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The life of Governor Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789) : a personal history of a Dutch virtuoso

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THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

Alexander J.P. Raat

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The Life of Governor Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789)
A personal history of a Dutch *virtuoso*

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All joy or sorrow for the happiness or calamities of others is produced by an action of the imagination, that realises the event however fictitious, or approximates it however remote, by placing us for a time, in the condition of him whose fortune we contemplate; so that we feel, while the deception lasts, whatever motion would be excited by the same good or evil happening to ourselves.

Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler* no 60, 13 October 1750

Voor Annemarie van Santen
uit liefde
en in bewondering

PREFACE

I met Joan Gideon Loten in Leiden's Natural History Museum in August of 1976. In the room of late professor Hilbrand Boschma, former director of this Museum,¹ I discovered a letter written to him by Alex C. Townsend who at that time was librarian at the British Museum (Natural History) in London. The letter had been posted in August of 1958 and contained the original manuscript of Joan Gideon Loten's description of watercolours with birds and plants from Sri Lanka, Sulawesi and Java.² In his letter mr Townsend asked professor Boschma to comment on this document. However, professor Boschma never responded to this request, possibly because the letter had disappeared in the chaotic pile of manuscripts and correspondence to be found on Boschma's desk. I decided to answer mr Townsend's letter. Thus, more than fifty years after the receipt of Alex Townsend's letter, this is the belated response to his question.

From August 1976 until May 1978, I did short-term contract work for Leiden's Natural History Museum and my efforts during that time were mainly concentrated on Loten's watercolour collections in London and Haarlem. I studied and described the drawings, and compared them with their engraved copies in eighteenth-century ornithological books. It was evident that more than forty watercolours had a taxonomical type status. I also prepared a short biographical sketch of Loten as an introduction to my inventory of his natural history collection. I had completed most of this work by 1978 when I changed jobs and became a fish biologist. Unfortunately, the career that took me into freshwater fisheries did not give me the opportunity to complete my catalogue of the Loten collection. Even so, I did publish three papers in Dutch which summarised Loten's life and gave details of his natural history collection. Then, in September of 2005 when I had concluded my last project in fisheries, I was finally able to resume my studies of Joan Gideon Loten.

Loten's private documents introduced me to an impulsive and charming man, whose emotions were as lifelike as those of my most intimate friends. Loten had many interests, his natural history activities formed only part of these; he was also active in astronomy, cartography and navigation. His manuscripts and book collection show his lifelong interest in history, genealogy and heraldry. Loten lived not only in Utrecht, my own place of residence, but also in the Dutch East Indies and in Horace Walpole and Samuel Johnson's fascinating London.

After studying Loten for over 30 years I realise that in August of 1976, I had met my eighteenth-century alter ego. I changed my initial idea to write a short study of the life of the 'naturalist Governor of Ceylon' and resolved to write a detailed reconstruction based primarily upon ego-documents. Being fascinated by a person is a serious pitfall for a biographer, identifying with the subject's experiences a horror to the critics of the genre. There is the danger that such stories spiral into hagiography. Nevertheless I decided to confront my affections and to go ahead and write the life of this Dutch version of the English eighteenth-century *virtuoso* in the hope of finding out what forces drove him personally and what issues influenced his career and his achievements.

Utrecht December 2009

Lex Raat

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SAMENVATTING

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CURRICULUM VITAE

INTRODUCTION

BIOGRAPHY OF A DUTCH *VIRTUOSO*

“[H]uman beings are too important to be treated as mere symptoms of the past. They have a value independent of any temporal processes – which is eternal, and must be felt for its own sake”.

Lytton Strachey (1918).³

This is the life history of Joan Gideon Loten, born 300 years ago in the Protestant Republic of the United Netherlands. The book's aim is to obtain a better understanding of Loten's person and accomplishments than has been possible to date. To this day, Loten's watercolours of the Asian fauna and flora and the accompanying annotations are a valuable eighteenth-century treasure of the natural history of Sri Lanka and Indonesia.⁴ However, Loten's documents do not show a natural philosopher passionately at work.⁵ In the East Indies the study of nature occupied only a marginal role in his daily life. Several years afterwards in London, he became a *virtuoso* – a connoisseur and a dilettante in natural philosophy.⁶ Although Loten is remembered as the 'naturalist Governor of Ceylon', this book is a personal history rather than a tale of his contributions to scholarship.

Loten's life has been reconstructed from the available sources, now scattered across archives, libraries and museums in the Netherlands and Britain. Loten left not only a collection of watercolours, topographical drawings and charts, but also a voluminous written legacy. Over the last three decades, many Loten documents have become accessible for study.⁷ There is a coverage of his life by private documents and papers dealing with his role as a VOC servant. His life history could be based upon both published documents as well as on a great number of not earlier published papers. Many of the documents detail Loten's thoughts about his private life and professional career. The book also tries to reconstruct the historical and social context in which his life and career developed. Where possible additional information has been supplied, which is based on relevant documents, testimonies of contemporary witnesses and on more recent historical studies. The available sources supply unique information for our understanding of his character and qualities and the era in which he lived.

The biography is a genre which has not been popular among Dutch historians and literary critics.⁸ In their opinion, the biographer belongs, at the very utmost, to the lowest caste of the profession, but in most cases he is a dilettante. The life history of a person is only a footnote in the history of man. The proper way to study history is to investigate the ideas, processes and trends within human society in the past. For a fish biologist with thirty years of experience with population studies this sounds familiar. From his perspective the study of fish stocks is more useful than the descriptions of species by the taxonomist or the observations of the ethologist. However, it may be that population models result in useful insight in the dynamics of species groups for fisheries purposes, but as a description of the life events of the individual fish the models lack refinement. Doubtlessly the abstraction of historical reality to ideas also leads to a better understanding of changes in human society. Nevertheless it takes the individual out of history. He is replaced by a group or movement which is a generalisation in which individual persons have been reduced to an abstract notion consisting of a selected set of common features. An individual exists in reality, a group or movement is a mental construction. History of man is in the first place the history of concrete individuals. Accident and calamity are factors determining the unpredictability of human life and human history. They represent the events which colour everyday life by sudden and dramatic changes. Personal documents supply impressions and details of the appearance of concrete events in the life of individuals. Therefore a biography based upon this information can give an insight in the actual course of life and the resulting individual reactions and personal emotions. It can bring us closer to the historian's goal of understanding the past on its own terms.

The texts used in this book were not selected for their literary quality. Loten's views are usually communicated in a personal and original style and expressed in a remarkable Anglo-Dutch English, which is of biographical interest. His words and those of his contemporaries supply the reader with first-hand and close-to-the-source information about his life and work. Readers who prefer concise narratives based

on a biographer's notion of a person's character and achievements may find the factual information found in the extensive citations somewhat excessive. According to Doctor Samuel Johnson however, a biographer should "lead the thoughts into domestick privacies, and display the minute details of daily life, where exterior appendages are cast aside".⁹ Johnson, who augmented the biographer's art considerably, believed that writers should be willing to examine everything about their subjects in the attempt to get hold of human nature. In this biography I have followed the learned Doctor's advices also taking into account René Descartes's warning that 'even the most faithful histories [...] omit, at least, almost always the meanest and least striking of the attendant circumstances; hence it happens that the remainder does not represent the truth'.¹⁰ My wish to portray Loten's habits and rudeness prevailed over any ethical objections I might have had against using his private notes. As a consequence no aspect of Loten's life has remained private thus satisfying both my own and my reader's curiosity.

Loten's notes and letters give the reader insights into what eighteenth-century daily life in different places of the world was like. Loten's writings take us from the early-eighteenth-century narrow-minded, provincial Utrecht in the Dutch Republic to the exotic Dutch East Indies and from there to the cosmopolitan London of the latter part of the century.¹¹ In each of these settings Loten's sincere and outspoken character shines through; he appears to us both as an intelligent individual and as a vulnerable person without guises, someone with whom it is easy to identify. His letters and his personal notebooks faithfully express the joys and sorrows he felt in his personal life and in his professional career. They show us the other traits of the man who was characterised by the Welsh gentleman, naturalist and antiquarian Thomas Pennant as being "of the strictest honour, integrity, liberality, simplicity, and gentleness of manners".¹²

This biography of Joan Gideon Loten has been written because his personality, his role as an officer of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC), his position as a Dutch *virtuoso* in the polite and learned society in London and his collection of drawings, deserve a greater public interest than was the case up to now. The book therefore aims at a more diverse group of readers than the ornithologists who study Loten's watercolours of birds.

AN ACCOUNT OF LOTEN'S LIFE

In this biography Loten is brought to life by providing a patchwork of his own words and observations, which outline the main episodes and important topics in his life. The 'bookkeeping' technique of placing citations in a chronological order both on the credit as well as on the debit side of Loten's life account, is applied to set his person in varying situations in the eighteenth-century environment in which his life developed. His words have not been paraphrased or shortened, so they remain close to the primary source. The anecdotes and accounts of the events and incidents that took place during Loten's lifetime are important elements of this biography. The quotes from his private documents are for the reconstruction of personal events indispensable. They are Loten's own reflections on that what affected him; the events are seen through his eyes and coloured by his thoughts alone. It is true that personal reflections are often distorted mirror images of the actual event. However, in an historical study of an era they add the element of personal experience to the *a posteriori* conceived reconstructions of the collective memory of events.

Loten's letters and notes were written to his trusted friends and family or used as mnemonic devices for himself. They were not directed to the outer world and therefore give a personal view of Loten's changing moods and ideas. A life history based on these documents displays the discontinuity of the unpredictable chain of events and incidents in the life of an individual better than many autobiographies; a concrete life history consists of many useless exploits which are never brought to an end. The autobiography concerns with the way the author thinks about his own past. The autobiographer often suggests that there was a preconceived programme for his actions which resulted in a logical continuity in his handling. The autobiographer's written life is usually the result of much reflection, afterwards planning and reconstructions from his own perception and experience – he is guided by an 'illusion of retrospective determinism'. The autobiographer often tries to find a retrospective meaning to answer his own needs and to create his own monument. In contrast with the autobiographer, Loten did not write his observations and descriptions for his memento by future generations. His letters and notebooks are preserved, because his family and friends saved many of these from destruction.¹³ Loten himself however, probably destroyed most of the correspondence that he received.

The method to draw in the first place on authentic testimonies in ego-documents results in a predisposed perspective of the described situations or developments. Moreover, the quantity and quality

of the available sources is not evenly dispersed over the whole of Loten's life. Thus it may be that important or even essential events were missed out due to a lack of sources. On the other hand, some episodes in Loten's life may have been overexposed, because there was so much information available about them. Furthermore, while there is a substantial quantity of information *by* Loten, there is little information *about* him. Aside from the letters written by his parents and his brother Arnout, most of the information we have has been written by Loten himself.

In this book Loten's views of his life are presented and it has been attempted to avoid that the values of the biographer should outweigh those of his subject. In Loten's case this approach ultimately leads to a kind of pathography by his increasing attention for his asthmatic complaints, which conceals much of the actual daily course of his life. The passages from the Loten documents give a very personal and subjective view of his circumstances. Loten often excluded essential details, either because these were well-known to those with whom he corresponded, or because they were likely to interfere with what he intended to say. The process of personal expression in many contexts, to many audiences and in multiple identities does not result in uniformly and clearly expressed statements, but often in inconsistent and fragmentary accounts. Therefore Loten's comments in his notebooks and letters often mirror his ideas and thoughts of that moment; at times they were the author's way of clarifying situations for himself and his correspondents.

It remains impossible to equate the imaginations of Loten himself, his biographer and his public. One's interpretation of the actions of a historical figure is based on scattered and discontinuous information and on concepts of the past that reflect the current ideas of the time and environment in which their subject lived. This leads to varying perceptions of the ego-documents.¹⁴ Moreover, when dealing with the same 'facts', we are arranging and coding them differently, for academic discourse, amusement or another purpose. However, by its unaffected character Loten's written legacy can support a psychological and existential interpretation of his handling. The citations in this biography show Loten as I believe he really was. While that may not always be the truth of the actual situation, they are at least the truths of his imagination.

I have attempted to find witnesses and resources that might supply the context necessary for a better understanding of Loten's life. It was amazing to discover that there was so much relevant documentation available in archives, books and journals and that many of these sources were available on internet. Numerous people mentioned in Loten's correspondence and notebooks were identified. The traces that were preserved of these people came from incidental notices, scraps from memoirs and anecdotes scattered all over both published and unpublished documents. These raw sketches with their patchy features, some of them distinctive, others poor or overdone, are often the memento of ordinary and extraordinary persons, not only in historical studies but also in present-day life. The careful use of these diverse data in a biography can be justified as it is the only information available. Loten's acquaintances turned out to be a gallery of characters, varying from ruthless entrepreneurs, arrogant aristocrats, serious regents, diligent natural philosophers, humane physicians, talented artists to pious and aloof clergymen. Most of the information that was used about persons and incidents comes from eighteenth-century sources about real people, real situations and real places. Several of Loten's learned and artistic friends are still known, but most of them have been justly forgotten; their contribution to future generations has been negligible. Within the framework of a personal history however, they play an important role, because they shaped Loten's daily life. After all, we learn a lot about a man and his world through his friends and acquaintances.

PRINTED SOURCES

Thomas Pennant gives us the earliest sketch of Loten's life and his contribution to natural history in the first volume of *The View of Hindoostan* (1798).¹⁵ The digest of Pennant's memoir was inserted in the sixth volume of John Aikin's *General biography; or lives, critical and historical, of the most eminent persons of all ages, countries, conditions, and professions* (1807).¹⁶ These early sketches contain information about his youth in Utrecht, his career in the Dutch East Indies, his interest in tropical nature, his contribution to the works of English naturalists, his character as a learned and gentle person and finally about the monument erected in his memory in the London Westminster Abbey in 1793. In his piece, Pennant also refers to Loten's asthma and says that he was brave in the face of his setbacks: "During the whole of my acquaintance with him, at frequent periods he endured the most severe spasmodic complaints in his chest, which for months together disabled him from the use of a bed. I should not have mentioned these circumstances, was it not

to add to his other virtues, those of unfeigned piety, and resignation unexampled amidst the trial of severest misery".¹⁷

Pennant also tells us that Loten founded a botanical garden in Colombo. Linnaeus, who referred to Loten in the twelfth edition of the *Systema Naturae* (1766) as, "qui hortum Botanicum primus in India condidit" [who founded the first botanical garden in India], preceded him in doing this.¹⁸ Linnaeus' short sketch of Loten's achievements was added to the description of *Certhia Lotenia*, one of the four species Linnaeus included in the *Systema* on Loten's authority. The nine species of birds from Loten's collection, which George Edwards described and depicted in the third volume of the *Gleanings of Natural History* (1764), were the first published references to Loten's natural history activities in the Dutch East Indies. Loten's contribution to Edwards' *Gleanings* and to Pennant's descriptions of the Asian fauna in the *Indian Zoology* (1769) and the *Synopsis and History of Quadrupeds* (1771, 1781) are regularly referred to in the taxonomical literature of the last two centuries. The same is true of the plates in Johann Reinhold Forster's *Indische Zoologie* (1781) and Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology* (1776); these, too, were taken from Loten's collection.

Biographical information about Loten has been published in several Dutch studies since 1853. Most of the early accounts were concerned with Loten's VOC career.¹⁹ In 1865, he was mentioned in the Dutch Dictionary of Biography as the 26th Governor of Macassar and initiator of an Atlas containing nineteen charts of Celebes by Jean Michel Aubert.²⁰ In fact the *Aubert Atlas* contains 25 hydrographical charts of the coasts of Celebes and the adjacent islands in the Indonesian archipelago. Since 1865 the leather-bound Atlas is part of the collection of J.T. Bodel Nijenhuis currently found in the Leiden University Library.²¹ The entry about Loten in the Dictionary of Biography is based on the publication (in 1853) of Loten's *Memorandum* as 'Governor-general of Macassar' by Jacob Anne Grothe.²² In the introduction to the *Memorandum*, Loten is typified by professor P.J. Veth as 'an official at the Dutch East Indies Company in Celebes who distinguished himself by his quality and clear insight'. The *Memorandum* shows Loten to have been a diligent official; it contains detailed information about the political situation and internal affairs of the VOC-territory and that of its allies (i.e. the courts of Goa, Tello and Bony).

In 1860, the Utrecht Historical Society published a report by professor P.J. Veth about the documents and personal papers from Joan Gideon Loten's legacy.²³ Veth received the documents and papers from Jacob Anne Grothe, whose wife had inherited the manuscripts from her grandmother, Loten's niece Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten. Veth gave a short description of the documents among which the *Journal* of Loten's voyage to Batavia in 1732 and an account dated February 1756 about Noël Anthonie Lebeck, chief administrator at Colombo. Veth published a document relating to Loten's claim for restitution of interest over 82,000 rixdollars he had advanced the Colombo Government in 1757. In his report, Veth also described a paper with notes about a journey to the Cape of Good Hope (November 1775 - June 1777) suggesting that Loten visited the Cape for family affairs and travelled within the South African interior arduously taking notes about the country and its inhabitants. In the later biographical sketches the notes about the journey to the Cape were also incorrectly attributed to Loten. They were only copied by him from the *Journal* of his acquaintance Hendrik Swellengrebel in the 1780s.²⁴ Loten spent the winter 1775-1776 with his family in Utrecht and returned with his wife to London in October 1776. Moreover, at that time his advanced age and asthmatic complaints impeded a tiring sea voyage to distant destinations.

In 1881, P.J.B.C. Robidé Van Der Aa published a detailed description of the Bantam Revolt and included documents relating to Loten's role as a commissary of the Batavian Government in 1752.²⁵ Robidé Van Der Aa also wrote a biographical sketch praising Loten's skill as governor of Macassar. Loten was good 'at preserving Dutch authority over the always fidgety Kings of Bony and Goa and the other rulers who were always envious allies for six years'.²⁶ He gave a positive assessment of Loten's role as a commissary at Bantam and of his government at Ceylon, where 'he was able to keep peace and calm in a manner comparable with that of his predecessors Van Imhoff and Gollennesse'. However, Robidé Van Der Aa disapproved of the request Loten made to the directors of the VOC about repayment of the interest over the capital he had loaned the Colombo Government. He considered Loten's claim equivalent to 'financial cheating, by which the senior officials of the Company often caused damage to the interests of the Company'. In his assessment of the situation, Robidé Van Der Aa ignored the fact that Loten's claim was not irregular but legitimate and based on resolutions of the Political councils at Colombo and Batavia. Moreover, at that time it was a common practice among the Company servants in the East to supply cash-in-advance from their private means to the Company that suffered a constant shortage of currency with which to conduct trade.

In 1905 P.J. Van Houten, chairman of the council and committee of the Colonial Museum at Haarlem, published a memoir written by Joan Gideon Loten and his Ceylonese artist Pieter Cornelis de Bevere.²⁷ From 1885 on, Van Houten owned Loten's watercolour collection. The memoir was the first publication in Dutch dealing with the natural history drawings from the Loten collection. Van Houten described several watercolours and added biographical information to this, which he based upon notes written by Loten. He also referred to information that professor Veth supplied him.²⁸ In 1906 and 1908, Van Houten published supplements to his 1905 memoir. In these he provided further biographical details about Loten based upon information from documents he had found in the Grothe family archive.²⁹ He also furnished information about the dispersal of Loten's natural history collection. In the memoir which Van Houten published in 1908, he referred to additions which Donald Ferguson had made to his paper and which Ferguson published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.³⁰ In this paper, Ferguson discussed Loten's contribution to the works of the eighteenth-century naturalists George Edwards, Thomas Pennant, Peter Brown and Johann Reinhold Forster. He also described Loten's testament: "[U]nfortunately, the notes I had made were impounded by a soulless official on the ground that they were «revenue»; hence I have to rely on my memory". Copies of Loten and his wife's testament can now be consulted in Utrecht and London and are available on the internet.³¹ A memorandum by R.G. Anthonisz, the Ceylon government archivist who supplied information about Loten's artist Pieter Cornelis De Bevere, was added to Ferguson's paper. R.G. Anthonisz also referred to documents found in Colombo which recorded the conflict between Loten and Colombo's chief administrator Noël Anthonie Lebeck.³² A further addition was a memorandum by F.H. de Vos who provided genealogical information about the Loten and Van Beaumont families.³³ A note by A.E. Buultjens gave a short description of the "Memoir on Ceylon of Governor Loten".³⁴ This document was published in 1935 by E. Reimers, the Ceylon Government's archivist.³⁵ The *Memoir* is a detailed account of Loten's administration of the island and it shows his knowledge of the history of Dutch government, the local population and his control of details relating to Dutch trading at Ceylon. During his stay in Colombo, Loten's authority as governor and director was challenged by several senior officials of the Company, all of whom had established interests in private trading on the island. In the introduction to the *Memoir*, Reimers gave details of Loten's conflict with chief administrator Lebeck. Loten's 'Rough sketch of the dwelling-houses inside the Colombo Fort with their occupants in the years 1756-57' was reported to have been lost. The sketch, however, can currently be found in the VOC's collection at The National Archive of the Hague. It has also been reproduced in this book.³⁶

In the forty years following this last publication little has been published which gives any new information about Loten and his collections. I published my own first paper on Loten in 1979. It dealt mainly with the scientific instruments from Loten's legacy.³⁷ The study was based upon information available from Loten's testament which is currently found in the London Public Record Office and from documents in the Grothe Archive at Utrecht and it focused on Loten's interest in mathematics and astronomy. Loten owned an impressive number of mathematical and astronomical instruments made by the most famous instrument makers of his time. His box with silver mathematical instruments made in London by George Adams, was retraced in the Utrecht University Museum. Huib Zuidervaart discovered Loten's Dollond telescope and his Bird quadrant in the collection of the same Museum.³⁸

In 1991, mrs C.A.M. Van Zalinge-Spooren published a paper on Loten's activities as a prosecutor at Java. She based her study on the documents available from the legacy of Loten's grandson, Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen Van Croy.³⁹ In 1988 and 2004 I published new biographical information on Loten and Pieter Cornelis de Bevere. This was based on documents found in the National Archive in the Hague and Grothe collection in the Utrecht Archive.⁴⁰ These publications contained topographical and natural history drawings from the Loten collections in Amsterdam, Haarlem and London. In the last twenty years, various authors have described and discussed topographical drawings and charts from the Loten collection.⁴¹ The impressive *Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company*, includes many drawings, views, groundplans of forts and military buildings, fortifications and maritime pilot charts from the Loten collections in Amsterdam and the Hague.⁴² In London Loten loaned his charts and topographical drawings to his friend Alexander Dalrymple, an enterprising servant of the English East India Company. Robidé Van Der Aa, referring to letters between Loten and Dalrymple about maps of Celebes, spoke about Loten's 'scientific sense' that prevailed over his 'loyalty to the Dutch Company'.⁴³ It may be true that Loten's conduct interfered with the interests of the Dutch East Indies Company, especially at Celebes.

Some of the natural history watercolours from the Loten collection have been depicted in natural history publications, usually with short biographical information on Loten and De Bevere.⁴⁴ In 1983, Alwyne Wheeler discussed the copies of Loten's paintings made by Joseph Banks's artist Sydney Parkinson in 1767 and 1768.⁴⁵ In 2002, Bert Sliggers described six watercolours from the Loten collection in the Haarlem Teylers Museum collection.⁴⁶ Tony Rice published 17 watercolours from the Loten collection found in the London Natural History Museum in *Voyages of discovery. Three centuries of natural history exploration* published in 2000.⁴⁷ The most recent publication, in 2006, of a memoir by Joan Gideon Loten came from Jan Gracie Mulcahy in Australia; it was published in her charming family chronicle. It also supplied information about the English side of the Loten family in the eighteenth and subsequent centuries.⁴⁸

In a newspaper interview of 1989, the late professor Charles Ralph Boxer (1904-2000), British specialist in Dutch Naval History, referred to three people who 'deserved a biography immediately'. The names he mentioned were the 'Japanese' Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812), the 'Brazilian' John Maurice Prince of Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679) and the 'Dutchman' Joan Gideon Loten, whose contribution to East-Indian botany he explicitly cited.⁴⁹ The present publication of Loten's life history, is a response to professor Boxer's request.⁵⁰

LOTEN'S NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTION

The last chapter of this study deals with Loten's natural history drawings to which he owes his fame as a 'naturalist'. The publishing history of Loten's watercolours in eighteenth century natural history books has been reconstructed. In contrast with the preceding chapters dealing with his biography, the focus of this chapter has been on Loten's pictorial legacy and natural history annotations. However, it is true that the description of his role in building up and publishing the natural history collection was again based on personal documents. Loten's drawings are currently dispersed over the archives and libraries of various institutes. They have been brought together in an inventory in this book. Only a few drawings could be traced to private collections. This reconstruction of Loten's collection and the description of his notes and correspondence about the drawings shows Loten in his role as *amateur of science* putting his drawings at the disposal of ornithologists for the enhancement of knowledge about tropical nature. The documents demonstrate his interest in zoology and botany, but also show that exotic nature appealed to him as a collector, one primarily interested in the diversity of species. In his notes Loten gave descriptions of his observations and compared his drawings with the plates in his extensive book collection. There is nothing to confirm that he did this in order to understand the principles underlying the differences and similarities in nature as was the case with many of his acquaintances in England. The Loten collection was first and foremost the result of his personal interest and done for his own amusement.

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION OF TERMINOLOGY AND ANNOTATION

Loten wrote his letters and notes in Dutch, English and French. In the present study the citations from these sources are part of the main narrative. On the whole, the Dutch and French texts in the main narrative have been translated into English. The translation tries, as far as possible, to be faithful to the text and to reproduce the language and spirit of the cumbersome prose of Joan Gideon Loten, while at the same time endeavouring to make it intelligible to the modern reader. The translations have been indicated using single quotation marks [...]. When Loten was literally quoted from the source, double quotation marks have been used [...]. While living in England, Loten usually wrote in English. His sometimes irregular and variable spelling of names and sentence structure is of biographical interest, so the Anglo-Dutch English spelling and syntax have been kept and are original. Editorial comments have as a rule been placed between square brackets [...]. When Loten quoted a person in his text, the following symbols were used: [«...»]. In the transcriptions, Loten's underscores were retained.

In the annotations, Loten's Dutch and French texts have not been translated as I wanted to stay as close as to the original source as I could particularly as these notes are supplementary to the main narrative which is already in English. In the transcriptions, Loten's use of 'ú' in Dutch texts was replaced by a 'u'. Dutch quotes have followed Loten's custom of writing 'ij' instead of the more usual 'y'. The original punctuation and use of capitals has often been adapted to modern conventions easing the reading of these texts. Abbreviations and contractions have usually been expanded to their full form, as have

abbreviated names, titles, places and dates. There where missing words have been added or text expanded square brackets have been used.

The use of *ye* for 'the', *tho'* for 'though' and *thro'* for 'through' and *agreable* for 'agreeable' were maintained in the transcription. The Dutch abbreviation 'VOC' has been used to indicate the "Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie", the United Chartered Dutch East Indies Company. Eighteenth-century topographical names such as Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Macassar (Sulawesi), Batavia (Jakarta), Samarang (Semarang), Boelecomba (Bulukumba) have been retained and not replaced with their current synonyms. In the chapters relating to Loten's career in Asia, the term *Patria* ['native country'] was used. The term refers to the Dutch Republic and was commonly used by eighteenth-century VOC servants. The term 'Dutch East Indies' was used to indicate the territory in Asia where the Dutch East Indies Company was active in the eighteenth century. So besides Sri Lanka it also included the Coromandel and Malabar coast of India, Bengal, the Indonesian Archipelago and parts of Malaya, China and Japan. In this book I have used the terms 'board of directors', 'court of directors' or 'directors of the Company' as a translation for the Dutch term 'Heren Seventien' or 'Heren XVII'. The Heren Seventien were the 17 directors of the seven chambers forming the United Company. They were the highest executive officers of the Dutch East Indies Company in the Republic. The terms 'Supreme Government', 'High Government', 'Indian Government', 'Indian Council' or 'High Table' were used as translations for the Dutch terms 'Hoge Regeering' or 'Hoge Tafel', the Council chaired by the governor-general in Batavia. The High Government coordinated all of the Company's maritime, administrative and business affairs in Asia. Each year the governor in council reported to the directors of the Company in a general annual report or 'Generale Missive'.⁵¹

Civil servants of the Dutch East Indies Company in the East joined the Company in a particular rank, a hierarchical position within the organisation of the Company. Ranks included: assistant, bookkeeper, junior merchant, merchant and senior merchant. One's rank determined what position a servant had in the functional organisation. Loten began his career in the rank of junior merchant in the position of 'fiskaal', or prosecutor. As senior merchant he had the position of director and governor of Macassar.

The way in which the eighteenth-century Dutch formally addressed one another has not been translated. A capital letter has been used; in fact the one Loten used when he wrote in English. Therefore terms such as *Uw Hoog Wel geboren* ('UwHwgb') [You High Well born], the terms used by Loten when addressing his aristocratic friends was translated using 'You' with a capital letter. Thus Loten's brother Arnout (originally addressed as '*U Wel geboren*' ('Uwgb')) [You Well born] has become 'You' in this book.

The bibliography which concludes this book contains most of the sources consulted for the biography and Loten's natural history collection. The annotation is detailed and extensive; the notes contain textual remarks bibliographical, biographical and historical information and references to contemporary sources, such as documents in archives, libraries and museums, but also to more recent literature, both primary as well as secondary. I have strived to keep the text readable by not requiring the reader to consult the notes for an understanding of the text. Having said that, however, the notes do expand and deepen our understanding of Loten and the fascinating era in which he lived.

CURRENCY CONVERSION AND PURCHASING POWER

In the eighteenth century the currency exchange rates were based on the silver weight of the pound and the guilder. The silver contents of the English pound and the Dutch guilder hardly changed during the century; therefore we used one conversion rate for the studied period. The following currency conversion rates between the English money and the Dutch money were used.⁵²

100 Pound = 1,111 guilders (fl), 2 stuyver and 4 penning

100 Guilder = 9 pounds (£), 0 shilling and 0 pence

The English and Dutch currency that was used by Loten was:

1 Guinea = 21 shilling, 6 pence

1 Pound = 20 shilling

1 Shilling = 12 pence

1 Silver Rijder (Ducaton) = (1) the exchange rate for transferring capital from the Dutch East Indies to the Dutch Republic: 78 stuyver in the Dutch East Indies and 72 stuyver in the Dutch Republic.

(2) value in the Dutch Republic: 63 stuyver.

1 (Rix)Daalder(Dollar) = 48 stuyver

1 Gulden (or guilder) = 20 stuyver
 1 Stuyver = 16 penning.

In the period 1759 until 1781 Loten resided both in England and the Dutch Republic. He had trusted his capital to the Bank of England. So besides the information of the conversion rates it is also useful to compare the purchasing power in England and the Dutch Republic. In the table below information is supplied to translate eighteenth-century costs and prices into current terms.⁵³ The table is based on the cost of goods and services purchased by a typical household in one period relative to a base period. When the constant currency conversion rate is taken into account, the table shows that from 1710 until 1760 the purchasing power of one Dutch guilder in England was about 70% higher than in the Dutch Republic. In 1790 the purchasing power of one guilder in England was still 35% higher than in the Republic.

Purchasing power of eighteenth-century currency in present currency				
18 th Century currency	Purchasing power in 1970	Purchasing power in 2006	Purchasing power in 2006	Purchasing power in 2006
	Dutch currency spent in the Dutch Republic			Dutch currency spent in England
fl 1,000 in 1710	fl 4,520	fl 16,919	€ 7,677	€ 13,300
fl 1,000 in 1730	fl 5,738	fl 21,482	€ 9,748	€ 16,245
fl 1,000 in 1760	fl 5,693	fl 21,311	€ 9,670	€ 16,348
fl 1,000 in 1770	fl 4,929	fl 18,453	€ 8,374	€ 12,320
fl 1,000 in 1780	fl 5,029	fl 18,826	€ 8,543	€ 11,895
fl 1,000 in 1790	fl 4,709	fl 17,628	€ 7,999	€ 10,828
	English currency spent in England			English currency spent in the Dutch Republic
£ 1,000 in 1710	£ 10,298	£ 100,599	€ 147,785	€ 85,299
£ 1,000 in 1730	£ 12,577	£ 122,862	€ 180,488	€ 108,300
£ 1,000 in 1760	£ 12,637	£ 123,637	€ 181,626	€ 107,433
£ 1,000 in 1770	£ 9,538	£ 93,175	€ 136,876	€ 93,035
£ 1,000 in 1780	£ 9,209	£ 89,961	€ 132,155	€ 94,921
£ 1,000 in 1790	£ 8,383	£ 81,892	€ 120,302	€ 88,869

CHRONOLOGY LIFE JOAN GIDEON LOTEN

YOUTH IN UTRECHT

1710	May 16	Born at Schadeshoeve Maartensdijk, near Utrecht
1714	April	Birth brother Cornelis Joseph
1719	January 18	Birth brother Arnout
1720/1721		Transfer from Schadeshoeve to house at Oudmunster Kerkhof, Utrecht
1720	January 22	Death brother Cornelis Joseph
	March	Registered as a pupil of the Utrecht Hieronymus School
Ca 1726		Student of the Utrecht University
1728	March 1	Clerk Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) chamber Amsterdam
1731	December	Junior merchant Dutch East Indies Company
1732	January 4	Departure from Texel roadstead to Batavia with ship <i>Beekvliet</i>
	August 6	Arrival at Batavia roadstead

VOC-CAREER IN ASIA

1733	July 10	Prosecutor Java's East coast at Semarang
	August 24	Marriage Joan Gideon Loten and Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont (<i>b.</i> 1716)
	September 24	Arrival at Semarang roadstead with ship <i>De Vlotter</i>
1734	October 16	Birth daughter Charlotta Eleonora at Semarang
1735	April 30	Death daughter Charlotta Eleonora at Semarang
1736	April 3	Birth daughter Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia at Semarang
1739	July 28	Merchant and first administrator Java's East coast at Semarang
1741	February 3	First administrator of Islands Onrust and De Kuijper
	April 3	Departure from Semarang to Batavia with ship <i>Zorgwijk</i>
1743	August 20	Senior merchant private secretary governor-general Van Imhoff
	December 24	Governor and director of Macassar at Celebes
1744	March 24	Arrival in Macassar with ship <i>Adrichem</i>
1746	February 18	Birth and death unnamed son at Macassar
1748	December 14	Councillor extraordinary of the Supreme Government
1749	October 27	Marriage brother Arnout and Lucretia Christina Scheffer (<i>b.</i> 1726) at Utrecht
1750	November 3	Return in Batavia and installation in the Supreme Government
1752	March/ April	Commissary of the Supreme Government at Bantam
	June 13	Governor and director Ceylon
	July 19	Marriage daughter Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia and senior merchant Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen (<i>b.</i> 1717) at Batavia
	September 30	Arrival in Colombo with ship <i>Ghiessenburg</i>
1753	April 4	Birth grandson Joan Carel Gideon van der Bruggen at Colombo
	May 29	Death Nathanael Steinmetz, Joan Gideon Loten and his wife universal heirs
1754	March 4	Birth grandson Albert Anthoni Cornelis Van Der Bruggen at Colombo
1755	April 14	Birth granddaughter Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen at Colombo
	May 30	Councillor ordinary of the Supreme Government
	July 30	Death grandson Albert Anthoni Cornelis Van Der Bruggen at Colombo
	August 10	Death wife Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont at Colombo
1756	May 6	Death daughter Anna Deliana Cornelia at Batavia
1757	February 28	Installation Jan Schreuder as governor and director of Ceylon at Colombo
	April 19	Arrival at Batavia roadstead with ship <i>Sloterdijk</i>
	October 14	Admiral Return Fleet and commissary at the Cape of Good Hope
	October 29	Departure from Batavia roadstead with ship <i>Vrouwe Petronella Maria</i>

CHRONOLOGY LIFE JOAN GIDEON LOTEN

1758	May	Asthmatic complaints on board ship <i>Vrouwe Petronella Maria</i>
	June 15	Arrival at Texel roadstead
	June 22	Return in Utrecht
YEARS IN ENGLAND		
1759	May 4	Departure to England through Helvoet-Dover passage
	May/October	Travelling in England, visits to Bath and Bristol, Norwich, Cambridge
	June	House in Hammersmith (until July 1760) and lodgings in London
	August 31	First visit to British Museum, London
1760	April/October	Travelling in England, visits to Bath and Bristol
	December 11	Admitted as Fellow to the Royal Society (FRS)
1761	February 19	Admitted as Fellow Society of Antiquaries of London (FSA)
	April 30	Health problems with kidney stones
	April/	Recovering in London
	December	
1762	March 28	Serious asthmatic complaints at Maidenhead
	July 4	Return in Utrecht through Dover-Calais passage
	September 25	Departure to England through Helvoet-Dover passage
1762/1763	October/May	Residence in lodgings in London
1763	June 3	Departure from London for Tour on Continent (until May 4, 1764)
	June 12/August	Residence at Paris
	3	
	Sept 11/ Nov	Residence at Montpellier
	21	
	December 1	Death father Joan Carel Loten (1679-1763) at Utrecht
1763/1764	Dec 10/ Feb 29	Residence at Hyeres
1764	March/ April	Visits to Geneva and Basle, Switzerland; Alsace and Austrian Flanders
	May 4	Return in London by Calais-Dover passage
	June	House in New Burlington Street London
		Publication George Edwards's <i>Gleanings of Natural History</i> with plates based on bird specimen brought by Loten from the East Indies
1765	April 27	Engagement Joan Gideon Loten and Lettice or Læticia Cotes (b. 1733)
	July 4	Marriage Joan Gideon Loten and Lettice Cotes at Banstead
	August	Attacks of asthma at Southampton
1766	June 16	Departure from London to Utrecht through Dover-Calais passage
		Publication twelfth edition Linnaeus's <i>Systema Naturae</i> with references to bird species brought by Loten from the East Indies including <i>Certhia Lotenia</i>
1767	May 4	Return from Utrecht in London through Calais-Dover passage
	August	Attacks of asthma at Bighthelmstone
1767/1768		Cooperation with Thomas Pennant and Joseph Banks for publication Loten's natural history drawings in <i>Indian Zoology</i>
1769	May	Publication <i>Indian Zoology</i> with twelve plates from Loten's collection
	July/September	Travelling from London to Utrecht, Dover-Calais passage, through Austrian Flanders, Spa, Cleve
1770	July 12	Departure from Utrecht to London (arrival August 15) through Austrian Flanders and Calais-Dover passage
	October 7	Death son-in-law Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen
1771	October	Dr John Fothergill (1712-1780) becomes Loten's physician
		Publication Thomas Pennant <i>Synopsis of Quadrupeds</i> with several descriptions and plates from Loten's natural history collection
1772	July 2	Departure from London to Utrecht through Dover-Calais passage
	July/ September	Residence at Spa

CHRONOLOGY LIFE JOAN GIDEON LOTEN

	October	Arrival in Utrecht
	November 15	Marriage granddaughter Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen and Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff at Utrecht
1773	March 3 and 4	Visit Joseph Banks to Loten and his wife at Utrecht
	August	Departure from Utrecht to London, Calais-Dover passage
	October	Start registration daily use of opium (kept until February 1777)
1775	September 7	Departure from London to Utrecht, Dover-Calais passage
	October 4	Arrival in Utrecht
	December 5	Death mother Arnoudina Maria Aerssen Van Juchen (1685-1775) at Utrecht
1776	October 11	Departure form Utrecht to London, Calais-Dover passage
	October 31	Return in New Burlington Street, London
		Publication Peter Brown's <i>New Illustrations of Zoology</i> , with thirteen plates after Loten's natural history collection
1777	October	Rented a house at Fulham where he and his wife spent the winter periods 1777/1778, 1778/1779 and 1779/1780.
1779	December 1	Purchase of house <i>Cour de Loo</i> at the Drift in Utrecht
1780	June	Gordon Riots in London
	December 20	British Manifesto with declaration of Fourth Anglo-Dutch War
	December 26	Death Loten's physician Dr John Fothergill
1781	August 28	Definitive departure from London to Utrecht, Dover-Ostend passage

LAST YEARS IN UTRECHT

1781	September	Arrival in Utrecht at house <i>Cour the Loo</i> Publication in Halle of Johann Reinhold Forster's <i>Indische Zoologie</i> with fifteen plates after watercolours in Loten's natural history collection.
1786	October 12	Patriots in Utrecht City Council, Loten's brother Arnout loses his seat
1787	September 16	Prussian Army marches in city, Arnout Loten provisional mayor of Utrecht
1788	February 22	Death Loten's friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek (1720-1788) at Utrecht
1789	February 25	Death Joan Gideon Loten at Utrecht
	March 4	Funeral Joan Gideon Loten in Jacobi Church Utrecht, opening Loten's testament by Cornelis de Wys, notary at Utrecht
1791	May 2	Funeral board in Jacobi Church. The board was removed February 5, 1795 by order of Batavian Government
1793		Monument Joan Gideon Loten in Westminster Abbey, London
1801	July 13	Death brother Arnout Loten at Utrecht
1810	June 10	Death wife Lettice Cotes at no 8 New Burlington Street, London

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In my research into Loten's legacy I am indebted to a great many people. They were all very helpful in supporting me in my attempt to collect and record the scattered remains of the Dutch Governor of Ceylon in this book. My study started in Leiden's Natural History Museum (currently called *Naturalis*). There its former director, professor W. Vervoort, lent his support by supplying me the grant I needed to enable a visit to the Loten collection in London in 1976. Professor L.B. Holthuis, the great natural history historian, encouraged me to continue to pursue my Loten studies when I was compelled to give priority to my work in fisheries. To my great satisfaction, I was able to show him the first draft of the final manuscript of this book two days before his death. I am also very grateful to the Leiden Museum's staff members who were always very helpful to me. Professor Piet Smit was the first one who suggested that I write a book about Loten. He also carefully read my first drafts about the history of the Loten collection.

This book was highly dependant upon the willing cooperation of librarians. In particular I would like to mention the Leiden Museum's librarian the late W.H. Lamme. The Teyler Museum and Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen's [The Holland Society of Sciences at Haarlem] former librarian J.G. De Bruijn introduced me to the Loten collection in Haarlem. M.J. Rowlands, the British Museum's former head of the department of library services, and Mrs Carol Gokce, formerly librarian of the general library of the Natural History Museum, allowed me to study the Loten collection watercolours as well as their copies by Sydney Parkinson in the Museum's rare book room. In 1976 mr Rowlands also allowed me to make photographs of the Loten collection for publication in my study of governor Loten and his natural history drawings. I further acknowledge the useful assistance of Florence Pieters and Mieke Beumer, curators of the Artis Library in Amsterdam. The late dr M.P.H. Roessingh, keeper of the records of the National Archive in the Hague, drew my attention to the Loten collections in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam and in the the archive of the diocese Bois le Duc. Dr K. Zandvliet, now at the Amsterdams Historisch Museum, informed me about a collection of Loten's charts and drawings in the National Archive in the Hague. Mrs L. van Zalinge-Spooren at the Helmond Municipal Archive supplied me with useful data about the Van Der Bruggen Van Croy collection now deposited in the Regionaal Historisch Centrum Eindhoven.

In the past 33 years, numerous other people have also contributed to this study. I am very grateful to them and have acknowledged their contributions in my annotations. In the last three decades, my friends and acquaintances have witnessed how I have identified with Joan Gideon Loten and how very much he amused me. I would like to thank all of them for the many useful suggestions and comments they gave me. Their number is too large for me to mention here their names, moreover, I fear the risk of omitting a name is too great.

Dieke van Wijnen at the *Republic of Letters Translations* screened my manuscript and supplied critical questions about my, at times, confusing narrative about Loten. I am very grateful to her for contributing to improving the text.

I would also like to thank the following organisations and foundations for funding my research for this book: J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting, Thijssen-Schoute Stichting, Stichting 'De Gijsselaar-Hintzenfonds', Stichting Fonds voor de Geld- en Effectenhandel, M.A.O.C. Gravin Van Bylandt Stichting and Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap.

This book is dedicated to Annemarie van Santen who has been my research companion and a great deal more for many years. In 1976, she invited Loten into our home, where he has been a welcome guest for the past 30 years. She accompanied me in my search of Loten's scattered remains in places as far away as Sri Lanka and as near as England and Holland. She restrained me with wisdom when my anecdotes became too enthusiastic. While she has been my most critical reader, her comments have always been tactful and disguised as compliments.

It is with great difficulty that I must accept the fact that after over thirty years of almost daily contact with my friend Joan Gideon Loten, he will now be entombed in this biography at last. It is with reluctance that I face the parting of our ways. I daresay that I will greatly miss this amiable personality and his fascinating eighteenth-century environment.

"It is very happily and kindly provided, that in every life there are certain pauses and interruptions, which force consideration upon the careless, and seriousness upon the light; points of time where one course of action ends and another begins: and by vicissitude of fortune, or alteration of employment, by change of place, or loss of friendship, we are forced to say of something, *this is the last*".

Samuel Johnson, *The Idler* no 103, Saturday, April 5 1760.

NOTES INTRODUCTION

¹ W. Vervoort (1977). Prof.dr. Hilbrand Boschma 22 April 1893-22 July 1976 Obituary and Bibliography. *Zoologische Bijdragen* no 22.

² Letters Alex Townsend librarian General Library British Museum (Natural History) to professor Hilbrand Boschma, London 29 August 1958 and London 28 January 1959.

³ Lytton Strachey (1918), preface to *Eminent Victorians*, quoted from Penguin Modern Classics edition (1973), page 10.

⁴ D. Ferguson [1907] 1908, pages 217-256. Sir Norman Kinnear (1952) considered Loten as one of the founding fathers of Ceylonese ornithology.

⁵ In this book the term *Natural philosophy* was used to describe the field of study whose usage preceded our current term natural sciences when the subject of that knowledge or study was ‘the workings of nature’. Natural philosophy pertains to the work of analysis and synthesis of common experience and argumentation attempting to explain or describe nature. In the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries, *natural philosophy* referred to what is now called physical science.

⁶ *Virtuoso*: “An Italian term, lately introduced into English, signifying a man of curiosity and learning, or one who loves and promotes the arts sciences: but among us the term seems to be appropriated to those who apply themselves to some curious and quaint, rather than immediately useful, art and study, as antiquaries, collectors of rarities of any kind, microscopical observers, &c.” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, volume III, 1771, page 925).

For a discussion of the *virtuoso* see Houghton (1942 a & b), *English virtuoso in seventeenth century* and Gascoigne (1994), *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment*, Chapter 3 ‘From Virtuoso to Botanist’, pages 57-119. Gascoigne (1994), page 61, modified the argument of Houghton (1942b) pages 211-219, that the significance of phenomenon of the *virtuoso* as a cultural type in England had largely faded by the early eighteenth century.

“Both the term ‘virtuoso’ and the social and cultural values it represented were alive and well for much of the eighteenth century stimulated by the extend of travel not only within Europe but, thanks to England’s growing commercial and naval power, also increasingly to the remote quarters of the globe”.

Gascoigne (1994), page 69-70, remarked about the difference between the eighteenth-century and seventeenth century *virtuoso*:

“Whereas in the seventeenth century the characteristic focus for virtuosi activity had been the gentleman withdrawn from the world in his private collection of cabinets, the virtuosi of the eighteenth century were of a more sociable disposition and their characteristic meeting-place was the London club”.

⁷ Many archival resources are available through the websites of the National Archive in London and the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. The TANAP website is a portal to documents of the Dutch East Indies Company. Many of Loten’s private papers and documents are in the Grothe Archive of Het Utrechts Archief and the Van der Bruggen van Croy Archief in the Regionaal Historisch Centrum Eindhoven. Sources: J. Gerritsen (1975). *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Grothe*. Archief nummer 233, Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Utrecht; J. Gerritsen & A.B.R. du Croo de Vries (1992). *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Grothe en aanverwante families 1583-1960*. Archief nummer 750, Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Utrecht; L. van Zalinge-Spooren (1989). *Archief van de familie van der Bruggen van Croy (1522-) 1755 – 1873 (-1905)*. Gemeentearchief Helmond.

⁸ See: F. Huisman, C. Santing & B. Theunissen (editors) (2000). De Biografie als genre in de wetenschapsgeschiedenis. *Gewina* 23, pages 1-85; Michael Zeeman (1998), ‘Het laatste woord’. *Feit & Fictie* 4, pages 8-12.

⁹ Samuel Johnson, *Rambler* number 60, 13 October 1750. See also Carl Rollyson (2001) for a contemporary appreciation of the biographer.

¹⁰ René Descartes (1637). *Discours de la Méthode*, part 1.

¹¹ The following definition of the exotic was used: “The fantastic realised beyond the horizons of the everyday world the Europeans knew”. See Christa Knellwolf (2002). The Exotic Frontier of the Imperial Imagination. *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, Pages 10-30.

¹² Thomas Pennant (1798). *The view of Hindoostan*, volume I, page 250.

¹³ An example is in HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Joan Gideon Loten to Arnout Loten. Hammersmith 16 november 1760. Loten asked his brother to destroy his letter,

“Serieuz ik verzoek deeze die ‘k in een vrolyke luym zonder malitie heb gez. aan vulcanus op te offeren.”

However, Arnout preserved the letter which contained funny remarks about their uncle Joseph Loten.

Another factor favourable for the preservation of many of Loten’s documents was that his papers came in 1843 in the possession of Jan Anne Grothe when he married the great-granddaughter of Arnout Loten. Grothe was an able keeper of records who apparently realised the value of the family papers in his custody. In 1970 after the death of Jan Anne Grothe’s grandson Jacob Anne Grothe van Schellach (1897-1970), the papers were deposited in the Utrecht Municipal Archive, nowadays Het Utrechts Archief.

¹⁴ Jennifer Jensen Wallach (2006): True historical knowledge is only possible when historical actors observed and behaved in a rational manner and were motivated by conscious thought processes - which can be re-thought - rather than by unconscious motivations such as passions.

¹⁵ Thomas Pennant (1798). *The view of Hindoostan*, volume I, page 250-252.

¹⁶ *General biography; or lives, critical and historical, of the most eminent persons of all ages, countries, conditions, and professions, arranged according to alphabetical order. Chiefly composed by John Aikin, M.D. and the late Rev. William Enfield, LL.D.* London: printed for G. G. and J. Robinson; G. Kearsley; R. H. Evans (successor to Mr. Edwards); and J. Wright. - Also at Edinburgh for Bell and Bradfute, 1799-1815. Volume 6, page 345.

¹⁷ Thomas Pennant (1798). *The view of Hindoostan*, volume I, page 251.

¹⁸ Carolus Linnaeus (1766). *Systema naturae*, 12th edition, volume 1, page 188. It was an achievement that could not be validated and possibly based on a misunderstanding, Linnaeus probably confused Loten with the botanist and surgeon of the Batavia hospital, Christiaan Kleynhoff (d. 1777). See Florijn (1985), pages 212-214.

¹⁹ Several documents in J.K.J. de Jonge, M.L. Van Deventer & L.W.G. de Roo (editors), 1862-1909. *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië. Verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het oud-koloniaal archief*. 17 volumes. Den Haag, Amsterdam; F.W. Stapel (1938). *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, volume V.

²⁰ A.J. Van Der Aa (1865). *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*. Haarlem, Volume 11, page 62.

²¹ The collection of 25 charts of the island of Celebes in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the library of the University of Leiden is bound in leather (BLP 2038). In the Leiden University collection there is a second copy of the 25 charts, bound in a more simple leather cover (BLP 3052A), most of these charts except the first, are more refined in their execution than in the first copy. The last copy is part of the gift of Mr Favrod de Fellens to the King of the Netherlands in 1835, which is at present in the MIKO.4 W collection (Joan Gideon Loten) of the Nationaal Archief in The Hague.

²² J.A. Grothe (1853). *Memorie van den Gouverneur Generaal Joan Gideon Loten, betreffende Makassar. Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, volume 5, part 1, Utrecht Kemmink en zoon, pages 1-45.

²³ Jacob Anne Grothe (1815-1899) married at Utrecht in 1843 Arnoudina Johanna Carolina Loten Van Doelen (1817-1875). Grothe was the secretary of the Utrecht Historisch Genootschap.

P.J. Veth (1860). *Rapport over de papieren van Joan Gideon Loten. Kronijk Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, vierde serie, volume 1, 16, pages 107-131. The report was based on documents which were deposited in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague in 1880 (NL-HaNA.VOC-1.11.01.01 inv. 425).

²⁴ The notes are in Loten’s handwriting and were apparently made when he read the manuscript Journal of Mr Hendrik Swellengrebel (1734-1803), who visited the Cape in 1776. Swellengrebel was the son of the former Governor of the Cape of Good Hope Hendrik Swellengrebel (1700-1763). According to a Resolution of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, dated 15 February 1777, Swellengrebel and his servant Jan Snider Van Thoon arrived in 1776 as passengers of the ship *Alkemade*. Swellengrebel asked the Council permission to return to Patria with his servant as passengers of the ship *Delfshaven*. The Council complied with the request; Swellengrebel also received permission to take his three chests with him. See Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope C. 155, pp. 80-83, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa.

Loten was acquainted with the Swellengrebel family. Hendrik Swellengrebel’s brother Mr Johannes Willem Swellengrebel was Loten’s neighbour at the Drift in Utrecht. Hendrik Swellengrebel lived in his country seat *Schoonoord* near Doorn.

In the Nationaal Archief The Hague (NL-HaNA.stukken Van Plettenberg 1.10.67, inv. 27) there is a 57-pages Journal by Pieter Cloete about his journey with Mr Hendrik Swellengrebel (10 September 1776 - 26 December 1776) through the inlands of the Cape of Good Hope. The journal was copied from Swellengrebel's journal and abridged. It was published in 1932 in volume 4 of the series *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd*, by E.C. Godée Molsbergen (Linschoten-Vereniging 37, pages 1-38).

Swellengrebel and Cloete were accompanied by the German artist Johannes Schumacher who made 66 watercolours during the journey. Parts from Swellengrebel's journal and several of Schumacher's watercolours were published in: Marijke Barend-van Haeften & Bert Paasman (2003). *De Kaap: Goede Hoop halverwege Indië. Bloemlezing van Kaapteeksten uit de Compagniestijd*. Hilversum, Verloren, pages 161-171. See for Hendrik Swellengrebel also G.J. Schutte (editor) (2003). *Hendrik Cloete, Groot Constantia and the VOC 1778-1799*. Van Riebeeck-Society second series no 34, pages 1-11.

²⁵ P.J.B.C Robidé Van Der Aa (1881). De groote Bantamsche opstand in het midden der vorige eeuw bewerkt naar meerendeels onuitgegeven bescheiden uit het oud-koloniaal archief met drie officiële documenten als bijlagen. *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 29, pages 1-127. Loten's personal notes of this mission and the draft version of his memoir are at present in the collection of the Tilburg University Library (TUL.TF-Hs 77).

²⁶ Robidé Van Der Aa (1881), pages 49-53.

²⁷ P.J. Van Houten (1905). Twee Indische natuurliefhebbers uit de XVIIIe eeuw en de noodzakelijkheid tot bescherming van staatswege van merkwaardige dieren- en plantensoorten in de Nederlandsche koloniën. *Indische Mercur* 28 (23), pages 365-367. Two letters of Mr Van Houten in which he asks biographical information about Joan Gideon Loten from Mr Grothe are in Het Utrechts Archief. See HUA GC 750 nr 103.

²⁸ Sirks (1915), pages 68-69, discussed Loten's role in the exploration of the Dutch East Indies, based on the essays by Van Houten.

²⁹ P.J. Van Houten (1906a). Naschrift op de voordracht "Twee Indische natuurliefhebbers uit de XVIIIe eeuw". *Indische Mercur* 29 (11), pages 169-170; P.J. Van Houten (1906b). Twee natuurliefhebbers der 18^e eeuw. *Bulletin Koloniaal Museum Haarlem* 34, pages 71-76 with two plates; P.J. Van Houten (1908). Twee Indische natuurliefhebbers uit de XVIIIe eeuw. *Indische Mercur* 31 (20), page 362.

The documents are at present in Het Utrechts Archief (HUA.GC 750). The genealogy of the Loten family based on the documents in the Grothe archive was published in 1909 by P.C. Bloys Van Treslong Prins (1909). Bijdrage tot de genealogie Loten. *Wapenheraut* 13, pages 297-319. Several notes on Joan Gideon Loten, his wife and family were published in 1897 in the first issue of the *Wapenheraut*, pages 77-79.

³⁰ D. Ferguson [1907] 1908. Joan Gideon Loten, F.R.S., the naturalist Governor of Ceylon (1752-1757), and the Ceylonese artist de Bevere. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* 58, pages 217-256.

³¹ Loten's last will is deposited in The National Archives, London, Prob 11/ 1179. The testament with twelve codicils in English is also found in the Utrecht Archives Grothe collection (HUA.GC 750 nr 1408). The testament and codicil of Lettice Cotes, dated 12 August 1809, is in The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1513. The testaments can be downloaded from the website of The National Archives.

³² R.G. Anthonisz [1907] 1908. Memorandum by Mr. R.G. Anthonisz, Ceylon Government Archivist. *Journal Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)* 19 (58): 256-263.

³³ F.H. de Vos [1907] 1908. Memorandum by Mr. F.H. de Vos Advocate. *Journal Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)* 19 (58): 264-268.

³⁴ A.E. Buultjens [1907] 1908. Note by Mr. A.E. Buultjens, B.A. *Journal Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)* 19 (58): 268-271.

³⁵ E. Reimers (1935). *Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten Governor of Ceylon delivered to his successor Jan Schreuder on February 28, 1757. Selections from the Dutch records of the Ceylon Government no. 4*. Ceylon Government press, Colombo. A copy of Loten's *Memorandum* is in NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 9922.

³⁶ NL-HaNA.VOC-1.11.01.01 Inventaris 425.

³⁷ A.J.P. Raat (1979). Enige voorwerpen uit de nalatenschap van Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789). *Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis der Geneeskunde, Natuurwetenschappen, Wiskunde en Techniek*. 2, pages 70-79.

³⁸ H.J. Zuidervaart (1999). *Van 'Konstgenoten' en hemelse fenomenen. Nederlandse sterrekunde in de achttiende eeuw*. Erasmus

- ³⁹ C.A.M. Van Zalinge-Spooren (1991). De VOC-in het archief Van der Bruggen. J.G. Loten aanklager in Java. *Helmonds Heem* 1991 (2): 24-32; L. Van Zalinge-Spooren (1989). *Archief van de familie van der Bruggen van Croy (1522-1755 – 1873 (-1905))*. Gemeentearchief Helmond.
- ⁴⁰ A.J.P. Raat (1988). Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789) en zijn collectie aquarellen van planten en dieren uit Ceylon. In: *Het Machtige Eyland – Ceylon en de VOC*. Den Haag, pages 84-90; A.J.P. Raat (2004). 'Ons vermakelijke leven in orienten'. Documenten over Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789), gouverneur van Ceylon. *Indische Letteren* 19, pages 3-19. In 1994 an incomplete biographical sketch of Loten was published: A.B.R. de Croo de Vries (1994). Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789), gouverneur van Ceylon. In: *Utrechtse biografieën*, volume 1, pages 110-113.
- ⁴¹ J.R. Van Diessen & A. Van den Belt (1987). Een toelichting op zes topografische aquarellen van Ceylon in het Rijksprentenkabinet. *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35, pages 3251, 56-58; R.K. de Silva & W.G.M. Beumer (1988). *Illustrations and Views of Dutch Ceylon 1602-1796*. A comprehensive work of pictorial reference with selected eye-witness accounts. Serendib publications, London; E.J. Brill, Leiden.; E.M. Jacobs (2000). *Koopman in Azië. De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18e eeuw*. Walburg Pers, Zutphen, pages 32, 33, 42, 44, 69, 216; [A.J.P. Raat & K. Zandvliet] (2002). De tekeningencollectie van liefhebber Joan Gideon Loten. In: K. Zandvliet (editor) (2002). *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië 1600-1950*. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Waanders Uitgevers Zwolle, 463 pp, pages 230-237.
- ⁴² *Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company Malay Archipelago and Oceania*. Voorburg: Uitgeverij Asia Maior / Atlas Maior, 2008. The collection is at present in the National Archive in The Hague and the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. The Loten drawings are included in volumes 3 and 4 of the *Atlas*.
- ⁴³ P.J.B.C Robidé Van Der Aa (1881). De groote Bantamsche opstand in het midden der vorige eeuw bewerkt naar meerendeels onuitgegeven bescheiden uit het oud-koloniaal archief met drie officiële documenten als bijlagen. *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 29, pages 1-127.
- ⁴⁴ De Bevere's watercolour of the Mouse-deer *Tragulus meminna* (NHM.LC 103) and Fishing party Governor Loten (RP-T-00-915) in H. Hooft (1999) *Patriot and Patrician*. Science History Publications. Pages 107 and 108. De Bevere watercolour Red Lory from Banda (NHM.LC 14) in W. Eisler (1995). *The Furthest shore*. Cambridge University Press, page 115.
- ⁴⁵ A. Wheeler (1983). *Animals*. Chapter 8 in: Carr, D.J. (editor). *Sydney Parkinson artist of Cook's Endeavour voyage*. British Museum (Natural History) in association with Croom Helm, London and Canberra: 195-242.
- ⁴⁶ B.C Sliggers (2002). Ceylon. Pages 84-89 in: Sliggers, B.C. & M.H. Besselink (editors), 2002. *Het verdwenen museum Natuurhistorische verzamelingen 1750-1850*. V+K Publishing & Teylers Museum, Haarlem. 206 pp.
- ⁴⁷ T.D. Rice (2000). *Voyages of discovery. Three centuries of natural history exploration*. The Natural History Museum, London; Scriptum editions, London, Hong Kong, pages 56-90, 'Surveying Ceylon 1672-1757. Paul Hermann, Johan Gideon Loten & Pieter de Bevere'. De Bevere's watercolour of the Buru Babyrusa (NHM.LC 106) also in L. Akveld & E.M. Jacobs (2002). *Nationaal Jubileumboek VOC-1602/2002. De kleurrijke wereld van de VOC*. Thoth Bussum, p 87
- ⁴⁸ J.G. Mulcahy (2006). *Other than English*. Published by the author and printed in Australia by Southern Cross University Printery, Lismore, 236 pages.
- ⁴⁹ Interview professor C.R. Boxer by Roelof Van Gelder: C.R. Boxer verzamelaar, polyglot en kenner van de Nederlandse zee geschiedenis. *NRC Handelsblad* 28 January 1989, Zaterdag Bijvoegsel, Boeken, pages 1-2.
- ⁵⁰ Recently there was also published a biography of Titsing: F. Lequin (2002). *Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812): een passie voor Japan, leven en werk van de grondlegger van de Europese Japanologie*. Leiden. Biographical notes of prince Maurice are in: P.J.P. Whitehead & M. Boeseman (1989). *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil. Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau*. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 359p.
- ⁵¹ *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, editors W.Ph. Coolhaas, J. Van Goor, J.E. Schooneveld-Oosterling en H.K. s' Jacob. Until now 13 volumes, covering the period 1610 until 1761, were published by the Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, The Hague.

⁵² For the conversion of the eighteenth-century British pounds into Dutch guilders the Marteau Early 18th century Conversion Tool was applied: www.pierre-marteau.com/currency/converter/eng-hol.html.

The conversion rate agrees with the rates that Jan Kol, Loten's banker in Utrecht, used in the period 1780-1786 for the transfer of British pounds from Loten's account at the London firm Walpole & co to his Utrecht account. The conversion rates used by Kol varied from 10.65 to 11.19 guilders for one pound (Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 774). For the value of money in the Dutch East Indies and Dutch Republic see Jacobs (2000); Gaastra (2006); Van den Belt (2008).

⁵³ For the purchasing power of the British pound the database *Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to 2006* was used, which is based on the Retail Price Index (RPI); For the purchasing power of the Dutch guilder we used the database *Purchasing Power of the Guilder from 1450 to 2006* on the website of the International Institute of Social History. This index is based on the Consumer Price Index (CPI) that is comparable to the RPI: the price of a "bundle" of goods and services that a representative group of consumers buys or earns. It is best used when the monetary amount is the cost or price of a simple product, such as a loaf of bread or a pair of shoes. However, there are problems with the CPI and RPI as a measure. One problem is that the bundle changes over time. For example, carriages are replaced with automobiles, and new goods and services are created (such as personal computers, cellular phones, and heart transplants). Another problem is that the RPI is oriented solely to households, and so omits attention to business investment or government expenditure. See www.measuringworth.com and www.iisg.nl/hpw.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

SECTION I - THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR LOTEN

Part I

ANCESTRY AND YOUTH 1710-1731



John Gideon Loten, F.R.S. & F.S.A.

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CHAPTER 1. LOTEN'S ANCESTRY

In the year 1046 a pyratival squadron consisting of no more than twenty five ships, commanded by Lothen, and Yrling, came to Sandwich, where they landed the forces on board them, who immediately spoiled all the adjacent country, &c.

Dr John Campbell, *Lives of the Admirals* (1750), volume I, page 80.¹

This quotation from Joan Gideon Loten's *Bells' Common-place-book, form'd generally upon the principles recommended and practiced by Mr. Locke* refers to a presumed Danish ancestor, whose squadron on Campbell's authority, "carried off the prey they took to their ships". According to Loten, 'this must have been a genuine Nobleman of old times, who afterwards could have tried an, in the opinion of those times, meritorious Crusade'.² Although the reference was intended to be ironic, Loten was aware that families who could prove their ancestry over many generations were considered to be prestigious. During his lifetime he tirelessly examined documents and untiringly studied the inscriptions and heraldic symbols found on monuments and gravestones in to order to discover whose ancestors were buried there and also to ascertain whether his own forefathers were men of distinction. This focus on his own family background is a notable part of Loten's identity. He obviously wished to rise from the unpretentious social position of his father amongst the Utrecht patricians. However, later in his life the documents concerning his 'distinguished ancestry' proved to be an inadequate defence against his exclusion from the inner circles of the establishment.

GENEALOGY

In the archives of the London College of Arms there is a memorandum dated August 1765 in which Loten describes his own pedigree.³ The document aimed to support the registration by the College of his family coat of arms, a confirmation of his illustrious ancestry. Referring to the origin of the name 'Loten' he writes: "The Surname is Loten and has been spelt Lotten, Loten Looten Lotin &c tho' I never saw any M.S. or Signature other than Loten. The ancient Family Residence was in and near Ghent Bailleu (or Belle in the common Flemish Language), Bruges, Honscoten and Aerdenburgh: Sanderus in his *Flandria illustrata* mentions them Alphabetically in his List of the Nobles and Patricians of Ghent as the Magistrates of the Flemish Cities were chosen out of a certain number of Gentlemen or Nobles who only had a Right".⁴ In short, his own earliest documentation of his ancestors confirmed that they were men of distinction from the southern Netherlands. Throughout his life Joan Gideon Loten collected genealogical information. The majority of the published genealogies of the Loten family are ultimately based on his own manuscripts.⁵ The earliest actual record of the name Loten in these papers is from 1461; it is a reference to a mayor of Aardenburg in Flanders. His son, a Loten whose first name is also missing from the record, was born around 1493. He was a tax collector in Aardenburg and was married there in 1520. His son, Nicolaas, was born in Aardenburg in 1523 and became its mayor. Later he moved to Bellem near Ghent where his two sons were born. The youngest son, Jacob, traded in seeds at Hondschooten. This town was a centre of Calvinism in the southern Netherlands. It was there that the iconoclastic fury of the late sixteenth century began. Jacob Loten's son, Nicolaas, is said to have been the father of landscape painter, Jan Looten, who lived in England from around 1660 until his death circa 1681. On Easter day, April the 11th 1669, Samuel Pepys visited him in his workshop in London.⁶

Mayor Nicolaas Loten's eldest son Dirck (or Didrick) was born around 1545 and lived in Aardenburg. Dirck was a beer brewer. He later became the town's mayor and tax collector. He married twice; his first wife was a Mennonite, his second wife Margaretha (?) van Assenburgh was 'of the religion', which means that she adhered to the Dutch Reformed creed.⁷ In the memorandum for the London College of Arms Loten wrote: "Didrick Loten my Grandfather's Great Grandfather, who was one of the Flemish Magistrates, during the Height of the Troubles in Flanders, raised by the Oppression and Cruelty of the Spaniards under the Duke d'Alva, left his Native Country with his Infant Son Charles Loten by his Wife who was of the Family of Assenburgh".⁸ After the revolt against the Roman Catholic Spanish monarch in

the latter half of the sixteenth century, the city of Aardenburg remained part of the Spanish southern Netherlands. In 1604 however, the town was conquered by Prince Maurice of Orange, after which it became a frontier town and part of the Republic of the United Netherlands.

Several Lotens moved from the Roman Catholic southern Netherlands to the protestant Dutch Republic or to England. The Calvinist Dirck Loten and his family went to Aix-la-Chapelle or Aachen and from there to Leiden in the Dutch Republic, where they arrived in 1574 shortly after the siege of the city by the Spanish army. According to family folklore, Dirck Loten's wife and children entered the city by way of the 'Hogewoert's Poort'. When they asked for lodging they were recognised by another Flemish refugee who offered them the hospitality of his home.⁹ Later they found a house in the city where Dirck Loten prospered as a merchant. Upon his death in June 1623, he left more than 100,000 guilders in gold to each of his children.¹⁰ He was buried in the chancel of the Pieterskerk in Leiden.

Dirck Loten's fourth child, Carel, was born in Bruges on July 4th 1584. Carel Loten became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1608 and was a trader in East Indian products. Prior to settling in Amsterdam, he lived in Norwich in East Anglia. There he married in 1607 Maria de Hem, the daughter of the Dutch merchant Tobias de Hem and his wife, Tanneke de Hoorn.¹¹ Whilst many trades were practiced by Dutch immigrants in Norwich, by far the greatest proportion of them was engaged in the manufacturing of textiles. It is therefore likely that Carel Loten was a merchant in textiles.¹² According to his great-great-grandson Joan Gideon in his memorandum to the College of Arms, Carel Loten "went to the City of Norwich where he chiefly contributed to the Building of a Protestant Church in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth". Apparently not only the spiritual, but also the physical welfare of his fellow-believers had his lifelong attention. So in 1648 he was contributing as a treasurer to the relief of "the most miserable sad Condition of all the British and Protestants within the Kingdom of Ireland, thro' the late horrid Rebellion; and the most barbarous Cruelties there acted upon them by the bloody Irish Rebels".¹³

Like his father Dirck, Carel Loten was a wealthy Amsterdam merchant. He became part of the elite of the Dutch Republic through his second and third marriages to Johanna Valckenburg and Maria Corput.¹⁴ It is said that he was so impressed by a sermon by the young Abraham Heidanus (1597-1678) that he offered him his only daughter, Sara, in marriage thus making the preacher, and in 1648 Professor in Theology at Leiden University, an heir to 'several tons in gold'. A contemporary saying of the time was to be 'as rich as Heidanus'.¹⁵ Carel was a director of the Dutch West India Company. In 1622 he was one of the investors in the exploitation of the Beemster Polder – located north of Amsterdam – which was drained in 1612.¹⁶ In the 1640s Carel Loten owned an estate in the polder; it was situated along the Volgerweg. He resided there with his wife and Catharina Slichers, a cousin who lived in.¹⁷ Later in life he also inhabited the farmstead called 'Valckenburgh' near Heemstede; it was his second wife's dowry. Carel Loten and Maria de Hem had two children. His subsequent marriages were childless. He died on his farmstead Valckenburgh on October 1st 1652 and was buried in the Westerkerk in Amsterdam.

Several decades after their arrival in the northern Netherlands the Loten family could boast not only of connections with the mercantile elite but also with the cultural elite as they were related not only to a Leiden professor but they were also acquainted with the poets Joost van den Vondel and Kaspar van Baerle (Casparus Barlaeus) and the painter Rembrandt van Rijn.¹⁸ However, although the Loten family belonged to the mercantile establishment of the Republic and adhered to the Dutch Reformed creed, until late in the seventeenth century they were not part of the political elite, the ruling class and highest level in the social hierarchy to which a family could rise. These regents were the only people who filled political roles in the Republic.¹⁹

Carel Loten's second child, Johan, otherwise called Jan Loten, was born in Amsterdam on October 1st 1612. He was Joan Gideon's great-grandfather. Johan Loten was a merchant who lived on the Heerengracht in Amsterdam, one of the city's most exclusive locations. Prior to his career as a merchant he studied at Leiden University.²⁰ Like his father Carel, Johan apparently belonged to the city's most prominent merchants. He was member of a company of the civil militia, one indication of his social distinction. He was also a leading landholder of the Beemster polder.²¹ In 1674 his wealth was considerable, about 400,000 guilders.²² Johan Loten died on May 10th 1676 and was buried in the Westerkerk in Amsterdam.

In Colombo in 1753 Joan Gideon Loten reminded his brother, Arnout, that Carel Loten and his son Johan had succeeded in obtaining a permit for hunting in Holland from Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange. According to Loten this was a privilege generally only allocated to the aristocracy.²³ He evidently considered it to be a token of his own distinction because he included a reference to it in his memorandum to the London College of Arms. Arnout confirmed this recollection; however according to

Arnout, by the 1750s such privileges were no longer considered to be either a special privilege or a sign of distinction.²⁴

Loten's grandfather, Joan Loten, was Johan Loten's third child from his second marriage to Apollonia Seleyns. Joan was born on February 26th 1646 and grew up on the Heerengracht in Amsterdam. On December 10th 1678 he married Constantia Hoeffft at De Bilt, a village near Utrecht. She belonged to a distinguished and aristocratic seventeenth-century family from Utrecht. Her father was Johannes Hoeffft, Lord of Fontaine-Peureuse and Choisival, canon of the Dom church at Utrecht and director of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC).²⁵ Constantia's mother was Isabelle Deutz, daughter of a rich Amsterdam merchant and regent. After his marriage, Joan Loten bought the manor Luchtenberg in the Lower Betuwe and settled in the province of Utrecht.²⁶ The purchase of the manor granted him the right to style himself as 'seigneur' or 'Lord of Luchtenberg'.²⁷ From 1699 until 1724 he held the office of burgomaster of the city of Wijk bij Duurstede several times. He was also the city's delegate to the States of Utrecht. Like his grandfather Carel Loten, Joan was a leading landholder of the Beemster polder.

Although the burgomastership of Wijk bij Duurstede was not a highly ranked position in the province of Utrecht, Joan Loten belonged to the province's ruling class. Evenso, he had less capital than his father. Nevertheless he was related to influential regents of the early eighteenth century and married to a member of an aristocratic family. This gave him access to the more prominent regents of the Dutch Republic. Joan's brother-in-law in Middelburg was the Zeeland regent, Joan Boudaen Courten, director of the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch East Indies Company.²⁸ Another of his brother-in-laws was Henry d'Utenhove, Lord of Amelisweerd, president of the Utrecht knighthood and military commander of the city of Bois le duc.²⁹ Joan's brother, Jacob Loten, was member of Amsterdam's city council. Thus, after three generations in Amsterdam the Loten family had finally risen to the highest level of the city's social hierarchy.

Joan Loten died in Wijk bij Duurstede in 1724. He was the father of seven children. His son, Joseph Loten, became independent prosecutor in Bengal. His eldest son Joan Carel Loten, born in Amsterdam November 19th 1679, was the father of Joan Gideon Loten. In the document for the London College of Arms, Loten describes his parents: "John Charles Loten eldest Son (my Father) was Secretary to the College deputed from the States for the Inspection of the Dykes along the lower Rhine or Leck &c: He married Arnoldina Maria Aerssen de Juchen Daughter to Cornelis Aerssen de Juchen Lord of Hardenbroek, one of the Lords of the Admiralty at Amsterdam and high Sheriff of Wyck, whose Wife was Amelia Schade Daughter to Gasper Schade Lord of Tull and Twaal, President of the States of Utrecht and their Deputy in the States General,³⁰ by Cornelia Strick de Linschoten (whose Mother was Gibelini, vulgo Gibels)".³¹ So the seventeenth-century forefathers of Loten's mother Arnoldina Maria Aerssen van Juchen were also distinguished persons in the Dutch Republic. Her grandfather Gasper Schade, Lord of Tull and Twaal, had been a delegate in the States of Utrecht and President of the Court of the province of Utrecht. He must have been a flamboyant person, expensively dressed and 'a vain and proud peacock'.³²

From Loten's genealogical notebooks it is clear that he had a special interest in the Van Juchen family.³³ Loten ordered the Dutch artist Aart Schouman to make a portrait of his ancestor Maerten van Juchen. It was engraved for him in the late 1770s in London by the Italian artist Francesco Bartolozzi.³⁴ In the memorandum to the London College of Arms he writes: "Cornelis Aerssen de Juchen, before mentioned, was Grandson to Martin de Juchen (whom Valkenier in his troubled Europe mentions with so many Encomiums) who was descended of a Noble and Ancient Knightly Family of the Dukedom of Juliers (Gulick). The said Martin (who died in 1675) was a Colonel in the service of the States and Governor of Wesel.³⁵ His Wife was of the Family of De Regniere. A sister of this Lady, Emerantiana de Regniere, married Cornelis Aerssen Lord of Spyck and Sommelsdyk,³⁶ by whom she had a Daughter Veronica, Wife of Alexander Bruce Earl of Kincairdin, Scotland. Martin de Juchen or Aerssen de Juchen, Son of the former Martin, and Father of Cornelis de Juchen was a Captain of Foot, died Anno 1645 at 20 Years of Age; his Wife was Susanna de Duverden Daughter to Cornelis de Duverden and Johanna de Voirde, descended of the ancient Equestrian Family of Lockhorst, which Johanna was the last of that Family and died in 1631".³⁷ It is obvious from this chronicle that Loten proudly referred to the ancestors of both his father and mother. Especially among the family of his mother there were people who had belonged to the province of Utrecht's social elite. Their distinguished careers and positions stood in contrast to the undistinguished rank that his father held in Utrecht society.

CHAPTER 2. YOUTH JOAN GIDEON LOTEN

LOTEN'S PARENTS

Loten's parents probably spent the majority of their youth in the provincial town of Wijk bij Duurstede, a small village along the River Lek, a branch of the River Rhine. In the *Compleat geographer* (1709) Wijk bij Duurstede was described as "a pretty neat Wall'd Town, pleasantly situated and indifferently rich".³⁸ Most of its 1,400 inhabitants were Roman Catholic and excluded from public office. Joan Gideon Loten's parents however, belonged to the Dutch Reformed elite of the town; their fathers held prominent offices in Wijk bij Duurstede and the province of Utrecht.³⁹ Joan Loten was one of the most powerful of Wijk bij Duurstede's regents.

An important source of early information about the Loten family is the letter book of Loten's grandfather Joan Loten. It covers a period of 27 years (1697-1724) and deals both with his public as well as with his family life.⁴⁰ The letter book supplies biographical information about Loten's parents. For example, it is clear from Joan Loten's letters that his eldest son's engagement was announced rather suddenly.⁴¹ In February 1710 Joan Carel Loten had 'taken the liberty' to communicate 'under civil diffidence and submission' his intention to marry Miss Arnoudina Maria Aerssen Van Juchen, the youngest daughter of Cornelis Aerssen Van Juchen and Aemilia Schade Van Westrum.⁴² In his 'zeal to solemnise the marriage', Joan Carel had 'already gained the favour of his Maistresse'. After Joan Carel's 'repeated insistence', his father had consented in their engagement remarking that 'the matter was pressed in such a way, that a decent retreat was not possible'. This remark probably referred to the fact that Arnoudina Maria was in the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy. He also noticed that she came from a very decent family and was herself: 'sensible and of a balanced temperament [...] However, it is true that her means are not considerable to make a happy marriage (which is an important point especially in this time), but because they are in this respect contented with each other, we dare hope & pray to God that he will bless them in their intention'.

On March 19th 1710, the young couple married in the Dutch Reformed parish of Blauwkapel, Maartensdijk, situated northeast of the city of Utrecht.⁴³ They chose to live in the nearby farmstead Schadeshoeve at Groenekan, 'three quarters of an hour from Utrecht, so he can come at all hours in Utrecht'.⁴⁴ The farmstead was also called 'Swanenburg' [Swan Castle], a name that referred to the swan in the coat of arms of the Aerssen van Juchen family.⁴⁵ Loten's great-grandfather Gaspar Schade bought the house and surrounding lands in 1651. In 1687 it came into the possession of Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen and his wife Aemilia Schade, who also bought further lands. When Cornelis died in 1705, the farmstead went to his four daughters, among which Loten's mother, Arnoudina Maria Aerssen Van Juchen.⁴⁶

Joan Carel Loten must have been a cheerful student, much to the chagrin of his father. Joan Carel studied at Utrecht University, where from 1700 on, he attended professor Cornelis van Eck's (1662-1732) lectures on law.⁴⁷ Joan Carel lived in a boarding-house with a landlady (or 'hospita') in Utrecht. In May 1702 his father warned his son that he spent too much money. He was advised him to eat his meals with his hospita and told him that he was 'not allowed to drink more coffee'.⁴⁸ In May 1703 Joan Carel's father expressed his impatience with his son's academic progress. More than once Joan Carel had postponed his dissertation. However, towards the end of September 1703, Joan Carel took his degree in law from the University. He defended a 17-page *Dissertatio juridica de albo praetoris*, which was published in Utrecht by Guiliemi van de Water.⁴⁹

Joan Carel Loten became secretary of the 'Leckendijck Benedendams', the waterboard responsible for maintaining the dikes of the River Lek, downstream from the dam at Wijk bij Duurstede.⁵⁰ In order to fulfil this position Joan Carel had to live in or near the city of Utrecht. In 1703 he obtained Utrecht citizenship.⁵¹ His appointment to the waterboard had already been settled in 1699. In May 1703 he began working as secretary of the Leckendijck. It was then that his father sent him a letter congratulating him on his new position. He also told him that he had asked God to stand by him and advised his son to settle his debts.⁵² In 1705 he had a deed drawn up by a notary stating that all of his son's debts to his father would be subtracted from his income.⁵³ In 1711 Joan Loten tried to obtain the office of clerk of the Admiralty of

the Meuse in Rotterdam for his son. He wrote a letter to Jan Cletcher, the mayor of Dordrecht and one of the Admiralty's councillors. This office's income amounted to 1,800 guilders and was better than the 800-900 guilders Joan Carel was getting as secretary of the Leckendijck. Joan Loten had moreover asked Mayor Cletcher and the councillors to allow his son to combine the position of clerk of the Admiralty with his position as secretary of the Leckendijck should his request on behalf of his son prove successful: '[I]n case of success, would You be so kind as to consider that my son, if he had to renounce the office of Secretary of the Leckendijck Benedendams, can combine this honourable and dignified office without much difficulty'.⁵⁴ Apparently Joan Loten's authority was insufficient to obtain this position for his son; the council did not elect Joan Carel to the position of clerk of the Admiralty. Later Joan Carel obtained several positions belonging to the status of a low-ranking regent. In 1719 he was appointed steward of the convent of Maria Magdalena at Wijk bij Duurstede, an office which he could combine with his work for the waterboard.⁵⁵ He also became steward of the Utrecht Leeuwenbergh hospital, an office that he still held in the 1760s.

The secretaryship or stewardship of a charitable institution was considered to be a subordinate position for an eighteenth-century Dutch regent.⁵⁶ These posts were usually a first step in one's social ascent to more prominent and profitable public positions in the city or province. However, in the more than sixty years that Joan Carel fulfilled his duty for the waterboard his career showed no progress. One of the reasons for his social immobility was probably that, at least until 1748, the most attractive and influential posts were reserved for members of the local patrician class. These were rarely accessible to outsiders.⁵⁷ Although Joan Carel could boast that various members of the Loten family had been prominent merchants and regents in seventeenth-century Amsterdam and Leiden, he did not belong to the inner circles of Utrecht's patrician class. However, Joan Carel's social immobility cannot only be explained by his social status. On the contrary, the position of his father and the family of his mother should have given him opportunity for improving his rank. It is very likely that he did not aspire to a chair in the city council or another such position. According to his son Joan Gideon, his father's motto was 'Homo proponit, sed Deus disponit' [Man proposes, but God disposes]. This indicates that he was a man without great ambitions.

From the available documents it is clear that Joan Carel Loten was a conscientious father to his sons. He was a family man who often acted on behalf of his family members as their representative. He actively promoted the careers of his sons. Joan Carel kept the office of secretary of the Leckendijck Benedendams until his death on December the 1st 1763.

EARLY IMPRESSIONS

Joan Gideon Loten was born at the Schadeshoeve, the farmstead belonging to his mother and her three unmarried sisters. It was situated at Groenekan in the Oostveen polder near Utrecht.⁵⁸ Joan Gideon was born on 16 May 1710 and he was christened on 'the 18th daij of Maij 1710' in the parish of Blauwkapel.⁵⁹ Nine months later, his grandfather Joan Loten wrote to his son Joseph in Bengal: '[O]ur son J.C. Loten and his wife received a lovely son in the month of May; he is being nursed by his mother and is now very healthy'.⁶⁰ Little information about Joan Gideon's youth is available. From his grandfather's letter book it is clear that he and his parents often visited Wijk bij Duurstede. In 1760 Joan Gideon still remembered licking 'pick balls and sugar-hearts', sweet sugar candies that he bought in Kee van Bladeren's shop in Wijk bij Duurstede. A note that he wrote to accompany a drawing of Diderick Jan baron De Ruijter Lord of Renoij's tombstone suggests that Loten received his earliest education at Wijk bij Duurstede for Diderick Jan was a former 'schoolmate at Wyk'.⁶¹

The Loten family was Dutch Reformed. In later years Loten looked back upon his devout relatives with both vexation and irony. In March 1779 he wrote a prayer in his *Bell's Common place book* which he remembered from his youth.⁶² The prayer was taken by his father from a book by the 'famous Geneva Preacher Benedictus Pictet'.⁶³ Loten remarked that 'it was one of that kind that was taught to me as a child (not taking into account the Wisdoms of Solomon, the complete Preacher and the Psalms [that I learned] all by heart)'. He added to this recollection, 'possibly this would have been enough for my moral and God-loving excitation to continue along that path with an awesome zeal'. His zeal was tempered however, by 'thick volumes' with long-winded questions by 'Kelderman, de Wits, d'Outrein and others', which he also had to learn by heart. The citation suggests that his family sympathised with 'Nadere Reformatie' [Further Reformation]. Its representatives were known for their wish to apply the principles of the Reformation to their daily lives, their homes, churches and all sectors of Dutch society.⁶⁴

Joan Gideon's pious grandmother on his father's side, Constantia Hoeufft, apparently an orthodox Calvinist, is regularly mentioned in the Loten manuscripts. In 1775 in a letter to his friend, Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, Joan Gideon showed his dislike of her narrow-minded interpretation of the Bible. Writing ironically about King David, "that man after God's own heart",⁶⁵ and referring to "this royal prophet's mild and humane orders about his friends Joab &c.&c., when his Majesty made his blessed exit",⁶⁶ Loten remarked: "When I myself a child of 5 or 6 reading those edifying chapters before my grandmother with a sonorous voice, I could not help thinking wickedly. There was something very wrong in all this very devout business, and I sayd then I thought it very hard, but I was presently hushed into silence with, 'kind kun je dan niet begrijpen dat al dit volkje vyanden Gode's waren?' [Child, can't you understand that this entire folk was the enemy of God?] The same reply was made, when I pitied the little boys torn to pieces and devoured by the bears, whilst the little rogues laughed that another good natured old gentleman's toupet was fallen out".⁶⁷

A major event in his youth occurred in July 1717 after the family was informed that Alberta Pierraerd, the wife of Joseph Loten, Joan Carel's brother, had died in Bengal on 30 November 1716. Joan Loten gave his son Joan Carel detailed instructions on how a seven-year-old should mourn: '[W]ith regard to the mourning dress of your son Jan Gideon, your mother also thinks best, that for week-days one has to supply his yellow shirt with black buttons & buttonholes (you can use buttons that are painted for that purpose), & for Sundays she advises, that he can wear his camlet shirt over a black camisole & trousers. Your mother will take care of that, so that your wife is not compelled to destroy her black cloth gown. When You desire it, we can send for him next Saturday, 1 pair black & 1 pair white speckled stockings & and we shall have ripped off the golden curl from his hat, and because it is necessary for fitting, we ask you to forward his hat with silver lace next Friday with the boat to the house of your brother. We shall send back another, because we believe that the silver lace cannot be ripped off without damaging the hat'.⁶⁸ The quotation shows the firm ties between the Schadeshoeve family and their parents at Wijk bij Duurstede and the close and even oppressive attention that was paid to conventions.

Another memorable event took place at the Dutch Reformed church in Wijk bij Duurstede where his grandfather Joan Loten had been an elder since 1715. His coat of arms is still on display in that church. The anecdote shows the aversion Loten had towards pompous preachers of the Divine Message. The irony in Joan Gideon's observation is obvious: 'Our dear Aunt C.M. de Wys née Loten had made reasonable progress in the art of cutting out paper. Because there were no prints in her small green church bible mounted with golden locks, she repaired this deficiency with these small cut out flowers, trees, without to forget hearts and arrows and bill and cooing turtle-doves. When I was a good child I was allowed to turn over these nice cuttings when the Reverend Schutter was crying, knocking and stamping his feet for the particular edification of his herd. Sometimes, in case I was frightened, several of these descended in my food-stove, [she said] fie Jan Gideon, you are a naughty boy, blockhead, you will never in your life have the book again or be sulky at your Aunt Sandick and eat prollen and wafers'.⁶⁹ C.M. de Wijs was Loten's aunt Constantia Maria, the youngest sister of his father. After her own father's death in 1724 she lived with and took care of her mother. One year after her mother's death, in 1735, she married Jan Gerard de Wijs (or Wys), a lawyer at Buuren. Evidently his 'Aunt van Sandick', Helena Aerssen van Juchen, sister of Joan Gideon's mother, had a more agreeable character.⁷⁰ She and her husband Cornelis Janssen van Sandick belonged to the social upper class of the Wijk bij Duurstede regents.⁷¹ In 1780 Joan Gideon still remembered a pleasant walk with her in 1728 along the 'Kromme Rijn'. They were accompanied by his niece Sybilla Helena Severyn.⁷² They went to eat cherries in the inn 'The Nightingale' near Bunnik. In 1778 he described Sybilla Helena Severyn ("Nigt Bil" [=niece 'Buttock']) to Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek: "[S]he had an excellent heart that she opened to you in good old Wijk [bij Duurstede's] fashion and she liked to be teased with the title Mrs Miller, because next to her hospitable door was the shop and the administration of the tan-mill".⁷³

An amusing anecdote about his grandmother Loten, related by Loten in 1774 to his brother Arnout, shows the young, curious and attentive Joan Gideon at Wijk bij Duurstede. He wrote about the phrase "gezegende staat" [=blessed position], 'which is a phrase from the Authorised version of the Bible, as I have learned the last year and a half by reading the papers. The late Martinus Claaszonijs, the Wijk to Utrecht post-courier on foot, speaking, while I listened to, with our Lady Grandmother about the fertility of his wife, used expressions, that showed that he considered that position from another perspective'.⁷⁴

Loten's early impressions of strict Calvinism in his family led in later life to a mild form of anti-clericalism, but not to the religious scepticism or indifference of many of his enlightened contemporaries. During all his life he remained a religious man, but he was not freely locked into the prison of the narrow-

mindful followers of the Reformed Church. The documents suggest that Loten's parents allowed more theological liberalism than other members of his family. In later years Loten like many Dutch felt attracted to the Wolffian natural theology, finding evidence of a God guided by reason by means of empiricism and without recourse to any special or supposedly supernatural revelation. Nevertheless, until his death he also remained supporter of the established position of the Dutch Reformed Church, which was the common stance of the upper class of that period.⁷⁵

FAMILY LIFE AT SCHADESHOEVE

Loten's first ten years were probably spent primarily at the family's farmstead Schadeshoeve. The rural environment must have been a peaceful and pleasurable atmosphere for the young boy to grow up. However, the weather in the Oostveen polder could be very harsh. In July 1715, when he was five years old, grandfather Joan Loten wrote to his brother-in-law, Johan Boudaen in Middelburg, saying: 'My son wrote me that the buckwheat that grew so flourishing as no one remembered to have seen before, has been completely demolished by the foul weather. So there are even several fields without any green. The damage for Oostveen was estimated to be 100,000 guilders, at seven in the evening one still found hailstones as large as a pigeon's egg, so we are very concerned about the misery of those people (who have to fret day & night)'.⁷⁶

The Loten family at the Schadeshoeve slowly grew. In April 1714, nearly four years after his own birth, Joan Gideon's brother, Cornelis Joseph, was born. According to his grandfather Joan Loten, the boy was 'nursed by his mother'. In January 1715 Cornelis Joseph fell ill; he had a cold and a cough and later a toothache. His mother was exhausted by the 'great fatigues of tending and watching the sick'. In January 1717 Cornelis Joseph was sick again. His face was inflamed and covered with scabs. His mother again went without her evening rest. Nevertheless, the child once again recovered from his illness. Two years later, on 18 January 1719 at 3 o'clock in the morning, Arnout Loten was born.⁷⁷ Like his two elder brothers he was born at the 'Schade family farmstead, situated at the Bischof's Wetering'.⁷⁸

A year later, on January 6th 1720, Joan Loten expressed his delight at his eldest grandson Joan Gideon's recovery from an indisposition, possibly small pox. In the same letter he reported in detail on the death from small pox of the son of chief bailiff of Wijk bij Duurstede Lodewijk Van Ommeren and his wife Alida Jacoba van der Schuer.⁷⁹ Two weeks later, on January 19th 1720, he wrote again about Joan Gideon's recovery adding: 'we want to hope, in case your second son might be infected with the same illness as his brother (of which he had all the symptoms), that now it will fare with him as well'. However, on 22 January 1720 his grandson Cornelis Joseph died. He was buried in the family crypt in the Utrecht Jacobi church. Joan Loten wrote about the death of the nearly six-year-old child: 'from which we could see how little one can depend on the life of man, than it is evident from the result that the God almighty has been pleased to deliver that sweet child from his misery, & transfer him to a better & blessed life'.⁸⁰ The tone seems to be less compassionate than two weeks before when he reported about the decease of the child of Van Ommeren. Joan Loten continued his letter by expressing the hope that despite the present circumstances his son could find out the price of bonds of the Utrecht province, because his brother Jacob Loten, city councillor at Amsterdam, needed this information. 26 January 1720 he thanked his son for the required information about the bonds and continued: '[W]e can very well believe that you and also your eldest son [remarkably the mother is not mentioned!], are much afflicted by the death of your dear son. In such sad cases it will afford some consolation to be near your parents and nearest friends. But, because that is at this moment not possible, one must have patience and look for consolation and recourse from the Lord, whom we pray that your sorrow will be softened by the powerful action of his spirit and in time will wear off. We also must not yield to too much sorrow, because it has been God's independent wish to take your dear child out of this evil and depraved world into his eternal magnificence, & thus to make for him a very happy change'.⁸¹

The Schadeshoeve was close to the country seat Poolsum or Voordaan at Groenekan.⁸² In 1780 Joan Gideon wrote about the inhabitants of the house of his youth: 'I think that in the Indies I dreamed of that place, because I enjoyed to be there. First, as far as I remember, when Jan Paul Schaghen lived there [...] and after that Mr. Vincent S[chaghen] with his wife Cornelia Notelman and their son Claasje, who was the proud and mighty possessor and absolute monarch of a small goat-cart and a he-goat that pulled the cart, by whom we were, as far as I remember, nearly hurled into the pond – Long Gijs the gardener with Aaltje his sister lived near the house. He had a musket that he later sometimes lent to me to shoot a heron in the

forest'.⁸³ During his tenure at Java in the 1730s and early 1740s, Loten was acquainted with Jean Paul Schagen, who from 1724 until 1743 was senior servant of the Company in the Dutch East Indies.⁸⁴ In 1777, in his Dutch English, Loten jotted down a sudden recollection of Gijs and Aaltje. It was scribbled underneath the cash register of July 1775: “[I]f live to ask my brother M^r A[rnout] L[oten] & Adriana Schouten [the old servant of Loten’s mother] whether they remember themselves, or by hear say, any thing ab[ou]t the gardener Gys & his sister Aaltje on the country seat (now of M^r Martens) but then I think, by the proprietor of the Kersbergen family, let to Mr Vincent Schaghen. This is mere curiosity & of no consequence, annotated 22 march 1777 Londoni”.⁸⁵ Shooting in the forest evidently was a favourite pastime for the young Joan Gideon. Fifty years later he also recollected his former ‘loyal’ hunting companion, cousin Otto Martinus Severijn.⁸⁶

In 1719 or 1720 the Loten family found a house in Utrecht at the Oudmunster Kerkhof. It was located close to the Dom church and tower and next to the gateway of Utrecht University. An entrance gate at the Oudmunster Trans led to the stables of the house.⁸⁷ The Schadeshoeve remained in the Loten family possession and was probably let out. In later years it was used by Arnout Loten and his family as their country residence.

