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WREN'S LAST BUILDING?

By J. A. BENNETT Clare College, Cambridge

[Plate 15]

I is well known that the early Fellows of the Royal Society were not altogether happy with their accommodation at Gresham College. Occasionally they discussed plans for a building of their own, a 'college' designed for their own particular needs. Certainly with Evelyn, Hooke and Wren as enthusiastic members, there was no shortage, either of architectural skill, or of familiarity with materials, estimates and workmen's accounts. Did the discussions, combined with such a wealth of talent, produce no tangible results? In particular, did England's most prolific architect never provide a building for that 'competent Number of Persons of eminent Learning, Ingenuity, and Honour' (I)?

Wren's first contribution came in 1668, when Henry Howard was prepared to give the Society a site for a building in the grounds of Arundel House (2). His design was certainly ambitious, but the only definite record we have of it is his description in a letter to Oldenburg (3), since the drawings he enclosed with the letter have been lost. The Wren Society editors have suggested that a drawing in the British Museum might relate to the design (4), but their attribution is disputed (5). It has even been suggested that a building was later completed (at least approximately) according to this design. Thus R. T. Gunther used a similarity with Wren's description as evidence for his claim that the Old Ashmolean in Oxford was designed by Wren (6). Certainly as far as a Royal Society building was concerned the design went no further, and subsequent discussion in fact centred around designs by Hooke and by Henry Howard himself (7). At one stage Hooke was ordered to have a model made, and to begin work on the details of materials and contracts (8), but eventually nothing came of the whole project.

The question of accommodation continued to arise occasionally. On 20 June 1674, Hooke and Hoskins had 'much discourse about the R.S. module' (9), and on 27 June, Hooke records that 'Sir Chr. would uphold the Society at his Lodgings' (10). It seems possible that Hooke toyed with plans for a building in

the grounds of Chelsea College (11). Wren's frequent concern with Chelsea (12), however, only related to schemes for using the ground and buildings for the Society's financial profit. He was not involved with building on the site until after Sir Stephen Fox, Evelyn and he had negotiated the sale of Chelsea College back to Charles II.

The problem appeared again in 1701, when the trustees of Gresham were anxious to rebuild the college (13). The situation became more acute after the death of Hooke, and on 24 March 1702/3, the Society heard that they were to remove themselves and their belongings and return the keys of Hooke's lodgings. Whereupon a committee, which included Wren, was formed:

... to wait on the Lord Mayor, & desire the favor of him, to remain, for some small time in their Lodgings, till they can be provided (14).

During the first two decades of the eighteenth century, both Wren and his son Christopher Wren, Jnr., were elected to the Royal Society Council for various terms. While Christopher Jnr. did attend irregularly, Wren's only recorded attendance was on 16 February 1703/4, when the Gresham trustees were once again proposing to petition Parliament for permission to rebuild the college. The Council gave Wren a special word of thanks for attending, and:

... They also desired Sir Christopher Wren that he would please to take the trouble of viewing the design and project and consider what accomodation the Society wanted and to resolve by Changing or purchasing Ground fitt for their affairs to add to what the Committees offer for their accomodation (15).

Accordingly Wren produced his 'Proposals for building a House for the R. Societie' (16), setting out their requirements. On 30 November he was again included on a committee, this time:

... to meet the Members of Parl^t appointed to bring in the Bill for rebuilding of Gresham College, & to endeavor to gett an accommodation for the Society in such New buildings, if the Project shall go forward (17).

A petition to the Queen, entered in the Register Book, and marked as 'Read January 10, 1704' (18) shows that the Society were prepared to look for alternatives, if the Gresham trustees would not accommodate them. The project did not go forward however, as Parliament did not pass the bill, and again the plans for a Royal Society building came to nothing.

