten rooms, both large and small ones, which contain a collection, as complete as possible, of natural items as well as other rarities. Of outstanding beauty, the large salon rests on eight columns of coloured marble, and the

64 It was customary for the nobility to attach funeral escutcheons to the front of their house when a member of their family died (Curtis 196).
65 Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788) was a natural history collector. He started by collecting live birds and turned his attention to fossils in 1760. His collection quickly became popular and he moved his museum from Alkrington to London. However, he spent too much of his money on his collection for it to be profitable and had to sell it. 36,000 tickets were printed, yet only 8,000 were sold. When the museum was sold, Lever returned to the countryside where he died from an apoplectic fit less than two years later (Kell).
66 James Parkinson (1730-1813) was an agent to many noblemen’s estates. Sometime after the draw of the Leverian Museum lottery, Parkinson realised he held the winning ticket, as his wife, who had died before the draw, had bought two tickets without him knowing. After he had tried to sell the museum without success he decided to move it from Leicester Square to a new building, the Rotunda, near Blackfriars Bridge (Torrens 1-3).
67 An extensive overview of the collection of the museum can be found in part 1 of the unfinished companion to the museum (Shaw). The original entrance fee to the new museum when it opened in 1787 was 2s. 6d. After some bad reviews the museum was still running at a loss, which could explain the reduced rate Van Maanen had to pay. Eventually, the entire collection was auctioned off in 1806 in an auction which lasted for 65 days and comprised almost 8,000 lots (Torrens par. 3-5).
gallery above it with a balcony of marble with rosettes as white as ivory.\textsuperscript{68} In the middle is a colossal white marble statue, which was on a pedestal and made by a woman, depicting the King. The inscription reads: Αὐνᾶ Δαμήρῃ η Λονδίναντ εποιεῖ.\textsuperscript{69} The small salon, in which the curiosities Captain Cook brought with him are displayed, is no less beautiful and is decorated with several pretty inscriptions. In each room there are sofas and one or two fireplaces. I saw the skull of a moose deer dug up many years ago in Ireland. There is no proof it exists anymore. It is some sort of moose and its antlers are more than 3 feet wide and between 5 and 6 six feet tall. I saw a narwhal with two big horns,\textsuperscript{70} an elephant’s tusk which was between 200 and 250 feet tall, and the skull of a sea turtle, which weighed over 1,000 pounds. There was a collection of monkeys in different poses.

14. I ate at Mr Mathals’ with Mr Nuedlla’s cousin and Mr Mooly. We had an excellent sauce, bass, a strange fish from the south coast of England much like mackerel,\textsuperscript{71} soup, a pheasant, cold meat pie, stewed crabs, small pastries, and eel.

15. I ate at Mr Graves’ with Mr Randal, Monsieur le Marquis de Ville Favras,\textsuperscript{72} who was a gendarme of Louis XVI, Monsieur de Neuville,\textsuperscript{73} who was an aide-de-camp to the

\textsuperscript{68} The Dutch term translates to ‘indigenous nails’. The author probably means ‘ivory tusks’ to make clear how white the material was.

\textsuperscript{69} Translates to: ‘Anne Damer, the Londoner, made this.’ Anne Seymour Damer was the sculptor of a statue of George III, made somewhere in the period of 1790-1793 (Yarrington par. 3), so the statue was relatively new.

\textsuperscript{70} The author calls the fish a ‘unicorn fish’, which is currently the name for a different fish, but then the name for the narwhal (GTB s.v. ‘eenhoorn’).

\textsuperscript{71} Possibly the Atlantic bonito, a fish of roughly the same size and colour as the mackerel.

\textsuperscript{72} Thomas Mahi, Marquis de Favras (1745-1790) was a well-known politician and a lieutenant in the Swiss Guard of Louis XIV’s younger brother. He was hanged in Paris in 1790 (Hoefer 752-753). He had a son Charles who was described as being a ‘little son’ after the execution (Craik 441). Therefore it seems unlikely that this person is the marquis’ son.

\textsuperscript{73} Jean Guillaume, Baron Hyde de Neuville, (1776-1857) entered politics at the age of sixteen and made several journeys to England to serve as an intermediary between Pitt and the French royal family (Hoefer 694-699). There is no mention of him being an aide-de-camp to La Fayette.
Marquis de la Fayette,\textsuperscript{74-75} and Monsieur Bellamy, M.D.\textsuperscript{76} We had soup, cod with plaice, a hare, a pheasant, and pastries.

16. I saw remarkable English fishing equipment along with all kinds of water insects and water creatures.

17. In honour of their departure to Honiton, I drank tea with Mr and Mrs Haskins in the Swan with Two Necks.\textsuperscript{77}

18. 19. In the evening I went to the Royal Saloon Astley's.\textsuperscript{78} There was exceptionally beautiful dancing and also a wonderful and skilfully played horn pipe, which was played by a soldier during the performance.

20. 21. In the evening I went to the Royal Society.

22. I breakfasted at Sir Joseph Banks'.\textsuperscript{79} I went to Covent Garden in the evening, where \textit{Cymbeline}\textsuperscript{80} and \textit{The Quaker}\textsuperscript{81} were performed.

\textsuperscript{74} Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier (1757-1834), nicknamed ‘the hero of two worlds’ was a French aristocrat and military officer who fought in the United States. He also played a large role in the French revolution and declined to become France’s ruler in the revolution of 1830 (Hoefer 704-719).

\textsuperscript{75} These Frenchmen make claims to be men of great stature, yet as the son of the Marquis de Favras must have been very young at this time it is unlikely their claims are true. Perhaps they were playing a joke on the author and his company.

\textsuperscript{76} Possibly George Bellamy (1773-1863), M.D., who was educated at St Thomas’ and Guy’s Hospitals and joined the navy in 1793 in which he served for several years (Munk 113).

\textsuperscript{77} A famous inn that served as the booking office for coaches for a long time (Thornbury 374).

\textsuperscript{78} The Royal Saloon, or Astley’s Amphitheatre, was built in 1784 by Philip Astley, who invented the modern circus. It became a theatre for hippodrama using trained horses to perform staged contemporary battles. It was demolished in 1895 (Booth).

\textsuperscript{79} Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) was a naturalist of international importance. Banks had been an admirer of Linnaeus with whom he corresponded. The expedition on the \textit{Endeavour} under the command of Captain Cook, during which he studied many plants and tribes, caused him to become a scientist of international importance. Back in England he received a greater welcome than Cook himself and was introduced to George III, with whom he became friends and served as an advisor to on scientific and agricultural matters. The King made him director of the Royal Botanical Gardens in 1773 and bestowed him with a baronetcy in 1781. In 1778 he was elected president of the Royal Society (Gascoigne ‘Banks, Sir Joseph’). Cf. Gascoigne’s \textit{Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment}.

\textsuperscript{80} A play by Shakespeare first published in 1623 and probably first performed in 1611 (‘Cymbeline’).

\textsuperscript{81} The full script of the comic opera by Charles Dibdin (1745-1814) is available from \textit{ECCO}. 
23. In Hackney I attended a lesson in physics by Dr Walker\(^{82}\) about the refraction of light rays. There was a demonstration of the eye. Most of the audience there consisted of women and girls. In the afternoon Dr Jericho and I dined at Mr van Essen’s.

24. I went to the neglected library of the Dutch Church which was relegated to the Dutch Church by Marie du Bois. I ate at Mr Cahais’ and went to the Magdalen\(^{83}\) in the evening.

25. I drank tea and had supper at Rev. Putman’s.\(^{84}\)

26. 27. Mr Parkins and I had supper at Mr Clerś, where I spent the evening.

28. I ate with Mr White and his wife, daughter, two sons, and Mrs ... and Mr Clapton in the afternoon and evening. We had plain soles and baked haddock, beef, stewed pork chops, green pea soup, and turkey. First we played *Vingt-Un*\(^{85}\) and Whist afterwards with Mr and Miss White and Mrs ....

29. I had supper with Cousin C. Paats, with whom I spent the evening.

**December**

30. 1 December. I went to the Magdalen in the evening.

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\(^{82}\) Possibly Sayer Walker (1748-1826), physician and minister, who was acquainted with William Saunders and was able to study medicine after an inheritance from his wife’s aunt and monetary gift from her father. He became a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1792 and was elected physician at London Hospital in 1794. Later he became treasurer and orator of the Medical Society in London (Bevan par. 1-2).

\(^{83}\) Founded in 1758, Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes was the first of its kind which sought to reform prostitutes (Appleby par. 2; Rawlings par. 5) Historians estimate that by 1800 there were over 300 of such hospitals throughout England (Department of Justice and Equality ch. 3).

\(^{84}\) Henrik Putman, originally from Amsterdam, was Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in London from 1751 until his death (Van der Aa 501). He was also a member of the Royal Society (Royal Society 8).

\(^{85}\) *Vingt-Un* is a common French name for blackjack, which is also known as 21.
2 December. I had breakfast at Mr Clers’ and went to St George’s Hospital. In the evening there was a great fire in Wapping, in which seven houses and a ship burned down, and several ships were damaged. There is poor orderliness during fires in London.

3. In the evening I reduced a dislocated shoulder.

4. I drank tea at Mr A. Paats’.

5. We had a number of good friends over and had a very pleasant time.

6. 7. I ate at Mr Mathals’ with Mr Poyell, Mr Maning, Mr Nuedlla, Mr van de Velde, and Mr .... We had cod, cooked ham, cooked poultry, baked poultry, larks, pheasant, crabs, and brawn.