While in Utrecht, Loten often visited his three aunts, Josina, Cornelia Amelie and Johanna Maria Schade. They were his grandmother Aemilia’s unmarried sisters. “I have seen more than thousand times and that is without exaggeration, at Utrecht at the corner of the Dom Steeg, where at that time lived three old Ladies Schade van Westrum, a beautiful portrait of the last Lord of Brederode of this illustrious family of counts, it was placed as a chimney-painting in the backroom, the room where we always had our lunch [...] His Highness had honoured my great-grandfather Gaspar Schade, Lord of Tull and Twaal, first presiding Councillor of the Honourable Gentlemen of the States of Utrecht. I often heard this from the above mentioned Ladies who themselves also stayed many times in the castle at Vianen. In 1731 I have seen in the house of my late father many letters of invitation”.⁸⁸ Loten’s recollection illustrates the relationship that his much venerated great-grandfather, the ‘vain and proud peacock’ Gaspar Schade, had with the wealthy and vain Wolfert, eighteenth and last Lord of Brederode (1649-1679), an intimate friend of Stadholder Willem III, later King William of England.⁸⁹

SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

In March 1720 the nearly 10-year-old “Johannes Gideon Looten” entered Utrecht’s Hieronymus school, founded in December 1474.⁹⁰ Education there was in Latin and Greek. The ‘Ordres’ or ‘Series lectionum’ of the School, which were approved by the Utrecht city council on 24 January 1718, stipulated six levels of education. Students in the lower classes learned Latin and Greek grammar, syntax, rhetoric and vocabulary and they read the fables of Phaedrus and Nepos. In the higher classes Virgil, Ovid and Terence were part of the programme. The highest classes read Horace, Justin, Livy, Cicero and Homer. The *rector* of the school was Henricus Arntzenius, a theologian and former rector of the Latin school in Arnheim. Teachers at the Hieronymus school were *prorector* R. Kemming, and *praeceptors* B. Wijckersloot, C.G. Welcker and De Bruijn.⁹¹ Virgil must have been a favourite author for Loten, because in later years he regularly quoted from the *Aeneid*.

In May 1720 “Isacus Sweers Amsterodamensis” was inscribed in the register of the Hieronymus school. Although few sources exist that tell us anything about their early friendship, Loten was attached to Isaac Sweers (1707-1777). In 1753 and 1754 Sweers played an important role in Loten’s appointment as councillor ordinary of the Dutch East Indies. After completing his school education, Isaac Sweers went to Leiden University. He took his law degree in December 1731.⁹² In March 1722 George Tammo Falck, together with his two brothers Franciscus Guilielmus and Antonius Reinardus, were enrolled as students at the Utrecht Hieronymus school.⁹³ Like Loten, Frans Willem and George Tammo Falck rose in the ranks of the Dutch East Indies Company. Frans Willem died in Ceylon in 1737. George Tammo became a resident of Japara and commander of Bantam. In 1751 he returned to his home country a rich man. In 1746 Anton Reinhart Falck became an officer in the army of the Dutch States-General; he perished at Roccoux during the Austrian War of Succession.

In later years Loten often demonstrated impatient behaviour. An early indication of this impulsive trait of his character is found in his grandfather Joan Loten’s letter book. Of the twelve-year-old Joan Gideon he remarked: ‘We are a bit worried about your eldest son, about whom we learned, that he was struck on his head by his Latin master, that he suffered from that inconvenience, & that one was obliged to bring the child to the neighbours to prevent further blows. However, because you do not mention

anything to us about this in your letter, we assume that it is not as serious as we feared. We ask you to inform us what happened, to set us at ease'.⁹⁴ Evidently the incident was explained to Joan Loten before he sent his definitive letter because the passage was crossed out. In the autumn of 1723 Joan Gideon was ill; in November however, he seemed to have recovered from his unknown disease. His grandfather wrote: '[W]e learned with great pleasure that Your eldest son is so much improved in health that professor Leusden left him & told to You that he was sure that next Tuesday in case of fair weather he will be able to frequent school again, for which we are thankful to God'.⁹⁵

In December 1724 Joan Gideon received an allowance from his uncle Jacob Noiroot, a secular canon of the Utrecht Dom church.⁹⁶ The extant notarial deed gives no reason for this stipend but it is possible that it was given to him because his father did not have sufficient capital and income to bear the costs of the University for his son. Loten had probably concluded his studies at the Hieronymus school at that time had and enrolled at the University of Utrecht. However, there is no earlier evidence than 1726 for his attendance at Utrecht University.⁹⁷ In 1771 Loten remembered being at University in 1726 with his friend, Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll van Serooskerken, who was Lord of Vleuten, Heeze and Leende (1710-1762) and a cornet in the Army of the Dutch Republic.⁹⁸ He must have attended lectures in law, because in 1733 he was appointed prosecutor at Semarang, an office that required some legal knowledge.

He also attended the lectures of Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692-1761), professor in Philosophy and Mathematics at Utrecht University (1723-1739). In 1760 his former teacher declared that he had been a 'diligent' student.⁹⁹ Van Musschenbroek, who regarded teaching experimental physics as his principle task, must have aroused Loten's interest in astronomy and mathematics. His lectures in the period 1723 to 1730 dealt with experimental methods in natural sciences, in which he followed Newton. Later in life Loten demonstrated that he was acquainted with an experimental approach to sciences. Van Muschenbroek also gave lectures in zoology and botany that may have been attended by the young Joan Gideon. It is quite likely that these courses were private rather than public lectures.¹⁰⁰ At Utrecht University Loten attended classes with Otto de la Porte de Morselede a 'learned friend' and former schoolmate from the Hieronymus school. Otto died of chicken pox in The Hague on December 5th 1729. He bequeathed his 'books, globes, mathematical instruments' to Joan Gideon Loten.¹⁰¹ This is further evidence of the 19-year-old Loten's interest in astronomy and mathematics. Forty years later in 1770 Loten remembered collecting the instruments. Mr J. Lommers – who owned a workshop in the Utrecht Smeesteege which made scientific instruments – had accompanied him on the tow-boat to The Hague.¹⁰² In 1763 Arnout Loten described a moment in the friendship between Loten and Otto de la Porte: 'The Lord of Groenewoude [= Bartholomeus de Gruyter van Groenewoude, councillor of the city of Utrecht] recently told me a praiseworthy moment of my first youth, that concerned the following. You were talking to him and Mr La Porte about love making. You said «Truly our Arnout already also begins, he always grabs the maidens at their prams». Although I believe that this is a fable, I had to laugh heartily'.¹⁰³

Loten's education also included drawing. The archives in Utrecht contain a watercolour of the castle Wijk bij Duurstede which he made in 1727. In it the outlines of the town are visible.¹⁰⁴ In 1775 he remembered that he had, for several months, been 'instructed in the art of drawing by, among others, the well known v[an] Huijsum'.¹⁰⁵ This is probably a reference to the famous Amsterdam flower and landscape painter, Jan Van Huijsum (1682-1749). It is very likely that the drawing classes took place in 1730 or 1731 in the painter's Amsterdam workshop. Loten acquired basic principles of drawing and painting which he successfully applied to his sketches of the East.

Joan Gideon was also active in genealogical studies and copied parts of the manuscripts of the Utrecht Atteveld family. The Dutch classical scholar professor Arnoldus Drakenborgh (1684-1748) introduced Loten to this collection. In 1778 Loten wrote a tender recollection of his former teacher: "I had the happiness to hear for several years continuing Mr Professor Drakenborch, whose memory everyday occurring to my mind shall never cease being dear to me. That easy communicating Gentleman was often so kind to admit me to the results of his favoured researches, which kindled a desire that since was never quite extinguished".¹⁰⁶

He became acquainted with the genealogy and coats of arms of many patrician and aristocratic families in Utrecht and the Republic.¹⁰⁷ In 1730 he visited the church in Rijnsburg where he saw the commemorative plaque of his ancestor Marten van Juchen. He also took notes in the churches of Delft, The Hague, Schipluiden and Leiden. In the Leiden Hooglandsche Kerk he copied the epitaphs of the humanist and scholar, Joseph Justus Scaliger, and the botanist Carolus Clusius.¹⁰⁸ Later in life these studies became his main occupation. He amassed notebooks with detailed annotations of family alliances and escutcheons.¹⁰⁹

Joan Gideon Loten never obtained a degree from Utrecht University, which does not necessarily mean that he lacked the capacity to do so. His letters and manuscripts give us the impression that he was well versed in Latin, French and English. Loten also demonstrated a thorough knowledge of contemporary natural history, mathematics and astronomy. This was corroborated later by his teacher Van Musschenbroek.¹¹⁰ His interest in and knowledge of these topics in the East Indies and England is illustrated by his notebooks and natural history collection.

Although the Loten documents do not tell us anything about his ambitions as a young student, it seems probable that he aspired to ascend socially. However, the less than exciting provincial town of Utrecht had little to offer in terms of flourishing career opportunities for an ambitious young man in Loten's position. Although a social climb was not impossible, the prospect of a career as a regent did not seem to be within his reach.¹¹¹ Loten lacked the capital needed and his father was not part of the Utrecht regents' network so that he was unable to make arrangements for a public position for his son. For a young man of his standing a commission in the States army or a naval career in the Admiralty was a means of obtaining further social status, although not everyone could amass a fortune in this way.¹¹² However, no evidence exists that tells us that, as a youth, Loten was interested in a military career like his friend Jan Maximiliaan Tuyl van Serooskerken, who was commissioned by the Dutch Cavalry. The Loten family had no military or naval tradition, which also impeded a profession in the army or the navy. Moreover, it was expensive to obtain a commission as an officer in a fashionable regiment.

The Church of England with its hierarchical organisation of ecclesiastical functions and many profitable livings in the gift of landowners provided ample opportunities for social mobility to young men taking orders, especially for those who had well-disposed and well-endowed kinsmen.¹¹³ Since the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619) the Dutch Reformed Church however, only recognised four offices: Ministers of the Word, Professors of Theology, Elders, and Deacons.¹¹⁴ The ecclesiastical positions of the churches and convents had been transferred to civil possession and were in hands of the regents, which also included the income out of the church property. In the Dutch Republic a clergyman was usually a commoner and had few opportunities for raising his social status. So the Church did not provide Loten with any opportunities for improving his fortune and position. It may have been one of the reasons why he, like many other young men of his class and generation, did not aspire to become clergymen. Moreover, his later recollections suggest that early in life he had already felt that Calvinism and Utrecht's orthodox climate restricted his personal freedom.

Loten must have realised that the most obvious way to increase his economic and social capital was to have a career in the ranks of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC). The East Indies provided an opportunity for building up a capital. This may have been Loten's main incentive for joining them. However, a successful start in the service of the Company required patronage. In the 1770s Loten suggested that adventure had also played a role in his choice of an Indian career.¹¹⁵ Reading books on navigation, exploration, and natural history must have stimulated his interest in travelling. Around 1775 Loten wrote in one of his notebooks that 'Dampier, Nieuhoff, Schouten, Valentyn, v. Reede, Rumphius [were] greatly [the] cause of my voyage'.¹¹⁶ Six years earlier he had written to naturalist and antiquarian Thomas Pennant that, in his youth, he had considered Joan Nieuhoff, the author of *Zee en Lant-Reize door verscheide Gewesten van Oostindien* (1665) [*An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China*], to be "my favourite author & one of the hobby horses I rode on to India".¹¹⁷ During his voyage to Batavia in March 1732, Loten referred to Nieuhoff's 1644 trade mission from Batavia to Peking; this indicates that he probably carried the book with him in his luggage. Loten was not unique in his preference for Nieuhoff's account. His Scottish friend Alexander Dalrymple, who left England in 1753 as a sixteen-year-old boy in the service of the English East India Company, was also particularly influenced by Nieuhoff's *Zee en Lant-Reize*.¹¹⁸

It seems probable that he had decided, at an early stage in his University studies, that he wanted a career in the East. Loten's Amsterdam relatives were able to arrange a position for their promising, young and ambitious 'cousin' at the East Indies Company. The usual preparation for this was an apprenticeship as a clerk in one of the chambers or committees of the VOC. Therefore Loten probably left Utrecht University when a place had been arranged for him at the Company.

Some authors suggest that Joseph Loten served as an example for Joan Gideon in his choice of a career in the East. However, there is no support for this suggestion. Joseph was Joan's uncle and a year younger than his father.¹¹⁹ The young Joan Gideon did not think much of his uncle, and it therefore seems improbable that Joseph inspired him to his voyage to the East. There is also no evidence indicating that he obtained a position in the Company through his uncle. However, the considerable fortune that his uncle brought from Bengal to his home country must have been on his mind when he decided upon a career in the Dutch East Indies Company.

In January 1702 Joseph Loten embarked upon the ship *Oosterstein* and travelled to Batavia as a junior merchant. He was employed by the Zeeland chamber of the VOC.¹²⁰ He enjoyed the protection of his uncle Johan Boudaen Courten who was director of the Dutch East Indies Company on behalf of the chamber of Zeeland. In 1709 Joseph was a senior merchant and 'independent fiscaal' or prosecutor at the directorate of Bengal. His father Joan Loten regularly referred with reverence to Joseph as 'my son the prosecutor at Bengal'. The office of independent prosecutor was introduced in 1689 by the directors of the Company with an eye to fighting corruption.¹²¹ The independent 'fiscaal' was no longer subject to the local director or governor and council, but he was placed immediately under the authority of the directors of the Company in Amsterdam. The function was abolished in 1711, because the expectations of a more effective fight against abuses and illegal trade did not materialise. In Bengal the 'independent fiscaals' worked harmoniously with the directors and other merchants, and several minor cases of smuggling did not disturb the good relationship.¹²² So Joseph Loten had more than enough opportunities for making a fortune.¹²³

In 1721 Joseph Loten returned as commander of the Return Fleet to Holland on the ship *Valkenisse*. The fleet consisted of 34 ships and had a cargo with a value of more than ten million guilders.¹²⁴ The return of his uncle from the East Indies must have been a memorable event for eleven-year-old Joan Gideon. In July 1721, immediately after the 'Jacobi survey' of the waterboard of the Leckendijck benedendams, Loten's father departed to Zeeland to meet his brother. From Joan Loten's letter book it is clear that at that time the old patriarch at Wijk bij Duurstede still exercised his paternal authority over his 42-year-old son: 'Yesterday I was told to my great astonishment that last Friday, eight days ago, you would have said to Mr Severijn in the house of Miss de Wijs, that you had the intention to make the journey to Zeeland & that you had bought for your brother and sister a periwig of 15 guilders and also a bonnet, and that Gentleman publicly mocked at that. I sincerely wish that in the future you will be more careful, and will not tell everything so openly to such mockers, who, as you know, amuse themselves by joking about those matters in all companies'.¹²⁵ The mocker was Otto Jacobus Severijn who was Joan Carel's brother-in-law. He was married to his wife's sister Alida Theodora Aerssen van Juchen. On August 23th 1721 the seven ships of the Zeeland chamber of the VOC arrived at the Flushing roadstead. Joan Carel was on the Company's yacht with the directors of the Zeeland Chamber to meet his brother at sea. According to Joan Carel his brother arrived, 'in a good disposition, he looks in very good health and is bulky and fat'.¹²⁶

After settling his affairs in Middelburg,¹²⁷ Joseph Loten returned to Utrecht where he bought like his father had done earlier a seignury.¹²⁸ Thus became Lord of Bunnik and Vechten, Wittevrouwen and Abstede, a title that suggests aristocratic pretensions. He also became canon of the Dom church.¹²⁹ Joan Gideon and his brother Arnout received a present from their uncle. Many years afterwards Joan Gideon described it as follows: 'A golden oval shaped funeral medal, value perhaps f 60: a 80, with the coat of arms of Van Riebeek and inscription &c. was put in the children's money-box. I think it was when he arrived and intended for the two children together'.¹³⁰ Another of Joan Gideon's recollection concerning his uncle Joseph relates to one of his 'treasures', a map of the Beemster polder, which his uncle took from him: 'A large map of the Beemster with arms around, that I had acquired, not without a lot of trouble from de Loth. Our uncle saw this and desired it under the promise [I shall give you the value of it]. I yielded not without sulking heartily'.¹³¹ The map was a document that reminded him of the distinguished family background. His ancestor Carel Loten had been implicated in the draining of the Lake Beemster, his grandfather and great-grandfather had been regents of the polder board. In 1760 Joan Gideon wrote ironically about his uncle's return to his home country. The following passage illustrates not only the esteem Joan had of his uncle, but also the firm control that his mother had of her 47-year-old son: '[I]f I should be older I should like to have a dear wife, because here it is impossible that the maids take care of you like in the East Indies [...] and I remember, when I just returned with the large ship, Mama has told very clearly to her own honourable [son] a governo [=as a direction] that our uncle Joseph planned to

maintain this custom in Utrecht if not luckily several pious people showed mercy with his pitiable state and brought His Honourable Deceased again on the right path and prepared him to be sensitive for the decent charms of a sacred marriage, which made his head c[oloured] of joy and probably made our dear uncle earlier prepared for another world, because otherwise he would be more suited as the fifth wheel on a wagon [...] I seriously ask you to sacrifice this to Vulcanus, I wrote it in a cheerful mood and without malice'.¹³²

In the phrase 'decent charms of the sacred marriage', Loten refers to Joseph Loten's marriage (in 1723) to his cousin, the devout Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten. Although she was 37 years old, Christina Clara became pregnant and in 1725 Constantia Johanna Loten was born. Christina Clara was a meddling aunt. Nevertheless, Loten regarded Christina Clara's brother, Johan Hendrik Strick van Linschoten, as his 'intimate friend', although the difference in their ages was 23 years.¹³³ Strick van Linschoten married Joanna Anthonia Bernard (1706-1740), the daughter of Daniel Bernard Guilliams, who from 1710 to 1716 was governor of the VOC establishment on Choromandel coast.¹³⁴ Joanna Anthonia was Loten's age and this probably explains his friendship with her husband. In 1778 Loten still remembered her father: "[T]he old Mr D. Bernard I think to have once or twice visited just after my return in 1758 (but formerly great many times) in St. John's Square, sitting to chat near his stove in an alcoved room. He was then as I guess 85 or 90, adroit and straight as an arrow".¹³⁵ In November 1716 Daniel Bernard repatriated from Batavia as commander of the Return Fleet.¹³⁶ It is possible that the wealthy Bernard Guilliams played a role in Loten's decision to begin a career in the Dutch East Indies.

APPRENTICESHIP

In March 1728 Joan Gideon became clerk of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC.¹³⁷ As a clerk he worked in the audit office of the Amsterdam chamber, his allowance was 350 guilders per year. In January 1729 his payment was raised to 450 guilders.¹³⁸ Three years later, April 19th 1731, in a meeting of the directors of the Amsterdam VOC chamber he applied for his discharge, which the gentlemen after deliberation granted him.¹³⁹ In Loten's personal papers there are several references to the start of his career in the service of the Dutch East Indies Company. In 1778 he remembered that 'formerly, about the years 1729, 1730, I was for some months in the Hague'.¹⁴⁰ In 1780, in the margin of a letter to his brother, he recalled that in 1730 or 1731, 'I was serving in the The Hague Committee' of the East Indies Company.¹⁴¹ This committee read through the correspondence and documents received from Asia and then composed draft letters for the administration in Asia.¹⁴² As a clerk of the Company, Loten was obliged to live in Amsterdam. Upon his father's request however, Utrecht's city council allowed Joan Gideon to keep his citizenship of Utrecht.¹⁴³

There is scant information about his apprenticeship, but according to a passage in Loten's *Bell's Common-place-book*, he made Lady van Portman's acquaintance in Amsterdam. She lived with her mother in Emmerik near Cleve, but for some time stayed in Amsterdam with her aunt Visscher, wife of Reverend Visscher: '[A]part from her nose, that was rather long, very beautiful. I had the honour to accompany her to the Comedy. I don't know whether my late friend, benefactor and relative Balthazar Boreel had seen this, but the first time afterwards, when I visited Him, He said that I could not afford a marriage'.¹⁴⁴ No long-lasting relationship ensued with the long-nosed Lady. Loten followed the counsel of his cousin Balthasar Boreel, who had been director of the Dutch East Indies Company since 1709 and served the Amsterdam city council from 1725 to 1744.¹⁴⁵ In the *Journal* of his voyage to Batavia, Loten characterised Boreel as 'my second father', which suggests that Joan Gideon often stayed at Boreel's house in Amsterdam and that he enjoyed his patronage.

In the summer 1731 it was clear that Loten was to leave for the East Indies. Many years later, in a short note added to a description of the monument of his ancestor Cornelis van Duverden in the Groote Kerk at Amersfoort, he wrote: '[I]n the summer of 1731 I was here with my late father J.C. Loten and visited at Hoevelaken the Lady of Hoevelaken (born Van Reede) to say farewell for my near at hand voyage'.¹⁴⁶ In December 1731 Joan Gideon Loten was appointed junior merchant of the VOC for the Amsterdam chamber. This was a position of considerable rank for a young person and could only have been obtained through patronage. It is very likely that Balthasar Boreel played a key role in Joan Gideon's first steps in the service of the East Indies Company. Seven years earlier, Balthasar Boreel had paid 2,000 guilders to have his nephew Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff registered as a junior merchant on the VOC ship *Cockenge*. It was an act of patronage that he probably repeated with Loten.¹⁴⁷

The Loten documents illustrate the close relationship Joan Gideon had with his nine-year-younger brother Arnout. Arnout was the one with whom Joan Gideon corresponded the most during his stay in the Dutch East Indies (1732-1758) and his stay in England (1759-1781). From this correspondence one gets the impression that, in terms of his behaviour, Arnout Loten was a more balanced and conventional person than his sometimes quick-tempered and enterprising elder brother. As councillor, alderman and burgomaster of the city of Utrecht he must have been busy. Nevertheless, Arnout was always prepared to manage his brother's affairs in Utrecht. He was a faithful correspondent, although his impetuous brother sometimes complained that did not reply promptly.

Arnout Loten was born on 19 January 1719 at the family farmstead, Schadeshoeve. He grew up in Utrecht. After attending the Hieronymus school, he entered the University of Utrecht in 1739.¹⁴⁸ In 1740 he took his law degree by submitting a 29-page dissertation entitled *Disputatio juridica inauguralis de testamento militis*; it was published at 'Traiecti ad Rhenum [=Utrecht] apud Alexandrum van Megen'. In 1746 he still did not have a job, evidently because, at that time, the Loten family lacked influential relatives. He looked for a position at the Dutch East Indies Company, but Balthasar Boreel, his brother's benefactor, had died. Their cousin, Abraham Boudaen, director of the VOC on behalf of the Zeeland chamber, too, had died.¹⁴⁹ It is probable that Arnout Loten desired a job in the Dutch Republic instead of an office far away in the East Indies. In September 1746 he remarked the following about his private situation: 'The people say that I am in love with Miss Scheffer, and I also begin to believe it. I wished I had a small position, than everything would be well, because we like each other rather fondly. She does not own treasures. Her mother is still alive and she also has a sister and a brother. However, she might inherit from two old aunts, so I could have made a worse choice. Because we are young however, and she is not yet 20 years, we can wait what the future will present us'.¹⁵⁰ In autumn 1746 Joan Carel Loten visited the directors of the Company in Amsterdam to try and promote his son, Joan Gideon, as a councillor of the Indies.¹⁵¹ Apparently he no longer lobbied for a position for his younger son in the ranks of the Company.

In 1748 the Stadholderate for the Dutch Republic was restored. This meant that the Stadholder was once more in charge of appointing magistrates and municipal and judicial offices in Utrecht.¹⁵² The knighthood and leading Utrecht regents, who had opposed the restoration of power to the Stadholder, no longer determined who was elected to public office. Stadholder Willem IV appointed his supporters, usually recruited from the lower echelons of the social elite.¹⁵³ So in September 1748 Joan Carel Loten asked for his son Arnout the advocacy of Henriëtte van Nassau-Zuylenstein, who was acquainted with Prince Willem IV.¹⁵⁴ Joan Carel's actions may have played a role in his son being elected to the position of councillor of the city of Utrecht in April 1749.¹⁵⁵ Arnout replaced the former mayor of Utrecht, Johan Breijer, who had died in March of 1749. Arnout Loten attributed his election to Johan Daniël d'Ablaing, the lieutenant-Stadholder of Utrecht, and to Jacob Tuyll van Serooskerken.¹⁵⁶ A place in Utrecht's city council was a first step in Arnout's successful career in Utrecht city politics. Half a year later, in October 1749, he married Lucretia Christina Scheffer. In the same month he was appointed as one of the twelve alderman of the city of Utrecht.¹⁵⁷ In this office he was responsible for the city's criminal affairs and although he had to work very hard it 'amused' him very much.¹⁵⁸ It was the start of a successful public career in the city of Utrecht.

From 1755 to 1756 and 1759 to 1760 he was 'cameraar' or deputy treasurer of the city of Utrecht, an office that earned him 1,660 guilders per year.¹⁵⁹ Between the years 1762 and 1763, 1769 and 1770, 1778 and 1779, 1785 and 1786, 1791 and 1792, Arnout Loten was one of Utrecht's two burgomasters. As a loyal supporter of the Stadholder, he was on good terms with the much loathed lieutenant-Stadholder of Utrecht, Willem Nicolaas Pestere.¹⁶⁰ Pestere had a strong grip on the city's government. In the 1780s Arnout Loten was considered to be the 'footman' of Pestere's 'cabal' by his adversaries. Arnout's position was comparable to that of an English political whip and he was responsible for ensuring that the city's councillors voted according to Pestere's wishes. Every week, city issues were decided upon by 24 members of the Utrecht city council under president Pestere's leadership, or, in his absence, under Arnout Loten's direction. Many plum jobs went to Pestere's immediate friends and family.¹⁶¹ Arnout Loten's appointment in 1769 to the position – evidently a sinecure – of *Superintendent of the Dominions of the Hereditary Prince Stadholder* was probably the result of Arnout's relationship with Pestere.

Arnout Loten was a regent who was opposed to changes in the position of the Stadholder.¹⁶² During the Patriotic Revolt (1781-1787), which was aimed to give more power to disaffected civilians, Arnout

Loten was considered by many of the Utrecht burghers to be a representative of Pestere's cabal and the Orangist party. In October 1786 he lost his seat in the city council to the patriots. In December 1786 he was characterised in a pamphlet of the patriots as 'a miser, an hypocrite, and a free thinker'. One year later however, when the the Prince of Orange's power was restored by the Prussian army, Arnout Loten was reinstated as the city's provisional first burgomaster.¹⁶³ In 1791 he was again elected to this office. In 1793 he was the treasurer of the States of Utrecht. After the Batavian Revolution of 1795 however, he lost his roles in public office.

In his private life Arnout Loten was a modest and sober person. This may have been due to his modest capital and income, but it may also have been his nature; he was frugal and had a preference for domestic pleasures. In contrast to his brother, he never referred to taking part in the joys of Comedy, female company and public houses. He probably never visited fashionable watering places like Spa. Evidently the conventional Dutch Reformed environment in which he lived with his family in Utrecht suited his personality. He was interested in gardening and from 1760 until 1764 rented a garden and greenhouse from the city courier Huygens next to the former bastion *Manenburg* on the Utrecht city ramparts.¹⁶⁴ The garden sloped down from the outside of the earthen city wall to the waterfront. Like his brother he was interested in birds and in their correspondence they often exchanged information about their caged canaries, nightingales and goldfinches.¹⁶⁵

In the 1760s he became interested in mathematics and astronomy. He used his brother's astronomical instruments, among which the 12-inch quadrant made by John Bird in London. Arnout exchanged information about his observations with Johann Friedrich Hennert (1733-1813), who from 1764 onwards was professor in philosophy and astronomy at Utrecht University.¹⁶⁶ From the correspondence between Joan Gideon and his brother Arnout it is clear that Joan Gideon was greatly involved in his brother's mathematical and astronomical activities. Joan Gideon gave his brother practical advice about relevant publications and the use of his scientific instruments.

Arnout Loten and Lucretia Scheffer had five children, only two of which reached adulthood, Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten and Joan Gideon Loten.¹⁶⁷ Johanna Carolina Arnoudina was an active methodist and in correspondence with the English methodist preacher John Wesley (1703-1791) until his death.¹⁶⁸ Upon completing his academic studies in Utrecht in 1777, Loten's nephew and namesake, Joan Gideon, was *Receiver of the Annates on behalf of the Fund to be disposed by the Prince Stadholder*.¹⁶⁹ From the many references in his letters to his niece and nephew, it is clear that Loten was very attached to them. In his testament he bequeathed them his house on the Utrecht Drift and a portion of his silverware. With the death of Joan Gideon Loten in 1809 the surname Loten disappeared. However, Joan Gideon's sister Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten and her husband Johannes van Doelen made sure that the name 'Loten' was added to their son, Arnout Christiaan van Doelen's surname.¹⁷⁰

Arnout Loten died in 1801 and, like his father and brothers, was buried in the family crypt in the Utrecht Jacobi church.

¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, undated entry circa 1777, reference to 'Vide Campbell's Lives of the Admirals &c. London 1750. Vol. I. pag. 80'. The reference is to John Campbell (1708-1775)'s, *Lives of the Admirals, and other eminent British seamen. Containing their personal histories, and a detail of all their public services. Including a new and accurate naval history from the earliest account of time, etc.* There are many eighteenth-century editions. The first edition was published in 4 volumes by J. & H. Pemberton & T. Waller: London, 1742-1744. In the 1789 auction catalogue of Loten's library the 4 volume edition, published in 1750, is mentioned on page 16, number 82 (HUA.Library 6629, number 3766/853).

² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 February 1780.

³ College of Arms Ms. 5D14.218. The document was signed by Loten in London August 5th 1765. The author is indebted to Jan Gracie Mulcahy (Australia) for information about this document. The right of Arms can only be established by registering a pedigree demonstrating a direct line of male descent from an ancestor already appearing therein as entitled to arms in the official records of the College of Arm, or by submitting an application through the College of Arms. See also Mulcahy (2006).

In Het Utrechts Archief there is a Diploma in a leather case from the College of Arms with the description of Loten's Coat of Arms (HUA.GC 750 nr 1388). The document was signed 5 September 1765 and bears the seals of the Garter Principal of Arms, Stephen Martin Leake Esquire and Sir Charles Townley, Clarenceux King of Arms. The document established Loten's Coat of Arms and registered it in the official records of the College of Arms.

⁴ College of Arms Ms. 5D14.218.

⁵ Information about the Loten family can be found in several sources. Van Houten (1905; 1906a; 1906b; 1908), Ferguson (1908), De Vos (1902; 1905; 1908) and Anthonisz (1908) published information. The genealogy of the Loten family is described by Bloys van Treslong Prins (1909: 297-319), based on manuscript notes in the Loten archive (HUA.GC 750 nrs 109, 1386 and 1390). In the annexe of this study are tables with the genealogy of the Loten family and families related to the Loten family.

⁶ In eighteenth-century literature John Loten (1618-*ca* 1681) is often mentioned as a painter born in Switzerland. See: Pilkington, Matthew (1770). *The gentleman's and connoisseur's dictionary of painters. Containing a complete collection, and account, of the most distinguished artists, who have flourished in the art of painting, ... To which are added, two catalogues; ... By the Rev. M. Pilkington, ...* London, page 357 and John Watkins (1800). *An Universal Biographical and Historical Dictionary*, London, R. Phillips:

He was a landscape painter of considerable rank, as he always studied nature. His taste led him to describe craggy rocks solemn and dreary, cataracts and torrents dashing and foaming with the impetuosity of their fall, and land storm attended with rain, in which he particularly excelled. He died in 1681.

Diary of Samuel Pepys: Easter day April 11, 1669:

[T]o Luton, the landscape-drawer, a Dutchman, living in St. James's Market, but there saw no good pictures. But by accident he did direct us to a painter that was then in the house with him, a Dutchman, newly come over, one Evarelst, who took us to his lodging close by, and did shew us a little flower-pot of his doing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced, again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He do ask £ 70 for it: I had the vanity to bid him £ 20; but a better picture I never saw in my whole life; and it is worth going twenty miles to see it.

The reference to 'Evarelst' is to the painter Simon Pieterz Verelst (1644-1721), who lived from 1668 until 1721 in England.

⁷ According to a memoir of Reverend Franciscus Burman, who married Dirck Loten's great-granddaughter Maria Heydanus. See HUA GC 750 nr 50.

⁸ College of Arms Ms. 5D14.218.

⁹ According to the memoir of Franciscus Burman; he was the father of Pieter de la Cour (1618-1685), the later author of the republican pamphlet *The True Interest and other political maxims of the Republic of Holland* (1662). See HUA GC 750 nr 50.

¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 50, Memoir Franciscus Burman.

¹¹ See also HUA.GC 750 inv 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 4 September 1759.

Dit volgende van Carel Loten heb ik uit al d'aantekeningen onder mij zijnde alleenlik kunnen krijgen:
Carel Loten, geboren te Brugge A^o 1584 troude te Norwich met Maria (of na die oude tijden Maijke) de Hem, geboren te Norwich in Februarij 1585; In wat jaar dezelve getrouwt zijn vinde niet genoteerd; zij hebben 2

kinderen gehad, Sara Loten, getrouwt met Abraham Heijdanus, en Jan Loten, getrouwt met Apollonia Selijn; wanneer gem^e Sara Loten geboren is, staat mede niet aangetekend, maar Jan Loten, haar broeder, is geboren t'Amst. den 1. Octob. 1612 indien men nu calculeerd, dat Sara, als zijnde het oudste kind, A^o 1611 geboren is, en indien men stelt, dat Maria de Hem haar moeder, voor haar, geen kinderen gehad heeft, gelijk ik mede daar niets vinde, zo zoude men mogen gissen, dat Carel Loten en Maria de Hem ontrent den jare 1610 getrouwt zijn, als zulks respectivelik op het 25^e en 26^e jaar huns ouderdoms; dog bij aldoen men supposeerd, dat'er voor Sara nog meer kinderen geweest, dog vroeg gestorven zijn, of dat Maria de Hem eenigen tijd na haar huwelijk zonder zwanger te zijn geweest is, zoude men den trou-tijd ook 3,4, a 5 jaren moeten vervroegen.

In September 1759 Loten visited the Reverend Van Sarne at Norwich. Van Sarne copied the baptise and marriage registers of the Dutch Reformed Church and noted down the entries for the families De Hem, Van Hoorne and Loten. See HUA.GC 750 inv 111.

¹² Michael Drayton (1553-1631) in the second part of his *Poly-Olbion* (1622), in song twenty, praised the frugal and industrious Dutch refugees in East Anglia and Norwich:

That hospitable place to the industrious Dutch,
Whose skill in making stuffs, and workmanship is such,
(For refuge hither come) as they deserve,
By labour sore that live, whilst oft the English starve;
On roots and pulse that feed, on beef and mutton spare,
So frugally they live, not gluttons as we are.

See *The Works of Michael Drayton*, Esq; Volume III, London, printed for W. Reeve, 1753, page 1040.

¹³ Carel Looten was one of the four Amsterdam treasurers of the "Sum of One and Thirty Thousand Two Hundred and Eighteen Pounds, Twelve Shillings, and Five Pence" that was collected on request of the "Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England [...] by the voluntary Contribution of the well affected People in The United Provinces, for the Supply of the Brittish and Protestants within the Realm of Ireland, and disposed of accordingly in Victual". See House of Lords Journal Volume 10: 18 August 1648, *Journal of the House of Lords*: volume 10: 1648-1649 (1802), pp. 445-446.

¹⁴ After the death of his first wife Carel Loten married Johanna Valckenburg, widow of Jan Francken. After her death, Carel Loten married Maria Corput (1602-1671), the widow of Abraham van der Meer (1584-1638) in 1648.

¹⁵ See W. Otterspeer (2000). *Groepsportret met Dame I. Het Bolwerk der vrijheid*. Amsterdam, Bert Bakker, page 305. The citation is from Friedrich Lucae (1644-1708), historian and theologian, who travelled throughout the Continent and wrote a chronicle *Europäischer Helicon* (1711) in which he outlines numerous European colleges and universities, among which Leiden University which he visited in 1665. Otterspeer also quoted (page 380) Hollebeek, a contemporary source, about Heidanus's preaching:

De hemel konde hij in sulken heerlykheid vertoonen dat hy zyn Toehoorders scheen daer in op te trekken: en de Hel in haer schrikkelykheit, soo dat een Godloose sig daer over moets ontsetten.

¹⁶ For the role of the Loten family in the draining of the Beemster polder see: J. Bouman (1857), *Bedijking, opkomst en bloei van De Beemster*, Purmerend, pages 247 and 250. Karel Loten had been member of the college of Hoofd-Ingelanden [leading landholder] was since 1638; his son Joan Loten became a member of the same college in 1666. See also E.K. Grootes en S.F. Witstein (eds.) (1979). *Visies op Vondel na 300 jaar*, Martinus Nijhoff, Den Haag, Chapter 'Dichter bij een droogmakerij', pages 104-118 and A. Fleisher (2007). 'The Beemster Polder: conservative invention and Holland's great pleasure garden', in: L. Roberts, S. Schafer & P. Dear (2007) *The Mindful Hand, Inquiry and invention from the late Renaissance to early industrialisation*. Amsterdam KNAW Geschiedenis van Wetenschap in Nederland volume 9, pages 145-169.

¹⁷ J. Bouman (1857), *Bedijking*, pages 233 and 261-262.

¹⁸ In 1644 the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel published an eulogy *De Beemster* on the draining of the Lake Beemster, which poem was dedicated to 'Karel Looten'. See Vondel, *De werken*, [WB-editie], deel IV, p. 609. Amsterdam 1930.

Carel Loten's younger brother the Mennonite Maarten Loten (Leiden 1586-Amsterdam 1649), married Christine Rutgers in 1612 an event Vondel also wrote a poem about. Maarten Loten lived on the Keizersgracht between the Brouwersgracht and Prinsenstraat in Amsterdam. Maarten Loten was painted in 1632 by Rembrandt; the portrait is now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Casparus Barlaeus (1646) *Poemata*, volume II. Amsterdam, Blaeu 'Ad Amplissimum, humanissimumque Virum D. IOHANNEM LOTUM, cum me praedio suo in Bamestrae agro excepisset', is dedicated to Loten's great-

grandfather Johan Loten. In a letter to his brother Arnout dated London 22 February 1780 (HUA GC 750 nr 1428), Joan Gideon Loten wrote:

...om Uwgb. tot correspondentie uit te lokken melde'k dat eenige avonden geleeden ik er een besteedde om de poëmata van Casp. Barlaeus (gelatiniseerd van Baarle) te doorbladeren, daar vond ik tome 2 (by Blaeu 1655 in 12^o) pag: 236, 'ad Amplissimum, humanissimum Virum D: Johannes Lotum, cum me praedio suo Bamestrae agro excepisset. – Radia felicitis Borealis sidere Loti Bressinus &c. &c.' – het gedicht is 38 regels lang op de opgen: Lotus, dien ik vast stelle overgrootvader geweest te zijn; schoon dunkt de Latinisatie des naams niet de eigentlijkste te zijn, aan d'andre kant considereerende de Egyptische Lotus (die men ook in overvloed bij Batavia &c. heeft en de fraayste van alle Nymphaea's is) waarop in de croisaden (of een der op die zeer in curieuse bollen ingeslotene zaaden) de zoogenaamde in Syrie &c. militeerende of roovende Christenen veel geleeft hebben, van de Duytschen te zyn Loten genaamd geweest, ook Lothen, dan heeft Barlaeus gelyk – met comparatie van andere zyne gedichten ben ik ook verzekerd het bovenstaande geschreeven te zyn tusschen 1630 en 1640 – hij raad hem zeer aan te trouwen –

See also HUA.HC 643 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 15 October 1780. Loten remarked that 'I learned from the reference to the Beemster &c that he meant him [Loten's great-grandfather], which I otherwise could not have understood from the translation'. See also Chapter 32, paragraph 'Loten in his study attic in London'.

¹⁹ See Prak (1985), Kooijmans (1985), De Jong (1985) and Gabriëls (1990).

²⁰ A portrait of Johan Loten by Nicolaes Maes is in a private collection, IB 963171 (zw/w C6720). On 13 November 1627 Johannes Looten, Amsterodamensis, aged 15 was inscribed as a student in the *Album studiosorum* of the Leiden University. In 1634 he married Elisabeth Hellinx who died in 1635. They had one daughter Maria Loten (1634-1635), who died in infancy. In 1642 Johan Loten married Apollonia Selijns (1625-1670). They had ten children.

²¹ Johannes Looten is one of the gunners on Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy (1588-1653/56), *The Company of Captain Jan Claesz Vlooswijk and Lieutenant Gerrit Hudde, Amsterdam* (1642), now in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. See also J. Six (1886), Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy. *Oud-Holland* IV, pages 81-108, especially page 98.

²² According to Zandvliet (2006), page 176, Joan Loten belonged to the group of 250 richest people in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. According to Zandvliet's ranking system he occupied place 96.

²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 2 November 1753.

²⁴ HUA.GC 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 19 May 1755. Arnout Loten told his brother that two permits had been recovered here in the family documents: One was for Charles Loten (dated 27 November 1626) and one was for his son, Joan Loten (dated 15 April 1645). The permissions were given for hunting hares, rabbits and partridges in Holland and western Friesland. According to Arnout Loten the permits were no longer a privilege for the aristocracy. In the province of Utrecht, the princess-regent provided these to all who paid for them, to the regret of 'all qualified amateurs' of hunting.

²⁵ Johannes Hoeufft (b. 1601) inherited his French titles from his uncle Jean Hoeufft (1578-1651), who was a banker and Councillor and Secretary to King Louis XIII of France in Paris. The Hoeufft family belonged to the richest families in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. See Zandvliet (2006), page 31.

In December 1744 Joan Carel Loten settled the testamentary disposition of the house *De Sterre* at the Amsterdam Keizersgracht among the heirs, according to the dispositions in the testaments of Jean Hoeufft (26 February 1697) and his wife Isabella Coyman (10 October 1674) until the fourth degree under fidei commissis.

See HUA. Family Des Tombe 26 nr 1119. Letter J.C.Loten to Abraham Boudaen. Utrecht 18 December 1744.

²⁶ In one of his genealogical notebooks Loten wrote:

[W]ijlen myn Grootvader Joan Loten, Jan's en Apollonia Selijns's zoon kochte a° 16... Lugtenburgh by Rijswijk in Neder Betuwe van Carel Vijgh, Heer van Zoelen &c.

HUA.GC 750 nr 151.

²⁷ See for seigneuries of the Dutch patricians in the eighteenth century De Jong (1985), pages 236-239; Prak (1985), pages 242-250; Kooijmans (1985), pages 174-178. In the seventeenth century most of the seigneuries had been in noble possession. During the eighteenth century many manors with seigneurial rights belonged to the patricians and wealthy burghers. However, most of the patricians in Hoorn, Gouda and Leiden were not interested in the honours and status which the seigneuries offered. They considered themselves the leading elite and did not look upon themselves as inferior to nobility. This stand is probably applicable to most of the patricians in the Dutch Republic.

²⁸ Johan Boudaen Courten (1634-1716), married Anna Maria Hoeufft (1646-1705), sister of Joan Loten's wife and Director of the Chamber Zeeland of the VOC since 1688.

²⁹ Isabella Louise Hoeufft (1648-1707), sister of Joan Loten's wife, married in 1683 Henry d'Utenhove (1630-1715), Lord of Amelisweerd and Monnikenland, president of the Equestrian Order or Nobles of the province of Utrecht, lieutenant-general, commodore of Bois le duc.

The Knighthoods or 'Ridderschappen' were associations of noble families, having historical ties with the province of their origin. To obtain a place in the Knighthood a noble lineage and a manorial property was required. From 1500 onwards, the Knighthoods participated in the States of the provinces, by electing delegates from their midst to this governmental body.

³⁰ Gasper or Jasper Schade (1623-1692), Lord of Tull and Twaal. He had been a member of the council of the States of Utrecht and president of the court in the province of Utrecht.

³¹ College of Arms Ms. 5D14.218.

³² In 1645 Frans Hals painted a portrait of Jasper Schade, which is at present in the Narodni Gallery in Prague. The quote is from Seymour Slive, cited in Damsté (1985). See P.H. Damsté (1985). *De geschiedenis van het portret van Jasper Schade door Frans Hals. Oud Holland* 99, pages 30-42. Gasper Schade owned the country seat *Sandbergen*, inherited by Jacob Noiroot and his wife Agnes Schade in 1701 from Gasper Schade's son Gasper Cornelis. Well into the nineteenth century the Hals portrait remained a part of the household effects.

³³ Genealogical annotations of the Van Deuverden family by J.G. and A. Loten in HUA.GC 750 nr 164; Aerssen van Juchen family HUA.GC 750 nrs 115-117; Schade family HUA.GC 750 nrs 118-122. From these notes it is clear that the Van Deuverden family was also related to the family of Loten's first wife Anna Henrietta van Beaumont.

³⁴ RKD IB-nummer 2007161. Etching, A Schouman delin and F Bartolozzi sculp, 38.20 x 25.80 cm. Subscript by Loten: 'Martin van Juchen Colonel en Commandeur / der stad Wesel en onderhoorige fortressen / blanchi sous le harnois.' Below in three columns: 'Annales / de Basnage / 12, p. 121'; 'Aitzema's / zaaken v Staat / d 6, b 48'; 'Valkenier's / verwerde Europa / p 390'. The subscripts are also mentioned in Loten's notebook (HUA.GC 750 153), they refer to books on Dutch history in Loten's library. The Schouman portrait has not been traced.

The engraving is mentioned in A.W. Tuer (1884), *Bartolozzi and his works*, volume 2, page 139 nr 1821. The print is also described in A. Baudi di Vesme & A. Calabi (1928). *Francesco Bartolozzi, catalogue des estampes et notice biographique*. Milan, Guido Modiano, page 234, nr 847.

The Bartolozzi engraving of the portrait of Maerten van Juchen shows a younger person than the the portrait painting (in the manner of) Ferdinand Bol (c. 1670) in the The Hague Mauritshuis (inv. 530).

³⁵ In 1642 he was appointed by the States General as Commander of Wesel. In 1672 he was recalled to The Hague. There he asked the States to send him back to his former position. The States agreed to his request because of his creditable career in Wesel. Given his age, they send him back as the supreme Commander of Wesel, but the military power was given to a colonel.

³⁶ With an estimated capital of 960,000 guilders, Cornelis van Aerssen Lord of Sommelsdijck (1602-1668) was considered to be one of the richest inhabitants of the Dutch Republic. By Zandvliet (2006) pages 42-43, he is ranked 17th in the order of the 250 richest persons in the seventeenth-century Netherlands.

³⁷ College of Arms Ms. 5D14.218.

³⁸ Quoted from the third edition (1709), page 163; also fourth edition (1723), page 137.

³⁹ Sources: Cortenraede (1983); Rommes (1989).

⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Letterbook Joan Loten 1697-1724.

⁴¹ Sources: HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept-letters 4 February 1710 to Brother Cornelis Hop and Brother Gideon Hoeufft. HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept-letters: 11 February 1710 to Brother Van Amelisweert; 11 February 1710 to Brother Joan Boudaen Courten.

Mr Cornelis Hop (1658-1716) married Joan Loten's sister Constancia Loten (1763-1710). Gideon Hoeufft (1652-1710), brother of Joan Loten's wife.

⁴² Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen (*d.* 1705), Lord of Hardenbroek. In 1684 Cornelis van Aerssen van Juchen obtained the manorial estate Hardenbroek, so Loten mentioned him as 'Lord of Hardenbroek' in his genealogical history written in 1765 (College of Arms London Ms. 5D14.218). His wife was Aemilia Schade van Westrum (1649-1689).

⁴³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1341. Extract of Marriage Act.

⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joseph Loten, dated 25 April 1710. According to Joan Loten the farmstead was situated 'aen de Groene kan', in 'Oostveen', 'omtrent de Blaccapel' and it was called 'Swanenburg'.

⁴⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1429. Letter to Arnout Loten from London, 11 August 1780. Joan Gideon Loten referred to Arnout's wife as 'Vrouwe van Zwaanenburg' [Lady of Zwaanenburg]. Evidently Arnout Loten, who at that time possessed the Schadeshoeve, asked Loten for an explanation. August 25, 1780 Joan Gideon replied:

maar hoe komt het te zeggen het door my genaamde Zwaanenburg heeft Uwgb dan die naam nooit zo door Vro^e. Moeder of Vader Z.G. hooren uitten? Hoe komt het dan, denk ik dikwils, dat mij sederd een kind dat in 't geheugen speeld – en mij dunkt dat aan Uwgb zo iets mede in 't hoofd lag en van twee houte zwaanen die op de piedestaux van poort zouden gestaan hebben?

⁴⁶ In 1707 the estate of the late Cornelis van Juchen was divided up amongst his daughters by Jacob Noirot, brother-in-law of the deceased. Each daughter received 4,038 guilders. See HUA GC 750 nr 115.

In 1768, after the death of her sister Cornelia Louisa Aerssen van Juchen, Loten's mother came into full possession of the farmstead (HUA.NA U227a6, aktenr. 87, d.d. 31-03-1768). In 1775 after his mother's death, Arnout Loten inherited the Schadeshoeve. It remained in the Loten family until 1865, when the farmstead was pulled down. See Brink (1994).

⁴⁷ 'J.C. Loten Amstelo-Batavus' is mentioned in 1703 in the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae 1636-1886*. J.L. Beijers & J van Boekhoven. Utrecht 1886.

⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. Concept-letter Joan Loten to his son J.C. Loten. Wijk bij Duurstede 2 May 1702.

⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1360: A printed poem written on the event of Joan Carel Loten's academic promotion. The poem is signed 'J.N.', possibly Mr. Jacob Noirot, who married Agnes Schade, the sister of Arnoudina Maria Aerssen van Juchen's mother.

⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nrs 1337 and 1338. Appointment documents Joan Carel Loten as secretary Leckendijk Benedendams. In a letter from Wijk bij Duurstede, 3 January 1699, to his brother-in-law, Henry d'Utenhove, Lord of Ameliseerd, Joan Loten asked his patronage to obtain the office of secretary for his son Joan Carel (HUA.GC 750 nr 1328).

⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1339.

⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son J.C. Loten. Wijk bij Duurstede, 22 June 1703.

⁵³ HUA.NA. U78a8, aktenr. 60, d.d. 11-09-1705. In HUA.NA U78a8, aktenr. 146, d.d. 03-12-1707 is the attestation by the treasurer of the waterboard that the debts were subtracted from Joan Carel's wages as a Secretary.

⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to Jan Cletcher, mayor of Dordrecht. Wijk bij Duurstede 23 December 1711. In 1727 the emolument of the secretaryship Lekdijk Benedendams was 1000 guilders (HUA.GC 750 nr 1343). The office that Joan Loten tried to obtain for his son was Commies van de Admiraliteit van de Maze.

⁵⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1342.

⁵⁶ Dijk & D.J. Roorda (1971), pages 306-328; Dijk & D.J. Roorda (1978), pages 76-103.

⁵⁷ Bruin & Pietersma (2002), pages 52-61.

⁵⁸ Bloys (1909) reported that Joan Gideon Loten was born in Utrecht May 16th, 1711. Van Houten (1906, page 170) correctly wrote that he was born May 16th, 1710, at Schadeshoeve.

⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1374: Extract of the register of baptism of Blauwkapel, 1710, translated into English:
Extract

L.S.

According to the Register of baptism of the Church at Blauwcapel is christened there Jan Gideon son of Mr Joan Carel Loten secretarij of the Lekkendijk and Arnoldina Maria Aerssen van Juchen, the 18th daij of Maij 1710.

Done at Blauwcapel the 7th daij of March 1765

Signed Henr. De Roo pastor thither

These faithfullij translated and collated with the afore said authentick extract writ in the Dutch language was found to be agreed bij me undersigned at Utrecht this 11th daij of March 1765.

Cornelis de Wijs

Not.ij 1765.’

⁶⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joseph Loten. Wijk bij Duurstede 15 December 1710.

⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 156. Drawing, probably by Monsieur Hiltrop, of tombstone (circa 1785) on chancel of church at Renoy of ‘Jonkheer Diderick Jan Baron de Ruijter Heer tot Renoy Heemraad des Lingen dijkstoels oud LXXIX Jaer’, who deceased in 1780. The note by Loten reads: ‘deze Heer was meene ‘k apparent mijn schoolmakker te Wijk’.

⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Annotation London 7 March 1779.

⁶³ Loten referred to a prayer in *Christelijke gebeden, voor ieder dag der weeke, en op byzondere tijden en voorvallen gepast. De Fransche van B. Pictet in Nederduits naargevolgt, en met zangen verrijkt. Waar agter gevoegt is een schriftuurlijke keeten van aaneengeschakelde waarheid voor de kinderen*, published in Amsterdam in 1718 by Daniël. Willink.

Benedictus Pictet (1655-1724), Swiss Reformed theologian. He travelled throughout France, the Netherlands and England at the age of 20. He graduated in Leiden University. After returning home he became preacher in Geneva. In 1686 he succeeded his uncle as professor of Theology. His works were published in Dutch translations.

⁶⁴ Loten’s reference to ‘Kelderman’ probably is to *Eerste melk voor suygelingen, in verstand en jaren; met de uytgedrukte schriftuurplaatsen, vermeerderd, en, naar kerkenorder, afsonderlyk uytgegeven*, a treatise of 45 pages with questions and answers for children about the Reformed doctrine written by the ‘blessing seeking’ preacher, Johan Reynier Kelderman (1672-1743).

‘De Wits’ refers to Hermanus Witsius (1636-1708), a Reformed minister and professor of Theology first in Franeker and later in Utrecht and Leiden. Loten possibly read the Dutch translation of his *Exercitationes Sacrae in Symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur et in rationem Dominicam* (1689), ‘exercises’ about the confession of Apostolic faith and the the Lord’s Prayer, which he prepared for his students at Franeker.

‘D’Outrein’ refers to the Dordrecht preacher Johannes d’Outrein (1662-1722), who was characterised by Jonathan Israel as a prominent follower of Cocceius’s allegorical and typological approach of the text of the Holy Scripture, who combined that with support for Further Reformation and austerity in matters of life-style. He wrote several tracts for confirmation classes.

See: J. van Genderen (1986). Herman Witsius (1636-1708), in: *De Nadere Reformatie. Beschrijving van haar voornaamste vertegenwoordigers*, T. Brienen ... [et al.], ‘s-Gravenhage, Boekencentrum, pages 193-218; L.F. Groenendijk (1980), Een Coccejaan als praktizijn: Johannes d’Outrein. *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 4, pages 109-117; Israel (1995), page 668.

⁶⁵ Loten referred to Luke who in the *Book of Acts* quoted the apostle Paul’s assessment that David was a man after God’s own heart. ‘God,’ wrote Paul, ‘raised up for them David as king, to whom also He gave testimony and said, “I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after My own heart, who will do all My will” ’ (*Book of Acts* 13: 22).

⁶⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. Reference to 2 *Samuel* 3: 28-31: *David chides Joab for killing Abner* (2 *Samuel* 2).

⁶⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. Reference to 2 *Kings* 2:22-24.

‘So the water has been wholesome to this day, according to the word which Elisha spoke. He went up from there to Bethel; and while he was going up on the way, some small boys came out of the city and jeered at him, saying, «Go up, you baldhead! Go up, you baldhead!» and he turned around, and when he saw them, he cursed them in the name of The Lord. And two she-bears came out of the woods and tore forty-two of the boys’.

⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joan Carel Loten. Wijck 27 July 1717. In the Indies Joseph Loten married twice: in 1713 at Bengal Alberta Pieraerd (*d.* 1716) and in 1720 at Batavia Abigaël Tant, widow of Joan van der Niepoort, former secretary of the High Government of the Indies. She died in 1721 between Batavia and Cape of Good Hope during the return voyage to Patria.

⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 March 1762. Dr. Aegidius Schutter was from 1684 until his death in 1724 one of the two clergymen of the Wijk bij Duurstede Dutch Reformed church. The ‘prollen’ referred to in the quote above was a thick mixture of bread, apples or potatoes and milk to which nutmeg was added.

⁷⁰ Helena Aerssen van Juchen (1673-1736) married at Blauwkapel in 1709 Cornelis van Sandick (1655-1740), notary at Wijk bij Duurstede since 1692, apothecary 1694, burgomaster Wijk bij Duurstede 1717-1719, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1728, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1734.

⁷¹ Cortenraede (1983), page 80-81. See also NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 inv 1717.

⁷² Sybilla Helena Severyn married Ysbrand George Bruyn (*d.* 1745), a mayor of Wijk bij Duurstede and ‘ontfanger van den domainen tol te Wyk by Duurstede’. She was a daughter of Alida Theodora Aerssen van Juchen, sister of Loten’s mother, and Otto Jacobus Severyn. In a letter to his brother from London, dated 25 August 1780, Loten referred to her as ‘Niece vander Bil’ (HUA. GC 750 nr 1428).

⁷³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Fulham 7 January 1778. The reference is to the still existing tan-mill on the Leuterpoort at Wijk bij Duurstede that was built in 1659.

⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 1774. Apparently the postman suffered under the burden of a large family.

⁷⁵ In his last will Loten bequathed 500 guilders to the deacons of Dutch Reformed church at Utrecht. See Prob 11/1179, Codicil of October 9, 1780.

⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his brother-in-law Joan Boudaen at Middelburg. Wijk bij Duurstede 7 July 1715.

⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joan Carel Loten. Wijk 19 January 1719.

⁷⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joan Carel Loten. Wijk 19 January 1719.

⁷⁹ In 1705 the city of Utrecht had appointed Lodewijk van Ommeren (*d.* 1724) as the chief-bailiff of Wijk bij Duurstede, without consulting the local regents (Cortenraede, 1983, page 76). In the 1720’s Lodewijk van Ommeren became a councillor of the city of Utrecht and moved to the Heerenstraat in that city. Mrs A.J. van Ommeren was a friend of the Loten family. According to letters in the HUA Huis Amerongen archive as a widow she regularly visited together with Joan Carel Loten and his wife the relatives of the Loten family at Wijk bij Duurstede. See HUA.NA inv.nr. U110a11, aktenr. 20, d.d. 20-04-1720 and inv.nr. U110a12, aktenr. 80, d.d. 31-07-1724; HUA Huis Amerongen 1001 nr 3334. Letters A.J. van der Schuer, widow Van Ommeren to Henrietta van Nassau. Letters Utrecht 16 June 1736; 7 June 1738.

⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Letterbook 1697-1724. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joan Carel Loten. Wijk 22 January 1720.

⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Letterbook 1697-1724. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son Joan Carel Loten. Wijk 26 January 1720

⁸² In 1852 the great-granddaughter of his brother Arnout, Arnoudina Johanna Carolina Loten van Doelen and her husband Jacob Anne Grothe came to live at Voordaan (HUA GC 750 nr 500).

⁸³ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780. In August 1780 Arnout Loten suggested that Joan Gideon would buy the country-seat. Loten rejected the suggestion, because he found it to difficult to reach. The estate Voordaan at Groenekan was sold in 1774 by Lidia Boddens, widow of Jacob de Joncheere, to Abraham Calkoen (HUA.NA U230a12 aknr 121 dd 8-11-1774).

⁸⁴ In 1740 Director-General Jean Paul Schaghen was involved in the scandal about the deportation of Chinese from Batavia. Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff (1705-1750) accused Governor-General Adriaan Valckenier to be responsible for the treatment of the Chinese. It was rumoured that they were thrown overboard during their deportation. This led to the arrest of Van Imhoff in 1740 and his deportation to Holland. There he convinced the Directors of the Company that the Governor-General Adriaan Valckenier was responsible. Van Imhoff returned to Batavia as Governor-General in 1743, Valckenier resigned as Governor-General in 1741 and died in 1751 in prison. Schaghen

lost his position as Director-General and returned to Patria. In the Tilburg University Library (TUL.TF-Hs 75) there is a letter written 2 March 1737 by J.P. Schaghen to his 'cousin' Loten, in which he announced that Nicolaas Crul was appointed as Commander of Java's East-coast.

⁸⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

⁸⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Fulham 7 January 1778.

⁸⁷ Loten's father Joan Carel Loten bought the house on September 8th, 1738 from Christina van Mansveld, widow of Rudolph van Nellesteijn, who had been a clergyman at Montfoort.

⁸⁸ HUA.GC.750 nr 1393, page 3, annotation circa 1779. Helmond Municipal Archive, Van der Bruggen collection inv. 767. Letter by Joan Gideon Loten 'Fulham by London 31. Aug. 1779' to 'Mr Cornelis de Wijs, Drossard der Hooge Heerlijkheden Zuijlesteyn en Leersum &c/ &c', who had been married to his aunt Constantia Maria Loten.

Bidde in beschikking voor deeze nieuwsgierigheid in 't huis waar UWELED. hebt gewoond op de hoek der Domsteeg, was ik dagelyks al voor 1720 in eene agterkamer op voorm: straat uitzierende de schoorsteen was tusschen de raamen en boven dezelve een borststuk schildery van een nog jeugdige heer in't harnasch, dit behoorde aan myne drie er toen woonende Oud tantes Josina, Cornelia en Maria Schade (zusters myner grootmoeder Aemilia) het was d'orige. schildery van laatsten Gr. Van Brederode, en door zyne Exc. gegeven aan deeze oude juffrouwen Vader Gasper Schade (qui obiit 1692) hoe dat als eene fixture kan gebleeven zyn kan ik niet begrypen en ik ben onkundig van: tegewoordige eigenaar – gem. president Schade werd altoos behandeld als een vriend wegens gemelde Heere en de 3 genoemde Juffrouwen als by eigenhandige brieven gezien hebbe logeerden nu en dan op Batesstein te Vianen: het zoude jammer zijn dit authentique portrait uit de waereld raakte – maar wat komt mij niet al uit hoofd.

⁸⁹ The reference is to Wolfert eighteenth Count of Brederode (1649-1679). The portrait is described as:

hy heeft daar zyn donker bruin eigen hair zo mij voorstaat, kante doch niet lang hangende das opgestrikt met een klein lint; het komt tot omtrent of onder de hert-kuil zonder handen doch is in't cuirass, echter bloodshoofd's en zonder helm, en als my 't coloriet herinnere ben ik niet vreemd het geschilderd te zyn door Johan de Baarn.

Mrs K. Schaffers-Bodenhausen (Iconografisch Bureau/ RKD, The Hague) informed me (February, 3, 2005) that in the town hall of the city of Vianen there is a portrait of a young man in cuirass (knee-piece), which possibly represents Johan Wolfert van Brederode. The painting was probably executed in the workplace of J.A. Ravesteyn. Raadhuis Vianen inv. Nr 1262. A genealogical tree of the Noble Brederode family, evidently from Loten's possession, is in HUA 750 nr 160.

A short sketch of the last Brederode was presented by Koenhein & Heniger. They described him as a vain and arrogant person, who enjoyed the favours of Stadholder Willem III. See A.J.M. Koenhein & J. Heniger (1999), In opbloey neergetogen: in *Johan Wolfert van Brederode 1599-1655, een Hollands Edelman tussen Nassau en Oranje*, pages 9-47, Historische Vereniging Land van Brederode, Vianen, pages 38-39.

⁹⁰ HUA Stedelijk Gymnasium 713-10 no 29-1:

Matricula continens Nomina discipulorum Scholae Hieronijmianae, apud Trajectinos ad Rhenum, A quo tempore, Ex auctoritate, Nobilissimum Amplissimorum qu Cobbe, & senatorum Scholero ad delphenies evocato,

Arntzenius Gijmnasii Rector

Constitutus est Anno restitutae salutis M.DCC.XX

Entry on page 5 :

'1720 Deunde accesserunt ex trajectimus abisque, Meuse martio, Johannes Gideon Looten?.

Henricus Arntsenius was *rector* of the Hieronimus School from 1720-1728.

⁹¹ See A. Ekker (1864). *De Hieronymusschool te Utrecht. 2de gedeelte, van 1636-1849*. Utrecht L.E. Bosch en zoon.

⁹² Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, Archief familie Sweers inv. 319, number 25.

⁹³ HUA Stedelijk Gymnasium 713-10 no 29-1. Mr Frits van Dulm supplied the biographical information of the Falck brothers (e-mail 15 November 2007):

Mr. Frans Willem Falck (1710-Matara 1737), became a merchant and prosecuter at Colombo, he died as a dessave of Matara. Anton Reinhart Falck (1712-Roccoux 1746), became an officer and perished during Austrian war of succession. George Tammo Falck (1714-1793), Lord of Sandbergen (acquired this country seat after his return from the Dutch Indies). His daughter Margaretha Geertruida Falck (1761-1843) married Loten's grandson Joan Carel Gideon van der Bruggen in October 1782.

⁹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept-letter Joan Loten to his son A. Loten. Wijk bij Duurstede 7 December 1722.

⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept-letter Joan Loten to his son A. Loten. Wijk bij Duurstede 12 November 1723. Rodolphus Leusden (1671-1764), professor medicinae at the Heerestraat in Utrecht.

⁹⁶ HUA.NA U141a2, aktenr. 129, d.d. 02-12-1724. Mr. Jacob Noirot married Agnes Schade van Westrum, the sister of Loten's mother.

⁹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1386. Entry 17 August 1763.

At Dyon I saw passing by one Mr Streso who had been an officer in the Dutch service & taken prisoner of war here about 1747 &c. Married here & remained since, if I remember right, he is a son the late worthy protestant minister Streso at Amsterdam, tho's he himself is turned a zealous man. I believe I was together with him studying at Utrecht University ao 1726.

The reference is to a son of Reverend Clemens Streso (1655-1718), from 1699 until his death Dutch Reformed preacher at Amsterdam. The name 'Streso' is not mentioned in the Utrecht *Album Promotorum*.

⁹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 March 1771. Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll van Serooskerken, Lord of Vleuten, Heeze and Leende (1710-1762). He died December 18, 1762. Jan Maximiliaan was general-major of the Cavalry. 19 January 1763 Loten wrote to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek (HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558):

Je regrette beaucoup le seigneur de Hees en Leen, il avoit bien des bonnes qualitez & point de mauvaises, & ce qui me rends encore plus interessé dans cette perte, c'est qu'il m'a des mon enfance honoré de son amitié.

In the Helmond Municipal Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 762 there is a letter by Tuyll who congratulates Loten with his appointment as councillor extraordinary of the East Indies. He reported that he received a commission to meet the Russian corps of auxiliary troops and that after that he suffered from a long and dangerous illness. He further reports about the good health of Loten's father.

⁹⁹ Arnout Loten mentioned Petrus van Musschenbroek in a letter to his brother as 'your old teacher'. HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 December 1756. See Royal Society EC/1760/09 and EC/1760/10. Petrus van Musschenbroek wrote to Dr. M. Maty, secretary of the Royal Society, April 6, 1760, a recommendation to support Loten's election as a Fellow of the Society. See Chapter 14, paragraph Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS).

¹⁰⁰ See C. de Pater (1979); M. Rooseboom (1970).

From manuscripts in the Leiden University library it is evident that in Utrecht Van Musschenbroek lectured on reproduction of animals (undated), on insects (1735), and 'De anima brutorum' (1724). In 1724 he also gave a course 'De vegetatione plantarum'.

¹⁰¹ HUA.NA U139a17 nr 189, d.d. 18 July 1730. In the notary act Joan Carel Loten authorised his son Joan Gideon Loten, 'clerck VOC ter kamer Amsterdam' to accept the legacy of his friend Otto La Porte de Morselede (1709-1729). In HUA.GC 750 nr 172 there is a document in Loten's handwriting with genealogical notes on the family La Porte de Morselede. In this document Loten writes about his friend:

Otto de Laporte de Morselede ☹ [deceased] ætats 20, 5e decemb: 1729. ongehuwd, na een siekte van 11 dagen aan de rode loop is kinderpokjes in s-Hage.

¹⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 October 1770. A reference to Mr. J. Lommers is in a letter Loten wrote to his parents Colombo 9 November 1755 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1379). Jacob Lommers produced, towards the middle of the eighteenth century (circa 1730-1760) various physical instruments (Daumas, 1972 page 252).

¹⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 February 1763.

¹⁰⁴ Watercolour of the castle of Wijk bij Duurstede, in the background the outline of the town and the Dutch Reformed Church (37.5 x 29.8 cm within frame 36.7 x 28.0 cm), signed in ink 'J.G. Loten ad vivum delineavit 1727'. Het Utrechts Archief Beeldcollectie nr 206294.

An eight line verse was written underneath the drawing, in which Loten regretted the abatement of the former proud Castle of Wijk bij Duurstede, whose former glory received a renewed shape in his drawing.

Dus praelden Eeuwen heen mijn hoogh verheeven Muuren
Voll Luijsters en mijn Naem voorspelde mij een Duuren;
Maer mijn gesloopte dack en Torens, Wall en Gracht,
Door sien hoe jdel men hier iets Duursaems wacht;

Een Staets-verandering en droevig overromp'le
Begon en Jalousij volstrekt mijn glans te domp'le
In puijn: soo dat niet ick, maar sleghs mijn Naem thans leeft
In 't tweede wesen, 't geen 't geteken mij hier geeft.

The verse was taken from a watercolour that Loten saw according to his recollection, 'since 1716, 1716 in the house of my Grandfather Mr J. Loten at Wijk'. The drawing was signed 'F. Steenhoven Fecit 16..', Loten thought that it was made in 1683 or 1685.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1396.

¹⁰⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. Jan van Huysum's workshop was in Amsterdam.

See S. Segal, M. Ellens & J. Diks (2006). *Jan van Huysum (1682-1749) De verleiding van Flora*. Waanders.

In an undated annotation (circa 1775) in one of his notebooks (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404) he wrote 'of nog leefd dHr P^r de Jager in de Hout-tuynen? & mijn tekenmeester v. Huijsum?'

¹⁰⁶ Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. Letter J.G. Loten to R.M. van Goens. London 5 November 1778. Arnoldus Drakenborch (1684-1748), Dutch classical scholar, and since 1716 professor at the Utrecht University. His edition of Livy (1738-1746, and subsequent editions) is his major work. Loten referred to Drakenborch's genealogical activities. He studied the genealogical collection of the Atteveld family (HUA Atteveld collection 324). Before his departure to Batavia in 1732, Loten copied parts of the Atteveld manuscripts, at that time in the possession of the secretary of Utrecht Everard van Wachendorf (HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Letter J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1754). Drakenborch's registers of arms collected by Atteveld are in the Utrechts Archief: *Register van Wapenen beginnende 1623. Bij een versameld door Atteveld* (HUA, GAU Bibliotheek, IX G 7 [1], p. 63-132); *Verscheyde Quartieren door Atteveld versamelt* (HUA, GAU Bibliotheek, IX G 7 [2], p. 133-142).

According to an annotation in the almanac, which Loten used in 1788 as his notebook, on 7 February 1785 he loaned to G.A. Taets van Amerongen, Lord of Schalkwijk, the manuscript that he had written down in 1727, with 'excerpta' of the 'antiquities of these countries' from the lessons of professor Drakenborch. (Helmond Archief Van der Brugghen van Croy nr 776).

¹⁰⁷ From circa 1725 Loten made drawings of the family escutcheons, many of these are now preserved in the collections of the Eindhoven Van der Brugghen van Croy Archive and the Utrecht Grothe Archive.

¹⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 150. This is Loten's genealogical notebook from 1730 and 1731, with also many entries about epitaphs and coats of arms in churches in Utrecht Wijk bij Duurstede, Rhenen, Rijswijk, Veenendaal. August 7th 1731 he and his father visited the Church of Culemborg.

¹⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 156. A large series of drawings with annotations in Loten's hand.

¹¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1384. See also Chapter 14, paragraph Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS).

¹¹¹ Bruin & Pietersma (2002), pages 52-61; Dijk & D.J. Roorda (1971), pages 306-328; Dijk & D.J. Roorda (1978), pages 76-103.

¹¹² For the social position of the officers of the Amsterdam Admiralty and their income see Bruijn (1970) pages 104-122.

¹¹³ According to Lytton Strachey:

"To be in the Church was in fact simply to pursue one of those professions which Nature and Society had decided were proper to gentlemen and gentlemen alone".

Lytton Strachey (1918), 'Cardinal Manning' in *Eminent Victorians*, quoted from the Penguin Modern Classics edition (1974), page 19.

¹¹⁴ Article 2 of Church order drawn up in the National Synod and accepted as a concord of ecclesiastic community by the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands.

¹¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. Manuscript with genealogical notes about his ancestors, undated, probably 1770s.

¹¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 151.

¹¹⁷ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, April 24, 1769.

Nieuhoff was an observant traveller who gave an accurate account of the glimpses he had of the Celestial Empire. The work had met with a large response and was translated into both French and English.

¹¹⁸ See Fry (1970), page 2. The reference is probably to the 1704 English translation of Nieuhoff's *Embassy*, volume II of the *Collection of voyages and travels* edited by Awnsham & John Churchill.

In 1774 Loten made an annotation in his *Bell's Common-place-book* indicating that he loaned several books to Dalrymple:

1e March or there about to Mr A. Dalrymple:

Nieuhof's Land & Sea Voyage, his China Embassy, both the best Dutch impression, Folio & Baldeus description of Malabar, Ceylon &c folio. Voogt's voyage in the arion to Japan and others.

See HUA.GC. 750 nr 1404.

The reference to Baldaeus and Voogt is to:

Baldaeus, Ph., *Naauwkeurige beschrijvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende rijken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon*, 3 volumes, Amsterdam 1672.

Abraham Bogaert. *De droevige schipbreuk van het Fluitschip den Arion op de reizge uit Japan naer Batavia. Mitsgaders de rampzalige gevangenis en omvoering der schipbreukelingen in Couchin-china, nevens een naauwkeurig bericht van dat koningryk, en de aart dier volken. Ontworpen uit de schriften van den Heer Gerrit Voogt, en Schipper Isaak de Winter*. The book was published in 1723 in Amsterdam.

¹¹⁹ See besides Bloys (1909); Van den Bosch (1897), page 78; De Vos (1908), pages 264-265.

¹²⁰ The appointment of Joseph Loten as a junior merchant of the VOC was due to protection of his uncle Boudaen Courten in Middelburg. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1398: Letter Joan Loten, Wijk bij Duurstede 21 October 1700 to his brother in law, Henry d'Utenhove, Lord of Amelisweert. According to the letter book in December 1701 and January 1702 his father, mother, brother and sister were at Middelburg to say farewell to Joseph Loten

¹²¹ See Gaastra (1986), pages 92-108 and Gaastra (2002), pages 95-97. The prosecutor was subordinated to the directors of the Company ['Heren XVII'] in Amsterdam and not to the councillors of the High Government ['Hoge Tafel'] at Batavia

¹²² Gaastra (1986), page 100.

¹²³ At his decease in 1730 Joseph Loten's capital was about 200,000 guilders. According to the inventory of the legacy of Joseph Loten (HUA.GC 750 nr 1364) Constantia Johanna inherited in 1730 from her father 151,000 guilders. Joseph's wife Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten received 50,000 guilders, in agreement with the conditions in their 1723 marriage settlement (HUA.GC 750 nr 1362).

The total income of Joseph Loten during his 19-year VOC service in the Dutch East Indies amounted to 18,079 guilders, so his capital was mainly gained by private trading. See NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 inv 12691 *Scheepssoldijboek Oosterstein*. Joseph Loten from Amsterdam is under nrs 139 and 294.

¹²⁴ The value of the cargo of the Return Fleet was mentioned by Valentijn (1726) in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, volume V, page 177.

¹²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son J.C. Loten. Wijk bij Duurstede 15 July 1721.

¹²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1328. Concept letter Joan Loten to his son J.C. Loten at Middelburg. Wijk bij Duurstede 28 August 1721.

¹²⁷ Joseph Loten remained some time in Zeeland to settle his affairs with the VOC. In January 1722 he still was at the 'Vlaschmarkt' in Middelburg. His sister Constantia Maria Loten was at that time with her brother.

¹²⁸ HUA.NA inv.nr. U132a5, aktenr. 85, d.d. 05-08-1724. Notary A. van Meerwyk, Utrecht.

¹²⁹ Since the Reformation the ecclesiastical positions of the former Roman Catholic churches and convents, such as canonships and deanships, had been transferred to civil possession.

¹³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1780. The medal with the coat of arms of the Riebeeck family was probably the medal in memory of Abraham van Riebeeck (1653-1713), governor-general of the VOC (1708-1713) during Joseph Loten's stay in the Dutch East Indies.

¹³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1780. In the Utrecht Grothe Archive there is an eighteenth-century map of the Beemster polder, probably from the collection of Joan Gideon Loten (HUA.GC 750 nr 1390).

¹³² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 16 November 1760.

¹³³ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. van Goens. London 29 May 1778 and 5 November 1778. Loten's great-grandfather Gasper Schade (1623-1692) married Cornelia Strick van Linschoten (1628-1703). Her brother Johan Strick van Linschoten (1625-1688) was the grandfather of Loten's friend Mr Johan Hendrik Strick van Linschoten (1687-1759).

¹³⁴ Daniel Bernard Guilliams (1676-1761), or Wilemszoon. Wijnaendts van Resandt (1944), page 106.

¹³⁵ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. van Goens. London 5 November 1778.

¹³⁶ He returned in the ship *Elisabeth*, master Kornelis de Geus. DAS 6368.1. In 1724 Daniel Bernard bought the manor Nieuw-Hellevoet.

¹³⁷ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 253 Resoluties Kamer Amsterdam, Monday 23 February 1728.

De Heeren van de reekenkamer bij resolutie van den 16^e deeses maands gequalificeert sijnde geweest om een bequaam persoon aan de vergaderinge voor te dragen, in plaatse van Jan Borghorst, clerq geweest sijnde in 't schrijff comptoir deeses kamers en op den 7^e deeses maands overleeden, hebben ten dien eijnde aan de vergadering voorgedragen Jan Gideon Loten: Waarop gedelibreert sijnde so is goet gevonden en geresolveert gem. Jan Gideon Loten bij deese aan te stellen tot clerq in 't schrijff comptoir deeses kamers op een tractement van f 350 's jaars ingaande maand Maart aanstaande.

¹³⁸ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 254 Resoluties Kamer Amsterdam, Thursday 13 January 1729.

¹³⁹ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 254 Resoluties Kamer Amsterdam, Thursday 19 April 1731:

Is ter vergaderinge binnen gestaan Jan Gidion Loten de Compagnie omtrent twee jaren als clerq in't schrijf cantoor gedient hebbende, versoekende sijne demissie van bovengemelde bedieninge door de vergaderinge te mogen erlangen; waar op gedelibreert sijnde, so is goet gevonden en geresolveert, om aan gemelde Jan Gidion Loten sijn gedaen versoek bij deese toe te staan, en hem in die maniere uijt den dienst van de Compagnie te ontslaan.

¹⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Memoir of a Colonel Herbert de Munster, a former lieutenant-governor of fort St. Philip in Minorca.

¹⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780; 17 November 1780. Loten remembered that he often dined with the Van Beke family, where he met an unmarried daughter, 'about 25 years, who was always present'. Arnout Loten identified her as Mrs Goeddeus.

¹⁴² The committee, which was composed of four directors from Amsterdam, two from Zeeland and one from each of the smaller chambers, met in The Hague and was known as the 'Haags Besogne'.

¹⁴³ In the Loten papers of the The Hague Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie there is a handwritten copy from an extract from the Utrecht municipal report ('vroedschapsnotulen'). The undated [probably from 1730] extract reads:

Gehoort het rapport van de heer Hooftman van 't quartier op de requeste van Mr Jan Carel Loten, secretaris van den Lekkendijk Benedendams, te kennen gevende, dat zijn zoon Joan Gideon Loten bekomen hebbende een klerksplaatse in dienst van de Oostindische Compagnie ter kamere Amsterdam, aldaar genootzaekt is zich op te houden, doch ten huize van hem suppliant bleeft houden vuer en licht, verzoekende des Vroedschaps favorable declaratoir tot continuatie van dezer stadts burgerschap voor voornoemden zoon; waerop gedelibereert zijnde verklaert de Vroedschap bij deze, dat des suppliants zoon bovengemeldt, niettegenstaende zijne absentie en functie voorgemeldt tot Amsterdam, is en blijft burger dezer stad; alles mits blijvende subject zodanig lasten en contributie als andere buitenwonende burgers verplicht zijn off namaels verstaen mochten worden, tot conservatie van haer burgerrecht te moeten contribuieren.

In October 1762 Loten's citizenship of Utrecht was again confirmed. Arnout Loten wrote his brother (HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. 15 October 1762):

De conservatie van Uwgb. Borgerregt alhier is bezorgd; de Resol[utie] dien aangaande luid als volgd: fiat insertio.

¹⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 166. Description of the Van der Weijden family in Wijk bij Duurstede.

¹⁴⁵ On December 17th 1720 Balthasar Boreel (1673-1744) married Apollonia Rendorp (1682-1757). She was a daughter of Herman Rendorp (1647-1724), who married Maria Loten (1652-1700), the sister of Joan Loten, grandfather of Joan Gideon Loten (Elias, 1905, pages 759 and 454). Balthasar Boreel's sister Isabella Sophia Boreel (1677-1728), was the mother of Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff (1705-1750), who became governor-general of the Dutch East Indies. In the Loten archive of the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie in The Hague there is a letter written by Loten from Colombo, January 27th 1755, to Apollonia Rendorp, in which he sends her a present consisting of 'een kleijn kistje met thee, en een pakje met drie p: chitsen' [a small case with tea and a parcel with three p. of chintz]. 'Chits' or 'chindos' is a cotton cloth from India spotted, or printed with flowers and other devices in a number of different colours.

¹⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 150. The Lady of Hoevelaken is Anna Ursulina van Reede (1669-1749) who married Derk Wolter van Lynden (1659-1712). The House Hoevelaken, near Amersfoort, was since 1634 in possession of the Van Lynden family.

¹⁴⁷ Wagenaar, Galjaard, Nierop & Speelman (2007), *Gouverneur Van Imhoff op dienstreis in 1739*, pages 23-25.

¹⁴⁸ 'A. Loten Trajectinus' is mentioned in 1739 in the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae 1636-1886*. J.L. Beijers & J van Boekhoven. Utrecht 1886.

¹⁴⁹ Helmond Archive van der Bruggen van Croy nr 756. Letters A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten and his wife A.H. Loten van Beaumont, Utrecht 26 May 1745; Utrecht 9 November 1749; Utrecht 17 March 1750. HMA.BC nr 757. Letters J.C. Loten and A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten and his wife. Utrecht 14 May 1749; Utrecht 4 September 1749; Utrecht 10 November 1749. Abraham Boudaen (1688-1745) was the son of Johan Boudaen Courten and Anna Maria Hoeyff (sister of Loten's grandmother), he represented the chamber of Zeeland in the board of directors of the VOC.

¹⁵⁰ HUA Family Taets van Amerongen van Natewisch 23 nr 181. Letter A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten Utrecht 20 September 1746.

¹⁵¹ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. Letter J.C. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 9 November 1746. See also Raat (2004) for transcription of the letter.

¹⁵² See Schama (1977), page 75.

¹⁵³ See Bruin & Pietersma (2002), pages 57-65.

¹⁵⁴ HUA. Huis Amerongen 1001 nr 3334. Joan Carel Loten to Henriëtte van Nassau-Zuylenstein. Utrecht 13 September 1748. Henriëtte van Nassau-Zuylenstein the widow of Frederick Christiaan van Reede, second Earl of Athlone (1688-1719). J.C Loten asked her to promote his son to the Stadholder, Willem IV, as a councillor of the city of Utrecht.

¹⁵⁵ The Resolution of Arnout Loten's appointment was signed by Stadholder Prince Willem IV, The Hague 3 April 1749.

¹⁵⁶ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 756. A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 May 1749. For Johan Daniël d'Ablaing van Giessenburg (1703-1775) see Gabriëls (1990), pages 248-250.

¹⁵⁷ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 756. A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 9 November 1749.

¹⁵⁸ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 756. A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 17 March 1750.

¹⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letters A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten and to his niece Kronenburg. Utrecht 1 December 1755; 14 October 1759; 14 November 1759.

¹⁶⁰ For Willem Nicolaas Pestors (1717-1794) see Gabriëls (1990), pages 248-258.

¹⁶¹ See Van Hulzen (1966); Schama (1978); *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* 1987.

¹⁶² Even Arnout Loten's colleague regents, as the Earl of Athlone, chief-officer of the city of Utrecht, considered that he was unevenly favoured by Pestere and the Prince-stadholder with 'the best offices and commissions of the town, although there are elder and more able regents who merit these better'. Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume IV, page 521-522, 28 June 1783.

¹⁶³ See Van Hulzen (1966) , pages 290-301.

¹⁶⁴ HUA.GC 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 31 October 1760 and 26 April 1763. See also K (1934). Manenburg. *Oud Utrecht*, pages 90-91.

¹⁶⁵ HUA.GC 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 9 June 1762.

Ik heb twee jaren geleden zelfs ook een nagtegaal gevangen, die wel bij uitnemenheid fraaij heeft gezongen, dog daar mede niet zeer liberaal was; maar dewijl dit vermaak niet kon opwegen de last en moeite om dezelve op te voeden, heb ik liever verkozen dat beestje circa 14 dagen geleden zijne natuurlijke vrijheid weder te geven; 't kan zeer wel zijn dat het vogeltje, 't geen Uwgb. gezien hebt en bij d'Engelsen Robin Rood-borst genoemd word, het zelve is als ons Hollands Roodborstje, dat juist geen aan een geschakelde zang, maar dog een zeer aangenaam fluitje heeft; ik heb dit vogeltje hier nooit in een kooij gezien.

Loten was interested in breeding canaries. He owned F.W. van Wickede's, *Kanari-uitspanningen of nieuwe verhandeling van de Kanari-teelt, den oorsprong, de voortteeling, den kweeking, ziekten. alles wat een liefhebber nodig heeft*. 4th ed. Amsterdam, Steven van Esveldt, 1773. See HUA.Library 6629, number 3766/853, 1789 Auction catalogue Loten's library page 29, number 413.

¹⁶⁶ For Hennert see: H.J.M. Bos (1984). 'Johan Frederik Hennert, wiskundige en filosoof te Utrecht aan het eind der achttiende eeuw'. *Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde, Natuurwetenschappen, Wiskunde en Techniek*. 7 (1), pages 19-32. See also Chapter 28.

¹⁶⁷ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 756. A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 5 August 1750. Message about the birth of daughter Johanna Carolina August 4th 1750. She died several weeks after her birth. In the preceding year Arnout's wife already had two miscarriages. In 1751 Wilhelmina Henrietta Loten was born, she also died in her first year. In 1754 another Wilhelmina Henrietta was born, she died two years later.

¹⁶⁸ *Nederlandsch Archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* (1949), Page 39. Henry Moore (1825). *The life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.: Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, pages 172 and 291.

¹⁶⁹ In 1773 the Stadholder-prince Willem V established a Fund in the province of Utrecht, in which the benefits of the clerical offices that were sold were collected. The Fund was meant to support the fatherless orphans of soldiers. A foundation would be created twenty years afterwards in 1793, to have enough cash money in the Fund to fulfil the aims of the Fund. The foundation was never realised, due to the political situation in the 1780s and 1790s. See Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume II page 353.

¹⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1278. Shortly before his death Mr Arnoud Christiaan Loten van Doelen (1794-1817) made truthfully biographical annotations. See also R.E. de Bruin (1986), pages 211-212.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 2

LOTEN'S VOC-CAREER 1732-1757

1. VOYAGE TO BATAVIA

SEA VOYAGE TO BATAVIA

A new phase of life began for Loten when he departed for Batavia in January 1732. His formative years in Utrecht had come to an end. After his apprenticeship as an ordinary clerk of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC, his influential relatives had enabled him to leave Patria as a junior merchant, a rank that provided prospects for financial gain through private trading. According to a note in one of his numerous genealogical notebooks he ‘received with difficulty permission from his parents to leave for Batavia’, however, he had ‘not [been] able to resist the very compelling desire to visit far away countries’.¹ So he left the Dutch Republic eager to travel to exotic places. This is clear from the *Journal* that he kept during his seven-month voyage to Batavia. The *Journal of my sea voyage from the Texel roadstead to Batavia* is not as exciting a piece of literature as is Nieuhoff’s travel account, Loten’s favourite book of exploration.² This is not surprising, because Loten did not intend to write a travel book. He merely kept a travelogue for his own personal pleasure. The *Journal* is a very factual description of the ship’s progress at sea, alternated with short observations of the weather and descriptions of birds and fish. It is clear from the *Journal* that he had a keen interest in navigational matters.

On December 26th 1731, Loten took leave of his parents and friends in Amsterdam. Two days later he departed from the *Oude Stadherberg*. Balthasar Boreel took him by Company yacht to the fleet anchored at the Texel roadstead. During the passage over the Zuyderzee he shared a cabin with Willem Gideon Deutz and his sister Lady Deutz. Many years afterwards Loten added a remark in his *Journal* saying that he thought that his cousin Deutz was a captain of the Amsterdam Admiralty and later mayor of Amsterdam.³ He may have been mistaken and confused Willem Gideon with his younger brother, captain Gerard Deutz (1699-1759). In any case, Willem Gideon was not an officer in the Amsterdam Navy.⁴ According to Loten, Balthasar Boreel kept his young protégé, ‘two days and two nights on board of the yacht, as long it was possible for him to offer me comfort and pleasure’.⁵ Besides the four ships of the departing East India Fleet, there were three Amsterdam Admiralty vessels at the Texel roadstead. In his *Journal* Loten remarked that his friend Isaac Sweers was on board of the ship, *Ter Meer*, and that it was commanded by his father, captain commander Isaac Sweers: ‘My old friend Mr Isaac Sweers (H. fil., H. nepos) sailed as a passenger with his father to see Italy &c: over land, and returned after a good period, I think over Germany &c. [...] I think I took leave of him in his inn, the house of the Ladies Luidens at the Fluweele Burgwal, on December the 26th 1731. They were famous for their musical virtuosity and skill in playing the harp’.⁶ Loten also mentioned the Amsterdam Admiralty ship, *Leijerdorp*, commanded by Jan Louiſ baron Van Hardenbroek, the father of his future friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek.⁷ The third Admiralty vessel was the *Westerdijksborn*, under the command of Johan Panhuys (1682-1747). The Amsterdam Admiralty was one of the five Admiralties that formed the navy of the Dutch Republic. The Admiralty ships would convoy the East India Fleet through the Channel to the Iberian peninsula and after breaking up, continue their course to the Mediterranean Sea.

On Friday January 4th 1732, four of the ships of the East Indies Fleet – the *Beekvliet*, *Westerdijksborn*, *Adrichem* and *Gaasperdam* – lifted their anchors and were piloted to sea by the galleon *Haring*, under the command of master Joris Brand. Junior merchant Loten was on board of the *Beekvliet* under the command of master Lucas Hardenbroek. There were 243 people and 28 cannons on board the ship.⁸ Loten’s father, Joan Carel Loten, entered a short businesslike remark into his notebook: ‘1732 The 4th Janua[ry] my son Joan Gideon Loten departed as a junior merchant of the Dutch chartered East India Company with the ship named Beekvliet from Texel to sea, the master is called Lucas Hardenbroek’.⁹ In later years however, his father called the 4th of January 1732 the ‘anniversary of our bitter separation’, which illustrates his sincere parental emotions.¹⁰ On January 6th, the ships passed Calais and Dover and Loten made a sketch of the coastal profile; unfortunately this sketch has been lost. The *Beekvliet* arrived at the Downs on January 11th 1732, where the ship saluted the English flag at Deal castle. In the afternoon, Loten saw the English merchant Henry Alexander Primrose, agent of the Dutch East Indies Company at Deal. In his *Journal* of January 13th, Loten reported paying a visit to Deal castle, Walmore castle, Sandowne castle and other English fortifications along the Channel coast. Later that day the ships left the Downs.¹¹ In his notebook Joan Carel Loten also mentioned the arrival of the ships at Deal: ‘[T]he 21st Janua[ry] [...] I received a letter from cousin Boreel which included one from my son J.G. Loten, written

in Deale and Downs on January 12th, informing us that he was put into that port because of headwind, and that because the wind changed again to the East, he would embark again to sail again the next day'.¹²

On February 1st 1732, after stormy weather the *Beekvliet* lost sight of the *Westerdijkshorn* and the *Gaasperdam*. The voyage to the Cape was continued together with the ship *Adrichem*. On February 12th, the ships passed the Canaries and on February 16th they crossed the Tropic of Cancer. In the night of February 20th, the *Beekvliet* got ahead of the Cape Verde Islands. The Equator was crossed on March 6th. Nine days later, the Albrohos-reefs, well over 100 nautical miles from the Brazilian coast and a dangerous passage for sailing ships, were left behind. From that day on, the course of the ships shifted in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope. After a month the coast of Africa came into sight. On April 24th 1732, the *Beekvliet* and *Adrichem* arrived at Table Bay. The *Gaasperdam* turned up four days later and on May 1st 1732, the *Westerdijkshorn* finally reached the Cape. All Dutch East Indiamen called at the Cape for rest and recreation for their crew, refreshments and provisions, and repairs to the ships.

In his *Journal*, Loten wrote a note about the *Westkapelle*, a ship of the Zeeland chamber that had departed from the Rammelkens roadstead in January 1732 and arrived at the Cape on the same day as the *Beekvliet*. 'Westkapel was a new, beautiful well-built spacious ship [...] onto this ship was fastened a new instrument, which as I was told could mathematically determine the position of the ship by indicating the drift down and drift off. However, it did not indicate the drift off because at the start of the voyage, it became unfit for use. Here it cannot be repaired. So, after the proper repair of the instrument at Batavia, time will tell its usefulness for Navigation at sea [inserted by Loten: 'there were two observers, I believe Van Der Mast (Father and Son), to try out the handling of the newly invented instrument?']'.¹³ Loten referred to Jasper Van Der Mast and his companion Leendert Vermase, or Vermaas. The latter was a sailor from Oud-Beijerland; Van Der Mast was a miller from Dordrecht. They were both men of simple birth and 'spoke timidly and were not used to contact with respectable people'.¹⁴ Van Der Mast and Vermase had invented a mechanical instrument to keep track of the location of a ship at sea. In 1731, the Zeeland chamber had given them permission to test the instrument during the *Westkapelle's* voyage to Batavia. If the instrument had proved to provide accurate measurements, the inventors could expect a reward of 12,000 guilders.¹⁵ However, the instrument proved to be unreliable, mainly due to corrosion. In 1734, Vermase was given permission to conduct a second experiment on the ship *Huis te Rensburg*; two years before his companion, Van Der Mast, had died on board of the *Westkapelle* between the Cape and Batavia. The results of Vermase's measurements of the ship's position during the voyage to the Cape and the islands of St Paul and Amsterdam were compatible with the results of conventional measuring methods. However, measurements taken of the last part of the journey showed differences between the two methods. In December 1735, a committee of the Company chaired by the future governor-general Gustaaf baron Van Imhoff concluded that the method was not reliable enough for use in navigating the Company's vessels and it considered further experimentation pointless. The Council of the Dutch Indies agreed with the conclusions.