The trustees continued their pressure on the Society, who were forced to look around for accommodation for themselves. One idea put forward was for their meetings to be held in Cotton House (19), and we have evidence of Wren's connexion with this in his official capacity as Surveyor-General. The Earl of Godolphin (then Lord High Treasurer) had asked for Wren's report on whether Cotton House was suitable for housing the museum and library of the Royal Society (as well as the Queen's library at St James's). Wren's reply is interesting, both in connexion with his later concern with housing the museum, as also for his comments on the library. He wrote to Godolphin on 15 December 1706, that the Queen's library could be accommodated,

... But I thinke the Books & Rarities & Instruments of Gresham College can hardly be brought hither also. I cofesse both these Libraries may be purged of much uselesse Trash, but this must be the Drudgery of Librarians (20).

On 8 September 1710, Newton called a meeting of the Council:

... on Occasion of the late D_{\cdot}^{r} Browns House in Crane Court in Fleet Street being now to be sold being in the middle of the Town out of Noise, and might be a proper place to be purchased by the Society for their meetings (21).

Wren was chosen on to a committee (which included Sloane, Richard Waller, and Christopher Wren, Jnr.) 'to take care of this matter'. On 20 September the same committee 'was appointed to contract for and purchase the House of the late D^r Brown & the adjoyning little House' (22), and Newton reported their success on 26 October. As I have said before, Wren was not attending the Council meetings (23), and we cannot be certain that he played an active role on these committees. Evidence for his later activity, however, is more definite. On 2 November 1710, we again find both Wren and his son being chosen on to a committee. On this occasion:

Sir Christopher Wren, M^r. Wren and M^r. Waller were Appointed a Committee to see what Mr. Brigstock leaves in the House that may be usefull to the Society and of what Value they may be (24).

It seems certain that Wren would have been involved (at least indirectly, through his son) in the work of such a small committee. They made their report on 30 November, when both Waller and Christopher Wren Jnr. were present:

M^r_. Brigstock was Ordered to have thirty Guineas for the Wainscot and other things he leaves in the House at Crane Court according to the Report of Sir Christopher Wren, M^r_. Wren and M^r_. Waller (25).

In view of the important part he will play in what follows, it is worth saying something about the career of Richard Waller. He was admitted Fellow of the Society at a meeting in 1681, with Wren in the chair, and in 1684 began his first term on the Council. His interests covered anatomy, botany and zoology; he translated books on natural philosophy from Italian and French and is best known through the publication of Hooke's *Posthumous Works*. For all of twentyeight years, beginning in 1685, Waller was a very valuable and enthusiastic Secretary and during the administration of the removal to Crane Court he was partnered by Hans Sloane, who was senior Secretary (26).

Wren seems to have played a considerable part in arranging for the necessary repairs to the Society's new home. There is a letter in the British Museum from Christopher Wren Jnr. to Sloane concerning these arrangements. The manuscript is imperfect:

I have given directions to [par]ticular Workmen, Persons I know well & trust (27), to take an Exact Survey of all necessary repairs of ye House; when [they] have made their Report; and my Father [has] examin'd their several Rates, I will [place] the whole before you, and ye Workmen [m]ay begin when you shall think proper, ... (28).

When we examine the names mentioned in connexion with the eventual bills for these repairs (29), it appears that Wren probably had more to do with the business than examining the rates, that he had at least made some recommendations concerning which workmen should be employed. Each workman was employed by Wren elsewhere at some time. The list is an impressive one: Richard Jennings, carpenter; John Tuffnell, joiner; Edward Strong, mason; Thomas Hughes, bricklayer; Thomas Robinson, smith; Matthew Jarman, glazier; Joseph Thompson, painter; Chrystom Wilkins, plasterer; Joseph Roberts, plumber. In addition, William Dickinson, who worked as an assistant to Wren, and was something of an architect himself, was paid 'for his care and pains in Attending the several Workmen and Measuring the said Works & weighing Lead & Iron etc'. Of the nine workmen themselves, no fewer than eight were employed in building St Paul's. The name of Edward Strong stands out (this could refer to either father or son); so does that of Joseph Roberts, who supplied the lead for the dome of St Paul's, and Thomas Robinson, who supplied the great chain for the base of the brick cone. The inclusion of Richard Jennings is interesting, since he was soon to be dismissed from the work at St Paul's and Wren's subsequent loyalty towards him was to be used against Wren in the 'Frauds and Abuses' controversy (30).