8. I ate and had supper at Mr A. Paats’.

9. I made a tour to Chatham with my housemate Smith. At half past six we left for Gravesend with the tilt boat. We sailed past the villages of Blackwell, Greenwich, Purfleet (Greenwich Hospital and Royal Observatory). From Woolwich to the town of Grays (along the river we saw criminals\textsuperscript{86} condemned to public works and pirates who had been hanged). We arrived in Gravesend and, after having eaten there, we strolled to Chatham with Mr Laythall, across Windmill Hill (at its foot an inn called the [Old] Prince of Orange), and through the village of Strood and the town of Rochester (Rochester Castle and Rochester Bridge). We passed the evening a lodging house called the Sun. In the morning of the next day we went with Dr Smith and Laythall to see the barracks, the march of the parade of marines, and the shipyard. There were new ships: the Ville en Paris with 110 guns and two frigates with 38 guns. Ships that were being repaired were

\textsuperscript{86} The word in the manuscript does not make sense in Dutch. The word ‘criminals’ should approximate what the author meant.
the Vengeance, Venerable, and Victorious (74 guns). We have been on board the Theseus with 74 guns, which was brand new and was docked at the river Medway. We walked back to Gravesend and returned by stagecoach which rode to London through Dartford, Shooter’s Hill, Blackheath, Greenwich, and the town of Deptford. Different types of soil, ochre clay-like soil, gravel, chalk, and flint. We saw a crowd of gypsies.

11. I ate at Mr Cahais’ and drank tea and passed the evening at Mrs Descotes’.

12. 13. 14. 15. I went to St Clement’s Church where Rev. Vicesimus Knox conducted the service. This church was very small. He held a very patriotic sermon about this verse from Hosea: ‘a great part of my people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.’ This sermon primarily showed the depravity of the idea that one should keep the commoners ignorant about many things, as they might otherwise become enlightened and might form revolutionary ideas. An idea held by many, especially those who currently hold power. I went to the Magdalen in the evening.

16. I ate with Mr Haskins and Mr Webb in the Mitre Tavern.

17. I ate at Virginia Coffeehouse with Mr Guetard, Mr Complain, and Mr Webb. I drank tea at Batson’s Coffeehouse and passed the evening at home.

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87 Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821), headmaster and writer, was headmaster of Tonbridge School. He succeeded his father and turned around the low number of pupils and made the school extremely popular until the 1790s. By then Knox published several controversial articles in The Times about the corrupt and misguided government, which are blamed for the decline in the school’s popularity. In his The Spirit of Depotism he defends supporters of the revolution, a book he published in 1795 and recalled because of the increased cruelty by the French government, until it was anonymously published again in 1821 (Carter par.1-9).


89 A grade II listed public house. The tavern is believed to be established in 1546, which was rebuilt in 1773. The tavern has glazed in the trunk of what is supposedly a cherry tree. (Historic England 1078281) According to the tavern’s website Queen Elizabeth I danced around this tree with Sir Christopher Hatton when she was young.

90 A coffeehouse popular amongst physicians, patients and doctors often consulted each other here (Shelley, ch. 1).
18. 19. I ate at Mr Smith’s met Mr and Mrs Coldgert, Mr Cane, Mr Simeon, Mr Cooke, Miss Borrows, along with Mrs and Ms Smith. We had soup, plaice with lobster sauce, cooked hams, pheasant, poultry ragout, lamb chops stewed with carrots and onion, pork chops, pastries, several custards, creams, and puddings and pastries.

20. An oyster and lobster party was thrown by Mr Haskins because of his departure.

21. Similar party was thrown by Mr Webb because of his departure.

22. I ate at Mr A Paats’ in the afternoon and evening.

23. 24. Branches of flowering holly and other plants were hung in all stores and other places to announce Christmas. There are daily feasts from Christmas Day to Epiphany. Epiphany is celebrated in London, like in old times, and like it is still done in a few small villages in Holland.

25. I went to St Paul’s Church in the morning and saw the Cathedral service being conducted by Mr Porteus, the bishop of London. The church is beautifully and proudly built and only one-tenth of the church is used for the services. I also went to the Savoy Chapel and saw the service of communion. The church was made green in its entirety. In the afternoon and evening I ate at Mr C. Paats’ with Mr and Miss Brumming, Mr Grind, Mr Gieseman, Mr Sadler, Mr Bauer, and Miss …. An abundance of capons are served everywhere at Christmas. Christmas afternoon in London is celebrated in the same manner as New Year’s Day in Holland. The mistletoe is used in the same way. There is still a lot of bigotry in the Church of England. In St Paul’s Church and Westminster

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91 Beilby Porteus (1731-1809) was the Bishop of London from 1787 until his death. He saw to it that the discipline and doctrine of the Anglican Church was strictly adhered to. He took a great interest in securing the adherence to religious holidays and tried to aid the acts in favour of abolishing of slavery (Robinson par. 1-7).

92 M. Gieseman is a surgeon mentioned in the London Medical Journal (Simmons 335-336).
Abbey all prayers are sung by singers in white gowns. Nobody in church is allowed to put on a hat, not even when one is only visiting to see the church. It is not allowed to put on one’s hat in the house of a bishop or an archbishop. No one may be buried in soil which has not been blessed, and so on. The Church of England is also very intolerant, especially against the dissenters, who are hated more than the Muslims and Catholics. No dissenter can hold any public office. No dissenter can receive any kind of degree from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. No student can enrol in these universities without signing the Articles of Eternity.93

26. 27. 28. I saw the collection of wax statues in Salmon’s Wax Manufactory in the Strand which had many very appealing and moving figures.94 In the evening a dinner was hosted by Mr Haskins at our house where Dr Bierker, Mr Thelwall, and Mr Bedodome were present.

29. I went to Dr Priestley’s service and went for a walk with Rev. van Essen and his daughters through Hackney. I ate and passed the rest of the day at Mrs Descotes’. In Hackney I saw small chicks in the open air.

30. I ate at Mr Cahais’.

31. We passed New Year’s Eve together at home.

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93 Students had to sign the Articles of Faith before they were admitted to Oxford. The University Reform Act of 1854 made an end to this practice and made enrolment possible regardless of one’s faith (Kurian 915).

94 This museum consisted of four rooms with many wax figures of historical persons such as Cleopatra, members of the royal family. Besides historical figures it also had several humoristic figures (CL 87-89).
January 1794

1 January. I went to the theatre in Covent Garden, where *Notoriety* and *Harlequin and Faustus* were performed. There was an impressive staging of hell, which featured a serpent that moved automatically and naturally. There was also a beautiful peacock whose movements (such as displaying and dropping its tail, etc.) were all very natural. The décor displaying the Garden of Faustus contained eight pyramid shaped fruit trees that changed into eight statues on pedestals portraying eight different gods of white marble. These statues sank into the ground until the upper edges of the pedestals were level to the ground, and then the gods (of which it was then possible to see that they are actors) started to dance. This illusion was very natural. The Temple of Glory was very wonderful. On New Year’s Day there were young lambs in London.

2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Epiphany. All the bakery shops were decorated like on St Nicholas’ day in Holland. There was an election of a King and Queen. I attended a surgical lesson by Mr Cline about *hydrocele*, *sarcoma*, and *empyema* and on how to perform an operation for these conditions.

7. 8. I passed part of the evening with Mr A. Paats, and went to the Liberty Tavern and had supper at Mr A. Paats’.

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95 A play written by the playwright Frederick Reynolds (1764-1841). The script is available in *Reynolds’ Plays.*
96 The third edition of *Harlequin Faustus or The Devil will have his Own* (London Stage 1607) was a pantomime on Faustus by James Wild (O’Brien 93; Highfill s.n. ‘Wild, James’).
97 These plays were performed ‘by command of their majesties’. The scenery, décor, machines, and dresses were all entirely new, made for the first performance of *Harlequin Faustus* on 19 December 1793. This performance was praised just like the previous editions of the play (London Stage 1607, 1609).
98 Oedema, particularly in the scrotum region (Motherby 376).
99 Type of tumour anywhere on the body or a specific type of tumour on the nose (Motherby 558).
100 Collection of pus in cavities of the body, especially in the diaphragm and the breast (Motherby 310).
9. Mr Haskins and I dined at Madam Porter’s. I went to Merlin’s in the evening.\textsuperscript{101}

10. 11. 12. 13. I passed the night and had supper at Rev. Putman’s. I saw a heifer on a small bridge.

14. 15. 16. I went to a public dance party in Paul’s Head Tavern\textsuperscript{102} in the evening. I danced until two o’clock, when a large part of the party went home. The rest, 32 to 34 people, had supper and danced until five o’clock afterwards. The ballroom was beautiful with stucco and chamfers.

17. I attended the trials at the Old Bailey and saw sentences pronounced on a servant who had stolen some files\textsuperscript{103} from his master, a counterfeiter, two men that swindled a woman in the street for some money, and two women who had stolen some shirts. The witnesses took an oath by kissing the Bible. There was a mirror above the prisoner’s head. The Lord Mayor was seated underneath the Sword of Justice. The Chief Justices and Serjeants-at-Law were clothed in black robes with a red stripe on the back, with white fur edges and wide white furred sleeves. They wore large thickly tapered wigs with a black cushion in the middle. The barristers, placed under the Chief Justices, wore robes and large square wigs.\textsuperscript{104} The manner of questioning the witnesses by the lawyers of the defendants was very rough. Some criminals behaved very audaciously in front of the judge; one of them was eating oranges. The jury consists of twelve judges of London’s citizens and changes every six weeks. Young barristers were in their regular clothing with a tabard without sleeves. Several women were present at the trials.