Loten's made notes in his travelogue about the thirty Dutch, English and Danish ships at Table Bay which give an indication of the size of the eighteenth-century traffic between Europe and Asia.¹⁶ Loten was kindly received by governor Jean de la Fontaine, who invited him to be his guest while stopping at the Cape.¹⁷ The invitation must have been the result of an introduction by one of Loten's relatives or acquaintances. During his four-week stay at the Cape, Loten saw a zebra; in his notebook he says: 'I [had] the pleasure to see a fine donkey whose skin was composed of white and black stripes, 3 fingers broad, and very orderly and artistically arranged'.¹⁸ He visited the Company's garden near Table Mountain and viewed the fortifications. Loten's brief notes do not give us details about any of his other activities.

On May 18th 1732, the *Beekvliet* sailed from Table Bay together with nine other ships, all of which headed towards Batavia. Loten made a sketch of Table Bay. In 1780, the drawing was engraved and published by the British hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple.¹⁹ The ships took a course near 40 degrees south latitude to profit from western winds and sea currents. Due to the bad weather in this part of the Indian Ocean, they soon lost sight of each other. In the weeks that followed the *Beekvliet* was troubled by stormy weather. On June 17th 1732, near the islands San Paulo and Amsterdam, a storm shattered the topsail of the ship. The next day the foremast and foresail were smashed to pieces and the mast of the ship broke down but was not lost and all of the cattle on board drowned. Miraculously Loten escaped death even though his cabin was destroyed by water. On June 6th 1780, he still remembered his 'singular preservation' and thanked God for his escape with the words: 'Soli Deo (O.M.) Honor & Gloria!'

Further comments in the *Journal* are less detailed. Loten noted that the ship passed by the Trial rocks located about 60 nautical miles east of New Holland. These rocks were a danger to all vessels

approaching the East Indies from the Cape of Good Hope. On July 18th the ship sighted land. Loten correctly concluded this to be the Island of Bali. The *Beekvliet* followed the southern coast of Java to the west. From July 19th until July 21st 1732, Loten sketched several coastal views of Bali and Java.²⁰ On July 25th, a French ship *Le Neptune* was hailed. According to Loten, the ship's captain, Monsieur le Chevalier de la Boissière, was a 'famous navigator'.²¹ The French vessel headed towards Canton in China; it had left France in December of 1731. On July 29th 1732, the *Beekvliet* proceeded through the Straits of Sunda and the following day dropped anchor near Bantam where ducks, fish and fruits were bought as refreshments. Letters to announce their safe arrival were sent to the head of Bantam and to the governor-general in Batavia. On August 6th 1732, the *Beekvliet* arrived at the Batavia roadstead. During the voyage of the *Beekvliet*, 19 of the 243 persons on board died; in Loten's *Journal* there are no references to these men, but in the *Beekvliet's* ship's pay-ledger there is an inventory of the sales of the possessions of 17 deceased persons, all signed by Joan Gideon Loten.²²

NATURAL HISTORY OBSERVATIONS

Throughout his voyage on the *Beekvliet* to Batavia, Loten wrote brief descriptions of animals. The entries in his *Journal* and the accompanying drawings are the first signs of his interest in natural history. Although the descriptions are short and superficial, it is possible to identify several of the fish and birds. The observations are not unique and are comparable with the descriptions that contemporary and earlier navigators noted down in the ship's logs. Loten's notes and drawings were made out of curiosity and for his own amusement, but without an aim to study the marine fauna thoroughly and systematically. For a study of this kind, he and his travel companions also lacked the knowledge and experience required. Moreover, the books that he carried in his luggage were inadequate as guidelines for a serious survey.

On February 6th 1732, after the *Beekvliet* passed the Isle of Madeira, Loten observed a flying fish, several gulls and many tunas. He made a drawing of the flying fish that can be identified and it fits the genus *Cypselurus*. Loten also observed 'dorades', possibly the common dolphin fish, *Coryphaena hippurus*. On February 16th, when the *Beekvliet* sailed midway between the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands, Loten saw a Portuguese man-of-war, *Physalia pelagica*. A small watercolour of this jellyfish was made on this occasion.²³ In 1780, Loten remarked that the numerous threads or feelers were much longer than he had represented them in his sketch. The day after he made the drawing his eyes were still hurting by the painful evaporation. He noted that the colours of the comb with the red veins and the blue of the feelers were most beautiful.²⁴ Three days later he laid his eyes on the cuttlefish of the Atlantic waters, in the *Journal* he identified them as 'sea-cat'.²⁵

Near the Cape Verde Islands, two land birds, several gannets and a turtle were observed. The gannets were also reported on March 21st, they were called 'Jan Van Gendt' in the *Journal*. These birds probably were brown boobies, *Sula leucogaster*. On February 26th, Loten remarked that he observed the common tern, *Sterna hirundo*, whose tail was forked like the tail of a swallow. However, it seems more probable that he noticed the arctic tern, *Sterna macrura*. He also remarked that he observed two 'muscle sharks, about 2½ feet', many sharks of 5 and 6 feet and many red jellyfishes. He also made sketches of the sharks, probably picked dogfishes, *Squalus acanthias*, and a 'suckfish', a sucker of the genus *Remora*.²⁶

Travelling near the equator on March 3rd, Loten added an entry into the *Journal* saying he had observed a 'sea-devil'. He noticed big white suckers on its body. The fish seemed 10 to 12 feet in length and looked like the sea-devil in Johan Nieuhoff's *Sea and Land voyage*. He probably laid eyes on a *Manta* or a devil-fish swimming at or near the surface and feeding on plankton. On March 10th, he made a drawing of a 'tuna' that can be identified as the skipjack tuna, *Katsuwonus pelamis*.²⁷ On March 13th, when the *Beekvliet* sailed in the western tropical part of the Atlantic Ocean, a 'white arrow-tail' was reported in the *Journal*. Loten remarked that the bird was common near the equator and that it was called 'Tropical bird' by the English and 'Paille en queue' by the Dutch sailors. He probably caught sight of the red-billed tropical bird, *Phaethon aethereus*. On March 21st, sailing in the Atlantic Ocean near the Albrolos reefs, some white gulls, a gannet and a 'scissor-bird' were noticed. Loten cited the Portuguese, English and Latin names of the bird: 'Rabo forcado, Frigatebird or Man of War bird, Pelecanus cauda forcipata, Pelecanus aquilus'. Later he added a reference to a plate in George Edwards's *Natural History of Birds*.²⁸ On April 9th and April 13th 1732, Loten reported seeing 'north capers'. This name was commonly used for the giant whales in northern Atlantic waters. In the days that followed, Loten noticed gulls. On April 23rd, a day before the *Beekvliet* dropped its anchor at Table Bay, 'mallegasen, being big white land-birds with black flight feathers', were observed. Many years later Loten referred to Linnaeus's *Fauna suecica* (1746),

'Larus albus, dorso fusco'.²⁹ However, it is not likely that Loten saw the lesser black-backed gull, described by Linnaeus in the *Fauna suecica*. He probably saw the Cape gannet or Malagash, *Sula capensis*. During the second part of the voyage, he hardly entered any remarks in his *Journal* about the marine fauna. A short observation was made on July 11th 1732, when he reported that he had caught some 'bloodless animals' which he called 'butterflies'. They were white and coloured similar to those called 'shoemakers' in Europe. In the waters near the coast of Java he noticed white and yellow 'arrow-tails' and 'scissor birds',³⁰ possibly frigatebirds and tropical birds.

BATAVIA 1732-1733

Because the tropical climate caused high mortality rates among Dutchmen, especially in Batavia (now Jakarta), replacing those who had died in the Company's service was usually the first step one took in building a career in the Company. Loten therefore spent his first year in the East Indies in Batavia seeking a suitable position. The information available to us suggests that he spent his first year in the East Indies expanding his social network. Family contacts had ensured his introduction into the exalted circles of the Dutch-Asian society in Batavia. Loten's *Journal* illustrates the company into which he was received and entertained. Johannes Fabry, the captain of the castle of Batavia, and junior merchant Henry Hilgers were his 'very good friends'.³¹ Fabry was a 'favoured friend of the late and very kind Countess of Athlone, Henriette Van Nassau and her Highly Honourable brother-in-law the Lord of Ginkel, who were so kind as to introduce me to this worthy friend'.³² In 1732, he and Fabry observed the behaviour of Archer fishes at the VOC fortification Ansjol near Batavia: "The Ejaculator fish (we call these Spat-vases), that he [Martinet] speaks of, I have seen both near Batavia & at Maccassar. Not once but hundred of times & more, and have seen them shoot cockroaches (kakkerlakken), vliegen [=flies] &c. the distances I did not measure. They were perhaps not full 6 feet, but certainly more than 3 and the projectile force of these wonderful fish was certainly more than six feet. The largest I saw were a[n]o 1732 at Ansjol in a pond (vyver) in a gentleman's garden. Captain Fabry [...] stood with me on a bridge over this pond and made me take notice of them, holding sticks of about 6 or 7 feet to which he had tied cockroaches within their reach of 2, 3 & more feet, which they never failed to hit. In 1748, or there about, I saw similar experiments repeated at Maccassar. The fishes resemble much our gudgeons, or grundeltjes".³³ Captain Fabry died a year later, much to Loten's grief.³⁴

Loten also described visits to 'Tanjong prioc' (now called Tantjung prioc) the harbour of Batavia, the Island Onrust and the Island Edam (now called Pulau Edam). The Company had its shipyards on these islands. There were slipways, forges, sawmills, a pulley and sailmaker's shop and a ropewalk where convicts served out their sentences doing hard labour. In Tanjong prioc Loten was the guest of Nicolaas Crul and his wife Sara Pedel.³⁵ In 1737 Crul became commander of Java's Northeast Coast and thus Loten's superior. On October 28th 1732 Loten embarked the Company yacht to visit the Island of Onrust. He spent the night on Miss Binkelberg's estate. On the banks of the River Tangerang he saw many monkeys 'with long prehensile tails making remarkable jumps [...] I think the Javans call the species Loetongs'.³⁶ He stayed with Henrik Milet, the island's senior surgeon. Loten remarked that there were 'hartebeesd and wood pigeons'. Later he inserted a note in his *Journal*: '[I]hese wood pigeons are grey-white, or shallow white and as far as I remember with black wings and tail, but [they] are by far not as beautiful as the white with yellow urofrigung that one finds at Celebes'.³⁷

On November 2nd 1732, he went from Onrust to the 'amusing island Edam'. Loten remarked upon former governor-general Camphuijs's beautiful house which was built in Japanese style. Camphuis kept a menagerie and had laid out gardens.³⁸ Three days later Loten returned to Batavia on the governor-general's yacht. He stayed in the company of various prominent members of the Batavia Society: Gerard Pelgrom 'former chief of Patna',³⁹ Willem Henrik Lons and [his] wife whose family name was Verdign, Lady Gysbertha Mol, daughter of Arnout Mol and Christina Van Reede'.⁴⁰

In April 1733, he took a trip to Tabane, 'which means « red earth » in the Javanese language'. It was situated about one mile inland from Batavia. He walked in the forest and saw many buffalo wagons, 'used by the natives to transport the fruits from the land. At the end of the forest the fruits are loaded in prows that bring them to the Batavian market'. Loten spent the night in the country estate of Johanna Catherina Pelgrom, Anthonij Huijsman's widow. The future governor-general Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff married her daughter, Catharina Magdalena Huijsman (1708-1744).⁴¹ Van Imhoff had invited Loten to his mother-in-law's country seat.⁴² Loten was very probably introduced to Van Imhoff by his Amsterdam benefactor, Balthasar Boreel, whose sister Isabella Sophia Boreel (1677-1728) was Van Imhoff's mother.

Van Imhoff's successful and swift career – eight years after his arrival at Batavia as a junior merchant he was elected councillor extraordinary of the Indian Government – must have been an example to Loten. According to Van Imhoff, 'an impeccable marriage' and 'the ordinary way of trading' were the ingredients for social enhancement and gain of fortune in the Dutch East Indies.⁴³ Apparently he convinced the young Loten to take this track.

MARRIAGE

From the available sources it seems that marriage was Loten's first priority. One year after his arrival in Batavia he had found a suitable partner, the seventeen-year-old Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont. Unfortunately, the available documents do not give any insight into how the relationship between the twenty two-year-old junior merchant and the five-year-younger Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont came about. It has been suggested that Loten met his future wife at the house of Jean de la Fontaine the governor of the Cape of Good Hope in May of 1732.⁴⁴ However, it seems more probable that their first meeting took place in Batavia several months afterwards. Perhaps Loten met his future wife at Johanna Catherina Pelgrom's country estate in April 1733. However, neither the Van Beaumont family or Anna Henrietta's step-father Leonard Weyer are mentioned in his *Journal*.

Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont was the daughter of Cornelis Van Beaumont and Deliana Blesius. The Van Beaumont family was distinguished and well-connected, and according to Loten, had 'an unbroken pedigree since 1420'.⁴⁵ Her great-grandfather, Johan Van Beaumont, was the son of Simon Van Beaumont, former ambassador of the States of Holland in Sweden and Poland. He was a brigadier and military commander of Breda and Brielle. Anna Henrietta's grandfather, Cornelis Van Beaumont, was a lieutenant-colonel in Breda. Her father, Cornelis Van Beaumont, became a soldier shortly after the death of his father. In 1709 however, he was invited to Ceylon by his uncle Hendrik Becker (1661-1722). Becker was governor of Ceylon (1707-1716) and councillor extraordinary of the East Indies. He was the brother of Cornelis' mother Catharina Becker. Cornelis left for Ceylon as a junior merchant. At the Cape he was introduced to Deliana Blesius, the daughter of prosecutor Johan Blesius. After his arrival in Colombo, his uncle gave them permission to marry. In 1711 Cornelis was the envoy of the Company to the King of Candy, a mission he completed with distinction. In 1712, he was appointed prosecutor of the Cape and his father-in-law's successor. He was elevated to the rank of senior merchant. Cornelis Van Beaumont and Deliana Blesius had six daughters and one son. Their eldest child Anna Henrietta was born in 1711, but died two years later. Thus, in 1716, their third daughter was also given the name Anna Henrietta. In 1724, Cornelis Van Beaumont died on the Cape.

Four years after the death of her husband, Deliana Blesius remarried Leonard Weyer on the Cape. She followed her new husband to Batavia where he was appointed to the lucrative position of head of the customs house. In addition to the usual emoluments associated with this office, there was also income from bribes for feigning ignorance of contraband trade. Anna Henrietta and her four sisters very probably accompanied their mother to Batavia. In 1733, the eldest sister Catharina Balthazarina ('Caatie') married merchant Richard Van Steenis and they lived in Malacca.⁴⁶ Anna Henrietta's only brother, Cornelis Johan Van Beaumont,⁴⁷ stayed in Holland from 1727 on. He lived with his aunt, Gijsbertha Johanna Blesius, and her husband Mr Everhard Kraayvanger (or Craayvanger), a former attorney-general of the Council of Justice in Batavia.⁴⁸ Gijsbertha's three younger sisters, Christiana Jacoba ('Crisie'), Elisabeth Arnoudina ('Betje') and Deliana Isabella ('Deliaantje'), were unmarried when their sister Anna Henrietta's engagement to Joan Gideon Loten was announced.

The marriage into the Van Beaumont family connected Loten as a 'cousin' to several prominent and influential officials of the East Indies Company in Batavia. The Loten documents suggest however that the relationship between Loten and his bride was not based only on social advantages, but also on mutual esteem and affection as is illustrated by a tender document written by Anna Henrietta which escaped oblivion: 'In my young age I have known the good fortune to be loved by You. However, having stopped You many times to declare Your affection and love to me, You have permitted Yourself to inform me by letter about Your intention and desire of affection for me. Whereupon I also, and immediately, and without many East Indian falsities, have assured You moreover verbally, of my esteem, faithfulness and answered love till my death, because I know best that You declare such from a sincere love with regard to me, and because I know You will never repudiate me. After our mutual oath of faithfulness to God and between ourselves, and after a period of .. [no number given] months of sincere love, we are engaged to be married on the 18th June 1733'.⁴⁹ It is not known whether Anna Henrietta brought a dowry with her. If

this was the case, her capital was probably moderate. There was the prospect of a substantial inheritance after the death of her mother and stepfather however. Loten's request for permission to marry Anna Henrietta was addressed to her mother and Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff, who as co-guardian had the supervision 'with regard to her marriage'.⁵⁰ Loten was probably accepted by the Van Beaumont family and her guardians as a suitable candidate because he was well-connected to prominent people in Patria. Joan Gideon Loten married Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont in Batavia on August 24th 1733. One month before his wedding, he had been appointed by the Council of the Indies prosecutor of the East coast of Java to be stationed in Semarang. On September 10th 1733, Loten and his wife departed from the Batavia roadstead by the 130-foot 'flute' *De Vlotter*, commanded by master Hendrik Van Beek.⁵¹ The ship and a total of 60 people – crew and passengers – arrived at the Semarang roadstead without any problems on 24th of September 1733.

2. LOTEN'S VOC CAREER

LOTEN'S INDIAN CAREER

Once in Batavia, Loten became part of the the East Indies Company's community of servants. Although the Company in Batavia was highly hierarchical and had strict regulations for each rank, the actual structure of the community was determined less by rank or function than by social position. Although social status was not decisive, people linked to influential families in the Indies and the Republic were in a better position to rise in rank than those who lacked these connections.⁵² Moreover, for a well-connected person, the more profitable offices were easier to obtain. Loten's career is illustrative of the importance of patronage. It also shows that the social networks in Patria and Batavia were interconnected.

Loten's career in the Dutch East Indies Company. ⁵³	
Rank and Position	Date of appointment
Clerk of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC	March 1, 1728
Junior merchant of the VOC	December 1731
Junior merchant and prosecutor at Semarang, Java's Northeast coast	July 10, 1733
First administrator Java's Northeast coast at Semarang	July 28, 1739
First administrator of the islands Onrust and De Kuijper	February 3, 1741
Senior merchant, private secretary of the governor-general Van Imhoff	August 20, 1743
Governor and director of Macassar	December 24, 1743
Councillor extraordinary High Government of the Dutch East Indies	December 14, 1748 decision Heren XVII, September 2, 1749 appointed by Indian Government and November 3, 1750 installed at Batavia
President of the Marine Academy and external regent of the Hospital	November 24, 1750
Commissary of High Government at Bantam	March 14, 1752 to April 27, 1752
Governor and director of Ceylon	June 13, 1752 to June 18, 1756
Commissioner to perfectionate the sea charts with the assistance of Lieutenant Ohdem	January 1753
Councillor ordinary High Government of the Dutch East Indies	May 30, 1755
Arrival in Batavia and Councillor of the High Government	April 19, 1757
Admiral Return Fleet and commissary of the Cape of Good Hope	October 14, 1757
Arrival with ship <i>Petronella Maria</i> on Texel roadstead	June 15, 1758

ROLE OF LOTEN'S FAMILY

In Batavia, Loten had enhanced his social status by marrying 'impeccably'. His appointment in July 1733 as prosecutor of Java's Northeast coast and his promotion in December 1743 as governor of Macassar may have been due to Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff's patronage. In August 1743, Loten became Van Imhoff's private secretary, which also demonstrates his special relationship to the governor-general. However, his career was also the result of his talents as an administrator. Besides patronage in the East

Indies, support from the Company's board of directors in Patria was also vital to ascending the Company ladder. Although a comprehensive correspondence is no longer available to us, the existing letters do illustrate the role that Loten's family played in advancing his East Indian career.

The progress of Loten's career in the Dutch East Indies was an important topic in his correspondence. In 1744, shortly after his appointment as governor of Macassar, Loten aspired a seat in the Indian High Government. He wrote to his family in Utrecht about this wish, because appointments to the Indian Council were the prerogative of the Company's court of directors in Amsterdam. There is no doubt that Loten's father must have acted on behalf of his son. However, no evidence of this is available in the documents that have been preserved. In 1746, the appointment still had not come through and Loten became impatient. In June 1746, he told his brother Arnout: 'If I do not become a Councillor of India next year, I hope with God's blessing to return to Patria when my present term expires, or earlier if I receive permission. If I am not so fortunate as to be able to obtain that charge this or next year, then under God's blessing [we] shall see our dear Parents and You again, although we do not expect it to be much better in Europe'.⁵⁴ In October 1746, several days before the VOC board's autumn meeting, Loten's father visited with the directors of the Company's Amsterdam chamber. He pushed for his son's appointment to the position of councillor extraordinary.⁵⁵ He had apparently been announced because his relative, Gualterus Petrus Boudaen, had already been actively promoting Joan Gideon there.⁵⁶ However, the mayor of Dordrecht opposed Joan Gideon's appointment because he favoured Loten's friend, Abraham de Roos.⁵⁷ Joan Carel also visited other Amsterdam directors of the Company but without success. Evenso, he was told that next time a seat in the Indian Council became available, the position would be awarded to his son. In 1747 however, Loten was not elected on one of the four vacant extraordinary seats in the Indian Government.⁵⁸ In 1748 another attempt was made to promote Joan Gideon's candidacy for a seat in the Indian Council.⁵⁹ Joan Carel and his son Arnout visited Boudaen and the Amsterdam burgomaster Gerard Aarnoud Hasselaer (1698-1766). They also spoke with the advocates of the VOC, Hartman and Sweers. The mission was successful. In the December 1748 meeting of directors, Loten's appointment to the position of councillor extraordinary became a fact.⁶⁰

Loten's mother Arnoudina Maria was also active in promoting her son's career in the Indies. When Loten finally got his seat in the Indian Council, she began endorsing his election to the position of governor of Ceylon.⁶¹ She gave her son a detailed account of her actions. In April 1748, she congratulated 'cousin' Van Imhoff with his appointment as lieutenant-general of the Infantry of the Dutch Republic. In May 1749, Van Imhoff replied to her letter and hinted at her son's future promotion as councillor ordinary of High Government. Arnoudina responded to Van Imhoff's letter in April 1750 saying that, in order for her son to be able to fulfil a position in Indian Government, his affairs would have to be shipshape. However, 'the Chinese in Samarang had brought about a painful cut in his finances'. According to Loten's mother this was very much in contrast with the fate of Laurens Grothe, who as a (junior) merchant of the Company, 'had made his fortune in 5 or 6 years', and in 1743 returned in Utrecht as a rich man.⁶² She continued: 'After 18 years in India, my son hardly prospered, notwithstanding his conduct in the various roles that he has fulfilled. It has been irreproachable, and always praised and approved by you. Therefore I do not know what he will choose when he receives the news of his appointment as Councillor extraordinary, either to repatriate or to remain for some time in India. If he decides upon the latter, he will be inclined to replace Mr Steyn Van Gollenesse at Ceylon. If he goes to Batavia to carry out the duties at the High Table, I humbly beg your patronage for my son. If he prefers to remain for some time at Maccassar (notwithstanding his conduct), because it is better to stay there, I pray you accommodate this'.⁶³ It was, in short, a very resolute plea for the advancement of her son's career. However, the letter arrived too late, that is, after Van Imhoff's death in Batavia on the first of November 1750.⁶⁴

After 1750, Arnout Loten became the most important promoter of Loten's affairs in Patria. As a city councillor of Utrecht, he had achieved sufficient authority to replace his father as Loten's representative. Nevertheless his father still actively contributed to the advancement of his son in the Indies. In January of 1753, Arnout wrote to his brother about his efforts to promote him in the ranks of the VOC. At that time, his appointment to the position of governor and director of Ceylon in June 1752 was not known in Patria. Arnout wrote to Joan Gideon saying that in September 1752, he met Isaac Sweers. At the time, Sweers was deputy first advocate on the board of the VOC: 'My father, wife and I have taken supper with Mr Sweers at Mr Van Hoornbeek's [like Arnout a city councillor in Utrecht], and our discourse mainly related to you. He said among other things, that you could claim the Government of Ceylon, which is a

very profitable office. I can assure you dear brother, that we did our utmost to promote your case. I hope that Heaven is willing to send You the blessing that may give you pleasure and happiness'.⁶⁵ Sweers explained that appointment to the position of governor of Ceylon was the prerogative of the Indian Government but that he was willing to write the governor-general a letter. Eight months later when Arnout learned that his brother had been appointed to the position of head of the government of Ceylon, he wrote about this blessing: 'We conclude now that nothing stands in the way for your return to Patria. You know that our most sincere wish is that there should be a moment in time when Heaven will make us so happy and that within a few years we can have the pleasure of embracing each other'.⁶⁶

While in Colombo, Loten apparently desired a senior rank in the Indian Government. So in November 1753, in response to his brother's letter about his meeting with Isaac Sweers, Joan Gideon asked Arnout to use his influence to get him the position of councillor ordinary: 'I am infinitely obliged to you for the things you did with regard to my application to Mr Sweers [...]. I hope that the journey to Ceylon will make the change and will be as successful as was expressed by you [...]. However, I very much desire a promotion as a Councillor ordinary. If this is not realised before the reception of this letter, I beseech you dear brother, to do your best with [Mr Sweers] and Mr Hasselaer. I shall never forget to be thankful to you, and I ask you, please indicate a manner to show these Gentlemen a pleasure. I leave everything to you, I believe I cannot write them myself, because I am in a very melancholy mood and because of that, although I do not stay home at all, now and then I am somewhat ailing. Therefore, do not forget, at the right moment, to take care of the advancement of my fortune, not only with the just mentioned Gentlemen, but also with other influential friends who can assist'.⁶⁷

In May of 1754, Sweers wrote to Loten and referred back to the efforts he had made in 1748 to get Loten promoted to the Council of the Dutch East Indies. He also promised to show 'proofs of his esteem' in future.⁶⁸ On 12 October 1754, the board of director's decision proved to be in line with Loten's desires.⁶⁹ Arnout referred to Isaac Sweers's role in his brother's election: 'We are heartily glad that in this case not only misfortune has befallen you. Your appointment as a Councillor ordinary with permission, if you so desire, to continue in Government [at Ceylon], has been arranged first of all by Mr Sweers (who has shown himself in all accounts to be your well-intentioned friend). Mr Sweers communicated it to father on the same day as the promotion took place, being the 12th last'.⁷⁰ In December of 1754, Arnout wrote about Sweers who was, at that moment, acting first advocate of the VOC: 'I also thank you for one of the three canes ['rottangs'] that you sent. Father and I are deliberating what to do with the third one. We would like to present it to Mr Sweers as a reminder of you. However, we refrained from doing so because we feared that he would take it amiss (he will be appointed first Advocate of the Company, instead of Mr [Nicolaas] Hartman who recently died, which is, I believe, not a great loss to you)'.⁷¹

In the same letter, Arnout Loten said that he had met Gerard Aarnoud Hasselaer, president of the board of the VOC, in Isaac Tirion's Amsterdam bookshop: '[W]hen I asked him whether the directors of the Company were pleased with your management in Ceylon, he responded that they were very satisfied and [scratched out: '(however I hope that the communication of this praise will not offend your modesty)'] (however this praise does not offend your modesty) that You are very able and prepared to work and that the Company very much needs such ministers'. Burgomaster Hasselaer was an important regent both in the VOC and in the Amsterdam Admiralty. He was interested in navigation and possessed a cabinet with scientific instruments. According to Loten's friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek however, he was 'idle and preoccupied with his own pleasures'.⁷² Historians assess his role differently, varying from an able regent to a conservative magistrate with pretended abilities.⁷³ Arnout Loten suggested his brother: '[B]ecause this gentleman is very influential, I do advise You to write him, both about the present state of the Indian affairs in general as well as about those in Ceylon in particular and other matters, which You think to be meritable for His attention. However do not send any presents to Him because that means that You will be forever out of favour'.⁷⁴ According to a remark on a folio with short descriptions of the Ceylonese fauna, Loten wrote a letter to Hasselaer in January 1755 and enclosed a watercolour and description of the Ceylonese paradise flycatcher.⁷⁵

In 1755, Loten's friend Isaac Sweers was encountering difficulty in being appointed to the role of first advocate of the VOC. Isaac Sweers resigned from the VOC after a spoken explanation of his request for dismissal (dated March 8th, 1755) in the afternoon meeting of the court of directors on 3 April 1755. The gentlemen of the court of directors accepted his resignation and expressed their gratitude for his diligence for the Company in a most civil way.⁷⁶ On 11 April 1755 they elected Cornelis Van Der Hoop as first advocate of the Company. Arnout Loten wrote the following about Sweers's position: 'In my last

[letter] I spoke of the death of Mr Hartman. As a result, Mr Zweers [sic], retired from the office of First Advocate of the Company. You owe a lot to this kind and well-intentioned Gentleman. However, this is how it is, and we are glad that you are, who you are'.⁷⁷ Isaac Sweers returned to the East Indies house in Amsterdam in 1772 by being elected director of the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch East Indies Company.

In December 1756, Arnout Loten wrote about the autumn meeting of the directors of the VOC in his letterbook. He probably obtained this information from Guillelmus Titsingh, who at that time was clerk of the Amsterdam chamber of the Company.⁷⁸ He later crossed this passage out so that it is not clear whether or not he included it in the letter he sent to his brother: 'In confidence I write to you about the strong rumours of the Heren XVII, and especially the Amsterdam Chamber's great dissatisfaction with the behaviour of His Excellency [=governor-general Jacob Mossel]. When the meeting ended, it was even said that he had been discharged, to which was added that the present Director-General [=Albertus Van Der Parra] was appointed in his place, and that his office had been offered to you. Because this was told to me in utmost secrecy, I have tried to discreetly discover what the matter was. I have heard that the dissatisfaction is true but that everything has provisionally remained the same'.⁷⁹

Ten months later, on October 27th 1757, when Joan Gideon was preparing to return to Patria, Arnout Loten wrote to his brother in more detail about the position of Mossel: 'On [October] 12th I was informed confidentially by first Clerk Titsingh that a day earlier the Heren XVII had discussed a letter from His Excellency [=Governor-general Jacob Mossel], in which he asked for permission to resign; however he also asked for permission to stay in the Indies and to continue attending the sessions at the High Table, or, alternatively, for permission to repatriate. I went to Amsterdam immediately after hearing this news, to promote Your case. [I] spoke confidentially about it with Mr Boudaan, Advocate Van Der Hoop and Titsingh, so that you might be considered for promotion should this notable change take place, and if possible, in order to recommend you emphatically. I spoke primarily with Mr Boudaan because he is the President of the Committee and responsible for examining the General's request. He said to me that because of his role, he could not speak with me about that matter. He also said that he did not believe that it would be settled in the present session, but that it would be postponed until the spring session. He stressed that I must not apply to anyone, but that it would not be amiss if I returned to Amsterdam in 5 or 6 days, to hear whether further information might be available. I followed his recommendations and went to Amsterdam again and visited with Mr Boudaan. He told me that he could say nothing more about the subject. I responded that if the Gentlemen Councillors intended to favour you with a promotion, and if they thought this Promotion would enhance the welfare of the Company, they would need to inform you indirectly by way of the first ships leaving because you were planning to repatriate a[nno] 1758. (I produced an extract from your letter for him). So should the spring session result in a decision in your favour, knowledge of this decision would also arrive in Batavia too late. He seemed to understand this and upon my insistence, promised me that he would forward the relevant resolution to me, so that I could communicate it to you in a Post Scriptum, and he added that he considered writing to you himself'.⁸⁰

Four days later, Arnout wrote the following in a *post scriptum*: 'I have not yet received any intelligence from Amsterdam. I therefore assume no decision had been made with regard to His Excellency's discharge, but that it was postponed until the spring session. I do not dare to wait any longer with dispatching this letter, because [...] the ships are ready to sail. I sincerely hope it is not too late to dispatch it'.

Mossel's request to be discharged from his responsibility as governor-general, written in Batavia 30 November 1756, was read in the meeting of the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC on October 13th 1757. The Gentlemen decided to discuss the request the same day in the meeting of the Court of directors of the VOC, de Heren XVII.⁸¹ The Gentlemen discussed the request on October 27th 1757 again and decided to postpone a final decision until the meeting of the Court of directors of the Company in spring 1758.⁸² On 17 April 1758 the Gentlemen of the Court decided to adjourn the matter of 'the constitution of the High Indian Government' until the autumn meeting.⁸³ In the end Jacob Mossel was not discharged and he remained governor-general until his death in 1761. Mossel was succeeded by director-general Albertus Van Der Parra (1714-1775).

3. COMPANY SERVANT

The various Loten papers give an idea of a duty-conscious and loyal VOC servant dedicated to fulfilling the responsibilities of his office. This impression is often endorsed by the official VOC documents. Throughout his career Loten meticulously justified his policies and the decisions he took in his communication with the Supreme Government in Batavia. Besides that, he also often referred to his actions as a VOC servant in his personal papers and letters. This gives insight into the private emotions which accompanied his actions and shows that the Company's achievements have a human dimension, one which is often impossible to detect in official historical records. This is what makes Loten's legacy valuable to posterity. The actions taken by servants of the Dutch East India Company are usually formed by the practical and moral standards adhered to by the Dutch in their exploitation of East Indian resources. The Loten papers show that such activities could be carried out with respect for the prevailing balance of power between the Company's trade interests on the one hand and the rights of the indigenous population on the other. The ruthless and harsh way in which various of Loten's colleagues treated the natives was not his way.

SEMARANG

Loten and his wife arrived in Semarang in 1733, a period in which a fragile stability existed between the Javanese nobility at Kartasura, with its many contesting factions, the VOC, with its trade interests, and the Javanese and Chinese population, who were subject to both the nobility and the Company. As a prosecutor, Loten was primarily responsible for looking into abuses of the law and trying criminal cases. Forty-seven years later, Loten could still remember his first criminal case in Semarang. In 1780 in a letter to his brother he remarked all of a sudden: 'Can you recall that several weeks after my arrival in Samarang in 1733 I sent you a story about an unprecedented incident in which several of our people were attacked by 11 or 12 Amok runners? Had they not been caught, they would have returned in a group of 100 or more? I do not recall if I ever spoke of this in Europe'.⁸⁴ The incident involved a 50-year-old Javanese 'priest', Moedin Samat (or Modin Samat) who had become convinced of his own holiness and a divine call to become ruler of Java.⁸⁵ On October 30th 1733, Moedin Samat and seven followers attacked five Dutchmen at the VOC fortress, Ramsdonk, in Semarang. Five Javanese servants were left unmolested. The assassins escaped to the house of Moedin Samat, where they conspired to attack the Dutchmen again. However, not long after this incident they were arrested. The lawsuit against Moedin Samat and his henchmen began on 28 January 1734. In his case against the suspects, Loten quoted several legal authorities to prove that the murderers were 'rigorously punishable'. He paraphrased the Bible saying that those who worshipped other Gods shall be stoned to death.⁸⁶ He also referred to (Javanese) imperial regulations, which ordained that he who murders an innocent person or his own master must be tortured, 'by pressing glowing irons over his body until a terrible death follows as an example for others'. Loten demanded severe punishments such as torturing, burning the body with hot irons, breaking the bones and decapitation. The sitting judge, Rijkloff Duijvensz, commander of Semarang, agreed with these penalties and Moedin Samat and five of his followers were executed. Their bodies were burned and the ashes thrown into the sea.⁸⁷ Loten was apparently a righteous prosecutor. On the 6th of March 1734, he told Rijkloff Duijvensz that there were still a number of suspects in jail but that he had not been able to find enough evidence against them. He then asked Duijvensz whether it would not be reasonable to drop the charges.

The Moedin Samat case and the execution reopened an old conflict about the jurisdiction of the Sunan at Kartasura and that of the Company. In principle Company subjects, whether Europeans, Chinese or of other foreign nationality, should be sentenced by the Company and Javanese subjects by the Sunan. However, the Company regarded the Javanese from Semarang as its subjects. It was a matter of sovereignty that necessitated a separate treaty. Not earlier than in January 1737 after negotiations between Duijvensz and the ambassadors of the Sunan the matter of the jurisdiction was finally settled by the governor-general in a contract, which forbade Company servants or subjects to interfere in any way in conflicts between Javanese. It also refused to have Company's subjects, whether European, Chinese or of other nations tried by the Javanese. Javanese officials were in future to be tried in Kartasura, but in case of conflict with Company's subjects lowland Javanese were tried at Semarang and highland Javanese at Kartasura.⁸⁸

All matters pertaining to Javanese affairs were the commander's sole responsibility so the documents do not demonstrate any active involvement by Loten in the Company's contacts with the Javanese rulers. It is unlikely that relevant information was kept from him by Rykloff Duyvensz. It is probable that Loten was on good terms with him and his wife, C.W. Verdion. Duyvensz was well known to the Javanese, before he came to Semarang he had been 'opperhoofd' at Surabaya and he had tried not to interfere too much in Javanese affairs, as was the policy of the VOC. Duyvensz died in December 1736.⁸⁹ After Duyvensz's death, Loten received several friendly letters from his widow.⁹⁰ Shortly after her return to Batavia early in May of 1737, she re-married Pieter Henrik Schook, councillor of Justice. Loten's future benefactor 'Berghopman' Nathanael Steinmetz wrote about this marriage: '[S]o there is no need that anyone minds the first sorrows of the widow, because once it is discovered by an able hunting-master, they immediately change their sentiment'.⁹¹

In January 1737, Nicolaas Crul became commander of the Northeast coast of Java. Loten had been his guest in Tantjon prioc in November 1732. In the 1770s, he wrote a short memoir about commander Crul in his *Bell's Common-place-book*: 'In the early spring of 1737 Mr Nicolaas Crul was appointed Commander of Java's East coast, as the successor to the late Commander Ryklof Duyvensz. In very critical times he has presided over that turbulent Eastern corner with the utmost wisdom, fairness and an effective promptness that lacked, where possible, rigid severity. He handed over his Commandership, or better Government, in a peaceful situation. Everyone led an agreeable life there and enjoyed the blessings of that good Gentleman, who always tried to be affectionate to those who deserved his attention and to improve those who needed it for own good. His was such an easy guidance that they thought that they were following their own choices. He knew how to socialise with the Inland Chiefs and Dignitaries perfectly and always understood how to prevent hatred against the Dutch Nation. I am especially ... [here the note suddenly ends]'.⁹² Crul ruled the VOC establishment until July 1739 when he returned to Batavia as councillor extraordinary of the Indian Government and was succeeded as commander of Semarang by the resident of Japara, Bartholomeus Visscher. Crul must have been an example for Loten during his later governments in Macassar and Ceylon. A recent more critical assessment of Crul's role at Semarang is in Rummelink's study *The Chinese War and the Collapse of the Javanese state, 1725-1743*. There the relationship between the Javanese Court at Kartasura and the Company during the period of Crul's commandership is typified as 'uneasily calm'.⁹³ According to Rummelink, Crul, in contrast with his predecessor Duyvensz, was "unknown to the Javanese". He further remarked, referring to Crul's earlier experience as *commissary of native affairs* at Batavia, that "dealing with Javanese [...] required far more tact and diplomacy than keeping the natives around Batavia quiet".⁹⁴ In his contacts with the Sunan at Kartasura Crul was loud and clear and evidently not hindered by the protocol. In February 1738 Batavia was displeased by his diplomatic offensive against the policy of the Sunan's ministers and urged him to be more careful. Crul answered Batavia that although he would proceed gently and diplomatically as he had when he was commissary of native affairs, a more forceful attitude towards the Javanese was warranted and too much gentleness had only produced contempt and obscured the respect for the Company. According to Rummelink however, "not Crul's diplomacy but fate had produced a favourable turn of affairs" during his command at Semarang.⁹⁵

In 1737, after four years in the Orient in the Company ranks, Loten sought promotion. A letter from his 'brotherly friend', Abraham de Roos – former resident at Palembang (1726-1732), prosecutor in Ternate (1732-1737) and from January 1737 on first administrator of Onrust – gives us insight into the way in which the Supreme Government in Batavia dealt with Loten's interests. In his letter, De Roos refers to the recent changes in the Indian Government, that is, the appointments of governor-general Adriaan Valckenier and director-general Jan Paul Schaghen: '[V]arious times [I] had the good fortune to dine at the Court [of the governor-general]. So when the discourse dealt with Lotje [sic!] I did not neglect my duty and used the opportunity to speak about you. Whereupon I received the answer, «I know that honourable man, how is his wife, I am so sorry that she is so unwell». And when I retorted that he had been a prosecutor already a long time, the answer was, «that is true, there hardly arises a change at Java when no one is dying». Let us hope that the appointment of the Honourable Gentleman Director J.P. Schaghen is our blessing. Lootje, we have the good luck that our two overlords are our friends'.⁹⁶ In July 1739, Loten was appointed first administrator of Java's Northeast coast in Semarang with the rank of merchant. He became the second in command at this VOC establishment. Unfortunately there are no personal documents about his relationship with his superior, commander Bartholomeus Visscher, who is described by Rummelink as a basically insecure man, afraid of criticism and not taking kindly to unsolicited advice from his subordinates.⁹⁷

For the Dutch East Indies Company, the period 1740-1743 was overshadowed by the Chinese war and its consequences for the High Government in Batavia. The upheaval of the Chinese was triggered by a fall in the price of sugar in Europe which brought bankruptcy to the sugar factories in and around Batavia (the Ommelanden). These factories were primarily operated and manned by Chinese labourers. The unrest prompted the VOC authorities to reduce the number of unlicensed Chinese settlers they used and who had been smuggled into Batavia by Chinese sugar factory owners. These labourers were loaded onto ships and moved out of Batavia. The rumours that these people were thrown into the sea as soon as the ship was out of sight caused panic among the Chinese. On 7 October 1740, several Chinese mobs attacked Europeans residing outside of Batavia, killing and plundering as they roamed the Ommelanden. On October 8th 1740, the gangs even tried to attack Batavia itself. As a result, on October 9th 1740, the homes of over 5,000 Chinese living within the walls of Batavia were searched. This in turn led to three solid days of massacre. In 1741, Chinese rebels dispersed over Central Java with their main force at Bekasi.

The Chinese uprising took place in a period in which the relationship of the Company with the Javanese court at Kartasura was under stress. In May 1741 the Javanese Sunan helped the Chinese to take control of Semarang and attack the VOC garrison in Kartasura. Commander Visscher showed to be totally unable to command the Company's affairs in Java's Northeast coast during the Chinese uprising. With the rebellious Chinese camped at the nearby Bekasi he had clung to the hope that peace would hold. However, the more he clung to his dream that the Chinese would not revolt and the Javanese would remain loyal, the farther he drifted away from reality. During the siege of Semarang of the Chinese and Javanese in May 1741 he suffered a complete mental breakdown.⁹⁸

Loten did not eyewitness the Chinese revolt in Batavia. In November 1740, he took a field trip to the surroundings of Semarang with Johan Andries baron Van Hohendorff. So the troubles had not yet reached Semarang by then. In February 1741, Loten was appointed to the financially attractive position of first administrator of the Islands Onrust and Kuijper.⁹⁹ Batavia was where first administrator of the islands was stationed. The Loten family left Semarang on the ship *Zorgvijk* early April 1741.¹⁰⁰ Therefore they were also no witnesses to the siege of Semarang by the Chinese in May 1741 and the incompetent leadership of commander Visscher. In the Loten papers there are no descriptions of the turbulence and panic in Semarang, only indirect references to it. A letter that Loten wrote to his father about the Chinese revolt has unfortunately been lost.¹⁰¹ From Loten's correspondence it is clear that he suffered a severe financial setback. Commander Visscher claimed in August 1741 to have lost a hundred thousand rixdollars during the panic that engulfed Semarang in May 1741.¹⁰² Probably he and Loten, like many Company servants, had invested heavily in the collapsed rice trade, which had been in hands of Chinese private traders. Moreover, during his tenure as a 'fiskaal' (1733-1739) Loten issued on behalf of the commander of Semarang many licences to inland traders for shipping goods as rice with their ships to Malacca, Borneo and Celebes, which may have supplied him an additional income.¹⁰³

In June 1741 Loten's friend Abraham de Roos, at that moment *commissary of native affairs* at Batavia, replaced Bartholomeus Visscher at Semarang. De Roos, who had led a successful expedition to Bekasi in the VOC campaign against the Chinese, arrived in Semarang on July 25. From August onwards, reinforcements had started arriving from the VOC's outposts and De Roos had wisely consolidated the troupes in an effort to repel the Chinese and Javanese around Semarang. Early in November the Dutch repulsed the alliance of Javanese and Chinese forces who did not coordinate their actions. In September 1741 De Roos unexpectedly requested his resignation, officially he gave as reason that his health had collapsed because of the hard work. In fact, his relation with the newly appointed military commander captain Nathanael Steinmetz, who arrived in August 1741 in Semarang, had collapsed.¹⁰⁴

The Chinese massacre in Batavia in October 1740 resulted in a conflict within the Batavia Government. Councillor Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff opposed governor-general Valckenier in a meeting of the High Government. Van Imhoff and Anna Henrietta's relative councillor Van Der Schinne were arrested and deported to Patria in January 1741. In Holland, Van Imhoff convinced the directors of the VOC that Valckenier was responsible for the massacre. Valckenier was replaced as governor-general of the Dutch East Indies by Van Imhoff. On October 27th 1742, Van Imhoff departed on the ship *Herstelder* travelling from Texel to Batavia, where he arrived on 28 May 1743.¹⁰⁵ There he took strong and disputable measures against his former colleagues in the Indian Government. Valckenier had already been arrested. In 1751 he died in prison in Batavia before his case had come to an end. The director-general of the Company at Batavia, Jan Paul Schaghen, also lost his position. Loten's papers tell us that Schaghen returned to Patria, 'poor as Job by strong feelings of Mr Van Imhoff, this appeared to me and

others as very unjust'.¹⁰⁶ This referred to the problems with the cargo of sugar and coffee of the 1739 Return Fleet; Batavia sent too much sugar and an insufficient load of coffee beans to Patria. Although the Council at Batavia was responsible for the cargo of the Return Fleet the councillors decided on 29 August 1740 that governor-general Valckenier and director-general Jan Paul Schaghen were responsible for the financial loss suffered by the Company. The Company confiscated 216,656 guilders from Schaghen's personal capital, which meant that he departed to Patria as a ruined man.¹⁰⁷

Loten was apparently not involved in the conflicts between the Batavia grandees. The Loten documents are very poor in information about his term as first administrator of Onrust and Edam. In Batavia the Loten family must have been intimate with councillor extraordinary Nicolaas Crul and his wife, data about their relationship with the other senior officers of the VOC however, are lacking. Upon Van Imhoff's return Loten enjoyed the new governor-general's patronage. Within three months after Van Imhoff's arrival in Batavia, Loten was Van Imhoff's private secretary in the rank of senior merchant (August 24th 1743). Four months later, he was elected by the Indian Council governor and director of Macassar at Celebes (December 24th 1743) as successor to governor Smout.

GOVERNOR OF MACASSAR

On March 2nd 1744, the Loten family left Batavia on the ship *Adrichem*. The master of the ship was Herbert Sam. According to a remark by Loten in the ship's *Journal*, Sam was 'of good family but a licentious and not very civil man'.¹⁰⁸ Loten made drawings of the coast of north-east Java, in the foreground the ship *Adrichem* and in the background smoking volcanos. He also made coastal profiles which are similar to the ones he had made of the island of Bali and the south coast of Java while on the *Beekvliet* twelve years earlier.¹⁰⁹ In an entry in his *Bell's Common-place-book*, circa 1780, he wrote of having seen 'three burning mountains, a glorious and impressive spectacle' during the voyage.¹¹⁰ According to master Sam's *Journal* this took place on March 11th 1744, 'first of all Tanga & and 2: the most western of the Two Brothers and 3: the mountain Merapi behind Cartasoera [=Kartasura]'. The volcanoes were 'very accurately observed with the newly invented Gregorian or English telescope'. This instrument may have been owned by Loten.¹¹¹ The Loten family arrived at Macassar on March 24th 1744.

On June 3rd 1744, two months after Loten's arrival, governor Smout handed over the administration of the island. Governor Adriaan Hendrik Smout had been governor and director in Macassar for seven years. According to Loten's annotations Smout was also distinguished as 'Admiral and Lieutenant-Field marshall of the coasts of Celebes'.¹¹² He left a *Memorandum* to his successor in which the state of the government of the island was described.¹¹³ Smout left for Batavia two days afterwards in the company of his wife and Catharina Steenwijk, her daughter from her first marriage. According to Loten, the daughter was '16 or 17 years old and reasonably beautiful' and was soon to marry a Mr Meurs in Batavia.¹¹⁴ Smout was characterised by Loten as 'from Dordrecht and already between 50 and 60 years old'. He was 'a kind gentleman, a vigilant officer', who was employed as a general in February 1745 in Surabaya, 'in the war at Java, that was not completely ended'. Loten reported that Smout died in Batavia from exhaustion resulting from the 1746 campaign. In Loten's *Bell's Common-place-book*, there is an entry entitled 'Macassar' about the 'dignified Mr Adriaan Henrik Smout'. It was written circa 1780 and gives a short reference to Smout's commission in the Northeast of Java. It also includes a reference to Smout's garden in Macassar. In this reference he says that he does not remember having paid Smout 'eight hundred and seventy six Rixdollars' for taking over his 'private garden and several other things'. Loten suggests that neither Smout nor his agents ever asked for compensation: '[P]robably they considered that seven years earlier he had taken over the garden house, next to the outer hospital, in a much better condition than I took it over. It was ramshackle and over thousand Rixdollars less in value than the amount of two thousand four hundred that were put into my account'.¹¹⁵

Loten's papers indicate that his tenure in the government of Macassar was his happiest period in the Orient. Notwithstanding the sorrow about his wife's weak health and his grief about the miscarriage of their son in 1746, he enjoyed the island and its climate. Loten frequently toured the Company's outposts, sometimes accompanied by his wife and daughter. He maintained friendly relations with the inland Court of Bony and more strained with those of Goa and Tello. In his reports to the Supreme Government in Batavia and in his final *Memorandum* he wrote condescendingly, but also respectfully about the indigenous rulers as he also did many years afterwards in his notebooks. As will be documented in a later paragraph, his good reputation was stained in the last year of his government by problems caused by George Beens, who was head of the districts Boelecomba and Bonthain.

Macassar was the principal VOC establishment in Celebes [presently called Sulawesi]. Loten usually referred to it as 'Maccassar'. In 1669 admiral Cornelis Speelman assisted by the Bony prince, Arung Palakka, finally subdued the Macassarians after a three-years struggle.¹¹⁶ The relationship between the VOC and the indigenous states was settled by the Treaty of Bongaya (1667), with Bony as first ally. The VOC obtained a trade monopoly and all non-Dutch Europeans were forced to leave Macassar. The Macassar trade to the archipelago east of Celebes was totally forbidden, while the indigenous trade to other regions was regulated through use of passports. If a new king or queen succeeded to the throne in one of the allied states, the renewal of the contract concluded by the Company had to take place in the Castle of Rotterdam in Macassar. In its dealings with the Celebes kingdoms, the Company tried to follow an impartial policy, its primary ambition in this regard was to avoid an anti-Dutch coalition. As a governor and director of Macassar, Loten was not just responsible for the VOC's trade interests. The VOC also had territorial powers over Celebes. Under the Treaty of Bongaya, several districts in South Celebes were ceded to the VOC: the regions around Macassar, Maros and adjoining to the north; Galeong, Polombanking, Bonthain and Boelecomba to the south. These districts were divided by the territories of the allied states like Tallo (or Tello), directly to the north of Macassar, and Goa (or Gowa), Sandrabony and Turatea to the south. To the east and northeast of Macassar everything was Bony (or Bone) territory. To the north lay the states of Soping, Wadjo, Tanete and Loewoe (or Luwu).

In June 1746, Loten wrote to his brother from Macassar about his government: 'For an account of this region I cannot do better than to refer You to the description by Valentijn, who very accurately describes the histories and the coasts, being particulars which governor Beernink has communicated to him. In my last letters I have also reported several novelties. I found the latitude here to be 5° 8' south of the line [equator], the air is fresh and nice, beautiful sandy beaches, and beautiful views of the neighbouring islands in the sea, whither I sometimes sail with my yacht. On the inland [there are] nice rivers, woods, mountains, rice paddies and uncommon number of deer and swines, ducks, snipes, many sorts of doves, small quails, also small cow-beasts, cockatoos, parakeets and other wild animals. One time on horseback with a large group of people [I] caught more than a hundred deer within an hour by throwing ropes around their necks. The natives are great murderers and rapacious and hardly anybody can be trusted. One must therefore always go into the interior with weapons, for which purpose I have a special bodyguard consisting of 12 horsemen and 24 grenadiers and also 2 officers, trumpeteers and other menservants. The Company here must always keep a garrison of 1,000 soldiers. However, at this moment the garrison with all the districts – such as Maros, where a lieutenant and 36 men are stationed, Boelecomba, where Beens is stationed with 18 [men], the Islands of Saleyer and Bima, upon each of which 18 men are stationed – only consists of a single battalion with scarcely 600 soldiers. On the whole this country is growing so quickly that we usually have sufficient supplies, and for me there is even a bit of a surplus. However this is currently not the case because of the general state of disrepair, resulting in a lack of gains for the Company; this is very much to my disadvantage. I speak [to you] in confidence about this topic and all that I mentioned'.¹¹⁷

Loten's tenure at Celebes is amply documented in the VOC archives in The Hague where his correspondence with the Government at Batavia is preserved. The *Missiven* deal with matters of trade, but also with the often delicate relationship with the allied states. The government of Macassar brought him in direct contact with many capricious and often unreliable rulers who reluctantly accepted or openly opposed the Dutch rule over the Celebes territory. Loten's official correspondence, but above all his *Memorandum* written in 1750 after six years in Celebes, gives an idea of the way he managed the problems that he encountered.¹¹⁸ Illustrative of his approach is the thorough preparation of his role in the government of Macassar. In the notebook that he kept at Macassar he remarked: 'Every beginning is difficult. Since the 5th of June [1744] I have therefore dedicated myself to learning about this government's situation, so that after closely and assiduously contemplating the state of the inner territory and other affairs, I should be more at ease and have a better basis for directing its administration than if I were to base myself only on routine and reading of records, and not on knowledge and experience of the local situation'.¹¹⁹ He must have studied the *Memorandums* of his predecessors, because he had a very thorough knowledge of the position of the Company in its districts and the situation in the territories of the allied states. He copied on 834 folio pages the report of Cornelis Speelman about the situation at Macassar in 1670.¹²⁰ This must have made him aware of the complicated state-of-affairs at southern Celebes. Moreover he soon must have become familiar with the ceremonial role of the VOC governor, which not only required to be assertive, but also to be tactful and sensitive of the position of the allied

princes. On May 13th 1744 he took a trip with governor Smout to the surroundings of Macassar and the court of the King of Goa that must have been an initiation to his future role as principal of the Company on the island.¹²¹

Loten's 1750 *Memorandum* of his Macassar government shows him at work, resolutely dealing with the affairs of the allied courts and the hostility of the Macassarian princes. Moreover he propagated dissension among the allies as a way to maintain peace in the Celebes territory, although he realised that this approach could result in acts of violence. His careful and precise observations resulted in several convincingly outlined portraits of the main players on the Celebes stage. Apparently he was sincerely interested in the people and their customs; although his remarks are those of a person of higher rank and importance he seldom show feelings of arrogance. In the late 1770s Loten wrote several short recollections in his *Bell's Common-place-book* which demonstrate the same sincere curiosity in the indigenous culture as is evident from the *Memorandum*.¹²² Under the title 'natives in Celebes' he wrote: "The natives have, not in general but in some individuals, that tint in their cheeks, which we distinguish by the name of colour. In the women one meets it frequently, chiefly in those, who do not come often in the fields. Ama bay, Owa's sister was of a good colour and a niece of him had a good deal of blood transparent thro' the skin of the cheeks, and the hands of the women have often that soft looking pale crimson tint. Aroe Palacka, the mother of the King of Goa on Macassar had a healthful complexion, one could see, tho' I guessed her in 1744 to have passed 40 or 42 years, what she had been, and the same in the queen of Loewoe, Craëng Aganitudjong's sister. The King of Tello, Caraëng Barombong welmade Princes of upwards of 6 feet or there about, had also a good color, so that Craeeng Tello might have passed for a European. Craëng Madjeunang, grandson to the great Prince Patingaloän, celebrated by our chief-poët Vondel,¹²³ was, being an invalide [=disabled], of a sickly tint but not approaching yet what one could call copper colour or chestnut. He was rather of the American complexion. The King of Boni a man of 5' 9" or 6 feet was approaching the brown, but none of the Princes had flat noses, they did not differ from Europeans by their features. The heroic Craëng Tanéte (the same as Aganiondjong) was of about the middle size but not conspicuous, in person or face, on the side of comeliness on the contrary, a tolerably well shaped, actif man".¹²⁴

As a governor of Macassar most of Loten's attention was paid to the internal affairs with the indigenous rulers. From the documents it is evident that he felt a special relationship with the Queen of Bony and that his feelings were reciprocated, although they had sometimes serious differences of opinion. The Queen died in 1749 and was succeeded by the young King of Bony who was also respected by Loten. Besides that the details of trading of the Company are extensively documented in the official reports of the governor of Macassar in council. In his final *Memorandum* (1750) to the governor-general and Indian council Loten wrote reproachful about the VOC ships that cruised in the Celebes waters to prevent illegal trading. The decayed ships and the shortage and unreliability of their crews hindered an effective fight against piracy: 'I often received many indications to suspect that so-called naïve persons act very harmfully and under a false pretexts, by using the cruising vessels for privately trading. I found out that the crews are more focused on extortion than on execution of the beneficial aim to persecute pernicious traders and pirates, which causes that the reputation of the Dutch among the indigenous people is hateful'.¹²⁵ Loten reported 'not without reluctance' that an effective control of the illegal trade was only possible when 'more vigilant' servants were disposable for this task.

In August 1744 Loten resolved 'to mix usefulness with pleasure by personally visiting the provinces of the Company now and then'. Thus on August 6th, accompanied by family and 'the two young Misses Harthold [Maria and Philippina, daughters of Cornelia Van Westhoven, the wife of clergyman Vermehr] and several others', he went for a tour of inspection.¹²⁶ The company departed from the Macassar castle Rotterdam in a ship, 'a gracefully built corre corre, or kind of galley with 36 oars, partly built in the European style, partly built after the custom of the Eastern natives, which kind of ship is very fast, also when sailing'.¹²⁷ Overland the women travelled in portable chairs; Loten travelled on horseback. On the road, wood pigeons of all kinds were spotted as well as deer and boars. Loten went to Epeka for a stag hunt, a journey of three or four hours. When he arrived at the place, 'a great number of deer was already driven into a very large fyke or fence of bamboo'. During his tenure at Macassar, Loten made a sketch of a stag hunt. It is now preserved in the collection of Amsterdam's Rijksprentenkabinet.¹²⁸ The company paid a visit to the Kale berg, from which they had 'a nice view of the Turatsche and the sea'. A boar hunt followed on the 13th of August. Two days later they returned by ship to the castle Rotterdam at Macassar.

In October 1744, Loten paid a visit to Crain Madjennana the VOC's agent and 'a grandchild of the well-known Crain Patingaloa and son of Crain Bonto Songo', who was 'unlawfully dismissed' by the

Court of Goa at 'Saparija'. The meeting is described in more detail in Loten's letters to the governor-general in council at Batavia. After this visit the party walked along the Goa river and the ruins of Sambopo, near the sea, where they found a 'long piece of an iron gun, about 4 pounds calibre [...] from the time that Mr Speelman in a[n]n[o] 1669 captured this place'.¹²⁹ Several days later Loten visited the islands 'groot en kleijn Coeri', located about 1½ miles north of the Rotterdam castle. He also visited the hamlet Bontolebang, north of Galisson by 'corre corre'.

In August 1745 Loten took a field trip to Maros with his family; this trip is briefly described in his notes. During the trip, Loten and bookkeeper Jean Michel Aubert made sketches and drawings.¹³⁰ In 1771, having seen these drawings "in possession of Mr. Loten", the English naturalist Thomas Pennant remarked that "those [of the cataracts] of the island of Celebes are distinguished for their magnificent scenery".¹³¹ Loten and his family travelled by boat to the island of Boeton [= Buton Island, southwestern Sulawesi]. From the island they had a good view of the highlands of Labacca and the mountains of Celebes. After a visit to Maros they went on horseback into the forest and saw the Bantimoerong waterfall. Loten remarked: 'I visited this beautiful waterfall again in September 1750'. He also mentioned a visit 'to spelunk and the passage through the mountain inspected by Thomas Whyt – Jan Michiel Aubert'.¹³² Loten added a note in the itinerary saying that in 1747 he returned for several days for a stag hunt. He also referred to another stag hunt held at Kaimba in November 1747. He found it 'very amusing because they shot more than 25 deer and several wild boars and in the evening several more'. In April and May 1749, he went to Boeton again. Two letters to his wife referred to the heavy weather they experienced at sea and which prevented him from returning to Macassar sooner.¹³³ Later that year in August and September, Loten was in Pantjana and the island Mandali and paid a visit to the Queen of Tanete.¹³⁴ In his copy of the Speelman Report Loten mentioned her as 'an able historian and antiquarian'.¹³⁵ In August and September of 1750, he visited Maros and Mandali for the last time.

Jean Michel Aubert's drawings also depict various Company's strongholds in Macassar.¹³⁶ In the later years of Loten's government in Macassar, Aubert further drew detailed hydrographic charts of the coast of Celebes.¹³⁷ Two Atlases with the hand-drawn charts, can currently be found in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Leiden University Library. Additionally to the hydrographic information Aubert also executed seven charts of the VOC settlements at the southern coast of Celebes. These charts are at present part of the collection of the National Archive in the Hague.¹³⁸

Late in the 1770s Loten wrote a short memoir in his *Bell's Common-place-book* of the "Rocks, speluncs" he saw during his field trips in Celebes: "In one of my excursions thro' this beautiful great island, I think in the province of Sageri between Pantjana and Labakkan, I saw about the distance of hardly an English mile a great multitude of perpendicular rocks, most part thinner than a Doric column, rising out of the rice- fields, between the ridge of hills and the sea, to a height, some I think more than 30 or 40 feet, some much lower and inclined or making an angle with the horizon. At that distance pursuing my way to the north or to Pantjana (being a sea village to Caraeeng Tanéte or his sister Radja Loewoe, which the English would pronounce Loowoo) it brought to my mind de Bruin's prints of Persepolis.¹³⁹ Tho' I am inclined to believe these rocky pillars were remains of a convulsion of nature after earth quakes, of whom however I did not hear any remembrances".¹⁴⁰

A supposedly remarkable feat in Loten's career in Macassar was his role in the Company's opium trade in the East Indies. In a review of the Opium Trade in the Dutch East Indies published in 1907, J.F. Scheltema gave the details together with his own very personal interpretation: "[O]ne hundred boxes of opium were sent to Celebes, with an accompanying letter for the governor of Macassar, requesting him to foist that invoice on the natives as soon as possible. Such requests had, as they still have, if not the form, yet the force, of a command, non-compliance with which would, as it still will, be construed into the acknowledgement of unfitness for advancement. But the governor of Macassar, who thought of his highest duties first, returned the hundred boxes to Batavia, informing his superiors that he saw no chance of disposing of the stuff, if they gave him three years for it. That governor's name, Looten, deserves to be remembered, especially in a time when advancement determines the average official's conduct, exclusive of all other considerations".¹⁴¹ The episode refers to governor-general Van Imhoff's efforts to stimulate the private trade of opium by the Company's officials through the Opium Society which had just been founded. It is highly unlikely that in the 1740s Loten shared Scheltema's early twenty-century abhorrence of the intake of opium, nor his hostile attitude towards the Company or the Opium Society. It seems more probable that Loten's actions were prompted by the fact that the boxes of opium could not be traded on the Macassar market with a profit.

BATAVIA

After six years at Macassar the Loten family returned to Batavia where Loten took his seat in the Council of the Dutch East Indies. The problems at Boelecomba may have convinced him to leave Macassar. Moreover, as a member of the Supreme Government he would have more control over his personal career in the ranks of the Company. In a memoir about his wife Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont he wrote: 'At the beginning of November 1750 she landed with me in Batavia. In a message I received in Maccassar in 1749, I had already been appointed Councillor of the Indies. The day we arrived at the roadstead (1 November 1750) His Excellency Van Imhoff died'.¹⁴² Three days later Joan Gideon was installed as councillor extraordinary at 'High Table'. He attended the 5 November 1750 meeting during which Jacob Mossel (1704-1761) was elected governor-general and successor to Van Imhoff.¹⁴³

In November 1750, Loten also became president of the Marine Academy and external regent of the Batavia Hospital.¹⁴⁴ The Marine Academy was founded in 1743 by Van Imhoff, who was interested in navigation and considered a thoroughly educated corps of officers useful to the Company.¹⁴⁵ He shared this interest with Loten, with whom he evidently exchanged information about shipbuilding. He possibly also exchanged modern navigational instruments such as the Hadley octant.¹⁴⁶ The Marine Academy was meant to be an Indian institute used to educate masters and sea officers and as such it was initially a success. After the death of Van Imhoff, however, its usefulness as such diminished and it was closed in 1755. It was considered to be too expensive, especially by the citizens of Batavia who had to pay a special tax for the Academy's maintenance. By this time, Loten had already been in Colombo for three years. Therefore he cannot be blamed for the institution's demise.

The Company acknowledged Loten's navigational and cartographical expertise by electing him commissary 'for the improvement of VOC sea charts used to sail the east and west coasts of India'.¹⁴⁷ Although several charts were prepared under his supervision, the result was not improved charts for use by the whole Company. VOC charts of the second half of the eighteenth century did not incorporate any of the discoveries made by its own navigators or those made by French and British hydrographers.¹⁴⁸ In London Loten must have been aware of these shortcomings of the Dutch Company through his contact with Alexander Dalrymple, who later became the English East India Company's hydrographer.

In the mid 1700s, the Company in Java was involved in several conflicts. While establishing settlements along the northeast coast of Java, the VOC had to cope with the Third Javanese War of Succession (1749-1757). During his stay in Batavia, most of Loten's activities as a councillor were shaped by the revolt in Bantam (1750-1752).¹⁴⁹ The Bantam district was located about 8 to 9 hours from Batavia. It produced high quality pepper. The VOC had a monopoly on trade of the pepper based upon contracts it had with the Court of Bantam. In 1748 the Batavia Government ordered George Tammo Falck, the commander of Bantam, to take the Sultan of Bantam into custody.¹⁵⁰ The Sultan had gone mad and was transported to the island Edam. From there he was exiled to Amboina. The VOC then took over the government of Bantam. Ratu Sjariefat Fatima, the Sultan of Bantam's influential Arabian wife, was appointed regent on behalf of the Company. She had already been responsible for the Crown-Prince Pangéran Goesti's banishment to Ceylon in 1745. Thanks to her intrigues, he was replaced as heir to the throne by her cousin. Thus, in the event of the Sultan's death, Fatima's Arabian family would take over the government. In 1747, the VOC acknowledged the new situation with some reluctance. Jacob Mossel, at that time director-general, attended the installation of the new Crown-Prince in Bantam.

However, in October 1750 the people of Bantam revolted against this settlement of their affairs. Their leader was Ki Tapa, a priest who was capable of organising effective armed attacks against the VOC's strongholds in Bantam. Loten referred to him as 'Kiang Tapa'. The newly installed governor-general, Jacob Mossel, and the High Government in Batavia realised that arrangements for succession to the throne of Bantam had to be altered. On November 23rd 1750, the Government ordered the commander of Bantam to transport Ratu Sjariefat and the Crown Prince to the island of Edam. The Sultan's eldest brother was appointed Prince Regent. In January 1751 the Governor-general in council decided to exile Ratu Sjariefat and the Crown Prince. It is interesting to note that Joan Gideon Loten was Jacob Mossel's only supporter in his plea to have the Indian Council allow Ratu Sjariefat to remain in Batavia.¹⁵¹ In March of 1751, prior to her exile, Ratu Sjariefat died. The Governor-general in council decided that the former Crown Prince could return from his exile in Ceylon.

The revolt led by Ki Tapa threatened the Dutch and their trade in pepper at Bantam. The Company did not have enough soldiers to defend all its strongholds. In July 1751 brigadier Jan Cornelis Convert, the head of the Company's army in the Indies, was sent to Bantam with all of Batavia's available troops.¹⁵² Batavia's defence was left to the civil militia. In a letter of 1755 written to his father and brother, Loten referred to the activities of the militia in Batavia: 'In 1751, when the Batavian garrison was in the field, I was responsible as the Colonel of the burgher militia (composed of a Company of Cavalry of 150 persons and two foot companies each 300) for standing guard during about one and a half month.¹⁵³ His Excellency was absolutely satisfied with my performance. When I came to Batavia all the Gentlemen Councillors wanted to be Colonel of the burgher corps, however, when it came to an appointment they all excused themselves, one because he could not ride on horseback and another for other reasons'.¹⁵⁴ Convert and his troops travelled to Bantam by sea. Bantam was besieged by the mutineers. On July 23rd 1751, the army of Ki Tapa was defeated. However, in the months that followed the rebels remained active regularly attacking the Company's strongholds in Bantam. In November 1751 Loten made a field trip to Buytenzorg, an outing that may have been related to the insurgents' activities. He wrote letters to his wife mentioning that he was accompanied by senior merchants Nicolaas Hartingh and Pieter Van Der Velde.¹⁵⁵ Van Der Velden owned several sugar mills near Bekasi and was a close friend of governor-general Mossel, who was also his companion in the sugar trade. Hartingh was *commissary of native affairs* and in this position involved in the war against Ki Tapa. On 29 November 1751, the party took a trip by horseback and in a portable chair to the hot springs of Salak Mountain, a 2211 meter stratovolcano. Loten took a bath in the springs and he thought he saw the islands on the coast of Batavia from that spot on the mountain.¹⁵⁶ Several days later the rebels appeared in the Buytenzorg district. On December 7th 1751, they were defeated at the foot of the Salak Mountain. There is no document showing Loten's involvement in the fights.

ASSIGNED TO BANTAM

On February 25th 1752, the exiled former Crown Prince of Bantam, Pangéran Goesti, arrived at the Batavia roadstead from Ceylon. This meant that the Council at Batavia had to make definitive decisions about the Court of Bantam's future. The Prince Regent had to be informed about the former Crown Prince's return because rumour of his return had already caused unrest among his advisors who feared for their positions. The Indian Government did not consider the Prince Regent suited to the position of Sultan of Bantam. On March 13th 1752, the Governor-general in council at Batavia decided upon a new treaty between the company and Bantam. In this treaty, Bantam fell under the jurisdiction of the Company 'by way of conquest' and despite their earlier hesitations, made the Prince Regent Sultan of freehold's government. Pangéran Goesti was installed as Crown-Prince. As councillor extraordinary of the Indies and as the Batavian Council's commissary, Joan Gideon Loten was sent to Bantam to settle the new contract between the Company and the Court of Bantam. A *Commissary* was a high VOC official charged with a special commission, whose authority superceded that of the local officials.

In the final months of 1780, Loten regularly referred to his Bantam commission as 'very improperly imposed upon him [...] just after he was appointed at Ceylon'.¹⁵⁷ Governor-general Jacob Mossel had half-heartedly advised him to refuse, saying, «You must be ...», but evidently realising the kind of treacherous rogues and conspirators he had to deal with, he imposed the task upon me'.¹⁵⁸ Apparently Mossel suggested that only a fool would accept such a commission. Loten uttered further words of annoyance about the Bantam commission. So he asserted that in his final report about the commission: '[I] managed to be silent about matters that could be disadvantageous for some, but advantageous for me, or at least indemnify me from several thousands rixsdollars, the expenses for having at table two times each day twenty five or thirty, and often more persons, in a blockaded town (where it was only possible to obtain a chicken or a calf by a vessel from Batavia). However, Mr General Mossel said, «I pray you L[oten], don't mention it, it will be such a plausible example for others in times of peace at future commissions to Bantam». So the commission was performed and with better result compared to the aims in my letter of instruction. I received an acknowledgement by the Governor-general in council, and the well-meant blessing by Mr Mossel, «Ceylon will be a benefit for you», was also not realised'.¹⁵⁹

The official documents concerning Loten's mission to Bantam still exist.¹⁶⁰ They consist of seven letters to governor-general Mossel, four letters to Mossel and the Council of the Indies, five letters by Mossel to Loten and three letters by the governor-general in council to Loten. There is also a letter by Loten to the Prince of Orange and to the first advocate of the VOC concerning the affairs of Bantam.

The documents also include the Act of Investiture of the Sultan of Bantam, with Loten's additions and personal remarks. The documents cover the period between Loten's arrival in Bantam on March 25th and April 28th 1752, when Loten finished his final report to the governor-general in Batavia. In addition to these, Loten wrote another seven letters to his wife. These give a more personal insight into Loten's reflections about his Bantam commission and further illustrate his tender relationship with his wife.¹⁶¹

On the evening of 25 March 1752, commissary Loten arrived in Bantam accompanied by the former Crown Prince. As stated by Loten in 1755, he came to Bantam as councillor of the Indies in a commission of war, 'in rank and honour at the level of a Lieutenant-General'.¹⁶² According to Loten, the Courtiers of Bantam's reception of the Crown-Prince was a touching affair. The Prince chose to go ashore dressed in a Dutch costume. An hour after his arrival, Loten paid a visit to the Prince Regent, whom he referred to in his letters as the 'Sulthan'. He got a room at the house of brigadier Jan Cornelis Convert, who at that moment in time was also acting commander of Bantam. Loten considered himself to be the brigadier's superior, for the brigadier 'every evening received his orders personally' from Loten.¹⁶³

The following days were spent in negotiations with the Prince Regent and the officials of the Bantam Court. Neither the Prince nor his advisers objected to the most important parts of the contract. Only matters of minor importance were raised and Loten and his translator Van Der Guchten could easily deal with these. On April 1st 1752, Loten wrote his wife the following about his contacts with the Prince Regent and the Crown Prince: 'Yesterday I was glad to receive your treasured letter, accompanied by the Hammans;¹⁶⁴ your letter and the hammans arrived too late because yesterday morning I sent the Sulthan and Crown Prince velvet, rosewater, passementerie and each two pieces of muslin. Now there are two hammans left, but I shall not return anything. Instead I will wait until I also have an opportunity to send presents to the loyal servants of the Crown Prince because their friendship is for me a matter of much concern [...] The Sulthan is a weak man with a horribly deformed arm caused by an old wound or scabies. He serves everything himself, taking with his paws from the dish and serving it on my plate. [...] Because he is miserly he prepares his meals himself, meat balls &c: it made my heart shrink with pity. When I paid him my first visit he instructed the captain of his castle to use very little gunpowder for his canons because he has to pay for it himself. He buys it from the Company for 75 Rixdollars per 1000 pounds. Thus a 24 pound cannon with 20 pounds of gunpowder does not even sound like a musket. This kind of thing happens all the time. He noticed that I did not carry a cane so he presented me with a nice one with a hideous gold handle. However, it must have grieved him for he is usually his own carpenter because he is frugal. He makes his own bird cages and other things. He is a good man but very mean. This afternoon I shall go to the Court again to start negotiating. These will last until about nine o'clock in the evening. I have no idea when the mission will be completed. If it is done in a hurry I fear it will not be successful'.¹⁶⁵

In the meantime, the rebels again appeared in the area of Bantam. This interfered with Loten's negotiations with the Court of Bantam. In a letter to his wife dated 4 April 1752, he wrote about the situation: 'I am also healthy, but unable to do anything because of the unbearable heat; it is more intense than I have ever experienced it before. Thus, the two times I visited the King in my oppressive clothes, I ripped off my skin with the cloth. I cannot guess when my business here will be finished. Concerning the war, I cannot see when the situation will take a turn for the better. Three days ago, the men from Bantam who have sided with the Company suffered a defeat about. Another troop located on the western side of the city and accompanied by a company of 50 of our Mandharese withdrew against the wishes of the Mandharese and without having seen the enemy. The enemy is in control because none of us is outside, with the exception of the Europeans and Natives that occupy [Bantam], the two fortresses [=Serang and Tjampea] and the hamlet [=Moenara]. Our forces consist of the 400 Europeans (which number includes the officers), 500 Natives, most of them Batavian children, innate rice-thieves. I wish that Crain, Glisson, Coelembankeeng and Tanate men [=men from Celebes] were here. Our troubles would then be over very soon'. He continued his message: 'Because I live in someone else's home I do not hear much news, nor do I receive discreet information because nobody has the courage to address me in secrecy. However, Intje Oesin is of some help in this respect. Mr Falck [=George Tammo Falck, the former commander of Bantam, who left Bantam in July 1751] took care of himself quite well. However, although people now appear to be treated well enough, it appears it is all too late; they don't believe us anymore. But all this must be kept secret and remain amongst ourselves'.¹⁶⁶

In 1780 Loten referred to his ignorance of Bantam's military prospects at Bantam: 'Stupid bumblebee that I was. At that time I did not understand (or could not imagine that anyone could be so wicked), that one could sacrifice blood every day at the whims of 50 or 60 officers. At times there were fewer and sometimes more who freely ate at the table of the brigadier and who enjoyed many other such benefits'.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless Loten was successful in his negotiations with the Bantam Court. On April 8th 1752 the Prince Regent agreed with the terms of the contract. However the 'miserly' Prince Regent still had to agree upon a financial settlement for the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince had been in contact with the rebels in order to put pressure on the negotiations. In a letter to the governor-general in council Loten suggested that after his installation as Sultan of Bantam, the Prince Regent would abdicate in favour of the Crown Prince.¹⁶⁸ In the same letter he wrote a Post Scriptum about his housing in Bantam and suggested that he be moved to the 'small and ramshackle house in the garden at the swing-bridge'. This house was more suited to the Natives 'informing me directly and in secrecy'. His present situation, 'living in a room in someone else's house', prevented people from addressing him; this might result in the Commission being delayed. It is not known whether Loten moved to the other housing or not.

On April 14th 1752, the Batavian Council gave Loten the freedom to act on his proposal, on the condition that the Prince Regent agreed to it. On that same day the Company's troops attacked the rebels led by Ki Tapa. Ki Tapa was defeated and with his men fled to Markassana. There he suffered such losses that he withdrew to Lantjar on the 15th of April. Loten wrote to his wife about the rebel retreat on April 16th: 'Yesterday we pursued Kiang Tapa all day. He was afraid to attack us so that we were saved the trouble of fighting. Kian Tapa left his camp neat and orderly and with the food still cooking on the fire. He also left several horses, saddles, guns &c behind and they were all burned. I say this in confidence to You. We are now free to crown the King tomorrow morning. I hope that, if no further troubles ensue, I can return to Batavia in 6 to 7 days, to embrace you and our darling daughter'.¹⁶⁹ Nearly thirty years after the affair in Bantam, Loten was still angry with Brigadier Jan Cornelis Convert, the commander of the troops. From Loten's point of view, on April 15th 1752, Convert had frustrated an effective attack on the rebels, by 'causing unnecessary problems'. Convert could have defeated them and that could have 'brought the Brigadier much honour'.¹⁷⁰

On April 17th 1752, the new Sultan was crowned and the installation of Pangéran Goesti as Crown Prince took place in Bantam. A financial settlement assured the latter an income similar to that of the Sultan. Before his departure to Batavia, Loten had a final meeting with the Sultan. He told the Sultan that the Government of Batavia would allow him prolong his stay in Bantam if he was prepared to abdicate. However, the Sultan did resign from his new office. Thus, on the 19th of April 1752, Loten wrote his wife saying: '[A]t the moment I am collecting my luggage and I hope to conclude the affairs of the Company today or tomorrow, so that I can board a ship for a return the day after tomorrow. That will be a difficult enterprise because one cannot put anything eatable in one's mouth without cockroaches. Tomorrow the King will have dinner with me, so I will need to hurry. Let us hope that there will be no hitches anywhere because about an hour or hour and a half from here everything is on fire. However, I don't know whether this has been caused by the enemy or by the King's people'.¹⁷¹

Thus ended Loten's commission in Bantam. On April 28th 1752, he finished his official report to the Council in Batavia. The settlement was accepted with pleasure by the governor-general in council.¹⁷² Ki Tapa and his rebels remained active for several months in Bantam and mid-Java. Towards the end of 1752 the Bantam revolt was over. Convert returned to Batavia with his troops. In August 1752 Loten, accompanied by his family, left Batavia for Colombo as the governor and director of Ceylon. In November 1752 he wrote to his brother, saying that he estimated the expenses of his commission to Bantam to have been in the order of 6,000 Rixdollars.¹⁷³

GOVERNOR OF CEYLON

In 1774, after Loten had read the 'Account of a new Hygrometer' by Monsieur J.A. de Luc in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, which discussed the viewpoints of "philosophers who look upon evaporation as dissolution of water by air",¹⁷⁴ he wrote a short description of Ceylon in his notebook: "Often I took notice at Ceylon when at our country house, ab[ou]t 3 English miles from Colombo on the banks of the great river, that on a serene dry evening about sun set, when the condensated vapours out of the earth, vegetables &c that all rose at a small height and cause a visible atmosphere like a fog, moved in their tendency to the earth &c visibly towards the river and above it and when there with an accelerated motion like joined to that of the river itself proceeded with it's stream

towards the sea, tho' seemingly these vapours did not mix with the water, but as with a convex body leaned on the river like a globe or spheroid on a plane, that was it's tangent".¹⁷⁵ In the description Loten not only made an accurate observation of physical phenomena, but also gave a peaceful impression of the climate and nature of the island that he evidently liked. In later years he remembered the climate at Colombo as well fitted to his constitution. The available sources however, give a less peaceful impression of Loten's stay at Ceylon. In contrast with the period at Macassar no field trips or visits to the Ceylon establishments were mentioned in the documents. Nevertheless he built up his natural history collection during his residence on the island. Although he suggested a lack of time, he must have studied the fauna and flora, because in later years he made notes about his watercolours that show a detailed knowledge of the tropical nature based on accurate observations.¹⁷⁶

On February 28th 1752, Gerard Johan Vreeland, governor and director of Ceylon from 1751 on, died in Colombo. Thus shortly after Vreeland assumed office, the island was left without a governor. On Friday June 13th 1752, the governor-general in council decided who would succeed him. The Council's proceedings cite the requirements for a new governor.¹⁷⁷ In addition to quality and experience, 'character' and 'authority' were thought to be important traits for this person be able 'to take the best measures on behalf of the Company and the country and its inhabitants'. The minutes further specify the Company's policy towards Ceylon: '[S]uch a dear conquest which for many years already has been regarded with jealousy and envy by other nations and which would suffer a great loss in the event of a rupture between the Dutch Republic and any other European powers. The Gentlemen of the General Board in their much respected dispatch dated 27th September last year, even remarked that in the event of that inconvenience the island must be preserved for the Company without any damage and that the privileges and related interests in and on the island must be better consolidated and even enlarged'.¹⁷⁸ For the Council this meant that the island's management must be focused upon improving the interests of the Company. Although preceding governors had ruled over the island with 'honour and reputation', they did this 'by gently dealing with the superiority of the Court of Candy which after so many years has gotten used to this and also to the showering of all kinds of praise'. The proceedings refer to the former governor of Ceylon, Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff, who, in 1735 and 1736, had stressed that the island had to be governed by an able servant with superior qualities. Following this elaborate introduction, the minutes cite that Loten had been unanimously elected governor and director of the island by the councillors, because he possessed 'all the requirements for the government of that province [and that he] had gained a very good reputation among the natives'. The proceedings also state that Loten had accepted 'the charge with readiness'. However, in a note he wrote in a manuscript at least four years later he tells us: 'I had not applied in any way for the Ceylonese government, it was against my wishes – The Governor-General Mossel persisted (in a serious but absolutely kind manner) – the Director-General Van Gollennesse used a much stronger terminology than «I humbly request you». I thought it was mockery – Mr Mossel however, assured me of the contrary – afterwards [I] am also convinced that he was in earnest'.¹⁷⁹

On August 23rd 1752, Loten sailed on board of the ship *Ghiessenburg* from Batavia to Ceylon accompanied by his wife, daughter and son-in-law, Dirk Willem Van Der Brugghen. During the voyage, Loten did several astronomical calculations for the solar-eclipse that was expected to take place in Batavia on 6 November 1752. Jean Michel Aubert, who joined Loten on his voyage to Colombo, made a drawing of the Princen-island [=Pulau Panaitan] on the southwestern tip of West Java.¹⁸⁰ Five weeks later on September the 30th, the *Ghiessenburg* arrived at the Colombo roadstead.¹⁸¹ The usual ceremonial practise was that the incoming governor was saluted by the castle's gunfire. However, chief administrator Noël Anthony Lebeck had told his men that the castle guns were only to respond to salutes fired from the ship. He prevented lieutenant de Vries, military commander of the Colombo castle, to fire the first salute under the pretext that it was 'because we are in mourning' for the late Stadholder Prince Willem IV. When senior merchant Robertus Cramer came to warn him of Loten's arrival, Lebeck replied 'it is only a privateer'.¹⁸² This incident formed the overture to future conflicts between Lebeck and Loten. But not all servants of the Company were as hostile in their reception of the new governor. Assistant bookkeeper Adriaan Moens wrote a poem of 30 pages on the occasion of his arrival to the island. It was possibly recited during Loten's first public appearance on January 18, 1753.¹⁸³

Joan Gideon Loten's first impression of the Ceylon office was, that 'for the present the new government does not please me at all, because until now I only foresee sustaining losses'.¹⁸⁴ He

considered himself, to be ‘completely ruined’ and also muttered about ‘a private present of about 2 a 3000 Rixdollars to the Emperor of Kandi, who never returns anything else than an old halberd or something like that’. One year later he wrote: ‘[N]evertheless Maccassar was a no less agreeable and healthy government and was administered by me on a profit level comparable to how I direct Ceylon’.¹⁸⁵ He complained that the direction of the government is so ‘umbrageous, that I have to lock up myself almost with violence, to have a quarter of an hour at liberty’. Early in 1754, Anna Henrietta wrote to her sister-in-law, Lucretia Christina Loten-Scheffer, saying that Ceylon was ‘sufficiently depleted and not anymore like in the time of our dear aunt. The country is much impoverished and with compassion I behold the sad people’.¹⁸⁶

Although he complained of his shortage of personal finances, soon after his arrival on the island Loten ordered expensive books from the Amsterdam bookshop, Tirion. Amongst other things he asked for ‘*Ptolemaei tabul[ae] Geograficae*’ an expensive and rare work on the geography of Ceylon.¹⁸⁷ Apparently the ancient name for Sri Lanka, ‘Taprobanus’ in Ptolemy’s *Geographos* so appealed to Loten that in 1775 he ironically referred to his former Ceylonese seat as ‘Olim Palatinus Taprobanopolitanus’ [formerly Ceylon’s governmental residence]. This was an allusion to the residence of the Roman emperors on Palatine hill.¹⁸⁸

Colombo archivist Reimers characterised Loten’s term of office in Ceylon as a ‘colourless administration’. She made an exception for an event of the greatest importance in the religious history of the island, the re-establishment in 1753 of the Upasampadawa or highest degree of ordination known to the Buddhist religion.¹⁸⁹ To this purpose the Candyan Court sent several missions to Siam; these were facilitated by the Company which placed ships at the disposal of the Court. In May 1753 the Sinhalese mission returned, after an absence of more than two years, with the long-awaited Siamese priests. According to Loten’s *Memorandum* about his government of Ceylon for his successor Jan Schreuder (1757), the Court was ‘extremely gratified’ resulting in ‘no lack of evidence of good understanding and friendship’ with the Company. In January 1754 an embassy of the King of Candy brought ‘exceptionally valuable presents in recognition of the extremely important service rendered to that prince’ to Colombo. Loten received a gold ring with ‘Ceylonese stones’ and a dagger with a ‘gold handle’. The ambassadors also delivered four European prisoners, who had suffered shipwreck 33 years earlier and who had been detained in Candy all that time. In 1754 the Siamese embassy and its entourage departed from Candy to return to Siam. The Company allowed the priests and envoys to sail to Batavia in the Company’s ship *Casteel van Tilburg*. From there they returned to Siam.¹⁹⁰

The attempt of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha, King of Candy, to restore the Buddhist order of monks, aimed to gain the support of the community of monks, who wielded a lot of influence over the people. By winning the monks and people over to his side, Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha hoped to undermine the power of the Candyan aristocracy. However, the revival of the order had far-reaching social effects because a caste qualification was imposed upon all entrants to the order. This meant that only those who were members of the highest caste, the *govikula* were accepted. Moreover, the first monks accepted were those within the caste who were from the aristocratic families. Nevertheless the religious revival drew the people of Candy and its coastal areas together through a common bond of faith and this gave strength to the Candyan ruler.

Two other major events took place during Loten’s term in office: the smallpox epidemic of 1754 and 1755 and the great hurricane of 1755. There are no references to the smallpox epidemic in Ceylon in his personal papers, but in the *Memorandum* he wrote for his successor, Loten includes his observations about the epidemic and its inadequate treatment. He remarks that the natives are not willing ‘to submit to the use of the so very salutary and universal remedy, which [...] has had such happy and certain results in various climates temperate as well as tropical’, a reference to the controversial inoculation practise of that time.¹⁹¹ The ‘terrible storm or hurricane which raged here in May 1755 and destroyed or uprooted a large number of trees’, is not only mentioned in Loten’s *Memorandum*, but also in his private correspondence, as it was a source of agitation for his wife.¹⁹²

The government of the island demanded much of Loten’s time and energy. Candyan incursions into Dutch-controlled territories in the lowlands continued to take place during his administration. Under his government, the VOC’s conventional policy of rigorous restraints on the use of unproductive land for traditional subsistence agriculture was re-imposed; this was done in order to protect the growth of cinnamon which lay scattered all over these areas.¹⁹³ It proved to be increasingly difficult to refrain the population from using these lands. Under Loten’s successor, Jan Schreuder, doing so led to open warfare with them. Another problem facing Loten during his stay in Colombo was a group of senior Company

officials who challenged his authority as governor and director because they had established private trading interests on the island. In his official *Memorandum*, there are several references to these practises taking place in Tutucorijn and Jaffanapatnam.¹⁹⁴

The island of Ceylon had a long history in illegal private trading carried out by high Company officials.¹⁹⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century standards for efficiency and integrity at the highest levels in Ceylon administration were a serious concern for the VOC. Proceedings were even begun against governor Becker, Anna Henrietta's uncle, when he left the island in 1716. Maladministration and misrule continued to take place in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Its nadir was reached under the leadership of governor Petrus Vuyst (1726-1729) when the judiciary, too, was affected by the prevailing malaise. Vuyst was summoned to Batavia where he faced trial for various charges; he was found guilty and executed in 1732. Governor Van Imhoff (1736-1740) introduced reforms which restored general respect for the governor's office. According to the Sri Lankan historian De Silva, the zest for efficiency in administration and probity in personal conduct demonstrated by Van Imhoff's successors Van Gollennesse, Loten and Schreuder were sustained throughout the rest of the eighteenth century. From the Loten documents we get the impression that Loten admired Van Imhoff, but that he disapproved of his predecessor Van Gollennesse. In November 1755, Loten wrote to his parents saying that Stein Van Gollennesse had plundered the island during his term as governor of Ceylon (1743-1751).¹⁹⁶ A recent analysis by Van Der Belt of the economy of Ceylon in the eighteenth century agrees with De Silva's conclusion. He compared the amounts received for Ceylonese products at the auctions in the Netherlands with Asia's expenditure and found that Ceylon was at its most profitable for the VOC in the last part of the 1750s.¹⁹⁷ Between 1700 and 1704 Ceylonese products contributed 9.2 percent (2,301,307 guilders) to the total net profits of the VOC and between 1756-1760 this was 16.4 percent (8,772,749 guilders).¹⁹⁸ In the decades following this Ceylon's share in the VOC's profits fluctuated around 15 percent. Van Der Belt's analysis shows that when the profits of Loten's governorship and that of his successor Schreuder are compared to those of their predecessor Van Gollennesse (1745-1748: 9.9 percent or 5,393,680 guilders), considerable improvements may be seen.

At the end of his term in Ceylon, Loten felt 'a continual listlessness caused by several extraordinary misfortunes', a reference to his personal situation that will be discussed in a following paragraph.¹⁹⁹ This feeling may have been amplified by the approach some VOC officers in Ceylon took to their work. In his *Memorandum* he wrote: 'I must only state here that among them there are several who perform their duties with diligence and zeal, but there are also many who through indolence show little interest in the same, which causes no little anxiety to a ruler who would bear the burden of responsibility with infinitely greater ease if through experience he could be assured that everyone was efficient in his own duties and was at the same time vigilant in what had been entrusted to him, which, I trust, may soon result. In this respect much could also be contributed by occasionally making a notable example of obstinate persons, of whom there are only too many here, whose only aim it is to lead an easy life at the expense of the Company, at their own capricious will and in absolute idleness (except in devising all manner of mischievous practices), following their daily changing illusions, in accordance with which they attempt to reduce into absolute impotence all that is above and outside their common sphere'.²⁰⁰ It is a low-spirited complaint from a sad, tired and duty-conscious man who longs to return to Patria.

4. SHOCKING ATROCITIES IN CELEBES

Circa 1778 Loten remarked in his notebook: '[I] thank God that during my stay in Celebes there was peace, if you do not take into account the murder and most shocking atrocities &c committed by Beens'.²⁰¹ This confession summarised Loten's emotions about what happened in Celebes in 1749 and 1750 and his subsequent problems with George Beens, former resident of Boelecomba and Bontyn. The Beens affair haunted Loten for almost thirty years. It was a stain on his otherwise spotless East Indian career. He was genuinely amazed about Beens' behaviour in Boelecomba and his subsequent approach to his benefactor, Joan Gideon Loten. The documents show Loten's loyalty and sometimes naïve trust in his acquaintances. They also show how angry and incredulous he could be of his compatriots' malice.

GEORGE BEENS EARLY CAREER

George Beens, born in Breda on 11 October 1699 as Joris Beens, was the youngest son of François Wilhelmus Beens and Agatha Van Der Nath. His godfather and godmother were Major Joris Ramsay and

Agnes Odilia Bruce.²⁰² Their names suggest a relationship with the Scottish soldiers who served the Dutch Republic and who were based in Breda.²⁰³ George Beens lived in England for some time, although it is unknown when. In 1780 Loten wrote to his brother saying that in Batavia, Beens was known, ‘in particular by the English tailor Gabriel Segwin’, as the man who had ‘ingeniously escaped the gallows in London, for the same reason as in the Indies’.²⁰⁴ George Beens probably lived in Amsterdam in 1728. A notarial act from Utrecht describes how he assaulted jeweller Jan Van Ommeren on the Amsterdam Bottermarkt on November 14th 1728.²⁰⁵ Upon the jeweller’s request witness Jacobus Van Wijk told the notary what had happened: ‘[O]ne person, reasonably tall and fat, dressed in a black coat and on his head a blond wig, and who I was told was George Beens; this George Beens, without uttering a word or a reply, approached the requestor [Van Ommeren] from behind and immediately struck him on the head and further seized him, after which stroke and seizure the requestor drew his sword and thus kept the aforesaid George Beens at arm’s length’. Unfortunately, no further details about this incident are known.