For our present purpose the most significant committee was that appointed

on 20 January 1710/11, when Waller, Sloane and Christopher Wren Jnr. (but not Sir Christopher) were included on 'a Committee to consider of the placing the Library and Repository in the House at Crane Court' (31). Wren's link, through his son, with the work of this committee is important. They seem to have decided that the repository could not be accommodated in the houses at Crane Court, since, when the Council came to draft a circular on 17 March, asking for contributions towards 'fitting up the same for their use', they also mentioned their plan 'to build a New Repository' (32). It was in this connexion that Wren once again set to designing a building for the Society. Indeed it seems that the reference in the proposed circular was to a 'designe on paper' already submitted by Wren. A second letter from Christopher Wren Jnr. to Sloane in the British Museum (33) is as follows:

Whitehall Mar: 28^t 1710.

D^r. Sloan

By my father's direction a Modell is made of the room for ye Repository of ye. Royal-Society in Crane Court, wch. may give ye Gentlemen a better idea, then the designe on paper: It will be very light, very commodious, and the cheapest building that can be contrived: I have sent the Joyner with it to you, that you may take yr. opportunity to show it to ye. Councill; it will be necessary not to loose the season of ye. year in ye. execution. I shall indeavour to attend at ye. next meeting, and am

yr. most obed^t hum^{le} Serv^t

Chr: Wren.

The following day this model was shown to a meeting of the Society. The Journal Book records that:

A Letter from Mr Wren was read, accompanying a Modell for a Repository, made in wood by Sir Chr. Wren's direction, in ye roof whereof were several Lutern lights. It was referr'd to ye Council (34).

If it seems surprising that Wren's role in the affair was played at a distance, in the way we have seen, it must be remembered that at this time he was almost eighty years old.

The Council considered the matter on 30 May 1711, when Mr Waller, Mr Aston and Mr Pitfield were appointed 'to adjust the Bills of the Workmen at the House in Crane Court, and to consider of Building the Repository at the same time' (35). The bills referred to are those of the workmen mentioned above. We can be certain that at this stage the projected repository was to be built according to Wren's design. The evidence for this is an agreement, dated 28 May 1711, drawn up between Newton and the Council on the one side and Thomas Hughes, bricklayer, and Richard Jennings, carpenter, on the other (36). (By this time Jennings had been dismissed from the work at St Paul's.) The document at the Royal Society is unsigned, so that we cannot be certain of the

terms of the final agreement, but it is important since it gives us a description of Wren's model.

Agreed yⁿ by Sir Isaac Newton Kn^t President & the rest of y^e Councell of the Hon^{ble} y^e Royall Society wth Tho: Hughes Bricklay^t & Rich^d Jennings Carpenter to build a Pile of building on the North side of a house in Crane Court Fleetstreet belong^g to ye. s^d Society According to a Modell in Wainsc^t delivered in & approved on by y^e s^d Society & is as followeth Viz^t The s^d Pile to be 40 fo^t long more or less & 23 fo^t broad with 2 Clear storys in y^e same 9 fo^t 6ⁱⁿ high each divided by a Gallery of 5 fo^t broad clear wth in y^e rail framed wth good Yellow deal Timber wth 12 Trusses to carry ye s^d Gallary & boarding the same wth 12 small Pillasters & an upper raile round the front of y^e s^d Gallery & a stair case into y^e same ec

The Ground floor to be of Oak & boarded wth whole deal and supported by brickworke under to stiffen & preserve it