\textsuperscript{101} Possibly The Merlin’s Cave, a tavern established in in 1735 which possessed extensive gardens and derived its name from the Merlin’s Cave constructed in 1735 by Queen Charlotte in the Royal Gardens in Richmond (Wroth 54-55).

\textsuperscript{102} The British Museum has a plan of Paul’s Head Tavern from 1777 (BL).

\textsuperscript{103} A file in the sense of a metalworking or woodworking tool.

\textsuperscript{104} square; the manuscript reads ‘caré’, possibly from the French carré which means square.
passed the night and had supper at Madam Clers’, with Mrs Clers, Mr Clers and his brother, Dr Lind, and Miss Mealy. The games of forfeits and hunting slipper are played in the same way in England as in Holland. I saw the Turkish ambassador and secretary and spoke with the interpreter of the embassy.

18. There was a celebration of the Queen’s birthday at the Society in the evening. There were festive lights at some citizens.

19. In the afternoon and evening I ate at Mr A Paats’.

20. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr Cahais’.

21. I passed the evening and had supper with Misters Clers at Dr Lind’s. I saw the King riding to Parliament in the morning. At the head were two guards on horseback; then came the King’s coach with six horses, the Stable Master’s coach with six horses, the state coach of the Lord Chancellor with six horses, twelve servants of the King in great liveries, twelve halberdiers (beefeaters), and the state coach of the King (an extraordinary old and gold plated family piece with two massive statues on the back) with eight horses. Then a detachment of 50 guards on horseback followed. The yearly income of the king amounts to one million pounds sterling not including the interest of that which he has in English funds, which alone totals sixteen to seventeen million

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105 James Lind (1736-1812), physician-in-ordinary to the royal household and fellow of the Royal Society, was a close friend of Sir Joseph Banks and accompanied him on his voyage to Iceland in 1772. Later he befriended the young Percy Bysshe Shelley and lives on in his books as the old hermit in The Revolt of Islam, and as Zonoras in Prince Athanase (Cooper par. 1-3).

106 Ann Elizabeth Mealy was the wife of James Lind and is described as his ‘fat handsome wife who is as tall as himself, and about six times as big’ (Cooper, par. 4).

107 In this game one player makes up a statement, if this statement is correct everyone has to raise their finger. Whenever someone makes a mistake they give up a forfeit (e.g. a toy). Eventually the players have to perform a task to get their forfeit back. The Dutch name of this game is Pandje (Kinderspelen 14-21).

108 In this game the players sit in a circle with their knees lifted up so that a circular ‘tunnel’ is formed. One player is the seeker and throws a slipper in the middle of the circle. One player grabs it and passes it to an adjacent player under the legs. The seeker has to catch the slipper and when he does the person that got caught becomes the new seeker. The Dutch word for the game is Pantoffeltje (Waterman 89-90).
pounds, and not including seven to eight million in foreign funds. The Queen is estimated to receive half of the King’s English funds. Despite this great wealth and his yearly income—which is a lot more than he consumes—the King was not ashamed to file a petition to Parliament in which he asked them to pay for his doctors after his recovery.

22. 23. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr White’s with Mrs Diart, Mr Diart, and Mr White.

24. 25. I ate at Rev. van Essen’s with Mr Dendon.

26. I passed the evening at Sir Joseph Banks’. I saw the skull of the head of a buffalo with unusually large horns, branches of a baobab, and fine images of different eye diseases by a Portuguese doctor.

27. 28. 29. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr A. Paats’.

30. Ditto at Mr C. Paats’.

**February**

31. 1 February. I saw Shakespeare’s Gallery and panorama.

2. 3. 4. I went to the oratorio\(^\text{109}\) in Capel Court in the evening. There was an orchestra of 30 musicians and 50 singers.

5. In the afternoon I ate with Mr Guetard, Mr Dendon, Mr Webb, and Mr Complain in Virginia’s Coffeehouse.

6. I visited the British Museum.\(^\text{110}\) In the entrance there was a small collection of Roman, Egyptian altars and statues, and altars and statues from other cultures. In the first room

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\(^{109}\) Oratorio; a musical composition, regarded to be an first form of opera by some (Naxos s.v. ‘oratorio’).

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there were Chinese idols, garments and other Chinese curiosities, and curiosities from other cultures. The second room contained idols, weapons, garments, ornaments, jewellery, and more from the tribes from the South Sea Isles, Old Haiti, Hawaii, the Friendly Islands, and so on. The third room contained the Bibliotheca Cottonia. The fourth room contained the Bibliotheca Sloaniana et Harleyana. The fifth room contained the Bibliotheca Harleyana et Regia. All these libraries contain none but the most prestigious and rare books which are all beautifully bound and well preserved and a large number of manuscripts, of which the catalogue of those of Hans Sloane consists of two large, twenty fingers thick volumes. There was a valuable work in Hans Sloane’s library, which was published in unfolded paper and was eight to ten fingers thick, which contains drawings of all East and West Indian birds, insects and amphibians drawn by a woman. Each page cost Hans Sloane five guineas. The sixth room is a grand beautiful hall, splendidly painted by two French masters, containing a large collection of antique vases, urns, lamps and stones, including beautifully painted stones found in the recently discovered underground city of Pompeii in Italy. It also had a papyrus plant and a fine inlaid table with different kinds of polished lava from the Vesuvius. The seventh room contains stones, fossils, horns, sea shells, and fossils including a part of the jaw and two vertebrae of an unknown large animal which is different from that of the elephant, hippopotamus, and rhinoceros. The eighth room contains corals, crystals, insects, and East and West Indian fruits. The ninth room contains birds, bird nests, butterflies, and apes. It also contains a paw of the dodo (or dodaars), of which descriptions exist, but

110 An extensive description of the British Museum at the time is found in A Companion To ... London And Westminster (CL 90-118).
111 ‘South Sea’; Pacific Ocean. ‘Friendly Islands’; former name of the islands of Tonga. Captain Cook gave the islands this name when he discovered them in 1773 because he was invited to festivities. In fact, the natives were planning a conspiracy to kill the invaders (Mariner 64-66).
112 Alternative name for the dodo in Dutch.
no live specimen. The cabinet of Oxford has a head of such a bird. The tenth room contains snakes, amphibians, fish in liquid, and a collection of dried fish. It also contained a crocodile from the Ganges that is 18 feet tall. In the afternoon I had dinner at Mr Brathwaite’s with Mr and Miss Brathwaite and Dr Woole.

8. 9. I had dinner at Mr Brathwaite’s with Mr Woole, Mr and Mrs Batty, and Miss Brathwaite. I passed the evening at Sir Joseph Banks’.

10. I assisted in a debate led by Mr Thelwall on Union Street in the evening, which was about the issue which war was more detrimental to England: the American, or the current war. There was great unruliness there.

11. I ate with 25 to 30 Americans and Englishmen in Virginia’s Coffeehouse in the afternoon.

12. I ate at Mr Cahais’.

13. I had supper at Dr Haighton’s with the Mr Thynne, Mr Hains, Mr Carrey, Mr Cleverly, Mr Sutton, Mr Slater, Mr Brock, and Mr Marrit.

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113 Daniel Brathwaite was clerk to the postmaster-general, the father of Anne Batty, and member of the Royal Society (‘Batty’; Royal Society 4).

114 Robert Batty (1762-1849), obstetric physician, married Anne Brathwaite (b. 1757) in 1786 and received his education in medicine London and graduated on 30 August 1797 in Edinburgh. He was an editor of the Medical and Physical Journal for some years (‘Batty’).

115 Thelwall was not allowed to hold political meetings in public buildings; therefore he rented a room in the Park Tavern. Posters advertising the debate were pulled down, and the owner of the tavern was threatened with losing his license. A magistrate and some twenty police officers were present at the debate, and as soon as the debate opened an officer held a speech in favour of the monarchy. The group regularly shouted ‘God Save great George our King!’ At the end of the debate the police tried to provoke Thelwall to create an excuse to arrest him upon which he left the room while his friends blocked the stairway so the police could not reach him. Perhaps this is the assistance the author means (Thale 67-68).

116 Possibly Andrew Thynne (1749-1813), M.D., a lecturer on midwifery in St Bartholomew’s Hospital and physician to the Westminster Hospital (Munk 367).

117 Possibly Sir John Macnamara Hayes (1758-1809); he was appointed physician extraordinary to the Prince of Wales in 1791 and elected physician to Westminster hospital in 1792 (Munk 364).

118 Possibly Samuel Cleverley (d. 1824), a physician, reported to have spent two years at Guy’s and St Thomas’s hospitals. He apparently took an apprenticeship with the Rochester surgeon William Cowper in
14. I saw St Luke’s Hospital for Lunatics. This hospital was spaciously built; it is four floors high and several windows wide. There was great cleanliness there.

15. I went to the gallery of the monument founded in remembrance of the Great Fire of London. It is 311 steps to the gallery.

16. I went to Hackney and ate at Mrs Descotes’ with Rev. van Essen.

17. I ate at Mr Maritz’s in the afternoon, and he and I went to the theatre at Hay Market where *Rosina*, *My Grandmother*, and *The Children in the Wood* were being performed. It is a very small theatre with only two rows of lodges, with 13 lodges on each row. It had excellent actors.