Beens married Lucretia Catharina Hoogwoud (*d.* 1766) in Amsterdam in 1727. They had at least two children: one son François Beens, who died in 1772 in Batavia,²⁰⁶ and one daughter, Agatha Catharina Beens, who married Walter baron Ten Haghuis in Batavia.²⁰⁷ In the early 1740s, Beens must have been an acquaintance of Loten’s father, Joan Carel Loten. In 1743 he left Holland and went to Batavia, probably with an introduction from Joan Carel Loten to his son Joan Gideon.²⁰⁸

George Beens is mentioned for the first time in the Loten documents on September 31st 1744. Loten’s wife, Anna Henrietta, wrote to her brother-in-law Arnout Loten that she had received a present of ‘delicious snuff [“rapé”] for which I feel obliged to you’ from Beens.²⁰⁹ According to the Macassar bookkeeper Jean Michel Aubert, Beens went to Macassar as a soldier, ‘poverty-stricken and loaded with debts’.²¹⁰ However, George Beens departed onboard of the ship *Hartenlust* on 29 March 1743 as an assistant bookkeeper, employed by the chamber Rotterdam of the VOC.²¹¹ Beens’s elder brother, David (1687-1721), had also been a Company assistant; he died at the Cape of Good Hope. George Beens arrived in Batavia on 14 November 1743. In the autumn of 1744 he became head of the outposts, ‘Boelecomba and Bontyn’ under Loten’s patronage. Loten was also responsible for his appointment as a junior merchant of the Company in October 1745.²¹²

When he departed for Batavia, Beens left his family in Utrecht. On January 14th 1744, however, he wrote to his wife and children from Batavia saying that he had asked the directors of the VOC for permission to have them moved to Macassar, ‘on condition that they [=the Company] pay for the passage and the food’. A notarial act confirmed that the letter was written by George Beens; Joan Carel Loten signed the document as a witness.²¹³ Lucretia Catharina Hoogwoud and her two children received permission from the directors to join their husband and father in the Dutch East Indies. Early in 1746, they arrived in Batavia; from there they travelled by ship, the *Everswaard*, to Macassar.²¹⁴ However, in March 1746, when Beens’s wife and son were on their way to Boelecomba, their ship drifted ashore at Pandang. The native population treated the shipwrecked persons well, so that, in April 1746, the Beens family found themselves united at the Boelecomba outpost.²¹⁵

Beens visited Macassar twice a year, where the governor treated him – according to the Aubert-memoir – ‘like a brother’.²¹⁶ In Macassar, Beens and his wife enjoyed the hospitality extended to them by the Loten family. Loten regularly wrote official and private letters to Beens. The private letters are written like one who is a friend and patron. They include kind reproaches to Beens when it appears he has not submitted adequate reports to his superiors or when he has included private matters in his official correspondence. Beens’s polite replies to Loten are more formal.²¹⁷ In August 1747, Beens asks Loten to be discharged from his post at Boelecomba in order to return to Patria. Loten replies willingly and proposes that Beens discuss the request with him in Macassar, because he needs more details about the immediate causes of the request: ‘I am prepared to help you with all well meant considerations, but I fear that my sincerity will be explained wrongly for you by the passion of those people whose nature does not permit them to remain one moment in the same mood’.²¹⁸ As is evident from the following narrative, Beens stayed in Boelecomba and was not officially discharged from his post any earlier than August 1749.

BEENS IN BOELECOMBA

The true direction that Beens’s affairs in the outpost of Boelecomba were taking is described in detail in a memorandum by bookkeeper Jean Michel Aubert.²¹⁹ The memoir asserted that Beens was privately trading slaves in Boelecomba. It was an activity that was pursued without any scruple and in a very cruel manner. Beens had bought a longboat from a ‘Chinese captain’ [chief of the Chinese in a settlement].

With this boat he illegally transported slaves from Boelecomba to Batavia using documents that he had received under false pretexts from VOC secretary Philippus Hodenpijl's office in Macassar. Every year he sent about 180 to 200 slaves to Batavia. He also illegally traded in opium; he did this under the pretext that he represented the prosecutor of the Company, the one who had the monopoly on this trade. He also conspired with a deserted ship's master who had become a pirate at 'Larentouque' [Larantoeke], eastern Flores. Although the Timor archipelago belonged to the VOC sphere of influence, the Portuguese still had the supremacy at Larantoeke in the eighteenth century. The area was not safe and notorious for the pirates that operated in its coastal waters.

Beens' ruthless manner of capturing slaves was also described in the memorandum. When other ships were 'impertinent' enough to pass his ship without greeting, he condemned the owner to a fine of 88 rixdollars. If the fine was not paid, Beens confiscated the ship, detained those on board and sent them off as slaves to Batavia. Those who did not come to parties organized by Beens were liable to a fine, put into prison or having their houses confiscated. They who did not obey him were fined 33 rixdollars, either because they were ignorant, or for some other reason. If they did not pay him the fine, they were forced to capture three other people; if they refused, they and their wives and children were sent to Batavia to be sold as slaves. Under threat of heavy penalty, he forbade anyone from bringing slaves to Macassar. He bought them himself for 15 rixdollars and then sent them on his longboat to Batavia.

In 1748, Beens passed a boat belonging to the Court of Bony and gave his men strict orders to follow the ship. He was informed that the boat belonged to Prince Chala [or Tjalla] panekie, the King of Bony's cousin who was sailing with his wife and several Court ladies. Upon hearing this, Beens told his interpreter, Frans Fransz, to board the boat with his musket in hand and force its passengers to follow his orders even if violence was required. In the struggle that ensued, one person on Prince Chala panekie's boat was killed. The atrocities continued: 'Seeing that the queen was pretty, Beens raped her in a small hut on the beach, and next drove her out as an ordinary prostitute'.

In the weeks that followed, Prince Chala paneki, 'who wanted satisfaction', assembled 200 men. On March 11th 1749, when they headed for Boelecomba, Beens sent Frans Fransz, who was a good shot, to the front of the company with the 'orders to shoot Chala panekie through his head'. Fransz executed Beens' orders whereupon Beens had the Prince's head, and that of several of his followers, placed on bamboo poles and exhibited in the fortress Carolina.

The memoir then continues saying that Beens 'trembled and shuddered and was afraid to leave the fortress'. He hurried away to Macassar and asked leave to depart for Batavia, taking his earnings with him. Loten gave him this permission and Beens left Macassar in June of 1749. In Boelecombo Beens was replaced by secretary Hodenpijl, 'whom he had also taught the fine art of enrich one in a short while'. Beens left a maid in Boelecombo who had a child by him. She 'was given to a Mahometan to marry'. Beens gave Hodenpijl money for their maintenance: 200 rixdollars for the maid and 500 rixdollars for the child.

In August 1749, Beens was to be found in Batavia where he attempted to get permission to leave the Indies with his wife and son. Loten wrote to his brother in 1774 saying that Beens had powerful patrons. The general tax collector in Batavia, Johan de Roth, husband of Suzanna Anthonia Van Der Bruggen (sister of Loten's future son-in-law), had pressed Loten to wreak no evil upon Beens. He also said that there were rumours of a family connection between Walter baron Ten Haghuys, the husband of Beens's daughter, and governor-general Van Imhoff.²²⁰

The Aubert memoir tells us that at this time Beens was greatly dissatisfied with Loten, the very one to whom he owed his prosperity. However, it is not clear from any other documents from this period that there was dissatisfaction, only civilities. In August 1749, Beens asked Loten to sell his longboat for him. On October 2nd 1749 in a letter from Batavia, Beens congratulated Loten with his election to the position of councillor extraordinary. He also mentioned that he had received permission to return to Patria. The Beens family departed for Patria on board of the ship *Nieuwstad* on 13 November 1749, several days before a complaint about his behaviour at Boelecomba was reported to the governor-general in council. Early in March of 1750, the *Nieuwstad* arrived at the Cape.²²¹ There the Council of policy gave Beens, his wife, son and a young man called Jan Ernst Knoest, apparently Beens's personal servant permission to leave the ship until his recovery from an indisposition.²²² In May the family departed from the Cape in the ship *De Eendragt*.²²³ In September 1750 Beens and his family were back in Utrecht.²²⁴ According to the Aubert-memoir, Beens was able to return to Patria with 50,000 rixdollars. A reconstruction of Beens's money transfers from the VOC's administration as well as notary acts from Utrecht show that at least 55,000 guilders were transferred to Patria.²²⁵

By the end of 1749, Loten had informed the High Government at Batavia about the state of affairs in the southern provinces of Celebes. Loten tells us that governor-general Van Imhoff was greatly displeased. In a personal letter he complained that Beens 'could swiftly make his fortune, because that was also the pretext he used to return to Patria so soon'.²²⁶ In the *Generale Missive 31 December 1749*, which governor-general Van Imhoff and the councillors in Batavia sent to the Heren XVII annually, the governor-general in council declared displeasure about Prince Tjalla panekie's incursion of the southern provinces saying: '[I]f we had known that the former resident of Boelecomba, George Beens, was probably the cause of this incursion, as is, to our annoyance, clear from Macassar's daily register of March 13th, or better, from a therein included instruction stating that he plundered said Prince and killed one of his pagael oedjoas, and irrespective of whether the ministers approved the standing orders, saying that Beens was allowed to make a jaunt to Batavia, we [should not have] agreed with his request to return to the Netherlands, [which we did] because we had not received the documents (that were sent over rather late this year), and so [he] escaped justice'.²²⁷ The *Generale Missive* also stated that from 1746 on, Company rice proceeds from Boelecomba had fallen short. Batavia suspected George Beens was the main culprit and demanded a security amounting to 10,000 rixdollars from his agents in Batavia.²²⁸ In the *Generale Missive*, the governor-general in council wrote to the directors in Holland saying that Beens's bill of transfer for 17,723 guilders was to be subtracted from his wages. This measure was implemented after Beens's return to Patria.²²⁹ His income of 2,873 guilders however, was paid out by the Company on 23 September 1750.²³⁰ In October 1751 Beens requested from the Court of directors 10,000 rixdollars, because he claimed that at Batavia he was found not guilty. The directors decided to forward Beens' request to the Indian Government.²³¹ In 1753 Beens undertook legal actions against the directors of the VOC. In December of 1753, he signed a notary act in which he conferred full powers of attorney ('in omnibus ad lites') to Pieter Ploos Van Amstel, attorney at the High Colleges and Courts of Justice in the Hague, in his case against the VOC.²³² Beens evidently took immediate action, because on 20 August 1754, the High Government in Batavia wrote a letter to governor Jan Dirk Van Clootwijk stating that the Company had been summoned to pay 10,000 rixdollars to its former resident Beens. Van Clootwijk collected several documents relating to Beens, among which a complaint against Beens by the Court of Bony. These were forwarded to Batavia in October 1754.²³³ However, Beens successfully sued the Company for the damages and in 1756 he received 26,320 guilders from the VOC chamber Amsterdam.²³⁴

LOTEN AND THE INCURSION OF THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF CELEBES

In his private letters to Beens, Loten regularly asserted the King of Bony's legal position in the VOC territory at Celebes. Loten must have been aware of the fact that Beens did not act in accordance with the treaty signed by the Company and the Court of Bony. In June 1748, Loten bluntly told Beens to simply follow the rules of the treaty in his treatment of the indigenous peoples.²³⁵ Four months later, he again resolutely told Beens that the King and his Court had always enjoyed free passage in the territory and that if Beens had complaints about their behaviour, he should address these to the King or to his governor.²³⁶ After the violent attack on Prince Chala panekie and his household, Loten accused Beens of autonomous behaviour. Beens evidently replied indignantly. Early in February 1749, in a private letter, Loten responded to this. It is remarkable for its unusual beginning, in which he addresses Beens with 'Decently, devoutly', instead of the usual 'Honourable friend'. From the letter it is clear that, initially, Loten tried to settle the affair as if it had been an incident. Later however, he became angry with Beens for his insubordination: 'Although you consider yourself to be enormously insulted by those here, who dare to reproach you about your astounding and independent actions, this will be my last private letter to you. In future I shall never let you rob me of my costly time to write to you with my best intentions to you, because one receives no proof of your gratitude and even unevenly suffers by being regarded as someone who is damaging you. You never received a commission to board ships at sea nor on the beach from me either, thus you have been lying about this'.²³⁷ According to Loten, Beens had received the usual instruction, '[which was meant] to restrain from all violence when visiting honest traders and small boats, which was not taken into account by you. [You] even acted contrarily by violently attacking and overpowering boats, as was the case with the boat of the King of Boni, about which you dared to state that it was done on my instruction'.²³⁸ Loten reminded Beens that he had tried to placate these incidents, 'for which indulgence in your hubris, I, or those who handle the inland affairs, have to justify themselves to you for writing and reproaching you'. According to Loten, Beens had every reason to be happy about

his lenient treatment, although 'it is as clear as the sun that you are guilty'. However, Beens appears to have been headstrong and Loten therefore declared that he should use 'infallible means to silence and submit' Beens. This threat, however, did not thwart the incidents that took place at Boelecomba in March of 1749.

Loten's first report to the Indian Government in Batavia about the Boelecomba affairs was short. In a *Secrete missive* directed to the governor-general in Batavia and written from Macassar in June of 1749, the incursion of Prince Chala panekie and his death were mentioned. He referred to the letter sent by Beens, dated March 12th 1749, concerning the assault and the Prince's death.²³⁹ Loten evidently attempted to deal with the incidents at Boelecomba as local matters only. Loten wrote a detailed account of the Boelecomba incidents to the governor-general no earlier than May 1750. In this account, he expressed his concern about the reproach cited in the *Generale Missive 31 December 1749*. Defending himself, he stated that shortly after the incidents had taken place, he was informed about a 'very probable rumour' concerning past resident Beens, who had evidently insulted the Prince by plundering his ship, and causing the death of one of his pagoel oedjoas [=Pengulu: title of a nobleman]. However, because the evidence was not very convincing, 'Beens could reassure himself, that there still was some doubt about his violence'. In view of the earlier correspondence between Beens and Loten however, this interpretation is not convincing and looks like a cover up. In the end, Loten had reservations about taking action against Beens because of further atrocities carried out by Beens's interpreter, Frans Franz. In his memoir to Van Imhoff, Loten declared that, although he had done his utmost, the young King of Bony had not uttered a complaint about the murder of his cousin: '[W]hen Beens was here I could not produce enough convincing proof to punish him adequately. Moreover, no action was taken by the Court of Boni in his direction, so I chose a way-out and allowed him the jaunt to Batavia, which he had requested. This mainly because I perceived that in this way the Boniers and the natives would be rid of such a hateful servant'.²⁴⁰ In a letter to his brother, Arnout, Loten said that his explanation was 'to the satisfaction of the Gentlemen in the Council'.²⁴¹ On June 15th 1750, he wrote another letter to Van Imhoff in which he told him about his efforts to obtain a complaint against Beens from the King of Bony.²⁴² Loten's actions were approved by the governor-general in council; this is also confirmed in the *Generale Missive* which Jacob Mossel, Van Imhoff's successor, sent to the Company's directors on 31 December 1750.²⁴³

In the *Memorandum* Loten had had delivered to Cornelis Roosenboom, his successor in Macassar, he also presented a detailed account of his actions.²⁴⁴ He told him that after he had been informed that the southern provinces were being invaded by 'Prince Tjalla Paneki and a considerable number of armed men', he sent his chief interpreter, Vos, to the Queen of Bony in Boncoala (the young King was travelling the inlands at the time). She appeared to be ignorant of any invasion and agreed to send interpreter, Muller, to Boelecomba with a message on behalf of the Company and the Court of Bony. The message would relay the fact that the incursion was contrary to the Treaty of Bongaya (1667) between the Bony Court and the Company. However, the messenger came too late to prevent Chala paneki and several of his men from being killed in action. Three days after Beens' report of the incidents, the Council at Macassar decided to send 12 soldiers to Boelecomba as an additional defence of the fortress. In his *Memorandum*, Loten added that, at the time, he had heard rumours convincing him that Beens had 'audaciously insulted the small Prince by plundering his vessel and killing one of his pagoel oedjoas'.

However, although he 'put the words into the mouth of the King of Boni', the Court of Bony never submitted a formal complaint, nor gave evidence of the incidents. Loten suggested several reasons for this, among which the strained relationship between the King and his half-brother, Chala paneki. Loten assumed that the Court considered Chala paneki's death his own fault. In the *Memorandum* he put forward, Loten stated that the Court of Bony was fully convinced that Chala paneki wished to decide his own affairs for himself and had thus violated his contracts with the Company rather than registering his complaints, first to the Court and then to the Company. He also argued that Beens had more or less been within his rights because he had direct orders from the government in Batavia to defend the southern provinces, a fact that Loten did not discover until Beens had departed for Batavia. Thus, because he did not have sufficient evidence against Beens to punish him, Loten had agreed to accommodate Beens' jaunt to Batavia, 'also because I perceived that, by that means, a to the inhabitants of Bony not without reason hateful servant, could get rid of'.

According to Loten, the incidents at Boelecomba did not damage the relationship between the Court of Bony and the Company. In this respect he referred to 'the civil and to all appearances very cordial circumstances that accompanied' the ceremonious reception of the King of Bony at Rotterdam castle in Macassar on June 8th 1750. In his *Missive* to Van Imhoff of June 15th 1750, Loten said the same thing.

Loten also mentioned that the King would consider Frans Fransz's arrest as a proof of the fact that the Company was prepared to do the Court of Bony justice in the Boelecombo affair. Loten had explained that Fransz was under Beens's orders and that he needed the Court's evidence to take Fransz into custody. He also required evidence regarding force used by Beens, even though he had already returned to Patria, because 'it may be possible to punish him in the Netherlands'.

More than one place in Loten's *Memorandum* and *Missives* illustrate his formal approach to the issue. He needed concrete proof in order to be able to undertake action against Beens and Fransz. Rumours were not enough for him, as is also illustrated below: 'In any case, the government is now rid of this problem; one can see what kind of extortions and oppressions were used against the natives in the southern provinces and how they were treated. During his stay here this tyrant knew how to keep the locals and even other inhabitants in fear; so it is that one sometimes only heard muttering, but one could never get any proof of his bad treatment of them. Yes, even when the inland chiefs were summoned to come to this castle, they never dared to appear without a special permission of this Resident. Now I have full proof, it is too late and the opportunity is missed to correct him as an example for other selfish and ill-natured servants'.²⁴⁵ In the end, the Court of Bony submitted a complaint.²⁴⁶ In October of 1750, Loten and his successor, Cornelis Roosenboom, could report to the governor-general that on September 15th 1750, the Court had filed a complaint against Frans Fransz, in 'a paper written in Bouginese without the seal of the King or without other authentic endorsements'. Nevertheless on September 21st 1750, by order of Loten and with Roosenboom's approval, Frans Fransz was taken into custody.²⁴⁷ Loten put in his memorandum that it was likely that, although Fransz was the cause of the conflict, he had acted, 'upon the violent orders of his Resident Beens'. Fransz also 'declared that he was compelled by violence to attack the vessel of Tjalla Paneki'. This was also recorded in the *Secrete Missive* by Loten and his successor Roosenboom, dated October 14th 1750 and sent from Macassar.²⁴⁸ According to his supporters, Fransz was imprisoned at Rotterdam castle Rotterdam in Macassar without having been given a trial.²⁴⁹ Within two weeks after Loten's departure to Batavia, Frans Fransz escaped from prison and fled to the Kingdom of Bouton, probably with the help of free burgher and lieutenant of the civil militia, Anthonij Van Dorth, and Willem Camerling, prosecutor of Macassar and shopkeeper ['winkelier']. The latter had been a member of the Macassar Council of Policy when Loten was the governor of Macassar. The indigenous wives of Van Dorth and Camerling were close relatives of Frans Fransz. A judicial procedure against Fransz was started by prosecutor Meurs; as a relative of Fransz, Camerling was excused. Although Fransz was convicted and banished, the Company could not get him back from his hiding place in the Bouton territory. Thus, in July of 1751, the High Government at Batavia ordered an investigation.²⁵⁰ In October 1752, documents relating to the imprisonment of Fransz were produced and sent to the Batavian Government. These also included testimonies about Beens' atrocities given by bookkeeper and former senior interpreter, Willem Müller, and Carre Mangrassie, a servant of the Company and expert in the inland language.²⁵¹ The testimonies confirmed Beens and Fransz's atrocities in Boelecomba. On 28 June 1752 however, four months before the testimonies were produced, Fransz – with the support of the harbour master and with seven boats and more than 200 Boutonese accomplices – attacked the ship, *Rust en Werk*, lying at 'the King of Bouton's Dalm [=Javanese Dalam, residence]'.²⁵² They killed many people and tried to escape to Boelecomba. Fransz did not survive the retreat to his hiding place however. He was killed and afterwards his correspondence with Anthonij Van Dorth and his wife and Willem Camerling were found in his hiding place. They had been in communication with Fransz and had sent slaves, victuals and ammunition to their 'cousin'.²⁵³

GOVERNOR JAN DIRK VAN CLOOTWIJK

It was in this period that Jan Dirk Van Clootwijk (1715-1804) became involved in the aftermath of Beens' residency in Boelecomba. In March 1738, Van Clootwijk (born in Bois le Duc) arrived in Batavia on the ship *Landschoon*. He held the rank of assistant and, according to a contemporary source, was poverty-stricken upon his arrival in the East.²⁵⁴ Van Clootwijk's career in Macassar had been primarily successful. In 1743, he had become a shopkeeper there in the rank of junior merchant. While living in Macassar, Loten was friendly with Van Clootwijk. In February 1747, Van Clootwijk was appointed prosecutor and chief-administrator and thus became second-in-command in Loten's Macassar government. In May 1751, he departed for Batavia intending to return to Patria. He was, however, persuaded to remain in the Dutch East Indies.²⁵⁵ In November 1751 he returned to Macassar as a senior merchant and became the proposed successor to the recently deceased governor Roosenboom. Van Clootwijk was officially elected

to the office of governor and director of Macassar for a term of five years at a salary of 200 guilders per month in December 1752.²⁵⁶ There is very little information available about his personal circumstances. It seems he had four children by one or more indigenous women in Macassar and that they were registered as his adopted children.²⁵⁷

As governor of Macassar, Van Clootwijk became responsible for the consequences of Beens' affairs in Boelecomba; this responsibility included Frans Fransz's attack of the ship *Rust en Werk* which had taken place under his predecessor Loten and under Roosenboom's leadership. From the extant correspondence, it is clear that Loten continued to feel responsible for what had taken place even when Van Clootwijk became Macassar's governor. Van Clootwijk evidently became entangled in a complicated judicial affair which made him ultimately responsible for the actions taken by his predecessors. Van Clootwijk was an easy victim for the plotting Macassarian dignitaries and their supporters in Batavia.²⁵⁸ The case is an interesting example of how justice was served in the Dutch East Indies.

According to Van Clootwijk's *Succinct Betoog*, written circa 1759 for the directors of the Company to state his position,²⁵⁹ Van Dorth and his wife Emerentia Fransen of Batavia were taken into custody on order of the Batavia Government due to their correspondence with Fransz and Camerling was suspended from carrying out any of his offices for the Company.²⁶⁰ They were charged with supplying Fransz 'gunpowder and further ammunition' enabling him to plunder the ship *Rust en Werk*. Camerling and his wife were arrested on 27 April 1753 when their plot to kill Van Clootwijk was revealed. The Council of Policy decided to send them to Batavia. Under councillor of Justice Steeven Winkelman, prosecutor of Macassar, inventory was taken of their goods in Macassar and all of their perishable goods and slaves were sold at a public auction. In October 1753, Van Dorth and Camerling and their wives were transported to Batavia under military convoy. They arrived there early in November 1753.²⁶¹ However, the couples had powerful patrons in Batavia so that they were set free by the Batavia Council of Justice, under the pretext that the evidence against them was unconvincing.²⁶² In September 1754, they were released from Batavia prison and began criminal and civil procedures. To this end, they collected evidence against Van Clootwijk, prosecutor Winkelman and his secretary, Christoph Reynhard Wehr. Loten was alarmed and in a letter to Michiel Romp, the secretary of the Indian Government, he defended his friend Van Clootwijk most eloquently:

'From your letter and especially according to other friends, Mr Van Clootwijk appears to have been careless in his efforts to gather proof against Camerling and Van Dorth. This particular negligence strikes me as impossible, because even children in Celebes knew how much these people set themselves against any investigation done into the affairs of Fransz during my term, and how both before and after his arrest he was hidden and thereafter supplied with food, gunpowder in his hiding-place,²⁶³ where he entrenched himself against everyone who came near. One of the most important Gentlemen of Batavia informed me that Van Dorth and Camerling were guilty of communicating everything that was prepared at Maccassar for the destruction of Fransz, as is shown by their original letters found in Fransz's fortress. Therefore he [=Van Clootwijk] is absolutely not guilty in this matter and in all respects a man of the best sentiments. The two above mentioned persons, irrespective of how favourable their affairs may develop, can never be considered by me, as they now and always and based on long-lasting experience appeared to me with the utmost probability, in another way as the most wicked mob, soiled with an endless history of pieces of knavery, a bunch of men and thief's &c.; about whom I really now use the most moderate expressions. Although I well know that Mr Clootwijk could defend himself, because he is blameless, I nevertheless beg you with diffidence, that if he meets with an accident by the hands of these people (if one might call them such), you explain his position with emphasis in his favour to your influential friends. This can contribute not only to the salvation and welfare of an honest man, but also to that of the Honourable Company that surely will experience sad consequences if this mob returns to Maccassar, which God may prevent, because they have made themselves very hateful by contempt of the best allies, like the Queen of Tanete, the King of Boni and Caraeng Madjennang, the insulted allies from which the Company now expects a lasting peace'.²⁶⁴

In July 1754, Van Dorth produced several letters written by 'his brotherly friend' prosecutor Winkelman. In these Van Dorth and Camerling claimed that the indictment against them, 'was plotted by Van Clootwijk during an ominously organised meeting at Secretary Wehr's house, which took place on the request of prosecutor Winkelman'. Using the documents, Winkelman 'wished to declare under oath that the indictments were damned lies'. Winkelman realised that Van Dorth and Camerling had powerful patrons in Batavia and chose to side with them. Apparently, Winkelman later revoked his statement, but

the Batavian prosecutor did not include his revocation in the case against Van Clootwijk.²⁶⁵ According to his accusers, Van Clootwijk was responsible for Frans Fransz 'becoming a Murderer, a Robber and a Rebel', because he was 'innocently imprisoned without a trial' while Beens had not been condemned. It was therefore reasonable and understandable that he had escaped from prison and that his banishment had 'irritated' him, causing him to be 'entrapped by Satan'.²⁶⁶

The actions against Van Clootwijk were not restricted to Batavia and Macassar, for Camerling and Van Dorth were companions of the former resident of Boelecomba, George Beens. As soon as Beens heard about their problems, he acted as their agent in the Dutch Republic and collected judicial evidence against Van Clootwijk.²⁶⁷ In October 1754, two notary acts were drawn up in Utrecht. In them statements about the affairs at Celebes in general and the behaviour of Van Clootwijk and Beens in particular, were recorded. Johan Nicolaas Stampeel, a former harbour master and councillor of police in Macassar attested the following about Van Clootwijk: '[T]hat this person, being of a covetous character, does not scruple to extort money from officials and other inhabitants and to repress them. The witness realises that the unreasonable way in which a certain Frans France, interpreter of said resident George Beens, has been taken into custody. As far as the witness knows or remembers without interrogation, either by the Court of Police or that of Justice. The resulting long detention, have caused him to escape from the Castle and ultimately, according to the account of the surviving sailors, took extreme measures and with a number of Boniers plundered the ship Rustenwerk'.²⁶⁸ He also attested that Antonij Van Dorth and his wife were imprisoned by Van Clootwijk on the orders of the High Government in Batavia. However, the former Macassar prosecutor, Willem Camerling, and his wife were arrested on Van Clootwijk's orders. Van Dorth was brought to the criminal prison and was detained there with his legs in chains. Stampeel also confirmed that Van Dorth and Camerling's goods were auctioned off the day after they were taken into custody. The witness declared that governor Van Clootwijk also levied money from him as a bribe. The document closed with a tribute to George Beens: '[T]hat he was long acquainted with the former Resident George Beens, and always and now estimated him to be an honest man of irreproachable behaviour. Before his departure from Boelecomba he had never heard that he had been charged with anything although he had no seat in the Macassar Council. Finally the witness declared that from the time he arrived at Macassar in April 1748 until 11 June 1753, when he left, he knew nothing about a war between Europeans and natives'.

In another notary act, two former corporals of the VOC, Andries Withoen, aged about 50 years, and Jan George Heydel, aged about 46 years, who had recently returned to Patria aboard the ship *Lekkerlant*,²⁶⁹ also gave testimony upon the request of the former resident of Boelecomba. One month after their arrival in Patria, they attested that 'there was no war between the natives and Europeans on the island Celebes or the head office Macassar, with the exception of the case of the robber Tjal penijke', about whom Heydel declared that he was 'more than once' outlawed. The witnesses further stated that: '[T]hey had been well acquainted with one Frans France, former interpreter of the said resident. Prior to being taken into custody, this man was known to be of irreproachable behaviour. When Frans France was taken into custody in the Castle [...] he [Andries Withoen] being on guard asked him why he, Frans France, had been taken into custody. He responded that he did not know why. He [=Withoen] asked him this question, because he knew no one who could understand what crime Frans France was guilty of. During Frans France's arrest, he, the witness, had also never heard or understood why he had been tried by the Council of Macassar, or brought up there, to be judged of guilt or innocence. The first witness declared [...] that Frans France having escaped, took extreme measures and with several Boniers plundered the ship Rustenwerk. During the tenure of the second witness at Macassar a boat arrived with several sailors from the plundered ship Rustenwerk, among whom Emanuel Baars, born in Pommeren, who told him, second witness and more sailors, that during the massacre on the ship Rustenwerk said Frans France publicly declared, that he was sorry to have been obliged to kill so many people in order to conquer the ship, but that the injustice and sorrow done to him at Macassar had provoked him. However he therefore granted the sailors who had arrived [in Macassar] their live. This discourse was repeated by said Emanuel Baars many times to us, the witnesses, when he was repatriated with us on the ship *Lekkerlandt*'.²⁷⁰ The witnesses' testimony about the arrests of the two 'richest and most important families', Van Dorth and Camerling at Macassar, was similar to the earlier one made by Nicolaas Stampeel. They also declared that the ships which transported Van Dorth and Camerling to Batavia, were very leaky, especially the ship which took Camerling from Macassar to Java. Withoen and Heydel also concluded praising George Beens: '[A]nd lastly the witnesses declared that they heard many times from the officers at Boulicomba and Bontyn, that after the departure of the requestor [=George Beens] from

the outpost Boulicomba and Bontyn, that they still very much wished they had retained the requestor as a resident there’.

The above testimonies were sent to Batavia and added to the proceedings against Van Clootwijk. The course that Van Clootwijk’s case took, shows that the Council of Justice in Batavia operated independently of the Indian Government. Although Van Clootwijk had influential friends in the Indian Government, they were unable to stop the proceedings against him. In August 1755, the civil procedure went to court at the Batavian Council of Justice. Van Dorth and Camerling not only claimed compensation for their losses but also Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Rixdollars. The Batavian Council allowed Van Clootwijk’s attorney no time to consult with his client in Macassar and, at the same time, a criminal procedure was begun against him. In August of 1755, the Council of Justice requested the High Government to summon Van Clootwijk, Winkelman and Wehr from Macassar.²⁷¹ Not earlier than on 31 December 1755 however, the Government agreed to recall the Macassar officials.²⁷² They were allowed to keep their salaries and the governor-general in council declared that Van Clootwijk ‘had always given us much satisfaction’. Before he returned to Batavia, he was expected to hand over his office to his successor, Roelof Blok (1712-1776) and to submit a memoir of his government of the island to him. This took place in May of 1756.²⁷³ He did not, however, return to Batavia because he felt that his case in the courts of Batavia was weak. He was sure that he would be taken into captivity upon his arrival there. The same had befallen Winkelman and Wehr.²⁷⁴ In order ‘to escape from the Council of Justice at Batavia’, he therefore ‘took the broad road’ and sailed by private sloop, the *Jacoba*, from Macassar to the English settlement, Bencoolen, which is located on the southwest coast of Sumatra.²⁷⁵ From Bencoolen Van Clootwijk wrote a letter to the governor-general in council to inform them about his departure to Patria. He told them he planned to address his case to the Courts of Holland and the directors of the Company. He sent a copy of his letter to Joan Gideon Loten in Colombo.²⁷⁶ He departed from Bencoolen on an English ship in December of 1756, according to Loten ‘with the High Government’s honour and praise for his merits to the Company’. This however, ‘could not save him from the Council of Justice’. Nevertheless, Loten was sure that, in Patria, Van Clootwijk would find satisfaction against his ‘inhuman persecutors’.

Loten asked his brother, Arnout, to help Van Clootwijk, whom he characterised as ‘my dear honourable friend, who is an honest and courageous man’. In November 1756, Loten sent a file containing fourteen documents concerning Van Clootwijk to Patria. Arnout Loten forwarded the documents to Guillelmus Titsingh the first clerk of the VOC in July 1757. Titsingh studied the documents and Arnout wrote to his brother on 27 October 1757 to tell him that Titsingh was in full agreement with him regarding the Van Clootwijk and Beens affairs. Arnout also remarked: ‘[T]hat one has to be careful in this affair, and it must not appear too much that you are so very much interested in this Gentleman, because I have heard rumours (without saying anything further about it), that Van Clootwijk’s conduct at Macassar had not met with approval at all. So we have to wait what happens in the future’.²⁷⁷ The rumours proved to be true. Two days before Arnout wrote his letter, the court of directors of the Company had declared that if they approved Van Clootwijk’s ‘escape’ from his ‘competent judges’ on a foreign ship that would have ‘damaging and ruining consequences’ for the Company.²⁷⁸

In November 1758, the chief prosecutor in Batavia, Mr Thomas Schipper, passed sentence on Van Clootwijk.²⁷⁹ He was banned from the VOC’s territory and his income and goods were confiscated.²⁸⁰ However, he was not convicted in the civil proceeding in which Camerling and Van Dorth’s widow claimed 250,000 rixdollars.²⁸¹ A portion of Van Clootwijk’s money, 5,000 rixdollars, was transferred from Macassar to Loten by governor Roelof Blok. In 1761, Loten paid 11,076 guilders and 18 stuyvers to his friend Van Clootwijk.²⁸² Van Clootwijk asked the directors of the Company seven times to revoke the decisions of the Batavia Court of Justice, but received no satisfaction. More than six years after the Court of Justice’s decision, the Court of Holland in the Hague decided (17 January 1765) to revoke the Batavian Court’s decision.²⁸³ Arnout Loten wrote to his brother in May 1765 saying ‘we were happy that Mr Clootwijk has been rehabilitated and that he won his case. We ask you to congratulate this Gentleman’.²⁸⁴ The victory was but temporarily, because in April 1765 the Company had refused to acknowledge Clootwijk’s claims, stating that the Batavia Court of Justice acted conform the law. Twenty eight years later, in August 1793, the 78-year-old Van Clootwijk was still trying to get satisfaction from the Company, however without result.²⁸⁵

Early in 1751, shortly after their return to Patria, Loten's parents, Arnout Loten and his wife visited Beens and his wife in Utrecht. Arnout Loten's letter indicates that at that time they knew nothing of the details of Beens' Indian career. He wrote his brother: 'Mr and Miss Beens have told us many particularities about you. They do not think that you will remain in the Indies much longer. They live at the Nieuwegracht, near the Zuijlestraat. One evening our parents and we paid them a visit. You can easily understand that our discourse dealt mainly with the Indies'.²⁸⁶ In July 1751, on behalf of his son François, George Beens bought the house "Kleyn Blanckenburg", located at the Oude Gracht in Utrecht.²⁸⁷ In 1757 when he was fully aware of Beens' true nature, Arnout Loten wrote to his brother about Beens and his son, saying: '[A]t present he runs a shop in coffee, tea and tobacco. When I came across him and his boy in the street they greeted me very politely. However, I hardly returned it'.²⁸⁸ In 1757, Beens was living in Culemborg, where he was known as a wine seller.²⁸⁹ He bought Culemborg citizenship rights in 1761. On May 24th 1757, he and his companion, physician Johannes Fredericus Van Leempoel, obtained soapworks in the city of Culemborg. Later in that year, they expanded their partnership by founding a horse-driven oil mill. In 1767 Van Leemborg took over Beens' shares of both companies.²⁹⁰ This may have been related to the death of Beens' wife in September 1766.²⁹¹

On 25 December 1755, George Beens sent letters from Utrecht to Joan Gideon Loten in Colombo. In them he used 'many slanderous words' against Van Clootwijk and Loten.²⁹² Beens informed Loten that he had brought the VOC to the Court of Holland where he eventually triumphed. He also demanded an amount of 5,870 rixdollars from Loten. If the sum was not paid to him, he threatened, he would obtain it by legal means. In a *post scriptum* Beens also asked Loten to help Camerling regain his former office. He also told Loten that he had several compromising testimonies against him, which he had, until now, kept secret. Loten transmitted the letters to the Council of Justice at Colombo.²⁹³ He also sent Beens' 'impertinent' letters to his brother Arnout with the following comment: '[T]his is also a unprecedented example of ingratitude. These people will certainly try to put me in the same awkward position as they did Mr Clootwijk. Although I am not worried at all about it, I am inclined to sue Beens and to provoke him into proving his allegations in Court, because false testimonies can often have the same effect as veritable testimonies; however, a judge does not always observe this. So I may rest assured that I do not owe him one penny. Now I finally know what kind of scoundrel he is, I also do not feel obliged to interfere with his affairs to his advantage'.²⁹⁴ Loten's relative and friend, Mr Johan Hendrik Strick Van Linschoten, had also warned him about Beens in 1755: "[M]y own kind & intimate Friend; amongst my papers in Utr[echt] and several of his letters, there is one in particular which I would like to transcribe a part of at present: about 1755 when I was at Ceylon he, with his usual openness of heart, gave me advice about a very bad man (one beyond description) about that time or not long before returned not in the least scrupulous to write plainly down his name and, as I believe it was Boileau who expressed it thus, calling him a ... fripon or much worse [Loten added: 'The late Mr Van Linschoten was referring to Mr Beens of Culemborg here and thus he used the same name as I did myself'] (for I do not have my Monsieur Déspreaux with me here)".²⁹⁵

When Loten returned to Utrecht in 1758, he was visited by Beens' agents. According to Loten, one of them was the Utrecht lawyer Willem Gerard Van Nes, who 'visited me in 1758 or [17]59 when, under the pretext of compassion, he implored me to advise my good friend Clootwyk to pay Beens. Upon which I sent him away with my prompt and clearly negative response and I retorted that I would always advise him to the contrary. Upon which he immediately made his report [...] I cannot understand why people are so weak. However, I am often cheated because I am not always aware of such seemingly generous swindlers'.²⁹⁶ From an extract of the 1761 legal counsel given about Beens' actions, it is clear that Beens and Van Nes tried to blackmail Loten and Van Clootwijk. Beens threatened to go to the English Courts and wrote 'slanderous' appeals to the directors of the VOC. Van Clootwijk's solicitor, C. Hoyer Van Brakel, found it 'remarkable' that Loten did not take any action or write anything to counter the slander.²⁹⁷ Beens' actions evidently did not lead to any legal proceedings. In 1774, to Loten's distress, Beens and Van Nes again tried to blackmail him and his friend Van Clootwijk; it stirred up emotions and vexation.²⁹⁸

5. CONFLICTS WITH SERVANTS IN CEYLON

ANTHONY MOOIJJAERT

The personal letters Loten wrote to the governor-general and councillors of the East Indies in 1755 give a better impression of his true feelings about the Ceylon government and its 'ministers', than the official VOC correspondence from Ceylon does.²⁹⁹ The dispatches provide a detailed account of administrator and later commander of Jaffanapatnam, Anthonij Mooijaert, and Mooijaert's attempts to undermine Loten's authority there. They not only show how Loten felt, but also with what thoroughness and determination he tackled his administrative problems there and how independent his behaviour towards the High Government in Batavia was. The troubles he had were related to the exploitation of the pearl banks near Aripo, south of Mannar. In the period between 1746 and 1754, they were extraordinarily remunerative. According to governor Jan Schreuder's 1762 *Memorandum*, the Company profits from the Aripo fisheries amounted to at least 1,691,408 guilders in that period.³⁰⁰ From 1754 on, no fishing took place there so that the banks could be conserved, thereby preventing damage to the young oysters.³⁰¹

The Company permitted leasing of fisheries to entrepreneurs such as the local head of the Mannar district mudaliyar Soerie Moeti.³⁰² Dutch VOC officials took part in the enterprise by underwriting the pearl fishery. It was a means by which VOC employees could supplement their incomes. Thus, Julius Valentijn Stein Van Gollenesse (1691-1755), Loten's predecessor as governor of Ceylon, had successfully participated in the Aripo fishery. The investments of the participants were remunerated, but lease payments to the Company were inadequate. In the official memorandum of January 1750 to the Indian Council in Batavia, Van Gollenesse reported that Soerie Moeti still owed the Company 250,000 guilders.³⁰³

In January 1754, Loten wrote Van Gollenesse saying that the Aripo fishery had not been 'a favourable success', which he attributed to Soeria Moeti's death.³⁰⁴ In this letter, Loten did not mention that Soeria Moeti had asked him to participate in the 1753 fishery, something he and his son-in-law, Van Der Bruggen, had agreed to do. Two years later, he told governor-general Mossel that he had invested his 'own money in a legal and much more generous way than one was used to'. He had 'immediately and in advance paid in cash to the Company'.³⁰⁵ Although he had told Van Gollenesse that the fishery was not a success, his investment in the Aripo fishery had been 'unexpectedly profitable'.³⁰⁶ This was probably one of the causes of the ensuing problems.

Although Loten's private investment had been successful, the leaseholders still owed money to the Company. Therefore in 1754, the son of the late Soeria Moeti and 'another titular mudaliyar', called 'Pagoeteure', were arrested in Colombo. Thanks to intercession by Van Der Bruggen, who had been flattered 'in the Ceylonese way', they were released from prison on the condition that they pay back the debt. Loten agreed to the settlement 'with reluctance' and only after a discussion with Van Der Bruggen. When released, the mudaliyars immediately went to Jaffanapatnam. According to Loten's sources, administrator Anthonij Mooijaert changed their minds there. They did not repay their debts and fled instead. Thereupon complaints were lodged against Van Der Bruggen for his intervention and sent to the governor-general and councillors of the High Government at Batavia. Anonymous protests were also made against Loten for his role and these were forwarded to Batavia.³⁰⁷ In the complaints, administrator Mooijaert was said to have suffered losses from the mudaliyars's flight. To compensate him for his losses, he had taken money due to Loten and Van Der Bruggen from the Aripo fishery. Governor-general Mossel responded to the complaints in a personal message to Loten. In it he advised him to pay Mooijaert, arguing remarkably, that if he did not, Batavia councillor Jurgen Van Der Spar would oppose him. Mooijaert was the husband of one of Van De Spar's sisters and he apparently enjoyed his influential brother-in-law's powerful patronage. In January 1755, Loten asked Colombo prosecutor Albert Burgart de Joncheere to advise him. Joncheere had recently exchanged his position as prosecutor of Jaffanapatnam for the same in Colombo. He was aware of the local situation in the VOC's establishment on the northern tip of the island.³⁰⁸ Loten was afraid that De Joncheere's successor in Jaffanapatnam would support Mooijaert's claims. De Joncheere's response is not known, but in his letters to the governor-general and the councillors at Batavia, Loten showed that he was not impressed by this grievance. In February 1755, he told Jacob Mossel: '[T]ruly I do not know that Mooijaert suffered anything by that flight, and if it is true, which I certainly do not believe, then it is completely his and definitely not my fault. I am sincerely convinced that I have to care for my own welfare and prevent my own family from suffering from such unheard of losses'.³⁰⁹ Loten chose to challenge Mooijaert and the

anonymous correspondents, whom he called the ‘treacherous Sicilian Ceylonese’. Among these he reckoned the commander of Jaffanapatnam, Jacob de Jong, and the commander of Tutucorin, Johannes Ferdinandus Crijtsman, both of which had long records of service in Ceylon.³¹⁰ In his letter to Mossel he demonstrated that Mooijaert had previously tried to deprive a highly esteemed and rich Brahman in Jaffanapatnam (called Ramelingen) of a family of serfs. He even attempted to bribe Loten with 16,000 rixdollars, aiming to gain support for his claim. Indignantly, Loten had refused the money. He claimed to have found documents that proved that Mooijaert’s case was unfounded. It is clear that this affair cannot have improved the relationship between Mooijaert and the governor at Colombo. Loten did not restrain himself from insinuating that Mooijaert was being encouraged by high officials in Batavia. In this regard he mentioned councillors Stein Van Gollenesse, Van Der Parra and Van Der Spar. In his correspondence with the governor-general and with his friend, councillor extraordinary Dithart Van Rheden, Loten suggested: ‘Mooijaert would have liked to succeed in the interests of G[ollenesse] to keep all of the fishery’s lucrative gains to himself; about his attempts, as well as those by G[ollenesse] himself, one can still find enough evidence in the Secretary’s office in the form of securities and appropriations. I have now taken these into my care because I discovered endeavours to steal this undeniable proof of their direct participation from the books (this has now not taken place)’.³¹¹ He claimed that he had irrefutable evidence, which he would send to Batavia after having it legally confirmed, and continued that they would ‘serve when necessary as sufficient defence against such unqualified complaints and anonymous papers against which even the best man cannot protect himself. The honour and the welfare of all honest people is at stake when such slanderous writings get attention. In that case every arbitrary villain, with a desire to upset those who are in his way, can destroy them in indelible shame and irreparable damage’.³¹²

Loten also suggested that Mooijaert was protected by Stein Van Gollenesse and quoted a statement, which he had heard from prosecutor De Joncheere. About Loten Mooijaert had said to his accomplices: ‘Yes, he has nobody except the General (Your Excellency must excuse me that I use his own words) and that will not last to eternity. When S[teijn] V[an] G[ollenesse] comes into power (as if that Gentleman has hereditary rights) ... this Governor will be summoned [to Batavia]’.³¹³ According to Loten, when Stein Van Gollenesse had tried to convince him to accept the office in the Ceylon Government in 1752, ‘he was already determined first to get rid of me and after that to have me ditched’. He also referred to the King of Candy, who in 1754 told captain Casteleijn, the Company’s envoy, that the relationship between the Company and the Court of Candy was ‘better than in many years before’. The King had even insisted that this remark should be entered into the Embassy to the Candian Court’s official report. However, ‘had the said captain dared to include this uncommon incident into his report, it would have caused further feelings of jealousy, especially by G[ollenesse]’.³¹⁴ Loten also wrote that prior to his departure from Batavia, he had the impression that Albertus Van Der Parra, Mossel’s successor in 1761, was convinced that ‘he [=Loten] would be his opponent’. Possibly Van Der Parra considered Loten as an obstacle in his career ambitions.

In March 1755, Loten also wrote to Van Der Parra.³¹⁵ He assured him that neither he nor Van Der Brugghen had acted wrongly in the case of the escaped mudaliyars, who ‘had never complained about anything or showed themselves unsatisfied’. He asked Van Der Parra to ‘protect him against the persecution that several servants in Ceylon appear to be preparing against me’. In the same month, he wrote to Stein Van Gollenesse. Besides the ceremonial statement that he and Van Der Brugghen had a high esteem of his benevolence, the letter is not explicit about the complaints.³¹⁶ The communication came too late for Stein Van Gollenesse, because he died on 12 January 1755.³¹⁷ On September 3rd 1755 in a letter to Loten, Van Der Parra, who succeeded Van Gollenesse as director-general, briefly referred to ‘the affairs of Mr van Der Brugghen’. He priggishly told him that he ‘would not reproach’ his son-in-law, because at that time he already had obtained permission to leave Colombo for Batavia.³¹⁸

Loten also sent a letter to councillor Jurgen Van Der Spar, a message without the polite phrases that characterised his dispatches to the other councillors and the governor-general. He was clearly very angry with Van Der Spar, whom he suspected was Mooijaert’s Batavian patron. Loten told Van Der Spar that he had sent the governor-general evidence which would bring the real truth about the affair to light. Cynically he referred to Van Der Spar’s behaviour: ‘I speak about several [proofs], because I think only a few are enough to destroy the prejudices that only those who are not kind to me can extract from anonymous letters from unknown people. I was informed by a highly esteemed correspondent that there were several persons who, without hearing me, wanted to give a judgement about me and those near to me, based on these [prejudices]’. Another angry and bitter reference to Van Der Spar’s role in the Mooijaert affair is almost ironic: ‘I was informed that well-meaning, well-doing friends have prevented

the attack, but in your opinion it was not courteous to report anything about that to me, because you have such a good trust in me that you resolutely step in the breach for me. I humbly thank you for this essential benevolence'.³¹⁹ Loten continued more concretely by stating, 'I believe, or better, I think I know with utmost certainty, that your own relatives sufficiently know the ins and outs of Jaffana'. In the following he told Van Der Spar that his brother-in-law, Mattheus Van Hek (who married Elisabeth Van Der Spar), tombo keeper in Jaffanapatnam, had supplied him with information about Mooijaert's treacherous behaviour. He also informed Van Der Spar that his brother Philippus, 'moved by the justice of the affair', had returned the money that Mooijaert had 'treacherously embezzled'. Loten also said that he intended to make his brother, Philippus, prosecutor of Jaffanapatnam. He did not say that he would pass Joan Blaauwesteijn over, the superintendent of the Colombo warehouse, although he thought that Blaauwesteijn was better suited to the position.³²⁰

A response from Van Der Spar is not included in the Loten documents. However, the governor-general's response is. Referring to the complaints made against Van Der Bruggen and the documents that Loten sent to Batavia in April 1755, Jacob Mossel says: 'In the mean time I do well realise that the fictitious complaints attributed to this affair and the hurtful rumours have caused grief to you. The only thing that can afford you some consolation is that the mob is too well-known to expect much good from them. It is an idle idea to hope that, by indulgence or severity (although the first best), changes can be realised, as is demonstrated by experience and examples. Therefore the best advice is to use, if possible, all means to frustrate the evil intentions and thus to prevent the disadvantageous consequences'.³²¹ For the highest representative of the VOC in the Dutch East Indies it is a frank and revealing opinion of the personal relationships existing within the Indian Council and it also shows how inadequate and impotent Mossel's way of dealing with the internal problems was.

NOËL ANTHONY LEBECK

In 1907 the Ceylon archivist R.G. Anthonisz published particularities about the problems between Loten and Noël Anthony Lebeck, Ceylon's chief administrator. Anthonisz's account was based primarily on the *Deductions by Governor Loten against the "hoofd- administrateur" Noël Anthony Lebeck, read before the Council*.³²² This 62-page document is a very detailed, emotional and sometimes even pathetic appeal by Loten to the Council of Policy in Colombo asking them to take action against the chief administrator. Lebeck had been employed by the VOC government from the 1730s onwards. Before he was appointed to the position of chief administrator in Colombo, he had been administrator in Tutucorin, a VOC establishment on the southeastern coast of India, and subsequently head of Matara in southern Ceylon. As a chief administrator he had a particularly prominent place in the Council of Policy in Colombo. He led the trade department, and in order of the Council's rank, held fourth place. If they were present, the voices of the commanders of Galle and Jaffanapatnam had priority over his. He was only accountable to the governor. As chairman of the Council of Justice, the island's High Court, his power was considerable particularly because he was both administrator and controller. Moreover, because he supervised the commercial and financial transactions of all the other officers, everyone and everything relating to the government's finances and its income to some extent fell under jurisdiction.³²³

According to Loten, Lebeck considered himself to be the Company in Ceylon's most experienced officer. However, he felt that Loten's interference in the daily management of the Company threatened his powerful position. The *Deductions* suggest that Lebeck had had more freedom to do as he liked under Loten's predecessor, Van Gollennesse. Lebeck's antagonism towards Loten began with incidents such as those which took place when Loten arrived at the Colombo roadstead in September of 1752.³²⁴ In November 1752, Lebeck tried to prevent the ship, *Ghiessenburg*, from departing under the pretext that there were no gunny bags for stowing the cinnamon. Similarly in 1754, Lebeck asserted that an early departure of the ship, *Sloterdijk*, from Galle could not take place because there were no bags for stowing the cinnamon. However, Loten discovered the bags and claimed that they had been hidden in order to be able 'to accuse me of bad management and negligence'. Loten also complained about the presumed loss of a medicine chest from Galle. The chest was recovered and Lebeck excused himself by saying that he thought it to be 'a rotten old packing-case'. In April 1756, Loten expanded his list of petty complaints against Lebeck by adding a new criticism. He wrote this down in his notebook, in staccato style, in sharp contrast to the long-winded sentences he wrote in his *Deductions*: '[A] small box, stolen from me; the delinquent captured, moved everything to prevent a punishment, because he was a Ceylonese child, the loot retrieved but not given to me, because the owner never receives his stolen goods, again an example

of the manner in which he is insulting the prosecutor'.³²⁵ The notebook also contained another observation, that is, that Lebeck 'quarrelled a lot with Visboom who is suffering from an incurable, horrible, Ceylonese illness, which is also a great crime'.³²⁶ In short, early in 1756, the chief administrator's working relationship with his superior was very difficult. Loten initially chose to take a positive approach to Lebeck's 'capricious and unruly conduct' hoping that he 'could soften the resentments by the application of reasonable means'. However, in April 1756, it was clear that this approach to him would not work: '[H]e not only exhibits extravagant caprices and a chain of insults, but he also does not scruple to insult me in my position of supreme authority as well as personally, and such in a totally seditious and unbearable manner, and he jeers at me in private and in public letters in a scandalous, Godless and dishonourable manner. This precludes further delay or a patient approach'.

In his *Deductions* Loten disclosed that Lebeck had a VOC gardener work for him in his private garden for over a year. Lebeck also made use of the Company's horses and wagons for personal purposes. He moreover neglected sending enough food to the garrison stationed at the fortress in Trincomalee and prevented bookkeeper Elias Raket from checking the accounts.

Loten's rage was provoked when he found a draft of a 'mendacious' letter in a basket torn into six pieces. The draft was written in Colombo early in March 1756 when Lebeck's returned from the yearly embassy to the Court of Candy.³²⁷ The letter was addressed to an anonymous person, probably to Albertus Van Der Parra in Batavia. Lebeck described himself to be 'a suffering Christ' and assured his correspondent that 'when You, Highly Honourable, ascend the throne then my happiness will surpass all my suffering and pains'. Loten drew the Council of Policy's attention to the sentence in which Lebeck declared that he prayed that 'his own, his wife's, his children's and yes, even his old mother's prayers would be heard by God'. Loten ironically remarked that this appeal for Divine blessing 'demonstrates that at Indian headquarters not all goes exactly his way'.

The draft letter described Loten as being the 'Scourge of the country, who makes so many people suffer'. Lebeck also complained about being sent to the Court of Candy as an envoy; according to Loten this was part of his job. Loten observed that Lebeck had 'mockingly remarked' that a gift for the Candian King – a repeating watch set in diamonds – was 'bought for 2800 Rixdollars from the rich man.' 'The rich man' referred to Loten's son-in-law, Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen.³²⁸ Loten claimed that Lebeck had pressed him to buy the watch and that he had insisted: 'although I showed myself averse and was well aware of his intentions'. In the annexe to the *Deductions*, a flattering letter written by Lebeck to Loten on March 4th 1756 is included. The tone of this letter is in sharp contrast to the draft letter, although it was written the same day. By including this other letter, Loten was showing the Ceylon councillors how insincere Lebeck was. According to the *Deductions* this was amplified when Lebeck was confronted with his behaviour:

[A]nd when he ignored this by saying that he had never written anything other than what the Company had required and that he had never done anything against me personally, only against others. Whereupon I objected, referring to evidence to the contrary, to insulting actions taken by him, by saying, that as he characterised me as the Scourge of Ceylon (which he could never answer for), I considered him to be the same and [that] I knew him to be a scoundrel, a name he pretended not to deserve, because these offenses were apparently unknown to him.

When at last he realised that his treacherous documents had been discovered and that he could no longer use the mask of Tartuffe, his hot-headed wrath was kindled and given free rein. He said boldly, which You, nearly all present, witnessed: «Yes, last year I wrote to Batavia and also to Patria about you and I shall do so again, you can be sure that I shall not sit in silence». Then he was unable to control his most intense wrath and hypocrisy, which is second nature to him, and he continued, «I have had much greater enemies from whom I have escaped, and, mark you, I shall with God's help resist you and get away». The simple repetition of these words makes me shiver. I cannot understand how somebody can fail and suggest himself to be in that ultimate state of Godlessness'.

Loten concluded the *Deductions* with an assessment: 'You will have no difficulties in suggesting means by which such a dangerous viper can be prevented from causing further evil, although it might be impossible to rob him completely of his venom'. On April 26th 1756, Lebeck was suspended from office by the Council. Abraham Samlandt was elected in his place, pending the approval of the High government in Batavia. Lebeck submitted the following protest: 'In the most respectful manner I protest against this temporary suspension from office, chiefly on the ground that I have not yet replied to all the charges brought against me by His Excellency, nor have I been heard thereon. I also request that copies of the written charges brought against me may be furnished to me, with all the papers relating thereto placed on

the table this day, and that this protest may be duly entered in the proceedings'.³²⁹ The matter eventually went to the Council of the Dutch East Indies. The governor-general in council in Batavia approved Abraham Samlandt's election as successor to Lebeck as chief administrator. In the *Generale Missiven* (31 December 1756), Lebeck's 'offending and insolent behaviour with regard to his legitimate superior mr Loten' is reported to the VOC's directors in Patria: '[W]e were almost obliged to apply a correction corresponding to his foolish arrogance and absolute unforgivable disobedience. However, the prospect of his improvement has persuaded us this time to demonstrate a singular tolerance, we decided to dismiss him from the position of chief administrator, a stagnation of his income and a transfer to Malacca where he will be under our close supervision'.³³⁰ In 1766 Lebeck succeeded Anthony Mooijaert as commander of Jaffanapatnam, and thus regained the seniority that he had temporarily lost.³³¹

6. LIFE IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

The correspondence which has been preserved of the Loten family in the East and their relatives in Utrecht, gives an unofficial look into the daily life of eighteenth-century Dutch East Indies. Although in postal terms the distance between Patria and the Dutch East Indian settlements was often nearly a year, the intimacy of the letters suggests that, in emotional terms, the correspondents were much closer to one another. This communication shows people as they are, with their joys and sorrows, often struggling against the adverse health conditions they found in the tropics. It provides us with a sight of the other, more human side of proud and sometimes pompous Dutch regents in the East. Only a small portion of the correspondence has survived obliteration and dispersal over various owners in the past 250 years. Accordingly, not all of the information exchanged between Asia and Patria is available to us today. Nevertheless, the letters offer varying glimpses of the life of Joan Gideon Loten and his family in the East Indies. Loten's impulsive character, his dedication to his office, his affection for his wife and daughter are clear as is his ailing wife's unfailingly tender personality. The 25 years in the East Indies were filled with hardships which affected their personal lives. These were rarely softened by the East's natural charms or by Loten's successful rise in the Company's ranks. He arrived in Batavia in 1732, an ambitious man, eager to participate in Indian life as a VOC official. In 1757, he left for Patria as a lonely, but also hardened man.

SEMARANG

There is little information about Loten's activities in Semarang. However, a collection of letters that he and his wife received in 1737 gives interesting insights into his contacts with friends and relatives.³³² The letters show an active and energetic young man with a frail wife. They probably had a social life of dinner parties and afternoon tea parties. There is no indication of the asthmatic complaints that were to trouble Loten in later years. The correspondence illustrates that privately trading was part of his daily life. Loten regularly provided his correspondents rice and Javanese riding horses from Kartasura. He also sent poultry from Semarang to Batavia and Onrust. He tried to get 'cat's eyes' or gemstones, for councillor ordinary and later governor-general Johannes Thedens.³³³ In return or if he asked for them, Loten received books, English sea prints, seeds, biscuits, wine and clothing. His trade contacts were surgeon Jacob Gesner and J. Hartkop. The latter evidently had a shop or trading house on the island of Onrust. Another source of information about Loten's Semarang period is the memoir of his wife that he wrote in Colombo in 1755 shortly after Anna Henrietta's death: 'She married me on August 24th 1733, and a few days later we departed together to Samarang, located on the east coast of Java, where I was appointed Prosecutor. Soon after, on 16 November 1734, a daughter, Charlotta Eleonora, was born; she died in Samarang the following year on the 30th of April. On the 16th of October 1736, a second daughter, Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia, followed'.³³⁴

A letter written in Semarang in March of 1736 by the twenty-year-old Anna Henrietta to her seventeen-year-old brother-in-law Arnout, a law-student at the Utrecht University, gives an intimate impression of the Loten family relationships. In March 1736, Anna Henrietta was pregnant with her second child, although she did not mention this in her letter. Evidently Arnout had called himself 'uncle' and his South-African sister-in-law a 'Hottentottin' and 'aunt'. Anna Henrietta replied: 'Several days ago we had the pleasure of receiving your very agreeable letter of April 18th last year [1735]. We were very pleased to read that you are in good health and that you are progressing well in your studies. Clearly You are mocking about the new uncle and venerable aunt. Your sister therefore promises you a scolding. Who

knows how many times she was called an African Hottentottin by you, although you cannot reckon her to be among the East Indians. Therefore dear brother, I am warning you that the 'sparrow Arnout' can expect a severe scolding from his sister. When she is in Utrecht, I believe she will tend her brother's garden, because she is a passionate amateur gardener and likes cultivating flowers. Here in this country, however, there are but a few beautiful species. I know the flowers that you mention from the Cape. As fond of snuff as you are, you might also be an expert on rapé [a type of snuff]? If so we ask you to furnish us with a little Clairac'.³³⁵

In the letter there is no reference to her condition although her health must have been delicate and their friends and relatives in Semarang and Batavia will have known this. Illustrative is the commotion surrounding a rumour from Batavia early in 1737. According to this rumour, Loten was to be appointed 'First Supercargo' to China. The VOC supercargo in Canton was the official responsible for trade goods.³³⁶ He also represented the Company in trade for Chinese products. In January of 1737, Loten wrote to Jan Paul Schaghen and Pieter Rochus Pasques de Chavonnes, at that time councillors of the High Government at Batavia about the gossip.³³⁷ In his letters to them, he referred to his wife's delicate health. Their responses were reassuring. Early in March, Jan Paul Schaghen, who became director-general later that year, replied to his 'cousin Loten' that the rumour was 'highly ridiculous and godlessly lied [...] But who has ever heard anything so distorted. As if one would appoint a prosecutor from Samarang to the position of supercargo to China. There are so many merchants and junior merchants here whom one could gratify with such a commission, even if ten supercargoes were needed [...]. You can rest reassured and your sickly wife too. I truly believe that such false rumours are absolutely not helping to improve her health'.³³⁸ Pieter Rochus Pasques de Chavonnes, who had recently returned from Malacca, also wrote to tell Loten that the rumours were unfounded. To reassure Loten's wife, he declared that he would do anything to prevent unfavourable appointments. In the postscript to this letter, Pasques de Chavonnes's wife, Hendrina Cornelia Hasselaer, also tried to reassure Anna Henrietta that the Lotens had powerful friends in Batavia who would support them.³³⁹ So Anna Henrietta's well-being was a matter of concern to both her family and her friends.

In March 1737, Jacob Gesner sent medicine intended for Anna Henrietta to the Lotens in Semarang: 'I send a bottle with drops for Madame by which use (however with God's blessing) she will unfaillingly reclaim a good health. The dose is 15 a 20 drops together with a bit of wine or clean and cold water, 3 times a day, that is in the morning before breakfast, in the afternoon before eating and in the evening before sleeping. In this way the body is optimally cleaned. Then one is allowed to abandon all other medication and only use this universal medicine'.³⁴⁰ Gesner's description of the medicine suggests that Anna Henrietta had asthmatic problems: '[T]he forwarded drops for Madame are not nice, but they have great power for the complaints. I have just prepared them. If Madame has consumed the bottle with a good diet and the drops have loosened and decomposed all slime and she has gotten rid of this, then you do not need any other medicines'.³⁴¹ The correspondence tells us, however, that Gesner's medicines did not contribute to any improvement in Anna Henrietta's physical condition. Nevertheless, by the end of March 1737, she seems to have recovered from her illness.³⁴² In May 1737, Gesner wrote saying that assistant-bookkeeper Pierre de Salve had told him that she was well again. He also wrote about their six-month-old daughter: 'However, I am very much astonished that the drops I last sent you, which are usually an effective medicine, did not work. I wish 1000 times to see and speak with you in person, if only for half an hour. I think that it would be a great improvement for the dear small child at least for I have heard that she suffers a great deal from the heat and oppression, because she is always in a closed room. This is unbearable for a large, strong man, so it must be no less for such a little one. The slightest draught will then be fatal'.³⁴³ Remarkably, Loten considered these kind intentions to be impertinent. It demonstrates his impetuousness. Unfortunately, however, Loten's reply no longer exists, Gesner's reply to his 'Highly esteemed Patron' in June 1737 gives a clear picture of what Loten said: 'I was much troubled by your letter, that you felt I had been too bold in sending you an ill-natured grumbling letter, for which I humbly and with much regret request your forgiveness. I too quickly believed Mr de Salve's reports. However, my great love for the small child and my high esteem for Madame and You have certainly caused during the writing some passion, otherwise I cannot imagine by what authority I should have had the courage to write to You in such an insolent way. Thank God that the matter was without foundation and the child is healthy, as I understood from your letter'.³⁴⁴

Anna Henrietta remained weak. In March 1738, Loten wrote to her relative, Miss B.T.D Boucq, saying that she 'is now at least a month bedridden by suffocations and melancholy caused by a lack of blood circulation'. He reported no improvement in her situation.³⁴⁵

DEATH OF DELIANA BLESIOUS

On June 14th 1736, Deliana Blesius, Anna Henrietta's mother, died in Batavia. Within a month, her second husband, Leonard Weyer, also died. Thus, the care of the two unmarried daughters, Christiana Jacoba and Deliana Isabella, fell to the Orphan's Chamber of Batavia and to two guardians, their relatives councillor extraordinary Pieter Rochus Pasques de Chavonnes and the president of the Council of Justice, Isaac Van Schinne.³⁴⁶ Christiana Jacoba was housed with her sister, Elisabeth Arnoudina, three years her junior, who had married the enterprising junior merchant Johannes Bergen Van Der Grijp. Deliana Isabella lived at the Loten house in Semarang.³⁴⁷

According to Anna Henrietta's cousin by marriage, Jan Cornelis du Quesne,³⁴⁸ their stepfather Leonard Weyer did not make a last will.³⁴⁹ His wife's codicil, in which she bequeathed everything to her children, was invalid. For a long time the estate remained undivided.³⁵⁰ This meant that Weyer's legacy, which Du Quesne estimated to be about 120,000 rixdollars, was also not available to the Van Beaumont children. The Batavia Orphans Chamber therefore auctioned off Deliana Blesius's goods at a public auction. Included were her servants, jewels and silverware. Pieter Rochus Pasques de Chavonnes wrote to Loten that he had done what he could to convince the president and secretary of the Orphan's Chamber to leave the jewels and silverware out of the auction. However, the 'last seems to have forgotten this on purpose, so that he would not lose his auction fee'. This being so, Loten's brother-in-law, Van Bergen Van Der Grijp, assured him he would obtain the 'slaves Pedro of Bengal and his maid Dorinde' for him and shortly afterwards, they were his. In July of 1737, Pedro and Dorinde were shipped from Onrust to Semarang. Loten, who was also interested in obtaining the slaves April and Lea, had to buy them in November 1737 for about 200 to 225 rixdollars, through the mediation of Pasques de Chavonnes and Du Quesne.³⁵¹

The correspondence illustrates that Anna Henrietta's nineteen-year-old sister, Christiana Jacoba Van Beaumont ("Crisie"), suffered the most from the death of her parents. She was maltreated by her sixteen-year-old married sister, Elisabeth Arnoudina Van Beaumont ("Betje"), and particularly by her brother-in-law, Johannes Van Bergen Van Der Grijp. Van Bergen Van Der Grijp maintained his authority over her by scolding her unreasonably in private and public.³⁵² His wife evidently supported and encouraged him in this behaviour. The available correspondence indicates that Loten and his wife at Semarang did not play an active role in improving Crisie's situation. They left this to her guardians and the gentlemen of the Batavia Orphan Chamber. Crisie's relationship with her brother-in-law became very difficult in the autumn of 1737 when she attended a wedding where she met junior merchant Van Der Heijden, who had known her uncle and aunt Kraayvanger in Delft.³⁵³ Towards the end of September 1737, Van Der Heijden proposed to her. Crisie told him that she would consult her guardians first. In her letter to Loten and his wife, she gave them a favourable impression of the man and his family. However, Crisie said: 'Van Der Grijp cannot stand him, because he calls him every name under the sun'.³⁵⁴ In October, she tried to obtain her guardians' support as they appeared to be in favour of the match. They promised to inform Van Bergen Van Der Grijp on her behalf. However, before the conversation could take place, Van Bergen Van Der Grijp learned about the story that his sister-in-law had concocted. He wrote to Loten saying that he was against the marriage: '[B]ecause I do not doubt that you, like us, would not be honoured to breed sailors in the family by one whose father has been Delft city's gatekeeper and whose own sisters have to earn a living by sewing for other people. Add to this his sorrowful situation; he hardly has enough for his own maintenance. I have told her this, and confronted her with the sorrowful situation in which she would find herself and the annoyance that her insincere ideas would cause to her friends; however, to no avail. I also offered to pay her two hundred Rixdollars if she would reject that man, but she did not listen to me. However, I shall try to hinder her come what may, or the guardians will have to take her in; due to this affair we do not wish to share our house with such a person'.³⁵⁵ Van Bergen Van Der Grijp's stance demonstrates his awareness of class distinctions within eighteenth-century Batavian society.

On November 1st 1737, Loten advised Crisie to obey her guardian's instructions. From his friend Abraham de Roos's letter, one gets the impression that Loten was against the marriage.³⁵⁶ Eight days later Crisie sent a very emotional reply. She described her discussion with Van Bergen Van Der Grijp; this took place at Onrust shortly before he went to her guardian, Van Der Schinne: 'I have told him that I have affection for that man and [his] person, but that if two of my guardians were against it, I would renounce it. Whereupon he godlessly called me names and abused me in a highly impertinent way; Mr Gesner and his wife can bear witness to this. Among other things he said to me were «Yes your brother

Loten does not like you, because you are so bold, else you would still be living in Samarang». When I asked him if he had a proof of this, he said that it was none of my business. At that point Madame Betje [Crisie's sister] entered, she kissed him and she agreed with him and said, «Leave that little one alone, she does not know what she is talking about». He said, «I shall persuade that Gentleman [Van Der Schinne] and call her such names that it will prevent the marriage from happening. If the gentlemen are not willing to prevent the marriage from taking place then I shall kick her out of my house». Whereupon he went to Batavia where he stayed for two days and, from what I heard from others, called me all sorts of names. When he returned to Onrust, he ignored me, and he hit my boy, Piet [=Crisie's servant] in an unseemly way and kicked him with his boots on without any reason.³⁵⁷

Apparently Crisie was desperate and entreated Loten and his wife to take her out of Van Bergen Van Der Grijp's house: '[P]lease brother and dear sister please do this. Remember our dear late parents who raised us with so much tenderness. My years are now prolonged by sadness and adversity. I do nothing else than pour out my complaints to God, who is the guide of my youth. I have not eaten for three days and I have only drunk cold water. I shall die if I am not released from him. Please brother and sister again I pray you with tears in my eyes that God will bless you until the end of time and that no adversity will ever befall you'. In November 1737, Crisie's relative, Jan Cornelis du Quesne, wrote to Loten saying she 'must really suffer a lot from that impertinent boy'. According to Du Quesne, Crisie 'had been locked out in the night' the week before.³⁵⁸ In the first week of December 1737, Du Quesne wrote to Loten telling him that Van Bergen Van Der Grijp had complained about Crisie at the Orphan's Chamber and that he no longer wanted her in his house. Later that month, he informed Loten that Crisie was staying with Mr Schook. Schook was C.W. Verdion's (Crisie's friend) husband and the widow of Rijkloff Duyvensz, former commander of the North East coast of Java. In the same letter Du Quesne triumphantly told Loten about Van Bergen Van Der Grijp's financial hardships. These adversities threatened to deprive him of his private orchestra: '[B]ecause of the manifold number of dressing-downs that Mr Van Bergen Van Der Grijp has gone through, he has finally been compelled to sell, at a considerable loss, his charet [chaise] which he recently bought for 550 Rixdollars at the late director general's auction. Thus the good gentleman is once again a horseman on foot. It would also be a good idea if he got rid of his 200-Rixdollar table clock, and at all costs, his two musicians.³⁵⁹ He bought the latter for 700 Rixdollars at said auction. He had already leased a magnificent house at the Tijgersgragt [Batavia's most fashionable location], with a stable at the back. However, when he realised that he had a very bad reputation, which could only increase his debt, he concluded that he should ask his landlords to relieve him of his lease. He paid them two months rent on the condition that they say nothing about it. His landlords kept their promise so faithfully that now all Batavia knows about it, so now everyone is mocking him'.³⁶⁰ In the end Crisie married junior merchant W. de Maille Arnoutz. She died in 1740.

FIELD TRIPS NEAR SEMARANG

Loten enjoyed the environment of Semarang, spending at lot of time in the woods hunting and observing the animals. In 1777 he wrote to his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek: 'For 7 years in Java, usually every day, I passed through the forests to shoot birds and animals, which I afterwards painted in watercolours, as much as time permitted. I continued this habit in Celebes and in the high lands around Batavia'.³⁶¹ In 1780 in a memoir for Thomas Pennant he wrote: "When myself J.G.L. from Sept[em]b[er] 1733 till 1741 at Semarang & other places of Java's North East coast I made incessant applications to the Javan Governor and less Regents there, and to several Chiefs of the Chinese nation (of which some could draw & paint in watercolors & could make mouldings, portraits, animals &c. of Earth or Clay refined &c.) to get information about the Sucotario shewing them the print of Nieuhoff (then my favourite author & one of the hobby horses I rode on to India), but all assured me to believe such a creature was not existing but amongst the Chinese fictitious or emblematical animals.³⁶² I was also most daily some hours in the woods and some times for weeks together in the middle ridge of Mountains & was always informed negatively".³⁶³ During one of these field trips, he shot a Pink-necked Green Pigeon: 'I shot this beautiful creature an hour's walk from Samarang'. In 1737 he made a watercolour of this bird which is now in the Teyler Museum's Loten collection.³⁶⁴

In June 1735 he visited the resident of Japara and later unsuccessful commander of Semarang, Bartholomeus Visscher, and made a drawing of the surrounding scenery from the garden which is now preserved in the collection of the National Archive at The Hague. The drawing with the contours of vulcanos shows Loten's evident interest in land survey.³⁶⁵ In 1735 or 1736, he toured the beach west of

the fortress of Semarang.³⁶⁶ While doing so, he suddenly heard sounds like, ‘very heavy gun-fire, very regularly about every 10 seconds’ and thought it to be from a ship in distress. However, at that time of the year, it being the second half of the monsoon season, there was no regular shipping. After a quarter of an hour, Loten heard a ‘hurried noise like numerous ignitions’. He returned to Semarang. Two days later a ‘commando consisting of two or three soldiers, brought in a bamboo box filled with ashes’. They said that a large mountain about ‘35 to 40 German miles ~~W~~ ESE from Cartasoera [=Kartasura], at that time the capital of the Kingdom of Mataram, had erupted and exploded’. In his writings, Loten was probably referring to an eruption of the Sumbing volcano.³⁶⁷ Not long after this, several ships arrived from Batavia and they reported that when they entered the Sunda strait, the decks were covered with a thick layer of ashes. Astonished, Loten wrote: ‘What a distance! Such a large part of the long island of Java, from Samarang until the beginning of the Sunda strait and added to that the distance Samarang to Cartasoera’ [distance 620 km].’

In 1740 Loten took a field trip with cornet Johan Andries Baron Van Hohendorff,³⁶⁸ future Governor of Java’s East coast (1748-1751) and Balthasar Toutlemonde, at that time secretary and translator in Semarang.³⁶⁹ Although the descriptions are superficial, Loten’s journal of the trip indicates his interest in natural history and antiquities. The jaunt started on 6 November 1740 at four thirty in the morning. From Semarang they went south into the mountains, passing ‘Patterongang’ [Paterongan] and the hamlet and marketplace, ‘Jatigali’, and then further on into the mountains until they neared ‘Oengarang’, presently called Ungaran. It is situated at the foot of the 2,050-metre stratovolcano Gunung Ungaran. On the slopes near the village there were fruit trees and the ‘black sugar’. Loten’s description continued: ‘[O]n the left of the road in a small rice paddy, surrounded by forest, several peacocks, were amusing themselves in the sun, stretching their feathers. There Mr Hohendorff and I dismounted and walked in their direction, while Toutlemonde dismounted on the right side [of the road], also intending to search some game. In the mean time when we approached, the peacocks took off. I had shot much too high and they retreated into the dense forest, where Mr Van Hohendorff tracked them. I followed him at a short distance, having reloaded my gun. We entered the forest and delayed under the trees with a lot of peacocks and many black monkeys, named loetongs, which were crying out in fear and were jumping from one tree to another. We saw under the tree, a few steps away from us, lying in wait, a panther or large tiger (the striped species). On this encounter we silently retreated backwards from the forest to our horses which we had left on the road, with our muskets loaded with small shot and aimed at the tiger. We arrived about half past eight in the village Oengarang at the foot of a very high mountain (on the map known as the mountain of Samarang) called Coerong oeroenang [=Ungaran mountain] by the natives [...] Here we had lunch and after a little rest we travelled in the afternoon in a southerly direction over flat rice paddies and along the fringe of the forest of Sontang to shoot game. We returned to Oengarang to have our night’s rest’.

The next day the party woke up at four in the morning. At daybreak they shot wood pigeons. Later that day they crossed the Sontang River, about a four-hour ride from Ungaran in the direction of ‘Cartasoera’. Loten remarked that ‘there is an abundance of wild hogs, deer, peacocks and smaller game’ on the road. They amused themselves with shooting pigeons. Loten described the landscape with rice paddies, ‘attached to the mountains, nearly all level and like steps of a staircase beneath each other, being watered by the water that shoots bubbling from the mountain, thus giving the spectator the illusion of a great natural waterfall’. After this description Loten wrote, ‘O JEHOVA ! Quam magnifica sunt Tua Opera !’. They reached ‘Sala tiga’ [=Salatiga] and over the ridge of the mountain, ‘on the west far above us there arose two mountains, called the two brothers. I have often seen the most western one throw out its flames’.³⁷⁰ The latter is a reference to the Merbabu with its two summits, Syarif and Kenteng Songo. Several years later, Loten sketched a coastal profile in which the ‘two brothers’ are prominently present.³⁷¹ According to Loten, Salatiga was ‘the second stop on the procession to the Imperial residence, Cartasoera, a seven-hour journey on horseback above Oengarang’. The same day Loten also reported he saw ‘the smouldering fire mountain of Merapi’ and the mountains, ‘Barbaboe and Soedara’ and ‘more northerly the forest-covered Coerong oeroenang connected to its his friend, Copo’. A visit was also paid to the temple of the ‘idol Mahadeu’, an ‘undamaged remnant from the times when the Javanese were still heathens’. Loten also remarked that the Javanese people formerly shared their religion with those from the ‘real India’. On the wall of the temple there were several ‘illegible characters and hewed-out ornaments and leaves’. The priest who received the party could not give an explanation of these inscriptions and symbols. The party apparently went to the Gedong Sanga Temples compound near

Ambarawa that was visited by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1814 and first described in his *History of Java* (1817).³⁷²

The following day while the rain was pouring down, they returned to Ungaran. They nevertheless saw hogs, peacocks, serpents and forest pigeons. They shot peacocks and found the footprints of a tiger. There was a pagan temple in the hamlet 'Goeboegang' [Gedangan?] that was in use as a 'Mahometaansche Mosqué'. They 'met several Muslim priests charged with keeping watch over the couch of an emperor or Soesoehoenang named Mindjana'. According to Loten 'these divines did not allow visiting his grave'. The annotations of the following days of the journey are short. On November 11th they passed the hamlet Baros, one hour and a half from Semarang. There they discovered on a small hill 'a heathen idol in the shape of man, sitting with his arms and legs crossed, being about two feet in height'. Loten added to this observation: 'Often one finds several coins here, sacrificed by the credulous and devout Javanese'. Not far from this spot they were welcomed by their friends who had stayed behind. That evening, 'refreshed by the fresh atmosphere of the mountains', Loten returned to Semarang.

BOOKS IN THE EAST INDIES

Information about Loten's book collection in the East Indies is scattered and incomplete. In contrast to the information available from his future London and Utrecht periods, there are few sources relating to his library; thus we have but a partial impression of it. From Loten's *Journal* of his sea voyage it is clear that he travelled to Batavia in 1732 with a copy of Nieuhoff's *Voyages* and that he had several books on astronomy in his luggage. Early in his career, "in 1735 or 1736 at Samarang on the East Coast of Java", he acquired his own copy of François Valentijn's classical description of the Dutch East Indies, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1724-1726): "It was with me at Batavia, Macassar, Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope, Utrecht and London, also at St. Helene. I bought it of Mr. Benjamin Blom, and as I remember p[ai]d st[erling] at the rate of about f 150 certainly dear enough".³⁷³ In 1736 Vincent Van Wingerden (rejected suitor of Loten's sister-in-law Christiana Jacoba Van Beaumont) gave Loten the seventeenth-century Dutch historical title, *Saken van staet en Oorlog in ende omtrent de Verenigde Nederlanden* [Matters of state and war in and relating to the United Netherlands] by Lieuwe Van Aitzema (1600-1669). In London in the 1770s, Loten still possessed these books.³⁷⁴ In November of 1737, Loten's friend Abraham de Roos sent him a box with books. This included books by the Amsterdam-born artist, engraver and poet Jan Luyken (1649-1712). Luyken's artistry distinguishes itself from others by its clarity and detail. He is most famous for his picture-book *Het Menselyk Bedryf* [Book of Trades]. Loten paid 82½ Rixdollars for the box with books.³⁷⁵ In September of 1737, Loten received twelve books from Adam Joachim Schuer in Batavia.³⁷⁶

De Heer Joan Gideon Loten debet aan Adam Joachim Schuer als	
1 Atlas van de PIsle in folio	Rsd 12,-
1 Beschrijving van den Prachtigen Tempel der Zanggodinnen in folio	15,-
1 T Brouwers werk in quarto	3,-
1 Dampiers Reijsen in quarto 2 deelen	3.24.
1 Freziers Reijzen in quarto 2 deelen	2,-
1 Hennepijns nieuwe ontdekking in quarto	1.30.
1 Rocherfort's Historie van america	2,-
1 den oorlog der advocaaten	3.24
1 Brouwerie en L'Longs Cabinet der Nederlanse oudheden 4 ^o ; 6 deelen	14,-
1 Heemskerk Batavia's Arcadia in 8 ^o	2.24
1 Scaron, Klugtig roman	1,-
1 Sydneijs Engelsche arcadia 3 deelen	2.24
Batavia den 25 ^e Septb: 1737	62.30

These were ordered for him by his friend Abraham de Roos. The price of this dispatch was 62.30 rixdollars. Most of the books from Schuer's shipment are easy to identify, but the reference to 'Brouwers werk' can not be identified with certainty. Possibly Loten was referring to a copy of the quarto edition of Hendrik Brouwer's popular account of his voyage to Chile.³⁷⁷ 'Den oorlog der advocaaten' [The war of the advocates] refers to *Bellum juridicum, ofte den oorlogh der advocaten*, which has been attributed to Simon Van Leeuwen (1625-1682). This is a well-known handbook of judicial practice published in 1683.

According to its introduction, its goal is to 'let the world see that without advocates no Kingdoms, Republics or Countries can exist'. As prosecutor in Semarang, Loten must have used this book himself.

The other books included in the dispatch dealt with Loten's interest in cartography, navigation, topography and history. Matthaeus Brouërius Van Nidek and Isaac Le Long's, *Kabinet van Nederlandsche en Kleefsche outheden* [Cabinet of the Dutch and Cleve antiquities], is the second edition of a collection of topographical prints of Dutch landscapes published in 1725. The 300 prints were made by the famous engraver Abraham Rademaker. The 'Atlas van de l'Isle' refers to the title *Atlas Nouveau* published in Amsterdam in 1730. Guillaume de l'Isle (1675-1726) was a pupil of Jean Dominique Cassini, who, among other important contributions, aligned the study of astronomy to the study of geography. Under Cassini's direction, observations enabling longitudinal calculations to be made with much greater accuracy were made from locations all over the world. De l'Isle carried out this exacting work with remarkable dedication and integrity, constantly revising and improving his maps. While precision was his primary goal, his maps are invariably elegant and attractive. The *Atlas Nouveau* was probably a source of inspiration for Loten's own astronomical activities. It possibly also influenced the work he and Jean Michel Aubert cooperated on in Macassar; together they made an Atlas of the southern part of Celebes.³⁷⁸

Several titles in Abraham Schuer's list refer to books about travel and exploration. The Dutch translation of Amédée-François Frézier's (1682-1773) *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili, du Pérou et du Brésil fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 et 1714* is mentioned. It is a report of Frézier's reconnaissance mission to South America. The book contains hydrographical observations, existing charts which had been corrected, and showed exact plans of the most important ports and forts along the coasts. The *Relation* was published in French in 1714. The English and Dutch translations followed in 1718. Schuer also sent a Dutch translation of William Dampier's (1652-1715) *Voyage around the world* to Loten. There are several Dutch editions so it is unclear which edition of Dampier's *Voyage* Loten possessed. The list also contains Louis (or Antoine) Hennepin's (1626-ca 1705), *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge van een groot land, gelegen in America tusschen nieuw Mexico en de Ijs-zee* [A new discovery of a vast country in America]. In 1678 the Roman Catholic priest Hennepin was sent on a voyage to explore the western part of New France, the French possession in North-America. Hennepin described two great waterfalls in what is now Minneapolis: the Niagara Falls and the Anthony Falls. The book was first published in French in Utrecht in 1698. The Dutch translation appeared in 1702. The fourth book on exploration is the Dutch translation of Count Charles-César de Rochefort's (1605-1683), *Natuurlyke en zedelyke historie van d'eylanden de voor-eylanden van Amerika*. The original *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique*. It is a book about the Caribbean islands. First published in French; it appeared in Rotterdam in 1658. The Dutch translation appeared in 1662, and the English translation, *The History of the Caribby-Islands*, in 1666.

Another book mentioned is *Tafereel of Beschryving van den Prachtigen Tempel der Zanggodinnen* [Scene or Description of the Beautiful Temple of the Muses] which was published in 1733 by the at that time well-known French-Dutch engraver Bernard Picard le Romain (1673-1733). Sixty engraved plates illustrate this book of mythological stories. Loten also obtained a copy of Philip Sydney's (1554-1586) Dutch translation of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, or 'Sydneijs Engelsche arcadia'. The *Arcadia*, by far Sydney's most ambitious work, is a highly idealised version of the shepherd's life to which have been added (not always naturally) stories about jousts, political treachery, kidnappings, battles and rapes. Loten also received a Dutch version of an Arcadian novel by Jacob Van Heemskerck (1597-1656), entitled *Batavische Arcadia*. It was first published in 1647. Loten probably received the revised edition first published in 1707. In this edition the story is placed in a more contemporary context. The list also mentions Paul Scarron's (1610-1660) *De kluchtige roman*, translated from the French by N. Heinsius (Bouman, Amsterdam, 2 volumes, 1678).³⁷⁹ This is a translation of Scarron's major work, *Le Roman comique* (1651-1657), an unfinished history of a troop of strolling actors.

BATAVIA

In 1741 Loten and his wife left Semarang and returned to Batavia, where Loten served as first administrator of the islands of Onrust and Kuiper. Anna Henrietta's brother-in-law, Van Bergen Van Der Grijp, and Loten's friend, Abraham de Roos, were his predecessors. The documents do not show a prosperous family. In November 1742, Anna Henrietta referred to her 'weak constitution', which in 1741 had prevented her from fulfilling the 'annual duty' of writing to Joan Gideon's parents.³⁸⁰ She wrote to her brother-in-law about the use of snuff and also referred to the financial losses that they had suffered as a result of the Chinese revolt at Semarang. The letter continued with a description of the Loten

household in Batavia including detail about their nearly seven-year-old daughter, Anna Deliana Cornelia: 'Now I should like to spend an evening in Utrecht with you to devote ourselves to [music]. However, when will that happen I do not know for our condition is worsening and not bettering due to losses suffered and bad times? Basta, enough about sorrows and grief in the East Indies. I hope that, in the end, Heaven will provide us with a solution. Young man, you are very much mistaken if you imagine that I only make music on the harpsichord, because for one or two years now I have started to play the flute in order to counter my melancholy thoughts and sorrows. I also like that instrument very much. The result has been that Loten, to humour his wife, is also practising. So we are sometimes tooting together, like two foolish people. Then our little girl comes in to mock her papa and mama piping on her small flageolet.³⁸¹ We then represent the saying 'As the old cock crows, so crows the young'.³⁸² Well you see brother, this is a description of our amusing life in the orient. You think it is remarkable that I don't write about our little daughter. I don't think that this is strange, Mr Arnout, because I could not know that you would find it agreeable that I bore you with tales about children and interrupt you in your studies. But now that you demand this of me, I shall tell you that she is a very astute, nice girl and also very pale. If you can still recollect Jantje Loten's appearance, you can imagine what she looks like with her father's natural colouring. She also has her father's character because at times, if she is not helped immediately or if you do not do what she wants, she impatiently jumps up and down more than a foot into the air. Otherwise she is very obedient. Now that I have written this, Loten has decided, after much prodding by me, to make a portrait of her. When it is finished, you will receive it in a second dispatch'.

There are several references to Anna Henrietta's musical interests in the correspondence. From April 1737 onwards, she owned a 'flute a travers' bought for her upon her request by Jan Cornelis du Quesne.³⁸³ Before he bought the flute, which was difficult to obtain in Batavia, he asked a musician to examine the instrument, 'because I have not in the least any knowledge of it and [I] am even not able to make a sound on it'. He paid 8 ducats for it. Later that year, Du Quesne was also asked to buy pieces of music: 'I am heartily sorry that I am not able to execute my cousin's request regarding the required pieces of music, because this type of goods is not available here. You will have to order the pieces of music directly from Patria. With regard to the strings, these are sometimes available here, especially now, because the ships have started to arrive. As soon as I can obtain some, I shall send them to you. Please be so good as to write me to tell whether they should be made of copper or iron thread and in what number'.³⁸⁴

MACASSAR

In March of 1744, the Loten family left Batavia for Macassar. Loten described their arrival there in a letter written in May 1744 to Nicolaas Crul, Loten's former superior at Semarang, and councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East Indies at that time. The intimate and reverential tone of the letter shows Lotens' high esteem for Mr and Mrs Crul: '[T]he 24th [March 1744] we and our little girl have arrived in good health at this place, and find everything quite agreeable. This means that there is no reason at all to complain about the climate and the country and the victuals. The conversation however, is absolutely not as amusing and confidential as it is in Samarang, and we very much long for our Batavian friends, if we are permitted to reckon You among them, especially because we in particular consider You to be our very cordial benefactors. We do not therefore need to express that we have lost the comforts and thousands kindnesses which we experienced on a daily basis and became accustomed to'.³⁸⁵

The Macassar government allowed Loten regular trips to the VOC settlements in southern Celebes. Loten evidently enjoyed these outings. Many years later Thomas Pennant wrote: "Mr *Loten* informed me that none of the *Indian* islands had such a grand and beautiful scenery. It abounds with rivers, which spring high in the mountains, and precipitate down vast rocks, among a sylvan scene of lofty and singular trees. The lakes, and more still parts of the rivers, give security to numberless waterfowl of the larger and more clumsy kinds, which retire there by fear of the crocodiles, which haunt the lower and marshy parts. Those are not deserted by the lesser palmated birds, such as ducks and teal, which being quick sighted and nimble, easily evade the approach of the enemy".³⁸⁶

End September of 1744, after having taken a trip into the interior of Celebes, Anna Henrietta wrote to Arnout Loten, telling him that the year before in Batavia, she had been in bed for six weeks and that, 'in town rumour had it that she was dying. However, by God's goodness I am now completely recovered, with the exception of my old complaints of palpitations of the heart and oppression of the chest'.³⁸⁷ She also told him that instead of being in Macassar, she would have preferred to return to Patria in 1744,

'however, again it was not possible, and the reason therefore will be known to you from our letter to father and mother'. This letter has not been recovered, but it certainly will have referred to the losses they suffered as a result of the Chinese revolt at Semarang. Anna Henrietta sent a family portrait to Utrecht: '[N]ow you can judge for yourself what your sister, with her puny face, looks like. If your brother Jan had to choose now, I do not think he would have lost as many hours of sleep as he did eleven years ago, or so he led me to believe [...] But what do you think of Loten's face? Hasn't he become a portly and grave gentleman. One might say that old people sometimes grumble. Now and again I wish you could look in; then you could see how quarrelsome he is. Well let me not go on and on; he is still my good man even though he is somewhat quick-tempered'.