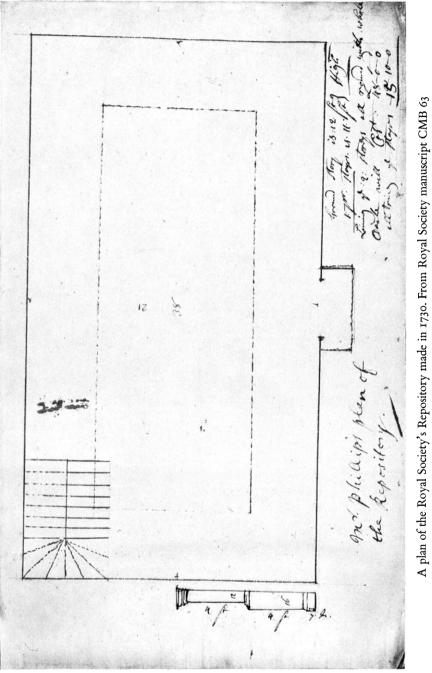
A substantiall firr roof to drip on both fronts wth 8 Luthern windows wth pedam^{ts} & Cheeks & a Ceiling floor there ec- wth strong out side door & cases below wth a stone do^r & 3 steps to it & a window over y^e same in y^e south front next y^e house.

The brickwork to be two bricks thick above ground in y^e South front & North wall wth 9' wall at each end of the same joining on to y^e buildings y^{re} streight Arches over y^e windows and pannells wth y^e plain Tyling on y^e Roof Rendering Ceiling & whiting to y^e same wth in side ec.

To put in 6 new shass windows wth lines w^{tts} & pullies and Glaize y.^e same wth Crown glass & y^e Lutherns wth New Cast[-] Glass in strong lead together wth y.^e painting y.^e same y.^e ou[t]-side do^{rs} & front of y^e Gall^{ry} wth y.^e Trusses ec

The agreement also states that the work was to be 'approved on by Sir Xpher Wren Kn^t & Chr: Wren Esq. or by any other person whom they shall depute'. The price agreed was three hundred pounds, to be paid in two instalments.

The work was rather slow to begin. By 26 June, some materials for the building had been collected, but it was thought necessary to appoint yet another committee, again including Waller, 'to adjust the Workmens Bills, payment for the Bricks brought in for the New Repository and for the Building a new



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one' (37). By now the Council was anxious to remove the 'curiosities' from Gresham, and Mr Hunt, the keeper of the repository at the time, was ordered to bring them to Crane Court 'with what convenient speed he could'. It is clear that financial problems were delaying the start on the new building; the Society was obviously having difficulty in paying for the repairs to the houses themselves. On 12 July, Waller made a new proposal, which was approved, 'to build a new Repository for two Hundred pounds' (38). He probably had in mind a simplified version of Wren's original design. Within a year the building was complete, and on 8 April 1712, a committee was appointed 'to take care of the due placing of the Curiosities in the New Repository built by M^r Waller' (39). The building, however, did not coincide with Waller's (probably illinformed) proposal of the previous July. The cost had doubled, owing to 'the Additional Cellar and Ornaments beyond what was intended' (40). The Council decided to give Waller three hundred pounds (which coincides with their initial projected output), 'and to enter his Name as a farther Benefaction of One Hundred pounds'. By 26 July the debt had somehow been reduced to 250 pounds (40). Waller himself never received the money, but on 17 May 1716, his widow received from Newton 'two hundred and fifty pounds and fifty three pounds in full Interest' (42).

The question remains as to how closely the repository was built according to Wren's design. Circumstantial evidence suggests both that the building was at least substantially as Wren originally designed it, and that he would have been consulted over what changes did take place. Certainly the original model was retained by the Society and later placed in the completed repository. In an inventory of the repository, dated 21 November 1765 (43), we find under 'Machines. Models. Instruments. Telescopes. Microscopes, Etc.':

64. A Model of the Repository of the Royal Society as first designed N° 247.

The words 'as first designed' might be taken to indicate certain changes, but this cannot be assumed since it might equally refer to the initial act of designing. It is significant that the entry identifies the model with the building which contained it.