18. I saw the drawing of the lottery in the Guild Hall, the monument for Mr Pitt, Gog and Magog, and the portraits of the Lord Mayors.

1987. Somewhere between 1787 and 1797 he moved to Edinburgh where he took the degree of M.D. on 24 June.

Possibly Thomas Sutton (d. 1836), M.D., who was admitted as a licentiate in 1790 and eventually settled in Greenwich (Munk 399). Another possibility is Daniel Sutton (1735-1819) a smallpox inoculator whose methods were known on the European mainland (Bevan par. 1-5). Published *The Inoculator* in London in 1796 (Sutton).

The hospital was founded in 1750 as a hospital for the poor and differed from the already existing Bedlam hospital, as the general public was not allowed inside. It is an early example of an institution funded mainly by donations from the general public. C. N. French has written a history of the hospital.

For more information, see the monument’s website: themonument.info. Cf. CL.

An opera by William Shield (1748-1829) translated to English by Frances Brooke (1724-1789). The original is available from ECCO. It was first performed in Covent Garden (Brooke).

The script of this farce by Prince Hoare (1755-1834), as it was performed in 1794, is available from ECCO.

The script of this opera by Thomas Morton (1764-1838), as it was performed in 1794, is available from ECCO.

The Hay Market theatre was founded in 1720 by John Potter, a carpenter. Because the theatre was not a patent theatre it struggled to stay open. The current building dates from 1821 and was built by John Nash. For more information see Walford pp. 216-226.

The original Guild hall was built in 1411, but it was demolished and rebuilt and redecorated in 1669 in a Gothic style, as it was greatly damaged by the Great Fire (CL 71-75).

A monument to William Pitt the Elder. After his son’s death another monument was erected opposite to the monument discussed here. Pitt the Elder was the 9th prime minister of Britain and is best known for his leadership during the Seven Years’ War (Peters).

Gog and Magog are two giants that guarded the entrance of the guild hall. The version of the giants discussed here had been carved out of wood by Captain Richard Saunders. They were destroyed during
20. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr C. Paats’.

21. 22. 23. I passed the evening at Sir Joseph Banks’ and had supper with Dr Bierker in the ... Tavern.

24. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr Clers.

25. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr A. Paats.

26. 27. 28. A day of prayer. The English and the Papists fast; they eat fish instead of meat.

March

1 March. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr A. Paats’.

2. In the afternoon and evening I ate at Mr A. Paats’.

3. 4. 5. I attended Professor Cooper’s first public lecture about arterial diseases in the anatomical theatre of Surgeon's Hall. This theatre is decorated with eight skeletons in alcoves of publicly executed murderers and people that were publicly executed. It has a small library and is truly a fine room for the Surgical College's meetings. I drank tea and passed the evening at Hackney at Mrs Descotes’ with Rev. van Essen, Miss van den Enden, and Miss Coolcraft.

6. 7. 8. I attended the yearly meeting of the London Medical Society. A speech was given by Dr Thomson, a Quaker, about how students of medicine and especially young doctors should behave. The speaker may be a skilled man, but is certainly not a skilled speaker. Furthermore, the speech was a contradictory and incomplete piece.

the blitz. The current versions carved by David Evans in 1953 are based on these giants (Lord Mayor's Show).
9. I passed the evening at Sir Joseph Banks’.

10. 11. 12. 13. I dined at Mr Brathwaite’s. I saw fine medals by Mr Boulton (the inventor of the steam engine\textsuperscript{129}) of which 75 were made a minute by a machine. He had eight of such instruments.

14. I passed the evening at Dr Smith’s.

15. 16. I passed the evening and had supper at Mr Clare’s.\textsuperscript{130}

17. Ditto at Mr C. Paats’. I saw a rowing wager on the Thames; some rowers were completely naked.

18. Ditto at Mr A. Paats’.

19. I went to the new theatre on Drury Lane where the oratorio \textit{Messiah}\textsuperscript{131} was performed. It has five rows of lodges above each other with 36 lodges in each row. There were five principal male singers and 5 principal female singers, more than a 100 chorus singers, 50 to 60 duo female singers, and around 120 musicians. Between the first and second part the obbligato\textsuperscript{132} was played on the flute by Mr Ashe.\textsuperscript{133} Between

\textsuperscript{129} James Watt is generally credited for the invention of this steam engine, but Matthew Boulton had made several suggestions for improvements of it and partially owned the patent. Boulton was the owner of several factories and provided many different types of wares (Tann par. 20-26).

\textsuperscript{130} Peter Clare (1738-1786) was a surgeon for whom a medal was struck in 1779 for his method of administering mercury in the form of a powder in the mouth as a remedy for venereal diseases (Bettany). Perhaps the Mr Clare mentioned here was a son or otherwise related to this surgeon.

\textsuperscript{131} Oratorio by Handel to a text compiled by Charles Jennens from the Bible and the Psalter; it was first performed in Dublin in 1742 (Latham).

\textsuperscript{132} Instrumental part of essential importance in an aria of opera (Naxos s.v. ‘obbligato’).

\textsuperscript{133} Andrew Ashe (1759-1838), musician, was originally from Ireland but moved to London in 1792 where he became a famous flautist very quickly (Highfill s.no. ‘Ashe, Andrew’).
the second and third part the same was played by Mr Giornovichi. The theatre was illuminated by 44 crystal chandeliers.

20. 21. I saw exotic animals in the Tower: two striped African tigers, a 14-year old lion (very cruel), a lioness next to an old one together with a dog which was being nursed by the lioness, a lion and lioness around 6 years old which the aforementioned lioness had given birth to in London, an apathetic lynx, a panther, a leopard, a black leopard (very tame), a wolf, a striped hyena, a black bear (very tame), a tiger cat, a porcupine, two raccoons, seven different apes, a black ostrich, a cassowary, a crowned crane, a bald eagle, a Chinese gold and silver feathered pheasant, four different kinds of parakeets (gold-yellowish, red, sea green, and spotted), a long-eared owl, two hummingbirds, and cape sparrows.

22. I saw St Paul’s and Whispering Gallery. The height of the tower is 545 steps.

23. I breakfasted at Mr Guetard’s in Hackney and heard the farewell sermon of Dr Priestley there. In the afternoon I ate at Mr Brathwaite’s with Mr and Mrs Batty, Dr Amsley, Mrs Amsley, and Miss Brathwaite and I passed the evening at Sir Joseph Banks’.

24. 25. I passed the night and had supper at Rev. Putman’s.

26. I ate at Mr Cahais’. Passed the evening and had supper at Mr C. Paats’.

27. I ate at Mr A. Paats’ in the afternoon and evening.

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134 Giovanni Mane Giornovichi (1735?-1804) was an Italian violinist that arrived in London in 1790 where he stayed until 1796. He is reported to have been an arrogant and rude man (Highfill s.no ‘Giornovichi, Giovanni Mane’).
135 tiger cat; ocelot.
136 For an extensive account of items and animals on display in the Tower at the time see CL, pp. 19-59.
28. I dined at Rev. van Essen’s and I saw Mr Lodgenger’s botanical garden. I drank tea at Mrs Descotes’ and passed the evening at Mr Davies’.

29. 30. I rode to Kew in the morning with Mr C. Paats, Dr Gieseman, Mr Grind, and Mr Bauer and saw the King’s botanical garden there. There were flowering *strelitzia reginae* and *strelitzia alba*.\(^{137}\) I saw a Chinese pagoda, the Temple of Confucius, an East Indian palace, an old triumph arch, the Temple of Peace, the abbey, and more. I ate at Mr Bauer’s and strolled along the river after dinner. I walked back to London and had supper at Mr C. Paats’.

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\(^{137}\) Both flowers are from the Bird of Paradise family.
Memoriaal, gedurende mijn verblijf in Londen in 1794-1795.

[f1r] October


3. 4. ‘s Namiddags om 6 uur gegeeten bij de Hr Van Mathals met nog vier andere Heeren: tweemaal [e]en geregt, vierderleij wijn.

5. Gegeeten bij de Hr Van Essen met de Heeren Cahais, Bosman en Guetard. Gesproken 2 meisjes, een van 13 en een van 14, die Grieks en Latijn verstanden. Gehoort de inaugureele les van Mr Babington over de noodzakelijkheid van de kennis der chemie in de geeneskunde, gestaafd met verschillende proeven door het combineren van strijdige ingrediënten. Gesien Dr Priestlij.


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1 MS: Chymie
2 Inserted text ‘Gehoort de inaugureele...Gesien Dr Priestlij’ was originally indented and placed after the entry of 6 October. A hashtag symbol was placed before the indented text and after the entry of 5 October.
3 MS: deinst
in 't park van St James, Green Park, Hyde Park en Kensington Gardens. Honderden van mensen en rijtuigen sondags in deese wandelweegen. Sonderling rijtuig aldaar gesien. Gesien op St Saviours Kerkhof de begraffenis van een kind door 2 vrouwen en een man.

7. Dubbelde St Jacobs schulpen worden in London verkocht, en de visschjes als mosselen gegeten (kokkels). Gehoort de inaugurele les van Professor Hgigtens over het meerdere ligt in de teegenwoordige physiologie dan in de voorige, en het nut daarvan aan de geneeskunde toegebracht.