In 1749 Loten's friend, J.S. de Ravalette, saw the portrait of the Loten family in the house of Loten's father at Utrecht. Joan Carel proudly showed him the representation of his distinguished son and his family: '[I]f your father had not shown me the portrait of Joan Gideon, wife and child and said «there is the portrait of the Councillor of Netherlands India» last summer [I would not have recognised you.] I was angry with the Indian painters when the old gentleman showed the portrait to me. I told him that I did not believe that his son's kind face had become so surly through age or as a result of the Indian weather. I could not find anything resembling a smile. I cannot give any opinion about Madam and the young child, because I have never met them, but about Your Excellency I can give you my opinion'.³⁸⁸

In October of 1745, Loten wrote to his brother telling him that his wife had 'already been for over a month bed-ridden suffering from oppression and fainting, so that she has become much weaker'. Anna Henrietta wrote a short *post scriptum* from her bed; in it she did not mention that she was pregnant again.³⁸⁹ In the same month, Loten told George Beens, the resident at Boelecombo, that his daughter's birthday had not been celebrated, 'due to his wife's disposition'.³⁹⁰ Four months later on February the 18th 1746, a son was born at the castle Rotterdam in Macassar. However, shortly after his birth, the infant died. The boy was apparently never given a name. In April of 1746, Loten remarked to Beens, 'my wife is still ailing and in even worse condition than she was before the miscarriage'.³⁹¹ However, in June 1746 he did not mention the birth and death of the boy to his brother. In October 1747, more than a year and a half later, Anna Henrietta referred indirectly to her miscarriage and her ongoing emotional reaction to the traumatic event: 'I shall leave it to your judgement to consider the reasons for which I did not send a timely response to your agreeable letter. I kindly ask you to remember what I wrote to you about my situation now two years ago. At that time I was too weak, unable to sit up and write a decent letter. From then on my condition deteriorated every day and every hour; the sad consequences of this soon became clear. You will have been informed about this by our communication to our highly esteemed and worthy parents. You can imagine that after this bitter experience I have no mind at all to pleasure and amusement and take great pains to control my emotions.³⁹² However, dear brother, let us now settle this and refer no more to sadness. I sincerely regret that I am unable to comply with your request for seeds, plants and bulbs. It is absolutely impossible for me to send them to Patria. However to please you dear brother I shall send the above mentioned list to Batavia and confer full powers to Mr Tegel. I shall ask him to satisfy all your wishes. I also promise you, that if I leave for Patria, I shall not disappoint you and shall bring everything with me. However, brother, I do not believe that it is likely that your sister will see Europe because she is growing old and will be 31 years before long. My compatriots the hottentotinne, too, seldom grow older and very few reach 40 to 50 years of age'.³⁹³

Arnout Loten's concerned reply was written in May 1749 to his brother a year and a half later: 'I was very sorry to hear about her continued ailing condition. Thus our joy about her improving health has now completely disappeared. However, I believe that our sister, while writing the above mentioned letter, was in a rather melancholy mood. Because in my opinion it is a bit premature for a sensible 31-year-old lady to say that she believes that it is not likely she will ever see Europe again. I do flatter myself with a contrary opinion about her health, knowing that a change of climate often results in great improvements in the condition of the human body. With regard to the short lifespans of your compatriots, the hottentottinnetjes, I am sure that you are joking'.³⁹⁴ However, Anna Henrietta's health remained weak in the years that followed at Macassar. On August 15th 1748, her 'tender loving husband, Joan Gideon Loten', wrote the following to his wife from Pantiana, a settlement in the inlands of Celebes: 'I just received your letter, from which I understand with sorrow your indisposition, which fortunately has passed the point of crisis. That Heaven may give you a speedy recovery and a long-lasting unbroken health, also best wishes to our very dear daughter'.³⁹⁵ From the same letter it is clear that Loten himself was recovering from a broken arm and leg: '[W]e arrived very prosperously and easily [...] at Pantiana. In bed however, I found rest in vain; so it continues to persist and I am sleepless. On the other hand I am,

thank God, healthy, except for the small sudden convulsions in the nerves that prevent me from sleeping. My left arm has recovered, as is my leg both broken bones which caused me discomfort. Only my right arm is still somewhat painful making writing difficult'. The sudden convulsions in the nerves which he describes to his wife foreshadow his future asthmatic complaints.

In August and September 1750, Loten was again travelling in the surroundings of Macassar. He reported that many people in the hamlets suffered from children's diseases and measles, resulting in many deaths. He wrote a compassionate letter to his nearly fourteen-year-old daughter from Maros on 22 August 1750: '[T]he poor ill people lay naked along the river. In Toatona four children have already died and sixteen people still suffer from measles. Close to my house there is a dwelling with more than twenty sick people, old and young without distinction'.³⁹⁶ He warned his wife to be careful with 'our Nonne' [household name for their daughter] and 'if people from outside enter the house, recommend that she «not come too soon or too near to them»'.

BATAVIA

In October 1750, the Loten family left Macassar and settled again in Batavia where Loten took his seat at the the Indian council's 'High Table'. Little information about this period exists in the Loten documents. Loten was in Bantam in March and April of 1752 as commissary of the High Government. During Loten's mission in Bantam, his daughter Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia, aged nearly 16 years, got engaged to the 35-year-old senior merchant Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen, former captain of the Company's army and former resident of Rembang.³⁹⁷ Loten was not happy with the engagement, because the widower, Van Der Bruggen, was a miser strongly focussed on his own enrichment. In 1757 Loten wrote to his brother saying that Van Der Bruggen had plotted the engagement shortly before his commission to Bantam. His daughter's friends had told him that it was 'concocted' by Van Der Bruggen's sister, Suzanna Anthonia Van Der Bruggen, widow of Rijklof Anthonie Van Goens and from 1749 on wife of Johan de Roth, the general tax-collector at Batavia.³⁹⁸ When Loten returned to Batavia, governor-general Jacob Mossel told him it was too late to prevent the engagement. In 1757 Loten wrote about this saying that many people in Batavia, 'among whom the most distinguished members of the government, justly considered him [=Van Der Bruggen] to be a most evil subject'.³⁹⁹ However, he was 'nearly without intermission [...] loved and considered [...] to be a man of the best qualities' by Loten's wife Anna Henrietta.⁴⁰⁰ Fifteen years later, shortly after Van Der Bruggen's death, Loten referred to the circumstances of the engagement: 'A[nn]o 1752 when I returned from the Bantam Commission in Batavia, and learned about the progress Van Der Bruggen had made with my [...] daughter, I turned to Mr General Mossel. His Excellency responded (saying in words something like this), «I should not advise you to make any move, it has possibly already progressed so far that [ending] it will create more or less commotion and that could cause grief to you and your family. In this situation interfering with the affair would not be useful»'.⁴⁰¹

The couple were married on 19 July 1752 at Batavia. In the three weeks following their marriage, Anna Henrietta prepared for the journey to Ceylon. She wrote to Lucretia Christina Loten-Scheffer, her sister-in-law in Utrecht about this period: '[I]t has tired me so much that the fatigue has caused heavy oppression of my chest and palpitations of my heart. It was necessary to bleed and after several days I felt better. The preparations and labour had to be done. Then I suffered again from heavy attacks of fever and became bed-ridden so that I could not do anything. I was not even able to bid anyone farewell, with one exception. On the last day I bade farewell to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Government dressed in a coat and wrapped in a shawl. The last evening I attended, although I was deathly weak, a very kind and tender farewell meal at His Excellency's residence. The next morning said Ladies and Gentlemen and a considerable number of our relatives and other good friends, several of which were much moved by my situation, had the Courtesy of joining us at His Excellency's house and afterwards to the ship and aboard'.⁴⁰² In 1772 Loten remembered a detail about their departure from Batavia to Ceylon. On the morning of their embarkment, Van Der Bruggen's tailor came to him with the bill for the groom's dress.⁴⁰³ The tailor was sent by Van Der Bruggen and Loten paid the bill and all other expenses, 'out of compassion with his poor soul'.

CEYLON

In September of 1752, Loten, as the governor and director of the island of Ceylon, accompanied by his wife, daughter and son-in-law, arrived in Colombo. It was a renewed acquaintance with the island for Van Der Bruggen, because in 1739, captain Van Der Bruggen had belonged to the military escort of governor Van Imhoff in his inspection of the VOC settlements at Ceylon.⁴⁰⁴ At Colombo, Loten and his wife lived in the Government House, a massive but elegant building which fronted the sea on the north side of the Castle-Fort.⁴⁰⁵ It was a building of two storeys, with two additional wings of one floor that housed various offices of the Government. Laid out below the southern face of the building was a small sunken garden which was approached from the Government House by a flight of steps. Van Der Bruggen and his wife inhabited a house within the walls of the fortification, just opposite to the Government House and next to the St Peter's church. It was one of the one-storeyed houses along the Heerenstraat. The roofs of these houses were slanting from a central ridge and pitched low over a deep verandah or *stoep*, supported by slim wooden or rounded brick pillars. Along the outer edge of the verandah of each house a wooden railing separated it from the street which lay a few feet below the *stoep*. According to the British naval surgeon Ives in 1757: "The streets [of Colombo] are very wide with a beautiful row of trees on each side, and between them and the houses is very smooth and regular pavement. Between the trees is a very fine verdure [...] and ye whole so elegantly dispos'd [...] that we could not help admiring ye wisdom and genius of ye Dutch".⁴⁰⁶

During Loten's five-year management of the Company's affairs, the family experienced far-reaching setbacks. Evenso, the birth of his grandson, Johan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen [Careltje] on April 4th 1753, must have been a happy occasion in their troubled existence. A letter from Anna Henrietta to the Arnout Loten's wife gives a glimpse of the family's life and of one-year-old Careltje: 'Dear sister, I can not clearly put into words just how much happiness and joy our dear Careltje gives us. He is a charming, sweet and dignified boy, everybody's friend, and mad about Loten and myself. If the little rogue just sees or hears us coming, he hops and jumps in such a way that you simply have to take him in your arms. This is also true for [Van Der] Bruggen, however not for Nonne [=Anna Deliana]. Careltje may not take her seriously, because she is more engaged with her former activities like embroidery and lace-work'.⁴⁰⁷ Anna Henrietta was clearly fond of the child. She wrote to her sister-in-law saying that he looked 'exactly like his grandfather and now and again, when he becomes angry then Jantje [=Joan Gideon] declares that he just looks like his grandfather',⁴⁰⁸ another reference to Loten's hastiness of temper. Anna Deliana's second child was also a boy, Albert Anthoni Cornelis Van Der Bruggen [Albertje] born in 1754. One year later in 1755 Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen [Antje] was born.

In February 1755, Loten wrote the following about his nearly two-year-old grandson Careltje: 'The eldest elf joins me daily when riding and sailing. He is a drollish braggart who also likes to get his own way or he upsets everything'.⁴⁰⁹ However, Loten's youngest grandson caused him grief, because he died on 30 July 1755, ten days before his grandmother died. In his notebook, Loten wrote 'A.A.C. Θ, 30 die Julii. At Br[uggen] until 8 hours in the evening all instruments still playing'.⁴¹⁰ Apparently Van Der Bruggen, like Loten's brother-in-law Van Bergen Van Der Grijp, possessed a private orchestra with local musicians. Van Der Bruggen's musical diversions were also reported to the Loten family at Utrecht: 'He had an unbearable noise of kettledrums, trumpets, French horns and other very unsuitable music playing at his house [a]t 8 o'clock in the evening when dear Albertje was already dying (because at 11½ o'clock that dear child died) and my late very honourable wife was also very weak'.⁴¹¹ The death of Albertje was kept a secret from his grandmother Anna Henrietta. The boy was first placed in the grave of former governor of Ceylon, Isaac Rumpf, his grandmother's uncle. Several weeks later he was reburied and placed in the grave with Anna Henrietta.

DEATH ANNA HENRIETTA VAN BEAUMONT

The Loten documents show that Loten and his wife shared a sincere mutual affection for one another. The correspondence of 1755 dealing with the death of Anna Henrietta is clear evidence of this. In November 1755 Joan Gideon Loten wrote a detailed and touching description of the death of his wife to his family in Utrecht; he was overwhelmed by grief and 'often bursting into tears'.⁴¹² According to Loten before their marriage her health had already been weakened by 'oppressions of the chest and gas in her intestines' and was deteriorated by the birth of three children. During her last illness, his wife did not complain directly to Loten, and confessed to her friend Miss de Vries, the wife of a lieutenant of the

artillery at Colombo and to her female slaves: 'I do not dare to tell my husband how indisposed I feel. He is so very busy and it will hinder his affairs, because I perceive when he comes to me, that his eyes are always red from crying (which was in fact the truth)'. Loten described her dreams which always dealt with death: 'In these circumstances my wife often woke up in the night telling me that she had dreamed about coffins, or she often told me that she was waiting with her late mother in the church to get married, but that the bridegroom could not be found. Fortunately, because she was not superstitious, I could get that out of her head saying that it was not unusual for someone who is indisposed and mentally prepared to leave this world. However, it is not improbable that this blessed, although for me very sad, marriage, has been the subject of her reflections to the last'. Loten supposed that Anna Henrietta's health seriously deteriorated as a result of the forces of the hurricane that raged over Ceylon in May 1755: 'After the heavy hurricane on 22 and 23 May, which was unprecedented, her health deteriorated and developed into a complete *Malum hystericum* [eighteenth-century medical expression for nervous disorder]. She was very much troubled by the winds that blew against the government [house] and especially when we could not protect ourselves against the heavy rainfall for a few nights'.

On August the 10th 1755, Loten wrote to his family in Utrecht: '[I] awoke crying from a dream in which I envisioned myself walking in Utrecht along the Lange Nieuwstraat on my way to visit Mons[ieur] Lommers in the Smeesteeg to behold a number of his instruments'.⁴¹³ In this dream he understood that 'three hours ago his wife had died [...] When I woke up still crying I saw my wife in bed. I was glad that my dream was not true and because I am not superstitious I also did not feel uneasy. She raised her hand to me and asked me with a tolerably merry and kind voice, while she grasped my hand, «How is Loot?». Whereupon I answered and asked how she felt? She replied to my astonishment, «Weak Loten, I feel much oppressed, but that will pass». Anna Henrietta took a small meal and seemed somewhat better after that. In the mean time preparations were made to transport her to the country seat Uytvlucht, north of Colombo. However, she was too weak to make the voyage. At five in the evening, she went to bed. Two hours later, her situation had worsened and Loten returned in a hurry from his daughter's house nearby. Not long afterwards her daughter also came over. Doctor Schuler, who took her pulse, concluded that she was dying, which he also told Anna Henrietta in somber terms, 'who listened to this with the greatest resignation, as if she was not bothered at all by this information. She constantly gripped my hand and gently tapped it with a kind smile and in between embracing me, not in a very passionate way but as if in raillery'. She was asked whether she wanted to see the Reverend Gerardus Potken, which she refused.⁴¹⁴ Potken had been an emeritus clergyman at Colombo since 1753 and was characterised by Loten in 1775 as a 'very distinguished and worthy teacher, who allowed reason'.⁴¹⁵ Ann Henrietta had something to eat.

'[A]fter the meal, she was allowed to drink a small glass of beer. My daughter helped her by lifting the glass to her mouth. She drank and after the first glass a second was filled two thimblefuls, which she consumed. I sensed her eyes began to droop, as if she would sit up feebly (just as she did since her early youth, a former *Morbus uterinus* [eighteenth-century expression for disease of the womb] had caused such fits before). I turned to her and supported her. She whispered in broken words «I am the bride» which I did not understand very well. So I spoke «My God, Antje, what are you saying?» but she could no longer hold her head up (which I supported with my hands and head). With a spiritless face she spoke again and again in a softer voice «I am the Bride, I am going to be married, I pass». At first I did not understand for I was very upset and this prevented me from hearing everything distinctly. She must have meant «I pass» from this world or from the earthly Marriage in spiritual sense. Although «I pass» was not her manner of speaking and more applicable to the outdoors, a way of expressing «I feel better or I am better». Perhaps she was referring to the country seat [=Grandpas]. Then her mouth opened and her tongue weakly protruding, I noticed white phlegm on her chin and wiped it away with my handkerchief. After that she closed her mouth normally before she closed her eyes forever. With a tranquil and beautiful face she looked as if she was asleep, very content and happy, like someone who is resting very pleasantly. She was like this until the 12th [of August] when at five o'clock in the afternoon the coffin was closed. She was buried in the castle church with full honours fitting her position and ancestry'.

Loten's interest in medical issues is illustrated by his speculation on the cause of her death, something which he added to the description of Anna Henrietta's death: 'Six or seven days before her death she continuously spat much old phlegm, probably caused by infected parts of the lung or perhaps from a former cold caused by the weariness she felt as a result of the hurricane. We did not find this alarming, but we did think that she would have no defenses due to her weakness, so that suffocation would result in sudden death (which to our bitter grief is what happened). However, two days before [her death] it

ceased, so it is very probable [...] that she died of a Convulsio pulmonis, although she passed away as softly as one can image, actually as if in her sleep, imperceptibly’.

Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont was buried with all the honours fitting the wife of a governor-director of Ceylon.⁴¹⁶ Two weeks later, on August 24, 1755, Reverend Matthias Wermelskircher, rector of the Colombo Seminary, gave his funeral sermon. It was printed and published by the Company’s printer in Colombo.⁴¹⁷ Anna Henrietta was buried a grave on the site of the Christian church in the middle of the fortress of Colombo. In 1813 her body and that of her grandson were moved from the fortress’s burial ground and reburied at the church of Wolvendaal. Her tombstone can still be found at that church in Colombo.⁴¹⁸ In memory of his wife, Loten had a locket made. He made a note of this in his notebook saying that he had sent this locket, valued at 50 piastro, to Miss de Vries on 15 June 1756, a present for which she never thanked him. Miss de Vries’s husband, the lieutenant of the Colombo artillery, thanked him on her behalf in his regular report to governor Loten. Loten’s reply was terse, “I did not send anything to you”.⁴¹⁹

Loten’s grief must have been great. Every day he wrote in his personal notebook, for unknown reasons, one or two words, usually a topographical name, after the date.⁴²⁰ On August 30th 1755, the day that his grandson had died, he wrote the word ‘Lunenburg’. The days following the boy’s death, however, carried the words ‘Lovely Flower’ and ‘so early withered!’.⁴²¹ After the date upon which Anna Henrietta died, he wrote the words ‘Bois le Duc’. The following four days were entered in the notebook as ‘undisturbed Rest’, ‘congregated with Her Owns’, ‘She expects a Better’ and ‘Glorification’. The three days after the funeral sermon in the Wolvendaal church were typified by words like ‘Eternally shining’, ‘Imperishable Honour’ and ‘Vigilance’. But serene thoughts were not the only ones Loten entered into this remarkable notebook. On August 29th 1755, he wrote ‘~~Amboina~~ Very stupid, Br[uggen] also at D.N.’ [Dominus Noster=‘Our Lord’]. Two days later he jotted down: ‘Moluccos, at Bruggen fiddle already playing &c.’. Apparently Van Der Bruggen’s appearance in the church had astonished his father-in-law. The second entry was a reference to the entertainment Van Der Bruggen’s musicians provided. On September the 5th 1755, after the entry ‘Seine’, Loten quoted a remark, being a Dutch expression for melancholy, which was probably made by his daughter Anna Deliana: ‘Papa looks as kind as an earworm. He must have a lot on his mind’.

According to the notebook a funeral escutcheon could be found fastened to the door of Loten’s apartment in the government house on September 23rd, 1755. A half a year later, on March 14th 1756, Loten noted that he had returned to society dressed in ‘dull black silken trousers, made in the fashion of severe mourning & worsted stockings’.

VAN DER BRUGGHEN FAMILY

An important part of Loten’s personal correspondence from Colombo deals with his daughter, Anna Deliana Cornelia, and her husband, Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen. The letters illustrate the strong emotional ties between father and daughter. They also show how different Joan Gideon Loten and his son-in-law were. Governor Loten, burdened by the responsibilities of his office, was hard working, loyal to the Company and was interested in natural philosophy. Senior merchant Van Der Bruggen was clearly not troubled by moral considerations; he was keen to make a fortune and had little interest in other subjects. Loten’s strong and emotional assessment of his son-in-law is probably somewhat biased and thus not wholly reliable as a representation of the actual situation. Nevertheless, his remarks illustrate how he actually felt about his son-in-law. Loten’s relationship with Van Der Bruggen resembles his attitude towards his opponents in the East and later in Utrecht and England. Although he did not like Van Der Bruggen, he usually behaved with forbearing and was even cooperative for as long as he could tolerate this. In later years he believed that he was too accommodating in his trust of others.

Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen had two sons from his earlier marriage to Christiana Engelina Rebens. These were Jacob Willem [Willempje] and Jan Anthonij [Jantje]. In August 1752, the boys joined their father, step-mother and grandparents on board the ship *Ghiessenburg* to Colombo. However, nine-year-old Jacob Willem was not to stay in Ceylon. Instead, he travelled to Patria in the care of the ship’s commander, Kornelis Eijke [or Eijken].⁴²² Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen sent 20,000 guilders to Joan Carel Loten, apparently to cover the costs of his son’s education in the Dutch Republic.⁴²³ Loten had to ask his parents and brother to take care of his grandson. The case is illustrative of Loten’s almost submissive attitude towards his imperious son-in-law. He evidently lacked the authority to prevent this

from being asked of his aged parents in Utrecht. Arnout Loten mildly reproached his brother about the unannounced arrival of the boy: '[I]t all happened very unexpectedly, because we had not received any information in advance. And to be honest brother and sister, this arrival has caused our parents, who are already very old and used to living quietly, great difficulty'.⁴²⁴ In November 1754, Loten replied that he agreed with Arnout's criticism. However, he had been unable to prevent the boy from going.⁴²⁵ In the same letter he announced that Van Der Bruggen had also decided to send his second son, Jan Anthonij to Patria. A day later he wrote about this in more detail and he described his son-in-law's character: '[T]he coming over of Young master Willem [...] is in no way the result of anything I have advised or directed. I did all I could do to prevent this burden from being placed upon our very old father. However v.. d.. B.....[=Van Der Bruggen], with whom I did not get along at that time insisted, is sending his second son now, again ignoring my arguments against placing this burden upon our dear parents. I therefore respectfully request that you believe that I am not responsible for this. His actions do not stem from an ill-nature or out of disrespect, but simply from the evil habit of sticking to one's own opinion and he refuses to compare it with that of another. With regard to the boys' education, he is easily satisfied, for he is against all learning (with the exception of reading, writing and some arithmetic, possibly including some Latin, German and French) and against all who practice it. He is happily married to my daughter, because she is of a very gentle temperament. However, it is always difficult for me to be persuaded that black is white [apparently Van Der Bruggen was sometimes convinced of the impossible]'.⁴²⁶

The correspondence also illustrates how harshly the young and unprotected Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen had been treated on board of the Dutch East India vessel *Ghiessenburg*. The passage to Patria must have been traumatic for the young boy. Two years after the voyage, Jacob Willem told Arnout Loten about how he had been treated: 'After our previous letters were sent [April 1754] (and after Eijke's departure), and after much insistence, and notwithstanding all our earlier attempts to get to know just how young Willem was treated on the ship by Captain Eijke, the truth finally came out; he had been maltreated especially on this side of the Cape. He was given poor meals in spite of the excessive account father was presented for provisions purchased for young Willem there. He was forced to sleep there where the dried fish were stored. He often had to work pulling at the ropes. This is how he described it. He was also beaten occasionally. Eijke forcefully forbade Willem to tell us anything about it, threatening to harm him physically if he did. He told Willem that if he spoke to us anyway, he would make sure that we treated him the way one is used to treating the slaves in the Indies. Willem told us that these threats had kept him from telling us the truth. I leave it to your judgement to consider the reliability of this story, told by a child. However, if young Willem had told us in time, we should not have paid Eijke the 100 ducats'.⁴²⁷ Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen responded to this letter in October of 1755 saying that 'the roguish reception that Eijken had prepared for my dear Willem was already known to me'. He had taken legal steps to take possession of Eijke's unpaid accounts.⁴²⁸ In spite of Willem's treatment during his voyage to Patria, Arnout Loten was able to write that the boy had arrived 'in good health' in August of 1753. Arnout deemed Jacob Willem to be a talented child. He apparently wanted to have a military career like his father. Arnout Loten was against this because it 'often only seems attractive to young gentlemen'.

Two years after Jan Willem had turned up in Utrecht, his brother Jan Anthonij arrived at the Texel roadstead aboard the *Slooterdijk*, captained by master Jacob Boekhout.⁴²⁹ On June 7th 1755, he appeared at the house of Joan Carel Loten in Utrecht.⁴³⁰ Five days later the boy entered Johan Hersant's boarding house on the Jerusalemsteeg in Utrecht. His brother, Jacob Willem, was staying there too. On June 24th 1755, Jacob Willem had a severe fit of epilepsy. On July 3rd, the two boys were taken from their boarding house and moved to the Oud Munster Kerkhof, their great-grand parents' home. According to Joan Carel Loten's accurate annotations of August 15th, 'Jantje Van Der Bruggen' returned to Mr Hersant's boarding house 'after having stayed 43 days in our house'. One week later, on 24 August 1755, 'after having stayed during 52 days in our house', the doctors approved Jacob Willem's return to Mr Hersant. In September 1755, Jacob Willem continued his schooling in 'Latin' by Reverend Schalckwijk in the Utrecht Hieronymus School at the Kromme Nieuwegracht.⁴³¹ The accuracy of Joan Carel's annotations suggests that caring for the sick boys had been a considerable burden to their old great-grandparents.

Arnout Loten regularly reported on the boys' progress. In November 1756 he spoke with Petrus Wesseling (1692-1764), professor in History, Eloquence and the Greek language at Utrecht University about their education. He was told that the boys did not need a 'preceptor or Governor' before entering the University. Arnout also wrote that in the spring of 1757 Jan Anthonij would be sent to the Latin

School.⁴³² In October 1757 he reported the boys' learning had stagnated: 'Mr Hersant, their teacher complained', and they they were seriously reprimanded by Joan Carel Loten.

Half a year later in July 1758, the boys' father returned to Patria. The children went to live with him in Leiden. Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen, who had a quarrelsome character and who, according to Loten, was like his father, did not choose to pursue a military career. He was a student at Leiden University from November 1758 until January 1762 when he defended his dissertation, *de Rebus religiosus*. In 1764 he visited his grandfather in London.⁴³³ Jacob Willem was secretary of the Hague from July 1767 until his death in October 1778.⁴³⁴ He evidently belonged to the city's social elite. In 1764 he married Johanna Maria Dierquens, the daughter of a burgomaster of the Hague.⁴³⁵ On this occasion, Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen gave his son 5,000 guilders and an annual allowance of 1,000 rixdollars.⁴³⁶ After the death of his father in 1769, Jacob Willem was a wealthy man. In 1774 he bought a house on the fashionable eastside of the Lange Houtstraat, in the Hague for 28,000 guilders.

Jan Anthonij's education proved to be more problematic. According to Arnout Loten, Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen complained about his second son in September 1759. Arnout exclaimed to his brother: 'How happy for you that you are not saddled with that young scoundrel'.⁴³⁷ In March 1761, Van Der Bruggen had to hire a tutor for his son.⁴³⁸ In the end, Jan Anthony Van Der Bruggen became an officer of the Cavalry of the Prince of Orange. The available documents show him to be an agreeable person. He married Marie Fortunée Boulanger in 1770. In 1772 he bought Castle Croy at Stiphout in Dutch Brabant, which he sold to his half-brother Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen six years later.

In the East Indies, Loten's loyalty to his son-in-law and daughter implied that he supported Van Der Bruggen's aspiration to become a councillor of the East Indies. In January 1754, Loten asked his father and brother to promote his son-in-law for a chair in the Council of the Indies. He evidently did not hesitate to make this request of them despite the fact that it was undoubtedly a tiresome charge. Speaking about his daughter and son-in-law Loten wrote: 'I hope Heaven will bless this alliance. [...] Therefore and to improve their happiness, I have done my best to propose His promotion as Councillor of the Indies. I heartily desire that he obtains it, chiefly for my dear daughter'.⁴³⁹ A desire to rise in the Company's hierarchy was Van Der Bruggen's main incentive: '[B]ecause here in this country it is very sad [to live] without that dignity, moreover when so many much younger people make fast promotions'.⁴⁴⁰ The Loten documents inform us that Van Der Bruggen's application failed even though Loten's father and brother had taken action. Immediately following the arrival of Loten's letter, Joan Carel and Arnout Loten had gone to Amsterdam, 'to speak with the honourable directors about the promotion of Mr D.W. Van Der Bruggen',⁴⁴¹ again demonstrating that Company advancement was not only a personal, but also a family affair. Advocating Van Der Bruggen was not their only mission, for at the same time, they also endorsed Joan Gideon's election to the position of councillor ordinary. In September and early October 1754, Joan Carel and his son Arnout went to Amsterdam again. In the October 12th 1754 entry of his notebook, Joan Carel Loten wrote that his son Joan Gideon had been elected councillor ordinary. He did not, however, record anything about the fate of Van Der Bruggen's aspiration. This was done by his son Arnout who wrote to Van Der Bruggen about the VOC management's decision: 'We are very sorry that we are unable to congratulate you as Councillor extraordinary. When we visited Mr Hasselaer (at that time President of the board of directors) to apply for you, he said that he opposed having a Father and Son in one and the same Council. He said that he had even prevented it from happening in Amsterdam where his blood-relations were involved. (Cousin, what can you say to counter this?). However, I responding on your behalf mentioned that General Mossel and his son-in-law, Hohendorff, too, were in the Council together. However, he said that this was not something he approved of and that he did not wish this to be a precedent for others. The Company, having fallen upon bad times, would be ruined by forming such governments in the Indies. We hope that next year the odds will be in your favour and that the times will change'.⁴⁴²

In Joan Carel Loten's notebook, there is no allusion to any further attempts to support Van Der Bruggen's aspirations. In October of 1755, Van Der Bruggen commented upon his failure to become councillor extraordinary: 'One cannot do anything about it, because that is the fate of the world. However, I shall not try and analyse Mr President Hasselaer reasons for opposing family members taking part in the same council, because that Gentleman is one of my patrons, against whom it is better not to speak too critically (at least while I am still here). Meanwhile we can comfort ourselves very easily. However, it is a shame, that having done your utmost, we still failed. We shall await the effect of your future labour in Batavia as we intend to sail there in January'.⁴⁴³ Two years later, Van Der Bruggen wrote

that he had concluded his application had failed due to: 'The dirty tricks that some have played on me intending to damage my reputation in the eyes of people in Europe and [that it] was done only to amuse themselves on my account'.⁴⁴⁴

It was difficult for Loten to part company with his daughter. In February of 1755, he wrote to the governor-general that Van Der Bruggen and his daughter had asked for his permission to leave Colombo for Batavia. Anonymous complaints against Van Der Bruggen about his role in the Aripo pearl fishery were the reason for their request. Moreover, his wish to be elected to a position in the Indian Government appeared to have little chance of success. It was an emotional stage in Loten's life; his wife was dying, he was having problems with Mooijaert and Van Der Spar and on top of that the spectre of having to say farewell to his daughter. He was clearly depressed; Anna Deliana and her children's departure seemed unbearable to him. Loten explained Mossel his reasons for refusing to give his daughter and her husband permission leave to Batavia and he even told him that he was prepared to give up his position in Ceylon's government. The letter is an emotional appeal made by a man in great distress: '[B]ut how can I say farewell to my only child, who for the time being is also my sole happiness. How harsh would it be if I agree with this [request], I cannot part from her tenderness. Even if I say so myself, she is of a very sweet disposition and someone who gives my life, which is not without adversity, so much consolation [...] How sad I should be in this otherwise agreeable country (where a comfortable means of existence scarcely remains due to the tricks played the Batavian Ceylonese), precisely because of its inhabitants, who pretend to be meek sheep but who are, in fact, very different. So let me pray that I can repatriate as soon as possible with those who belong to me; I am absolutely fully prepared to do so'.⁴⁴⁵

One year later, however, Loten gave them his permission to set out for Batavia. He wrote in his notebook that they had departed on March the 20th 1756 aboard the ship *Leiden*. They went to Batavia, where they arrived on April 20th 1756: 'So it must have been 19 March 1756 in the evening that I saw my daughter to the ship – the last time I saw this very dear child'.⁴⁴⁶ A more detailed and moving description of her departure from Colombo is in a letter that Loten wrote to his brother: 'On March 20th I saw off my very dear Deliaantje and her two remaining, very charming children to the ship *Leiden* on the [Colombo] roadstead (and off course Bruggen who, having again considerably increased his fortune here, has applied for discharge under the pretext that because he was not appointed Councillor of India, he would prefer to return to Patria, but more probably to prevent his involuntary discharge by the Honourable Councillors). This separation has been very bitter. She only exclaimed, «I shall never see Papa again in my life» and was still exclaiming this to me in the most pathetic terms as the ship departed. She tenderly and becomingly addressed herself to all of the Gentlemen present on the ship who were going to accompany me to shore, begging them to be faithful and to take care of me &c.'.⁴⁴⁷

Two weeks after her arrival in Batavia, on May 6th 1756, the nearly twenty-year-old Anna Deliana took a fever. Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen described the course of her illness in a letter to Arnout Loten. The fever remained and she did not eat and hardly slept, 'however between the 12th and 13th [May 1756] she had a rather good night and in the morning she had no fever, which was a good sign according to the doctors. They ordered her to eat some biscuits boiled in water, which the patient did, eating more than half a soup-plate. Thereupon she lay down again. But after about one or two hours she was seized by a heavy oppression that caused her problems with breathing. She also again took the fever. None of the medicines that the doctors could and dared to give produced any results. The oppression and fever increased enormously and on the 15th, just after 7 in the morning it dragged this young flower with her tender fruit (she was in the 7th month of her pregnancy) away from me'.⁴⁴⁸

The death of his daughter was most depressing for Loten: 'It is hardly possible to express how much I feel depressed by this irreparable blow'. Several months later Jan Schreuder, his successor at Colombo, told him about his son-in-law's mourning in Batavia: '[H]is grief over our tenderly loved daughter is scanty'. When she died, loud music by his musicians could be heard from his house as was the case a year earlier at Colombo, when his son, Albertje, died. Loten exclaimed to his brother: 'O what must this child have bottled up by never complaining about anything, neither to my late wife nor to me? (However, she did [complain] to several of her female friends who told me later, after her departure)'.⁴⁴⁹

7. RETURN TO PATRIA

The return to Europe is a topic regularly mentioned in Loten's correspondence. In the last period of his residence in Macassar, Loten had already thought about leaving the Dutch East Indies. One of the reasons for this was the postponement of his election to the Council. At the time, his finances needed improving due to the losses he had suffered at Semarang and his apparently moderate earnings in Macassar. In Ceylon, his capital had increased and so a return to Patria became more realistic. Moreover, the conflict about the Aripo fishery frustrated and distressed him and reinforced his plan to return to Patria. Initially, Loten intended to retire in Patria in a grand way and so he asked his brother to look for a suitable country seat and a military commission, probably to ensure a solid social position in the Dutch Republic for him. The death of his wife and daughter, however, made him look at the future in more sober terms.

PREPARATIONS

Writing about a return to Patria in January 1755, Loten considered a commission in the army of the Dutch United Netherlands a suitable position for himself there.⁴⁵⁰ It is not clear just why he aspired to a military position. Was it a sincere wish to become a soldier, did he think that the income he obtained from his recently enhanced fortune would not be sufficient to living a distinguished life in Patria, or did he think that his status as former governor and councillor of the VOC was too humble to be able to become part of the more exalted circles of the Republic's social elite? From the correspondence it is clear that in 1755 he needed to be acknowledged for his merits. He argued that a commission as a major-general was reasonable in view of his experiences as a governor of Macassar and Ceylon, a colonel of the civil militia in Batavia and a commissary of the Indian Government in Bantam. With envy he referred to the governor-generals Van Imhoff and Mossel, who had been appointed generals of the Infantry of the Dutch Republic during their employment in the Indies.⁴⁵¹ When consulted by his brother Arnout, Loten suggested that a gift given to the Princess-regent, 'could promote political and military arrangements'.⁴⁵²

In November 1755, shortly after the death of his wife, Loten was less eager to take on a military commission. He wrote to his brother saying that if no measures had been taken to fulfil his earlier wish to become a major-general, he would prefer, 'because of the great listlessness that overcame me since the death of my late spouse', to live without being bothered by his relatives.⁴⁵³ However, steps to promote his military career had already been taken. Arnout Loten wrote to his brother in October 1755 and said that he and his father had discussed the matter with Johan Daniel d'Ablaing, Lord of Giessenburg.⁴⁵⁴ D'Ablaing occupied an influential position in the Court of the Stadholder in the Hague. He advised Princess Anne about the appointments to be made in the province of Utrecht. Princess Anne was widow of Stadholder Prince Willem IV, at that time regent of her son Stadholder Willem V. In 1749 Arnout had received his position as a councillor of the city of Utrecht by D'Ablaing mediation. In 1756 D'Ablaing was also instrumental in getting Arnout Loten elected to the position of deputy treasurer of the city of Utrecht. D'Ablaing apparently preferred to work in secret. Thus, Arnout told his brother to write to no one about this matter, not even to his school friend, general Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll Van Serooskerken, 'because this type of affair must be treated here with the utmost care and secrecy. If Mr Van Giessenburg is unable to arrange it, no one will'.⁴⁵⁵ In November 1756, Loten thanked his father and brother for their efforts 'in regards to the Gen[eral] M[ajor]'. He concluded that he 'anxiously desired' to hear that his application had succeeded.⁴⁵⁶ Finally however, the lobby failed and Loten did not get a military commission then nor thereafter.

Enhancing one's social network and obtaining patronage were topics which regularly returned in Loten's correspondence. In 1754, Arnout Loten, who depended upon the Stadholderian Court at the Hague's patronage, acknowledged the receipt of a collection of conchs and shells from his brother and Dirk Willem Van Der Brugghen: '[The first part of this has been scratched out by Arnout Loten: 'We showed the Sea creatures sent to us by You as well as by Cousin Van Der Brugghen to several experts, who say that they can be used for a shell grotto, but that they are not beautiful enough to be placed in a Cabinet'.] I have been discreetly informed that Madame the Princess is interested in the Sea creatures that You and Cousin Van Der Brugghen have sent us. I shall try to find out more about this, and if this is the case, I shall present them to H[er] R[oyal] H[ighness]. At least I know, that She is very interested. So if You could and are willing to send me several beautiful conchs and shells, I might be able to give Her Highness some pleasure and thereby make myself agreeable to the Court'.⁴⁵⁷ The same day Arnout wrote to Dirk Willem Van Der Brugghen and his wife about this gift: 'When we sent our last letter of 1 August

1753 to you, we had not yet received the Bezoars-stones etc., and the cases with Sea creatures, but since then they have arrived and we would once again like to express our heartfelt thanks for them. It would give me great pleasure if you could get hold of a few more beautiful conchs and shells at no cost to you as I can then present them to H.R.H., who is very interested in shells and even has a Cabinet full of naturalia. This may cause H.R.H. to look upon me favourably. I beg your pardon for my boldness, and you should not comply with my request if doing so causes you any inconvenience'.⁴⁵⁸

In the Dutch Republic of the eighteenth-century, filling a cabinet with sea shells, coral and other sea-products was a popular pastime for the aristocracy. Thus, when it became known that Loten and his son-in-law Van Der Bruggen supplied Arnout Loten with shells, this probably aroused the interest of shell collectors. Mrs. Catharina Van Grovestins, a lady-in-waiting at the court of the Princess of Orange in the Hague,⁴⁵⁹ apparently wrote to Loten asking him to supply her with a specimen for her cabinet of natural history.⁴⁶⁰ Due to his position as lieutenant-general of the Dutch Republic, colonel of the lifeguard and grandmaster of the horse Catharina's husband, Douwe Sirtema Van Grovestins was a very influential force in the Prince-Stadholder's household. Thus, Loten was of the opinion that a gift of naturalia would help improve his position in the Dutch Republic.⁴⁶¹ In November of 1755, in the letter announcing his wife Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont's death, Loten referred to the naturalia: '[C]onchs, shells and other sea-crop related [objects]. I have to confess that I could not get any handsome [objects]. However those that I can successfully collect I shall send to Mrs Grovestins, wife of the Grandmaster of the horse, in January if I am still alive and well then. I shall have to send her a few things related to natural history, because She wrote to me two kind letters'.⁴⁶² Several months later, in January 1756, Loten wrote the following from Colombo: 'I have also sent several small boxes with conchs &c. to Lady Van Grovestins, wife of the General and Grandmaster of the horse, and also to Professor Allamand in Leiden. I beg you to pay them a visit and to write to me as soon as possible telling me whether they have been gratefully received'.⁴⁶³

Half a year later, June 27th 1756, Loten wrote to his brother Arnout from Batavia: '[I]t was in November that I wrote to you twice. The 'sea harvest' which I promised to send you then has been enclosed with [this letter] in three readied cases. I am also now sending several of these with some snakes &c. to Lady Van Grovestins.⁴⁶⁴ I hope and beg of you, please to present yourself to her to make sure that she understands there is no charge as would appear to be the case from the papers attached. Due to lack of time [...] because the ships depart from Galle and the cases are stored in a container, [I] have to refer to You. The Commander [of the VOC settlement of Galle, Caspar] de Jong will include a covering letter to You and to General Van Grovestins for the reception of the cases. This also contains natural history objects and intended for His Consort. I hope [that] you yourself will present the dispatch to Her'.⁴⁶⁵

In October 1756, Arnout Loten wrote to the Van Grovestins family in the Hague about the first shipment (January 27, 1756) of naturalia from Ceylon which skipper Broman brought with him on the *Rosenburg*.⁴⁶⁶ Arnout informed general Van Grovestins that in addition to the two cases, which were stored at the East Indies warehouse in Amsterdam and addressed to them, skipper Broman also had two cases at his home; these, too, were addressed to the Van Grovestins. Apparently Arnout Loten had already given Mrs Van Grovestins the letters and receipts from his brother about this shipment. Arnout Loten wrote to his brother about his visit to Mrs Van Grovestins and the naturalia in December of 1756: 'I delivered your letter and the receipts for the cases to Mrs Van Grovestins and when I had returned to the Hague some weeks later I once more paid this Lady a visit and asked Her whether she had appreciated and like your shipment, whereupon she responded that the serpents and other natural history objects were very nice. She also said that she would like to show them to me, but that they were upstairs in the garret, to remove the smell of the arak [=rice-brandy] from them. Most of the conchs and shells were gray and without lustre or colour. She regretted this because she was sure that arranging the shipment must have caused you a great deal of trouble, and that you had without a doubt been deceived. However, she felt no less obliged to you and added that she wished to take the liberty of sending you a drawing of several conchs and ask you to send these to her. The drawing is included in the attached letter by her. She was most obliged and asked me once and then again (as his Excellency was at Court) to dine with her. I told her that I had to decline, because I was only in the Hague with my company for a day, and we had agreed to stay together. Moreover, there was a constant flow of people with the Lady, that I was hardly able to start a conversation with her. The conchs and shells that you sent me were not very nice either, otherwise I would have given them to her. I know that you will not take it amiss that I am so straightforward with you. I do so to warn you, should you wish to send me some conchs, especially the orange lap-conchs,

adorned with regular red lines, about a straw wide, and across the conch. This would give me a lot of pleasure'.⁴⁶⁷

One year later in October 1757, Arnout Loten wrote to his brother about a second shipment of conchs and shells: 'We received the receipts for the 5 cases with sea creatures [...] however, the cases will not be delivered to the East Indies House before the beginning of November. Mr de Grovestins, to whom I spoke in Soestdijk, where H[er] R[oyal] H[igness] spends several weeks this summer, also received the receipts of several cases with conchs. I do not know whether Prof Allamand already has his [receipts], because I have not been in that region'.⁴⁶⁸ However, Loten's efforts to gain active support for his interests from the Van Grovestins bore no fruit. Shortly after the death of the Princess-dowager in January 1759, Van Grovestins lost his position in the Stadholder's household. In July 1759, he resigned from the *Garde du Corps* after he was discovered to have been taking money from them. He was to be court martialled and fled to Brussels. The hearing, however, was postponed, possibly because young Stadholder Willem V and his sister Princess Carolina, who married Prince Karel Christiaan Van Nassau-Weilburg in 1760, supported him. Although Van Grovestins lived in exile, in February 1762 he still received the income and other emoluments which he had gotten from his former offices. Rumour had it that the late Princess-dowager knew about his financial wrongdoing.⁴⁶⁹

The return to Patria and his improved financial position stimulated Loten to think about a suitable residence in the Dutch Republic. He initially considered buying a large mansion, suggesting that he aspired to the lifestyle of the Indian nabobs. However, it is more probable that his ideas about social distinction were based on what he had experienced as a youth growing up in Utrecht and less on his experiences of the nabobs, who, upon returning to Patria made a demonstration of their wealth. The rich burghers and prominent members of the patrician class to whose status Loten aspired, bought country seats to enhance their status. It improved their social positions and reduced the social differences between them and the noble elite. The documents available to us suggest that deliberately showing off his recently acquired Indian fortune was not what Loten wanted. Perhaps, he considered fulfilling a public position after his return in the Dutch Republic. Owning an estate often included manorial privileges making its owner eligible for profitable public offices in the cities and provinces. A distinguished house and country seat also enhanced his chances of an advantageous marriage, which in turn might serve as an introduction into the circles of Utrecht's socially elite.

In November 1755, Loten wrote to his brother saying that he wanted to buy a country seat in Holland.⁴⁷⁰ In June 1756, two months after definitively deciding to return to Patria, Loten told Arnout that he was prepared to pay 50,000 guilders for country seats like 'Zuylensteijn, Leeuwenberg, Lichtenberg and Tull en Twaal (although I do not prefer Tull en Twaal)'.⁴⁷¹ He told Arnout he preferred to purchase a country seat located between Utrecht and the Veluwe or Betuwe. In June 1757, he wrote that he would also be satisfied with a manorial seat near Heemstede.⁴⁷² However, he preferred *Zuylensteijn*. Arnout responded that *Zuylensteijn* was at that moment *fidei commis* and therefore could not be sold. He also reported that *Leeuwenburg*, formerly the possession of their Amsterdam cousin Gualterus Petrus Boudaen, had been bought by Mr Swemmelaar, 'who returned from the Indies many years ago'. The country seat *Lichtenberg* was also not available. The manorial country seat *Tull en't Waal*, formerly the possession of Loten's great-grandfather Gasper Schade Van Westrum, was owned by their niece Ms Bronkhorst. Arnout Loten warned his brother about this seat saying that it was disagreeable. In the end, upon Loten's return to Patria his family had not been able to find a distinguished residence for him. Thus, when he returned to Utrecht in August 1758, Loten rented a house in the Korte Nieuwstraat.

VOYAGE TO PATRIA

Although Loten had written to his family telling them he planned to return to Patria, early in 1755 he nonetheless asked the governor-general to prolong his tenure in Colombo until 1757. Loten's formal request is not included in his papers, but a letter written by Jacob Mossel on December 1st 1755 in which he gives Loten an affirmative answer, is. In the letter Mossel added that he left it to Loten's 'own discretion to continue his office'.⁴⁷³ However in November 1755, following the death of his wife, Loten was no longer sure he wished to stay in Ceylon for another two years.⁴⁷⁴ By March 1756, he had decided not to and asked the governor-general to relieve him from his post in Colombo. Clearly, the actual reason for Loten's decision was his daughter Anna Deliana's emotional departure to Batavia in March of 1756: 'My now late and in life tenderly loved Deliaantje's supplications and lamentation have induced me, eight days after her departure, to request that you relieve me of my post. In view of my great love for this my

only child I cannot refrain from doing so as I long too much to be with her and her lovely children. So I intend to repatriate with her'.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, on March the 24th 1756, Loten sent his request to the governor-general.⁴⁷⁶ The request was discussed by the governor-general in council in Batavia on the 18th of June 1756. The governor-general proposed the following: '[T]o consider [...] the request of the Councillor ordinary Johan Gideon Loten to be relieved of his position in the government of Ceylon and to be permitted to return to this capital, the latter having been separately and with the most emphasis proposed by him in his letter dated 24th of March last [...] although it would be most desirable if his circumstances would allow him to remain the supervisor of the business for some time and to continue to be in charge of the government of that so important Island on behalf of the Company [...] to accept his request and to thank him for the remarkable qualities he has demonstrated the Company during his executive office in that government'.⁴⁷⁷ The Council moreover suggested that Loten leave Ceylon with all the honours belonging to his office. After he had handed his commission over to his successor, he could return to Batavia. The governor-general in council voted unanimously in favour of these proposals. Jan Schreuder, councillor extraordinary and former director of Surat, was elected as Loten's successor.⁴⁷⁸ According to Loten's son-in-law, Dirk Willem Van Der Brugghen, Schreuder obtained the office because he was recommended by general Van Grovestins, who would receive 70,000 guilders for his role.⁴⁷⁹ On the 27th of September 1756, Schreuder arrived at the Colombo roadstead. Loten did not leave the island immediately, but stayed another five months. He wrote a *Memorandum* which was ceremoniously delivered to his successor on February the 28th of 1757.⁴⁸⁰ It is a lengthy and thorough memoir dealing with all the issues relevant to someone in the position for the Company. It typifies Loten's administrative talents.

In December of 1756, Loten's family in Utrecht knew about his return to Patria. His brother Arnout was elated, although he kept trying to get Loten promoted director-general of the Company at Batavia. When he wrote to his brother, he was still in touch with Gualterus Boudaen about the rumours of changes within the Indian Government: 'Oh! Dear Brother that was an agreeable announcement. We cannot express how great our desire is to meet you. The nearer that moment is the more we crave to see you. We think it is best you repatriate now. We think your chance of becoming the highest dignity in India is one in a thousand. We would have said so if we had not been so impatient to embrace you in person. Remember that if you continue to wait, you will grow old too. Think of the pleasures your earnings can give you in Holland. If you repatriate now, your fortune, about which you have informed us the details [inserted: and to which Mr Steinmetz has substantially contributed], will enable you to live decently and abundantly. It is true that in Holland you will not enjoy the esteem which persons of your quality in India are given. But you know this well. Your object has been to advance yourself as far as possible in the Indies so that you might live decently here. You have achieved this objective, so why not repatriate? A respectable man is a respectable man everywhere and is also respected as such everywhere. In short, you must come home and we repeat our wishes as we have before and pray that the Lord will provide us this good fortune'.⁴⁸¹

On the 18th of March 1757 Loten departed from Colombo aboard the ship *Sloterdijk*. The pomp and circumstance which took place upon his departure was described in a document containing twelve sections. These specified in detail the military and naval honours to be bestowed upon him upon embarkation.⁴⁸² The *Sloterdijk* was accompanied on its voyage to Batavia by the ships *Oostcapelle*, *Akerendam*, *De Admiraal de Ruyter* and *Tulpenburg*. In December 1780, Loten wrote to his friend, Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, about this voyage. He also discussed the construction of the VOC ships and the danger involved in calculating too high a centre of gravity: 'In 1757 when I sailed with 5 of the largest charter ships from Ceylon to Batavia in 17 days, most of the ships carried almost no cargo. Thus I could easily experiment with changing the location of the ballast &c. This caused the ships to sail so easily that had there been a glass brimful of wine on the table not a drop would have been spilt throughout the journey. But on the whole, of course, the greatest danger is that the centre of gravity is located too high. Raising the upper deck 18 feet instead of the 12 feet it had before, broke the neck of that loyal ship *de Herstelder*. In addition to ships, men and cargo, such hardships have lost me two very excellent friends, Lieutenant James Olifant,⁴⁸³ that great and clever traveller and Captain Gerrit Van Der Tollen,⁴⁸⁴ a skilful and scientific navigator. Against his wishes (being of an easy nature and bewildered by impertinence), the latter was sent to Surat with a heavily laden ship and was never heard of again. So too, Lieutenants Olifant's treasure, nice drawings of Mongolia, Thibet, China &c, were lost for ever'.⁴⁸⁵ Loten's remarks remind of Captain Cook's objections against the accommodations for Joseph Banks and his party on the deck of the *Resolution* in 1772.⁴⁸⁶ On the voyage to Batavia, Loten was accompanied by his draughtsman Pieter Cornelis de Bevere. When they passed Princen-island, De Bevere made a drawing which can now

be found in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet.⁴⁸⁷ Jean Michel Aubert, at that time head of Calpetty at Ceylon, remained on the island, although Jacob Mossel had given him permission to follow Loten to Batavia.

Early in March 1757, Loten arrived at Batavia, where he prepared his return voyage and settled his financial affairs with the governor-general and the Council of the Indies. De Bevere made watercolours of birds from Java, Banda and Ternate. Several of these drawings were made after living birds that could be found in the governor-general's garden. Loten spent time with the Company's high officials, among whom the resident of Cheribon Pieter Cornelis Hasselaer (1720-1795).⁴⁸⁸ Hasselaer sent his 'highly honourable cousin' a fare well letter in 1757. In it he expressed his pleasure about meeting Loten.⁴⁸⁹ Hasselaer was born in Batavia. His sister, Hendrina Cornelia, married Rochus Pasques de Chavonnes, the uncle of Loten's wife Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont. Hasselaer offered Loten 'poultry and good hartebeest' for his long journey to Patria. Loten kindly refused the gift, because he had already asked the resident of Tegal and Japara to supply him with these victuals. Loten stayed in Batavia until the 29th of October 1757.

After the death of his daughter, the relationship between Loten and his son-in-law Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen deteriorated further. It was for this reason that Loten would have preferred to travel to Patria with his friend Jan Dirk Van Clootwijk, former governor of Macassar. However, this turned out to be impossible because in the autumn of 1756, Van Clootwijk had already sailed to Europe in an English ship from Bencoolen, in order 'to escape the Council of Justice in Batavia'. Loten explained this to his brother:

'The reason why I prefer to repatriate with Mr Van Clootwyk is that I do not want for anything in the world to sail to Patria with [=Van Der Bruggen] even if I also do not have another intimate friend in my company. I shall therefore try to find another friend (although it is not easy to find as sincere a friend as the aforementioned Gentleman). I think [=Van Der Bruggen] is the greatest miser who ever walked on earth, and he is prepared to risk everything to increase his treasures with my goods. He has told several of his acquaintances here as much and thanklessly regretted that his papa was wasting his time with follies, and wronging wife and children by ordering mad books. He explained, «What is the use of that, the only true science is to obtain money by all means» (although he never gave himself the time to make a reasonable study of it). Such are the words of a man who neither believes in a natural or revealed Religion and who even ridicules these with the most infamous and preposterous arguments. This clearly shows what he really thinks; all of his actions are derived from and proved by the following deduction:

True wisdom consists of collecting money by all means all the time.

Knowledge of God and the Religion is the real truth.

Therefore, collecting money by all means all the time is this man's Religion and money is his God'.⁴⁹⁰ Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen's East Indian fortune was a topic which piqued Loten's curiosity and it therefore came up regularly in his correspondence. He did not know how much money his son-in-law had.⁴⁹¹ Today, however, we do have some idea of the level of his wealth. His income during 22 years as a Company servant amounted in total to 14,833 guilders;⁴⁹² the bills of exchange that Van Der Bruggen sent from Batavia to Patria amounted to 743,160 guilders.⁴⁹³ It is likely that he brought more capital in the form of jewellery and pearls, although the documents available to us do not give any insight into these transfers.

On October 29th 1757, Loten boarded the ship *Vrouw Petronella Maria* (master Jean de la Voie), the Admiral ship of the Return Fleet to Holland. Governor-general Jacob Mossel wrote about Loten's feelings on the occasion in a personal letter to Thomas Hope, the representative of the Stadholder in the Amsterdam Admiralty: 'At present Mr Loten sails homewards to seek more than animosity and envy at last'.⁴⁹⁴ Loten had the rank of admiral of the Return Fleet and held a commission as Commissary of the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁹⁵ The admiral of the Return Fleet was the highest authority during such voyages. It was an honorary position bestowed upon high-ranking Company servants who were returning to the Dutch Republic. Van Der Bruggen and his two infant children travelled with the same fleet on the ship's *Gravesande*.⁴⁹⁶ It was a long voyage with a stopover on the Cape which lasted from January 6th to February 26th 1758. There Loten chaired several meetings with Governor Rijk Tulbagh and the Council of Policy.⁴⁹⁷ In crossing the Atlantic Ocean, the Return Fleet took the regular route and passed the Island of Saint Helena.

The voyage was not without difficulties for Loten. In May 1758, he suffered from an attack of asthma, a complaint that was to trouble him for the rest of his life.⁴⁹⁸ It must have been a memorable experience because in later years, Loten regularly referred to this first attack of asthma. However, specific details about his complaints at sea are lacking. One month later, when sailing in the Channel south of Portland, he assured his brother that he and his grandchildren were in perfect health.⁴⁹⁹ In 1775 he ascribed the asthma to the change in climate.⁵⁰⁰ In the Indies he enjoyed the agreeable climate, 'without great warmth' and 'especially no cold or evaporating moisture'. Loten explained that he was not astonished that this change in climate and the 'fatigues of the two Indian voyages, both accompanied with many disasters', had caused his asthmatic complaints.

In February 1764, Loten claimed that on board his goods had been plundered and destroyed by the mob, or 'tars' as he referred to rough sailors in later years.⁵⁰¹ However, there are no sources confirming this statement. In a message to his brother in June 1758, when the Fleet was sailing in the Channel, he made no reference to any plundering of his papers. But he noted the danger that Dutch ships were regularly detained by the British Navy in view of the Seven Years War (1756-1763): '[M]y orders (received at the Cape) were to sail north of Hitland [Shetland islands]. However, I shall explain below why we unanimously decided to sail through the Channel. We were held up by two or three poorly sailing ships. Had they not been there we could have arrived a month ago. Moreover, the valuable, but evidently (at Batavia) not well provided for ship Akerendam, was irretrievably lost in the stormy weather. On May 22nd near the Azores the crew had to leave the ship without any opportunity of securing any of the cargo and the men were saved only at great danger to their rescuers. The ship was set on fire and burned without exploding, even though there was 7000 pounds of ammunition on board. The only guns that remained on board (most were thrown overboard to raise the ship) fired successively and the grenades in the ships' masts also exploded. Our ship was only one gunshot away from this disastrous spectacle, and drifted away slowly as a result of a cool breeze blowing at the time, and the rough sea. At present four of the twelve ships of my fleet are still leaky and damaged. If we had chosen the northern passage to escape the possible danger of the enemy, who can also get there, we almost doubtlessly should have risked the misfortune to leave the ship on its own. Moreover, by a longer voyage over the sea caused by the slow sailing of some ships, one would have endangered the undamaged ships. We do not want to leave those [ships] alone, so we do not dare to sail faster, which we could have done easily in other circumstances'.⁵⁰²

In a *Post Scriptum* he tried to arrange for an arrival in Patria on the yacht of the VOC directors. He asked his brother to get in touch with their cousin Gualterus Petrus Boudaen: 'P.S. could you ask cousin Boudaen whether he would be inclined to meet me in Texel? That would be very nice and also much safer for my luggage which is rather bulky, even though it does not contain any trade goods. If he is not available perhaps one of our other friends among the directors would be prepared to do so. I think it would be better if we refrained our tenderly loved parents from coming to Amsterdam or to have them meet us somewhere less distant as it is too tiring. I can always come over to Utrecht for a day or two to meet our parents and you quietly (unless cousin Boudaen allowed you to join the yacht; if not I would definitely advise you not to come to Texel). I think that I shall have to stay in Amsterdam for at 15 days in order to clear my goods and to settle my affairs. I plan to stay in the Doelen or in some other decent lodging and not with any of our obliging friends'. In addition to his personal documents Loten also carried his natural history drawings and watercolours, topographical drawings, manuscripts, maps, books, instruments and stuffed bird specimens to Holland. Loten also brought living specimens with him from Asia. He carried several crowned-pigeons (*Goura cristata*) which he later presented to Princess Anne, Stadholder Prince Willem V's mother.⁵⁰³ He also brought two Sambar (*Cervus unicolor unicolor*) which arrived in Amsterdam 'alive & which on being carried to a garden out of town, ran away'.⁵⁰⁴ They were probably the 'victuals', ordered from the resident of Tegal and Japara in 1757. In 1759 a stuffed specimen of the Indian Roller (*Coracias benghalensis*) from Loten's collection found its way into the British Museum, where it was 'entombed within a neat glass case with mahogany frames'.⁵⁰⁵

On 15 June 1758, 131 people from the ship *Vrouwe Petronella Maria* arrived at the Texel roadstead. Two sailors had died during the voyage and four people disembarked at the Cape. The admiralship was accompanied to Texel by six other ships; the rest of the fleet had sailed to Zeeland and Rotterdam. Thus Van Der Bruggen and the children arrived in Helvoet on June 13th as the ship '*s Gravesande* sailed to Rotterdam. The details of Joan Gideon's arrival in Patria are not documented in the Loten papers. More than twenty years later, he ironically remarked in his *Bell's Common Place Book* that a 'Mr de W...de' picked him up from the ship in June 1758: '[I]his was polite; several days afterwards he asked me to loan him ten thousand guilders, which I immediately supplied although I had not yet settled my affairs after the long

voyage – this was also polite'.⁵⁰⁶ It seems likely that both 'Mr de W..de' and Loten's brother, Arnout, met him at the Texel roadstead. Loten's 78-year-old father Joan Carel Loten travelled to Amsterdam to meet his son Joan Gideon on June the 16th 1758. Two days later Joan Gideon arrived in Amsterdam, accompanied by his brother Arnout. On June the 22nd 1758, they returned to Utrecht where he undoubtedly saw his mother, sister-in-law and his niece and nephew.⁵⁰⁷

On October 17th 1758, Loten appeared as admiral of the Return Fleet in a ceremonial meeting of the Heren XVII, the board of the Company in Amsterdam, and 'sitting opposite to the president' he presented his report. The directors honoured Loten with a 'gold medal and chain', in the value of 600 guilders.⁵⁰⁸ From the seventeenth century on, it was a customary honour for the commander under whose guidance a costly VOC fleet returned to Patria safely.⁵⁰⁹

In January 1778 Loten wrote Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek about his return: 'When I came home circa 1758 I rediscovered nearly all of the old friends and playmates of my youth. Within a few years, they entered their eternal homes. I cannot bear the loss of them well. It may help if I try not to forget them although this gives me little comfort. It is like a melancholy melody repeating itself in my mind «Rerum irrecuperabilium summa felicitas oblivio», [the greatest happiness lies in forgetting the irreplaceable one], however, I try to resist this temptation as much as is possible'.⁵¹⁰

8. ASTRONOMY

ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS AND BOOKS

From the available documents it is clear that Loten was interested in natural sciences. His activities in natural history are described in a separate section of this biography. This paragraph deals with his astronomical interests. Loten considered astronomy to be 'the queen of sciences'; it clearly was his favourite activity during his stay in the East Indies and during his years in England. In November of 1774 he wrote to his brother from London: 'I want to declare (without any comparison) that, although I cannot practice Astronomy, because I lack the possibilities due to my indisposition, I infinitely prefer that Divine Science above that of the Antiquity of the Middle-Ages including the heraldic research which accompanies that science and which is more often than not somewhat chimerical'.⁵¹¹ Loten's interest in astronomy and scientific instruments stems from his teacher Petrus Van Musschenbroek's lectures. In his *Oratio de astronomia* (1732), Musschenbroek argued that after Theology, Astronomy held the highest position in the Sciences because it led man to the knowledge of God: '[I]ndeed no better and more powerful arguments can be advanced to convince atheists of the existence of God than that of the structure of the world as provided by Astronomy'.⁵¹²

It is improbable that Loten received practical instructions on the use of the instruments by his teacher, because Van Musschenbroek made no regular observations on the Smeetoren in Utrecht.⁵¹³ Loten shared his interest in astronomy with his friend and fellow student Otto de la Porte de Morselede. They probably obtained their skills in practice or from the Utrecht instrument maker J. Lommers whose work shop was located in the Smeesteeg. The first record of Loten's interest in astronomy can be found in an East Indian document dated June 1746. Loten wrote this entry after a description of the 'Kalappa', the coconut tree: 'I am not a botanist, however, sometimes more in general I am an amateur in physics, but I lack the time for research into those special subjects'.⁵¹⁴ At that time he had 'found the latitude [of Macassar] to be 5° 8' south of the line [equator]'.⁵¹⁵ This was based on the observations he made on 18 April 1745 using 'Mr Hadley's octant'.⁵¹⁶ Hadley's octant was introduced in 1731 and became a fairly common means of measuring the altitude of the sun or a celestial body above the horizon at sea. In 1741 the VOC purchased three octants and in 1747 the Company decided that the instrument had to be part of the VOC ship inventory.⁵¹⁷ Loten apparently was one of the first 'amateurs of sciences' in the Dutch East Indies who used the octant. He possessed an instrument made by the English instrument maker, Jonathan Sisson. At the time this must have been an expensive and exclusive possession.⁵¹⁸ He may have received this instrument through Van Imhoff, who was befriended with the Amsterdam regent Gerard Arnout Hasselaer who, in turn, had connections with Jonathan Sisson and his brother-in-law the Amsterdam instrument maker Benjamin Ayres.⁵¹⁹ It is clear that Loten also possessed books on astronomy and mathematics at Macassar. He received part of this collection from Jan Christoffel Van Heemskerck, who, according to Loten, was commander of a VOC ship at the time: 'In Macassar, this Gentleman, who remained unknown to me, because of my absence, illness &c, sent me several very beautiful Mathematical and Astronomical books as a gift'.⁵²⁰

Loten also asked his family in Utrecht to send him books and instruments. In October 1746, his mother sent her son astronomical books and instruments. She requested permission to do so from the directors of the Company and she obtained a permit: '[F]orwarded [...] a wooden box with a Gregorian telescope, a sector and proportional compass by Hays and a book named *Les Elements de l'Astronomie par Cassini* 2 vol. in 4to, on the recommendation of Professor Musschenbroek, also a box with two periwigs'.⁵²¹ Apparently Petrus Van Musschenbroek, Loten's former teacher at Utrecht University and professor at the University of Leiden from 1740 on, had been approached for advice. Loten's mother went through a great deal of trouble to collect the books. She ordered these from the Hague because they were not available in Utrecht or Amsterdam. The following year, another dispatch of instruments must have been forwarded to Macassar. More information about these instruments can be found in an annotation added to a letter written by Loten's mother. On the cover there are scarcely legible notes in pencil. These were evidently made by Loten:

'Astronomical quadrant reasonable portable [inserted: with a small telescope on it] to determine the position of the stars close to the coast
 How to blacken the telescopes when it wears off?-
 hand-pump and accessories
 glass to observe a larva
 Copper fountain [?? Hardly legible]
 glass pipes
 Glass pump
 to buy a simple German pocket-watch'.⁵²²

The inventory suggests that Loten also received instruments used to experiment with air pressure, a popular topic in experimental physics at that time. Like Petrus Van Musschenbroek, Loten was very interested in making meteorological observations. In London in 1761, he even planned to publish the observations he had made with the thermometer in Ceylon in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. A 'glass used to observe larva' was probably used in 1750, when Jean Michel Aubert and Loten observed the development of moths in great detail. In November 1749 Loten's mother once again wrote about his request for books and instruments. Evidently the family reckoned with his and his family's return to Patria: '[F]or the present we have chosen not to send you the parcel of books etc. you have requested. The other reason is that Mr. Jan Van Musschenbroek passed away more than a year ago. I would not know where to buy these instruments. Moreover, I know no one of whom I might ask to take these goods, which are so vulnerable and also expensive, [to the East Indies]'.⁵²³ This quote suggests that the earlier instruments despatched to the East were bought from Jan Van Musschenbroek's (1687-1748) workshop in Leiden. This makes the assumption that the first dispatch contained air pumps more probable, because this was the Van Musschenbroek firm's speciality.⁵²⁴

In June 1749, Everhard Kraayvanger, sent '*C. Wolffii Elementa Matheseos universae* in five 4to volumes, bound in Parisian or mayor binding; they have been placed within easy reach in my bookcase for several years'.⁵²⁵ Kraayvanger was interested in mathematics and astronomy; in 1715 the Dutch author Pieter Langendijk dedicated his comedy *De Wiskonstenaars* [The mathematicians] to him.⁵²⁶ Christian Friedrich Wolff's *Elementa Matheseos universae* was to become one of Joan Gideon Loten's most favourite books.⁵²⁷ The books arrived on 15 September 1750 while he was at Maros. He wrote the following to his daughter: '[T]his morning the old Chinese Captain brought me the delicious beer and butter. I express my thanks for that, and also for forwarding the beautiful books that our highly esteemed Uncle Kraeyvanger dispatched to me'.⁵²⁸ In November 1753, Loten wrote to his brother from Colombo saying that he could read with ease '*d'Elementa Mathesos Ch. Wolffii*, which in stolen moments give me pleasure'.⁵²⁹ When he was in London in the 1760s and 1770s, he regularly referred to Wolff's *Elementa*. In 1762, when his brother showed interest in mathematics and astronomy, he advised him to study Wolff, a suggestion which Arnout followed with success.⁵³⁰

While in Ceylon, Loten ordered astronomical instruments from Isaac Tirion in Amsterdam. This is clear from a letter by his brother in which he refers to a visit to Tirion in October of 1754. Tirion told Arnout and his father that Gerard Arnout Hasselaer, president of the VOC, often visited his shop. One time when Tirion was preparing the dispatch of a telescope for Loten, Hasselaer asked him who had ordered it. When he heard that it had been ordered by Loten, 'he demonstrated his immense pleasure'. The instrument costed 4,800 guilders.⁵³¹ In the same letter, Arnout Loten wrote that Hasselaer seemed 'greatly pleased about your interest in Mathesis etc, because he is also an interested amateur'.⁵³² Loten paid Tirion for another dispatch of instruments in 1757. The VOC accounts show two bills of exchange

from Colombo totalling 16,350 guilders, both registered and addressed to Loten's Amsterdam broker, Frans Adam Carelson, and the 'distinguished bookseller Isaac Tirion'. The bills were paid out by the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC on 9 January 1758.⁵³³ This may have been for the 'mathematical' instruments that Tirion planned to dispatch to Colombo in December 1756. However, Arnout Loten advised Tirion to send the package to Batavia instead of Colombo.⁵³⁴ These instruments probably reached Loten in Batavia before his departure to Patria. In December 1757 Tirion again planned to dispatch instruments required by Loten to the East Indies.

Although President Hasselaer was 'pleased' by Loten's astronomical activities, the VOC usually did not encourage its servants to pursue their scientific interests if these did not contribute to the interests of the Company. The Company's reticent position is clear from the correspondence about Tirion's last dispatch of instruments to Loten. In October 1757, Arnout Loten asked his cousin Gualterus Petrus Boudaan, director of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC, whether it would be possible to send the package to the East Indies without the Company directors' permission. '[W]hereupon he answered that Tirion must absolutely refrain from doing this, because if it were discovered it would hurt you, even if you have done nothing wrong. He also said that because you have a good record at the Company, you must try by all means to preserve this blameless record. I have informed Mr Tirion about this, who also promised me to be very cautious in his dispatch of the goods'.⁵³⁵ Nonetheless the instruments were dispatched; in 1775 Loten remarked that they were acquired in an auction by the Reverend J.M. Mohr for his Observatory in Batavia.⁵³⁶

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS

In 1746 Loten complained that he hardly ever had time to study astronomy. In 1748, 1749 and 1750, however, he actively made observations and astronomical calculations. In addition to Hadley's octant, he also used the sector, proportional compass and books he received from Holland. In *Het Utrechts Archief* there is a document, in Loten's handwriting, with more than 100 pages of detailed astronomical calculations.⁵³⁷ The leather-bound document shows that Loten was well versed in existing astronomical and mathematical techniques and calculus. He was apparently able to make the time-consuming calculations belonging to the repertoire of mathematically educated people such as masters responsible for the navigation of the ship.⁵³⁸

In the document there are calculations of eclipses of the moon which took place in Paris on 13 February 1710, 19 September 1736 and 18 February 1740. His figures of these phenomena were made in 'Maccassar Febr: 1748'. These calculations were evidently done as exercises. Loten referred to Nicolaas Struyck's (1686-1769) tables of solar- and moon eclipses: 'To see whether his calculations corresponded to this'.⁵³⁹ In the manuscript Loten also refers to the tables in Cassini's *Elemens de l'astronomie* (1740). He calculated the solar-eclipse as he observed it from the castle Rotterdam at Macassar on 2 April 1745 using the Cassini tables. He constructed a figure of the eclipse in 'Maccassar 24 March 1749'. In March 1748, as an exercise, he calculated the eclipse of the moon which took place in Paris on 8 August 1748 and the solar eclipse which took place there on 25 July 1748. He illustrated his calculations with several figures. Loten also calculated the date and time of the moon eclipse at Macassar in December 1749. In February 1749 he constructed a figure of the eclipse. He compared his data with Struyck and Stuurman's as found in *Examinator der Stuurlieden Van d'OostInd^e Comp^e tot Amsterdam*, and with respect to time and position, found his data to be slightly different from theirs. In the manuscript he added: '[T]his moon- eclipse, observed by me at Maccassar in as far as this was possible due to the now and then overcast sky, I found to agree with my calculation both in time as well as that the eclipse was on the South and not on the North, as was computed by Mr Stuurman'. He also made calculations of the date and time of the moon eclipse at Macassar in June 1750 using of Cassini's tables. In May of 1750 he drew a figure of the moon eclipse: '[O]n 20 June 1750, started at 3 hours 12 minutes and 2 seconds in the morning. Total eclipse takes place at 4 hours 18 minutes and 46 seconds. The middle of the eclipse takes place at 5 hours 1 minute 31 seconds, the moon begins to come out of the eclipse at 5 hours 44 minutes 16 seconds. The end of the eclipse will be 6 hours 51 minutes and 0 seconds; however, this cannot be seen because when the moon sets, it will still be partially eclipsed'. He compared his results with those of Struyck and found slight differences: '[T]hat can be caused because it seems that Mr Struyck did not use seconds in his calculus. I computed that Maccassar is in time 7 hours 39 minutes 24 seconds east from Amsterdam and 7 hours 50 minutes from Paris, although on several globes and maps more, but on some only 7 hours 44

minutes, which also can have caused the difference. In that case the phases of the moon would have been observed 6 minutes earlier than in my calculation’.

Loten summarised his observations on several separate sheets; these are included in the document. This manuscript shows that he critically compared several sources: a French map by d’Après de Manneville, Dutch maps and Valentijn’s *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*: ‘Mr Valentijn says in his Description of the East Indies (in the first volume dealing with the Moluccos, page 5), that Governor Padbrugge showed on 4 March 1682 at Gorontale on the coast of Celebes, that the difference in time between Amsterdam and Ternate is 7 hours 50 minutes. I have observed and accurately calculated from two moon eclipses at the Castle Rotterdam, 24 December 1749 and 20 June 1750 that the difference in time between Amsterdam and the above mentioned Castle at Macassar is 7 hours 39 minutes. I used Mr Cassin’s tables and I cannot reckon the observations to be very precise because I lack the necessary instruments. Therefore, according to these observations the difference in time between Macassar and Ternate = 11 minutes, when taken into account the curve of the equator this result in a difference in longitude between Macassar and Ternate of 2 degrees 45 minutes.... [follows a detailed discussion of the observations and available data]’.⁵⁴⁰

The final pages of the document are concerned with calculations about the solar eclipse which took place on 6 November 1752 in Batavia. Evidently, Loten made these calculations for his own amusement aboard the ship *Ghiessenburg* on his voyage from Batavia to Colombo (August 23 to September 30, 1752). He used the tables of Cassini and de la Caille and ‘my large watch by Harrison’.⁵⁴¹ The reference to the Harrison watch is another proof that Loten possessed first-rate scientific instruments. He made observations of the sun on September the 7th between Java and the Princen Eyland, and also on the following days, until September 14th 1752.

9. LOTEN’S FINANCIAL POSITION

INHERITANCE NATHANAEL STEINMETZ

Although the available documents do not contain direct evidence that Loten began his Asian career in order to make a fortune, the desire to return from the East in comfortable circumstances must have been an incentive. In January 1732 Loten’s salary as a junior merchant was 40 guilders per month. In 1740 when he became a merchant, his income was raised to 60 guilders per month. As a governor of Macassar and Ceylon he earned each month 200 guilders, with his promotion to councillor ordinary in 1754, Loten’s monthly income was raised to 350 guilders.⁵⁴² Besides his regular income he received ‘kostgeld’ and ‘mondgeld’, allowances for the costs of living.⁵⁴³

Before Colombo, his twenty years in the employment of the Company had not resulted in any significant improvement in his capital. Taking part in Ceylon Government however, gave him the means by which he could to enlarge his personal fortune. In addition to the income he received as governor and director of the island, he also received emoluments in the order of fifteen times his salary.⁵⁴⁴ Besides that he could earn money by privately trading, as was usual among the company servants at Ceylon. Before 1753, only a few of Loten’s financial transactions were recorded in the VOC’s accounts in Amsterdam.⁵⁴⁵ One transfer is registered in 1734, when Loten sent 246 ducats to his father Joan Carel Loten.⁵⁴⁶ In 1740 Loten’s father collected his son’s official salary, the sum being 3,441 guilders, from the directors of the Company in Amsterdam.⁵⁴⁷ In 1745 Joan Carel was also authorised to cash a 1,680 rixdollars which his son had loaned to Christiaan Duyf in Batavia in 1742.⁵⁴⁸ In October 1747, 3,283 guilders were paid out by the Company to Loten’s father.⁵⁴⁹

When Loten went to Colombo in 1752 he considered himself ‘a completely ruined man’. In 1753 however, he forwarded 20,000 guilders to his father and brother from Colombo, an indication that his financial position had been improved remarkably.⁵⁵⁰ Moreover, in 1753 he participated in the Aripo pearl fishery, an ‘unexpectedly profitable’ investment.⁵⁵¹ His financial position improved further. However, in January 1754, he complained that the Batavian Government had devalued the exchange rate of the ducats and the ‘ropy’ [or rupiah] as a result of which when his capital was paid out in Patria, this ‘led to a loss by us of about 4,000 Rixdollars’.⁵⁵² He was alluding to a decision of the Government at Batavia (31 August 1753) which was published by him in Colombo as Ceylon’s governor on November 5, 1753.⁵⁵³

In 1772 he naively wondered (or pretended to wonder?) just how his colleagues in the East were able to amass such fortunes: ‘I still cannot understand how an honest man can obtain a fortune in the Indies. It is

only possible if there are rich people who are generous enough to trust him with a fortune which he then invests for them to their shared benefit, or if a friend, who is wealthy and who realises that he is leaving this world, pleases to remember him generously. As a matter of fact the latter is not exclusively restricted to the East Indies'.⁵⁵⁴ It was a disguised description of his own situation, because the improvement in his financial position was related to his inheritance from Nathanael Steinmetz, former governor and director of Amboina. According to Loten, the man's fortune fell 'so wonderfully unexpectedly to me when I was very far away in Ceylon'.⁵⁵⁵

On May 7th 1753, Nathanael Steinmetz made up his last will and testament in the presence of the Batavia notary Jacob Levier.⁵⁵⁶ According to this testament, Steinmetz was 'ill and very weak of constitution, nevertheless being of sound mind and understanding'. He revoked all previous testaments and codicils and declared how he wished to dispose of his worldly goods: Steinmetz bequeathed 5,000 rixdollars to Geertruida Margaretha Mossel, the governor-general's eleven-year-old daughter. He also gave money to various other people in Batavia, to his nephew and niece in Danzig and to his brother in Petersburg. He also gave liberally to his former slave, Anna Maria Van Boegies. This does not necessarily suggest, however, that he had an intimate relationship with her. The testament continues saying: 'The testator now came to his final deposit and declared that, in view of the absence of parents and children, he appointed as his sole and universal heirs to be the Honourable Mr Joan Gideon Loten, councillor extraordinary of the Dutch Indies and Governor and Director of the island of Ceylon, and his Honourable Wife Mrs Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont, or to which ever of these two is alive upon his death'. The settlement consisted 'without any exception' of 'all movable and immovable goods'. Remarkably, there is little information in the Loten documents about any friendship between the Loten family and Steinmetz.⁵⁵⁷ In any case, the settlement is an indication of the sympathy that Loten and his wife aroused among their friends. Loten's interest in Steinmetz's geological activities at Macassar or his limited financial means may have stirred him to bequeath his goods and chattels to the Loten family.

Steinmetz had been as an officer in Celebes until 1738. According to Loten he had inspected the mountains in the Bantimoeroeng at Celebes.⁵⁵⁸ Steinmetz had been commander of the troops on Java from 1738-1740. Then he had left for Batavia to settle a financial claim with the Company. He is described by Remmelink as "a man whose natural irascibility was not tempered by his frequent sufferings from kidney stones and other ailments".⁵⁵⁹ In 1741 he replaced Loten's friend Abraham de Roos as commander of Semarang, which was probably due to the 'incompatibilité des humeurs' of the two dignitaries. In September 1742 Steinmetz had been promoted to *veldoverste* (field marshal), in which capacity he was a witness of the historical reinstatement of the Sunan at Kartasura in December 1742. In Kartasura he received the news that he had been elevated to governor of Amboina.⁵⁶⁰

On the 29th of May 1753, the executors of Steinmetz's testament appeared in the presence of notary Jacob Levier and informed him of his death. They added to the testament a codicil, dated 8 May 1753 and written by Steinmetz, in which he made two additional deposits to his family and a Batavian servant of the Company. The protocol of the meeting was signed by the notary and confirmed by two witnesses on June the 7th 1753. Loten received the information about the Steinmetz legacy in August of 1753.⁵⁶¹ Apparently not all of his acquaintances in the East were pleased with the Loten family's unexpected prosperity. In 1774 Loten recalled that the 'Batavia Grandées' were jealous of his fortune.⁵⁶²

LOTEN'S EAST INDIAN CAPITAL

Detailed information about the transfer of Loten's Indian capital to Patria is available in the VOC archives in The Hague. The official way one moved money from the Dutch East Indies to Patria was by means of assignments, bills of exchange for money that had been deposited at the cash register of the Company in Batavia or Colombo. The assignments were paid out by the Company's chambers in Patria after the Return Fleet's cargo had been sold in the autumn and spring.⁵⁶³ There is no indication that Loten used any other means of getting his earnings to Europe. To 'assign' money from Colombo or Batavia to Patria one had to deposit golden coins – such as Nagapatnam pagodas, Surat's rupiahs or Dutch silver ducats – into the Company's cash register in exchange for an assignment. The exchange rate for the local copper and silver currency (pagoda) was unprofitable in Ceylon and the exchange rate for remuneration in the Dutch Republic also led to considerable losses.⁵⁶⁴ The same applied to the rupiah and the silver ducats which when paid out led to a loss of 7.7% in Patria. Silver ducats, in the East Indies with the value of 78 stuyver, were exchanged in the Republic against a rate of 72 stuyvers or 3.60

guilders.⁵⁶⁵ Added to all of this was the fact that the Company paid no interest on the money on the time it took to transfer it from the Indies to Patria.

In November 1755, Loten wrote to his brother announcing that he would be sending ‘a considerable amount of money’ to Patria.⁵⁶⁶ He sent his father and brother two assignments from Ceylon by way of the ship *Spaarsaambeyd* [‘Frugality’], a name that ironically referred to his monetary cargo. The first assignment totalled 14,400 guilders and the second 30,000 guilders. The latter included according to Loten his income of 16,408 guilders over seven years at Macassar and Ceylon. The bills of exchange were received in Holland in August of 1756 and cashed in November 1756.⁵⁶⁷ Loten’s father invested for his son about 30,000 guilders in Bonds of the Leckendijk benedendams and the Province of Utrecht in 1756 and 1757.⁵⁶⁸

In January 1756 Loten estimated that he would send at least 300,000 guilders to Patria. He sent an assignment to his father and brother for 24,000 guilders.⁵⁶⁹ In November of 1756, he announced that he would send ‘another 35 or 40,000 rixdollars’ by bill of exchange.⁵⁷⁰ In January 1757, he specifically stated that he had sent his father three bills of exchange: two bills each of 40,000 guilders and one bill of 16,000 guilders, ‘to be reimbursed by the Company without any deduction’.⁵⁷¹

Loten also wrote that when he returned to Patria in 1757, it would be difficult to transfer his money from Ceylon. He feared he would have to leave about 100,000 guilders on the island, which he hoped to be able to collect early in 1758.⁵⁷² The money in Colombo and the transfer of capital from Ceylon to Batavia were a matter of great concern to him.⁵⁷³ In 1756 Loten lent the Ceylon government 82,000 rixdollars. On January 11th of 1757 the Council in Colombo unanimously decided that this capital would be remitted to him without any deductions by the High Government in Batavia. When Loten arrived in Batavia in April 1757, he discussed the loan with governor-general Jacob Mossel and asked the Company to return the advanced capital, but Mossel replied that this would not be possible in view of the Company in Batavia’s financial position. He asked Loten to loan the Company in Batavia another 18,000 rixdollars which would be used to support the Company’s cash flow. Mossel and Loten agreed that the sum of 82,000 rixdollars would stay in Batavia and that Loten would receive an interest of 6 percent over the loan. This arrangement was attractive to Loten, because Batavia’s interest rate was higher than the rate in Holland. Moreover, if he wanted his money, it would be transferred to Holland without extra deductions by the Company. The 18,000 rixdollars he had loaned the Company would be transferred to Holland within a year and paid to him after the Company’s commission, 7.7 percent, was deducted. The governor-general in council in Batavia decided on this matter on 30 August and 14 October 1757. Loten left for Patria two weeks after the latter decision, convinced that his financial affairs had been settled adequately.

In 1759 two assignments totalling 18,000 and 18,743 guilders (the remaining part of Loten’s Ceylonese capital) were brought to Patria by Albert de Joncheere, former prosecutor of Colombo.⁵⁷⁴ Arnout Loten forwarded this assignment to Loten’s Amsterdam financial agent and broker Frans Adam Carelson,⁵⁷⁵ and when it became clear that the assignment would be reimbursed by the Zeeland chamber the bill was sent to Loten’s cousin Jan Boudaen (1735-1768), lord of Schellagh in Middelburg. The same procedure was followed for the assignment of Loten’s interest over his capital in Batavia. This totalled 12,694 guilders and would also be paid out by the Zeeland chamber.⁵⁷⁶ According to Loten, the Zeeland chamber had paid his bills without deducting the Company’s commission the previous year.⁵⁷⁷ This is not clear from the VOC’s accounts however. In 1758 the chamber paid Loten an assignment of 8,750 rixdollars and deducted 7.7 percent from the amount, this being the ducaton’s exchange rate.⁵⁷⁸ Apparently the capital had been deposited in Colombo in ducaton. In October 1760, Arnout Loten informed his brother that Jan Boudaen had told him that approximately 50,000 guilders in assignments from Colombo would be reimbursed by Herman Berens in Middelburg.⁵⁷⁹

Loten was deeply disappointed in the way in which the Company dealt with his loan of 100,000 rixdollars (82,000 rixdollars to Colombo and 18,000 rixdollars to Batavia).⁵⁸⁰ In later years he often referred bitterly to how unreliable the Company directors and the Indian Government at Batavia had been. In November 1759 Loten received 12,694 guilders, interest over the first year of his loan to the Company. The same amount was remitted to him by the Batavian government over the years 1759 and 1760. In 1760 the government in Batavia returned 18,000 rixdollars of his the loan. In July 1761 he learned that the Batavian government had reversed their earlier decisions and promises and planned to send the remainig part of his capital to Europe. In September 1761 his agents in Batavia also informed him that in addition to the usual 7.7 percentage, further amounts would be deducted from the sum. Loten exclaimed to his brother: ‘How unfortunate to be the subject of domination and violent enforcement, against which no legal actions are possible!’.⁵⁸¹ The reason for this change in policy was that the Council

at Batavia, according to Loten without Mossel, decided that Loten had to cash his loan, thereby disregarding the earlier agreement with Mossel that this would only be done on request of Loten himself. In October 1761 he spent most of his time at home, writing 'Indian letters' about the transfer of his capital from Batavia to Holland. The response he received from Cornelis Van Der Hoop, first advocate of the VOC, was friendly but not encouraging. Loten feared that he stood to lose between 40 and 50,000 guilders on the transfer in addition to the annual disadvantage of 4,500 guilders due to the lower rate of interest in Holland. He told his brother: '[However,] it will not put me in greatly reduced circumstances and it will not cause that my expenditure exceeds the interests. Several months ago the Gentlemen Directors also demonstrated their vigilance by detaining the skin of a donkey [=zebra],⁵⁸² which was sent to me by a poor relative from the Cape It was considered to be a trophy for the Honourable Company and as a special honour and adornment for the Right Honourable Gentlemen'.⁵⁸³

In March 1762 Loten spoke with ambassador Boreel in London about his claim and his 'unfair treatment by the East Indies Company with regard to the 100 thousand rixdollars which I advanced them'. The discussion had encouraged Loten to believe that Boreel agreed with him. Boreel had influential contacts in Amsterdam among the directors of the Company and Loten hoped that their mutual esteem would be of help to him in this matter.⁵⁸⁴ He wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek from Montpellier a year later about his problems with the Company: 'You often see Mr Boreel so I pray please have the goodness to mention my name now and again and tell him that I am honoured to be your friend. I promise you that I do not intend a plan to be intrusive nor to ask for jobs [. . .] It is only to prevent me from being completely forgotten and because, as I fear, there is reason to complain about The East Indies Company. Mr Boreel might be able to redress the wrongs that [the Company] plan to do me by subtracting at Batavia in an immoral and violent way a further rather considerable 2½ percent in the remittances. Before receiving the sum of eighty two thousand rixdollars I stand to lose another eleven percent & the interest on more or less two years, because the Company will still make money if they do not pay out. It is unfair that they use the same despotic violence against those who helped them with their financial matters when it was necessary and when no one else in Ceylon would help them, as they have used against those who have enriched themselves to the detriment of their employer and in whose service they ultimately are. I fear (this in confidence) that my losses were caused by Mons[ieur] Carelson my agent at Amsterdam, who has my assignments in his hands and must collect the money on my behalf after the Company's sales in the spring. (It was written to me that this Carelson was involved in a bankruptcy Amsterdam).⁵⁸⁵ I am sure that my good friend Mr Van Der Hoop will give me some explanation relating to this affair. You may be surprised that I do not address myself to Mr Van Der Hoop himself although he is my friend. I do not want to bother him. I met with him almost daily at a time when he was at work in matters of much more importance for our Common welfare.⁵⁸⁶ I have always said that I can separate this case and our friendship although sooner or later I will be forced to come in conflict with the board of the Company, where he is the first Minister. That is the main reason why I always prefer friendships based on common interests & if I had often spoken with Mr Van Der Hoop on this subject, I may have restricted his disinterested friendship'.⁵⁸⁷

In 1763, while Loten was in France, the loan of 82,000 rixdollars was first transferred from Colombo to Batavia and from there to Holland. Several deductions were made from the amount. In addition to the 7.7 percent exchange rate, 0.25 percent interest and 2.5 percent commission were deducted. On February 21st 1764, Carelson, Loten's agent in Amsterdam, reimbursed the money. Several months later Loten applied to the directors of the VOC claiming that the amounts deducted from the loan were in conflict with earlier decisions of the Council at Colombo and agreements with Jacob Mossel at Batavia.⁵⁸⁸ He also claimed they owed him interest over eighteen months, which is the time between his payment at Batavia and the moment he received the money in Holland. His request was discussed by the Heren XVII on 21 October 1766. Half a year later on April 1st 1767, to Loten's great indignation, the directors rejected his claims. Although they were aware of the resolution taken by the Colombo council of policy and Loten's agreement with governor-general Mossel, their argument was that his representatives at Batavia had accepted the capital and did not protest against the terms of the transfer to Holland. Moreover Loten had cashed the capital when it arrived in Patria.⁵⁸⁹ In October of 1770 he wrote Amsterdam burgomaster Gualterus Petrus Boudaen about the VOC's refusal of his claim. Loten never received a response, but he still believed that Boudaen would put forward his request in the autumn meeting of the directors of the East Indies Company; 'Spe vivimus' [=in the future we shall live] he wrote to his brother.⁵⁹⁰ Several years later, in 1774, Loten bitterly summarised his position of that time: 'The Excuse, or Exception (Evasion is I think the most proper and clearest expression) brought forward for final rejection was briefly non-

potest,⁵⁹¹ and although it was definitely not noble in its candour, it was absolutely definitive. My agents wrote to me saying that they dared not protest for fear that everything in the Batavia accounts would be booked back into those of Colombo which would have meant that the remittance of my capital would have been postponed until ad kalendas græcas or better, eternity. Thus by accepting this property diminished by many thousands, my agents chose the least of evils. If Mr Steinmetz's Inheritance had not fallen so wonderfully and unexpectedly to me while I was very far away in Ceylon (in spite of all Fruitless Requests by the toadying Batavian Grandées de la premieres classe), the careless Borrower would have been compelled to beg for his bread in the streets. They did everything in their power, to this date, to find a way of preventing me from enjoying this [inheritance]'.⁵⁹² Nevertheless, Loten continued to plead his case.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EAST INDIAN CAPITAL

Information from the VOC's accounts enables us to estimate just how much East Indian capital Loten sent to Patria through assignments. Most of Loten's bills of transfer were made payable to his father Joan Carel Loten. Not included in the table below are the dividends that Loten received annually from the ten shares he had in the Opium Society. The table shows that the increase in Loten's capital primarily took place in Ceylon. According to Loten's son-in-law Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen, in 1761, the governor of Ceylon earned between 50,000 to 60,000 rixdollars per year.⁵⁹³ Most likely Loten obtained the majority of his fortune through his inheritance from Nathanael Steinmetz and only partially from his earnings as Governor of Colombo.