I have been careful to present the evidence for Wren's 'behind the scenes' involvement in the whole Crane Court enterprise, which included providing a link with the workmen and checking their accounts. It is also important that the Society had definitely decided to use Wren's design, and that again he was to provide the liaison with the workmen. We must remember that there was no man in England who had more experience with the ways of the trade, and that the Royal Society were in a very privileged position in having Wren so eager to help them. Their chief problem in building was financial, and in this they had an assurance that Wren's design was 'very light, very commodious, and the cheapest building that can be contrived'. Thus it is unlikely that his basic arrangement would have been changed. It seems almost certain, considering his part in what had already been done, that Wren was consulted over any changes that did occur. We have no evidence of Waller's familiarity with building, and it is possible that his proposal for a suitable building for two hundred pounds was naïve. It is significant that, immediately after the record of the Council's approval of the proposal, we find that 'Mr. Waller was desired to speak to Sir Christop^r. Wren about Abatem^{ts} in the Workmens Bills' (44).

The reference to 'the Additional Cellar and Ornaments beyond what was intended' clearly refers to Waller's intentions, and I suggest that the inclusion of a cellar might well explain the reference in the description of the model to a 'Ground floor . . . supported by brickworke under to stiffen & preserve it', as well as the reference to '2 *Clear* storys' (45). Wren's first Royal Society design of 1668 included a repository and library over a cellar (46).

We do, in fact, have stronger evidence than this, since the Repository Committee minutes from January 1729/30 till October 1733 have been preserved at the Royal Society (47). From various references to repairs done during the period, we can gather that the building consisted of two stories (apart from the cellar)—a ground floor and a staircase leading to a gallery; that the ceiling was whitewashed and that the interior was later lined with wainscot. All of this agrees with the description of the model. We also learn that there was a chimney, and that in 1733 four extra windows were proposed, to be placed 'in ye back front of ye Repository' (i.e. on the far side from Crane Court). In 1730 there was some fear that the building might not be able to stand up to the great weight of its contents, but an examination 'found all things strong & substantiall & sufficient to bear ye extraordinary Weight laid upon them'.

The most important piece of evidence, however, contained in these minutes, is an actual plan of the repository. This was made by a Mr Phillips, who had been asked to prepare an estimate for lining the interior 'with good Deal'. His estimate of forty-eight pounds was submitted on 2 July 1730, accompanied by a very rough plan of the building. This is preserved in the minutes and marked 'Mr. Phillip's plan of the Repository'. It is nothing more than a sketch showing the main features (see plate 15). The value of this drawing is that it shows a two-storied building, the upper storey being a gallery, with a staircase and a single door in the south as in the description of Wren's model. The dimensions given in the drawing are also close to those originally proposed. Thus the agreement of May 1711 described a building '40 fot long more or less & 23 fot broad', and when Phillips gives 38 feet by 21 feet, it must be remembered that he was more interested in estimating the cost of an interior lining than with the exterior dimensions. A note beside the drawing indicates that the stories were higher than originally proposed, the ground being given as 12 feet high and the upper storey as 11 feet, while the original agreement was for 9 feet 6 inches each. However, when we calculate the width of the gallery from the scale of the drawing, it comes to approximately 5 feet.

The conclusion seems justified, that the repository was built substantially according to Wren's model, and that he was probably consulted on the changes that were made.