8. Gehoort eene anatomische les van Mr Cline in het theater van St Thomas Hospitaal over de tela cellulosa en eene inaugureele clinische les van Dr Relff in het Guys Theater over een aan de colica pictonum laboreerende patient.


11. Gegeten bij Mr White met de heeren Wodallij Professor in de Botanie, Dr Cook uit het London Hospitaal, Dr Cooper, Dr Relph uit Guy's Hospitaal, Mr Ledsom Chirurgijn, Mr Ledsom Medicinae Candidatus uit Gottingen, Dr Sims, Mr Smith, Mr

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4 This word was added above the running line in a different hand, the original word has been crossed out.
5 '(kokkels)' was added above the running sentence in a different hand.
6 Added above the running sentence above a crossed out word in a somewhat more sloppy hand than usual. The hand is probably Van Maanen's own.
7 MS: Added above the running sentence.


belegeraar als beleegerden; het in brand schieten der stad, het instorten hierdoor van
verscheiden groote gebouwen en kerken etc., etc. Zeer natuurlijk. De nationale vlag
word door de beleegerden weggenomen en de roode vlag opgeheeschen Het
bombardement houd op. De Generaal Ferrand wil capiteuleeren en zend een officier en
trompetten aan de belegeeraars. De burgerij neemt hierin geen genoegen doch wil het
uiterste. Het bombardement word hervat en de stad platgeschooten. Capitulatie
geslooten. De commandant geeft de sleutels over aan den Hertog van York. Het
guarnisoen legt de wapens needer. Vertooning van de innerlijke gesteldheid van
Valenciennes na de overgaaf; overal meenigte van dooden en gekwesten. Twee
Fransche vrouwen zingen een duet, betreurende het verlies van Mans en
nabestaanden. Belagchelijke scène tusschen eenige Fransche vlugtende sans culottes
met eenige Engelsche soldaten, en belagchelijke kleeding dezelfen. Een sans culotte uit
Valenciennes gevlugt vind een knol waarin hij met veel gulsigheid bijt, en zingt een solo.
Da Capo. Drie officieren van de municipaliteit in ‘t zwart met nationale echapes om ‘t lijf
worden verbeeld te zitten dammen voor de kamer van de koningin van Vrankrijk. Een
sans culotte, zeer belagchelijk gekleed, staat voor de deur op schildwag. De drie
municipaal eeten. Gedrag van de schildwag. De toxin word geluid. Zitting van de
Nationaale Conventie. All de leeden in ‘t zwart met nationale cocardes en eschaspes. De
president communiceert het overgaan van Valenciennes. Groote verslagenheid en
deliberatie wat te doen tot herstel. Word geconcludeert dat de Dauphyn van de
koningin zal afgenomen worden, en de koningin in de Conchiergerie gebracht. De
koningin word te voorschijn gebracht met haare familie en haar dit gecommuniceert.
Rustige houding van de koningin en weigering van eene brief te onderteekenen met

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8 MS: Added above the running line.
9 A tocsin is an alarm bell (OED s.v. ‘tocsin’).

\textsuperscript{10}MS: leelys

\textsuperscript{11}‘in een akelig hol van’ inserted above the running line.

\textsuperscript{12} Added above the running line.

13 A type of suspenders (GTB s.v. ‘helmseel’).
14 MS: Inserted above running line.
15 MS: ‘tig’ is inserted above the running line.
16 Old word for cuffs or chains (GTB s.v. ‘kluister’).
[f3r] 15. Gehoort de eerste clinische les van Dr Saunders.


20. Om 8 uur over Newington gewandelt naar Kennington en aldaar gedejeuneert bij Mr en Mrs Haskins, gewandelt vervolgens over Kensington,¹⁰ Hamersmith, Kew, Yselworth

¹⁷ MS: Inserted above the running line above the word 'England' which is scratched through.
¹⁸ opgedicht. ‘opdisschen’, to serve (GTB s.v. ‘opdisschen’).
¹⁹ From klakken ‘to applaude’ (GTB s.v. ‘klakken’).
²⁰ MS: Added above the running line.

21. Gegeeten bij Mr Cahais. Thee gedronken bij Mr Greeves, gehoort een physiologische les van Mr Haigten over de digestie. Gesoupeert bij Mr Greenwood.

22. Gegeeten en gesoupeert bij Mr C. Paats.

23. Gegeeten te Stratfort bij Mr Cook voor ’t grootste gedeelte met het zelfde gezelschap als bij Mr White en Smith beneeens de Heeren Harvey, chirugijn assistent in St Barthol[omew’s] Hospital, Tumbal, Do Jeffrey’s en nog een ander. Gegeeten bruine ragout, cabeljauw, die geheel op tafel kwam met gebakte wijting in de ronte, lamslende, gerookt spek, hoenders, haas, patrijzen, duiven, kapoen, etc. Voor groenten gekookte savoije kool, knollen, aardappelen en peen. Madera, port, wijn en sherrij. Zeer goed dessert. Gereeden naar Stratfort met Mr Smith en gepasseert het dorp Bow, dat er zeer slegt uitziet. Stratfort een zeer ruim en lugtig dorp. De landstreek aldaar komt veel met de Hollandsche overeen. Gesien een begraffenis van een ongetrouwd persoon: groote witte pluimen op de paarden en doodkist, witte lampen etc. Bij getrouwden zwart. [f3v]

\textsuperscript{21} MS: ‘en rivier’ added above the running line.
\textsuperscript{22} This clause has been added above the running line.

25. Gegeten met de h[ee]r Guetard in een tavern. Thee gedronken met muffins in een coffijhuis. 's Avonds gesoupeert met de Hr Greeves in de societijt *Rosa sub tegmines tuti* in Sun Tavern. Deese societijt over de 3000 leeden sterk.


28. Bijgewoond 's avonds een physiologische les van Dr Haighten over de digestie.


31. –

23 'Covent Garden' is added above text that is struck through in the running line.
1. November. Bijgewoond ‘s avonds de medische vergadering in Hunters Lyceum, grootendeels ingericht als de medische societijt in Guy's Hospitaal.

2. Thee gedronken bij mijnheer en mevrouw Haskins. ‘s Avonds bijgewoond de vergadering in Guy’s Hospitaal.

3. ‘s Morgens te Hackney in de kerk geweest bij Dr Priestley. Na kerkdienst met Do van Essen een wandeling gedaan door Hackney en gesien het aldaar zijnde instituut voor de Educatie van Jonge Lieden, gedeeltelijk ingericht als de colleges op de Duitsche universiteiten. ‘s Middags gegeten bij Mrs Descotes en ter kerk geweest bij Do Maurice. Verder den avond gepasseert bij Mrs Descotes met Do van Essen en Mr Guetard.

4. Met mijne contubenaalen en Mr Guetard zeer aangenaam studentikoos den avond gepasseert. Voor ‘t eerst Whisk gespeelt.

5. Vreugde op deesen dag in London zijnde de verjaaring der ontdekking der samenzweering van Guy Fawkes en 300 andere aanzienlijke roomsgezinden tegen de koning en al de parlements leden omtrent 150 jaar geleden. Groote meenigte van beedeliers met een poppetje Guy Fawkes verbeeldende op een stok. ‘s Avonds overal vuurwerken in de stad en vreugdevuren op de kruisstraaten, waarin Guij Fawkes verbrand word. Vlaggen op de toorens. Schieten met kanon en speelen der klokken den gantschen dag. Granaat appelen in groote meenigte, loopende de Jooden er meede langs de straat. [f4r]

6. Gegeten bij Mr Cahais. ‘s Avonds geweest in comedie in Covent Garden alwaar op verzoek van de koning gespeeld wierd Lover's Quarrels, Hartfort Bridge, Harlequins Chaplet en het neemen van Toulon. Leevens gevaar om in de comedie te koomen. Gesien
De koning, koningin, de drie oudste princessen en twee prinsen, alle in den rouw over
de koningin van Vrankrijk. Meer dan ¾ der toekijkers meede in den rouw. Voor het
speelen gesongen door tussen de 20 en 30 acteurs en actricen, allen in den rouw, God
save great George our King. Het refrain telkens gesongen door meest alle de toekijkers.
Tusschen het eerste en tweede stuk op de eigen wijse gesongen Rule Britannia.
Onbesuist hoesee en handgeklap telkens. Na het speelen weederom gesongen God Save
etc. door 50 a 60 acteurs en atricen en alle de toehoorders.

7. Gesien de vergaderzaal van de Antiquarian Society. Kopermodel van een seer
prachtige Chineesche tempel. Geintroduceerd door Dr Simmons in de Royal Society.
Marmer buste van George de III boven de schoorsteen als protector van de societijt, en
van Carolus de II boven de schoorsteen. Daarteeegen over als stichter van dezelve. De
kamer georneert met eene fraaije collectie van portraitten van voornaame Engelsche
geleerden.