Money transferred from the Dutch East Indies to Patria. ⁵⁹⁴				
Bill of exchange sent from	Date/ Year payment by VOC	Paid by VOC Chamber	Deposit in Dutch East Indies/ Annotation Scheepssoldijboek	Payment by VOC in guilders
Batavia	1 Dec 1735	Amsterdam	246 ducats	f 960
	1740 Nov 8	Amsterdam (also in scheepssoldijboek)	3,441 guilders 12 stuyver Loten's income until 1739, paid to Joan Carel Loten	f 3,441
Batavia	1745	Zeeland	1,680 rixdollars repayment of loan by heirs Christiaen Duyf	f 4,032
	1747 Oct 2	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	f 3,283
	1752 June 16	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to F.A. Carelson	f 7,200
	1753 April 3	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to F.A. Carelson	f 2,400
	10 Aug 1753	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	f 508
	11 Dec 1753	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	f 2,400
Colombo	2 July 1754	Amsterdam	5,555 ducats	f 20,000
Batavia	15 June 1755	Amsterdam	750 ducats	f 2,700
Colombo	15 June 1755	Amsterdam	800 Nagapatnam pagodas	f 3,600
	14 Sept 1756	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	f 7,400
	19 Sept 1757	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	f 2,600
Colombo	19 Nov 1757	Amsterdam	4,000 silver ducats and 72 rixdollars	f 14,400
Colombo	17 Nov 1757	Amsterdam	1,111 ducats	f 4,000
Colombo	19 Nov 1757	Amsterdam	6,666 ducats	f 24,000
Colombo	6 July 1758	Amsterdam	11,111 ducats	f 40,000
Colombo	6 July 1758	Amsterdam	4,444 ducats	f 16,000
Colombo	6 July 1758	Amsterdam	11,111 ducats	f 40,000
	24 Oct 1758	Scheepssoldijboek	Paid to Joan Gideon Loten	f 18,848
Batavia	8 Jan 1759	Amsterdam	16,250 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	8 Jan 1759	Amsterdam	7,381 rixdollars	f 17,723
Batavia	8 Jan 1759	Amsterdam	6,461 rixdollars	f 15,507
Colombo	8 Jan 1759	Amsterdam	5,000 ducats	f 18,000
Batavia	1759	Zeeland	8,750 rixdollars	f 19,384

Money transferred from the Dutch East Indies to Patria. ⁵⁹⁴				
Bill of exchange sent from	Date/ Year payment by VOC	Paid by VOC Chamber	Deposit in Dutch East Indies/ Annotation Scheepssoldijboek	Payment by VOC in guilders
Cape of Good Hope	1759	Zeeland	555 ducats	f 2,000
Colombo	1759	Zeeland	4,806 ducats	f 18,743
Batavia	1759	Zeeland	Interest on capital in Batavia 5,289 rixdollars	f 12,694
Batavia	1759	Zeeland	2,598 rixdollars	f 6,235
Batavia	1759	Zeeland	3,387 rixdollars	f 8,130
Batavia	1759	Zeeland	8,416 rixdollars	f 20,198
Batavia	1759	Zeeland	877 rixdollars	f 2,106
Batavia	1760	Amsterdam	Interest on capital in Batavia 5,289 rixdollars	f 12,694
Batavia	1760	Zeeland	11,509 rixdollars	f 27,623
Colombo	1760	Zeeland	2,784 ducats	f 10,856
Batavia	4 Jan 1762	Amsterdam	Interest on capital in Batavia 5,289 rixdollars	f 12,694
Batavia	3 May 1762	Amsterdam	10,000 ducats	f 36,000
Batavia	3 May 1762	Amsterdam	1,076 ducats	f 3,876
Batavia	3 May 1762	Amsterdam	833 ducats	f 2,999
Colombo	16 May 1763	Amsterdam	871 silver rupiahs from Surat	f 1,176
Batavia	29 September 1763, paid 21 Feb 1764	Amsterdam, see Proceedings Heren XVII	52,190 ducats Reimbursement on loan 82,000 rixdollars to Company in Batavia	f 187,885
Total capital transferred from Batavia to Patria 1734 – 1764 and paid out by Company				f 690,295

SHARES IN THE OPIUM SOCIETY

An important part of Loten's inheritance from Nathanael Steinmetz was formed by ten shares in the Opium Society ["Amphioen Societeijt"] with a nominal value of 48,000 guilders.⁵⁹⁵ This legacy was a very profitable addition to his possessions and provided him with an annual income for the rest of his life. In January 1756 Loten wrote to his brother about his shares in the Opium Society. In this letter he also refers, for the first time, to his inheritance: 'I have an annual income from the shares that I have in the Opium Society, which I possess by a benefit that was conferred upon me by the former Governor of Amboina Steinmetz. Over the last 12 months I have enjoyed a dividend from it of 15000 guilders. This is more or less the annual profit depending on how the Society prospers. I do not doubt the prolongation of the patent, so I think (if the Company is spared unforeseen disasters) that I shall always enjoy an income from these shares in the amount of f 10,000 to 12,000 and up to f 20,000. I can therefore spend part of my capital for [a country seat] and live off of the profits from my shares, because I can keep these shares in Europe, under the condition that I live within the Dutch Republic and do not enter into foreign service'.⁵⁹⁶

Although Loten did not permanently live in the Dutch Republic from 1759 until 1781, he still received the profits from his shares in the Opium Society. These were not as high as he had foreseen in 1756 due to lower dividends and restrictions imposed upon them by the directors of the Company. In May 1771, Loten informed his brother that there were problems with the annual payments of his interests from the Opium Society. He assumed that the charter of the Society had been renewed but was not worried.⁵⁹⁷ Several months later, however, he suggested that the problems were caused by the governor-general Van Der Parra at Batavia, who did not send the necessary bills of transfer.⁵⁹⁸ This was a serious problem for Loten, because he lived on the yearly interest from these tens shares. In 1770 he had experienced comparable problems, but at that time he did finally receive the bills of transfer from the Company's deputy secretary, Johannes Vos, who lived in the Heeren Straat in Utrecht. Loten then lived in Utrecht and he had thanked Mr Vos by bringing him his card. He added ironically, 'it is not my fault that I am not allowed in when I pay a visit to my superior', perhaps a reference to 1757 when Loten had tried, upon his brother's request, to promote Vos's Indian career.⁵⁹⁹ He received information from Batavia saying that the money had been transferred to Holland from the president of the Opium Society, Reynier

de Klerck, and from Loten's agent, De Klerck's son-in-law Jacob Cornelius Mattheus Radermacher.⁶⁰⁰ He received the same information from the treasurer of the Opium, Society Mr Aitma in Amsterdam. The Company declared that his assignments had probably been lost during their transport from Batavia to Holland. Loten exclaimed to his brother: 'Now I see how easy it is for them to make it difficult for me to receive such bills of transfer and the Company does not pay anything without such a bill. I never gave v[an] d[er] P[arra] any reason for this. [...] He always addressed me as «my dear friend» . Nevertheless I am very well aware that only he is the cause of all that has happened by denying me my money, a scandalous matter without any precedent'.⁶⁰¹ Arnout Loten looked into the matter of the 'roaming or as I believe embezzled assignments', by writing to Willem Klump, an Amsterdam merchant who had acted as Loten's agent for VOC matters since 1770 along with Christoffel Hendrik Klump.⁶⁰² However, he was not successful. Finally in January 1772, Loten's agent Mr Jan Kol received the bills of transfer.⁶⁰³ Loten continued to be paid interest on his shares in the Opium Society.⁶⁰⁴

The annual dividend on Loten's shares in the Opium Society can be determined from the VOC's accounts, the *Generale Missiven* of the Indian Government and the proceedings of the meetings of the Heren XVII. In 1767 Loten specified what his dividends on the ten shares in the Opium Society were. This supplies us with information on the dividends the Society paid out in 1764 and which is not available from the VOC's accounts.⁶⁰⁵ The remaining data in Loten's notebook agree with those in the VOC's accounts that specify the bills of exchange sent from Batavia to Patria. According to the *Missiven*, Loten received annual dividends over the years 1758 until 1790 with the exception of the years 1781, 1782 and 1783. The VOC's accounts do not show a gap in the payments that Loten received from Batavia. Most of the other shareholders in Patria also received their dividends over the period 1781-1783 so that there is no reason to believe that Loten was left out. For 32 years Loten received an average annual dividend of 14.2 % over his 48,000 guilders in the Opium Society.

Dividend from <i>Amphioen Societeijt</i> [Opium Society] at Batavia received by Loten 1758-1790. ⁶⁰⁶			
Date/Year payment by VOC (if available)	Paid by VOC Chamber	Dividend Opium Society Year	Payment by VOC in guilders
1759	Zeeland	1758	f 7,532
2 June 1760	Amsterdam	1759	f 4,430
1760	Amsterdam	1759	f 3,544
17 Aug 1761	Amsterdam	1760	f 4,430
4 Jan 1762	Amsterdam	1760	f 4,430
3 May 1762	Amsterdam	1761	f 4,386
20 Dec 1762	Amsterdam	1761	f 4,430
21 Febr 1764	Amsterdam	1762	f 8,839
10 Dec 1764	Amsterdam	1763	f 7,089
Not in VOC's accounts, but in Loten's personal notes		1764	f 6,862
24 Nov 1766	Amsterdam	1765	f 4,867
1767	Rotterdam	1766	f 5,760
22 May 1769	Amsterdam	1767?	f 2,651
28 May 1770	Amsterdam	1768?	f 4,424
18 Dec 1770	Amsterdam	1768?	f 1,894
21 Jan 1772	Amsterdam	1769?	f 5,746
27 May 1773	Amsterdam	1770?	f 6,196
10 Dec 1773	Amsterdam	1771?	f 7,968
8 May 1775	Amsterdam	1772?	f 7,968
22 Nov 1775	Amsterdam	1773?	f 6,646
22 Nov 1775	Amsterdam	1774?	f 3,345
2 Dec 1776	Amsterdam	1775?	f 4,180
24 April 1777	Amsterdam	1776?	f 8,848
10 May 1779	Amsterdam	1777?	f 8,721
14 Dec 1780	Amsterdam	1778?	f 1,863
23 May 1781	Amsterdam	1779?	f 5,343
14 June 1782	Amsterdam	1780?	f 5,927
23 Jan 1784	Amsterdam	1781?	f 4,307
1 Sept 1785	Amsterdam	1782& 1783?	f 8,640
1787	Amsterdam	1784	f 3,482
1787	Amsterdam	1785	f 3,617
15 June 1787	Amsterdam	1784	f 3,794
15 June 1787	Amsterdam	1785	f 3,802
15 June 1787	Zeeland	1786	f 4,238
Spring 1788	Amsterdam	1787?	f 2,406
Spring 1789	Amsterdam	1787?	f 2,462
Total dividend received 1758-1789			f 185,068
Loten's Balance in the Batavia Opium Society from October 1786-October 1789			
Date	Year	Balance	
29 Oct 1787	1786	2,857 rixdollars	f 6,856
29 Oct 1788	1787	2,758 rixdollars	f 6,619
30 Oct 1789	1788	3,940 rixdollars	f 9,456
30 Oct 1789	1789 (advanced)	4,000 rixdollars	f 9,600
Total gain from Opium Society 1758-1789			f 217,599

¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. Manuscript with genealogical notes about his ancestors, undated, probably 1770s.

² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. Van Houten (1906, page 169) considered the manuscript to be lost. The manuscript consists of 27 handwritten folio pages and includes references to drawings that were partly found in the Loten collections in London and Haarlem. Veth (1860, page 108) briefly described the manuscript and called it “especially rich in all kinds of curiosities concerning natural history”. Loten is characterised as an “observant traveller”. Loten made 23 rather superficial annotations concerning natural history. Besides these annotations the first part (14 pages) mainly consists of short notes about the course of the ship and the weather during the voyage from Texel to the Cape of Good Hope. A short description of the Cape colony and an enumeration of the ships in the Table Bay (4 pages), together with some notes about the second part of the voyage from the Cape to Batavia (6 pages), complete Loten's account of his sea voyage. Three pages with notes about his first year in the East Indies, which are of some biographical interest, are added to the journal. The manuscript covers the period between December 29th 1731 and September 29th 1733.

³ Willem Gideon Deutz (1697-1757) was related to Loten. Loten's great-grandmother Isabelle Deutz (1651-1672) was the sister of Willem Gideon's great grandfather Jean Deutz (1685-1673) (Elias, 1905, page 631). Willem Gideon Deutz had of a trade- and bankers firm that he inherited from his father Jean Deutz. He was Mayor of Amsterdam in 1748, 1752, 1753, 1755 and 1757. His sister Lady Deutz can be identified as Isabella Maria Deutz (1708-1736).

⁴ Bruijn (1970), pages 118-119 and 176.

⁵ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425.

⁶ The Naval vessel *Ter Meer* departed from the Texel roadstead January 3rd 1732. “H. fil., H. nepos.” Means that Isaac Sweers has the same name as his father, Captain-Commander Isaac Sweers (1671-1732), and grandfather, Admiral Isaac Sweers (1622-1673). It was Captain Isaac Sweers's first voyage since 1712. See also Bruijn (1970), page 119.

⁷ Jan Louis Van Hardenbroek (1691-1747), Dutch naval officer; extraordinary Captain of the Admiralty of the city of Amsterdam 1713. Left active service in 1734. In 1740 he was appointed by the States of the Province of Utrecht as a commissioner in the Amsterdam Admiralty (HUA.HC 643-1 nr 356, 357 and 358). He also held various positions in the States of Utrecht (HUA.HC 643-1 nrs 355, 359, 363). In the Utrecht Archive there is a list with the sizes of the *Leijerdorp* dated circa 1731. There is also a list of victuals on board of this ship of the same date (HUA HA 643-1 nrs 349-2 and 349-3). See also Bruijn (1970), page 41, 114, 119.

⁸ A watercolour of the *Beekvliet* is in the collection of the Rotterdam Maritiem Museum (inv. P1730). The watercolour is signed by J. Houck (width 46 cm height 37 cm) and dated “1752”. This is confusing, because the VOC “Uitloop Boekie” mentions two ships with the name *Beekvliet*. Mr. L.M. Akveld of the Maritiem Museum informed me, that the first *Beekvliet* was build in 1724 in the Amsterdam shipyard of the Company on the account of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) chamber Amsterdam. Its size was 850 ton. In 1744 the ship ended its career in Batavia. The second *Beekvliet* returned in 1777 from a voyage to Bengal and is not mentioned afterwards. This also belonged to the Amsterdam East Indies Company Chamber. The subscript on the watercolour mentions “24 stukken” (24 cannons), which is not in agreement with the number of ‘geschutspoorten’ that numbers 38-40. According to Loten the *Beekvliet* had 28 cannons aboard. The author is indebted to Dr. Roelof van Gelder (Amsterdam) for his reference to the *Beekvliet* watercolour in the Rotterdam collection.

⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1347.

¹⁰ According to Loten in an annotation in his *Journal*.

¹¹ In the correspondence with his brother Arnout Loten in the Utrecht Municipal Archives there is a letter from Loten in Margate dated July 31st, 1760 in which he refers to a visit to Deal. There he paid a visit to Mr. Smith who helped him in 1732. Loten also visited the Deal castle (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428).

¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1347.

¹³ NL-HaNA. 1.11.01.01 inv. 425.

¹⁴ See C.A. Davids (1985) in chapter 7 of his *Zeevezen en Wetenschap*, pages 137-141. The author is indebted to Dr. S.J. de Groot (Santpoort-Zuid) for this annotation. See also Bruijn (2008), page 221.

¹⁵ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 165 and 43, Proceedings Heren XVII 27 March 1731.

¹⁶ The ships in the Table Bay mentioned by Loten were compared with the data in *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Bruijn et al., 1979), volume II *Outward-bound voyages from the Netherlands to Asia and the Cape (1595-1794)* (DAS II), and volume III, *Homeward-bound voyages from Asia and the Cape to the Netherlands (1597-1795)* (DAS III). References to the English East India Company (EIC) ships were found in *Catalogue of east India Company ships' journals and logs 1600-1834* (Farrington, 1999a), data on their officers were found in *A biographical Index of East India Company maritime service officers 1600-1834* (Farrington, 1999b).

Name ship/ VOC chamber/Built/Destination	Captain	Reference
Beekvliet/ A/ 1724/ Batavia	Lukas Hardenbroek	DAS II: 2866.2
Westerdijkshorn/ A/ 1713/ Batavia	Mijndert Schut	DAS II: 2868.9
Gaasperdam/ A/ 1724/ Batavia	Joris Davidson	DAS II: 2867.4
Adrichem/ A/ 1726/ Batavia	Hendrik Perfekt	DAS II: 2864.2
Westkappelle/ Z/ 1730/ Batavia	Jakob Landheer	DAS II: 2861.1
Grantham/EIC/1724/ Madras	Timothy Field	Farrington 1999a: 285
Leiduin/ A/ 1730/ Texel	Jan Reebok	DAS III: 6835.1
Coxhoorn/ A/ 1728/ Texel	Gerrit Pik	DAS III: 6834.2
Groenswaard/ R/ Fluit 1714/ Texel	Jan van der Quade	DAS III: 6836.7
Knappenhof/ A/ 1731/ China	Pieter Verley	DAS II: 2863.1
Iepenrode/ A/ 1731/China	Adriaan de Raat	DAS II: 2862.1
Loosdrecht/ A/ 1731/ Batavia	Huig Goethart	DAS II: 2856.1
Castor & Pollux/ Z/ Jacht 1722/ Batavia	Jakob Koster	DAS II: 2857.3
Cornelia/ H/ 1721/ Batavia	Jan Pereboom	DAS II: 2854.5
Kasteel van Woerden/ D/ 1722/ Batavia	Isaak Brandenburg	DAS II: 2853.3
Everswaard/ Z/ 1723/ -	Pieter Bruis	DAS II: 2858.4
Snuffelaar/ Z/ Hoeker 1723/ -	Marinus Dringer	DAS II: 2791.1
Victoria/ -/ -/ -	-	DAS II: 2608.1
Fijen Noord/ -/ -/ -	-	DAS II: 2605.1
Steenhoven/ Z/ 1718/ Z	Hendrik van der Grippe	DAS II: 2860.5
The Eyles/ EIC/ 1721/ Lost in R. Hougly	Ralph Farr Winter	Farrington 1999a: 241
Noordwaddinxveen/ R/ 1718/ Goeree	Hendrik Beene	DAS III: 6838.4
Den Dam/ D/Fluit 1716/ Batavia	Kornelis Nannings	DAS II: 2869.6
Ketel/ R/ 1721/ Batavia	Jakob van der Blok	DAS II: 2859.4
De Lage Polder/ E/ 1725/ Texel	Dirk Dol	DAS III: 6839.2
Midloo/ A/ 1719/ Lost at Terschelling	Pieter Tinnekens	DAS III: 6837.3
Anna Sophia/ Danish/ from Tranquebar to Denmark	Holm	
Zorgwijk/ A/ 1730/ Texel	Hendrik Oterlijk	DAS III: 6844.1
Frédéricus quartus/ Danish/ from Denmark to Tranquebar	Taa	
Herstelling/ D/ 1721/ Madagascar, Batavia	Willem Jakobsz. Smeer	DAS II: 2855.4

The VOC chambers are: Amsterdam (A), Zeeland (Z), Delft (D), Rotterdam (R), Hoorn (H), Enkhuizen (E).

¹⁷ Jean de la Fontaine (1689-1743) became Governor of Cape the Good Hope in 1724 and he was in control of the Cape Colony until 1739, except for an interval of three years, when Gysbert Noodt was Governor.

¹⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425.

¹⁹ Table Bay at the Cape of Good-Hope / from Van Keulen; J.G. Loten del.t 18th may 1732; etched by Begbie; the writing by W.Harrison. - [Londen]: A. Dalrymple, 1780. Copper engraving; 29 x 21,5 cm. Scale [ca. 1:90.000]. A copy of the map is in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Leiden University Library; COLLBN 048-23-006. Loten's drawing of the Table Bay is lost.

²⁰ NL-HaNA.4.MIKO Johan Gideon Loten W18. Seven coastal views and profiles of Java and Bali drawn by J.G. Loten on the ship Beekvliet, July 1732.

²¹ Louis de la Boissière, captain of the *Neptune* departed December 1731 from Lorient to China. On August 24, 1734 De la Boissière departed for the second time with the *Neptune* to China. Professor dr. F.S. Gaastra (University Leiden) drew my attention to René Estienne (1996), *Les aménagements au long cours de la deuxième Compagnie des Indes (1617-1773)*, Archives du Port de Lorient: Service Historique de la Marine.

²² NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 inv. 5951.

²³ TS.LC. 4: Watercolour of *Physalia pelagica*. Written in ink on the front side of the watercolour: “Besaantje Fig 3 page 4”, a reference to the manuscript of Loten’s sea voyage to the East Indies in 1732 on the *Beekvliet*. On the backside of the watercolour is written:

“Besaan (Engl. Missen) so Besaantje, little Missen. The British Seamen call them Portuguese Men of War the Spanish Sea is frequently like overspread by these and are not unlike a fleet of thousands small vessels sailing by the wind with spread Missens (Besaans). J.G.L. ad vivum 1732. Ship Beekvliet at sea L.M. Long. See my Journal.”

In pencil:

“door mij zelf in zee gevangen en getekend. 1732.” (caught by myself in sea and drawn 1732)

A copy of the watercolour is in the Loten collection of the Natural History Museum in London NHM.LC 143. This copy was evidently made in London, because the watermark is “J. Whatman”. On the watercolour there are several annotations in pencil:

“Holothuria Physalis cirrhis pendulis Bezaantje

De heer Loten zag van deze dieren een groote menigte op een effene zee op 23 ½ graden Noorder breedte by de wind zeilen. Hunne draden of voelers waren ruim 2 voeten lang. De uitwaasemingen van deze dieren deed de oogen aan. Cont. Rumphium”.

“Waarschynlyk copy van een teekening door de Heer Loten zelve in 1732 gemaakt.”

Loten referred to Rumphius description of Holothuria in chapter 42 of the first book of the *D’Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* (1705). According to Beekman (1999) the description is of the mizzen *Physalia physalis* (Linnaeus, 1758).

²⁴ NHM.LMS page 35. Concept letter J.G. Loten to Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen. London 31 July 1781.

“Holothuria physalis, cirrhus pendulis &c. Bezaantjes. D’Engelsche noemen ze Portuguese Men of War – toen ik in 1732 een groote menigte ervan op een effene zee op de noorder breette van 23 ½ . . by de wind [ziende] zag zeilen bewoog ik onze zeeluyden [bewoog] er eenige voor my op te scheppen, van welke er een van tekende – de menigte van draaden of voelers was doch veel langer als ik die aftekende, my dunkt wel van ruim 2 voeten – myne oogen waren zo zeer aangedaan door de vuurige uitwaasemingen, dat ik my haasten moest en voor meer als eene dag er na veel pijn leed – de couleuren der menie roode gaderde kam en het blauw der voelers waren zeer schoon – Rumphius zijne beschryvinge achte ‘k meest overeen te komen met myne ondervindinge”.

²⁵ Because the observation is in the northern Atlantic it is not clear whether the sea cat is *Loligo* or *Sepia*. Beekman (1999), page 421 referred to sea cat as,

“once so used in English as well as a noun denoting the decapod cuttlefish, *Sepia officinalis* (L.), which is a common European cuttlefish. Cuttlefishes are invertebrate animals, related to the octopus, of the class Cephalopoda and family Sepiidae. “Cephalopoda” means “having legs on your head.” It has an internal “shell” known as the “cuttle bone,” five pairs of arms around its mouth, its “ink” is the brown pigment known as “sepia,” and it usually prefers shallow coastal waters”.

²⁶ TS.LC. 6: Drawings in pencil and ink of fishes: “suijger”, “vliegende vis” and “spier-Haije”. Written in pencil on the backside of the drawing: ”door mij na ‘t leven getekend. 1732. Op ‘t Schip Beekvliet.”

²⁷ TS.LC. 5: Drawing in pencil of “Bonijt”. On front side in ink: “Bonijt Fig. 5. Pag. 6.”, a reference to Loten’s Journal of his sea-voyage. On the back-side in pencil: “ door mij na ‘t leven getekend. 1732.”

²⁸ George Edwards (1751). *Natural History of Birds*, volume 3, plate 148, the ‘Arctick Bird’ can be identified as the arctic skua, *Stercorarius parasiticus*. It is most improbable that this bird was observed by Loten near the Albrohls reefs. Loten probably saw the magnificent frigate-bird, *Fregata magnificens*. This bird is pictured by Edwards on plate 149.

²⁹ Linnaeus, *Fauna suecica* (1746), page 126; named *Larus fuscus* in the 10th edition of the *Systema Naturae*, page 136.

³⁰ The “Schaarvogel” or frigate bird is regularly reported in 17th and 18th century journals of sea voyages. Rumphius (1705) referred to the bird in his description of the large crabs of the genus *Portunus* (Beekman, 1999, page 400).

³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. The daughter of Henry Hilgers (1706-1734), Geertruyda Elisabeth Hilgers (Batavia 1734-Utrecht 1815) was in March 1785 the wife of Loten's neighbour, canon Mr Johannes Willem Swellengrebel (Cape of Good Hope 1728-before 1809). Swellengrebel was the son of the former Governor of Cape of Good Hope, Hendrik Swellengrebel (1700-1760).

³² Henriëtte van Nassau-Zuylestein (1688-1757), married Frederik Christiaan van Reede, Second Earl of Athlone (1668-1719), owner of the Castle Amerongen. Reinier van Reede van Ginckel (1678-1747), younger brother of Frederik Christiaan van Reede. See: J. Aalbers (1982).

³³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London September 18, 1780. Loten referred to the Archer fish, *Toxotes jaculatrix* or *Toxotes jaculator*, described on pages 331-332 in the second volume of J.F. Martinet's *Katechismus der Natuur*, Johannes Allart, Amsterdam (1777-1779). In the wild, it obtains its food by squirting a jet of water at insects on overhanging plant matter. The insects fall into the water and are eaten. In the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* there are two accounts about the jaculator fish, which probably were known to Loten. In 1764 (vol 54 pages 89-90) a report from Batavia from the Governor of the Hospital Mr. Hommel was published. In 1766 (vol 56 pages 186-189) another letter of Hommel from Batavia, dated October 30, 1764, was published, together with a Latin description of a new species by Simon Pallas. The reference to gudgeons, or grundeltjes is to *Gobio gobio* (Linnaeus, 1758).

³⁴ According to Loten in his notebook (HUA.GC 750 nr 1398):

“Johannes Fabry ☉ 11 dec: 1733, captain van Bat^s kasteel, universeel beklaagd, aangezien, schryfd de Heer Kremling, die zalige Heer, by my (en ook helaas! wel by my) altyd is bekend geweest voor een man, die ten opzichte zyner minzame ommegangen & beleevde onthalingen omtrent een ygelyk, boven veele was uytmuntende”.

About Fabry's relationship with Henriëtte van Nassau-Zuylenstein see correspondence in HUA Huis Amerongen 1001 inv 3338. In the correspondence covering the period 1722-1733 there is no mention of Loten. The announcement of Fabry's decease is in HUA Huis Amerongen 1001 inv 3338.

³⁵ Nicolaas Crul (ca 1695-1747), son of Reverend Hero Crul, from 1699-1722 clergyman at Batavia. Nicolaas Crul initially worked as a clerk for the notaries Van Haeften and Freeman in Batavia. In 1722 he married Sophia Johanna Laps. She died 1723 and he remarried Sara Pedel (1689-1751). She was the widow of his former patron Nicolaas van Haeften. After his marriage Crul made a career in the East Indies Company. In 1737 he was appointed commander of the East coast of Java at Semarang. Sara Pedel had several children from her first marriage. The daughter Johanna van Haeften married Laurence Grothe. In later years two sons had public functions in Utrecht. Jacob Haeften was an active member of the Utrecht city Council in the 1780s. Sara's brother Jacobus Pedel was canon of the St Maria Church in Utrecht. De Haan (1910).pages 40-41; NNBW VIII, pages 346-347 and Van Hulzen (1966).

Under the heading “Beatissime Memoriae” Loten gave a short description of the life of Nicolaas Crul (HUA.GC 750 nr 153):

“ik gisse den Edelen Heere Nicolaas Crul dunkt mij geb. te Hoorn, overled. te zijn reeds in 1747 of in 1747. ætat: meene'k 56 – ik meene hy uitgekomen te zijn met ZynEd: vader den Eerw. Hr. predicant Hero Crul a^o 1696. ZynEdelens hoogwaardige Echtgenote Vr^e Sara Pedel overleed omtrent 1751 of begin van 1752. Zij was eenige weinige jaaren ouder den ZynEd: en bevorens gehuwd geweest met de vader van de Heeren van Haeften die ik gekend hebbe te weeten, Nicolaas, nog 1777 levende Jacobus, Cornelis en Jan, met eene dogter Johanna die te Tagal was overleeden gehuwd zynde aan den Heer Laurens Grothe, wiens moeder ik denk Pit.”

³⁶ Loten probably referred to the black lutong *Presbytis pyrrhus*.

³⁷ Loten probably referred to pigeons of the genus *Ducula*: the pied imperial pigeon *Ducula bicolor* (Java) and the green imperial pigeon *Ducula aenea* (Celebes). In Loten's watercolour collection there is a watercolour of the pied imperial pigeon (NHMLC 78), possibly made by Peter Brown after a plate in Sonnerat *Voyage a la Nouvelle Guinee* (1776).

³⁸ The reference is to Johannes Camphuijs (1634-1695), Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies Company, who owned a small island, Edam, which the Company had given to him. Here he kept a menagerie with Japanese and East-Indian animals. E.M. Beekman (1981) in his *The Poison Tree* (University of Amherst Press, Amherst) discussed the correspondence between Camphuijs and Rumphius. Camphuijs was responsible for copying Rumphius' entire *Ambonese Herbal* before it was sent to Amsterdam in 1697. Valentijn described his life in volume 4 of his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (pages 316-323). See also Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer (1986), pages 53-54.

³⁹ Gerard Pelgrom was merchant of the VOC and head of Patna in 1727-1729 (he is mentioned in VOC documents as “Patenas hoofd” and “opperhoofd”).

⁴⁰ HUA.HC inv 643-1, number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London September 18, 1780,
“In 1732 it happened that I walked at Batavia in the church with G.W. bar. v Imhoff, my eyes fell there on a new hatchment (rouwbord) with the arms of Reede and underneath this inscription literally “vrouwe Christina van Reede laatst wed^e. Wijlen de heer Arnold Mol Raad extraord van Nederlands India overl. 13 april 1731 geboren tot Amerongen dan 10 febr. 1682 oud 49 jaren 2 m. 3 dagen.) I knew a most beautiful lady her daughter who in 1733 married with my worthy friend Maurice Pasques de Chavonnes, after whose death she married Mr. John Huyghens, by whom she left a son & a daughter – the latter (ni fallon) had been married to Fredrik Allewyn schepen te Amsterdam – I have spoke about this with the late Lord of Zuylen (ob: 1^e Sept. 1776) who could not clear up from whence the above Lady descended – but I noted down presently the inscription, which was just in time, for by rebuilding the church, it was missed, & I believe annihilated”.

In the Tilburg University Library (TUL.TF-Hs 75) there is a letter to J.G. Loten and his wife by J. Huyghens and his wife G.A. Moll, from Houghly March 18, 1737, in which they announce that their marriage took place 1 January 1737.

⁴¹ Gustaaf Willem baron Van Imhoff, born 8 August 1705, died 1 November 1750. Governor-General of the East Indies 28 May 1743 till 1 November 1750. In January 1725 he went as a junior merchant of the VOC to Batavia. He made a fast career in the Company. In 1730 he was Councillor extraordinary of Indies. On 23 July 1736 he became Governor en director of Ceylon and Councillor ordinary. At Ceylon he built up a good relationship with Narendra Simha, the Cingalese King of Candy. On 2 December 1740 he was appointed Governor-General by the directors of the Company. He was installed in this role on 28 May 1743 in Batavia. He ended the conflicts with the Chinese in Java and improved the relationship with the Javanese. With the treaty with the Court of Mataram practically all the Northeast coast of Java came under the sovereignty of the Company (Gaastra, 2002, pages 63-64).

⁴² Johanna Catherina Pelgrom (1686-1734) was the daughter of Jacob Pelgrom, a former director of Bengal (1701-1705). Anthony Huijsman (1668-1729) had been Director of the VOC settlement at Bengal (1711-1717). Huysman married in 1704 for the second time at Houghly. See Wijnaends van Resandt (1944: 35-38). In TUL.TF-Hs. 74 there is a letter written at Colombo June 27, 1737 by “M^a. van Imhoff geb. Huijsman”, addressed to Joan Gideon Loten and his wife at Samarang.

⁴³ Wagenaar, Galjaard, Nicrop & Speelman (2007), *Gouverneur Van Imhoff op dienstreis in 1739*, page 25.

⁴⁴ Van Houten (1906), followed by Ferguson (1908).

⁴⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1382 a biographical annotation by J.G. Loten about his wife Anna Henriëtta van Beaumont. Genealogical information about the family Van Beaumont in HUA.GC 750 nr 1382 and HUA Family Taets van Amerongen van Natewisch 23 nr 20, folio 59.

⁴⁶ Richard van Steenis died in 1736. Within three months after his death his widow re-married the merchant and prosecutor of Malacca, Johan de Roth (1704-1776). TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J.C. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 9 March 1737; letter J. de Roth and C.B. de Roth, born van Beaumont, Malacca 11 October 1736.

⁴⁷ Cornelis Johan van Beaumont (1718-1791). Cornelis studied in Leiden University, where he took his law degree. In 1746 he asked the Chamber Delft for a position as a junior merchant in order to travel to the East. He did not follow up on his plans because he fell in love.

See Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 758. C.J. van Beaumont to J.G. Loten. The Hague 28 November 1748; 4 April 1749.

In November 1748 he announced from The Hague his marriage to Miss Eva van Bijnkershoek. According to a letter by Loten’s mother dated “14 Maij 1749” C.J. van Beaumont married miss Van Bynkershoek:

“... dat UWEDs Broeder de Heer C.J. Van Beaumont op den 1^{ste} april sig in den Houwelijken staat heeft begeeven met Juffrouw van Bynkershoek dogter van wylen den Heer President van den Hoogen Raad...”

She was the daughter of Cornelis van Bijnkershoek (1673-1743), lawyer at The Hague, Councillor and later President of the High Court of Holland and Zeeland. According to Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer (1986), page 51, Bijnkershoek was in the possession of a cabinet of natural history that was sold in November 1743.

See Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757.

In 1770 Cornelis Johan van Beaumont was Commissary-General of the Admiralty at Amsterdam. In 1760 he resigned from the same office a week after his appointment according to Loten because of his untactful behaviour. Arnout Loten reported about this case to his brother (HUA.GC 1430, Utrecht 29 December 1761):

“De zaak van neef van Beaumont is nog in dezelve situatie, dewijle de stad Amsterdam continueerd zijn Ed. in qualiteit van commies generaal niet te willen erkennen, dog welke aan ZijnEd. om die zaak ten eind te brengen, een ander employ heeft geoffreerd, ’t welk van onze neef gedeclineerd is; ondertussen heb ik vernomen zijnEd. weet desselfs zwager den Hr. Bergsma, die ’t eerstgeme ampt aan zijn Ed. bezorgd had, in die tussentijd gebrouilleerd te zijn, zo dat die Hr. zig deze zaak ook niet meer aantrekt”.

From 1766 until 1791 Van Beaumont was one of the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch East Indies Company.

See HUA.GC 750 nrs 1426 and 1428. Nr 1391 is a letter from C.J. van Beaumont to Loten, written in 1770. Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 242.

⁴⁸ Gijsbertha Blesius, sister of Anna Henrietta’s mother, widow of Isaac Augustinus Rumpf (1683-1723) former Governor of Ceylon (1716-1723), re-married in 1726 in Batavia Everhard Kraayvanger (or Kraeyvanger) (1692-1752). Kraayvanger studied law in Leiden. He became attorney-general of the Dutch East Indies at Batavia. In 1727 he returned to Patria as commander of the Return Fleet. The directors of the VOC honoured him with a golden medal upon his safe return with the fleet (*De Geuzenpenning* 11, 1961, page 6). He died in 1752 in Delft. He published poems *Dichtlievende Lente*, Amsterdam, 1717; *Stichtelijke gezangen*, 1744; *Dichtlievende Lente en Zomer*, Leiden 1762.

⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1400: undated annotation by Anna Henrietta van Beaumont:

⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1382.

⁵¹ The “fluit” *Huis de Vlotter* (528 tons), built in 1713 for the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC, arrived from Texel at the Batavia roadstead on June 20th, 1732.

⁵² Van den Belt (2008), pages 236-239, argued that the notion that protection and social position were decisive for a career in the ranks of the Company lacks a solid basis. He concluded from an analysis of the serial sources of the VOC servants at Ceylon in the eighteenth century that there was a substantial mobility from the lower ranks to the higher positions for a significant number of the European and ‘Asian’ servants of the Company. See also Schutte (1974), pages 32-38, who concluded in an analysis of the careers of the senior servants of the Company in the Dutch East Indies that social mobility was also possible for persons without influential relatives in patria or the Indies, although it took more years.

⁵³ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830 and 831. Repertorium op de personalia in de resoluties van gouverneur-generaal en raden, volume 3 and 4.

⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Maccassar 30 June 1746.

⁵⁵ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. Letter J.C. Loten to J.G. Loten, Utrecht 9 November 1746. See also Raat (2004) for transcription of the letter.

⁵⁶ Gualterus Petrus Boudaen (1704-1781), director of the VOC on behalf of the Amsterdam Chamber. His grandfather, Gualtherus Boudaen Courten (1637-1684), was a brother of Johan Boudaen Courten (1635-1716), who married Anna Maria Hoeufft, the sister of Loten’s grandmother.

⁵⁷ Abraham de Roos (1700-1746) departed as a junior merchant employed by the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC on the ship *Barneveld* to Batavia on 21 December 1721. He was elected councillor extraordinary by the Court of directors of the Compny on November 4, 1746. He died 1 March 1746 as commander of Jafnapatnam at Ceylon, so the message of his election as councillor extraordinary did not reach him before his decease. See NL-Ha.NA 1.04.02 nr 49; De Haan (1910), pages 44-45.

⁵⁸ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 50, Decisions Heren XVII, 11 November 1747. The Court of Directors in Amsterdam elected on the vacant extraordinary seats in the Indian Government: Jacob van der Wayen, chief of Jaffnapatnam, Petrus Albertus van der Parra, secretary of the Indian Government, Jurgen van der Spar, chief administrator at Colombo and Jan Huyghens, director of Bengal.

⁵⁹ HUA Familie Taets van Amerongen van Natewisch 23 nr 181. Letter J.C Loten and his wife to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 September 1748.

⁶⁰ On 14 December 1748 Loten was elected councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East Indies. NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 50, resoluties Heren XVII, 14 December 1748, afternoon.

⁶¹ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 2 April 1750. See also Raat (2004) for transcription of the letter.

⁶² Laurens Grothe (1708-1787) departed in 1735 as junior merchant from Texel to Batavia. From 1738 till 1743 he was resident at Tegal. In 1743 he went to Patria and settled in Utrecht. In 1758 (until 1761) he was elected in the Council of the West Indies Company, representing the Chamber Amsterdam for the Province of Utrecht. He married Johanna van Haeften, daughter of Nicolaas van Haeften and Sara Pedel in Semarang in 1738.. In 1746 he remarried Clara Elisabeth van Dam (1717-1790) in Utrecht. (HUA GC 750 nr 394).

Grothe probably invested successfully in the rice-trade at Tegal. In 1744 the VOC chamber Zeeland paid Laurens Grothe an assignment from Batavia of 10,000 ducats, or 36,000 guilders. In 1747 he received through the chamber of Zeeland from Batavia 4,853 ducats and 12 stuyvers, or 17,471 guilders. After 1747, when the parents of his wife had died, Laurens Grothe and his wife received substantial amounts of money from Batavia. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830 and 7049; NNBW I, 1000.

⁶³ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 2 April 1750.

⁶⁴ The letter was returned by Governor-General Jacob Mossel to Joan Gideon because Loten thanked him for returning a letter that was written by his father and mother to the former Governor-General Van Imhoff (TUL.TF-Hs 78, letter Colombo 19 February 1755).

⁶⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 January 1753.

⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 August 1753.

⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 2 November 1753, sent 25 January 1754. The reference to 'Hasselaar' is to mr. Gerard Arnout Hasselaar (1698-1766). He occupied several public functions. He was eleven times Burgomaster of Amsterdam. In 1738 he became director of the Dutch East India Company (Smit, Sanders & van der Veer, 1986). Hasselaar was a director of the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen in Haarlem since 1753. In August 1762 he presented the cabinet of the Holland Society a collection of 13.000 shells and several other naturalia (Bierens de Haan, 1952). These were partly from himself and partly from the collection of the in 1761 deceased Governor-general of the Dutch East Indies Jacob Mossel (1704-1761) (Sliggers, 2002). See also NNBW VIII, 704-705.

⁶⁸ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy archief nr 779. I. Sweers to J.G. Loten. The Hague 12 May 1754. Sweers referred to 'our old friendship, which started in our schooldays'. He also asked for Loten's patronage in Ceylon for several persons, his 'sous germain' the widow Van Vliet and her grandson Van Zyll and a corporal Everard van Hiltrop from Utrecht.

⁶⁹ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 53, decisions Heren XVII, 12 October 1754.

⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 October 1754. On October 11th 1754 the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC proposed "Jan Gideon Looten" as a councillor ordinary with maintenance of his government at Ceylon. NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 inv 267.

⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter Arnout Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 December 1754. Loten sent these rattangs 2 November 1753 from Colombo (HUA.GC 750 nr 1422).

⁷² Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften*, volume 1, page 162.

⁷³ Huib J. Zuidervaart & Tiemen Cocquyt in: *'Geverkte wiskonst, leen m'uw passer, lyn en hand'. De natuurfilosofische liebbeerjen en het instrumentenkabinet van de Amsterdamse burgemeester en VOC-bevindbeber Gerard Arnout Hasselaar (1698-1766)*. Huib Zuidervaart allowed the reference to this study in preparation.

⁷⁴ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 December 1754.

⁷⁵ NHMLMS page 2.

"Omtrent de fraaye roodagtige en witte vogels met lange staarten op Ceylon vallende zal Knox dienen te worden nagesien. [Note in the margin: dit te vermeerderen met d'aantekeningen nopens het gewigt en maat daar van in een brief van Janua. 1755. Aan den Heere Burgermr. Hasselaar t'Amsterdam te vinden en nog na te sien Seba Thesaurus die my voorstaat beyde deeze vogels te beschrijven als paradysvogels (uyt welk geslagt zij

my voorkomen te zijn) doch niet uyt Ceylon maar uit Banda of liever daaromstreeks aangebragt, d'afbeelding door die Heer gegeven komt redelyk over een doch gebreklyk als waarschynlyk gedaan]”.

The letter and watercolour were not retraced. There are three watercolours of the Ceylonese paradise flycatcher, *Terpsiphone paradisi ceylonensis* (Zarudny & Härms, 1912), in the London Loten collection: NHM.LC. 42, 41bis and 43.

⁷⁶ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 53, decisions Heren XVII, 3 April and 12 April 1755.

⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letters Arnout Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 19 May 1755 and September 25, 1755.

⁷⁸ After he left the Amsterdam Latin School Guillelmus Titsingh (1733-1803) became youngest clerk of the Amsterdam VOC-Chamber in March 1750. In June 1756 he took a degree as Doctor of law from Leiden University by defending a dissertation *De Appelationibus*. See Habermehl (1987). *Guillelmus Titsingh*, pages 83-84.

⁷⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426 Concept letter Arnout Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 3 December 1756. Although scratched out the passage is still legible. The directors' dissatisfaction was probably related to Mossel's handling of the VOC's affairs (i.e. the Bantam Revolt and the Third Javanese War) in Java and Bengal, where the English, under the leadership of Robert Clive (1725-1774), were expanding their territorial power and commercial position.

⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426 Concept letter Arnout Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 27 October 1757, with postscript dated 31 October 1757.

⁸¹ NA-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 269. Proceedings 13 October 1757 VOC Chamber Amsterdam:

Laatstelyk is geleezen een missive van den Gouverneur Generaal Mossel, gedateert Batavia, 30 November 1756, en geadresseert aan de vergadering van 17e, houdende een verzoek van ontslag uit het generalaat van India, met beede;

1e Dat het aan zyne keuze mag gelaten worden omme te Batavia onder gewoone eere en douceurs te mogen verblyven, dan wel

2e Naar zyne verkiezing te mogen repatrieeren in commando, zoals het aan veele zyner voorzaten was geaccordeert.

3e En dat hem wyders moge worden vergunt, by verblyf als oud generaal te mogen behouden acces tot de vergadering van de Hooge Indiaasche Regeering met de tweede concludeerende stem, volgend die van den Regeerenden Generaal, zonder daarom de Compagnie in het minst ten lasten te willen zyn, buyten het gewoon genot zyner afgegaane voorzaaten.

Daarop gedelibreert zynde is goedgevonden voors: missive over te laten ter dispositie van de vergadering van 17e dog niet te min de twee oudste Heeren uyt ieder departement, die egter door een ander Heer uit hetzelfde departement zullen mogen worden vervangen mits deezen te verzoeken en te committeeren om met en benevens de advocaaten van de Comp. voors. Missive te examineeren en van derselver consideratien, omtrent, de daarby voorkomende zaaken aan deeze vergadering ouvertures te doen.

⁸² NA-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 173 and 55. Proceedings Heren XVII, 13 October 1757 and 27 October 1757.

⁸³ NA-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 174, Proceedings Heren XVII, 17 April 1758. Discussion point number 16.

⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother Arnout. London 7 January 1780. This incident was described in 1991 in more detail by Mrs L. van Zalinge-Spooren, based on documents in the Helmond Municipal Archive. Gemeente Archief Helmond collectie Van der Brugghen van Croy nr 777. Protocollen van criminele zaken opgesteld als fiscaal op Noord- en Oostkust van Java ten behoeve van het hoofdkantoor van de Raad van Justitie te Semarang 1733-1738. See Van Zalinge-Spooren (1991).

⁸⁵ R Emmelink (1994), page 81.

⁸⁶ Loten referred to: *Deuteronomy* 17, 3: And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded; *Deuteronomy* 17, 5: Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman, which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones, till they die.

⁸⁷ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2295, February 22, 1734. See also R Emmelink (1994), page 81.

⁸⁸ See R Emmelink (1994), pages 81-82, 89, 91-93, 100-103.

⁸⁹ See Rummelink (1994), pages 103-104.

⁹⁰ TUL.TF-Hs75. Letter P.C. Paques de Chavonnes and wife. Batavia 16 March 1737; C.W. Verdion widow Duijvesz. Batavia, 17 May 1737; 23 May 1737; 29 July 1737. She had been accompanied from Semarang to Batavia on the ship *Beekvliet* by Anna Henrietta's sister Christina Jacoba van Beaumont, who came over from Batavia to Semarang in March 1737 especially for this purpose.

⁹¹ TUL.TF-Hs75. Announcement marriage C.W. Verdion and P.H. Schook, Batavia 6 August 1737; Letter N. Steinmetz to J.G. Loten. Batavia 8 September 1737.

⁹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1393 p 133-34. An illustration of Loten's attachment to the Crul family is in a letter to his wife, written 6 September 1750: 'but the worst news that captain Podang told me is that mrs Crul is ill, I hope that this is not true.' (HUA.GC 750 nr 1376).

⁹³ Rummelink (1994), page 120-121.

⁹⁴ Rummelink (1994), pages 103-104.

⁹⁵ Rummelink (1994), pages 109-110.

⁹⁶ TUL.TF-Hs 75. letter A. Valkkenier to J.G. Loten. Batavia 31 May 1737 in which he thanks Loten for his congratulations upon his appointment as Governor-General. According to De Haan (1910), page 45, De Roos owed his best appointments to the patronage of governor-general Valkkenier. TUL.TF-Hs 75, letter A. De Roos to J.G. Loten. Batavia 25 November 1735. Letter J.P. Schaghen to J.G. Loten. Batavia 7 November 1737, in which Schaghen informs Loten that he has succeeded the deceased Julius Blom as Director-General.

⁹⁷ Rummelink (1994), page 139.

⁹⁸ Rummelink (1994), pages 137-149.

⁹⁹ De Haan (1910), page 44 refers to the position at Onrust as 'an extremely attractive position'.

¹⁰⁰ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2548, April 3, 1741 and annotation in Loten documents NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425.

¹⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422: A.H. Loten to A. Loten. Semarang 26 June 1743. GAH.BC inv. 757: A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen (mother Joan Gideon) to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 2 April 1750: 'the Chinese at Samarang have caused a painful cut in his finances'.

¹⁰² Rummelink (1994), page 131.

¹⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 46.

¹⁰⁴ Rummelink (1994), pages 149-161.

¹⁰⁵ In TUL.TF-Hs. 75 there are several documents relating to the departure of Van Imhoff as Governor-General to Batavia in 1742 (nrs 2, 3) and his testament (nrs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9). Among the 12 documents in this file three numbers relate to Governor-General Jacob Mossel: Memoir about the Kingdom of Jaccatra (nr 10) and the funeral of Lucretia van Nordens (nrs 11 and 12).

¹⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Samarang 25 August 1780. In January 1742, Schaghen left Batavia as commander of the Return Fleet. On September 1st 1742, he arrived at the Texel roadstead in the ship *Welterreden*, two months prior to Van Imhoff's return to Batavia.

¹⁰⁷ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 165. See also De Haan (1910), page 128*.

¹⁰⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425 nr 4. Also mentioned by Veth (1860). *Journal van Capitein Herbert Sam van schip Adrichem van Batavia na Macassar 2 maart 1744-24 maart 1744.*

¹⁰⁹ RP-T-00-3243. Drawing on paper 31 x 20 cm in Indian ink. Annotations on drawing: “1e gezigt langs Java’s Noord Oost kust”. “in ’s comp.^s schip Adrichem seijlende van Batavia na Macassar den 8^e Maart 1744, gepeijld met een regt leggend. Compas.”

RP-T-00-3244. Drawing on paper 31 x 20 cm in Indian ink. Annotations on drawing: “4e gezigt, langs Java’s Noord Oost kust”. “in ’t Schip Adrichem op de reijze na Macassar den 12ⁿ Maart 1744”.

RP-T-00-3241. Drawing on paper 31 x 20 cm in Indian ink. Annotations on drawing: “5e gezigt, langs Java’s Noord Oost kust”. “6^e Gezigt land Java’s Noord Oost kust”. “in ’t Schip Adrichem op de reijze na Macassar den 12ⁿ Maart 1744”.

RP-T-00-3242. Drawing on paper 20 x 31 cm in Indian ink. Annotations on drawing: “7e gezigt, het Eyland Lubok, als men 4 ½ a 5 mylen van het selve is – In ’t Schip Adrichem op de reijze na Macassar den 13^e maart 1744”

NA.MIKO Johan Gideon Loten W19 and W20. Three views along Java’s Northeast coast.

¹¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 53.

¹¹¹ A Gregorian telescope is a reflecting telescope that has a paraboloidal primary mirror and a hyperboloidal secondary mirror; light is brought to a focus through an aperture in the center of the primary mirror. James Gregory was a Scottish mathematician and astronomer of the seventeenth century and he is credited with having designed the first practical reflector telescope (1663). In 1746 Loten’s mother sent a Gregorian telescope to Loten. Helmond Municipal Archive. Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. Letter A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 October 1746.

¹¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1412. The manuscript with annotations is incomplete and covers the period 24 March-15 August 1744; October 1744; 12 June-21 August 1745; short notes about trips in September 1746, 1747, April 1749 and September 1750. The manuscripts contain two descriptions of his trips in 1744 in the district of Macassar. Evidently Loten or a copyist made a second, slightly different version. It also includes several pages of the daily register of governor-general Van Imhoff’s journey to eastern Java (24 March 1746-10 June 1746). The eight pages are a part version of the official daily register of the journey and cover the period Friday 29 April 1746 until Monday 9 May 1746. Although the handwriting agrees with Loten’s in the 1750s and 1760s, he was no part of the entourage of the governor-general. There are several letters written by Loten in the same period from Macassar. The daily register of Van Imhoff’s journey was published in 1853: *Reis van den Gouverneur-Generaal Van Imhoff, over Java, in het jaar 1746. Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Neêrlands Indië*, volume I, K. Fuhri The Hague, pages 291-440. The manuscript in the Loten collection relates to pages 382-390.

¹¹³ The memoir of Governor Adriaan Hendrik Smout to his successor Joan Gideon Loten, dated 1 June 1744, is in the VOC archive of the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 8220 mks. Smout asked for his relief from Macassar (*Generale Missiven* volume X, Van Imhoff 31 december 1743).

¹¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 126

¹¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Loten’s *Bell’s Common place book*, contains several annotations about his tenure at Macassar. On pages 126 there is an annotation about Smout and his garden at Macassar.

¹¹⁶ See Roessingh (1986), pages 152-154. In the Tilburg University Library Theologische Faculteit, Haaren collection, HS 47 (Haaren nov 54-55) is a copy in two volumes bound in leather of the trade of the kingdom of Macassar (1666-1669) by Cornelis Jansz. Speelman (1628-1684). In the National Archive The Hague there is another copy of the Speelman Report (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv.1524, 2 volumes). This copy was part of Loten’s library and is mentioned in the 1789 auction catalogue of his library.

¹¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Macassar 30 June 1746

¹¹⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 426. *Memorie betreffende het manument der voornaamste zaaken tot Macassar ... ter ordre van zijn Edelheid den Hoog Wel Gebooren Gestrengen Groot Agtbaaren Heer Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff gouverneur Generaal en de Wel Edele Heeren Raaden van Nederlands India, aan den Heer Mr Cornelis Rosenboom geelgeerd Gouverneur en Directeur wegens de Generale Nederlandsche Oost Ind: Comp: to Macassar tot narigt overgegeeven door den Gouverneur Joan Gideon Loten op zijn vertrek als Raad Extraordinair van India na Batavia*. The *Memorandum* is dated 17 October 1750. Also a copy in NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2761. The draft version of the *Memorandum* and a copy are also in Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. The document was published by Grothe (1853) with an introduction by professor P.J. Veth.

¹¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1412. In his 1750 *Memorandum* Loten advised his successor to keep to the contracts of the VOC with the indigenous allied states as the safest way to be successful in the government of Celebes. See Grothe (1853), pages 36-37.

¹²⁰ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 1524. Two folio volumes in Loten's handwriting, with remarks and corrections by Loten, 834 pages. The remarks show that at least until 1784 Loten consulted the Speelman Report. See also Stapel (1936), page 73 and Noorduyt (1983).

¹²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1412. They went to Goa, 1½ hour removed from Macassar. They visited the graves of Radja Palacca, King of Bony, and that of the late King of Goa. They paid a visit to the current King Mappa, the eleven-year-old brother of the former King. There they also met King Mappa's father, Sapi Oedin, King of Tello and regent of Goa, and his mother Aroe Palacca.

¹²² An example is Loten's description of the ritual of the Celebes people to confirm their loyalty to the Treaty of the VOC with its allies. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, pages 50-52 and 58.

“Het Kanjeren [= ‘demonstrating esteem or respect’] der Celebische Volkeren: dit heb ik twee maal gezien, voor de puy van 't gouvernement's huis binnen de Citadel Rotterdam te Macassar; 't is een soort van solemnele bevestiginge van getrouwheid aan het algemeen Bondgenootschap op Celebes, dat de princen en Vasallen van 't zelve uitdrukken zo met woorden, op het ruime plein aldaar niet alleen, maar ook met lighaamlyke exercitie en die met hunnen wapenen naar 's Land's wijze met assagay of korte piek en kriss onder het behendig en niet onbevallig schermen met dezelve verzeld met active sprongen en gebaarden zig zelve dikwijks dat het schuim op de mond staat opwekkende tot een schynbaare vertooninge van heroïsm, terwyl hunnen kleeding en toerusting met hooge en cierlyke pluimagien op fraaije kostelijke mutsen, topjes, en andere soorten van hoofddeksels, met gemaliede borstrokken die sommige over zijde, damaste of fluweele Vesten hebben, sommige ook met een soort van harnessen bestaande uit eene menigte van kopere platen cierlyk in malkanderen [insert Loten's sketch] op deeze wijze op eene pliable wijze sluitende; ik heb verscheidenen malie borstrokken gezien, die men in een doos niet grooter als het dikke van een pint's bottel in de zak konde draagen, behalven dat is hun gelaat, gebaar en toerusting zeer fraai, en Martiaal inzonderheid dat der Maccassaren en veele der Boegineesche princen; ik heb den beroemden Caraëng Tanete dit zien verrichten en duizend anderen zo dat er wel anderhalf uren tyds verloopt en deeze soort van militaire Eedfineeringe en monsteringe volcindigd is. Aanzienlyke Celebische Hoofden Luiden die tot zekeren ouderdom waren gekomen verrichten dit meerendeels met eene statelyke deftigheid, zoals onze brave Craëng Galisson, gemeenlyk Crain Glisson genaamd. Sommige in tegendeel voornaamelyk die tot Boeton behooren met eene wat na 't onbeschofte zweemende lomphheid en het air van pofhanssen [=‘braggarts’] die aan drie man zeven armen dreigen af te houwen, deeze boutonders zyn ook veelyds bloode guijlen [=‘spineless fellows’] en draagen algemeenlyk aan de gewesten hunner brede sabels een grooten lokhayrs zo zij zeggen hunner vyanden overwonnene – het spreekwoord qui menace a peur – heeft veel applicatie op hen. D'Heer Smout verhaalde my in 1744 dat het met onze troupen zeer kwaad krijsende op Celebes in eene actie, waar veele Europeanen en trouwe inlanders verloor, hij deed wat hy konde om de Boutonsche auxiliaren te beweegen om den vyand aan te vallen en hun bystand, nu hoog tyd en nood zynde, te geeven; maar al te vergeefs geen ander antwoord krygende dan «heb nog wat geduld, als de Hollanders eens verslagen zyn zal je zien wat mannen wy Boetonders zijn»”.

In Loten's copy of Cornelis Speelman's Report of Macassar (1670), Loten remarked (volume I, page 1880) that ‘canjeren’ was an ‘old pagan custom of the people of Celebes’.

¹²³ The reference is to Joost van den Vondel's poem on the occasion that the directors of the VOC gave Crain Patingaloan a globe. Vondel, *Werken*, Amsterdam 1927-1937, volume V, page 495.

¹²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 48. Loten referred to a poem that Joost van den Vondel wrote about the victory of Cornelis Speelman in 1669 at Macassar. The Bouginese Prince Arung Palakka supported Speelman against the Sultan of Macassar. A print (51x55 cm) of this victory together with the poem by Vondel was made by Romeijn de Hooghe (Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam DO746 catalogue A.1656 (09)).

¹²⁵ Grothe (1853), *Memorandum* under number 51, pages 32-33.

¹²⁶ 22 October 1779 Loten wrote in his *Bell's Common Place Book* about the two Harthold daughters. “Maria Harthold married Godfr. Cor. Meurs and her elder sister Philippina married God. Lud. van Beusechem. Maria Harthold died before 1749, her husband returned to Patria in October 1777”. HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, pages 126-127.

¹²⁷ In one of his notebooks (HUA.GC 750 nr 153) he gave a description of the corre corre:

[A]t Macassar I had one that had 2 good cabins one with 3 and the other with 2 sliding windows on the sides, thus 10 all together, and a door on the front- and back side, I think with 36 roars. In beautiful weather it was very agreeable. I have seen several with 3 roars above each other.

In his notebook he also gave short descriptions of a gonting, a paduaker, pantsialang and praow palari.

¹²⁸ RP-T-00-3252. Drawing on paper 44 x 64.5 cm in Indian ink. In London the drawing was engraved in 1775 by the Italian artist Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815). In November 1775 however, the engraving was 'spoiled', during the shipwreck of the ship that carried Loten's luggage from England to Holland.

¹²⁹ Reference to Cornelis Speelman (1628-1684). In 1667 Speelman captured Macassar and founded the fortress Rotterdam. Speelman was Governor-General from 1681 until 1684.

¹³⁰ RP-T-00-3229. Drawing in pen and brush on paper 20 x 15.5 cm. Waterfall near Maros, Sulawesi. Annotations on drawing: "Waterval in het gebergte Bantimoerong A.J." Verso: "This water-fall I drew upon the spot it self we went thither on horseback from Maros on Celebes from which is distant 6 Engl. miles." Reproduced in Zandvliet (2002)

RP-T-00-3230. Drawing in pen and brush on paper 36.5 x 44 cm. Waterfall near Maros, Sulawesi. Annotations on drawing: "Waterval in het gebergte Banti "moerong" zie kleine tekening". Reproduced in Zandvliet (2002)

RP-T-00-3231. Drawing in pen and brush on paper 35 x 58 cm. Mountain landscape 20 miles from Macassar. Two figures are depicted in the entrance of a cave. Annotations on drawing: "De uitgang van het Liangbatorang aan d'Oost zijde. Ian of the spelunc that Mess^{rs} Thomas Whyt and John Michel Aubert went thro' about the year 1748 or 1749 in presence of me J.G. Loten, the sound of the Trumpet resounded not less than 17 times before the entrance A". "On the Island Celebes about 18 or 20 Eng. miles from the citadel at Macassar to the NNE."

RP-T-00-3233. Drawing in pen and brush on paper 386 x 586 mm. Sulawesi. Annotations on drawing: Annotation in Loten's handwriting: "De BOELO SEPONG of de berg met een boom doorgaans met holligheden en spelonken leggende ¾ uur rydens van de schans Valkenburg op Soenedjirang tot MAROS." Unsigned, attributed to J.G. Loten.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W14. Chart drawing in pen and brush. Tochtje naar waterval Bantimoerong bij Maros op Celebes. Reproduced in Zandvliet (2002).

NL-HaNA.MIKO W15. Chart drawing in pen and brush. Tochtje naar waterval Bantimoerong bij Maros op Celebes. Slightly different from W14.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W6. Drawing pen and brush. Waterval in het gebergte Bantimoerong van d'overstaande zijde te zien.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W7. Drawing in pen and brush. Gezigt hetwelk men in de kom na het westen heeft.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W8. Drawing in pen and brush. D'ingang van het Liangbatorang gelijk men aan de westzijde ziet.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W9. Drawing in pen and brush. De tweede waterval in het gebergte Bantimoerong.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W10. Drawing in pen and brush. Gezigt uyt de kom na 't oosten.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W11. Drawing in pen and brush. De groote spelonk na het oost ziende en na het west ziende.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W12. Drawing in pen and brush. De Boeloe Sepong (Boeloe Sapong/ Lepong) als doorsneeden vertoond langs de doorgaande toegankelijke spelonk.

¹³¹ 'An Account of the Tailor Bird, with a Description of an Indian Forest; from Mr. Pennant's Indian Zoology', pages 83-85 in: *The annual register, or a view of the history, politics, and literature, for the year 1770*. London, 1771, page 84.

¹³² HUA.GC 750 nr 1412.

5 August Boeton island

7 – Siang

8 & 9 nb the 8th through a deep valley

10 & landed headed to Maros

first on horseback to Bonto Draio 1 hour and from there 3 hours with ship on the river Chiancere arrived at Cassidjialla, from there on horseback arrived after about two hours at Maros

12 to the Boelo Sepong

14 stag hunting (La Sato-pohon)

16 again to the Boelo Sepong

18 to the waterfall in the mountains and forest named more than 2 hours on horseback. I visited this beautiful waterfall again in September 1750.

21 to spelunk and the passage through the mountain inspected by Thomas Whyt – Jan Michiel Aubert, 2 hours on horseback. At the entrance the names: Domingo 1690 . 99 – also Olivier Buck 1705.

Thomas Whyt or Whijts was "equipagie meester" at Macassar. Loten mentioned him as a diligent man in his 1750 memorandum (see Grothe, 1853, pages 32-33).

¹³³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife. Seboeton 11 and 15 May 1748. He remarked that he could not celebrate his anniversary at home.

¹³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife. Patiana 15 August, Maros 27 August, Mandelli 5 September 1749. HUA.GC 750 nr 1456. J.G. Loten to his daughter. Mandelli 5 September 1749.

¹³⁵ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 1524, volume 1, page 232.

¹³⁶ RP-T-00-3232. Drawing in pen and brush 37 x 59 cm. Macassar Governments hospital and house and garden of the Governor. Annotations on drawing: “Gouvernement’s buiten-hospitaal. Gouverneurs’particulier huis en tuin, Waakzaamheid [in pencil], Particuliere huizen en Tuinen langs de Rij-weg na Bontualoc. De Vigne’s part. Tuin [in pencil], Tuin &c van het gouvernement, Grafstede van Hr. v Arrewynen, Redoute Manderfana, Weg naat Goah”.

RP-T-00-3234. Drawing in pen and brush 37 x 59 cm. Sulawesi. Annotations on drawing: Annotation by Joan Gideon Loten: “Citadel at Maccassar on Celebes from the land-side a° 1750. Drawn on the spot by J. Aubert, who died being chief of Calpetty, under the gouvern^t of Ceylon.”

RP-T-00-3235. Drawing in pen and brush 37 x 59 cm. Sea view from Celebes. Left side shows Macassar and the castel Rotterdam. Right side the corner of Pannakokan. Sulawesi. Annotations on drawing: “DEUS nobis hoc otia fecit SD Gloria London 16 Nov. 1779.” Further there are short descriptions of the details in the drawing. From left to right: “t hoofd voor ‘t kasteel Rotterdam”, “het Torentje op de kerk in ‘t kasteel”, “grafstede van mevrouw Beernink geboren Zijpesteijn”, “bergen en hoogland van Bantham zeer ver van Maccassar”, “Marissa buyten plaats van Brugman”, “ouderwets Oost Indisch Schip van 145 of 160 voet zoals die bouwden om 1710 &c”, “hoek Pannakokan”.

RP-T-00-3236. Drawing in pen and brush 35 x 56 cm. View from the sea of Macassar, Sulawesi. Annotations on drawing: “Gezigt van het kasteel ROTTERDAM met het dorp VLAARDINGEN op Oedjong Pandang tot Macassar van de nieuwe Sabandhay tot aan de hoek van Pannakoekang te zien van de Vrymans rheedee.”

RP-T-00-3237. Drawing in pen and brush 35 x 56 cm. On the left side a fortification and in the background hills. On the right side a plain countryside with cows, two houses and an inlander. Sulawesi.

RP-T-00-3238. Drawing in pen and brush 37 x 59 cm. View from the sea of coastal settlement at Celebes (Sulawesi). In the foreground two local sailingboat and a sloop with the Dutch flag. Annotations on drawing: Annotation in Loten’s handwriting: “getekend a° 1749 a 1750.”

RP-T-00-3240. Drawing in pen and brush 18 x 31 cm. Annotations on drawing: Annotation in Loten’s handwriting: “Het hooge Land van Logeny op Celebes, als men 2 ½ mylen omtrent uyt de wal is. 1749”. Verso: “uitgeleend aan Dalrymple”.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W 16. Drawing in pen and brush. Attributed to Joan Gideon Loten. View on a small outpost at Celebes, probably Maros

NL-HaNA.MIKO W 13. Drawing in pen and brush. Attributed to Ns Narda and made for Joan Gideon Loten. “Gesigt van enege negorijen be ooste de Post van Maros”.

¹³⁷ Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the library of the University of Leiden BLP 2038. The dedication on first page of the maps reads:

“These maps are collected and drawn according to the newest observations by order of the Councillor of the Netherlands India and Governor of Macassar Joan Gideon Loten by me Iean Michel Aubert bookkeeper in service of the Hon. Company and interpreter in the Malay language in the Year 1749”.

¹³⁸ The collection of maps of the island of Celebes in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the library of the University of Leiden (BLP 2038 and BLP 3052A). Seven charts of Celebes, in the collection of Nationaal Archief, The Hague. Mentioned in P.A. Leupe’s Inventaris der Verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijks-Archief, volume I, p. 192-193, M. Nijhoff, Den Haag 1867.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1295. Drawing in pen and brush. 51 x 72.5 cm. Land-kaart van Celebes West-kust behelzende Meerendeels de Rijkjes van Mandhar, mitsgaders het rijk van Aganiondjeo of Tanette, de vorstendommen van Sawitto, Mario, met een gedeelte van Sopeng, Sideenring Toradja beneffens het westelijke zoete meir. J.M. Aubert fecit Ao. 1752.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1296. Drawing in pen and brush. 51 x 72.5 cm. Land-kaart van Celebes Zuidwest kust behelzende het Rijk en gebied van Maccassar, mitsgaders het rijkje van Toeratea, Lamoeroe, Sageebi, en eenige bijlegende landstreken. J.M. Aubert fecit.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1297. Drawing in pen and brush. 51 x 72 cm. Land-kaart van de Zuid Eind van de bogt van Boni behelzende het gebied van Boeloecomba en een gedeelte van het rijk en gebied van Boni, Toeratea, Maccassar en Lamoeroe, beneffens het noort eind van ‘t Eyland Zaleyser. J.M. Aubert fecit Ao. 1752.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1298. Drawing in pen and brush. 51 x 72.5 cm. Land-kaart van de Noordeind van de Bogt van Boni, behelzende een gedeelte van het Rijk van Boni en Sopeng, Loewoe en Sideenreng, mitsgaders het

land van Wadjo en het Oostelijkste zoete meir beneffens het vermaarde Revier van Tjinrana Boni. J.M. Aubert fecit Anno 1752.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1299. Drawing in pen and brush. 53 x 88.5 cm. Cartouch bottom left open. In Leupe (1867): “Kaart van een gedeelte van de West en Zuid-kust van Celebes, bevattende de ryljes Glissong, Sanderbony, Polombangking, Tratea an Boeloecomba, benevens de eilanden Tanakeke en de Boezeroens enz.” Not signed.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1300. Drawing in pen and brush. 74 x 53 cm. De bogt van Boni. Not signed.

NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1301. Drawing in pen and brush. 63.5 x 70.5 cm. De bogt van Boni. Not signed.

NL-HaNA.MIKO W 21. Gezicht van Celebes Zuidwestkust.

¹³⁹ In 1775 Loten owned the two travel books by the Dutch painter Cornelis de Bruyn (1652-1727). The illustrated report of his lengthy tour to the Levant, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia, de eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c.* (1698) and the *Reizen over Moskovie*, published in 1711; Loten owned the 1714 edition. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1393).

¹⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 49.

¹⁴¹ J. F. Scheltema (1907). The Opium Trade in the Dutch East Indies. I. *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, pages 79-112, especially page 86. Scheltema referred to the study of the future Dutch minister J.C. Baud (1853). Proeve van eene geschiedenis van den handel en het verbruik van opium in Nederlandsch Indië. *Bijdragen tot de taal, land-, en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* volume I: 79-220.

J.F. Scheltema (1851-1922) had been editor of *De Locomotief* at Semarang (1883-1886; 1895-1897) and became chief editor of the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (1900-1902). According to a biographical note at the end of his publication in *The American Journal of Sociology*, in 1903 “he was imprisoned for the publication of some observations on the opium-policy of the Dutch government, too true to be tolerated in a Dutch dependency”. J. F. Scheltema (1907). The Opium Trade in the Dutch East Indies. II. *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, pages 224-251, especially page 251.

¹⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1382. Loten erroneously wrote 5 November 1750 as date of his arrival. He arrived 1 November 1750 at the Batavia roadstead. November 3 he was introduced in the High Government (*Generale Missiven* XII, page 75).

¹⁴³ Jacob Mossel born Enkhuizen 28 November 1704 died in Batavia on 15 May 1761, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies 1 November 1750 until 15 May 1761. The States General of the Dutch Republic appointed him Lieutenant-General of the infantry and in 1754 General of the infantry.

¹⁴⁴ *Generale Missiven* XII, page 75.

¹⁴⁵ Bruijn (2008), pages 142-143,

¹⁴⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 17 December 1780. See also Loten’s reference to the ship *Herstelder* (1150 ton) in his *Bell’s Common place book* (HUA.GC 750 nr 1393). This ship was bought in 1741 by the VOC-Chamber Amsterdam from the Amsterdam Admiralty. The former 150 feet warship *Edam* was designed by Charles Bentam. The *Herstelder* departed on October 27, 1742 from Texel to Batavia. The nine passengers included Governor-General Van Imhoff and seven servants. Van Imhoff was enthusiastic about the ship. In 1742 the Heren XVII decided to build VOC ships according to the Bentam model.

¹⁴⁷ In the *Generale Missiven* Governor-General Jacob Mossel mentioned Loten’s activities in cartography as very useful. (*Generale Missiven*, volume XII, 30 December 1752, page 271-272; 31 December 1753, page 383).

¹⁴⁸ Bruijn (2008), pages 224-225.

¹⁴⁹ Robidé van der Aa (1881) gave a detailed description of the Bantam revolt and published documents of Loten’s role as a Commissary of the VOC in this conflict. The outline of the revolt in this section is taken from his study.

¹⁵⁰ George Tammo Falck (1714-1793). Loten met him in the Hieronymus school in Utrecht. Like Loten, Falck also rose in the ranks of the VOC. In 1736 Falck came as a junior merchant to Batavia. In January 1738 he became keeper of the VOC-warehouse at the Coromandel coast; in July 1741 Head of the settlement Binlipatnam; in June 1743 merchant and fiscal at Nagatpatnam; in August 1747 senior merchant and head of the administration at Bantam; in January 1749 Commander at Bantam. In 1750 Falck married Theodora Adriana Crielaart (b. 1732). In 1751 he returned to Patria. According to Robidé van der Aa (1881) in 1752 Falck returned in bad health to Patria,

where he died in 1754. This seems to be an error, because George Tammo Falck was in coach number 9 at Joan Gideon's funeral in March 1789 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1399).

See HUA Stedelijk Gymnasium 29; NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830; De Jonge *et al.*, 1862-1909 volume X; *Nederlands Adelsboek* 1940 pages 561-563; Robidé van der Aa (1881); Frits van Dulm personal communication.

¹⁵¹ Robidé van der Aa (1881), page 12, suggested that Mossel in earlier days 'had looked too deep in her dark eyes'.

¹⁵² Jan Cornelis Convert, born in Lisse, came in 1746 as a major to Batavia (Robidé van der Aa, 1881, page 104). In 1751 he was sent by the High Government to Bantam. He departed to Patria in 1755.

¹⁵³ Loten was appointed as colonel of the burgher militia June 15th 1751, as successor of Daniël Overbeek. After his departure to Colombo Loten was succeeded by Councillor extraordinary Huijbert Willem van Bazel. Source *Generale Missiven* XII, pages 173 and 270.

¹⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to his father, J.C. Loten and brother, A. Loten. Colombo 29 January 1755.

¹⁵⁵ For Pieter van der Velde and Nicolaas Hartingh see De Haan (1910), pages 49-56.

¹⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife A.H. van Beaumont. Buytenzorg 18 November 1751; 29 November 1751

¹⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 November 1780. It is highly improbable that Loten received his appointment at Ceylon before his mission to Bantam. His predecessor Gerard Johan Vreeland died February 28th 1752 at Colombo, which information could not be known in March 1752 at Batavia when Loten became commissary at Bantam. Loten was elected governor and director of Ceylon by the Indian Government on June 13th 1752, one month after he brought the Bantam commission to an end.

¹⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 November 1780.

¹⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 December 1780. The final report is in the TUL.TF-Hs 77.

¹⁶⁰ Loten's correspondence with the Governor-General and the Council of the Indies in the TUL.TF-Hs 77.
"Speculative papieren III. Op Bantam gewisselde brieven met d'Edele Hooge Regeeringe &c mitsgaders verscheidene papieren betrekkelijk tot myne Commissie aldaar en eindelyk het besluit myner verkiezing tot het Gouvernement van Ceilon 1752. overzien 4 Aug: 1787".

¹⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife A.H. van Beaumont. Bantam 26 March 1752; 1 April 1752; 4 April 1752; 6 April 1752; 12 April 1752; 16 April 1752; 19 April 1752.

¹⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to his father and brother Arnout Loten. Colombo 29 January 1755.

¹⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to his father and brother Arnout Loten. Colombo, 29 January 1755.

¹⁶⁴ Hammans are thick cloths used as wraps and as bathing towels.

¹⁶⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife A.H. van Beaumont. Bantam 1 April 1752.

¹⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife A.H. van Beaumont. Bantam 4 April 1752.

¹⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780.

¹⁶⁸ TUL.TF-Hs 77. J.G. Loten to Council of the Indies. Bantam April 12, 1752, also published by Robidé van der Aa (1881: 101-107).

¹⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife A.H. van Beaumont. Bantam 16 April 1752.

¹⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London 9 October 1780 and 17 November 1780. Loten referred to 'a very untruthful historical account, clearly told by a high-ranking military officer who carefully protected the Commander so that he could safely enjoy the fruits of his plunder'. The reference was probably to Abbé Raynal's *L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770).

According to an unsigned letter from Batavia to J.G. Loten, possibly written by Van Rheden, Councillor extraordinary in the High Government at Batavia.

“De brigadier [= Jan Cornelis] Convert, die in procinctie staat, met de eerste scheepen te repatriëren, schaamt sig niet in publicque geselschappen, openhartig te declareeren, dat er nooit geen voordeel in geleegeen is geweest, met deesen G.... [=Governor-General Jacob Mossel] vriend te zijn, maar dat hij, uijt enkele vrees meer goed doet aan sijne vijanden als vrienden denkende daar door deselve, to sijne belangen waartoe hij de vriende niet meer van nooden heeft, over te haalen.

Ik condemneere dit verfoeijelijke seggen in den hoogsten graad, te meer hetselve voort komt van een kerel, die sulke groote verpligting aan onsen heer G.... [=Governor-General] heeft, dog moet nolens volens avouceren, dat de beste en intiemste vriende dewelke sig met postpositie van haar eigen belang zonder veinsen en in 't publicq voor sijne gevoelens g'interesseert hebben thans aan de slegste koop sijn en weinig van de lumpen trekken”.

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Letter to J.G. Loten. Batavia 24 August 1755.

¹⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his wife A.H. van Beaumont. Bantam 19 April 1752.

¹⁷² *Generale Missiven* volume XII, 6 June 1752, page 187.

¹⁷³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422 J.G. Loten to his brother Arnout Loten Colombo 3 November 1752

“...en ten opzichte van dit nieuw gouvernement, dat voor als nog my gantsch niet wel aanstaat: want tot heden zie 'k niet als schade voor de hand, en d'onvermydelyke depenses in myne commissie na Bantam een banquerot van rds. 6000, mitsgaders het toerustinge voor het Ceilons gouvernement en daar en boven een particulier present van 2 a 3000 rds. voor den keizer van Kandi, die nooit yets als een oude hellebaard of diesgelyk wederom geeft, hebben my, buiten hetgeen tot ons lyv behoord, geheel geruineerd..”

¹⁷⁴ See *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 63, December 1763 pages 404-460.

¹⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. Undated probably early 1774.

¹⁷⁶ Loten's natural history activities are described in the last chapter of this book.

¹⁷⁷ TUL.TF-Hs 77 contains a copy of the Proceedings of the Council of the Indies with Loten's appointment as Governor and Director of Ceylon. See also *Generale Missiven* XII, 5 October 1752, page 191.

¹⁷⁸ TUL.TF-Hs 77.

¹⁷⁹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425 number 7.

¹⁸⁰ RP-T-00. Drawing in pen and brush on paper 42.5 x 20 cm. “Het Princen-Eyland door John Michel Aubert voor my J.G.L. geschets op de reise na Ceilon 1752.” Not signed.

¹⁸¹ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 3 november 1752:

¹⁸² NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. The document includes a memoir to the Council of Policy at Ceylon and 7 annexes. The document is dated Colombo February 1756. See also annotation in HUA.GC 750 nr 1398.

¹⁸³ Copies of the poem are in the collection of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (bijzondere collecties 853 G 85) and HUA.GC 750 nr 1415. Moens arrived in 1751 as assistant-book-keeper in Ceylon. Adriaan Moens (1728-1792) made a successful career in the VOC ranks. After 19 years at Ceylon, he became governor, commander and director of Malabar (1770-1781). From 1781-1792 he was councillor of the East Indies Company and in 1783 he became director-general. In the Archive of the family Moens in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague, there is a poem for Adriaan Moens by his father dated January 3, 1751, written on the occasion of his journey to the East Indies. See also Marije Plooi (2003), Unpublished doctoraalscriptie University of Leiden, *Adriaan Moens (1728–1792) Dienaar der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*.

¹⁸⁴ HUA. GC 750 nr 1422 J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 3 November 1752.

¹⁸⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422 J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo, November 1753, sent 25 January 1754.

¹⁸⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1400. Undated letter A.H. Loten van Beaumont to the wife of A. Loten. Colombo, probably February or March 1754. Anna Henrietta referred to the sister of her mother, Gijsberta Johanna Blesius, who married the Governor of Ceylon (1716-1723), Isaac Augustinus Rumpf (1683-1723).

¹⁸⁷ HUA. GC 750 nr 1422 J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 3 November 1752. Arnout Loten ordered the books from Tirion in Amsterdam (HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter 1 October 1753). Loten also ordered from Tirion, ‘Ciceronis opera omnia, best edition, Pompon[i] Mela de Situ orbis [...] and also Theatre de la foire’. The reference is to Abraham Gronovius’ edition of Pomponios Mela’s, *Pomponii Melae de situ orbis libri III. Ad veterum exemplarium fidem castigati*. Leiden, Luchtmaniana, 1743.

In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library (HUA.Library 6629, number 3766/853), “Ptolomaei Tabulae Geographicae, Amst. 1730 pr.l.b.” is mentioned on page 2, number 21. This is a reference to Claudius Ptolemaeus Alexandrinus (ca 100-ca 170); Gerard Mercator (1512-1594). *Orbis antiqui tabulae geographicae, secundum Cl. Ptolemaeum [per Gerardum Mercatorem], cum indice philologico absolutissimo omnium locorum, montium, fluminum &c. in tabulis occurrentium, situm, nomina recentiora, & alia eo pertinentia, lineis per ipsas ductis, accuratissime indicante; in usum geographiae veteris studiosorum*. Amstelædami: apud R. & J. Wetstenios & Guil. Smith, 1730.

¹⁸⁸ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. Valentijn in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1726) published a learned discourse on the name Taprobane, which he took almost *verbatim* from a Portuguese source. See Arasaratnam (1978), pages 44 and 90-99.

¹⁸⁹ Reimers (1935), pages v and 6 and 57. See also chapters VI and VII in : L.S. Dewarata (1972), *The Kandyan Kingdom*, pages 94-150. The description of the Upasampadawa was taken from Dewarata (1972), pages 101-106. I am grateful to Dr. J. van Goor (Bilthoven), who put his copy of Mrs Dewarata’s thesis at my disposal.

¹⁹⁰ In 1754 the Candian Court showed itself very satisfied with the treatment by the Company of the monks from Siam. In the *Generale Missiven* volume XII, 31 December 1754, pages 462-463 is mentioned that in 1754 Governor Loten received from the King of Candy

“[E]en getande elifant, een goude ring met Ceylonese steentjes en een mes met goude heft, hetwelk men (uytgesondert de elifanten die voor de E. Compagnie aangenomen zijn) na ‘t oud gebruyk à costij ider heeft laten behouden, sonder taxatie, passerende teffens eenige geringe complaisances aan dat hof beweezen”.

See also Reimers (1935), page 6 and 58 about the three tusked elephants that the Candian Court had presented to the five Siamese ambassadors. The Company accepted the elephants from the ambassadors ‘under the guise of a gift, which we arranged for by a counter-gift of about half the value of those animals, thereby rendering it possible for a profit to be secured at Jaffnapatnam and freeing the Company’s ships of so disadvantageous undertaking’.

¹⁹¹ Reimers (1935), pages 22 and 74-75. See also Chapter 5, paragraph Dr James Hallifax.

¹⁹² Reimers (1935), pages 25 and 78. HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his parents. Colombo 9 November 1755.

¹⁹³ K.M. de Silva (1981), pages 164-165. In the *Generale Missiven* Mossel mentioned that Governor Loten ‘seems to aanwenden uysterste devoir’ in the planting of cinnamon trees near Colombo. See *Generale Missiven* volume XII, 31 December 1755, page 570.

¹⁹⁴ Reimers (1935), pages 31- 36, 42-43, 84-88, 95-96.

¹⁹⁵ K.M. de Silva (1981), pages 192-195.

¹⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his parents. Colombo 9 November 1755. Julius Valentijn Stein van Gollennesse (1691-1755) came from a German family but was born in Groel in Sweden. He joined the VOC as a sergeant in 1723. He was governor of Ceylon (1743-1751). In 1750 he became director-general of the VOC in Batavia. Stein van Gollennesse held this post from 1751 until his death in 1755. As director-general Stein van Gollennesse assembled an important collection of Indian hand-, head- and foot-jewellery from Surat. In 1754 he donated his collection to Princess Anna, regent for her son William V at the Dutch Stadholder’s Court. The collection is now in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (Zandvliet 2002, pages 237-239).

¹⁹⁷ Van den Belt (2008), chapter 1, especially pages 70-72 and 293-294.

¹⁹⁸ Van den Belt (2008), table 12, page 64..

¹⁹⁹ Reimers (1935), pages 50 and 103. See also chapter 2, paragraph 8, Ceylon.

²⁰⁰ Reimers (1935), pages 48 and 101. Both Governor Van Imhoff (1736-1740) and Commissioner Jacob Christiaan Pielat (1732-1734) Loten's predecessors at Ceylon, referred in their memoirs to their successor to the general slackness and inefficiency in the cadre of the Company's service. See Brohier (1978), page 164 and the memoirs of Van Imhoff and Pielat published by the Ceylon Government in 1911 and 1905.

²⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 46. Annotation circa 1778.

²⁰² Isis Stadsarchief Breda, Baptise register Dutch Reformed Church Breda 1686-1704. Archief IV-9 inv nr 29. Documents about George Beens and Loten's involvement are in Het Utrechts Archief, Grothe Archive and Notary Archive, TUL.TF-Hs 78, Archief Bisdom 's Hertogenbosch and Nationaal Archief The Hague, VOC archive.

²⁰³ For the Scots Brigade in the service of the Dutch Republic 1689 to 1782 see Childs (1984).

²⁰⁴ HUA.GC 750 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780; also London 13 May 1774.

²⁰⁵ HUA.NA U151a10 aktenr 84 dd 21-11-1728. Notary A. de Coole, Utrecht.

²⁰⁶ François Beens joined his parents in the Dutch Indies. In 1751 he lived in Utrecht. In July 1751 his father bought in his name the house "Kleyn Blanckenburg aan de Oude Gracht" In August 1753 he married Clarina van Loenen. In 1763 he is mentioned as a merchant in wines at Utrecht. In March 1764 François Beens, "assistant" of the VOC chamber Zeeland, and his wife and child departed with the ship *Vosmaar* to Batavia. According to a notary act of November 1772 he died as a widower without issue at Batavia. See HUA.NA U139a32 aktenr 18 dd 19-07-1751; U204a4 aktenr 69 dd 07-08-1753; U225a6 aktenr 84; U225a7 aktenr 28; U196a19 aktenr 77, dd 18-12-1772.

²⁰⁷ Agatha Catharina Beens married in Batavia Walter baron ten Haghuy, lieutenant-colonel of the VOC. According to documents in the Utrecht notary Archive, they were dead in 1751. George Beens was the guardian of their daughter Johanna Lucretia ten Haghuy. Loten mentioned a kind letter written 8 August 1748 from Batavia by Ten Haghuy, in which he shows his gratitude for the kindness that Loten had demonstrated to his father-in-law. See HUA.NA U184a17 aktenr 33, dd 09-02-1751; U195a3 aktenr 36, dd 24-11-1752. HUA.GC 750 nr 1422, copy inventory documents concerning Beens 21 July 1757; HUA.GC 750 nr 1404, undated annotation by Loten about Beens (*ca* 1776); Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778.

²⁰⁸ HUA GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 13 May 1774.

²⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. A.H. van Beaumont to A. Loten.

²¹⁰ Archive of the Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch inv. 664 nr 7. On the document is written: 'Memoir of character George Beens possibly by Jean Michel Aubert'. According to Loten's annotation, " ik kan mij niet zeker herinneren wiens schrift deeze ongetek^e memories of verklaringe is, mogelyk Aubert's die niet wel, een vreemdeling geb. zijnde, nederduijtsch schreef. 1776". The memoir about Beens's behaviour at Boelecomba agrees with testimonies in the Nationaal Archief by the King of Bony, the interpreter Willem Müller and his assistant Carre Mangressie (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2828).

²¹¹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 14196, *Scheepsoldijboek. Hartenlust*.

²¹² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830. Beens George resident Boelocomba became a junior merchant on October 17th 1745, he was dismissed as a resident August 29th 1749.

²¹³ HUA.NA U188a6 aktenr 72 dd 05-11-1744. Notary D. Oskamp, Utrecht. The document is signed by Joan Carel Loten and Mr Isaac van Schoonhoven, advocate at the Court of Utrecht. The extract of the letter in the notary document reads:

"Zeer waarde lieve vrouw, zusters, nicht, kinderen. Dit is nu mijn derde missive zederd 14 dagen etc. Ik ben dan geresolveert zijn HoogEd. te verzoeken voor myn vertrek na Macassar de Ed. Heeren Bewinthebbers aanschryvens te doen uwe passage te verlenen, mits betalende kostgeeven die daartoe staan en dan hebt uwe het nogh altoos in uEd keus hoe of wat te doen. Ik wensche zoo gaarne uE hier was etc., dan zoud ik zeker etc. Nu weet ik zoo waar niet meer, adieu Lieve vrouw en kinderen, suster, nicht en seer gedagh, weest vrolijk, 't is al wat men lief heeft.

Lieve vrouw etc etc, uE getrouwe man G. Beens Batavia 14 janry 1744.

P.S. ik hoop etc."

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- ²¹⁴ Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 22 January 1746.
- ²¹⁵ Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 19 March 1746 and 19 April 1746.
- ²¹⁶ Archive of the Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch inv. 664 nr 7.
- ²¹⁷ Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778.
- ²¹⁸ Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778.
- ²¹⁹ Archive of the Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch inv. 664 nr 7. The contents of this paragraph are based on this document.
- ²²⁰ HUA GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 13 May 1774.
- ²²¹ The Beens family included their granddaughter Johanna Lucretia ten Haghuys and her slave Rebecca. Rebecca received the permission of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company to return to Batavia on August 8th 1754. NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 267.
- ²²² Proceedings 6 March 1750 of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa, C. 128, pp. 46-47.
“Is aan den ondercoopman George beens, mitsg's den Adsistent Pieter Regnault en den gewezenen burger tot Batavia Dominicus Wolters, alle met het aanweesend Retour Schip Nieuwstad hier van Batavia aangekomen, gepermitteert, om vermits haare indispositie, nevens des eerstgemelden huijsvrouw, soon en seeker onder het opsig van hem George beens staande jongeling in naame Jan Ernst Knoest, hier aan de Caab soo lang te verblijven, tot dat in staat sullen sijn geraakt, om sig weeder 't Scheep te kunnen begeeven”.
- ²²³ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 inv 14196, *Scheepssoldijboek Hartenlust*. George Beens is registered under number 2.
- ²²⁴ DAS 7330.3. On 5 September 1750 the ship arrived at the Texel roadstead.
- ²²⁵ HUA.NA U162a27 aktenr 58 dd 26-12-1747. f 4 424.8 from VOC Middelburg.
HUA.NA U213a1 aktenr 27 dd 18-04-1748. Margaretha Constantia Beens, sister George Beens f 3 000.
HUA.NA U195a4 aktenr 18 dd 10-04-1756. f 26 320 from the VOC Amsterdam.
The 1747 and 1748 money transfers were also registered in the 'Register bevattende aantekeningen betreffende wissels, getrokken op de Republiek in Batavia, Ceylon, Bengalen, Malabar, China en Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1715-1755'. In 1750 the VOC chamber at Hoorn paid 6153 ducats, or 22,158 guilders from Batavia to George Beens' son Franciscus Beens at Hoorn. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049.
- ²²⁶ HUA GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780.
- ²²⁷ *Generale Missiven* volume XI, 31 December 1749, page 845.
- ²²⁸ *Generale Missiven* volume XII, 31 December 1750, page 16.
- ²²⁹ According to the Register of assignments of the VOC in 1750, 4923 ducats and 6 stuyvers were subtracted from the payment to Beens, being 17,723 guilders. Source NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049.
- ²³⁰ NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 inv 14196, *Scheepssoldijboek* (ship's pay-ledger) *Hartenlust*. George Beens is registered under number 2.
- ²³¹ NL-HNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 52, decisions Heren XVII, October 7, 1751. In November 1750, Beens had appointed ensign Willem van Ossenbergh and merchant Pieter Johan Bangeman as his representatives at Batavia. HUA.NA U139a31 aktenr 107, dd 18-11-1750. Notary J. Van Doorslag Utrecht.
- ²³² HUA.NA U195a3 aktenr 63, dd 3-12-1753.
- ²³³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. nrs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2828 Letter Van Clootwijk dated 19 October 1754 concerning Beens, including translation of the complaint of the King of Bony about the behaviour of Beens against his nephew Chala paneki and his wife. Also testimonies of Willem Muller and 2844 Missives Van

Clootwijk dated 25 May 1754, 10 October 1754 and 12 October 1754. The copies of the original documents are in Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778.

²³⁴ HUA.NA U195a4 aktenr 18 dd 10-04-1756. Beens received f 26 320 from the VOC chamber Amsterdam.

²³⁵ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778 J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Glisson 26 June 1748.

²³⁶ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778 J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 12 October 1748.

²³⁷ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. Concept-letter J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 5 February 1749. The beginning of the letter is “Eerzame, vrome”. On the concept is written that the letter was received the 17th [of February]. The preceding letters of Loten and Beens were not retraced among the documents.

²³⁸ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. Concept-letter J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 5 February 1749.

²³⁹ In his *Secrete Missive* from Macassar 9 June 1749 Loten had informed the Governor-general G.W. van Imhoff about the affairs in Boelecomba. (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2750).

²⁴⁰ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2750 *Secrete Missive* J.G. Loten to G.W. van Imhoff, Macassar 9 June 1749.

²⁴¹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2767. *Secrete missive* J.G. Loten to G.W. van Imhoff, Macassar 25 May 1750. Loten referred to his memoir dated 25 May 1750 in a copy of inventory documents concerning George Beens, 21 July 1757 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1422).

²⁴² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2767. *Secrete missive* J.G. Loten to G.W. van Imhoff, Macassar 15 June 1750.

²⁴³ *Generale Missive* volume XII, 31 December 1750, page 16.

²⁴⁴ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 426. The *Memorandum* is dated 17 October 1750. The paragraphs dealing with the incursion of the southern provinces of Celebes and the role of Beens are numbered in the memoir 12, 13, 46, 43 and 62. Also a copy in NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2761. The document was published by Grothe (1853).

²⁴⁵ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 426. See also Grothe (1853).

²⁴⁶ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2828. Document in Bonginese and in translation.

²⁴⁷ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2761. Origineele missive door de heeren afgaande en aankomende gouverneurs Loten en Rosenboom en raad geschreven [aan haar hoog edelens te Batavia] den 14 October 1750.

²⁴⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC. 1.04.02 inv.2761.

²⁴⁹ According to the *Succinct Betoog* of Jan Dirk van Clootwijk (page 2), the procedures against Frans Fransz were started after his escape from the Macassar prison by prosecutor Meurs, because the prosecutor Willem Camerling, who owed this position to Loten's protection, was connected with Fransz. The procedures lead to the verdict of banishment.

²⁵⁰ *Missive* 9 July 1751.

²⁵¹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2828. Testimony Willem Müller 21 October 1752; testimony Carre Mangressie 19 October 1752.

²⁵² Also mentioned in *Generale Missiven* XII, 30 December 1752, page 207.

²⁵³ Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, page 3.

²⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1414. J.D. van Clootwijk to Chistian Elserces (?). Ship *Schakenbosch* Roadstead Batavia 15 November 1751. In this letter Van Clootwijk refers to slanderous rumours about his initial poverty at Batavia and asks Elserces to make clear that he did not start these rumours. Van Clootwijk made his career at Macassar. In 1743 he became shopkeeper, in 1747 he was appointed prosecutor and in 1751 commander.

²⁵⁵ *Generale Missiven* XII, 31 December 1752, page 18.

²⁵⁶ *Generale Missiven* XII, 31 December 1751, page 104-105; 30 December 1752, page 208 and NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830 and 831 for the Proceedings of the Indian Government about the VOC career of Jan Dirk van Clootwijk.

²⁵⁷ Van Clootwijk's adopted children were:

1. Henriette van Clootwijk (Macassar 1749- Batavia 1806), adopted 5 January 1752, baptised 9 January 1752. She deceased 5 February 1806 at Batavia on the Tijgersgracht, buried 17 October 1809 at Batavia. In 1764 she married George Breemer (*d.* Batavia 1782), bookkeeper, 1779 secretary of police at Macassar, junior merchant 1781.
2. Hendrik van Clootwijk (*d.* Batavia 19 October 1751)
3. Jacoba van Clootwijk (Macassar 1752-*circa* 1795), adopted daughter of Jan Dirk van Clootwijk and the widow of Thomas Johannes Linckers. Married 1777 Axel Anthony Rosenquist (Macassar *ca* 1748-Macassar 1795), 1759 soldier, 1772-1776 assistant, 1782 sergeant, 1787 captain-lieutenant, 1795 former captain civil militia.
4. Jan Dirk van Clootwijk, adopted Macassar 18 May 1756, soldier 1768, junior merchant and secretary of police at Ambon, deceased 3 June 1795. Married 1777 at Macassar Maria Deefhout, daughter of Willem Deefhout, junior merchant and sabandaar at Macassar and Abigaël Fransz.

²⁵⁸ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. J. van Clootwijk to J.G. Loten. Macassar 4 May 1752.

²⁵⁹ Circa 1759 Van Clootwijk or his attorney published a *Succinct Betoog in zake van Jan Dirk van Clootwijk geweest zynde Gouverneur op de kust van Maccassar*, in which his involvement in the aftermath of the Boelecomba affairs was explained. A copy of this pamphlet is at present in the National Library of Australia RBF 991.2 SUC. Another copy is in the National Archive The Hague (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 4853).

²⁶⁰ Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, page 3. Van Clootwijk referred to the *Secrete Missive* dated 9 September 1752 that he received 9 November 1752.

²⁶¹ *Generale Missiven* XII, 31 December 1753, page 305.