As for the building itself, it was probably destroyed not long after the Society had sold their property in Crane Court to the Scottish Corporation in 1782 (48). Apparently there was no accommodation for the Society's museum in their new home in Somerset House, and on 17 June 1779, the Council resolved to present it to the British Museum (49). A look at the various descriptions of London published in the eighteenth century has revealed little more about the repository than we already know. London and its environs described tells us simply that 'Upon the society's removal from Gresham college to their house in Crane court, Richard Waller, Esq; one of the Secretaries, erected in the year 1711, at his own expense, the repository in the garden for the reception of the above curiosities' (50). To this the New and Compleat History and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster adds that these curiosities 'are beautifully disposed therin for the entertainment of the curious' (51). It seems, in fact, that the collection of rarities gained some reputation. They are mentioned in The Foreigner's Guide (52) and A New Guide to London: or Directions to Strangers says that 'the Curious may see them if they please' (52).

It seems unlikely that a fuller description of the repository (54) would add significantly to our appreciation of Wren's architecture. It is, however, interesting as a hitherto unknown building by Wren, probably the last building conceived and (at least substantially) finished according to Wren's design. It also provides a conclusion to the history of Wren's involvement in the various plans for a building for the Royal Society.

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Notes

- (1) Wren's description, in his 'Preamble of a Charter to incorporate the Royal Society', in *Parentalia: or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*...(London, 1750), p. 197.
- (2) The first reference to this particular plan, though ideas for a building had appeared earlier, is recorded in Evelyn's Diary for 24 January 1668 (i.e. 1667/8). See The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), vol. 3, p. 505. Thereafter, see T. Birch, History of the Royal Society (London, 1756-7), vol. 2, pp. 243, 274 (the earliest reference to Wren's design), 281, etc.
- (3) Dated: 7 June 1668. The original is Royal Society MS. EL.W.3.7. The letter has been printed in Birch, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 290-291; in C. R. Weld, A History of the Royal Society (London, 1848), vol. 1, pp. 212-213; in R. T. Gunther, Early Science in Oxford (Oxford, 1920-1967), vol. 5, pp. 293-294; in Wren Society, vol. 13, pp. 48-49; and in The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, ed. A. R. Hall and M. B. Hall (Madison, 1965-), vol. 4, pp. 454-455.
- (4) See Wren Society, vol. 13, p. 49 and vol. 5, pl. XXVII.
- (5) V. Fuerst, The Architecture of Sir Christopher Wren (London, 1956), p. 202, n. 551.
- (6) R. T. Gunther, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 292–295. See also C. H. Josten, ed., Elias Ashmole (1617–1692) (Oxford, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 233–234 and vol. 4, p. 1483, n. 1.
- (7) Birch, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 299, 300, 304, 305 etc.
- (8) It is interesting to see how much our attitude to Hooke has changed, when we read in L. Milman, Sir Christopher Wren (London, 1908), p. 104: '... the Society having ... been presented with a site by Mr. Howard, Hooke, whose versality seems to have prompted him to an impudent rivalry with Wren, though but lately appointed by him to the post of his assistant, hastily volunteered a design. It seems, however, to have been at once pronounced unsatisfactory, and, as usual, recourse was had to Wren, then at Oxford'. This early design of Hooke's, referred to here, seems to have been for a building in the grounds of Chelsea College—see note (11) below.
- (9) The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672–1680, ed. H. W. Robinson and W. Adams (London, 1935), p. 108.
- (10) Ibid., p. 109.
- (11) See, e.g., his activity around May 1678, *ibid.*, pp. 357 ff. It also seems that Hooke's very first thoughts on the matter concerned a building at Chelsea—see Birch, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 238. This was before the first reference to Arundel House—see note (2). Certainly Wilkin's initial suggestion of a 'college' seems to have been prompted by Charles II's gift of Chelsea College—see *ibid.*, p. 194.
- (12) Many references in Birch, op. cit., vols. 2, 3 and 4. See also Hooke, op. cit., the period around 1678–1679.
- (13) Sir H. Hartley and Sir C. Hinshelwood, 'Gresham College and the Royal Society', Notes and Records Roy. Soc. Lond., 16, 132–133 (1961).
- (14) Royal Society Journal Book, vol. 11, p. 16.
- (15) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 2 (copy), p. 168.
- (16) A copy of this is Royal Society MS. RBO.9.96. It is printed in Weld, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 363-364.
- (17) Royal Society Journal Book, vol. 11, p. 59.
- (18) Royal Society MS. RBO.9.95.