8. Gesoupeert in Rope met tegmine tuti.

9. Lord Majors dag. Gehuurt met mijne contubernaalen een boot en geroeit tot voor de
plaats daar de Lord Major uit de statie koets trad en in het jacht ging vergezeld door de
afgaanden Lord Major, de sherifs en de aldermans. Elf kostbaare jachten van differente
gildens, versiert met eene groote meenigte vlaggen en verschillende ornamenten. Ijder
jacht geroeit door 18 roejers in differente kleeding en cocardes van verscheidene
coleuren. Troep musikanten op iijder jacht meede different gekleed. Kostbaar jacht van 't
goutsmith gilde, nieuw verguld met 2000 boekjes goud. Al de roejers in 't oranje met
blauw. De roejers van 't bontwerkers gilde in catone wambuisen als hermelijn
geschildert, en roode fluweele mutsen met hermelijne randen. De kapiteijn van Lord


24 Decorated (GTB s.v. ‘uitmonsteren’).
13. Gesien Leavers Museum. Dit museum wierd bij een verzameld door Sir Astley Leavers wien het meerder kostte dan 50,000 £ St[erling], en naderhand door deszelven, uit hoofde van25 geldbrek, na het vrugteloos den een en ander aangeboden te hebben, verkogt bij wijse van loterij bestaande uit 20,000 loten, tegen een guinea het lot. Het cabinet viel te beurt aan Mr Parckinson, een procureur, die over hetzelfde een zeer fraaij gebouw heeft laten timmeren, waarin het thans voor 1 sh[illing] dagelijks te zien is. Het bestaat uit tien zo groote als kleine vertrekken, bevattende eene zo compleete collectie van naturalia en verdere zeldzaamheden, als mischien mogelijk. Boven al munt uit in fraaijheid de groote sallon, rustende op agt colommen van gecouleurd marmer, en de gallerij boven deselve met een ballustrade van dito bevattende alle zo wit als inlandsche nagelen. In ’t midden is een colossaale statue van wit marmer staande op een pedestal, verbeeldende de koning, gemaakt door eene vrouw. Het opschrift is: ‘Ἀννα Δαμήρ ἡ Λονδιναύετ ἐποιει.’ Niet minder fraaij de kleine sallon, waarin al de merkwaardigheeden die Capt[ein] Cooke heeft meedegebracht welke georneert is met verscheide fraaije inscripties. In al de kamers canapees en een of twee vuuren. Scelet van de kop van een moose deer opgedolven voor veele jaaren in Ierland. Geen bewijs dat dit dier meer existeert. ’T is een soort van eland: het blad van de hoorns is meer dan 3 voet breed en tusschen de 5 en 6 voet lang. Eenhoorn vis met twee groote hoorens. Olyphants tand van tusschen de 200 en 250 f[lee]t. Scelet van de kop van een zee schildpad, gewogen hebben over de 1000 pond. Collectie van apen in differente actituden.

25 Old Dutch term for ‘because’ (GTB s.v. ‘hoofd [VI]).
14. Gegeten bij de Hr van Mathals, met de Hr Nuedlla26 zijn neef en Mr Mooly. Excellente saus, baars, een vreemde vis van de zuidkust van Engeland, veel naar macreel gelijkmende, soep, een phaisant, koude vleesch pastij, gestoofde krabben, kleine pastijtjes.
Paling.


18. 19. 's Avonds geweest in Royal Saloon Astley’s. Uitneemend fraaij zien danssen onder anderen een zeer fraaije en kunstige hornpijp door een soldaat onder het doen van het gantsche manuaal.

20. 21. 's Avonds geweest in de Royal Society.

22. Gedjeuneert bij Sir Joseph Banks. 's Avonds geweest in Covent Garden en die speelen Cymbeline en the Quaker.

23. Bijgewoond te Hackney eene physische les van Dr Walker over de breeking der ligtstraalen. Demonstratie van 't oog. Meest vrouwen en meisjes aldaar. 's Middags gedineert bij Mr van Essen met Dr Jericho.

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26 MS: Inserted above a crossed out word in the running line.

25. Thee gedronken en gesoupeert bij Dr Putman.

26. 27. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr Clers met Mr Parkins.

28. ’s Middags en ‘s avonds gegeten bij Mr White met zijne vrouw, dochter, twee zoons, Mrs ... en Mr Clapton. Tungen ongekorven met gebakke schelvis, beef, gestoofde varkens carbonade, groen erwten soep, kalkoen. Gespeeld eerst Vingt-Un en naderhand Whist met Mr en Miss White en Mrs ..... 27


30. 1 December. ‘s Avonds geweest in de Magdalen.

2 December. ‘s Morgens gedejeuneert bij Mr Clers. Geweest in St George Hospitaal. ‘s Avonds heevige brand in Wapping, waardoor 7 huisen en een schip verbrand wierden en verscheide scheepen beschadigt. Slegte orde bij brand in London.

3. ‘s Avonds een geluxeerde schouder in ‘t lit gezet.

4. Thee gedronken bij Mr A. Paats.

5. Partij van goede vrienden aan ons huis gehad. Zeer aangenaam ons gediverteert. 28

6. 7. Gegeten bij de heer van Mathals met Mr Poyell, Maning, Nueella, van de Velde, en .... cabeljauw, gekookte ham, gekookte hoenders, gebrade dito, leeuwrikken, phaisaint, krabben en zult.

27 Literally: ‘untouched by the human hand’ (GTB s.v. ‘ongekorven’).
28 To pass time in a pleasant manner (GTB s.v. ‘diverteren’).
8. Gegeeten en gesoupeert bij Mr A. Paats.


11. Gegeeten bij Mr Cahais. Thee gedronken en den avond gepasseert bij Mrs Descotes.


\textsuperscript{29} MS: Illegible, the word looks like ‘gaumdreinen’; a word unknown in Dutch.
\textsuperscript{30} MS: This sentence was originally placed at the end of the sentence and referenced to with a scribble similar to a tilde (‘~’).
waarin voornamelijk werd aangetoont een schandelijkheid van de gevallen van veelen, vooral van die teegenwoordig overal het bestier in handen hebben, dat men het gemeen en de geringe burgers in onkunde moet houden omtrent veele zaaken, dewijl zij meerder verlicht wordende ook revolutionaire Ideën krijgen. ‘s Avonds geweest in de Magdalen.


18. 19. Gegeeten bij Mr Smith met Mr and Mrs Coldgert, Mr Cane, Mr Simeon, Mr Cook, Miss Borrows beneevens Mrs and Mrs Smith. Soep, schelvis met kreefte saus, gekookte hammen, phaisant, hoender ragout, lams coteletten met peen en uien gestooft, varkens coteletten, pasteijtjes, differente vlades, cremes, pudding en gebakjes. ‘s Avonds Whist gespeeld met Mrs Coldgers, Mr Cane en Mr Cook.

20. Oester en kreefte partij aan huis gegeeven door Mr Haskins voor bienvenu.

21. Dito partij gegeeven door Mr Webb voor zijn afscheid.

22. Gegeeten s middags en savonds bij Mr A Paats.

25. ’s Morgens in de St Pauls Kerk geweest, en aldaar de cathedraale godsdienst zien verichten door (Mr Porteus)\textsuperscript{31} de bischop van London. De kerk fraaij en trots gebouwd doch donker. Slegts een tiende gedeelte voor den diensten geapproprieert. Verder geweest in Savoy Church en aldaar gesien de bediening van t nagtmaal. De kerk geheel groen gemaakt. Gegeeten smiddags en savonds bij Mr C. Paats, met Mr en Miss Brumming, Mr Grund, Mr Gieseman, Mr Sadler, Mr Bauer en Miss ... . Meenig'te van capoenen overal versneden op Kersmis. Kersmidag in London eeven als Nieuwjaarsdag in Holland. Misletoe in deszelfs gebruik. Veel bigotterie thans nog heerschende in de kerk van Engeland. In de St Pauls Kerk en Westminster Abbey worden alle de gebeeden gesongen door zangers in witte hemden: niemand mag in die kerken zijn hoed opzetten zelfs niet wanneer hij koomt om de kerk te zien. Niemand zet ook zijn hoed op in het huis van een bisschop of aartsbisschop. Niemand mag in ongeweide aarde begraaven worden etc., etc. De kerk van Engeland ook zeer intolerant vooral tegen de dissenters, welken men meer haat dan de Mahometaanen\textsuperscript{32} en Roomschen. Geen dissenter kan eenig publiek ampt bekleeden; geen dissenter kan aan de universiteiten van Oxford en Cambridge eenige graad bekoomen. Geen student kan op deese universiteiten worden ingeschreven zonder de articulen van eeuwigheid onderteekent te hebben.

26. 27. 28. Gesien de collectie van wassen beelden in Salmons Wax Manufactory in the Strand waarin de zeer veel fraaije en beweegende figuuren. ’s Avonds soupé aan ons huis gegeeven door Mr Haskins, waarbij Dr Bierker, Mr Thelwall en Mr Bedodome.

\textsuperscript{31} MS: Added above the running line.
\textsuperscript{32} Mahometan is an old term for Mohammedan or Muslim (OED s.v. ’Mahometan’).
29. Te kerk geweest bij Dr Priestley, na kerktijd een wandeling gedaan met Do van Essen en zijn dochters door Hackney. Gegeten en verder den dag gepasseert bij Mrs Descotes. Klinee kuikentjes gesien te Hackney in de open lugt.

30. Gegeten bij Mr Cahais.

31. Oudejaarsavond te huis onder elkander gepasseert.


2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Dag van Drie koningen. Al de suiker bakkers winkels opgeschikt gelijk op St. Nicolaas in Holland. Kiesen van koning en koningin. Bijgewoond eene chirurgische les van Mr Cline over de hydroviele, sarcola en empyema en de operaties in dezelve te verrichten.

7. 8. Een gedeelte van den avond gepasseert bij Mr A. Paats, verder geweest in the Liberty Tavern en gesoupeert bij Mr A. Paats.