²⁶² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2828. Three documents: *Notul de dato 5 December 1753 rakende mondelinge versoek van den gedetineerde Willem Camerling cum suis tot largatie bij provisie nijt hunne detentie; Declaratoir van den advocaat fiscaal mr Willem Cras aangaandse het versoek van den gedetineerde Willem Camerling cum suis tot largatie bij provisie nijt hunne detentie, met dispositief daar op gevallen in dato 6 December 1753; Nader declaratoir van den advocaat fiscaal Cras de zaken van Willem Camerling cum suis concernerende met het daarop gevallen dispositief sun dato 20 September 1754*. See also Clootwijk's *Succinct Betoog*, pages 5 and 6.

²⁶³ Loten used the word 'Pagger'. In his copy of the Speelman report of Macassar (1670), Loten defined 'Pagger' as: "doorgaans een slegte vastigheid als in haast opgeregt van bamboezen, - kalappus-boomen en palissaden". NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 1524, volume 1, page 254.

²⁶⁴ TUL.TF-Hs 78. J.G. Loten to M. Romp, Colombo 30 April 1754.

²⁶⁵ Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, pages 6 and 7. According to Van Angelbeek in 1758 Winkelman maintained his accusations against Van Clootwijk and Wehr during his trial by the Council of Justice at Batavia. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1414. J. van Angelbeek to J.G. Loten. Batavia 18 January 1759.

²⁶⁶ Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, page 7.

²⁶⁷ Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, page 12.

²⁶⁸ HUA.NA U207a5 aktenr 43, dd 01-10-1754.

²⁶⁹ The *Lekkerland* departed 16 January 1754 from Batavia. The ship arrived at the Texel roadstead 30 August 1754 (DAS 7426.3).

²⁷⁰ HUA.NA U207a5 aktenr. 44, d.d. 05-10-1754.

²⁷¹ *Generale Missiven* XII, 15 October 1755, page 508 and 523 and NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2848. *1755 Copia declaratoir van den water en protempore advocaat fiscaal Teekman en het dispositief in dato 20 Augustus 1755 daarop gevallen ter effectueeringe van het op ontbod van de Macassaars gouverneur Jan Dirk Van Clootwijk cum suis*.

²⁷² Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, page 10.

²⁷³ Several documents in NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2883 and 8231. Roelof Blok probably obtained his position at Macassar by the protection of Governor-general Jacob Mossel, who also came from the city of Enkhuizen. See F.S. Gaastra (2003). 'Heren profiteren. Het aandeel van Hoorn en Enkhuizen in de rijkdom van de VOC-dienaren in Azië in de achttiende eeuw'. *Steevast 2003, Vereniging Oud Enkhuizen*, pages 5-18. Y. Prins (1998). 'Van scheepsjongen tot admiraal van de retourvloot. Het leven van VOC-dienaar Roelof Blok (1712-1776)', *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau van Genealogie*, 52 pages 157-199.

²⁷⁴ Jan Dirk van Clootwijk *Succinct Betoog*, pages 11 and 12 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1414. J. van Angelbeek to J.G. Loten. Batavia 18 January 1759.

Winkelman was convicted, in the VOC records is registrated that he left the service 21 May 1756. He was released from prison 19 January 1757. He was suspended from his rank and position by the Council of Justice, although he reckoned upon his influential friends at Batavia. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2893, 2916.

Secretary Wehr was imprisoned for 29 months until 1758, but finally found not guilty. He was restored in his former position, but was ruined because he had to pay the costs of his trial, 3,500 rixdollars. The High Government decided that he was to receive his emoluments over the time he was detained. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2893, 2916, 2964, 8234, 8270.

²⁷⁵ HUA.GC nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 12 November 1756. NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2878, letter Van Clootwijk "Bancahoulou", 7 July 1756. See also *Generale Missiven XIII*, 31 December 1756 (page 32) in which the Indian Council expressed its 'astonishment' that Van Clootwijk went to Bencoolen to return to Patria. According to the *Generale Missiven XIII*, 31 December 1757, Van Clootwijk's sloop was confiscated when it came without a load from Bencoolen to Batavia with an English pass (page 130).

²⁷⁶ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2878. J. van Clootwijk to Governor Loten, 8 July 1756.

²⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 27 October 1757.

²⁷⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 55, decisions Heren XVII, 25 October 1757.

²⁷⁹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2916 dated 29 November 1758.

²⁸⁰ According to The Proceedings of the Council of the Indies dated February 8th 1758, van Clootwijk was banished during his life from the Dutch East Indies. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 831.

According to the *Scheepssoldijboek* (ship's pay-ledger) *Landscroon*, Van Clootwijk's total income over the period 12 July 1737 until 15 May 1756 was 12,956 guilders. According to the administration in the pay-ledger, the income was not paid out to him. See NL-HaNA VOC 6050, inv. 133.

²⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1414. J. van Angelbeek to J.G. Loten. Batavia 18 January 1759.

Johan van Angelbeek (1727-1799) would become the last Dutch Governor at Ceylon (1794-1799). He came to the Indies in 1754 as a civilian and worked as a solicitor at Batavia. In 1756 he was employed by the VOC as a junior merchant in Batavia.

²⁸² Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 764 and 765. Letters J. Van Clootwijk, London 21 June 1758 and Claas Koningh Enkhuizen 17 February 1759 and 19 December 1760. The 5000 rixdollars were paid by the Chamber Enkhuizen though the intermediance of Claas Koningh at Enkhuizen. The Company took 7⁹/₁₃ % as the usual exchange rate.

²⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1414. Extract of the decision of the High Council of Justice The Hague 17 January 1765.

²⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 7 May 1765.

²⁸⁵ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 4853. Printed requests and counter-pleas of Jan Dirk van Clootwijk 1758-1793.

²⁸⁶ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 756. Arnout Loten to J.G. Loten, Utrecht 28 March 1751.

²⁸⁷ HUA.NA U139a32 aktenr 18 dd 19-07-1751. Notary J. van den Doorslag Utrecht.

²⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht, 27 October 1757

²⁸⁹ HUA.NA U220a3 aktenr. 36, d.d. 14-08-1757.

²⁹⁰ Personal communication H.P.J.E. Merkelbach, Regionaal Archief Rivierenland, Tiel, March 3, 2005; see also Blommers, A.J. (1994). ‘Goede en beste zeep voor modicque prijs’. De drie Steden. According to the Landdagrecessen in 1762 (Decisions of the Court of the Province of Gelderland) there was a complaint about an unallowed toll levy by the turnpike-man at Zaltbommel from George Beens, citizen of Culemborg (Gelders Archief, Arnhem Rekenkamer S 33, fo. 826-834)

²⁹¹ Lucretia Catharina Hoogwoud was buried in Culemborg October 1, 1766.

²⁹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Inventory of documents relating to the Van Clootwijk case by Arnout Loten 21 July 1757. The documents are at present in the Archive of the diocese ‘s-Hertogenbosch, the Helmond Municipal Archive van der Brugghen van Croy and the Tilburg University Library, Theologische Faculteit, Haaren collection.

²⁹³ According to an annotation on the document, dated 15 October 1756, by J.R. Kriekenbeek. Justinus Rutgard (“Barent”) Kriekenbeek (Colombo 1712- Colombo 1778), Secretary of Police in Colombo in 1739, junior merchant in 1756, member of the Landsraad in Colombo, Secretary of Justice.

²⁹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 12 November 1756.

²⁹⁵ Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. Letter J.G. Loten to R.M. van Goens. London, 28 May 1778. Daniel Bernard Guilliams (1676-1761), from 1710-1716 Governor of the Choromandel. He returned to Patria in 1716. Wijnaendts van Resand, 1944; 106.

Loten referred to Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711), French poet, satirist, and literary critic. Dr. Leo van Maris, Leiden, informed me (March, 9, 2005) that the reference to Boileau is to *Satire 1*, verse 51-52:

“Je ne puis rien nommer, si ce n’est par son nom,
J’appelle un chat un chat, et Rolet un fripon * #.”
[I cannot call anything, if it is not by its name,
I call a cat a cat, and Rolet a rascal]

* Note in the 1701 edition: “C’est un hôtelier du pays Blaisois.”

Note in the 1952 edition (Ed. Garnier Frères, Paris 1952) by Georges Mongrédien: “Comme il s’est trouvé un hôtelier du nom de Rolet qui a réclamé, Boileau mit cette autre note (éd. de 1713): Procureur très décrié qui a été dans la suite (1681) condamné à faire amende honorable, et banni à perpétuité.”

²⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 9 October 1780. Also in letter from London 13 May 1774.

²⁹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1414. Extracts of legal advises about actions of Beens against Loten and Van Clootwijk.

²⁹⁸ See Chapter 6, paragraph 4, Effects of London atmosphere.

²⁹⁹ TUL.TF-Hs 78: “Speculative papieren IV. Verscheijde brieven (waaronder eene ‘s Comp^{te}: wegen aparte) na Batavia en andere plaatsen in India afgezonden in 1754 en 1755. overzien 6 Aug: 1787”.

³⁰⁰ Aripo or Arippu banks. See Reimers (1946), pages 81-82, 180-181. In the *Generale Missive* 31 December 1757 (page 181) the income for the Company from the Aripo fisheries was estimated 1,835,780 guilders for the period 1746-1749.

³⁰¹ Also reported by Loten in his *Memorandum*, see Reimers (1935), pages 41-43 and 94-96.

³⁰² Modliar or Mudaliyar, also modeljaar, modliaar and modelliar: Local head of a district of province at Ceylon, the highest status Singalese in the Dutch part of Ceylon.

³⁰³ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2767. Missive [secret] van den heer raad extra ordinair Julius Valentijn Steijn van Gollense gouverneur en directeur tot Colombo gedateert 21 Januarij 1750 aan haar hoog edelens. A Mudaliyar was the chief administrative indigenous official of a district or city.

³⁰⁴ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Director-General J.V. Stein van Gollense, Colombo 15 January 1754.

³⁰⁵ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Governor-General Jacob Mossel, Colombo 19 February 1755; Copy letter J.G. Loten to Councillor extraordinary Dithart van Rheden, Colombo 19 February 1755.

³⁰⁶ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Governor-General Jacob Mossel, Colombo 19 February 1755. Also in Loten's *Memorandum*, where the gain for the Company from the lease of the Aripo fishery is specified as 31800 rixdollars for 30 full diving days. See Reimers (1935), pages 41 and 96.

³⁰⁷ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Draft letter J.G. Loten to A. van der Parra, Colombo [23] March 1755.

³⁰⁸ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to A.B. Joncheere, Colombo 11 January 1755.

³⁰⁹ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Governor-General Jacob Mossel, Colombo 19 February 1755.

³¹⁰ *Generale Missiven* XIII, 31 December 1759, page 440. According to Loten Crijtsman, who was responsible for the protection of the pearl banks at Madura, had written false reports about the condition of the banks that were ruined during his residence at Tutucorin. Because Crijtsman died in 1759 the case against him was dropped.

In Loten's *Memorandum* there are several references to the VOC-officers at Tutucorin and Jaffanapatnam in which he suggests that they were acting in their own interest in the cotton trade and pearl and chank fishery. The VOC officers at Tutucorin showed according to Loten:

'[A]n absolute disregard of the Company's interests, zealously promote in every way possible their own private advantage in the Chank fishery as well as in the remaining commodities of the mainland, the Company's interests only ranking second'.

In the case of the Aripo fishery the Jaffanapatnam officers 'paid the least attention to the express order' of the Ceylon government.

See Reimers (1935), pages 31- 36, 42-43, 84-88, 95-96.

³¹¹ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Councillor extraordinary Dithart van Rheden, Colombo 19 February 1755.

³¹² TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Governor-General Jacob Mossel, Colombo 19 February 1755.

³¹³ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Governor-General Jacob Mossel, Colombo 19 February 1755.

³¹⁴ In the *Generale Missiven* XII, 31 December 1754, pages 462-463, the report of the embassy to the King and Court of Candy is very positively described. In the first part of his *Memorandum*, Loten paid ample attention to the improved relationship with the Candian court, which was due to the transport of the Siamese priests and their entourage by VOC ships. See Reimers (1935), pages 6-8, 57-60.

³¹⁵ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Draft letter J.G. Loten to A. van der Parra, Colombo [23] March 1755.

³¹⁶ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to Director-General J.V. Stein van Gollense, Colombo 20 March 1755.

³¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Copy letter unsigned [Dithart van Rheden] to J.G. Loten, Batavia 24 August 1755.

³¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Copy letter A. Van der Parra to J.G. Loten, Batavia 3 September 1755.

³¹⁹ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Draft letter J.G. Loten to Jurgen van der Spar, Colombo, undated.

³²⁰ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy letter J.G. Loten to A.B. Joncheere, Colombo 11 January 1755. Philippus van der Spar was appointed as prosecutor, but soon he became the successor of Anthony Mooyaart as administrator of Jaffanapatnam. He died in 1762. Van der Spar was succeeded as prosecutor by junior merchant Berardus Brouwer. See *Generale Missiven* XIII, 31 December 1756, page 80.

³²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Copy letter Jacob Mossel to J.G. Loten, Batavia 1 December 1755.

³²² Anthonisz (1908), pages 256-263; Jurriaanse (1943), Nr 2878. Deductions by governor Loten against the "hoofd-administrateur" Noël Anthony Lebeck, read before the Council. With annexes. Copies. 1756 April 26.

NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. The document includes a memoir to the Council of Policy at Ceylon and seven annexes. The document is dated Colombo February 1756. There seems to be a slight difference between this document and the Colombo archive Deductions. Anthonisz (1908) reported that Lebeck was also responsible of the

excessive expenditure of 1,000 guilders in the repairs of the Bastion at Colombo. This is not mentioned in the The Hague document.

³²³ Source Jurriaanse (1943).

³²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. See also Chapter 2, paragraph Governor of Ceylon.

³²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. See also Chapter 2, paragraph Governor of Ceylon.

³²⁶ Visboom not identified.

³²⁷ In February 1755 Noel Lebeck, Marcellus Bles and L. de Coste were sent as envoys of the Company on the yearly embassy to the King of Candy. In April 1755 they submitted their report of the Embassy to the Governor. Source NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2855. Instruction for the envoys and list of presents to the King of Candy 24 February 1755, Report of envoys annex exchanged letters 11 April 1755.

³²⁸ In the *Generale Missiven* XII, 31 December 1755, the extraordinary embassy is mentioned (pages 567-568). Noël Anthonij Lebeck, together with Secretary Marcellus Bles and Lieutenant Leonard de Coste took with them presents for the purchase price of f 15,757 6st 8 p, among which “een fraay repetitiehorige met dies haak en sleutel, rijkelijk bezet met diamanten”. This present received the special gratitude of the King and his Court and the envoys of the Company received besides the common ‘partisaan een houwer, buytengemeen met goud en silver gewerkt’. In the *Generale Missiven* XIII, 31 December 1756 (page 72) is mentioned that Governor Loten was allowed to keep the presents from the King of Candy such as a ‘getande’ [toothed] elephant and some golden articles ‘goudwerk’ to himself, under the condition that comparable contrapresents were presented to the King.

³²⁹ Source Anthonisz (1908).

³³⁰ *Generale Missiven* volume XIII, 31 December 1756, page 79. Lebeck was appointed by the Indian Government as secunde and chief administrator of Ternate (*Generale Missiven* volume XIII, 31 December 1756, page 48).

³³¹ Jurriaanse (1943), Nr 2706. Memoir by “commandeur” of Jaffna Anthony Mooyaart for his successor Noël Anthony Lebeck, 31 January 1766.

³³² TUL.TF-Hs 75. Speculatieve Papieren V. 122 letters written in 1737 to Joan Gideon Loten and his wife at Semarang by family, friends and acquaintances.

³³³ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J. Thedens to J.G. Loten Batavia 7 March 1737; 18 May 1737; 19 September 1737; 3 November 1737. Johannes Thedens (1680-1748) became Director-General in 1740 and Governor-General ad-interim from November 1741 until May 1743 when Van Imhoff arrived at Batavia.

³³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1382. Amok is a Malay word means to be out of control. It is sometimes spelled amuck and often used as “running amok”.

³³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422: Letter A.H. Loten to Arnout Loten, Samarang 5 March 1736. Also published in Raat (2004). The letter by Arnout Loten dated 18 April 1735 is lost. Hottentottin is a female Hottentot. The Hottentot was hotly discussed in the eighteenth century as a human anomaly. In the 12th edition of Linnaeus’ *Systema naturae* the monorchid Hottentot, the Patagonian giant and the dwarfs of the Alp are classified as *Homo monstrosus*. The Hottentot was also well-known in the English eighteenth-century literature, Lord Chesterfield, after a destructive sketch of an unnamed person, who is often incorrectly identified on the authority of James Boswell as Samuel Johnson, asked his natural son:

“Is it possible to love such a man? No. The utmost I can do for him, is to consider him as a respectable Hottentot” (Letter XXIV, London February 28th O.S. 1751).

See also: Hill & Powell (1964), volume I, page 266-267. Dr Powell identified the Hottentot as Sir George Lyttelton (1709-1773).

³³⁶ From 1737 the VOC had in Canton three supercargoes Christoffel de Marre, David Brouwer en Jan van Rijkevorssel (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2682 and 8718).

³³⁷ Pieter Rochus Pasques de Chavonnes (Bergen op Zoom, 1697-Batavia, 1747) was son of the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes and his wife, Balthazarina Kien. He came in 1714 with his parents to the VOC settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. In April 1731 he was elected Governor of the VOC

settlement at Malacca. He was appointed Councillor extraordinary in the Indian Government November 23rd 1735; Commissioner of the fortification June 5th 1739; President of the College of the Orphan Chamber at Batavia June 2nd 1742; Councillor ordinary 16 August 1741; Director-General 31 May 1743. He married in 1723 in Batavia Hendrina Cornelia Hasselaar (1704-1739). After her death he married the widow of former Governor-General Dirk van Cloon, Anthonia Adriana Lengele in 1741.
See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830.

³³⁸ TUL.TF-Hs75. Letter J.P. Schaghen to J.G. Loten, Batavia 2 March 1737.

³³⁹ TUL.TF-Hs75. P.R. de Chavonnes and his wife Hendrina Cornelia Hasselaar to J.G. Loten, Batavia 16 March 1737; P.R. de Chavonnes to J.G. Loten, Batavia 8 October 1737.

³⁴⁰ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J. Gesner to J.G. Loten, Onrust 2 March 1737.

In December 1780 Loten remembered Jacob Gesner as the ‘first or senior surgeon’ of the Amsterdam Admiralty ship *Leijerdorp*, who had been his agent at Batavia when he was at Semarang. He mentioned that Gesner had treated him well at Java.

HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. Letter J.G. Loten to Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek. London, 17 December 1780.

“Heeft Uwhoogb. doorlezen het dagregister van de laatste Zee-reize door de HoogWgb: Heere van Vliet (Z.G.) met Leijerdorp (was dunkt mij des Schipsnaam) gedaan? Zo ja, vrage ‘k eerbiediglyk of daarin heeft gevonden de Eerste of Opperste Chirurgy met de naam Gesner? De voornaam my ontschoten, deeze man heeft toen ik op Java’s Oostkust leg, mijn gemagtigde op Batavia geweest, my wel behandeld en mij op Java bezoekende vele particulariteiten der reize verhaald”.

Loten referred to the ship *Leijerdorp* that was commanded in 1731 by the father of Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, Jan Louis Van Hardenbroek (1691-1747). See Chapter 2, paragraph Sea voyage to Batavia.

³⁴¹ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J. Gesner to J.G. Loten, Onrust 11 March 1737. Gesner also sent Loten nine ‘English sea prints’ in a frame with glass.

³⁴² TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J. Gesner to J.G. Loten, Onrust 7 April 1737.

³⁴³ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J. Gesner to J.G. Loten, Onrust 18 May 1737.

³⁴⁴ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter J. Gesner to J.G. Loten, Onrust 24 June 1737. The letter is a reply to Loten’s letter from Semarang 19 May 1737 (not recovered).

³⁴⁵ Helmond Vander Bruggen van Croy 753. Concept-letter J.G. Loten to B.T.D Boucq. Samarang 10 March 1738.

³⁴⁶ Mr Isaac van Schinne (1693-1744) since 23 July 1734 Councillor Extraordinary; President of the Council of Justice 20 August 1736; Councillor Ordinary 23 July 1739. In December 1740 Isaac van Schinne was arrested together with Gustaaf Willem baron van Imhoff, by the Governor-General Adriaan Valckenier. In January 1741 they were sent to Patria to defend their case before the Heren XVII and the Court of Holland. Van Schinne remained in Holland and became Alderman of Rotterdam.

³⁴⁷ Johannes van Bergen van de Grijp (1713-1784) became a merchant of the Company in February 1741. In February 1743 he was promoted to senior merchant and chief administrator of the establishment at Malacca. In February 1747 he returned with his wife to Batavia. In June 1749 they returned to Patria.
See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830.

Van Bergen van der Grijp brought a considerable capital to Patria, he reimbursed several bills of exchange from Batavia:

Bill of exchange sent from	Paid by VOC chamber	Paid in year	Value assignment at Batavia	Reimbursed in Patria in guilders
Batavia	Amsterdam	1750	5,777 ducatons	ƒ 20,797
Batavia	Zeeland	1750	10,000 ducatons	ƒ 36,000
Batavia	Enkhuijzen	1750	10,000 ducatons	ƒ 36,000
Batavia	Zeeland	1753	3,569 ducatons	ƒ 12,849
Total				ƒ 105,646

See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049.

In May 1750 Van Bergen, his wife and their children stayed at The Hague in the house of Cornelis van Beaumont. It was their intention to settle in the city of Alkmaar. See Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 758. C.J. Van Beaumont to J.G. Loten. The Hague 24 June 1750.

In 1755 Van Bergen van der Grijp lived with his wife in Leiden, Rapenburg 19. Van Bergen van der Grijp was responsible for the renovation of the facade on the Rapenburg side of the building into its current form. In the 19th century the famous explorer of Japan, Ph.F.B. von Siebold (1796-1866) lived there a short time. After buying the house he used it to exhibit his collection of Japanese arts and crafts. At present the building is being completely renovated and restored to its former glory. Early 2005 the new Siebold House opened its doors to the public. See Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. W. Fock & A.J. van Dissel (1986). *Het Rapenburg Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht. Deel I: Groenbazuurburch*. Leiden, Afdeling Geschiedenis van de Kunstnijverheid Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.

³⁴⁸ Jan Cornelis du Quesne was the son of Johan du Quesne, medicinae doctor at Utrecht. In June 1737 he was a merchant at Batavia and ‘Visitateur der soldijen’. He was Commissioner in the mediation in the differences between Bantam and Palembang. In 1749 he became member of the Council of Justice and “opperhoofd over ‘t: generaal zoldycomptoir op Batavia”. In 1751 he returned to Patria in the rank of senior merchant. He settled in Utrecht, where he lived at the Breestraat (HUA.NA U210a3, aktenr. 102, d.d. 07-10-1752). He married Christina Jacoba Cruse (HUA.NA U184a18, aktenr. 218, d.d. 03-11-1752). She was the daughter of Jacob Cruse and Christina Blesius (d. 1735). The last was a sister of Anna Henrietta’s mother.

See TUL.TF-Hs 75, Letter P de Salve to J.G. Loten, Batavia 9 June 1737; NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830; De Jonge et al. (1862-1909), volume IX.

³⁴⁹ In the Leiden Gemeentearchief Inventaris Weeskamer toegang 518 nr 1397a there are annotations about Leonard Weyer’s legacy.

³⁵⁰ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 69371 Stukken betreffende de nalatenschap van Leonard Weyer en Deliana Blesius, met als curatoren Jolle Jolles en Johannes Rietveld, 1784; Van der Bruggen archief Helmond: 475 Stukken betreffende de nalatenschappen Blesius, Becker, Van Beaumont en Cuyk van Meteren, 1759, 1782, 1805 en z.d.

Also: Printed Deductie ... uyt den naam en van wegens Magdalena Adriana van Schinne, wed. Anthony Patras, in zijn leeven Raad en Burgemeester der stad Slooten in Vriesland ... die geweest is eenige ... erfgenaam van Abraham Patras, in leeven gouverneur generaal van Nederlandsch Indiën ... jegens Jolle Jolles en Johannes Rietveld, als curatoren over den insolventen boedel van Leonard Weyer, in zijn leeven Water Fiscaal te Batavia. ca. 1766, and Sententie van de Hoge Raad in Holland d.d. 20 december 1766 and Sententie in revisie d.d. 15 november 1767.

³⁵¹ TUL.TF-Hs 75. P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 9 March 1737; J. Van Bergen van der Grijp to J.G. Loten, Onrust 13 March 1737; Johannes Hartkop, Batavia 28 June 1737; P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 1 July 1737; P.R. Pasques de Chavonnes to J.G. Loten. Batavia 8 October 1737.

³⁵² TUL.TF-Hs 75. P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 9 March 1737; Batavia 18 November 1737.

³⁵³ Possibly Joan Rijkegem van der Heijden from Middelburg, who arrived 30 December 1734 as a junior merchant with the ship *Huis te Rensburg* at Batavia. He died 3 August 1740. Also possible junior merchant and administrator at Semarang Steven Marcus van der Heyden, who was sent as the Company’s special envoy to Kartasura in August 1738. See Rimmelink (1994), pags 114-115.

³⁵⁴ TUL.TF-Hs 75. C.J. de Beaumont to J.G. Loten and his wife, Batavia 1 October 1737.

³⁵⁵ TUL.TF-Hs 75. J. Bergen van der Grijp to J.G. Loten and his wife, Onrust 26 October 1737.

³⁵⁶ TUL.TF-Hs 75. A. de Roos to J.G. Loten, Batavia 25 November 1737. De Roos ironically wrote that he had read at the island of Onrust the motto of Bergen van der Grijp’s Coat of Arms, Nullus volat altius ales [no bird soars higher].

³⁵⁷ TUL.TF-Hs 75. C.J. de Beaumont to Loten and his wife, Batavia 8 November 1737.

³⁵⁸ TUL.TF-Hs 75. P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 18 November 1737. On March 9, 1737 Du Quesne had characterised Van der Grijp in a letter to Loten as, ‘he is still a child and does not know better’.

³⁵⁹ “Speeljongens”, literally ‘playboys’: slaves or serfs playing western music on western musical instruments.

³⁶⁰ TUL.TF-Hs 75. P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 3 December 1737; 21 December 1737. Van der Grijp had written to Loten 19 November 1737 that Crisie's 'love affair' ["de vrijagie"] was not acceptable for him and his wife. He also complained that Crisie abused his wife, when she was outside his house.

³⁶¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777.

³⁶² Thomas Pennant referred to this observation by Loten in the fourth volume of *The view of Hindoostan* (1800), page 35-36:

“The *Sucotyro* of the *Chinese* is engraven by the former [Nieuhoff], and thus decried: it is of the size of a large ox; has a snout like a hog, two long rough ears, and a thick bushy tail; the eyes placed upright in the head, quite different from other beasts; on the side of the head, next to the eyes, stand two long horns, or rather teeth, not quite so thick as those of the elephant; it feeds on herbage, and is seldom taken. I have enquired about this animal from Mr. *Loten* and others, who never heard of it. I suspect Mr. *Nieuboff* was imposed on by a fictitious drawing”.

³⁶³ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP37.Memoir J.G. Loten to Thomas Pennant. London, April, 1, 1780.

³⁶⁴ TS.LC.14, watercolour of *Treron vernans vernans* (Linnaeus, 1771) by Joan Gideon Loten. A copy of the watercolour is in the Loten collection of the Natural History Museum in London (NHMLC.81). Peter Brown published a description and plate of the bird in the *New Illustrations of Zoology* (1776), plate XVIII, 'Purple Pigeon'. On 16 October 1737 J. Gesner had send to Loten paint and brushes from Onrust (TUL.TF-Hs 75).

³⁶⁵ NL-HaNa. MIKO4. W17.

³⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 52-53. Annotation in his Bell's common place book.

³⁶⁷ Loten was confused (“confus”) about the name of the mountain, and believed it's name to be “Barbaboe”. With use of the *Global Volcanism Program* of the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, the volcano was identified. East-South-East of Surakarta there was no volcanic eruption reported in the 1730s. A major eruption from the 3,265 m stratovolcano *Lamu* (distance 41 km) was reported in 1752. It therefore seems probable that after about 40 years, Loten made a mistake in the indication of the direction. He scratched out the “W”, indicating that he first thought the mountain to be West of Surakarta. In the West-North-West direction is the 3,145 m *Magelang Merbabu*. The name “Merabu” agrees in sound with Loten's “Barbaboe”. Moreover in November 1740 he used the name “Barbaboe” for the “Merabu” volcano. According to the data in the *Global Volcanism Program* however, there is a recorded eruption of this volcano in 1797 and not in the 1730s. However, in the same WNW direction from Surakarta as the *Merbabu*, is the 3,371 m *Sumbing* volcano. The database of the Smithsonian Museum reports an eruption “1730 (?)”. It seems probable that the *Sumbing* eruption was registrated by Loten. The soldiers at Surakarta must have mistaken the ash explosion from the Sumbing (87 km distance) as an explosion of the *Merbabu* (46 km distance).

³⁶⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425 nr 3. Aantekening wegens een speelreijsje zijderwaards van Samarang te Lande waard gedaan door mij Joan Gideon Loten in geselschap van den Heer Johan Andries Baron van Hohendorff doenmaals vaandrig in dienst der Nederlandsche [scratched out and replaced by] E Compagnie en den adsistent in opgem: dienst Balthasar Toutlemonde. See also: Veth (1860), pages 107-131.

Joan Adries baron van Hohendorff (*d.* 1760) came as a sergeant to Batavia. July 24th 1738 he was appointed “vaandrig” (cornet); Lieutenant 1741; Capitain 1741; Major 1743; Commander and Resident Kartasura 1746; Senior merchant and Commander Java's East-coast, March 24th 1747; Governor Java's East-coast 1748; Councillor extraordinary 26 October 1751. Van Hohendorff married a daughter of Governor-General Jacob Mossel.

See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830 and 831; Volumes IX and X of Jonge et al. (1862-1909); Gaastra (2002), pages 62, 64, 97.

A description of a journey to Banjermassing by Van Hohendorff was published. See Hohendorff, Johan Andries Baron van. *Radical beschrijving van Banjermassing. Beschrijving van eenen togt. Naar de bovenlanden van Banjermassing enz. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, Nieuwe Volgreeks*, dl. 4, bl. 151

³⁶⁹ In 1737 Balthasar Toutlemonde was junior merchant and secretary at Semarang. In 1742 he served as interpreter for captain Joan Andries baron van Hohendorff on his missions to the court of the Sunan at Kartasura. In 1747 he became merchant at Surat. In 1749 he became senior merchant and represented the VOC as ‘opperhoofd’ [Head of the establishment] of Surakarta at the surrender of Mataram to the VOC.

See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830; De Jonge *et al.* (1862-1909) volume X; Gaastra (2002), pages 63-64; Rimmeling (1994), pages 175 and 195.

³⁷⁰ The reference is to Salatiga, located on the foot of the volcano Merapi. In 1749 under Governor Van Imhoff the fortress 'De Hersteller' was built in the place.

³⁷¹ NL-HaNa. MIKO4. Johan Gideon Loten W19 and W20. Three views along Java's Northeast coast, 1744.

³⁷² Rummelink (1994), page 93, suggests that Loten was the first European to visit the Javanese temple complex located at Candi village of Ambarawa district in Semarang. The complex was built during the 9th-century Syailendra Dynasty.

³⁷³ *Wapenberaant* 1897, volume 1 page 79. According to the author the annotation is in Loten's handwriting in Volume III, page 320. The price of 150 guilders was the subscription price on superior paper. See Arasaratnam (1978), pages 15-18.

³⁷⁴ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter Vincent van Wingerden to J.G. Loten, Batavia 31 July 1737; HUA.GC 750 nr. 14. Van Wingerden became resident of Surabaya. He died in 1742 and was succeeded at Surabaya by the later governor-general Reinier de Klerk.

³⁷⁵ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter A. De Roos to J.G. Loten, Batavia 25 November 1735.

³⁷⁶ TUL.TF-Hs 75. Letter Adam Joachim Schuer to J.G. Loten, Batavia 25 October 1735. None of the books in the list are in the 1789 auction catalogue of Loten's library.

³⁷⁷ *Journal ende Historis verbael van de reyse gedaen by oosten de Street Le Maire naer de custen van Chili in den jare 1643 voor gevallen*. Amsterdam, Broer Jansz. Hendrik Brouwer (1581-1643) was a Dutch explorer, admiral and Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

³⁷⁸ The collection of maps of the island of Celebes in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the library of the University of Leiden (BLP 2038 and BLP 3052A). Seven charts of Celebes, in the MIKO collection of Nationaal Archief, The Hague. Mentioned in P.A. Leupe's *Inventaris der Verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijks-Archief*, volume I, p. 192-193, M. Nijhoff, Den Haag 1867.

³⁷⁹ Circa 1785 Monsieur Hiltrop made a drawing for Loten of the monument of Nicolaas Heinsius the Younger (1656-1718) on the chancel of the Church at Culemborg. According to Loten Heinsius deceased 13 July 1705. He made a note on the drawing: 'hofraad en eerste lijf medicus van sijn Hoog Vorstelijke Doorl[uchtige] Albert Hertog van Saxon Coburg', and added 'Deese was de schryver van vermakelyken avonturier, Don Clarezel &c – ook van den gemartelden Venus-priester geheel en gered – want hy practiseerde mede als Medic: Doctor'. In 1796 Heinsius's relatives removed the mourning board from the church on order of the Government of the recently founded Batavian Republic, they had to pay three guilders.

Besides the translation of Paul Scarron's *Roman comique* (1678), he published in 1695 *The Delightful Adventures and Wonderful Life of Mirandor*, which contained much autobiographical material. It was reprinted ten times until 1756 alone, and was translated in German, English, French and Italian. He further wrote five works on medicine, among these *De gemartelde Venus-Priester Gebeeld en Gered, Ofte een Naukeurige verhandeling van de Venus-ziekte enz.* (1709). He also published the novel, *Don Clarazel de Contarnos* (1697). The books were not included in the Auction catalogue of Loten's Library (1789).

See HUA.GC 750 nr 156; K.G. van Manen (2001). *Verboden en getolereerd, een onderzoek naar lutheranen, lutheranisme an lutherse gemeentevorming in Gelderland ten tijde van de Republiek*. Verloren, Hilversum, pages 89-92.

³⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422: A.H. Loten to A. Loten. Semarang 26 June 1743. The original letter was sent in October 1742.

³⁸¹ The young Deliaantje probably played with more talent on her flageolet than Dr Samuel Johnson:

BOSWELL. 'Pray, Sir, did you ever play on any musical instrument?'

JOHNSON. 'No Sir. I once bought me a flageolet; but I never made out a tune'.

See Hill & Powell (1964), volume III, page 242, Tuesday 7 April 1778.

³⁸² Jan Steen, *Merry family*, 'Soo de Oude Songen, soo pypen de jonge', 1668, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

³⁸³ TUL.TF-Hs 75, P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia 9 March 1737; 1 April 1737.

³⁸⁴ TUL.TF-Hs 75, P. du Quesne to J.G. Loten, Batavia, undated after 28 August 1737.

³⁸⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1375. J.G. Loten to Nicolaas Crul, Councillor extraordinary of Dutch East Indies and his wife Sara Pedel, dated “Maccassar 29 mei 1744”.

HUA.GC 750 nr 153 also gives a short memoir of Nicolaas Crul and his wife Sara Pedel onder the heading “Beatissime Memoriae”. See also Chapter 2, paragraph Semarang.

³⁸⁶ Thomas Pennant, *The view of Hindoostan* (1800), volume 4, page 86

³⁸⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. A.H. van Beaumont to Arnout Loten. Macassar 31 September 1744.

³⁸⁸ Helmond Archive van der Bruggen van Croy nr 761. J.S. de Ravallet to Joan Gideon Loten Amsterdam, sent 6 April 1750, received 8 April 1751. The painting is unfortunately lost.

³⁸⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten and A.H. van Beaumont to Arnout Loten. Macassar 15 October 1745. The answer by A. Loten was written 20 September 1746 (HUA Familie Taets van Amerongen nr 181).

³⁹⁰ Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 27 October 1745.

³⁹¹ Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. J.G. Loten to G. Beens. Macassar 19 April 1746.

³⁹² Today her condition would be diagnosed as a posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

³⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1400. A.H. van Beaumont to A. Loten. Undated, but internal evidence shows that the letter must be written 25 October 1747.

³⁹⁴ HMA.BC 756. A. Loten to A.H. van Beaumont. Utrecht 1 May 1749.

³⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. Seven letters J.G. Loten to his wife and daughter. 16 August to 18 September 1750.

³⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1456. Four letters J.G. Loten to his daughter. 19 August to 3 September 1750.

³⁹⁷ Dirk Willem van der Bruggen was employed by the VOC chamber of Delft on 14 April 1736. He went to Batavia as a junior merchant on the ship *Kasteel van Woerden* (DAS 3028.5). The ship arrived at the Batavia roadstead on 3 November 1736.

³⁹⁸ October 7, 1736 Joan de Roth (1704-1776), at that time merchant and prosecutor at Malacca, married Anna Henrietta's eldest sister Catharina Balthazarina van Beaumont (1714-1738). Catharina had lost July 12, 1736 her first husband, junior merchant and sabandaer Richard Steenis. One month later Joan de Roth's first wife had died. (TUL.TF-Hs 75 letter J. de Roth to J.G. Loten Malacca 11 December 1736). Johan de Roth had two natural children:

Catharina (daughter of a freed serf), born ca. 1735, baptised Malacca 15-10-1743, married Malacca 17-1-1751 Joost Koek, assistant VOC, son of Josua Koek and Maria Meecke.

Johanna Maria (daughter of Fanula van Mandaro), born Malacca 22-7-1735, baptised 23-2-1736, died Malacca before 17-8-1760, married Malacca 1751 Gustaaf Dieterich (Dideriks), bookkeeper, secretary of Justice, died Malacca 5-2-1779.

Johan de Roth adopted a child:

Maria Jacoba (from slave Joana), born ca. 1747, adopted 6-8-1749, died 3-4-1790 at Batavia (Portugese Buitenkerk).

³⁹⁹ An example of Van der Bruggen's character and the role of the Dutch Reformed Church in family life at Colombo is found in the Minutes of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church at Colombo held at the Wolvendaal Church.

On June the 15th 1753 D.W. van der Bruggen ‘requested admission to the Sacraments on his confession of faith for his freed slave maid Hester; which was unanimously approved’. On 28 September 1753 an ‘attestatie’ [certificate issued by the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church] of Mrs Van der Bruggen (named Arnoldina Cornelia Loten) was presented and respected. However, in January 1754 there were problems about the admission of the Van der Bruggens to the Sacraments. In the Consistory meeting Reverend Sigisbertus Abrahams van Bronsveld (1723-1769) said that ‘he could not fulfill his commission in regard to Mr. Van der Bruggen, and it was decided to discuss his case further in due course’ (5 January 1754). On 12 April 1754 Van Bronsveld reported that Van der Bruggen, had failed to produce the ‘attestaties’ of himself and his wife as requested, ‘although he had been reminded of the same at the house visits on several occasions, and since this was not only a definite Church order, but had also been applied strictly and impartially without respect to persons, it was decided to put off for further deliberation at a subsequent meeting’. On 18 April 1754 it was decided that one of the Predikants would speak to him and ask him to

furnish a proper 'attestatie' to enable them to admit him permanently to the rites of the Church. The predikants de Philippus de Melho (1723-1790), Bronsveld and Johan Joachim Fybrands (1724-1801) and their Elders were frustrated in their efforts to remind him of his obligation at their house visits saying that he was 'out of home'. On 28 April 1754 Rev. Fybrands reported that he had seen the Van der Bruggen, who had replied 'that he thanks the Consistory for their reminder'. The meeting did not accept this as satisfactory, and it was decided to postpone the matter for further and more detailed deliberation. On 5 July 1754 Mr van der Hoff and the Reverend Fybrands reported that they were unable to meet Mr van der Bruggen. On 9 July 1754 the Consistory met again in extraordinary meeting to make a decision regarding the 'attestatie' due from Van der Bruggen,

'who was again out of home at the house visits; but noticing the absence of the Rev. Mr. Fybrands, although he and other members had, according to the Sexton, been advised of the meeting and had promised to attend, it was resolved to send a message to him that the members were awaiting his arrival: which having been done, the Church boy regretfully brought back the reply that he would not be able to attend. The meeting having thus been frustrated in their intentions, it was unanimously decided to postpone discussion of this matter for the afternoon of the 15th July, and to give timely notice of this to Mr. Fybrands, in order to make a final decision in the case in compliance with the Church order'.

On 15 July 1754 The President of the Consistory convened a meeting to arrive at a decision regarding the case of D.W. van der Bruggen, whose 'attestatie' was still due. It was unanimously resolved that the Church orders should be strictly adhered to with no respect of persons, and that therefore the 'attestatie' must be furnished by him.

'The President asked how best the matter could be settled with satisfaction to both sides, and most of the members agreed with Mr. Fybrands that the good word of Mr. Van der Brugge could indeed be accepted, and that the arrival of the letter from Batavia could yet be awaited, in default of which the matter could be further considered; whereas the other members and the Rev. Messrs. Wermelskircher & Bronsveld insisted that he (Mr. Van der Brugge) must either make his confession of faith or furnish his 'attestatie' to be admitted to the rites of the Church. Finally, the President asked the meeting exactly what decision should be made in the case, and it was resolved, by a majority of vote, to postpone the matter until the arrival of the ships from Batavia'.

This was the last entry about the case in the Minutes of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in Colombo. See Webportal Außereuropäische Christentums-geschichte, Lehrstuhl Prof. Koschorke, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. *Minutes of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in Colombo Held at the Wolvendaal Church, Colombo 1735-1796*, translated by S.A.W. Mottau (d. 1996); Edited by Klaus Koschorke.

Biographical information of the Colombo clergyman or 'predikanten' in Troostenburg de Bruin (1893).

⁴⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1757.

⁴⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa, 4 September 1772.

⁴⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1400. Undated letter A.H. Loten van Beaumont to the wife of A. Loten. Colombo probably February or March 1754.

⁴⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Maastricht 1 October 1772.

⁴⁰⁴ Wagenaar *et al.* (2007), pages 31, 102, 257 and 270.

⁴⁰⁵ The description of the Government House and Heerenstraat in Colombo is taken from Brohier (1978), pages 88-89. See also Valentijn's description in *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1726). See Arasaratnam (1978), pages 117-122.

⁴⁰⁶ Brohier (1978), page 88.

⁴⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1400. Undated letter A.H. Loten van Beaumont to the wife of A. Loten. Colombo, probably February or March 1754.

⁴⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1754. Postscriptum by Anna Henrietta.

⁴⁰⁹ TUL.TF-Hs 78, copy letter J.G. Loten to Dithart van Rheden, Colombo 19 February 1755.

⁴¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398.

⁴¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 27 January 1757.

⁴¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his parents. Colombo 9 November 1755. A part of this letter was published in the catalogue *Dood en Begraven. Sterven en rouwen 1700-1900*. Centraal Museum Utrecht, 1980, page 8.

⁴¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his parents. Colombo 9 November 1755.

⁴¹⁴ Reverend Gerrardus Potken (1695-1762) from Oldenzaal married Sophia Magdalena Ecoma (?-before 1737). Potken was from 1718 until his death employed by the Dutch East Indies Company as a minister at Colombo. From this marriage seven children. In 1737 he married in Colombo Clara van Wijnbergen. Since 1753 he was an emeritus preacher. See Troostenburg de Bruijn (1893), pages 346-347.

⁴¹⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. Original text in Dutch.

⁴¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. In the notebook of Loten's father, Joan Carel Loten (HUA.GC 684) there is an annotation dated August 7th 1756 relating to the death of Anna Henrietta:

“Den 7 aug ontfange de brief van communicatie van 't overlyde van myn schoondogter Vr. A.M. van Beaumont als mede van myn Zoon J:G. L een brief met verscheyde papieren gedat. 9 nov 1755 en 2 stukken hanebaatjes.”

Apparently the announcement of Anna Henrietta's decease reached Loten's family one year after her death took place.

⁴¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1378: The printed version of the funeral sermon of Reverend Mathias Wermelskircher, with a short biographical sketch of her life. 38 pages, Printed by Pieter Bruwaart at the Printer of the Company; A copy of this document is also in HUA Familie Taets van Amerongen van Natewisch 23 nr 183.

Reverend Mathias Wermelskircher (*d.* 1757) came in 1740 to Batavia. In 1743 he became Rector of the Colombo Seminary. See Troostenburg de Bruijn (1893), pages 479-480.

⁴¹⁸ The stone was depicted in Ludovici (1877). *Lapidarium-Zeylanicum*, page 25. See also short notice (1897) in the *Wapenherant*, volume I, page 221.

⁴¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. The medal was described in 1905 by H.-J. de Dompierre de Chaufepié in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 61 page 454 and plate XIV number 5.

⁴²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. Notebook with personal annotations kept from November 1754 until July 1756.

⁴²¹ The original annotations read as follows:

- 31 [July 1755] Lieflyke Bloem
- 1 [August 1755] zo vroeg verwelkt!
- [..]
- 10 [August 1755] s Hertogenbosch
- 11. ongestoorde rust
- 12 by Haare Eygenen verzameld
- 13. verwagt Z'een Beter
- 14. Verheerlyking
- [..]
- 24 [August 1755] Eeuwiglyk blinkende
- 25 Onvergangklijke Eere
- 26 Waakzaamheyd
- 27. Ryst en Zout
- 28. Sumatra's westkust
- 29 Amboina Olic-dom
- Br. mede bij D.N.
- 30 Amboina
- 31 Moluccos
- bij Br[uggen] het vedeltje al gaande &c.

⁴²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. Colombo 3 November 1752. The ship *Ghiessenburg* arrived at the Texel roadstead 22 May 1753 (DAS 7394.1).

⁴²³ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2795. Memorie Ceylon Government 25 January 1753.

⁴²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 August 1753.

⁴²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 9 November 1754.

⁴²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten and his wife to J.C. Loten and his wife. Colombo 10 november 1754. In the HUA Grothe Archive nr 1425 there are several letters by Anna Deliana Van der Bruggen and Dirk Willem van der Bruggen to Arnout Loten and his wife, sent from Colombo and Batavia in the period 1754-1757, in which they write about the education of their two sons in Utrecht. The concept-responses of Arnout Loten are preserved in HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Also in this archive Arnout Loten's account of his failed attempts to promote Van der Bruggen as a Councillor of the Indies, because "het raisonnement van de heer president Hasselaar, om geen vader en zoon in een vergadering &c. te laten zitten".

⁴²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to D.W. van der Bruggen and his wife. Utrecht 8 December 1754.

⁴²⁸ HUA.GC 1425. D.W. van der Bruggen to A. Loten Colombo 31 October 1755.

⁴²⁹ DAS 7437.3. The ship *Slooterdijk* departed 17 November 1754 from Ceylon and arrived at the Texel roadstead 31 May 1755. According to Joan Carel's note-book (HUA.GC 750 nr 1350) master Jacobus Boekhout visited Joan Carel Loten 26 October 1755. He received a present of 100 ducats. He was also paid f 5517:- for the return voyage of Jacob Anthonij.

⁴³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1350. Notebook Joan Carel Loten. Dirk Willem van der Bruggen sent an assignment of 4,000 guilders to Joan Carel Loten, probably to cover the costs for the education of his son. See *Memorie Ceylon Government* 10 November 1755, NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2853.

⁴³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten. Utrecht 25 September 1755. 'Jantje vdr Bruggen is very prosperous and Willemtje is recovered from a serious disease'. When Schalkwijk died, 15 December 1756, Jacob Willem returned to full-board in the house of Mr Hersant.

⁴³² HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to D.W. van der Bruggen and his wife. Utrecht 6 November 1756.

⁴³³ In 1764 Jacob Willem van der Bruggen visited Loten in London. His brother Arnout referred to the visit.
"Ik had altijd gedacht, dat vd^e. Br[uggen] de Engelsen te veel was ingenomen, om hun zulke schatten toe te vertrouwen; si magnis parvis componere licet [si parva licet componere magnis: if it is permitted to compare the small with the large matters]".
HUA.GC. 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 March 1765.

⁴³⁴ A short sketch of the life of Mr Jacob Willem van der Bruggen is in H.P. Fölting (1985), *De vroedschap van 's-Gravenhage 157-1795*. Pijnacker, Dutch Efficiency Bureau, 366 pages, pages 261-262.

⁴³⁵ Mr Joan Pieter Dierquens (1710-1780) burgomaster of The Hague and Colonel of the 'shooters' [civil militia] married Elisabeth Agneta Fagel (1709-1768), daughter of the wealthy councillor Mr Cornelis Gerrit Fagel (1663-1746).
See Fölting (1985), *De vroedschap van 's-Gravenhage*, pages 222-224; Niemeijer (1994), Willem Carel Dierkens (1753-1778), pages 47-76; Schuttevâer (1986), *De familie Dierkens*, page 36-66.

⁴³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 23 February 1764.

⁴³⁷ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 4 September 1759.

⁴³⁸ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 31 March 1761.
"Neef van der Bruggen is voorlede vrijdag met Zijn Ed. zwager Koek op een dag heen en weder hier geweest; heeft zig zeer naar Uwgd. geïnformeerd, en in 't geheel niets van eenige dissentie met Uwgd: laten blijken; desselfs kinderen zijn alle vier zeer welvarende; Willem had hier in voorlede zomer zeer breed opgegeven dat nu tegens April zou gaan reizen naar Engeland, Vrankrijk, etc; maar nihil horum; Papa zeid zulks nog in geen 2 jaren in de gedagten heeft; klaagd zeer over Jan, en is genoodzaakt geweest een gouverneur voor hem te nemen, vermits met hem op geener hande manieren kon teregt komen; Antje heeft een mademoiselle gekregen, en schijnt bijzonder zo met deze als met gem^e. gouverneur in de schik te zijn".

⁴³⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo November 1753, sent 25 January 1754.

⁴⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1425. D.W. van der Bruggen to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1754.

⁴⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1350. The actions of Joan Carel Loten to promote his son Joan Gideon and Dirk Willem van der Bruggen are in his small notebook.

⁴⁴² HUA.GC 750 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 October 1754; A. Loten to D.W. van der Bruggen. Utrecht 8 December 1754.

⁴⁴³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1425. D.W. van der Bruggen to A. Loten. Colombo 25 October 1754.

⁴⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1425. D.W. van der Bruggen to A. Loten. Batavia 1757.

⁴⁴⁵ TUL.TF-Hs 78, copy letter J.G. Loten to Governor-General Jacob Mossel, Colombo 19 February 1755; also copy letter J.G. Loten to Dithart van Rheden, Colombo 19 February 1755.

⁴⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398.

⁴⁴⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. Colombo 12 November 1756.

⁴⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1425. D.W. van der Bruggen to A. Loten. Batavia 30 October 1756. There is also an account in HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 12 November 1756.

⁴⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr. 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Batavia 27 June 1757.

⁴⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to his father and brother Arnout Loten. Colombo 29 January 1755.

⁴⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr1422. J.C. Loten to his father and brother Arnout Loten. Colombo January 29, 1755 (Copy). A reference to Van Imhoff's appointment as General of the Infantry is in GAH.BC inv. 757: letter A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen (mother Joan Gideon) Utrecht 2 April 1750.

⁴⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 9 November 1755.

⁴⁵³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his parents. Colombo 9 November 1755.

⁴⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 inv 1426. Concept-letter Arnout Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 December 1755. After the death of the Princess-regent in January 1759, D'Ablaing lost his influential position in The Hague and Utrecht. See Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, pages 213 and 215; Gabriëls (1990), pages 248-250.

⁴⁵⁵ Several months afterwards Arnout reported that in case of a favourable moment, D'Ablaing would propose Loten's appointment to the Princess Anne. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht undated, written between April and July 1756.

⁴⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo November 1756.

⁴⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 April 1754

⁴⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to D.W. van der Bruggen and his wife. Utrecht 21 April 1754.

⁴⁵⁹ Mrs. Grovestins is Catharina Sinolt named von Schultz (London 1718-Bath 1797), married Douwe Sirtema van Grovestins (1710-1778), Lieutenant General of the Cavalry of the States-General of the Dutch Republic, Colonel of the lifeguard and Grandmaster of the horse of Prince William IV of Orange, living at Buitenhof, The Hague The cabinet of Mrs. Van Grovestins was according to Arnout Vosmaer sold to the Empress of Russia during the eighteenth century.

See NNBW II, pages 1000-1001; Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer (1986) pages: 105-106; Pieters & Rookmaaker (1994); Gabriëls (1990), pages 127-130

⁴⁶⁰ A drawing of this cabinet is in the collection of the Municipal Archive The Hague. See Pieters & Rookmaaker (1994), page 16.

⁴⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422: J.C. Loten to his father and brother Arnout Loten: Colombo January 29, 1755.

⁴⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422: J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 9 November 1755.

⁴⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 27 January 1756.

Johannes Nicolaas Sebastiaan Allamand (1713-1787), lectured on natural history and was (especially) in charge of the Leiden University cabinet in the gallery of the Leiden Hortus (Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer, 1986: 5). On April 7, 1760 Allamand wrote a letter to the Royal Society in London to support Loten's election as a member.

⁴⁶⁴ Manuscript in the Library of the Natural History Museum London NHM.LMS pages 41, 42, 43 and 44, dated Colombo January 27, 1756. The manuscript is not in Loten's handwriting, with exception of the last part. The manuscript is in Dutch and reads in translation:

List of jars containing some snakes, fishes, scorpions &c. at present sent with the ship Rosenburg, under skipper Broman, commanding said ship.

No. 1. A large jar in which a snake of the best or most important species of Hair-snakes (in Portuguese named Covre Cavilho), which carries the strong poison of all species of that name. If a person is bitten by it, blood will immediately flow from nose, mouth and ears; it is said that the wounded man will die within 60 hours, if the proper medicine is not immediately applied.

No. 2 A jar with a rare fish

No. 3 A jar containing 3 scorpions (the poison of which is stronger than that of the common scorpions), as well as a species of Chameleon and a small tree grasshopper.

No. 4 A jar with 2 chameleons and a centipede, the bite of which causes a pain more prolonged than the bite of the larger.

No. 5 This jar contains a spider named in Ceylon Ditr Makoena, which is so poisonous that often death is instantaneous after its bite. Also a small turtle and two beetles with long snouts, which, one has assted me, develop from a worm as found in jar no. 11. Also three other beetles.

No. 6. A jar with a fish like the one in jar no. 2.

No. 7. A jar in which a green snake, named in Singalese Eschoella, which is not poisonous at all but always jumps in the direction of one's eye. Also a speckled snake named Henne Kandia, which is not dangerous for men, but when it falls out of a tree on some animal or other, then the joint of the animal on which it falls becomes stiff. No. 8. A jar with various species of beetles.

No. 9. A jar with scorpions like those mentioned under no. 3.

No. 10. A jar with a small Covre Cavillo or Hair-snake, which is not as poisonous as those of no. 1.

No. 11. A jar with a scorpion, a chameleon and the worm already mentioned under 5.

No. 12. A jar with a short snake, of which it is commonly said that it has a head at either end, which gave it the name Depats Naya.

No. 13. A jar containing three snakes. The upper is named Maalkarrawalla. It is about as poisonous as the one of no. 12. Furthermore a small watersnake, not poisonous. And another snake, named pallong telissa with a big head; this species is extremely poisonous the person bitten by it will swell considerably; however, by applying the right aid it is possible to recover from the bite.

No. 14. A jar with a yellow bat, a grasshopper and a worm that produces a beetle.

Colombo, January 27, 1756.

P.S. All the above material has been packed in two boxes sealed and marked G. ♣ [a figure that is a schematic illustration of Loten's coat of arms]

[The following passage is evidently written by Loten himself] In addition to these two boxes there are two more boxes with conchs and shells, which on behalf of the Company are being sent with the ship Rosenburg and which will be put on board and registered in Galle. Therefore I have sent them to Commander de Jong at Galle, and I have asked Mr de Jong to enclose the receipts for these two boxes, in an envelope addressed to my brother Arnout Loten in Utrecht. The receipts namely are needed to receive them [the boxes] on arrival of the ship in Amsterdam. My brother, God willing, will not hesitate to use all promptitude in handling these receipts to your honour.

⁴⁶⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo June 27th 1756.

⁴⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 15 October 1756.

⁴⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 14 December 1756.

⁴⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 7 October 1757.

⁴⁶⁹ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, ad passim; Gabriëls (1990), pages 128-129.

⁴⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422: J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 9 November 1755.

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- ⁴⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 27 June 1756.
- ⁴⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr. 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Batavia 27 June 1757. HUA.GC nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 14 december 1756
- ⁴⁷³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Copy of letter Jacob Mossel to J.G. Loten. Batavia 1 December 1755.
- ⁴⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his parents. Colombo 9 November 1755.
- ⁴⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 12 November 1756.
- ⁴⁷⁶ In his notebook Loten wrote a scratched out remark that he had confidentially told Commander de Jong of the ship *Leiden* about his request to be relieved. This indicates that Loten had already decided to return to Patria when his daughter departed from Colombo (HUA.GC 750 nr 1398).
- ⁴⁷⁷ Archief Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch, inventarisnummer 654: Documents from the archive of the Groot-Semenarie Haaren: "Extract uyt de Generale Resolutien des Casteels Batavia op Vrijdag den 18 Junij 1756".
- ⁴⁷⁸ Jan Schreuder (Hamburg 1704-Batavia 1764). Schreuder was Governor of Ceylon from 1757-1762. He left a memoir of his period as a Governor of Ceylon which was published by Reimers (1935). See also *Generale Missiven* volume XIII, 15 October 1756 page 12.
- ⁴⁷⁹ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I page 181.
- ⁴⁸⁰ The memoir was published by Reimers (1935).
- ⁴⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 December 1756, sent in April 1757.
- ⁴⁸² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. Veth (1860) pages 128-131, published the document.
- ⁴⁸³ Lt James Olifant not identified. In the Rijkprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, there is a pencil drawing by James Oliphant in Map *Topografie Oost-Indië* 2. The drawing bears in Loten's handwriting in pencil the annotation: "James Oliphant 1741 ad vivum. Fortuyn of Maccassar a Boy of about 13 knitting stockings". The drawing bears no number, but is in the same cover as a topographical drawing from Celebes, dated 1749 and probably made by Jean Michel Aubert (RPK -T-00-3240).
- ⁴⁸⁴ Captain Gerrit van der Tollen can be identified as Gerrit van der Tolle, who was in 1743-1744 captain of the ship *Verwachting* (DAS 3279.1), 850 ton, built in 1742 in Zeeland for the VOC-Chamber of Zeeland. The *Verwachting* left Rammekens August 28, 1743. May, 13, 1744 the ship arrived at the Batavia roadstead. In 1744 the ship arrived at Canton. The *Verwachting* was lost in 1744 on a voyage from China to Surat. See VOC-website and Jörg, C.J.A., 1978. *Porselein als handelswaar: de porseleinhandel als onderdeel van de Chinahandel van de V.O.C., 1729-1794*. Leiden: Jörg, 1978, 387 p.
- ⁴⁸⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 17 December 1780. The reference is to the ship *Herstelder* (1150 ton), previously called *Edam*, bought in 1741 by the VOC chamber Amsterdam from the Amsterdam Admiralty. The 150 feet warship *Edam* was designed by Charles Bentam. It departed on October 27, 1742 from Texel to Batavia. The 9 passengers included Governor-General Van Imhoff and 7 servants. Van Imhoff was enthusiastic about the of the ship. In 1742 the Heren XVII decided to built VOC ships according to the Bentam model (See Bruijn, Gaastra & Schöffner (1987) pages 46-47; VOC website and DAS 3256.1). In his *Common-place-book* Loten made a reference to the 'Herstelder' under the heading "Schip" (See HUA.GC 750 nr 1393).
- ⁴⁸⁶ Cameron (1952), pages 47-52. The reference is to Cook's letter of May 19th 1772 to the Secretary of the Admiralty:
In consequence of Lieut. Cooper representing to me that the *Resolution* ship under my command was found upon trial to be so crank that she would not bear her proper sail to be set on her, I gave it as my opinion that it was owing to the additional works that have been built upon her in order to make large accomodation for the several gentlemen passengers intended to embark upon her and proposed that she might be cut down to her original.
- ⁴⁸⁷ RPK-T-00-828. Drawing pencil and brush, coloured light blue. 42,5 x 27 cm.

⁴⁸⁸ In 1757 Hasselaar married in Batavia Geertruida Margaretha Mossel, the daughter of Jacob Mossel. The marriage party was extravagantly luxurious, the reason according to several authors why Mossel, who followed a policy against ostentation of the VOC servants, did not participate in the ceremonies. In the Loten documents however, there is a detailed description of the wedding party, which took place several weeks before Loten arrived at Batavia. From the description it is evident that the Governor-General played a role in the ceremonies. Mossel did not attend the marriage ceremonies in the Noorder Church, but was the first to congratulate the married couple at the start of the festivities in his residence.

See Helmond Archive Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. Description of ceremonies marriage P.C. Hasselaar and G.M. Mossel Batavia 24 April 1757.

⁴⁸⁹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. Letter P.C. Hasselaar to J.G. Loten. Cheribon 29 August 1757.

Pieter Cornelis Hasselaar arrived in 1755 at Batavia. Hasselaar was appointed by Mossel as the Resident of Cheribon, the most profitable office of the VOC in the Indies. In 1771 he returned to Patria as Admiral of the Return Fleet, together with Roelof Blok who also made the voyage as Admiral of the Return Fleet. He became Burgomaster of Amsterdam (1773) and Director of the VOC (1777). In 1774 he bought the country seat *Groeneveld* in Baarn, which he had sold in 1755.

See Gaastra (2006).

⁴⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1757.

⁴⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 December 1770.

⁴⁹² NL-HaNA VOC 1.04.02 nr 13960, *Scheepssoldijboek Kasteel Woerden*. Van Der Bruggen is registered under nrs 2,3,4,5 and 6.

⁴⁹³ In de VOC-administrations of the money transfers from Batavia and Colombo to Patria he following bills of exchange reimbursed by Dirk Willem van der Bruggen were identified.

Assignment from	Reimbursed by VOC chamber	Date of reimbursement	Deposit assignment in Dutch East Indies	Reimbursement in Dutch Republic in guilders
Batavia	Amsterdam	29 Dec 1758	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Amsterdam	29 Dec 1758	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Amsterdam	29 Dec 1758	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Amsterdam	29 Dec 1758	2,307 rixdollars	f 5,538
Colombo Jan Hugonis	Amsterdam	17 Jan 1759	307 ducats	f 1,107
Batavia	Zeeland	1759	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Zeeland	1759	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Zeeland	1759	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Zeeland	1759	14,464 rixdollars	f 34,715
Batavia	Zeeland	1759	4,244 rixdollars	f 10,186
Batavia	Zeeland	1760	15,000 rixdollars	f 36,000
Batavia	Zeeland	1760	4,497 rixdollars	f 10,793
Batavia	Delft	1761	75,000 rixdollars	f 180,000
Batavia	Enkhuizen	1761	38,285 rixdollars	f 91,884
Batavia	Zeeland	1761	30,000 rixdollars	f 72,000
Batavia	Hoorn	1762	20,615 ducats	f 74,215
Batavia	Zeeland	1763	2,170 ducats	f 7,812
Colombo	Zeeland	1763	265 ropen	f 358
Colombo	Zeeland	1764	708 ducats	f 2,552
Total				f 743,160

See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050 and 2902. See also *Generale Missiven* volume XIII that specifies the following money transfers:

December 1758: 34,715 guilders by by senior merchant Pieter Joan Bangeman, Jan Harris and Simon Joseph to Dirk Willem van der Bruggen (page 338);

31 December 1758: 30,852 guilders by senior merchant Hugo Pieter Fauré to Joan Gideon Loten and Dirk Willem van der Bruggen (pag 339);

December 1759: 318,678 guilders by senior merchant Pieter Joan Bangeman, Jan Harris and Simon Joseph to Dirk Willem van der Bruggen (page 476).

⁴⁹⁴ NL-HaNA 1.10.46 inv 28. J. Mossel to T. Hope. Batavia 15 October 1757: “De Heer Loten vaart tans tuijs om meerder eindt te zoeken als de nijd en jalousie”. Frits van Dulm (Naarden vesting) brought this letter under my attention.

⁴⁹⁵ DAS 7510.1. On board the ship *Vrouwe Petronella Maria* there were 103 sailors, 29 soldiers, 4 craftsmen and one passenger. Loten was appointed by the Indian Council as commissary of the Cape with the mission to control whether the reformations of 1753 were completed. During his stay at the Cape he would have the supreme authority of the VOC settlement (*Generale Missiven*, XIII, 31 December 1757, page 199).

In October 1757 junior merchant Mr. Isaac Westplaten Cool departed to Patria as the secretary of the Return Fleet under the command of Admiral of the Return Fleet Joan Gideon Loten (*Generale Missiven* XIII, 15 October 1757, page 121). Isaac Westplaten Cool was the brother of Elisabeth Westplaten Cool, the wife of Loten’s London acquaintance Michael van Millingen. Isaac Cool (born 1732 at Batavia) studied at the Franeker University from 1749 until 1754. He returned to Batavia as Isaac Westplate Cool, in the position of sick-comforter. In 1761 Isaac Westplate Cool and his companion Johan Christian Krohn from Hamburg, merchants at the Amsterdam ‘Princegragt by de Elandstraat’ were guilty of a ‘fraudulous bankruptcy’ (*Amsterdamsche Courant* 2 May 1761). Circa 1764 he married Johanna Lucia Boom at Almelo and probably returned to the Dutch East Indies. See also Chapter 7, paragraph Michael van Millingen.

⁴⁹⁶ Van Der Bruggen returned in the ship ‘*s-Gravesande*’ as a passenger. An act of indemnity was signed by him at Batavia 23 September 1757.

See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7572.

⁴⁹⁷ Proceedings of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository South Africa. Meetings of the Council 31 January 1758; 17 February 1758; 21 February 1758.

⁴⁹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 6 June 1760.

⁴⁹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Ship *Vrouwe Petronella Maria*, south of Portland, 10 June 1758.

⁵⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1775.

⁵⁰¹ See also Veth (1860), page 117. The expression “tar” is from the Dutch “pikbroek” or “pek-broek”, and means ‘sailor’, and refers to the ‘tar trousers’ that the sailors wear at sea.

⁵⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Ship *Vrouwe Petronella Maria*, south of Portland, 10 June 1758.

⁵⁰³ In the *Journal* of his Grand Tour to France and Switserland 1763-1764, Loten described a visit to the palace of the Prince of Lorraine at Brussels on April the 17th 1764:

“..the Palace of the said Prince, formerly the House of the Princess d’Orange, who has collected there a magnificent & well stocked cabinet of natural history, where I found one of those most curious birds well preserved & stuffed, which we call Kroon vogels, being a woodpigeon of the size of a full grown Turkey, very likely and according to the account one of those I presented ao 1758 a live to the Prince of Orange ..”

Source HUA GC 750 number 1387 p111-112.

⁵⁰⁴ RBG.Kew.BC. 1.62 and NHM.DTC 1-135-137. (Dawson 1958: 555). J.G Loten to Joseph Banks. London 14 December 1776.

⁵⁰⁵ Watercolour NHM.LC 69. In the Leiden Naturalis copy of John Latham’s *General Synopsis of Birds* (1781: I, 412) there is a note in Loten’s handwriting, added to the description of the ‘Indian Roller’ (*Coracias benghalensis*): “drawn after the living bird at Colombo the bird stuffed and put in a glass case presented to the British Museum in 1759”. In 1764 George Edwards published a plate and description of the bird in the *Gleanings of Natural History* (plate 326). The bird and it’s mahogany glass case are no longer present in the museum collection.

⁵⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 57, entry between 1778-1780. ‘Mr de W..de’ not identified, but possibly Captain Jacob de Wilde of the Amsterdam Admiralty, in 1765 commander of the navy vessel *Blois*.

⁵⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1350. Notebook Joan Carel Loten.

⁵⁰⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 174, Proceedings Heren XVII, 17 October 1758.

⁵⁰⁹ In his testament 27 February 1767 Loten bequested the 'large gold medal' to his brother Arnout Loten (The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408). In *De Geuzenpenning* 11 (1961) page 6-7 the gold VOC-medals are described. In the eighteenth century it was a 175 g casted medal with on the frontside the admiralship with the VOC banner in top. On the reverse side an engraved inscription. Loten's medal was not retraced.

⁵¹⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham, 7 January 1778. Original in Dutch.

⁵¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428 letters 20 September 1774; 30 June 1775; 6 November 1774. The original text reads:
"hier komt het nu noch wel te pas te declareeren (zonder de minste comparatie) dat ik zelf, schoon d'Astronomie niet kan oefenen by gebrek van eenige mogelykheid door myne indispositie die Goddelijke Weetenschap oneyndig prefereere boven d'Oudheden der Middel-Eeuwen en daaronder hoorende heraldique recherches die zeer veelyds geen kleyntje chimeriq zijn."

⁵¹² *Oratio de astronomia* (1732), Manuscript Leiden University Library.

"Profecto nunquam meliora aut fortiora ad convincendos atheos de Dei existentia et sapientia argumenta depromi possunt, quam ex mundi fabrica, ex astronomia scientia."

In translation:

"indeed it is not possible to advance better and more powerful arguments to convince atheists of the existence of God, than from the structure of the world from the astronomical science".

See Chapter 5 and page 323 in C. de Pater (1979). *Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692-1761), een newtoniaans natuuronderzoeker*.

⁵¹³ Zuidervaart (1999) , pages 49-51.

⁵¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Macassar 30 junij 1746

"[H]et blad van 't opgeslagen boomgewasch kan ik niet anders 'thuysbrengen als op de Kalappa-boom, welches blad dog niet wel zo langwerpig is, wanneer ik tijd heb zal een takje uytsteken en hier nevens voegen: deze boom is kloeker als de europische Notenboom, dog de bast of schorsse komt veel daar mede over een, de vrugt is mede een noot in dezelve soort van bolster juijst van dezelve smaak, maar zonder schaal: ook zo nu voorstaat bloeyt hy niet op dezelve plaats, daar de vrugt uytbot".

⁵¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Macassar 30 junij 1746.

⁵¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1377. The reference to Hadley is to John Hadley (1682-1744), a mathematician and inventor, who demonstrated in 1731 to Fellows of the Royal Society, a reflecting quadrant, the fore-runner of the modern sextant. The latitude of the fortress Rotterdam at Macassar is 5°08'02.90" S 119°24'20.18" E

⁵¹⁷ Mörzer Bruyns (2008), pages 195-210 and Bruijn (2008), page 220.

⁵¹⁸ In his *Bell's Common place book* Loten made the undated annotation (probably *ca* 1780), that he determined the latitude of the Castle Rotterdam at Macassar, 'or Oedjongpandang', with an octant 'made by the old Sisson, I think in 1748 or 1749' (HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 45). The reference is to the London instrument maker Jonathan Sisson (*ca* 1690-1747).

⁵¹⁹ See Huib J. Zuidervaart & Tiemen Cocquyt in: *'Gevlerkte wiskonst, leen m'uw passer, lyn en hand'. De natuurfilosofische liehebberijen en het instrumentenkabinet van de Amsterdamse burgemeester en VOC-bewindhebber Gerard Arnout Hasselaer (1698-1766)*. Huib Zuidervaart allowed the references to this study in preparation.

⁵²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1395. Loten made the following annotation:

"[M]en heeft tyding dat den 23 dezer [1780], op deszelfs buitenplaats Sionsberg te Vught, in den ouderdom van ruim 59 jaaren, overleeden is de WelEdeleGestr. Heer Jan Christoffel v. Heemskerk, in leven Colonel en Capitein ter zee ten dienste dezer landen, mitsgaders Oud-Opper-Equipagiemeester van d'Admiraliteit op de Maaze &c. Deeze was apparent dezelve Heer bij mij onbekend door absentie, ziekte &c gebleeven, die my op Maccassar zijnde verscheidenen zeer fraaye Mathematische en Astronomische boeken tot een present heeft toegezonden. ZijnEdele schoon in dienste van 't land was toen tevens een schip van d'O.I.Comp^e.

commanderende op Batavia gekomen, had mede een broeder onderkoopman daar getrouwd aan eene Juffr van Doorn. Zo ver het obiit & iets meer betreft z. Utrechtse Court. Van Vrydag 29 Septb. 1780.”

Since 1776 the Manor *Zionsburg* at Vught was in possession of Jan Christoffel van Heemskerk. In DAS (3572.1 and 7455.1) a captain Jan van Heemskerk is mentioned as master of the ship *Delft*. This ship arrived Batavia 16 June 1753, at the time Loten was a Governor at Ceylon. Possibly Loten made a mistake when he wrote that he received the present at Macassar from Van Heemskerk.

⁵²¹ HUA Familie Taets van Amerongen Natewisch 23 nr 181. Letter A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 September 1746 and Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 October 1746. According to a note on the last letter Loten answered 6 July 1748. “Hays” probably referred to the London workshop of William Hayes, that was taken over in 1706 by Edmund Culpeper (Daumas, 1972). The reference to “Cassini” is to Jacques Cassini (1677-1756), *Les elemens de l'astronomie verifiez par monsieur Cassini, par le rapport de ses tables aux observations de M. Richer faites en l'isle de Caiyenne* (1740). Cassini born in Paris, was the son of Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1623-1712). He succeeded his father as director of the l'Observatoire de Paris. Jacques Cassini was the author of the remarkable *Éléments d'Astronomie* (1740).

⁵²² Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 2 April 1747. Annotation by Loten July 6, 1748’.

⁵²³ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 757. A.M. Loten Aerssen van Juchen to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 10 November 1749. Jan van Musschenbroek (1687-1748), famous instrument maker in Leiden. He was the brother of professor Petrus van Musschenbroek.

⁵²⁴ See J. van Musschenbroek. *Beschrijving der nieuwe soorten luchtpompen ...*, published as an addendum to Petrus van Musschenbroek’s *Beginselen der Natuurkunde*, published in Leiden in 1736 and 1739. An eight pages list with the instruments of the Van Musschenbroek workshop is also included in the book.

⁵²⁵ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 760. E. Kraayvanger to J.G. Loten. Delft 23 June 1749. In the catalogue of Loten’s library (1789) “Wolfii Elementa Matheseos, Geneve 1732” is mentioned page 5 no. 5. For Kraayvanger see Chapter 2, paragraph Marriage.

⁵²⁶ Zuidervaart (1999), pages 266, 435, 503.

⁵²⁷ Christian Friedrich von Wolff (1679-1754), *Elementa matheseos universae*, appeared in five volumes in 1734-1741.

⁵²⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1376. J.G. Loten to his daughter. Maros 15 September 1750.

⁵²⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 2 November 1753.

⁵³⁰ Correspondence on Arnout Loten’s interest in mathematics and astronomy: HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 5 February 1762; 9 March 1762; 6 April 1762; 7 May 1765 and 11 June 1765. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Several letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. See also Zuidervaart (1999).

The reference to Wolff is in Arnout Loten letter 6 April 1762:

“ ‘t is mij lief dat Uwgb. mij tot de trigonometrie Wolf hebt gerecomandeerd, want eenige weken geleden heb ik dien autheur in ’t Latijn gependeed; maar à propos ik hoop, dat Uwgb. het eerste deel van Wolf hebt mede genomen mits ik dat in Uwgb. Biblioteecq niet vinde”.

⁵³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 december 1754. According to the *Missives* 1754/55 of the Ceylon Government to Patria Loten dispatched 4,800 guilders to Tirion and Carelson in Amsterdam (A. van den Belt personal communication 20 April 2008).

⁵³² For a description and discussion of Hasselaer’s interest in and collection of scientific instruments see Huib J. Zuidervaart & Tiemen Cocquyt in: *Gevlerkte wiskunst, leen m’uw passer, lyn en hand’. De natuurfilosofische liehebberijen en het instrumentenkabinet van de Amsterdamse burgemeester en VOC-bewindhebber Gerard Arnout Hasselaer (1698-1766)*. Huib Zuidervaart allowed the references to this study in preparation.

⁵³³ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050. One assignment in the amount of 2,133 golden Nagapatnam pagodas, the other assignment 1,500 golden pagodas. According to the *Missives* 1756/57 of the Ceylon Government to Patria Loten dispatched 9,600 and 6,750 guilders to Tirion and Carelson in Amsterdam (A. van den Belt personal communication 20 April 2008).

⁵³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 3 december 1756.

⁵³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 27 October 1757; 31 October 1757; 24 December 1756.

⁵³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 30 June 1775.

⁵³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1377.

⁵³⁸ Personal communication Dr H.J. Zuidervaart, The Hague, October 1, 2008.

⁵³⁹ Loten probably owned a copies of Nicolaas Struyck. *Aanmerkingen over het bereekenen van de son eclipsen, op een voorgestelde plaats*. Amsterdam, Joannes van Keulen (1737), and *Inleiding tot de algemeene geographie, benevens eenige sterrekundige en andere verhandelingen*. Amsterdam, I. Tirion (1740). See for Struyck: Zuidervaart (1999).

⁵⁴⁰ Robert Padtbrugge (1637/38-1703) obtained his degree as a physician from Leiden University in 1663, and thereafter started his career in the VOC. He was in Persia, Ceylon and was from 1677-1682 Governor of the Moluccas and from 1682-1687 Governor of Amboina (Beekman, 1999). W. Buijze (2001) in his annotated transcription of G.E. Rumphius's *De Generale Lantbeschrijvinge van het Ambonse Gouvernement* (W. Buijze, Den Haag), discussed on pages xxvii-xxix the relationship between Padtbrugge and Rumphius.

The reference to d'Après de Mannevillette" is to Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Denis d'Après de Mannevillette, *Le Neptune oriental, ou Routier général des côtes des Indes Orientales et de la Chine: enrichi de cartes hydrographiques tant générales que particulières, pour servir d'instruction a la navigation de ces différentes mers*. Par d'Après de Mannevillette, Paris, Jean François Robustel, 1745.

⁵⁴¹ Evidently Loten possessed a watch of the famous English clockmaker John Harrison (1693-1773). He is considered to be the father of the chronometer.

⁵⁴² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 5951, *Scheepssoldijboek Beekvliet 1732*. Loten is number 2 in the ship's pay-ledger. Loten's record in the ship's pay-ledger is continued after number 17, Willem Gootsman.

Loten's income according to the VOC administration in 'Scheepssoldijboek' [=Ship's pay ledger] <i>Beekvliet</i> NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 5951					
Left hand side Expenses			Right hand side Income		
Year, month	Specification	Guilders	Year, month	Specification	Guilders
1732 January 4	Advanced by Company	116:-	1732 August 3	7 months	280:-
1732 June 11	Advanced by company servants	46:2-	1732 August 3	1 month	45:19-
1732 July 28	Advanced by company	68:10-			
1732 August 3	Advanced by company	45:19-			
			1733 August	12 months	516:-
			1734 August	12 months	480:-
			1736 August	24 months	960:-
			1737 August	12 months	480:-
			1738 August	12 months	480:-
			1739 August	12 months	480:-
1740 November 8	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	3441:19-	1740 August	12 months	716:-
			1741 March	7 months	420:-
			1741 August	5 months	300:-
			1742 August	12 months	720:-
			1743 August	12 months	720:-
			1744 January	5 months	406:13:5
			1744 June	5 months	508:-

			1745 June	12 months	2400:-:-
			1746 June	12 months	2400:-:-
1747 October 2	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	3283:6:10	1747 June	12 months	2400:-:-
			1748 June	12 months	2400:-:-
			1749 June	12 months	2400:-:-
			1750 June	12 months	2400:-:-
			1750 September	3 months	600:-:-
			1751 August	11 months	2200:-:-
1752 June 16	Paid to F.A. Carelson	7200:-:-	1752 July	11 months	2200:-:-
1753 April 3	Paid to F.A. Carelson	2400:-:-	1753 August	13 months	2600:-:-
1753 August 10	Paid to Joan Carel Loten	508:-:-			
1753 December 11	Paid to F.A. Carelson	2400:-:-			
			1754 August	12 months	2400:-:-
			1755 August	12 months	4008:-:-
1756 September 14	Paid to Joan Carel Looten	7400:-:-	1756 August	12 months	4192:-:-
1757 September 19	Paid to Joan Carel Looten	2600:-:-	1757 February	6 months	2100:-:-
			1757 August	6 months	2092:-:-
			1757 October 15	1½ months	533:-:-
1758 October 24	Paid to Joan Gideon Loten	18848:6:11	1758 June 17	8 months and 2 days <i>Petronella Maria</i>	3523:6:10
Total		48081:12:5			48081:12:5

⁵⁴³ According to the 'Reglementen' of the Company decided by the Indian Council on 13 May 1755, the official income of the Governor and director of Ceylon was composed of three elements: the 'gagie', the 'kostgeld' and the 'mondrantsoenen'. The 'gagie' for a Governor who was also Councillor extraordinary was 200 guilders per month or 2,400 guilders per year. In case the Governor was a Councillor ordinary he earned 350 guilders per month. The 'kostgeld' was per month 57 guilders and 12 stuyvers or 691 guilders and 4 stuyvers per year. The 'mondgeld' per year was specified in the 'Reglementen' as follows:

"40 kannen wijn à 15 stuyvers	405 gulden
3 vaten bier	150 gulden
90 kannen azijn	27 gulden
45 kannen olijf olij	45 gulden
2 vaten Vriese boter	250 gulden
2 lasten rijst	160 gulden
1 last tarwe	150 gulden
1 legger arak	100 gulden
Specerijen Zout, Peper enz	<u>122 gulden</u>
[Total]	1,409 gulden"

See NL-HaNA. 1.04.17 inv. 538.

⁵⁴⁴ Van den Belt (2008), page 202-204.

⁵⁴⁵ This conclusion is based on the administration of the reimbursement of the Indian bills of transfer by the Directors of the Company in the Dutch Republic and the *Scheepsvoldijboek Beekvliet* [=Ship's Pay-Ledger] (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049; 7050; 7051; 7052, 5951) and the *Memories* of the Ceylon of Policy Council to the Directors of the VOC in Amsterdam (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2814; 2853; 2856; 2857; 2878; 2881; 2902; 2933; 2985; 3833).

⁵⁴⁶ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049. The assignment from Batavia was paid out December 1st 1735 by the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC.

⁵⁴⁷ HUA.NA U139a24, aktenr. 150, d.d. 31-10-1740. The reference in the notary act is to a procuration dated 28-9-1739 by notary J. Visvliet at Batavia. This transaction is also mentioned in the *Scheepssoldijboek Beekvliet* (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 5951).

⁵⁴⁸ HUA.NA inv.nr. U139a28, aktenr. 53, d.d. 07-09-1745.

⁵⁴⁹ *Scheepssoldijboek Beekvliet*, NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 5951.

⁵⁵⁰ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049. The assignment from Colombo was paid out July 2nd 1754 by the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC.

⁵⁵¹ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Copy Letter J.G. Loten to J. Mossel. Colombo 19 February 1755.

⁵⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1754..

“Wij hebben weder eene groote desastre gehad want drie a vier maanden geleeden heeft de Hooge Indiasche Regering alle het geld in waarde verlaagd te weten de ducatonen van 13 op 12 schell[ingen] en de ropyen van 30 St[u]yve[r] op 27. Dit heeft ons weder by de 4000 r[ijks]d[alder]s gekost, dog dit maar en passant als men tyd van leeven heeft is dit niet van belang”.

See also A. van den Belt (2008), pages 175-179.

⁵⁵³ See L. Hovy (1991). *Ceylonees Plakkaat Boek*. Volume II, page 573. The Batavia Government decided in its Proceedings that for money transfers to Patria the exchange rate for ducatonen was 12 shilling, for the ropy 27 stuyver. Moreover the assignment had to be paid in golden pagodas of 90 stuyver with a rabat of 4%.

⁵⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 25 August 1772.

⁵⁵⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1774. TUL.TF-Hs 78 number 1. Letter J.G. Loten to Julius Valentijn van Gollense (Director-General at Batavia). Colombo 15 January 1754.

NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 830: Nathanael Steinmetz (*d.* 1753) came from Danzig and was from 1734-1741 “berghopman” [officer of the mines] at Celebes. From 1741-1742 he was provisional Commander “gezaghebber” and subsequently Commander and Lieutenant-Colonel in the field at Japara (East coast of Java); from 1742-1747 he was Governor and Director of Amboina; from 1748-1753 he was councillor extraordinary at Batavia.

In the Nationaal Archief (The Hague) there is a Chart of the Bantimoerang mountains and mines on Celebes, east of Macassar, that possibly referred to Steinmetz’s mining activities at Celebes (NL-HaNA.Leupe.4.VEL 1304). This chart was made in 1735 by landsurveyor T.J. Steinfeldt.

⁵⁵⁶ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 6849 nr. 859. Last will Nathanael Steinmetz..

The author is indebted to Dr Roelof van Gelder, Amsterdam, who suggested to consult the VOC Archive for information about the testament of Nathanael Steinmetz.

Last will Nathanael Steinmetz Testament May the 7 th 1753	
Name heir	Legacy
Geertruijda Margaretha Mossel, daughter of Governor-General Jacob Mossel	5,000 rixdollars
Huijbert Willem van Basel [or Bazell], Councillor extraordinary, Colonel civil militia at Batavia	Silver limonade bowl with ditto lid
Reinier Stapel, President Council of Justice	500 rixdollars
Adriaan de Ravestijn, Alderman at Batavia	Two silver tea trays and two silver boards with motto
George Hendrik Winter, Second Cornet of the western side of the civil militia	A dress-sword with silver handle and two silver boards with motto in memory of Mr Stephanus Versluijsen
The valiant Jacob Halle, Lieutenant and Commander of the Fortress Jacatra	200 rixdollars
Miss Maria Lijwouth, Widow of Reverend Johan Christoffel Mochard, preacher Lutheran Church	200 rixdollars
Nathanael Zeekloff and Anna Catharina Zeekloff, wife of Mr Brautenberg, living at Danzig, or their children. They were the Nephew and Niece of Nathanael Steinmetz	1,000 rixdollars

Hendrik Rischbieter, Burgher and Master Carpenter at the Castle of Batavia	A dress-gun with silver handle and a slave named Patas of Balij. Six silver spoons
Johan Hendrik Maurawski, Assitant of the Company	100 silver ducatoms, 4 silver spoons and green velvet rok with golden bordered with golden passements
Funeral assistants	Each 16 of his undershirts
Deacons of the poor of the reformed community	100 rixdollars for the maintainance of the organ
Frans Martin Quinix, Sergeant in employment of the Company	16 undershirts
Nathanael Quinix, youngest son of Frans Martin Quinix and the free Christian woman Dorothea from Maccassar	200 rixdollars, in case of his decease the legacy will go to his brother Hendrik Quinix
Schultz, Second apothecary at Castle of Batavia	50 rixdollars
Anna Maria van Boegies, a recently emancipated and already baptised female slave	500 rixdollars and large Amboina wooden chest with copper battering and containing silken cloths, silver pinang basin and six silver spoons, two Chinese red varnished benches and twelf dito chairs with their matrasses and cushions, and female slave Sophia from Maccassar
Andries Retting, prison guard of the Company at the Castle of Batavia	Silver bread dish and female slave Malatie
Joan Gideon Loten and Anna Henrietta van Beaumont	Sole and universal heirs
Huijbert Willem van Basel, Adriaan van Ravestijn and George Hendrik Winter. See above	Appointed as executeur of the last will, Adriaan van Ravestijn as treasurer and each 500 rixdollars
Legacy Nathanael Steinmetz Codicil May 8 th 1753	
Johan Everhard Meder, Senior merchant	300 rixdollars
Hendrik Rischbieter, See above	Female slave Sayra from Boegies, wife of the slave Patas
Carel Hendrik Steinmetz, living at Petersburg. Brother of Nathanael Steinmetz	For 1/3 in the legacy of 1,000 rixdollars to his nephew and niece Zeekloff

⁵⁵⁷ In TUL.TF-Hs 75 is one letter from Steinmetz to J.G. Loten and his wife at Semarang, written in Batavia 8 September 1737, in which Steinmetz referred to the kindness that they offered him during his stay at Semarang. In this letter he also reported that there was still a vacancy for the “Majoraat”, which he evidently desired to hold. He further tried to obtain at Batavia a coach for Loten.

⁵⁵⁸ NL-HaNA. 1.11.01.01 inv. 1524, volume 1, page 250.

⁵⁵⁹ Rimmelink (1994), page 158. According to the proceedings of the Council of Semarang 7 September 1741 Steinmetz was suffering from ‘graveel’ or ‘calculus’ in the kidney or bladder. NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2548. Dr Willem Rimmelink was so kind to supply this reference.

⁵⁶⁰ Rimmelink (1994), pages 188 and 195.

⁵⁶¹ TUL.TF-Hs 78. Letter J.G. Loten to Stein van Gollennesse. Colombo 30 August 1753.

⁵⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London, 13 May 1774.

⁵⁶³ Dutch “Assignatie”, bill of transfer, translated as ‘Assignment’. See for the transfer of money from the Dutch East Indies to Patria Van den Belt (2008), chapter 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Loten received 15 June 1755, 90 stuyver for one Pagoda (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049) also on 7 January 1758 Carelson and Tirion were paid out the same exchange rate for two assignments from Loten (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050).

⁵⁶⁵ A. van den Belt (2008), pages 171-181; Gaastra (2006), pages 101-115. Moreover in the period Loten transferred money to Patria, the Company did not pay interest over the period between deposit and reimbursement.

⁵⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 9 November 1754.

⁵⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1379. J.G. Loten to his father and brother. Colombo 9 November 1755. The assignments were reimbursed on 17 and 19 November 1756 (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050). Also mentioned in *Missive* 1754/55 Ceylon Government to Patria (A. van den Belt personal communication 20 April 2008).

⁵⁶⁸ The estimate is based on the nominal value of the Bonds (30,300 guilders) that were sold in 1759 in a public auction and by separate transactions with the aim to invest the capital in England. HUA.NA inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 91, d.d. 04-08-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 87, d.d. 30-07-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 99, d.d. 18-08-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 106, d.d. 03-09-1759, notary Jan Kol.

⁵⁶⁹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050. The assignment was reimbursed by the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC on 19 November 1756.

⁵⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 12 November 1756.

⁵⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo. 25 January 1757. The assignments were reimbursed by the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC on 6 July 1757. Also mentioned in *Missive* 1756/57 Ceylon Government to Patria (A. van den Belt personal communication 20 April 2008).

⁵⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1757.

⁵⁷³ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. Veth (1860), pages 116-123.

⁵⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 4 July 1759. Also in *Memorie Council of Policy Colombo* (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2881 and 2933). (A. van den Belt personal communication 20 April 2008). Albert Burchart de Joncheere reimbursed three assignates from Colombo after his return in Patria: 36,923, 9,600 and 3,323 guilders (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 2933).

⁵⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 15 July 1759 and to Carelson, Utrecht 22 October 1759; 13 November 1759; 14 November 1759.

⁵⁷⁶ This indicates that the interest that Loten received over his capital of 100,000 Rixdollars at Batavia was about 5%.

⁵⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 2 November 1759. HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to Carelson, Utrecht 7 November 1759. Concept letter A. Loten to J. Boudaen. Utrecht 11 January 1760; Utrecht 4 February 1760; Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 29 January 1760; 22 February 1760.

⁵⁷⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050.

⁵⁷⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 31 October 1760.

“Neef Boudaen van Schellagh heeft mij gezegd dien Hr. [Herman Berens] te Middelburg te wezen en dat, quod maxime notandum, van Ceijlon omtrent f. 50.000: aan assignatien voor Uwgb: waren overgemaakt”. In 1760 the Zeeland Chamber paid out three assignments to Loten’s agent in the total amount of 51,173 guilders. (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050).

⁵⁸⁰ See also Veth (1860).

⁵⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 June 1761 and 4 September 1761.

⁵⁸² This referred to a present from Loten’s ‘friend Anthonij Vogelsang’, consisting of ‘one skin of a wild donkey and two skins of tigers’, which were sent to the Zeeland Chamber and could not be collected by his brother. Anthony Vogelsang was in 1766 ‘Commandeur en Opper Equipagie Meester [senior master of the equipment]’ at the Cape of Good Hope.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 September 1759; A. Loten to F.A. Carelson at Amsterdam. Utrecht 4 November 1759; Proceedings of the Council of Policy of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository C. 144, pages 243-267, dated 7 April 1766.

⁵⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 October 1761.

⁵⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 April 1762.

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- ⁵⁸⁵ HUA.HC643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Hyere 22 January 1764. Letter in French.
‘Mr. Carelson has suffered greatly in the bankruptcy, however it will be mended in London & Amsterdam, but he becomes old and I do not know if we can be proud of his great skills of a businessman or bookkeeper’.
- ⁵⁸⁶ Cornelis van der Hoop (1716-1781), the “eerste Advocaat”, first advocate of the Dutch East Indies Company (1755-1776) had been in England on behalf of the Dutch East Indies Company for the claims about the Dutch ships that were detained by the British Navy during the Seven Years War (1756-1763). January 18, 1763 Loten had dinner with Van der Hoop in London at Lady Denbigh’s. Van der Hoop returned to Amsterdam in May 1763 and took with him several pamphlets that Loten had collected for his friend Van Hardenbroek. In 1765 Loten wrote Van Hardenbroek:
“The friendship of mr. van der Hoop hath been very agreable to me during His stay here, I take Him to be a Man of such principles that I can always love Him”.
In March 1781 he received a message from Mrs Van der Hoop that her husband was ‘without hope of a recovery’, Loten wrote Van Hardenbroek that he was moved by this communication.
HUA.HC643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 19 January 1763; 9 May 1763; 10 May 1765; 16 March 1781.
- ⁵⁸⁷ HUA.HC643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Montpellier 2 October 1763. Letter in French and Dutch.
- ⁵⁸⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425. Veth (1860), pages 116-123 published the document and considered Loten’s claim on the Company well founded. Robidé van der Aa (1880), pages 51-53 however mistrusted Loten’s arguments.
- ⁵⁸⁹ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 178, Proceedings Heren XVII, 21 October 1766 and 1 April 1767.
- ⁵⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 October 1770.
- ⁵⁹¹ A reference to the Latin *Delegatus Non Potest Delegare*: a delegate cannot delegate. A person to whom an authority or decision-making power has been delegated to from a higher source, cannot, in turn, delegate again to another, unless the original delegation explicitly authorized it.
- ⁵⁹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1774.
- ⁵⁹³ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 181.
- ⁵⁹⁴ See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049, 7050 and 5951. The reimbursement of Loten’s loan of 82,000 rixdollars on February 21st 1764 was not found in the VOC-administration of the bills of exchange. In the Proceedings of the Heren XVII the loan is mentioned (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv.176, 29 October 1763). See also Veth (1860), pages 116-123.
In the *Generale Missiven*, volume XIII several bills of transfer of Joan Gideon Loten are specified:
31 December 1757: 55,384 guilders by Joan Gideon Loten to himself (page 211);
31 December 1758: 30,852 guilders by senior merchant Hugo Pieter Fauré to Joan Gideon Loten and Dirk Willem van der Bruggen (page 339);
31 December 1759: 27,623 guilders by Johannes Hartkop to Joan Gideon Loten (page 475);
31 December 1760: 39,876 guilders by Johannes Hartkop and Simon Joseph, major of the civil militia at Batavia, to Joan Gideon Loten (page 618).
- ⁵⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 July 1759.
- ⁵⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 27 January 1756.
- ⁵⁹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 May 1771.
- ⁵⁹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 October 1771.
- ⁵⁹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A.Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 December 1756.
- ⁶⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 October 1771. See also HUA.NA U256c13 nr 61, notary C. de Wijs Utrecht, 15 May 1776, appointment Jacobus Cornelis Mattheus Radermacher as Loten’s agent at Batavia.