- (19) D. C. Martin, 'Former Homes of the Royal Society' in Notes and Records Roy. Soc. Lond., 22, 14 (1967).
- (20) Wren Society, vol. 11, p. 58. We can be certain that Wren was referring here to the Royal Society library, since, J. Ward tells us in the Preface to his Lives of the Professors of Gresham College (London, 1740), p. xix, that while the Society were at Gresham, those professors who were fellows '... felt little inconvenience for the want of a college library'.
- (21) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 2 (copy), p. 220.
- (22) Ibid., p. 222.
- (23) At this particular time he was not in fact a member of the Council, although his son was.
- (24) Ibid., p. 225.
- (25) Ibid., p. 228.
- (26) Most of this information is drawn from a biographical note on Waller by H. G. Lyons in Notes and Records Roy. Soc. Lond., 3, 92-94 (1940-1941). In this note there is a brief reference to Waller's financial contribution to the new repository and the slight inaccuracies concerning this are corrected in what follows.
- (27) Christopher Wren Jnr. was employed as 'Clerk Engrosser' to the Boards of Works.
- (28) British Museum MS. Sloane 4042, f. 179.
- (29) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 2 (copy), p. 251.
- (30) Jennings was dismissed on 14 April 1711. The first pamphlet in the controversy was dated 15 April 1712. See Wren Society, vol. 16, p. 147.
- (31) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 2 (copy), p. 234.
- (32) Ibid., p. 238.
- (33) British Museum MS. Sloane 4042, ff. 262-263.
- (34) Royal Society Journal Book, vol. 11, p. 210.
- (35) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 2 (copy), p. 239.
- (36) Royal Society MS. DM.5.44.
- (37) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 2 (copy), p. 241.
- (38) Ibid., p. 243.
- (39) Ibid., p. 253.
- (40) Ibid., p. 254.
- (41) Ibid., p. 256.
- (42) Royal Society Journal Book, vol. 12, p. 113.
- (43) Royal Society MS. 417.
- (44) See note (38).
- (45) My italics.
- (46) See note (3).
- (47) Royal Society MS. CMB 63.
- (48) Royal Society Council Minutes, vol. 7 (copy), p. 11. Unfortunately the records of the Royal Scottish Corporation were destroyed in a fire early in the nineteenth century.
- (49) Ibid., vol. 6, p. 383. Inquiries at the British Museum have been unsuccessful.
- (50) London and its environs described. In Six Volumes. (London, 1761), p. 294.
- (51) A New and Compleat History and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, ... By a Society of Gentlemen, Revised, Corrected and Improved by Henry Chamberlain. (London, 1770), p. 533.

- (52) The Foreigner's Guide: or Companion both for the foreigner and native, in their tour through ... London and Westminster. Eng. & Fr. (London, 1729), p. 56.
- (53) A New Guide to London: or Directions to Strangers. . . . In French and English, 2nd. edn. (London, 1726), p. 68.
- (54) Perhaps a small step in this direction is provided by a reference I have since found in A Journey through England. In familiar letters from a gentleman to his friend abroad, and. edn. (London, 1722). In vol. 1, p. 259, we are told that the Royal Society have moved from Gresham College '... into Two Crane Court in Fleetstreet; where they have purchased a very handsome House, and built a Repository for their Curiosities, in a little paved Court behind'. On p. 260 we find that 'The Repository of Curiosities is a Theatrical Building, resembling that of Leyden in Holland'. The word 'theatrical' here refers to the interior arrangement of a ground floor and a gallery, and the building referred to in Leiden was probably the Public Anatomy Theatre, which also housed a collection of rarities.