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33 MS: This entire sentence is added above the running line.

14. 15. 16. ’s Avonds geweest op een publieke danspartij in Paul’s Head Tavern. Gedanst tot 2 uur, wanneer een groot gedeelte van de partij naar huis ging, en de rest 32 a 34 stuk gingen soupeeren, en naderhand dansten tot 5 uur. Fraaije danszaal en freijne gestucadoort.


---

34 A young cow which had not yet had any young or just had its first young (GTB s.v. ‘vaars’).
35 From ‘vonder’, a small bridge (GTB s.v. ‘vondel’).
36 MS: ‘wanneer een’ added above a crossed out section in the running line.
37 A chamfered stone (GTB s.v. ‘frijnen’).
38 MS: ‘Serjeants at Law’ added above the running line.
39 MS: Added above a crossed out word in the running line.
40 Possibly from ‘carré’ which means square in French.
gesoupeert bij Mr Clers met Mrs Clers, Mr Clers en zijn broeder, Dr Lindue en Miss Neal. Pandueteuren (forfeits) en pantofffeltje (hunting slipper) eeven eens in Engeland als in Holland. Gesien de Turkse ambasadeur en secretaris. Gesprooken de tolk van de ambasade.

18. ‘s Avonds in de societijt viering der verjaardag van de koningin. Illuminaties41 bij sommige burgers.

19. ‘s Middags en ‘s avonds gegeeten bij Mr A. Paats.

20. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr Cahais.


41 Festive torches in the open air (GTB s.v. ‘illuminatie’).
22. 23. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr White met Mrs Diart, Mr Diart en Mr White.

24. 25. Gegeeten bij Do Essen met Mr Dendon.


27. 28. 29. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr A. Paats.

30. Dito bij Mr C. Paats.


2. 3. 4. ’s Avonds geweest in de oratorio in Capel-Court. Orchest van 30 musicanten en 50 sangers.

5. ’s Middags gegeeten met Mr Guetard, Dendon, Webb en Complain in Virginia's Coffijhouse.

6. Gesien ’t British Museum. In ’t portaal eene kleine collectie van antique Rom[einse], Egyptische en andere altaaren en beelden. In de eerste kamer Chineesche afgoden en kledingen en verscheide Chineesche en andere aardigheeden. In de 2e kamer afgoden, wapenen, kledingen ornamenten, huissieraaden, etc. van de volkeren uit den Z[uid] Zee Ijlanden, Old heiti, Owyhai, de Friendly Ijlanden etc. 3e kamer Bibliotheca Cottoniana. 4e kamer Bibliotheca Sloaniana et Harleyana. 5e kamer Bibliotheca Harleyana et Regia. Alle deese bibliotheeken bevatten niets dan zeer prestieuse en raare boeken, welke allen fraaij gebonden en wel geconditioneert zijn, en een groot aantal van manuscripten,

Poot van de dodo of dodaars, van welke vogel wel beschrijvinge maar geen specimina existeeren. De kop van zulk een vogel berust in het cabinet te Oxford. 10e kamer bevattende [f7v] slangen, amphibia en vissen in liquor, benevens een collectie van gedroogde vissen. Crocodil uit de Ganges van 18 voet lang. ’s Middags gedineert bij Mr Brathwaite met Mr en Miss Brathwaite en Dr Woole.

8. 9. Gedineert bij Mr Brathwaite met Mr Woole, Mr and Mrs Batty en Miss Brathwaite. Den avond gepasseerd bij Sir Joseph Banks.

10. ’s Avonds geassisteert op een debat in Union Street onder presidium van Mr Thelwall over de questie welke oorlog voor Engeland nadeeliger was, de Americaansche of de tegenwoordige. Groote onstuimigheid aldaar.

---

42 Old Dutch word for butterflies (GTB s.v. ’Kapel [III]’).

12. Gegeten bij Mr Cahais.

13. Gesoupeert bij Dr Haighton met Mrs Tins, Hains, Carrey, Clevally, Sutton, Slater, Brock & Marrit.


15. Geweest op de gallery\(^{43}\) van ‘t momumenten gesticht ter gedachtenis van den brand van London. Tot aan de gallery 311 trappen.

16. Geweest te Hackney en gegeten met Do van Essen bij Mrs Descotes.

17. 18. ‘s Middags gegeten bij de heer Marits, ‘s avonds met deszelven geweest in de comedie op Hay Market alwaar gespeeld wierd Rosina, My Grand Mother en the Children in the Wood. Deese comedie zeer klein, slegts twee rijen met loges en 13 loges op iedere rije. De acteurs zeer goed.


20. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr C. Paats.

21. 22. 23. Den avond gepasseert bij Sir Joseph Banks. Gesoupeert met Dr Bierker in the ... tavern.

24. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr Clers.

\(^{43}\) MS: Inserted above a crossed out word in the running line.
25. [Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert ] bij Mr A. Paats.

26. 27. 28. Beededag. Vasten der Engelschen even als de Roomschen eetende geen vlees maar vis.


2. ’s Middags en ’s avonds gegeten bij Mr A. Paats.

3. 4. 5. Bijgewoond in Surgeons Hall in het Theatrum Anatomium de eerste publieke les van Proff[essor] Cooper over de ziekten der slagaderen. Dit theater georneert met acht sceletten in nissen van moord geschavotteerden en aldaar geschavotteerde persoonen. Fraaie zaal voor de vergadering van ’t Chirurgisch Collegie. Kleynen bibliotheek. Thee gedronken en den avond gepasseert te Hackney bij Mrs Decotes met Do van Essen, Miss van den Enden en Miss Coolcraft.44


10. 11. 12. 13. Gedineert bij Mr Brathwaite. Aldaar gesien fraaie medailles door Mr Boulton (uitvinder van de stoommachine) waarvan erdoor een werktuig 75 in een minuut gemaakt worden, zodanige instrumenten hij er 8.

---

44 MS: There are some scribbles in the bottom right corner of the page that look like: ‘101 9 59’.
45 coloured or contradictory (GTB s.v. ‘Schrill [III]’).
14. Den avond gepasseert bij Dr Smith.

15. 16. Den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr Clare.


18. Dito bij Mr A. Paats.


46 The last clause is added above the running line.
23. 's Morgens gedejeuneert te Hackney bij Mr Guetard. Gehoort aldaar de afscheids
predicatie van Dr Priestly. 's Middags gegeeten bij Mr Brathwaite met Mr and Mrs Batty,
Dr Amsley, Mrs Amsley en Miss Brathwaite. Den avond gepasseert bij Sir Joseph Banks.


26. Gegeeten bij Mr Cahais. den avond gepasseert en gesoupeert bij Mr C. Paats.

27. 's Middags en 's avonds gegeeten bij Mr A. Paats.

28. Gedineert bij Do van Essen. Gesien de Botanische Tuin van Mr Lodgenger. Thee
gedronken bij Mrs Descotes. Den avond gepasseert bij Mr Davies.

29. 30. 's Morgens met Mr C. Paats, Dr Gieseman, Mr Grund & Mr Bauer gereede
Strelitzia Alba. (Chineesche pagode. Tempel van Confusius, Oost I[ndisch] paleis, oude
triumph boog. Tempel der vreede, de abdeij, etc.) Gegeeten bij Mr Bauer na den eeten
een wandeling gedaan langs de rivier naa Londen te rug gewandelt. Gesoupeert bij Mr C.
Paas.

[f8v]
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*Plan of Paul’s Head Tavern, Cateaton Street*’ 1760-1818. The British Museum, London.


# Appendix A

## 1. Catalogue of surgical operations that I was allowed to witness in London from 1793 & 1794

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Operation</th>
<th>Surgeon</th>
<th>Hospital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 October 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the little finger of the right hand</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 October 1793</td>
<td>Lithotomy of a six year old boy</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 October 1793</td>
<td>Castration</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 October 1793</td>
<td>Operation of a cleft lip</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 October 1793</td>
<td>Repositioning of a fractured femur</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 October 1793</td>
<td>Extraction of polyps from both nostrils</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 October 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the right arm on the side of […]</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 October 1793</td>
<td>Painful incision along the length of the top part of the head, to examine the pressure inside a man’s skull</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Operation</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 October 1793</td>
<td>Perforation of the urethra closed quickly in a two year old child</td>
<td>Mr Lynn</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 October 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the leg from the middle part</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 October 1793</td>
<td>Extraction of a cataract from a woman</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 October 1793</td>
<td>Lithotomy of a six and a half year old male</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 October 1793</td>
<td>Paracentesis of a woman’s abdomen</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the big toe of the right foot</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of a girl’s index finger</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 November 1793</td>
<td>Puncture of the bladder above the pubic bone</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 November 1793</td>
<td>Extraction of a girl’s polyps from both nostrils</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the thigh in a youth</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the penis of a fifty year old man</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 November 1793</td>
<td>Extraction of a male's cataract</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the thigh of a five to six year old boy</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November 1793</td>
<td>Cure of a oedema by injection of a liquor and extinguishing it with water, after emptying the contents.</td>
<td>Mr Ramsoon</td>
<td>St Bartholomew's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November 1793</td>
<td>Trepanation</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of a man's thigh.</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of a right arm at the joint.</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1793</td>
<td>Paracentesis of a man's abdomen</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 December 1793</td>
<td>Castration</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 December 1793</td>
<td>Extirpation of small bones from the knee</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of a left hand</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Procedure Description</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 December 1793</td>
<td>Reduction of a thigh that has already been dislocated for some days with a polyspast¹</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 December 1793</td>
<td>Removal of a male’s cataract</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 December 1793</td>
<td>Operation of an anal fistula</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the thigh of a five to six year old boy.</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputation of the elbow.</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anno 1794**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Procedure Description</th>
<th>Surgeon</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 January</td>
<td>Operation of a cataract in one eye</td>
<td>Dr Jericho</td>
<td>In private residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 January</td>
<td>Castration</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 January x</td>
<td>Paracentesis of a woman’s abdomen</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 January x</td>
<td>Amputation of fingers</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 January x</td>
<td>Castration</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>Depressurising of a cataract in a man's eye</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ polyspast; an apparatus for reducing a dislocated joint. It is a lifting device with a system of several pulleys (OED s.v. ‘polyspast’).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Procedure Description</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Hospital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>Elimination of a fungal swelling above the sternum</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January</td>
<td>Paracentesis of a man’s abdomen</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January</td>
<td>Amputation of the left hand of a seventeen year old</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>Removal of a oedema</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 January</td>
<td>Amputation of the left leg</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 January</td>
<td>Removal of a dry, fatty tumor under the right ear of a woman, which was the size of a fist</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 January</td>
<td>Removal of swelling the size of a goose bump above the mouth of a woman</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 February</td>
<td>Amputation of the left leg</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 February</td>
<td>Castration</td>
<td>Mr Blicke</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 February</td>
<td>Operation of an anal fistula</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 February</td>
<td>Amputation of a woman’s right leg</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Procedure Description</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 February</td>
<td>Complete cure of a oedema by injection</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 February</td>
<td>Amputation of a male's left leg</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 February</td>
<td>Castration</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>Depressurising of a cataract in a man's eye</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>Removal of polyps by bandaging the other nostril</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>Abscission of part of the scrotum because of a fleshy tumor</td>
<td>Mr Abernethey</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 February</td>
<td>Paracentesis of man’s abdomen</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 March</td>
<td>Amputation of a boy’s left thigh</td>
<td>Mr Blicke</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 March</td>
<td>Lithotomy in a boy of 5 or 6 years old</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 March</td>
<td>Removal of a cataract from a man's eye</td>
<td>Mr Long</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 March</td>
<td>Extraction of polyps from one ear</td>
<td>Mr Long</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 MS: the manuscript reads a word ‘atosum’. It is uncertain what this means.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Surgeon</th>
<th>Hospital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 March</td>
<td>Paracentesis of a woman’s abdomen</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 March</td>
<td>Removal of a oedema</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 March</td>
<td>Extraction of polyps from both ears</td>
<td>Mr Long</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 March</td>
<td>Lithotomy</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 March</td>
<td>Amputation of a man’s right thigh</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 March</td>
<td>Amputation of a youth’s left leg</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 March</td>
<td>Complete cure of a oedema by incision</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 March</td>
<td>Amputation of a little girl’s index finger</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 March</td>
<td>Complete cure of a oedema by incision</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 March</td>
<td>Amputation of man’s index finger</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Catalogus Operationum Chirurgicarum, quas Londoni mihi videre licuit, 
A[nn]ö 1793 & 1794

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dies operationis</th>
<th>Nomen operationis</th>
<th>Nomen Chirugi</th>
<th>Nomen Nosocomii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Octobris 1793</td>
<td>Amputatio digiti minimi dextra manus</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Lithotomia in puero 6 annorum</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Castratio</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Operatio labii leporini</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>[15 Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Repositio fracti femoris</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Extractio Polypi ex utraque narii</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[18 Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Amputatio brachii dextri intra [...]¹</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>[18 Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Incisio cruciata et longitudinalis in summa capitis parte, ad explorandum cranii hominis intropresse</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Perforatio urethra clauso in puero 2 cicit annorum</td>
<td>Mr Lynn</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
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</table>

¹ MS: The word here is something like ‘Deltoricem’; it is uncertain what this means.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Procedure Description</th>
<th>Surgeon</th>
<th>Hospital</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Amputatio cruris in media parte</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Extractio cataracte in muliere</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Lithotomia in viro 6½ annorum</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
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<td>24 [Octobris 1793]</td>
<td>Paracenthesis abdominis in muliere</td>
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<td>Guy's</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputatio pollicis dextri pedio</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 [November 1793]</td>
<td>Amputatio digitii indicis puella</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>[22 November 1793]</td>
<td>Punctura vesica supra pubim</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>[St Thomas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[22 November 1793]</td>
<td>Extractio polypi ex utroque narium in virgine</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>[St Thomas]</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputatio femoris in juveme</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[29 November 1793]</td>
<td>Amputatio penis in viro quinquagenario</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>[St Thomas]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[29 November 1793]</td>
<td>Extractio cataracte in viro</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>[St Thomas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November 1793</td>
<td>Amputatio femoris in puero 5 ad 6 ann[orum]</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomew’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Procedure Description</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
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<td>30 November 1793</td>
<td>Cura hydroceles per injectionem liquoris ad stingentes post evacuonem contente aqua</td>
<td>Mr Ramsoon</td>
<td>St Bartholomew's</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 November 1793</td>
<td>Trepanatio</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 December 1973</td>
<td>Amputatio femoris in viro.</td>
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<td>6 December 1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 December 1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 December 1793</td>
<td>Castratio</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 December 1793</td>
<td>Exstirpatio ossiculi parvi ex genu</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputatio manus sinistre</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 December 1793</td>
<td>Reductio luxati jam aliquot ante dies femoris per polyspastum</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 December 1793</td>
<td>Extractio cataracta in viro</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 December 1793</td>
<td>Operatio fistuli ani</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 December 1793</td>
<td>Amputatio femoris in puero 5 ad 6 annorum</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[21 December 1793]</td>
<td>Amputatio cubiti</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 January</td>
<td>Opera[ti]o cataracte in uno oculo</td>
<td>Dr Jericho</td>
<td>In domo privata</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 January</td>
<td>Castratio</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 January</td>
<td>Paracenthesis abdominis in muliere</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 January</td>
<td>Amputatio digitii</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<td>d[it]o 18 January</td>
<td>Castratio</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>Depressio cataracte in uno oculo in viro</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<tr>
<td>d[it]o 23 January</td>
<td>Exstingcio tumoris fungosi super sterni</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 January</td>
<td>Paracenthesis abdominis in viro</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
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<tr>
<td>d[it]o 27 January</td>
<td>Amputatio manus sinistri in juven[e] 17 annorum</td>
<td>Mr Birch</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>Evacutatio hydroceles</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 January</td>
<td>Amputatio cruvis sinistri</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Procedure Description</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 January</td>
<td>Exstirpatio steatomatis ad magnitudinem pugni in muliere, sub aure dextra siti</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
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<tr>
<td>d[it]o [January]</td>
<td>Exstirpatio atheromatis ad magnit[udinem] avi anserini in muliere super as sacre siti</td>
<td>Mr Lucas</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 February</td>
<td>Amputatio cruvis sinistri</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
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<td>Mr Blice</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<td>10 February</td>
<td>Operatio fistule ani</td>
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<td>Guy's</td>
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<td>14 February</td>
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<td>St Thomas</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 February</td>
<td>Cura radicalis² hydrocele per injectionem</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<td>21 February</td>
<td>Amputatio cruvis sinistri in viro</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy's</td>
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<tr>
<td>d[it]o [February]</td>
<td>Castratio</td>
<td>Mr Cline</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>Depressio cataracti in uno oculo in viro</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>Extractio polypi per ligaturam ex altero naris</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² cura radicalis; old medical term for a complete cure (Bell 33).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Operation Description</th>
<th>Surgeon</th>
<th>Hospital</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Februarij]</td>
<td>Abscissio partis scroti propter tumorem carnivorum [...]³</td>
<td>Mr Abernethey</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 [Februarij]</td>
<td>Paracenthesis abdominis in viro</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Martii</td>
<td>Amputatio femoris sinistri in puero</td>
<td>Mr Blicke</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 [Martii]</td>
<td>Lithotomia in puero 5 a 6 ann[orum]</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Martii]</td>
<td>Extractio catharacte in viro in uno oculo</td>
<td>Mr Long</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Martii]</td>
<td>Extractio polypi ex una aure</td>
<td>Mr Long</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 [Martii]</td>
<td>Paracenthesis abdominis in muliere</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 [Martii]</td>
<td>Evacuatio hydrocele</td>
<td>Mr Earle</td>
<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Martii]</td>
<td>Extractio polypi ex utraque aurium</td>
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<td>St Bartholomews</td>
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<td>17 [Martii]</td>
<td>Lithotomia</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Martii]</td>
<td>Amputatio femoris dextri in viro</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 [Martii]</td>
<td>Amputatio cruvis sinistri in juveme</td>
<td>Mr Forster</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ MS: A word that looks atosum, which has no meaning in Latin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Surgeon</th>
<th>Hospital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d[it]o [Martii]</td>
<td>Cura radic[alis] hydroceles per incisionem</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d[it]o [Martii]</td>
<td>Amputatio digiti in dicis in puellula</td>
<td>Mr Cooper</td>
<td>Guy’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 [Martii]</td>
<td>Cura radic: hydroceles per incisionem</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d[it]o [Martii]</td>
<td>Amputatio digiti in dicis in viro</td>
<td>Mr Chandler</td>
<td>St Thomas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>