Reinier de Klerk was Governor-General from 1777-1780. Radermacher was the founder and first chairman of the 1778 founded Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences. He and his family were killed by Chinese sailors when they returned to Patria. See H.A.M. Snelders (1979). *Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in de periode 1778 tot 1816. Documentatieblad De Achttiende Eeuw* 41-42, pages 62-91.

⁶⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 25 October 1771.

⁶⁰² HUA.NA U217a12 nr 127. Notary W. Van Vloten Utrecht, 23 May 1770. Captain Willem Klump, Captain-lieutenant of the VOC-ship *Amsterdam*, which sunk in January 1749 near Hastings. He lived after his marine career at Maarssen, near Utrecht.

⁶⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772.

⁶⁰⁴ G. Wiersema (1996) inventarised the *Generale Missives* from Batavia for the payments of the dividends from the Opium Society. According to Wiersema in 1781 and 1783 Loten did not receive dividend from his shares in the Amphiön Societeit. However, according to the VOC-administration of the bills of exchange, Loten received payments from the Opium Society over these years. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7050, 7052 and 7052 I

⁶⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Loten specified the dividends from the Opium Society as follows:

Due ultimo Aug[ust] 1758	f 7532:-:-
Due ultimo August 1759	f 7953:9:-
Due [ultimo August] 1760	f 8861:10:-
Due [ultimo August] 1761	f 8817:4:-
[Due ultimo August] 1762	[not included]
[Due ultimo August] 1763	[not included]
[Due ultimo August] 1764	f 6862:-:-
[Due ultimo August 1765]	f 4867:4:-
[Due ultimo August 1766]	f 5724:6:-

⁶⁰⁶ See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv. 7049, 7050, 7052 and 7052 I and HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. The balance on 30 October 1789 at the Amphiön Societeit at Batavia was specified on the assignment in the Helmond Archive Van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 476.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 3

FIRST YEARS IN ENGLAND 1759-1763

1. UTRECHT AND LONDON 1758-1759

RETURN TO UTRECHT

After twenty five years in the Dutch East Indies Loten returned to Utrecht with the apparent intention of settling in the city or its surroundings. In June 1758 sailing south of Portland in the ship *Vrouwe Petronella Maria* he wrote to his brother about housing in Utrecht. From this letter it is evident that the acquisition of a country seat was no longer an issue. It further demonstrates that despite his long absence in the East Indies, he was still familiar with the topography of Utrecht, and its inhabitants: 'Be so kind to rent for me a comfortable, good and reasonable house in Utrecht, if possible with a stable and a coach house and if a good opportunity arises, along the canal near the Plompentooren [=Plumb tower], or under the Lindentrees, like the house of our late uncle Noirot, or, if Mr van der Hoop &c is no longer alive and his house is vacant I prefer that the most, otherwise the house of Mr van Bommel next to it. The house in the Booth Street where the late Mr van Mydrecht lived would also be convenient. This is also the case if the house of Miss van Hennert at the Oude gragt is available. However, these are only rough indications and I leave it to you to find something suitable. However, I long for silence and therefore I want a house far from the turmoil where I can rest from this rough and fatiguing voyage. I wish to have my own house, so I will not be forced to carry my luggage hither and thither in Utrecht'.¹ Arnout found a house with a garden for his brother. It was situated at the east side of the Nieuwstraat, behind the Provincial Court.² It was close to his parent's house at the Oud Munster Kerkhof. His neighbours were Johan Lambertus van Romondt, secretary of the Utrecht Court of Justice, and the tailor Geeling. In June 1760 Loten characterised the house as 'miserable and expensive'.³ He rented it until November 1762, when his possessions were transferred to a house on the Nieuwegracht which he hired from the Van Wachendorff family.⁴

In his house in Utrecht Loten had a cook called Mie and a maid called Wynthje. Loten's maid Sitie, a native from Celebes, completed his household staff. Sitie was his faithful servant both in Utrecht and London until his death. Although Sitie was given to Loten by the King of Bony, she was not a slave. According to Loten: "[I]n those arbitrary Countries all subjects and Persons of the first and greatest had to swear an oath that their subjects, women and children were his slaves, and that Life and Death were in the hands of the King, which privilege he sometimes misused, so that complete Families came to disgrace and became slaves, and that it often happened that the children were found out by us at near relatives and in that case were exchanged for 2, 3 or sometimes 4 other slaves &c &c".⁵ In May 1752, at Loten's request, governor Van Clootwijk shipped her from Macassar to Batavia. Prior to sending her off, Van Clootwijk described Sitie as 'a young girl so beautiful as I never saw at Macassar'. He planned to send her 'together with another one that I shall look for'.⁶ However, it is unknown whether another girl was found, for no information about the female cargo has been discovered among the VOC papers.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the city of Utrecht was a far from mundane, quiet provincial town. In 1756 Thomas Nugent described it as "a fine, large, and populous city, situated in a very agreeable and plentiful country".⁷ About 25,000 people lived within the late-mediaeval earthen ramparts that surrounded the city. Around 1758 Reverend Sacheverell Stevens called Utrecht "a handsome well built city, and makes the prettiest appearance of any place I ever saw".⁸ In 1769 Harry Peckham described Utrecht as "undoubtly a most elegant town, but without any public building to attract a stranger's notice".⁹ It was not a trading centre and there was little industrial activity.¹⁰ Here the Dutch Reformed Church was an important institution; all the regents belonged to the Reformed faith. From 1636 onwards Utrecht had an Academy, a local university. In 1754 it consisted of some 300 persons, both students and professors. Every year foreign students travelled to Utrecht. In the eighteenth century several professors connected to the Academy were famous both nationally and internationally. In 1759 there were 17 professors, nine of whom were from Germany.

Utrecht was a town inhabited by the rich and noble. They lived in large houses along the two canals of the city, the Nieuwe Gracht and the Oude Gracht, or they stayed in stately houses near the St John's Grove, the Dom church (previously known as the Cathedral or St Martin church) and the St Mary church, commonly known as the English church. Trees lined the streets and canals. Along the canals there were wharfs which led to the cellars of the houses. The street was a level higher. In 1752 Antonio Monsato described the Oude Gracht as follows: "In the old Graft [sic] or Street the Houses are built after such a manner, that the People appear walking on one another's Heads".¹¹ The town also had other characteristics described by James Boswell, who was a student of the University of Utrecht from 1763

until 1764: “Most of their [=Dutch Republic’s] principal towns are sadly decayed, and instead of finding every mortal employed you meet with multitudes of poor creatures that are starving in idleness. Utrecht is remarkably ruined. There are whole lanes of wretches who have no other subsistence than potatoes, gin, and stuff which they call tea and coffee”.¹² Circa 1758 the Reverend Stevens noticed that “in no place in Holland more than in Utrecht [they carry neatness and cleanliness even to a degree of excess], which appears in their houses, both withinside and without, and in the very streets; but what seems a kind of paradox, the inhabitants in common make but a slovenly appearance”.¹³

In 1757 the citizens of Utrecht were able to obtain alcoholic drinks in 678 places within the city walls.¹⁴ The town retained its rural character until the end of the century. Sheep pastured on the ramparts and along the canals surrounding the city. Pigs were kept in town and were a nuisance because they caused damage to the gardens where they trampled the vegetables. The city walls were very broad and planted with trees. From their footpaths they provided attractive views of the surrounding landscape. The town was not a fortress. Former fortifications were let to citizens who built garden houses or factories there. There were seven corn mills in the city and on the ramparts. In 1782 only four of these were still in use. However, according to the bakers this was not enough to supply flour in times when there was little wind.

There were four gates by which one could enter the town. When dusk fell the heavy gate-doors were closed and one could only access the town through a small door in the gate by paying a few pence entrance fee. The keys to these gates were stored away at the town-hall, where they were kept in a box. At about ten o’clock each evening, the small doors were also locked so that the town could only be entered or left by special permission.

In various eighteenth-century travel narratives the ‘Maliebaan’ (Mall) is described as a special attraction. In his *Travels* (1705) Blainville states that “the trees are so thick and bushy, that there are no finer Walks in Europe. Lewis XIV was so charmed with them that he forbade cutting them down in 1672”.¹⁵ According to the 1743 *A description of Holland*: “The Mall of Utrecht is reckon’d the finest in Europe. On Sunday Evenings in Summer it is full of very fine Company. It is about three Quarters of a Mile in Length, and has four parallel Walks on each side adorned with Rows of high Trees, which are kept in excellent Order. At the farther End of the Mall there is a grand and charming Vista to the Ramparts, upon which is a Tree cut pyramidically, that fronts the Mall, which lies without the Walls”.¹⁶ Another highlight of eighteenth-century Utrecht was the silk factory *Zijdebalen* of Mr Van Mollem, described by Reverend Stevens as follows: “[I]n the town is a famous silk mill, esteemed as a great curiosity; the master has the neatest house and garden for the size in Europe; in the garden are two grotto’s, of the finest shell-work imaginable”.¹⁷

Utrecht was located in the middle of the Dutch Republic. In the eighteenth century a well-regulated transport service, consisting of towboats and coaches connected the city to the rest of the Republic. The towboats lay outside the city walls near the town gates. The boats which travelled to and from Leiden lay next to the Catharijne gate. The towboat to Amsterdam arrived at and departed from the Weerd gate. The coaches to Breda departed from the Tolsteeg gate, at the inn *De Witte Zwaan*. The coach to Arnheim and Amersfoort left town through the Wittevrouwen gate.

The Loten documents hold few references to the ten months of his residence in Utrecht. From the available information it is clear that he did not behave like an Indian Nabob. In view of his social aspirations it is somewhat surprising that Loten never purchased a seigneurie, as his grandfather and uncle Joseph, which could have given him the status of ‘seigneur’ or ‘Lord of the manor’. He must have been less pretentious than many of his former colleagues. For example, in 1754 Arnout Loten wrote about Joan Gideon Loten’s schoolmate, George Tammo Falck, who had returned to Utrecht from Bantam four years before: ‘Nowadays Mr George Falck shines with his coach and horses. He bought a house at the Predikerskerkhof, formerly the house of the Lord of Termeer, and also the country seat Sandbergen, which formerly belonged to our late Uncle Noirof’.¹⁸ There is no indication that Loten made a comparable show of the fortune he acquired in the East Indies. He also did not fall into disgraceful circumstances as did Mr Jacob van den Bosch. In 1755 Arnout Loten informed his brother about this former councillor of the Dutch East Indies and commander of Bantam: ‘You ask me elucidation about the Councillor of India van den Bosch. He died three years ago. He was considered here as a man who did not make much progress in India, which was adequately confirmed because He lived in this province mainly on an annuity’.¹⁹ He was famous for his debauchery in wine and his conversations with whores, whom he invited in troops together to march to his rented country seat at Zuilen and with whom he was always in a state of war. I have been several times in his company, but since he drank fast he was soon drunk and therefore

somewhat unpleasant. He could not admit to other people that black is white. He was usually like the device «car tel est notre plaisir» [a phrase frequently used by monarchs when signing a law], which is why his company was not often sought for. You can guess without *Ars Magica* what I am trying to tell you'.²⁰

In Utrecht Loten encountered several of his former friends from the Hieronymus School and the University: Everard van Wachendorff; the two Van Tuyll van Serooskerken brothers, Diederic Jacob, Lord of Zuylen and General Jan Maximiliaan, Lord of Vleuten, Heeze and Leende.²¹ Besides his old friends he met the amiable and libertine François Doublet, Lord of Groeneveld. In 1742 Doublet married Loten's rich cousin, Constantia Johanna Loten.

In Utrecht Loten regularly suffered from pressure on his chest after meals.²² However, his complaints were not serious and he was apparently reasonably healthy. Loten's physician, Jacob Roosendaal (*d.* 1767), who was evidently foisted upon him by his cousin, Constantia Johanna Loten,²³ prescribed *Melissa* mixed with wine or hot water or with flowers of *Rosemary*.²⁴ Loten referred to the healthy climate in Utrecht several times in the 1770s: "NB NB in 1758 when I had the fortune to visit my highly honoured professor Musschenbroek (deferentially remembered) this Gentleman highly commended the abode at Utrecht, because it is a healthy place and much to prefer over Leiden, The Hague &c. He also said in several meteorological observations in his *Dissertationes Physicæ Experimentales* that during a whole year (I think it was a^o 1727) the change in the height of the mercury column of the barometer remained within 1½ inch".²⁵

From this entry it is clear that he travelled outside Utrecht and visited his former teacher Petrus van Musschenbroek in Leiden. In that town he also saw his son-in-law Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen.²⁶ The encounter must have been unpleasant, because Van Der Bruggen claimed his late wife's legitimate share of her mother Anna Henrietta van Beaumont's inheritance. While at Batavia Loten had apparently agreed to pay this to Van Der Bruggen. In February 1759 however, the payment had still not been reimbursed. Van Der Bruggen consequently announced he would visit Loten in Utrecht.²⁷ Loten avoided meeting Van der Bruggen and asked his financial agent Franz Adam Carelson to act as his representative. In August 1759 – Loten was travelling in England – the matter was still unsettled and Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen considered coming over to discuss his claim. Loten wrote to his brother: 'Please keep yourself ignorant about Van Der Bruggen's journey to a country that is inhabited only by s... [=scoundrels]. Nevertheless I am absolutely convinced that this island was never set foot on by a greater person than this Colossus'.²⁸ Two weeks later however, he wrote his brother from London saying that he had exchanged letters with Van Der Bruggen and Carelson about a settlement.²⁹ The matter was finally resolved in December 1759. Loten paid Van Der Bruggen 64,616 guilders. Much to Loten's satisfaction half of the usual 7 ⁹/₁₃ percent transfer costs for the East Indies Company were deducted from this amount. '[H]e did not want to pay the receipt of the notary. I should have resisted his demands into the extreme so that he possibly would not have received anything. But I am glad to be freed from his selfish and detestable company, although I have to accept the absence of the children'.³⁰

In Leiden Loten may have visited Elisabeth Arnoudina van Beaumont (his late wife's sister) and her husband, Johannes Bergen Van Der Grijp who lived at the Leiden Rapenburg. It must have been their last meeting, because 'Betje' died in 1759. The encounter with his sister-in-law may have moved him to buy a pastel from the Amsterdam painter George Van Der Mijl (1723/28-1763). It depicted a Lady with a Ceylonese bird on her hand. This may have been a tribute to his deceased wife Anna Henrietta van Beaumont.³¹ Unfortunately the Van Der Mijl pastel has not been recovered.

DEPARTURE TO ENGLAND

Loten only lived in Utrecht for ten months. He was already preparing to leave in February 1759. On the 26th of that month notary H. Van Dam signed a deed enabling Loten's brother, Arnout, to represent him in his absence. It made him caretaker of Loten's house, goods and chattels.³² Six months of living in his home country and experiencing the monotony of life in the provincial town of Utrecht, where intruding acquaintances and relatives restricted his freedom, Loten was evidently ready to start travelling to foreign places. It was clear to him that the majority of Utrecht's orthodox Calvinistic society did not share his interests in natural sciences and even disapproved of it. Moreover, Utrecht did not offer the amusements and solaces that a widowed and wealthy former East Indian grandee was used to and desired. There were no theatres in Utrecht until the nineteenth century. It was only during the carnival ['kermis'] weeks in July that the city council allowed a travelling theatre company to perform at the Vredenburg in Utrecht.

Having lived in Asia for twenty five years where he had enjoyed far more freedom, Loten's dissatisfaction must have been all the more acute. When he arrived in Holland he may have assumed that his role as governor and councillor of the Indies would enhance his social position in his home town. However, he appears to have discovered that he had returned to the same confined and oppressive society he had left more than two and a half decades earlier.

Loten's plan to settle in Utrecht must also have been linked to his wish to find a wife. Although in the years that followed he apparently had his doubts about marriage, it is clear that he often felt the want of a partner, not only to satisfy his sensual desires and ensure that he had company later in life, but also as a means of obtaining access to the social elite. Perhaps he also desired children although no surviving documents confirm this supposition. Soon after he settled in Utrecht Loten must have realised that finding an appropriate partner among Utrecht's patrician and aristocratic circles would prove to be difficult indeed. Marrying the daughter of one of his contemporaries or schoolmates was probably too embarrassing to contemplate. An eligible candidate who was physically attractive too – undoubtedly a criterion for him – was apparently unavailable. These considerations must have played a role in his decision to leave Utrecht so soon after his return from the East.

On April 21st 1759, Joan Carel Loten and his eldest son Joan Gideon settled their accounts. In his notebook Joan Gideon's father wrote that his son 'besides and above considerable liberality also made a present of a small massive golden dagger'. This was probably the gift Loten had received from the King of Candy in 1754.³³ No information remains about Joan Gideon Loten's sentiments on the occasion, but from his later remarks and behaviour it is clear that his parents' age was no impediment to his leaving the Dutch Republic for an extended period of time. From the available sources it is evident that 80-year-old Joan Carel Loten was still active. In July 1759 for example, he was 'too busy with the ten-yearly dike surveys', so the Van Der Bruggen grandchildren, who wanted to visit the yearly Utrecht kermis, could not stay in his house.³⁴

On May 4th 1759, Loten left Utrecht intending 'to continue his voyage to England'.³⁵ It is unknown why Loten decided to tour England but not to travel to France, Germany or Italy and visit the watering places, the more popular destinations of the travelling Dutch elite. Given the fact that French was the language of polite society at the time, Loten's fluency in the English language was remarkable. His competency predated his stay in England. In the East and Ceylon he regularly came into contact with English merchants and sailors and it is likely that his conversation with them took place in English. His knowledge of the language may have been a reason for visiting England. He may also have thought that his chances of finding a suitable spouse were greater in Britain than in other places. François Doublet probably encouraged him to visit Britain by describing its female society.³⁶ London was known to be different from other European capitals: "It was a miracle of wealth and splendour, its crimes and its luxury, its pleasures and its opportunities were legendary".³⁷ This may have given Loten a further incentive for crossing the Channel.

During the Georgian era the church began to play a secondary role in London daily life. A secular culture emerged in which sociability and pleasure became more important than before. Public life increasingly revolved around city life, its streets, public spaces and entertainment. The urban environment itself set the scene for passing time. Visitors were surprised by the extraordinary degree of socially mixing in a city which was presided over not by the Court or the Church but by cultural entrepreneurship and public taste. The Crown and Parliament did little to mould London's public culture. The commercial art world thrived in Mid-Georgian London; even so there was no public art collection which could in any way compare with those in Italy or France. When compared to provincial Utrecht, the wonderful extent and variety of the British metropolis must have fascinated and attracted Loten.³⁸ At least in the first ten years of his twenty-two years in London Loten must have concurred with Dr Samuel Johnson's famous response to James Boswell about residing in London: "Why, Sir, you find no man, at all intellectual, who is willing to leave London. No, Sir, when a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford".³⁹

After leaving Utrecht, Loten travelled to Helvoet by way of the Hague, Delft and Rotterdam. He did not visit Van Der Bruggen in Leiden, but when he was in Rotterdam he did hear about his son-in-law: '[I]n Rotterdam I heard comical, but also the most humorous stories about the Adjudant General Harpagnon and his recently accomplished swindle and stealing. Last Wednesday he has again cruelly bitten the lovely child Antje under the pretext of kissing her. The maid Ida who feels much compassion with the children,

has taken them afterwards out of the house. In the Hague I heard that one of the young gentlemen would join me to England, but that is something I shall never tolerate, even if he would now come to me to pay a visit. However, it seems possible, because he will utter the most terrible exclamations and without any doubt he will pretend in coffeehouses & inns to suffer a very important bankruptcy by my dealings. But enough of this culture!⁴⁰

In his trip to England Loten was accompanied by his friend J.W. Van Clootwijk, the unfortunate former governor of Macassar and by Jacob Levier, a former notary from Batavia and the prosecutor of the Return Fleet that sailed under Loten's command to Patria.⁴¹ In Rotterdam these three were introduced to Mr Hume and Mr Spray, two students who had finished their studies at Utrecht University and were returning to Oxford. On May 9th 1759, these men crossed the sea in a packet boat to Harwich. Five days later Loten gave his brother his first impressions of England: 'One does not see here any pear blossoms only those of apples, the first are already further developed. One already eats tarts of gooseberries. All along the road I saw herds of sheep, the ewes with horns. Did you ever see that in the Netherlands?'.⁴²

On May 15th 1759, he arrived in London, 'in complete good health'. He remarked that 'the mob is absolutely not bold if you do not insult them' and that the Dragoons they met, 'always saluted politely, which has never happened to me at Utrecht'. Moreover, the lunch at Rumford was cheap: 'Lunch for three persons included half a bottle of red wine, half a bottle Madeira and 1 bottle Lissabon wine, beer &c for f 6:6 in Dutch money'. Another of Loten's travel companions was his servant Jacob Bardesyn, whose behaviour he did not appreciate. While in Helvoet Loten wrote to his brother saying, 'Jacob is one of the most obstinate and idle creatures that was ever raised in this Batavian realm'. Two months after their journey to London, Loten wrote to his brother again, sketching the quixotic relationship with his servant:

'Since I left Utrecht I had several problems with my servant. Because he was ill I, who was not wearing a hat, took him in the coach where he joined me with his cap on his head, although I told him several times that I did not do that and that it was bad mannered. When we arrived at Rotterdam he was again recovered and I went out. When I returned home he was absent, therefore I had to wait several hours for him and for the key of the room. So next time I took him with me, but nevertheless he sometimes escaped me, or I discovered that I was followed by him and a party of women or servants, his former acquaintances. I could tolerate this reasonable well, but when we should ride to Epsom, where it is the custom never to take a servant on the back of your horse, I wanted to take a horse for him, who had always told to me that, although he had not learned the art of horseback riding, no horse would throw him off his back. He had to confess that he never rode on horseback, with the consequence that I had to take him instead of my bag, against the custom, behind me. In the cabin of the packet-boat he joined our company and sat down with Mr Hume, Spray, Clootwyk and me with his hat on his head, which offended us in a high degree. In Epsom I was mostly served by the black servant of Mr Clootwyk. So I told him, in the presence of my companions, that if he would not serve me better he could go to hell, whereupon he boldly replied that I had to realise that although I took him to a foreign country, he would not accept such a treatment by me and further similar arguments. I sent him out of the room with the threat of more important arguments. Since that moment he serves me arduously. I remained silent until we arrived here and gave him his money and a guinea to return to Holland and told him to go immediately in his daily livery, whereupon he prayed forgiveness in the most submissive manner, promised to better himself and confirmed this with many tears. I answered that I should consider it and since then he serves me well, although I had to hire an English servant who can ride on horseback'.⁴³

His brother responded saying that he highly admired Loten's patience with Jacob's impertinence and that he would have sent him back, 'but I am glad that he is serving you again'.⁴⁴

LONDON AND HAMMERSMITH

The first three days in England were spent at the Epsom horse races with Mr Van Clootwijk and the Rotterdam merchant, Mr J. Van Ryckevorsel. Although he had to tolerate his servant on the back of his horse, Loten evidently enjoyed the countryside. At Darking he ate freshwater fish prepared in the Dutch manner. The many country houses around Richmond were decorated in the 'Chinese taste' and 'although the tidiness of the nation is below that of the Dutch', the beds in the lodging houses were clean and fresh; this also applied to the table linen.⁴⁵

When he arrived in London, Loten rented lodgings at Mr Copenhole's, Suffolk Street near Haymarket. Apparently he was provided with introductions into the Dutch community, because soon

after his arrival in the city he paid a visit to the Dutch ambassador Henrick Hop.⁴⁶ He also went to see the British secretary of State for the Southern Department Lord Holderness, a relative of his friend and cousin, François Doublet.⁴⁷ Robert Darcy 4th Earl of Holderness married in 1742 Doublet's sister Mary. Horace Walpole wrote several delightful sketches about Holderness and his wife. Like many of his contemporaries Walpole disapproved of English peers marrying foreign wives. In 1763 he wrote about Lady Holderness: "I have not mentioned Lady Holdernes's presentation, though I by no means approve it, nor a Dutch woman's lowering the peerage of England. Nothing of that sort could make me more angry, except a commoner's wife taking such a step; for you know I have all the pride of A citizen of Rome, while Rome survives: In that respect my name is thoroughly Horatius".⁴⁸ In the 22 years he spent in England Loten regularly encountered Lord and Lady Holderness. In the 1770s however, relations with Lady Holderness deteriorated.

Towards the end of May 1759, during a visit to Lord Holderness at his London residence, Loten met three of the four deputies of the Dutch States-General. They had come to attend to the 'Dutch interests threatened by the piracy of the English'. Although the Dutch Republic was not a party in the Seven Years War (1756-1763), Dutch ships were regularly detained by the British Navy.⁴⁹ In the weeks that followed Loten maintained friendly relations with the deputies Jacob Boreel Jansz, Jan van de Poll, Gerard Meerman and Jan Hudde Dedel. They were members of families with prominent positions in patrician Amsterdam and the Hague.⁵⁰ Loten wrote to his brother describing their diplomatic commission: 'Between us two and in confidence, I believe that the Deputies will not achieve very much. Last week everything seemed to be all right but since then a Dutch ship was taken that according to the Captain had a cargo paid by the French, which has disturbed everything. Therefore the solution of the problems seems to be remote. On the other hand it is not true that anyone has personally insulted the Gentlemen and the same applies to me'.⁵¹

Three weeks afterwards he went to the Holderness country seat *Sion Hill* in Hammersmith. There he was shown the house, the farm and the ways in which the new agricultural principles of Henri-Louis Duhamel du Morceau (1700-1782) were applied to planting corn.⁵² Holderness was considered as a man who "seems to understand the management of lands, a good mechanick, & a much better Botanist than Rousseau" by his contemporaries: "He approves of the Plough & intends making use of one on my Lords Lands".⁵³ The gardener of the nearby *Sion House* was James Lee (1715-1795), correspondent of Linnaeus, who translated his work *Introduction to the Science of Botany* in 1760. Although there are no references to prove any contact between them, it is possible that besides Holdernes, James Lee and his circle at the Hammersmith nursery, *The Vineyard*, also inspired Loten's interest in botany. In July 1759 Loten asked his brother to send him his Miller's *Kruydkundig Woordenboek*.

In June 1759 he went to see Hampton Court, Windsor, Greenwich, Clifden, Eton College and its library and the Tower.⁵⁴ During his first month in England Loten also met the Swiss Colonel Jacques Prevost and his wife Anne Louise Mackay from Breda.⁵⁵ Prevost's sister Jeanne-Louise Prevost (1721-1785), was Belle van Zuylen's governess. Loten carried a letter from Belle's father, Diederic Jacob van Tuyll van Serooskerken, introducing him to Prevost. In 1778 Loten referred to Prevost as "my late companion, or rather instructing master", who had "frequently advised me never attempt speaking or writing English, but to content my self with the bad French. I confess and am convinced of, that I now & then have endeavor'd to make a shift with".⁵⁶ In his best Dutch English he evidently tried to communicate that he strived to do just the opposite. Loten's fluency in English must have been adequate from the beginning of his stay in England. After five months in England, Loten told his brother that in Yarmouth, 'a clean and prosperous sea town swarmed with Dutch herring fishermen', he met a sailor from Noordwijk who 'wanted to buy several caskets with salt for his clergyman'. Loten served as his translator and the sailor replied, 'from your exterior I can see you are no Dutchman, but you must have been often in contact with them'.⁵⁷

In 1756 Jacques Prevost played a role in the reform of the British Army. With the support of the Princess of Orange and British Ambassador Sir John Yorke, he proposed to Parliament that the British army recruit accomplished Protestant German- and French-speaking officers from Europe to supervise non-English provincial forces. The Act of Settlement precluded hiring foreign officers for the British army: "No foreigner, even although he be naturalised [...] shall be capable to enjoy any office [...] civil or military". Opposition leaders charged that Prevost's proposal was an affront to English dignity. In defence of Prevost's proposal, Horace Walpole addressed Parliament, insisting that the German and Swiss settlers of Pennsylvania could not be mobilised to defend the colonies without officers who understood their language and culture. With the support of George II the proposal passed Parliament. The needs of the

ethnically diverse colonies allowed the King to grant commissions to foreign protestant officers. However, they could only hold military commissions in North America and could not acquire rank or advantage in Britain. So when Loten met Jacques Prevost, he was a colonel of the 62nd Royal American Regiment of foot.⁵⁸ Loten wrote to his brother Arnout about their first encounter: 'May 30 I had lunch at Kilburn (1½ hour from here, with Colonel Prevost whose wife is a Mackay born at Breda. Mr Prevost himself is a Swiss). Mr van Tuyll has kind-heartedly introduced me to these people, who tried to crush me with the civility to invite me to stay with them. I fear that this will become an obstacle for me to see the many remarkable things of this city, to which I prefer to spent my time. I hope that in future I shall enjoy more freedom, otherwise I shall have to retire somewhere here in the neighbourhood or hurry back to Holland without having seen England that seems so beautiful to me'.⁵⁹ In the first years of his stay in England Loten regularly called on Prevost and his wife. However because Prevost became estranged from Loten, they thus saw increasing less of one another.⁶⁰

In July 1759 Loten rented a 'small four-year-old house' in Hammersmith for a period of six months. It had a small 'bellecour', an iron fence and a 'magnificent garden' with a coach house and a stable for four horses. He also lodged with Mr Coppenhole in London. Suburban living was a novelty in the eighteenth century as a result of which desirable residential areas began to appear all over the area south of the Thames.⁶¹ Custom made summer houses in Gothic or Chinese styles were sought by successful tradespeople and men of bussiness as their rural retreats or 'country boxes'. The description of Loten's 'charming small house' gives us the impression that the dwelling was comfortable enough to meet Loten's needs. The house had nine rooms on the ground floor and another nine on the first floor. It had a monumental staircase 'like the one of Mr Tuyll in the Hague'. Chinoiserie was widespread in the second part of the seventeenth century and its popularity reached its apogee around the middle of the eighteenth century. Therefore the walls contained 'genuine Chinese painted prints' in the rococo style. The house where Loten lived had several kitchens, marble chimney-pieces, beautiful mirrors and was furnished with four mahogany bedsteads and other mahogany furniture. The top of the house was crowned with an octagonal cupola fitted with guillotine windows and a 'view over the Thames and the surrounding accidented landscape'.⁶²

Loten asked his brother to send him his maids to help him with his housekeeping in Hammersmith. He assumed that his Indian servant Sitie would willingly move to England, but he did not wish to persuade her. He felt 'it must be her own free will, without enforcement &c&c'. Loten was prepared to pay his cook Mie an extra ten guilders and further remarked, 'for Mie it would be very easy that there is a magnificent Roman [Catholic] church just next to my door'. However, he told his brother he did not need to try and persuade her to come, 'because there are here enough people available'. Moreover, his servant Jacob told him that Mie had an 'amour' in Utrecht, 'so it is better not to persuade her'. Several weeks afterwards Arnout told his brother that he had spoken with Sitie but that she had felt embarrassed by his instructions, because although Joan Gideon had said he felt Sitie should decide for herself, it was also obvious to her that he really wanted her to come. Arnout quoted her response: 'If My Master remains to stay in England I shall go, if Master not remains I not go, but if Master wants, I better stay here. After some time [she remarked], if Master comes here and goes back to England I shall go with him, but not alone'.⁶³ Arnout added that he could see that she was upset and also shy, because she feared that her master would be offended by her refusal. The other maids seemed to like the idea of Sitie's voyage to England, 'because she kept a watchful eye on what they did'. At last Mie declined to go to London, because she had an elderly father living in Gelderland. She might otherwise have considered it.⁶⁴ Joan Gideon's maids thus remained in Utrecht and instead he hired, 'an experienced kitchen-maid who had been with MyLord Cranston, and who can make jellies, pastries & everything without the necessity to ask Monsieur Mos'.⁶⁵ She also understands the Dutch language to the convenience of the opinionated schoolmaster Jacob, who seriously attempts to teach this nation in our mother tongue and who is highly astonished to find so many people who do not speak one word of Dutch'.⁶⁶ The 'ugly and hideous' Scottish kitchen-maid called Piggy evidently fulfilled her duties well, for in June 1762 Loten wrote his brother that she had served him for three years to his satisfaction.⁶⁷

DEFERENCE AND PREFERENCE FOR FEMALE FRIENDS

In July 1759 Loten paid a visit to the workshop of George Adams, the famous London instrument maker specialised in mathematical and astronomical instruments. When Loten entered the shop, Mrs Pitt, the

wife ‘not of the minister but of Sir George Pitt’, got into her coach with several instruments.⁶⁸ Loten remarked on this clearly memorable encounter: ‘[I]n France one preferred the beauty of this Lady above that of the famous Lady Coventry (who is told to have few virtues). Naïve as I am I told about this meeting during a dinner with MyLord Holderness, which I better could not have done, because I think an absolute silence followed. MyLord Holderness however, was amused and smiled and told me afterwards that he was charmed by my description (this in confidence between ourselves, but everything in honour and virtue). Our Ladies often do not understand very well on which fundament our deference and preference for female friends who are beautiful is vested, and notwithstanding whether we stand on our head one cannot explain them our motives as we willingly want them to understand these’.⁶⁹ This was a prelude to numerous remarks about female beauty made by Loten and which seem to illustrate one of his reasons for moving to England, that is to find a suitable wife. In July 1759 he travelled to the rural mansion of his financial agent Herman Berens near Enfield. He also visited *Forty Halls* the Northhamptonshire estate of Eliab Breton Esq. (d. 1785) in Notton. Breton was married to Lady Mary Wolstenholme who inherited *Forty Halls* after the death of her father.⁷⁰ Possibly he spent some time on the shooting of birds, because on a watercolour of the Ceylon common kingfisher in his collection he made the remark: “These resemble sufficiently those found in England and the Netherlands, also on the island of Java. I believe that the specimen from Ceylon agree in size with those in England so far as I can judge from one seen by me in Middlesex at the estate in Forty Hill which belongs to Squire Breton”.⁷¹ Loten wrote his brother about other amusements: ‘The most singular that I regarded with pleasure was the Young Lady of the house, who to my astonishment was educated in Mathesis, Astro[nomy] & Physic[a] Experimentalis and besides that so beautiful that I don’t know with whom or with none of the unmarried Ladies that I remember from the Netherlands, I can compare her. Moreover she was very charming and never visited London’.⁷² Miss Mary Breton (Loten wrote ‘Britton’) evidently fascinated him.⁷³ Five days after their encounter he wrote to his brother saying that he had been instructed by the ‘beautiful philosopher Lady Britton’:

JGL: ‘[T]hat the dew on prunes is nothing else than an astonishing crowd of small animals, and that we like to eat that, and that when the dew is not on them we dislike [the prunes]. She also claimed that to be the case with the crumpled and thumbed prunes of the female street-vendors (who run head over heels with their wheelbarrows through the town producing an agreeable noise by the melodic sounds from their musical throats). Now you see that there is no difference at all and that it is even praiseworthy and gentle to devour them immediately, thereby grinding with our cruel jaws a whole town with thousands of inhabitants and crushing them to death’ (London 24 July 1759).⁷⁴

AL: ‘I could not discover the small animals with the Wilson microscope.⁷⁵ In my youth I heard about certain small animals on prunes, but those you could see without a microscope’ (Utrecht 21 August 1759).⁷⁶

That summer, when cousin Kronenberg visited Arnout in Utrecht, he discussed these small animals with her. In November 1759 he wrote to her: ‘A propos, a dilettante told me that he discovered that the white mould on the smoked meat also consists of millions of small animals. It is not necessary to tell you that you have to test this before it is boiled, which until now I could not do because at the moment we do not have smoked meat’.⁷⁷

Loten not only described the instructions he received from Miss Breton, but also the pleasures of life in the country, the weekly assemblies with their dances and card tables. He also observed that ‘all Ladies ride on horseback which results in agreeable meetings on the roads’. Loten and his servant Jacob attended church in Enfield. Responses in the service there were spoken out loud and this confused ‘my shield-bearer Jacob, who still doesn’t understand one word of English, and who thought to be in a Jewish church’. Every week one could also attend lectures by the astronomer James Ferguson.⁷⁸ Loten described these assemblies to his brother Arnout explaining that the attraction of these public meetings lay not only in their scientific edification.⁷⁹

JGL: ‘I am very much attracted by the Assemblies of Doctor Ferguson (or better His Well Honoured Female Audience) and again I begin to long to be in that friendly quarter. Although I sometimes remember the portal of our later Grand Mama Loten in the pleasant Batavodurum [=Wyck bij Duurstede] where enclosed within a stern ebony frame was written in a graceful hand this nice lesson «Although it is only but a child that teaches you, do not turn your heart away»’ (London 24 July 1759).

JGL: '[W]hen one is young it is impossible not to become a.... [=amorous] at the Assembly or Lectures on Experimental Philosophy by Doctor Ferguson or on Astronomy by the same for which purpose all instruments and machines are available. In my age I should wish to be a dozen years younger, because it is irresistible to see so many gracious beauties together. But this in confidence, some would think that my heart was already decided, but I think I am still master over it because I am old, but that would not stop them to cast the gossip around' (London 14 August 1759).

AL: 'We certainly believe that you are deathly amorous, notwithstanding your high age, about which you write so liberally. The time will learn us whether this all is not a praeambula of an intended marriage' (Utrecht 21 August 1759).

In March 1760 Loten told his brother Arnout that he regretted that he was 'too great a faint-heart' to have attended the Earl of Westmorland's election to the position of Chancellor at the University of Oxford in July 1759.⁸⁰ Thus, he did not receive the Honorary Doctorate in Law awarded to his compatriots Count van Schulenburg and the Dutch deputies Boreel, Meerman and Van Dedel.⁸¹ This is remarkable proof of Loten's occasional timidity.

In August 1759 he took a trip to the waters at Tunbridge Wells and spent his time with a fashionable company of some 300 people. In his writings Loten mentioned several of these guests, among which the Duchess of Richmond whose husband was as a 'voluntair' in the militia.⁸² Loten described the assembled company remarking that their status was not reflected in their clothing: 'So during the first two evenings I thought the Duchess of Richmond to be not more than a very beautiful Lady. During the Ball I nearly tumbled over the leg of an English Gentleman and when I asked him excuse for nearly stepping on his foot and said to him that it was not only my fault but that the Lady over there dressed in blue had drawn by her charms and benevolent exterior all my attention. He agreed with me and informed me who it was, then I understood it was the above mentioned Duchess'.⁸³ He also mentioned the young Countess of Denbigh, Mary Cotton, who married Basil Feilding, the sixth Earl of Denbigh, in April 1757.⁸⁴ According to James Boswell, Denbigh was 'a droll genius', a reputation he earned as a result of his love of alcohol. Horace Walpole immortalised Denbigh's marriage thus: "My Lord Denbigh is going to marry a fortune, I forget her name; my Lord Gower asked him how long the honey-moon would last. He replied «Don't tell me of the honeymoon; it is harvest-moon with me» ".⁸⁵ Lord Denbigh's mother was Isabella de Jong, daughter of the former Utrecht Burgomaster Peter Haack de Jong.⁸⁶ After the death of his first wife Haack de Jong married Anthonia Schade, Lady of Tull en 't Waal in 1706. She was the sister of Joan Gideon's grandmother, Aemilia Schade van Westrum.

After his homecoming from Tunbridge Wells in London, 11 August 1759, Loten spent a lot of time on his 'Indian letters' because within a few weeks the autumn fleet to Batavia would depart from Holland.⁸⁷ Most of the letters related to his financial affairs, but he also wrote letters of recommendation to governor-general Jacob Mossel. One such letter was written for his relative Carel Godin, senior merchant and *secunde* [second in the hierarchy] of Java's North East Coast, who wanted to become its governor, a very profitable office.⁸⁸ This flurry of activity prevented Loten from visiting Tunbridge Wells again, for it was 'more than 12 hours from here and through inconvenient mountains'. However, he made a day trip to *Forty Hills* and the old Abbey of Walham near Enfield where he saw a very beautiful Tulip Tree.⁸⁹ He told his brother who was interested in botany: 'One tells that there is another one on the estate of the Earl of Argyle'.⁹⁰ Loten also informed Arnout about the advance of the Seven Years War paying special attention to George Sackville, who during the battle of Minden (1759) ignored orders to charge at the retreating French thereby allowing them to escape. As a result, he was court-marshalled and judged to be unfit to hold any military post. He was dismissed from the Privy Council: '[E]very day my ears are sougning by the loud praises for the songs that they sell in which Lord George Sackville is ridiculed, he has conquered the French without moving notwithstanding there was no greater danger than to fall from his horse. The officers and the mob are infuriated with him. His portrait is on sale with venit vidit fetit [he came, he saw and fled] printed below. One has mercy with the old Duke and Duchess of Dorset, his parents, both older than 80 years. The last was born in Holland and a daughter of General Colyaer, Governor of Namur. The very noble family of the Sackvilles is not used to be ridiculed, but this George is an evil subject with a violent character and selfish, which he showed when his father was the Viceroy of Ireland. I honour my dear Son [=his son-in-law Dirk Willem Van Der Brugghen] by comparing him with His Lordship'.⁹¹ Sackville's disgrace endeared him to the future King George III, who was hostile to the actions of his grandfather King George II and his Government. Sackville was rehabilitated when George

III came to power. However, in 1762 George III felt that Sackville could not be restored to military command and that a civil appointment would suit him better.⁹² Ironically, in 1775 he was employed under a different name to no less a military capacity than that of Secretary for War. He was made responsible for directing military operations in America. As such he played a key role in planning the British effort during the War of American Independence, a role in which he did not excel. He became the 'whipping boy' for all the defeats and setbacks suffered by the English in the American Revolution. This is illustrated clearly in satirical prints and cartoons of the period.⁹³

Towards the end of August 1759 Loten confided to his brother that he had decided to postpone his intended tour to Norwich because the 'Dutch Deputies have told to spent a day with me, but until now they did not fix a day for that'. However, three days later on 30 August 1759 he visited the British Museum in Montague House in London for the first time together with deputy and book collector, Gerard Meerman.

LOTEN FAMILY IN ENGLAND

In September 1759 Loten set out on a journey to Norwich with a letter of introduction to the Lord Bishop of that town. In the late 1500s members of the Loten family fled from Spanish Flanders to England. According to Loten they also travelled to Ireland where they became prosperous and decent people 'with our name', who knew that 'many years ago' their ancestors had come 'from the Netherlands or Flanders' and 'spell their name as «Lotten»'.⁹⁴ The intention of Loten's visit to Norwich was to search for further details about his family history. The ten-day tour took him through Hatfield, Hartford, Cambridge, St Edmund Bury, Newmarket, Norwich, Yarmouth, Ipswich and Colchester. Loten's account of his visit to Norwich is hilarious:

'I could lay my hands on several documents about the family Van de Hem.⁹⁵ However, these are too lengthy to send them over, I think to bring them myself. The minister of Norwich, called Van Sarne (who is also Medical Doctor and Chymist in Yarmouth, where as a matter of fact he would have been a minister too, if the Dutch Reformed Church in that town would not be changed into a comedy) is busy with looking for Lotens, who are always called Looten, with the exception of one Loote (who seems not connected with us). [...]

This Reverend van Sarne was a very acceptable type of man, who studied with Mr Musschenbroek.⁹⁶ He has a sweet young English wife, but complained that her old people did not want to give as much money as His Reverence needed.⁹⁷ Therefore he was sorry that he did not wait with marrying until recently when a Gentleman in Yarmouth died who left a fat, ugly but rich widow, whom he considered to be superb for me.⁹⁸ Nevertheless I thanked His Reverence saying that I considered it to be a too breakneck labour to sleep with her and continued that I thought that His Reverence's own family mill could be kept in motion with fewer difficulties. But His Reverence persisted with his compunction and considered himself young and very sensitive and he comforted himself with the much repeated maxim Nummus nervus omnium rerum [With money everything can be achieved] that I was better suited for the just mentioned rich widow'.⁹⁹

In October 1759 Reverend Peter van Sarn [or Sarne] wrote to Loten about a parish book entry he had found, dated 27 March 1599, which registered a Robert Looten (from Leiden) and his wife Margriete.¹⁰⁰ This branch of the Loten family evidently remained in England. In Loten's notebooks and letters several references to people carrying the name of 'Loten' in England and North America can be found.¹⁰¹ In July 1759 Loten wrote the following to his brother Arnout: 'Here in the city there drives every day a merchant's wagon with 8 horses, loaded with linen and cotton, on the wagon is painted in large letters, according to the order, Brown, Clare & Loten, the three cotton printers are in partnership. I have [asked] Mr Berens to inquire about it. I got no other information than that the last says his grandfather has been an Englishman and also, that he knows not better than that his ancestors were also English'.¹⁰² This observation refers to James Loten (1711-1767) who in the middle of the eighteenth century owned a calico printing business in Merton, Surrey with Henry Clare and Anthony Brown. After James Loten's death, the care and guardianship of his son John Loten and sister Elisabeth fell to James' brother, Robert Loten (1725-1791) of Raleigh, Essex. Joan Gideon Loten sometimes received 'a hare' from Mr Robert Loten.¹⁰³ In 1780 in a letter to Arnout Loten, he mentioned the English cotton printers and James Loten's son, John (1754-1815) who was a lieutenant and later a captain of the British Navy.¹⁰⁴ John Loten exchanged letters with governor Loten 'when he contemplated entering the Dutch service'. Loten wrote his brother: 'Since my arrival [in London] I also have been superficially acquainted with one John Loten

now a captain at sea on a privateer being about 25 a 26 years, and his uncle Robert Loten who has sent to me at least a dozen hares, partridges, turkeys &c and lives somewhere in Essex close to the Thames. The first is a son and the last is a brother of the late cotton printer in the county of Surrey, whose newly painted blue white wagon, drawn by 7 beautiful well fed horses and the wagon loaded half-house-high with cotton-bales (with his name on it in large letters according to the local manner), who I think I met in 1759 when I was for the first time in the City. But these people do not know that they are of a descent other than English. The mother signs Sarah Loten. In the Flemish registers of baptisms I found a Robert Loten already long before 1590 or 1600. In North America there was recently also a minister of the Anglican church who wrote [his name] just as we do [...] Rob[ert] L[oten] owns or rents landed estates or farmsteads, which he thinks were already more than 150 years ago in use of the Dutch family named Cloppenburg'.¹⁰⁵

HEALTH COMPLAINTS

In his first four months in England Loten enjoyed good health. However, in September 1759 in Cambridge he complained of dizziness and tightness in the chest; he attributed this to bad weather.¹⁰⁶ It was one of the first indications of the complaints which would take control of his life in future years. He consulted medical professor Robert Plumtree (1723-1788) for 3 guilders per visit. Plumtree was to become the future president of Queen's College. Notwithstanding his complaints Loten related the following short description of Cambridge: '[A]n old fashioned ugly town, but the buildings and colleges, gardens &c belonging to the Academy are admirable, in our country one cannot see anything like that'.¹⁰⁷ In October 1759, when he had returned to London, he suffered '5 a 6 very bad nights'. The 'deservedly famous' Doctor William Heberden visited him insisting that Loten needed exercise rather than too much reading and writing in his house. Heberden also advised a daily ride on horseback. It was advice he only took a few times.¹⁰⁸ One month later Loten again enjoyed good health although he had given up horseback riding. He had to write 'necessary Indian' letters. When doctor Heberden visited him he found him writing and learned that Loten had abandoned horseback riding. 'H[e] became very serious about this and declared a complete conspiracy of the medical faculty against myself. I must say that this famous man exerted himself very much for me. Since his first 3 visits, when I strongly disputed with him about the payment, I did not dare to give him anything in his hand'.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, no horseback riding followed and in December 1759 he told his brother that the Indian letters made him melancholy and that in the past three weeks they had prevented him from going to the riding school. The Indian letters were probably also the reason Loten did not go skating in Hyde Park when the ponds froze.¹¹⁰ However, the Indian affairs did not prevent him from taking part in an outing with Colonel Jacques Prevost to visit King George II: '[I]o tell you frankly and confidentially, November 10, being His Majesty's birth date, I plucked up the courage to go that way so that I have looked at the Court from nearby. H[is] M[ajesty] was dressed in a coat, camisole and pants of a purple blueish cloth with buttons covered by the same and upper trousers of the same colour, like a pious old narrow minded commoner. He addressed himself with much benevolence to all ladies, among whom I discovered only a few pretty ones, with the exception of the Duchess of Richmond (born Bruce of Aylesbury) and Mylady Coventry. I was astonished to see so very few beauties, because among the civilians in the streets and on the promenades it swarms with Angels of Ladies'.¹¹¹

By 25 September 1759 Loten had exchanged his lodgings in London at Coppenhole for rooms at Mr Edmund Bellis in Kingstreet, opposite Bedford Street. He did this because a party of Scottish and Venetian Gentlemen had disturbed his sleep. However on December 23rd 1759 while Loten himself was in Hammersmith, the house burned down.¹¹² The fire could be seen from a distance of 40 English miles.¹¹³ The cases carrying Loten's clothes and linen were spared by Mr Bellis. In the end, thanks to his housekeeper's diligence Loten only lost 'one or two suits and two wigs'. The next day when he and Mr Van Clootwijk went to see the ruins of what was his former lodging, the axle of his coach broke down at Picadilly: 'We slowly turned over and we were laughing and did not hurt ourselves'. Loten decided to rent the house in Hammersmith until the summer arguing that 'Hammersmith is famous for its sound air especially for people with asthmatic complaints'. He informed his brother that he would soon have a riding horse as his physician Dr William Heberden again urgently advised.¹¹⁴ However, the horse was not acquired.

2. LOTEN'S INVESTMENTS

INVESTMENTS IN ENGLAND

In 1758 Loten returned to the Netherlands a rich man, in fact he was one of the wealthiest inhabitants in Utrecht.¹¹⁵ In the eighteenth century the average capital of local regents in the Dutch cities was less than 200,000 guilders. Evenso, compared to the fortunes of other repatriated servants of the Dutch East India Company, Loten's Indian capital of nearly 700,000 guilders was modest,¹¹⁶ although the interest he received on his capital in addition to the dividend he got from his ten shares in the Opium Society enabled him to lead a carefree and luxurious life.

When Loten arrived in the Netherlands his father had already invested a part of his capital in 35 Bonds of the Province of Utrecht and two Bonds of the Leckendijk Benedendams.¹¹⁷ In the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, these Bonds were considered to be a solid and safe investment and wealthy inhabitants of Utrecht regularly invested in them.¹¹⁸ Initially, Loten placed the rest of his capital with the financial broker from Amsterdam, Frans Adam Carelson, who also served as his banker. There are no indications that, in the ten months after his return to his home country, Loten actively took part in financial markets. However, this changed when he went to England. Three weeks after his arrival there, he wrote his brother that 'it would be a considerable advantage if the sum of the Utrecht Bonds could be sent forward'.¹¹⁹ Loten's English agent and broker Herman Berens had convinced him that the exchange rate of English stocks was much lower and that the dividends were higher than those of his Bonds in Utrecht. He was sure that the stocks would rise, so he considered investing his capital in England. His brother's answer was reticent: 'But Dear Brother, is it really worthwhile for this ~~small~~ capital of about 30,000 guilders? If You leave it as it is, You always have (whether You live here or elsewhere) some money and its interest at hand to employ at any occurring situation or other necessities'.¹²⁰ Loten responded saying that his inclination to sell his Utrecht Bonds, 'was no pretence but real, however, after I received Your honoured contrary opinion, I immediately gave up my intention'.¹²¹ This was followed by a long explanation about the benefits of investing his current Utrecht capital, which he estimated to be 46,978 guilders 'in Bonds and in cash', in England. He 'mathematically' demonstrated what an investment of 46,000 guilders would yield as a result of higher interest rates (3½% instead of 2¾% in Utrecht) and low stock rates. In England of Loten's day, this was 88½%. In his example the interest he would receive would amount to 544 guilders per year. In a time when the political situation was changing – the Seven Years War was coming to an end – as a result of which stock rates were higher, an investment of 46,000 guilders would result in considerable increases in his capital. Loten had already decided to instruct his Amsterdam broker Carelson to send 100,000 guilders to his London broker Herman Berens: 'I shall risk this sum in this prosperous country, wishing that my important capital at Batavia, in that formidable virtual realm of the Company, is as safe as this'.¹²²

Loten gave his brother the freedom to decide whether or not to take action on the proposed sale of the Utrecht Bonds. However, in his reply two weeks later, Arnout Loten inserted a draft procuration in Dutch, which was supplied by the Utrecht notary Jan Kol, with the request to return it as a formal notary deed. This would enable Arnout and Jan Kol, to legally sell Loten's bonds for him.¹²³ According to Arnout the then current stock rate of the Utrecht Bonds was 97 or 98%. Loten's liquid assets amounted to 12,158 guilders, excluding household expenses. Arnout estimated that his brother's capital - after the sale of the Utrecht Bonds (33,000 guilders) and when the remaining cash (7,000 guilders) was added – would amount to about 40,000 guilders.

Notwithstanding Arnout's reticence, Loten acted energetically, resolutely and quickly. Early in July, 1759, through Herman Berens, he bought £ 2,000 worth of English Bonds with an interest rate of 3½% at an exchange rate of 89½%. He may have also invested in other funds in England, but he did not mention this in his writings. In July 1759 he validated the draft power of attorney with London notary Benjamin Bonnet. This authorised Arnout Loten and Jan Kol to sell his Bonds in Utrecht. On August 4th 1759, thirty Bonds were sold in an auction held at the house of Jan Stevens in Utrecht.¹²⁴ Most of these bonds were sold at an exchange rate of 96% of the nominal value. Total sales profit of the bonds (at a nominal value of 30,300 guilders) was 30,746 guilders.

Loten's former VOC-colleague George Tammo Falck bought sixteen of his bonds for his brother Carel Gustaaf Falck.¹²⁵ Loten's cousin Mr Adriaan van Bronckhorst purchased four bonds for his two sisters, Mechteld Henrietta van Bronckhorst and Diderica Geertruyd van Bronckhorst.¹²⁶ Apart from the auction Loten also sold seven Bonds to various persons; three of these were acquired by his father. These

Bonds were part of the estate of Loten's grandmother Contantia Hoeufft, who died in 1733. Joan Carel Loten bought the Bonds to prevent problems about her still not completely divided estate.¹²⁷ Further sales of the bonds resulted in a total profit of 38,546 guilders,¹²⁸ an amount higher than Arnout Loten's initial estimate of 33,000 guilders.¹²⁹

LOTEN'S SILVER PLATE AND SILVER INSTRUMENTS

When he returned to his home country in 1758, Loten took his Indian silver plate with him. Silver was the metal of choice for household items in wealthy families. Not only were the items made from silver useful, but they also retained their value in times of need. When Loten travelled to England in 1759 he left his Indian silver plate in Utrecht. In July 1759, after he had been in England for two months, he told his brother in confidence that he had invested the 17 percent of the interest that he had received on his capital in the Opium Society in silver plate, 'with which I think I can shine a little bit more in Utrecht and England'.¹³⁰ He also bought a diamond for £ 325; its value was estimated at 500 guineas, 'so I shall look like a small Indian Seigneur'. Two years later, in the summer 1761 much attention was devoted to the sale and acquisition of silver plate. Loten asked his brother to sell his Indian silver because he wanted to buy more English silver plate. In July 1761 his brother responded saying, 'again we considered selling the silver plate with the aim to realise it with the best profit. We resolved, when you agree with that, to sell it in a public auction and not through a private silversmith, because in the last case one does not receive a reasonable revenue, only for the amount of silver and one can be deceived especially when the silver is not hallmarked, which is the case with the East Indian [silver]. On the other hand in a public auction it is always sold above the value of the silver and it brings in a reasonable revenue, which amply covers the expenses of the auction'.¹³¹

The first lot of silver plate was sold in August 1761; the second lot was sold in October 1761. Every piece was weighed and inspected in the presence of Arnout Loten before it went to auction. The proceeds from the August auction amounted to 1,732 guilders, 14 stuivers and 8 pence net; the net proceeds from the October auction amounted to 745 guilders 11 stuivers 8 pence. Arnout Loten wrote a detailed specification of the items sold.¹³² In November 1761 Arnout concluded that all of the silver plate had been sold, with the exception of a silver ewer and a silver bread basket, which Loten had bought in Amsterdam and a silver chocolate jug and its assessor's dish that he inherited from Dithart Van Rheden.

In November 1761 Loten ordered new sterling silver plate in London from the silversmith Thomas Whipham (*d.* 1785). He wanted to invest the dividends he had received from his shares in the Opium Society in silver plate.¹³³ Such purchases were considered to be a good investment. The British had a system of hallmarking silver which not only identified each piece's maker but also where and when it had been made and, most importantly, the amount of pure silver each item contained. Most silver plate items were 92.5 percent silver. Loten estimated the cost of the silver plate he had ordered to be between 3,000 and 3,300 guilders. Loten asked his brother to have a small drawing of the family coat of arms sketched by Miss van Cothen from Wijk bij Duurstede.¹³⁴ In March 1762 he received the requested drawing. He then had his silversmith use the drawing of the Loten coat of arms to mark his silver. He was satisfied with the drawing and the motto '*Dum Florent Olent*', which he planned to engrave on the larger pieces of silverware.¹³⁵ He wanted to have the silver plate sent directly from the silversmith to his brother Arnout Loten before May 1762. He had it stored in two chests made especially to this purpose.¹³⁶ Towards the end of June 1761, Mr Berens, Loten's broker, dispatched the silver plate to Holland.¹³⁷ One year later, in April 1763, the chests were back in London. Shortly before embarking upon his Grand Tour (1763-1764), Loten specified the contents of the chests containing the silver plate and had them moved from London to Herman Berens's storehouse where they were to remain for the term of his absence: '30 April [1763] sent to Mr Herman Berens under the supervision of my domestic Jacob Bardesyn in two chests with iron bands and sealed on the seamy side, my silver table plate and tea set consisting in 2590 ozⁿ, 16 dnⁿ, or two thousand five hundred ninety ounces and sixteen twentieth parts of an ounce. In each chest is pinned down on the bay a list (written by Mr Whipham, the maker of the table plate) specifying the contents of each chest. Mr Berens insisted as a better [means of] security to bring these chests to the Bank of England'.¹³⁸ Loten remained Thomas Whipham's customer. In February 1775 he spent 9 pounds, 8 shilling and 12 pence for several articles among which 'a large silver pencil pocket case'. From the Loten documents it is possible to reconstruct the composition of his silver plate collection. In 1774 he drew up a detailed list of the contents of his table silver and tea set. This gives us an impressive insight into his silver cabinet.¹³⁹

Besides investing in silver plate, Loten also invested in scientific instruments. In March 1762 he ordered several silver instruments from the workshop of George Adams at 171 Fleet Street, London.¹⁴⁰ In addition to these instruments Loten also bought microscopes and other optical equipment from him.¹⁴¹ He estimated the value of the instruments at around 8,000 or 9,000 guilders. In November 1762 Loten wrote his brother that Adams had completed the silver mathematical instruments. He described them as an ‘unsurpassed beautiful set of silver instruments’.¹⁴² In his will of 1769 Loten specified a ‘magazine case of mahogany wood containing Mathematical instruments of silver and among them a large sector of 12 inches made by George Adams’,¹⁴³ and a ‘Box or casket made of China wood with the papers and various things contained therein and among them a very small case with silver instruments for the pocket’.¹⁴⁴ In a description of the contents of his walnut cabinet at Utrecht, made in the 1790s, Arnout Loten mentions ‘a small mahony case with silver mathematical instruments, by G. Adams’. These appear to be the instruments he acquired from his brother’s legacy.¹⁴⁵ Loten’s mathematical sectors can now be found in the Utrecht University Museum. Maurice Daumas describes them in his *Scientific Instruments of the 17th and 18th centuries* published in 1972, as a ‘superb case of mathematical instruments in silver’ that ‘must have been a royal gift’. The sector marked, ‘Improved by G. Adams, mathematical Instrumentmaker to His Majesty, Fleetstreet, London’, is an extraordinarily fine piece of instrument makers’ art containing as many as 29 very finely engraved, and besides one mistake, very accurate scaling. Most eighteenth-century sectors measured 6 inches, Loten’s instrument is 12 inches long.

3. POLITE AND LEARNED SOCIETY

LOTEN AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The doors of the British Museum were opened to its first visitors on 12 January 1759. Loten was one of its earliest visitors and he wrote enthusiastically to his brother about his first visit to the collections which took place on August 31st 1759. It was there that he encountered Dr Matthieu Maty, who had been under-librarian in charge of the Museum’s Department of Printed Books since 1755.¹⁴⁶ Dr Maty, a Dutchman born in Montfoort, came from a Huguenot family. He possessed a dual degree in philosophy and medicine from Leiden University. He went to England in 1740 where he met physician Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) who was President of the Royal Society and founder of the British Museum. In the 1750s he published a monthly periodical in French, *Journal Brittanique* (1750-1755).¹⁴⁷ In his *Autobiography*, Edward Gibbon paid a short tribute to Dr Maty who had made a ‘careful examination’ of Gibbon’s first publication in 1758: ‘By descent and education, Dr Maty, though born in Holland, might be considered as a Frenchman; but he was fixed in London by the practice of physic, and an office in the British Museum. His reputation was justly founded on the eighteen volumes of the *Journal Brittanique*, which he had supported, almost alone, with perseverance and success’.¹⁴⁸

Dr Maty gave Loten permission to visit the collection on a daily basis. This was followed by regular calls to the Museum and its curators. ‘I visited the incomparable Museum Britannicum, that is situated in the splendid palace of the Earls of Mountague, I saw there the library of the Kings Henry VI, VII, VIII, Edward VI, Maria, Elisabeth, Jacob I, Charles I & II, among them MSS of the Vth century, the Library and Cabinets of Sloane, Cotton, Arundel, Lumley &c, the Gentlemen Members of the Royal Society who are in charge of the collection and its ordering rendered me the most outstanding civilities, among them the famous Doctor Maty, author of the outstanding Journal Britannique, who told me there to be our fellow-countryman and being born in Montfoort, he is Reg: Soc: Londin & Beroli: Sodalis, the mere view of the wonderful things to be seen there is more than worth the journey, and because they offered me the daily entrance, I think I shall stay there many half days, I hope You once shall also see it’.¹⁴⁹

Loten’s relationship with Dr Maty was useful to him, because Maty was well-connected to London’s foremost physicians and to members of the Royal Society. He introduced Loten to the naturalists and gentlemen visiting the British Museum. Thus Loten met the noted British ornithologist, George Edwards, author and engraver of a successful series of publications which included many first-time descriptions of birds from Asia. Soon after his first appointment in Montague house, Loten made several donations to the Museum. In 1764 George Edwards mentioned Loten’s liberality: ‘He has [...] greatly obliged the curious of these kingdoms, by presenting to the British Museum a very large, curious, and valuable collection of original Drawings in watercolours, of the most curious Animals, Vegetables, etc. the productions of India; together with many specimen of natural productions, well preserved’.¹⁵⁰

When Loten went to London in 1759, he apparently carried his East Indian watercolour collection and several stuffed specimen of exotic birds with him. This collection proved to be an effective means of introducing himself to the naturalists and amateur scientists at the British Museum. The drawings of East Indian birds, mammals, insects and plants suited the interest in rich, exotic fauna and flora of the day. The drawings, which were based on living specimens and depicted unknown species in great detail, looked like the plates found in well-illustrated eighteenth-century natural history books. Loten's first donation was entered into the *minutes* of the Standing Committee of the Trustees of the British Museum on 26 October 1759: 'The thanks of the Committee were ordered to the following Benefactors: To Mr Loten, late Governor for the Dutch at the Island of Ceylon, who presents several Birds and other productions of the East Indies, the cover of a letter and the seal of the King of Candy, and also such original drawings of Birds and other Animals out of his own collection, as not already in the Museum'.¹⁵¹ Loten's Southern Roller was presented to the visitors of the Museum collection: '[E]ntombed within a neat case of glass in mahony frames to be seen at the Interance of the British Museum, where the Egyptian Mummies stand in the Corners [...] the celebrated Mr Edwards has made a fine colourprint after the dead bird which will be published within a few months in a work now just finished by this worthy Gentleman'.¹⁵²

There are eight references of gifts of bird specimens made by Loten to the British Museum mentioned in George Edwards' *Gleanings of natural History* (1764). These specimens have since perished. Loten's gift of 'original drawings' however, has been preserved in the Sloane collection of the Manuscript department of the British Library.¹⁵³ The paintings are bound in two large folios together with the original drawings from George Edwards' *Natural History of Birds*.¹⁵⁴ An annotation on the watercolour of *Ranina ranina* (Linnaeus, 1758), to be found in the London Natural History Museum, proves that Loten also donated this crustacean to the British Museum.¹⁵⁵ Besides gifts Loten also lent his watercolours to the British Museum.¹⁵⁶ In 1761 he made another gift to the Museum. This is recorded in the British Museum's *Book of Presents*: "November 6, 1761. Two rough Tourmalines, from the Island of Ceylon, presented by John Gideon Loten, Esq.". ¹⁵⁷ In the eighteenth century in order to satisfy the demand for curios and gems, the Dutch East Indies Company brought great quantities of brightly coloured Sri Lankan gem tourmalines to Europe. When heated, tourmaline crystals become positively charged at one end and negatively charged at the other. The unusual electrical properties of tourmalines made them famous in the eighteenth century. In the *Philosophical Transactions* which appeared early in the 1760s Benjamin Wilson published several accounts of the electrical properties of tourmalines. This is possibly what induced Loten to present these gems to the British Museum.¹⁵⁸

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY (FRS)

In 1760 the Royal Society was a body of some 350 ordinary and 150 foreign members. It had increased greatly in size since its foundation in 1662. Even though the Society was still a most respectable institution, this increase in membership was not a reflection of its rising reputation. One of the reasons for the increase in members was the ease with which candidates were elected: 'a wealthy Englishman was almost sure of success, particularly if he was also a peer, and so was a reasonably well recommended foreigner'.¹⁵⁹ In the homes of his London acquaintances, Loten encountered aristocrats and landed gentry, many of whom were connected to the Royal Society. Dr Matthieu Maty and his colleagues at the British Museum were also instrumental in Loten's introduction into the circles of the Royal Society. In March 1760 he informed his brother, who was obliged to keep it a secret, that he went to Montague-house: '[T]o take leave of the Gentlemen in the Museum Britannicum. These Gentlemen all members of the Royal Society were so polite to say to me that they regretted not having seen me a long time. They like to have me in their society, whose president is the Earl of Macclesfield, and they would like to introduce me. Therefore the honourable Gentlemen offered to give me their votes to elect me as a Member of the just mentioned Society to which purpose they were prepared to put up my name in the meeting of this Society, which is next considered during 10 successive meetings. They also assured me that this matter was evident for the English Members, but that I as a Dutchman needed a single recommendation from a fellow member in the Netherlands and advised me to write for that and to address the answer to them [...].¹⁶⁰ Therefore I wrote this evening a letter to prof[essor] Musschenbroek and one to prof[esso]r Allamand. I hope that they will not refuse me, it is only a small inconvenience. Meanwhile I ask you to keep this a secret until the matter that was proposed to me by the English Gentlemen fully on their own initiative, is successfully brought to an end'.¹⁶¹ Professor Petrus Van Musschenbroek and professor J.N.S. Allamand wrote their testimonials to the Royal Society early in April 1760.¹⁶² Loten's candidacy was first put forward

to the Society on May 8th 1760. His name was listed in ten successive meetings of the Society, after which he was balloted and elected on November 27th 1760. On 11 December 1760 he was admitted to the Society.¹⁶³ The Royal Society's copy of Allamand's letter contains Matthieu Maty's handwritten recommendation: "We concur in the recommendation, upon our own personal knowledge M. Maty, Tho[mas] Birch, Gowin Knight and Geo[rge] Edwards".¹⁶⁴ The literary historian Thomas Birch (1705-1766) was secretary of the Royal Society and had been trustee of the British Museum since 1752. Gowin Knight (1713-1772) was the principle librarian of the British Museum from 1756 until 1765. On November 28th 1760 Matthieu Maty informed Loten of his election to the Royal Society as a Fellow of (FRS).

28 Nov[embe]r 1760 Dr Maty to J. Gideon Loten Esq

Dear Sir

I have the greatest satisfaction in acquainting you with your election into the Royal Society, which was determined yesterday with all the marks of esteem and hearty concurrence as could be wish'd. The desire I had to give you this news made me postpone my answer to your very obliging letter from Bath, which I would likewise have accompany'd with the copies of Profs. Musschenbroek's and Allamand's recommendations, had they been in my power. But they were in the Royal Society's house, and that was shut on account of the vacations. I therefore could not procure those copies before last night, and I inclose them in this letter; but believe your merit stands in no want of any additional commendation to be discerned and esteemed at it deserves by a nation who values men in proportion to their love of useful knowledge.

Had I known the place of your abode in town, I should not have failed to wait upon you in person, as well to return you thanks for your many civilities to me, as to concert with you about the time and manner of your presentation to the Royal Society. I am forced to direct this letter to Hammersmith, where I hope it will find you, and procure me the honour either of a visit or of an appointment, to settle every thing and to appoint the day when I shall have the fealing satisfaction to introduce you to your new brethern. Our friend Mr Edwards joins in hearty congratulations, as does likewise all my family.

I have the honour to be with the highest regard and esteem

Sir

Your most Obd[ient] Humble Servant

M. Maty

British Museum Nov. 28. 1760

In the Loten documents there are but few references to the Royal Society. Nor are there any allusions to any meetings he attended. He is also not mentioned as a participant or guest of the Royal Society dining club.¹⁶⁵ Evenso, it seems probable that he regularly visited the Society's weekly meetings in the early 1760s when he was in London. In April 1762 he asked his brother to send him, "[T]he observations with the thermometer &c at Ceylon and other places, which [I] should like to bring in order and present, on repeated requests to me, to the R[oyal] S[ociety]".¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately Loten never communicated his observations. His absence from the Royal Society's meetings in the 1770s may be attributed to his deteriorating health, but his absence from them on earlier occasions may also have been due to his asthma.¹⁶⁷ This is possibly also the reason why he never attended the meetings of the Royal Society dining club as a member or a guest, although he was acquainted with its most important associates.¹⁶⁸ In his documents there are several references to publications in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, which indicate that he regularly read the scientific output of the meetings. Loten was proud of his election to this renowned Society. He was therefore not amused when no mention of his election could be found in the Dutch newspapers: "[M]y election in the Royal Society was published without difference (and without my intermediance) in all the English newspapers, it seems that the Dutch did not have so much kindness for their compatriot".¹⁶⁹

FELLOW SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON (FSA)

In January 1761 Loten was also introduced to the London Society of Antiquaries, 'without my knowledge I was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians, where I was once introduced as a friend by Mr Horace Walpole,¹⁷⁰ this is a very amusing and useful assembly whose Members are many of the First

Persons'.¹⁷¹ Membership to this Society signified a further step towards his being associated with the British gentry. Most of the gentlemen of the Royal Society combined their membership with that of the London Antiquaries. Loten's election shows that the social network in which he participated in the first period of his stay in England was not restricted to natural philosophers and naturalists only. His antiquarian interests must have been evident to his English acquaintances. His Fellowship is also a sign that he was accepted as a gentleman. Shortly after his arrival in England in July 1759, Loten encountered Horace Walpole in Maidenhead, possibly at Eliab Breton's country seat. In the months following this meeting he met numerous other representatives of the landed gentry in Bath and Bristol. He must have been invited to assemblies held by Lord Holderness and he must have been a guest of the Dutch diplomats in London where he encountered the London social elite.

On 19 February 1761 Loten was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London (FSA). He was read at the Society's ordinary meeting of 15 January 1761. According to the *Minutes*: "A Testimonial was presented and read, recommending John Gideon Loten of Brook Street, Hanover Square, Esqre, Fellow of the Royal Society, a Gentleman of Great Learning, & Lover of Antiquity, to be elected a Member of this Society, of which Honour he is said to be desirous, & is accordingly recommended by Subscribers as a Gentleman likely to become a useful Member".¹⁷² The testimonial was signed by Horatio Walpole and Lord Willoughby, the president of the Society in 1761. Other signatories were Philip Carteret Webb, William Sotheby and Dr Charles Morton.¹⁷³ The Society of Antiquaries of London was and is concerned with 'the encouragement, advancement and furtherance of the study and knowledge of the antiquities and history of this and other countries'. An antiquary was a person interested in the study of the past, particularly the physical traces of the past. The term was used in this sense from the late sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. Antiquarianism then evolved into a term which related to more specialised fields of interest such as archaeology, architectural history, art history, conservation, heraldry, anthropology and ecclesiastical studies. In 1751 the Society was granted a Royal Charter and it took on its present form. The Society left the *Mitre Tavern* in 1753 and moved into the former *Robin's Coffee House* in Chancery Lane.¹⁷⁴

15. ENGLAND 1760-1762

WINTER AND SPRING 1760

Early in 1760 Loten announced that he would return to Holland in the summer. He also stated that he would have done so sooner had he not been so 'sensible in his chest or lung'.¹⁷⁵ From today's viewpoint this seems like a paradox, for London's oppressive smog was well-known for causing respiratory problems. In contrast, the climate in Utrecht was far more favourable to someone with respiratory problems. We must therefore conclude that London and its surroundings was sufficiently attractive to compensate for Loten's ailments. In any case, Loten did not mention London's smog at this time in his life, even observing that the 'favourable' British climate was not nearly so cold as his 'Dear Fatherland'. He made this last remark in reply to a statement made by his brother saying that Dutch papers held the cold in England to be like that of 1709 and furthermore that December 1759 was the coldest winter since 1740.¹⁷⁶ Loten stated that he rarely wore gloves and that the ladies never used footstoves, 'and they suggest, they also do not wear trousers, about which, when the opportunity presents itself, my profound research would be worthwhile'. The habits of English ladies evidently fascinated Loten because in a post scriptum to this letter, he quoted a portion of a letter by Erasmus written to his Italian friend Fausto Andreino in 1499. In it Erasmus comments upon the candid behaviour of English ladies who 'evidently enjoyed the devout man'. For his brother's instruction Loten added, 'however the habits which were praised by Erasmus are now old-fashioned, and therefore just like in Holland hardly universally in practice'.¹⁷⁷ This prompted the following response by his brother: '[T]he matter of profound research whether the Ladies wear trousers must have warmed you so that you did not even sense the cold. Did Erasmus tell you something about that? That would have saved you many pains'.¹⁷⁸

Returning to the Dutch Republic was not a matter of urgency for Loten because his parents were in a reasonable health. His father, Joan Carel Loten, was still active as secretary of Leckendijk Benedendams. In November 1759 Arnout Loten wrote to his brother about a visit paid to their parents by their relatives, major Johan Frederick Abbema and his wife Jacoba Mathia Smissaert. During this visit the two politely requested and formally proposed that their son Andries Sijbrand Abbema (1736-1802) be appointed deputy secretary of Leckendijck Benedendams: '[B]ut nihil horum [=none of these things]; the old

gentleman considered this as if his death was announced, and answered that he was very able to act as a Secretary, adding the words of Mayor Bitter of Wijk bij Duurstede,¹⁷⁹ that his last fart (Sit venia verbis) [=these were his exact words] would be a fart of a Secretary. So those friends departed without having obtained their end'.¹⁸⁰ Several months later, during the flooding of the Rhine in January 1760 when the dike south of Schoonhoven broke,¹⁸¹ 81-year-old Joan Carel was on duty and wrote his wife from Jaarsveld that he had arrived there 'in good health'.¹⁸²

Prior to returning to Utrecht Loten planned to tour England for two months. In March 1760 he wrote his brother that he would leave the house he rented in Hammersmith on July the 20th. The tour's itinerary included visits to Bath, Bristol, Dorsetshire, Portsmouth, Devonshire, Salisbury, Oxford, Derbyshire, York, Beverley, Scarborough, Rochester, Chatham, Canterbury, Maidstone, Dover. In these 'provinces and places' Loten wanted to see: '[T]he remarkable country estates like Chatsworth, Castle Howard, Stow, Blenheim, Lord Westmoreland's seat near Maidstone, Lord Tilney's near Wanstead &c'.¹⁸³ Early in April 1760 Loten and his friend Van Clootwijk travelled to Portsmouth, Winchester, Salisbury, Dorchester, Exeter and Plymouth. There they saw the *Royal George*, Europe's largest ship. They were invited to dinner on board of the *Devonshire*. From Plymouth they went to Bath, where they stayed at Mr Stone's.¹⁸⁴ In May 1760 Loten visited Bristol and told his brother that he had '5 or 6 days taken the Bristol waters, which are for these discomfords [his asthma] as beneficial as those of Bath are harmful'. Had Bristol offered the same amusements as the 'unequalled Bath', he would have returned and stayed another month before returning to Utrecht.¹⁸⁵ He travelled some 200 English miles. Apparently this was exhausting because he remarked: '[I]n case I had children who were naughty I should have threatened them to ride in a coach with four horses'.¹⁸⁶ In Chester he visited the races and found the lodging and meals very cheap. He stayed six days in Oxford but gave no particulars of his daily occupations except that he 'enjoyed many civilities'. Having written a letter to the Duke of Malborough, he was permitted to visit the Blenheim Palace in Woodstock under the strict condition that he was 'to bring no English company with him'. In Worcester he bought porcelain from the factory founded there in 1751. In Derby he visited the silk factory which he felt was superior to Mr van Mollem's silk mill, *Zijdebalen*, located near the Weerd gateway in Utrecht. He also mentions a visit to Peak's Hole in Derbyshire, also known in the eighteenth century as the *Devil's Arse*: 'It is a hollow mountain with icicle-like [stones] from which drips water. We entered about 250 to 300 fathom [=450-540 m] into the cavern'.

The great stress on health and sociability in the eighteenth century ensured that spas were successful.¹⁸⁷ In season Bath was a strong contrast to the Royal Court, which in itself lacked the glamour and social centrality of its continental counterparts. From Loten's correspondence it is clear that the social gatherings were what attracted him to these springs. The visits to Bristol and Bath evidently changed Loten's mind about returning home. It is quite likely that he also recalled the agreeable weeks he spent in August 1759 in Tunbridge Wells. So in June 1760 he wrote his brother a long letter in which he argued that a longer visit to the springs of Bristol and Bath was necessary for a 'complete recovery' from his respiratory problems. He gave two additional arguments for a prolonged stay in England. He looked forward to his election as a fellow of the Royal Society. If he returned to Holland he would not be able to enjoy the pleasure of attending their winter meetings. He also mentioned as an argument the cheap and comfortable houses in England which he compared favourably with his expensive house in Utrecht. In the letter he tried to give his brother the impression that he would abandon his bathing excursion for an immediate return to Utrecht. However, from the letter it is evident that he had already decided to go to the springs resulting in a return to Holland no sooner than May 1761. He did not like crossing the Channel with the packet-boat in the winter.¹⁸⁸ Arnout and his parent's prompt reply to Loten's letter – sent six days later – demonstrates their tolerance towards the capricious Joan Gideon: '[W]ith regard to the point of coming over in August or your prolonged absence until May 1761, I can inform you that I read aloud the whole passage concerning this to our old People. They have instructed me to write to you immediately and without any restraint, as was also requested by you, that although one can very well imagine how much they desire to see you, they will very willingly resign themselves in your prolonged stay in England, this considering your complete recovery and also the other important argument and the further reasoning that you added to it. They do not take it amiss at all'.¹⁸⁹ Evidently much relieved Loten responded relaying his plans to leave for Bristol early in August 1760.¹⁹⁰ He still did not have a riding horse but he did plan to buy one because until now he had 'neglected this exercise'. He also explicitly declared that he had 'no intention at all to remain living in England'. The main reason for his delayed return was his health, 'because the two other arguments are for me so superficial that they do not half counterbalance my desire to see again the worthy old People and you'. According to Arnout Loten the life

of his parents was 'regulated by the watch' and 'besides the activities of Papa's office [...] they go to bed mostly before than after nine'.¹⁹¹ Loten probably felt a sense of guilt. He presented his parents with 100 pistoles (Spanish gold coins), suggesting to his brother that with this amount his parents could stop working as regents for the Leeuwenbergh hospital.¹⁹² Loten feared that his parents would not be not amused by this action. He was correct; his gift was indignantly rejected.

The appeal of Bath's social life certainly factored in Loten's decision to stay in England, but his worries about his increasing health problems were genuine. Dr Heberden had told Loten that he could not confirm that his complaints stemmed from asthma and he considered Loten's 'lungs to be somewhat weak'. In July 1760 Loten wrote his brother telling him that the 'so-called Asthma' was probably due to frequent colds. He felt asthmatic when he had a cold and walked upstairs or uphill, 'and although the London air is as such very sound, especially the frequent smog and the evaporation of the populous city is considered to be harmful to those who are asthmatically'.

MARRIAGE 'A JUMP OVER THE DITCH'

Towards the end of July 1760 Loten travelled to Margate with his servant Jacob Bardesyn 'in the post chaise, because he can not ride on horseback, his common language is now broken English and Dutch'. They were accompanied by neighbour Lord Henry Francis Widdrington and his wife Anne Gatenby and aimed 'to bath and take medicines in the morning, at 11 hours to church (as is also a constant custom in Bath, Tunbridge &c) and in the evenings the assemblies'.¹⁹³ At Margate he drank the waters and bathed in the sea, 'not knowing whether that will be beneficial to my chest; however my constitution will improve by it'. In any case it proved to be an effective cure for many blue spots on his skin,¹⁹⁴ because they disappeared. According to Loten, the company at Margate was respectable and in the evenings he played the card game, 'quadrille'. From Margate Loten visited Deal where he met a Mr Smith who had helped him in 1732 when the Dutch East Indies Fleet was moored in Deal for several days waiting for favourable winds to sail. He also visited the castle in Dover where he saw a large brass cannon with an inscription *Jan Tollhuys Utrecht 1544*. This gun until now bears the nickname 'Queen Elisabeth's Pocket Pistol'. Loten sent his brother a detailed description of it.¹⁹⁵

In August 1760 he travelled to Bristol. A letter to Arnout Loten from this resort contained a complaint about a cold, which kept him from his sleep.¹⁹⁶ It also included an analysis of the impact that the weather had on him: 'The months August & September are my main enemies, by the sudden changes from unbearable heat to pouring rain and wind &c'. During the winter he did not mind the 'weather or time', then he always felt 'well enough'. In September 1760 Loten was in Bath where he had two 'attacks on the chest' that were less intense than those of 1758 and 1759. His brother warned him against catching a cold.¹⁹⁷ However, he was in a 'reasonable disposition' and, in contrast to the preceding year, less occupied with his correspondence. Upon his brother's request he wrote several letters of recommendation but thought he would only answer 'half a dozen Indian letters'.¹⁹⁸ Bath was cheap and there was much entertainment to be had: 'All evenings general assembly and two times per week a Ball'. The company consisted of 4 to 500 persons 'among them many of the first rank with whom it is easy to get in touch. The Duke of Malborough is here and several of the same calibre'.

In Bath Loten consulted Dr Edward Barry, 'a disciple of Mr Boerhaven'. Barry, a specialist in chest diseases, had recently moved from Dublin to London.¹⁹⁹ He declared that Loten's complaint was 'no failure in the lungs or asthma but a disorder in the nervous system'.²⁰⁰ The diagnosis fitted eighteenth-century medical thinking: the more cultured, social and sensitive a person was, the more delicate his physical constitution was. Moreover, an unwholesome diet and lack of exercise could further irritate a sensitive system to such a degree that a host of pathological organic disorders could develop within the body.²⁰¹ George Cheyne in his widely known *The English Malady* (1733) declared that the three most universal and nervous disorders were: "glewinness, sizyness, viscosity or grossness of the fluids [...] some sharpness or corrosive quality in the fluids [...] a too great laxity or want of due tone, elasticity and force in general or the nerves in particular".²⁰² Contemporary physicians held that proper health depended on keeping the nervous fibres and body juices in a salubrious state.²⁰³ For this reason riding on horseback and in a coach and 'perpetual blisters' were prescribed. The blisters, also mentioned 'permanent' blisters, were occasioned by cantharides or Spanish flies applied in the form of plasters on the back part of the head behind the ears, on the neck or between the shoulders. It was used as a medicine against headache, eye diseases, consumption and complaints as the *English Malady*. The idea was that the perpetual blister was healing by draining the redundant humours from the body. Loten had had unsuccessful experiences with a

perpetual blister which had been placed between his shoulders for 3 or 4 months in the final months of 1759. Dr Barry like Dr Heberden advised Loten to go horseback riding and told him that 'his constitution was weakened by too much sitting and thinking, but otherwise to be very sound'. Barry further said that Loten's health would improve if he married again, an opinion also held and expressed by Loten's brother. Loten corresponded with his brother on these suggestions.²⁰⁴

JGL: '[T]his [letter] is chiefly intended to settle your curiosity concerning a proposed marriage, because I remember that I did not do that until now. I am far from decided with regard to any special object. My reflections are confused. If I should accidentally meet a good one, who are here just like in Holland as seldom as ~~attractive women~~ white raven. It would not be unfavourably at all according to Doctor Bary. Sometimes I bethink myself but when I have to act I crawl backwards. I am afraid to jump over the ditch from the higher to the lower shore and sprain myself, because it is not easy to jump back from the lower shore. According to the English expression I am afraid to be pecked by them' (Bath 29 September 1760).

AL: '[W]ith regard to a marriage, I think it is the best to consult yourself and no doctors. To be sure anyone knows himself the best the length and toughness of the pole to jump over the ditch, and the jump from the higher to the lower shore is indeed not so uneasy. Yes, but you also wanted to jump back from the lower shore, voila l'affaire. I believe there are many [persons] of that religion. Nevertheless I think it is worthwhile to think it over' (Utrecht 31 October 1760).

JGL: '[I]n Bath I nearly and without realising it had a fancy for Lady Mary Cochran [...], but after I thought it over and considered it profoundly I gave it up especially in England. However, if I should be older I should like to have a dear wife, because here it is impossible that the maids take care of you like in the East Indies' (Hammersmith 16 November 1760).

Lady Mary Anne Cochran (*d.* 1780) was the great granddaughter of the Scotsman Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kinkardin and the Dutch Veronica van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck.²⁰⁵ Lady Mary afterwards married Robert Sibthorpe (1724-1792), who, according to James Boswell, was "a gentleman of great consequence" in the county of Down in Ireland; he had introduced Boswell into good society there. Like Boswell and Lady Mary Anne, Loten was also distantly related to the Aerssen van Sommelsdyck family.²⁰⁶

In November 1760 Loten had returned to Hammersmith. He told his brother about his London amusements: 'Monday the comedies open again, because one cannot always reckon with the dead [George II died of a stroke October the 25th 1760]. The packet-boat and its Captain that would have carried me over, were taken by the French. He spoke the Malayan language very well, which will not help him now'.²⁰⁷ This sounds like a contrived justification for not crossing the Channel. He also told his brother about his second visit to the Royal Court where he met George III, the grandson of the recently deceased George II.

'The 13th of this month I was again at the Court to study the faces. The message had just arrived about the defeat of Marshall Daun [=Leopold Joseph Count von Daun (1705-1766), the reference is to his defeat in the battle of Torgau]. I had occasion to study the King, although I stood far too nearby than I preferred, because I stood leaning against the door panel of a common narrow door that connected the two rooms in which the Court received us, when H[is] M[ajesty] who wanted to go from the first room to the other one, stood still and remained leaning against the other door panel in front of me. He spoke more than 5 minutes with the Earl of Devonshire who was standing next to me. I could not leave with decency, but I felt a little ashamed, because I did not present myself at my first arrival. After the short conversation the King went on, I made a curtsy, which was answered with a smile and a bow.

I see with pleasure the Tripolitan Ambassador and his accompanying Gentlemen at the Court. They stare at the Ladies, who are most of them [so ugly] as the night. They certainly must realise that the Dey of Tripoli must have a better Serrail [sic!] than the King of Great Britain, who would be better equipped to sort out, with an ordination of a good and more sensitive taste, the shepherdesses of Cheshire, Shrewsbury, Lancaster, the Romanesc country and Wales. There you see such lovely clean milkmaids on the road that Ovid would have liked to become a cow there &c &c'.²⁰⁸

In December 1760 Loten wrote his brother that details regarding the Royal marriage ceremony and the coronation were still uncertain, but 'the last seems to be delayed so that both ceremonies will be coincided to save the costs [...] I think I shall not postpone my departure to the Netherlands for this reason, because with regard to the ceremony it is more easy and safe to read about it in a book'.²⁰⁹ He moved from Hammersmith to Lower Brook Street, Hannover Square in London.²¹⁰ His letters do not mention any

health problems. In January 1761 Loten wrote his brother about David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross,²¹¹ who was attempting to enter public life in England during the early 1760s: 'I had a 2 hour visit of Lord Cardross, son of the Earl of Buchan, both of whom pay me a visit every 2 a 3 days. We arranged to make a party in Montague House the day after tomorrow to read in the library of the Royal [Society], this Gentleman aged 18, capt[ain] in the Royal Scottish Fusiliers and so advanced in languages, the Greek and the Mathesis that everyone admires him as a wonder of this century, he taught himself the Italian and Dutch language'.²¹²

The winter was mild, but 'not agreeable by rain and wind'. Towards the end of February 1761 Loten wrote about 'prime lavere, daisies and marigolds in the fields [...] also the robins already have eggs in their nests'. Like an 'old Indian sailor' he preferred the climate of southern France, 'if there had been as much sincerity as in England and the Netherlands'.²¹³ In January 1761 he wrote his brother that his friend J.W. van Clootwijk had married Lady Jane Molesworth.²¹⁴ This announcement gave rise to an exchange of ideas about marriage.²¹⁵

JGL: 'At Bath Mr Clootwyk married Lady Jane Molesworth, granddaughter of Lord Viscount Molesworth, a very charming Lady brought up outside the follies of the great world. They are now visiting me together with Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross.²¹⁶ She is 19 year-old and possesses of all qualities to make someone happy, except much money' (London 13 January 1761).

AL: 'We learned with pleasure about the marriage of Mr Clootwyk from your latest letter and we also concluded that he is a lover of something young. Why would you not dare to do like Mr Clootwyk?' (Utrecht 13 February 1761).

JGL: 'You are asking me why I like Mr Clootwyk also would not try with a young woman? I prefer an age that corresponds more. But because this is a major step in my life, it seems that I shall waste all my time deliberating. I consider it a serious matter, about which I shall inform you by word of mouth' (London 27 February 1761).

Mr van Clootwijk and his wife rented a 'very nice house in Westminster' with a view of Buckingham House and its gardens from the front and a view of the Thames and the neighbouring hills from the back.²¹⁷

In March and April 1761 Loten's servant Jacob Bardsyn suffered from his 'old complaint', which is not explained any further. He must have been seriously ill, but Loten declared that 'he was very willing to live longer'. Dr Barry advised horseback riding and many exercises by walking however, 'both of which he does not like and he prefers the convenience of staying at home, which is by his carefulness not bad for me but certainly bad for his constitution. England suits him not less as it raised his aversion in the beginning'.²¹⁸ Dr Barry considered sending Jacob to the springs in Bristol, 'if he is not further deteriorated, then this is his medicine'. In the end, Jacob stayed in lodgings in Hammersmith and recovered slightly in the summer.²¹⁹ Loten took a young English servant, called William, 'who tenderly took care of me and is from a decent family at Nottingham and who wants to travel with me to Holland or wheresoever'.²²⁰ William attended his master to his master's satisfaction and joined him one year later on his voyage to Utrecht.

In April 1761 Loten worried about the packet-boats captured by the French. It was for this reason that he decided to take his English agent, Mr Berens's boat to Middelburg. The lease of his house in London expired on May the 20th 1761 and so, early in April, Loten wrote his brother and requested him to prepare his house in Utrecht for his return.²²¹

INFLAMMATION OF THE BLADDER

Loten's letters to his brother early in 1761 show that he definitely intended to return to Holland. However, during the night on 30 April 1761 he woke up having slept well but being unable to urinate. He experienced excruciating pain.²²² Dr Barry was summoned immediately. An enema was administered and, on the advice of his physician, Loten was carried to a bathing house; this brought him some relief. Loten probably did not visit a disreputable *bagnio*.²²³ A year earlier he had told his brother about the types of alleviation from suffering and the solace that certain bathing houses in London provided their customers. First he described how they bathed in the sea on bathing coaches at Scarborough, a place he had visited in 1759. There the ladies were scrubbed by 'old vixen'. He continued his explanation of the British bathing system: 'In London there are also baths in certain houses of which two of them are so modest that a man with his own dear wife would not be admitted there. Once I took a bath there. But really Brother, you may believe me; there are debauchees who go into these bathing houses who are not so modest. They are

attended there by female servants who are not very old vixens and who look pretty and decent. Surely I believe that our worthy Uncle van B[unnik = Joseph Loten, younger brother of Loten's father Joan Carel Loten] would have liked to visit such an establishment. Nevertheless, Brother and I would not dare to look to it. When children want to eat too much of banquet because it is nice, these charming kids do not know better. Shame, it is smudged with muck, therefore it is not healthy'.²²⁴

In May he had to summon his neighbour, physician Dr Ambrose Dawson, because Dr Barry was out of town.²²⁵ Dawson recommended that a clyster be administered repeatedly. After several days Loten felt weak but relieved. His urine contained blood and a white substance. According to his physicians he had an inflammation of the bladder probably caused by a calculus.²²⁶ Loten decided against surgery so a catheter was used to remove the liquid from his body. 'Drowsy medicines and opiates, which one had to give to me and which have tired me, but also eased me' were used. In June 1761 he felt better and slept well, but the doctors were opposed to a journey to Holland. Dr Barry recommended the waters at Bristol, which Loten did not like, 'but as it is considered necessary, I think it would be a stupid giddiness to brush a sincere counsel aside'.²²⁷ Loten did not travel to Bristol however. Towards the end of June 1761 he made a short tour in his coach to the house of the Dutch ambassador, Jacob Boreel Jansz. Although the coach was furnished with cushions and special steel springs to soften its movements, Loten did not enjoy the drive.²²⁸

It is remarkable that Loten did not write to his brother about the Royal Marriage between George III and Princess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744-1818) and the coronation to be held on September 22nd 1761. For this reason it is not certain that he attended these festivities. From a brief remark he made in a letter to his brother, it becomes clear that Loten did not attend an audience with the Royal couple in June 1761. His friends in London however, did participate in the ceremonies. In a letter from London dated 10 July 1761, the Dutch ambassador, Jacob Boreel Jansz., invited Loten's friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek to attend the Royal marriage and the coronation. From the draft of a letter it is clear that Van Hardenbroek planned to be in London in August and September 1761. He even asked ambassador Boreel to find an English servant for him. The draft of his letter also contains an inserted passage saying that he had to abandon his journey to London because he had to inspect the condition of the dikes of the rivers in the Province of Utrecht.²²⁹ In the correspondence between Boreel and Van Hardenbroek two brief remarks are made about the Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz:

JBjz: 'People who say to know the Princess give evidence that she is charming and funny and moreover owns very many characteristics that make our society happy' (London 18 July 1761).

GJvH: 'The praiseworthy qualities of the future Queen were also known and praised here by several persons. Therefore I do not have to inform you that here the Highly devised choice is not generally approved, or to say it better, it does not meet with a truly particular approval' (Utrecht undated draft-letter).

In December 1761, Loten gave his brother his impressions of Queen Charlotte: 'Monday to the Court on St Andrews day. I could study both the King and Queen during nearly half an hour from a distance of 7 to 8 feet. The poor good drudge tries very hard to be kind and to speak with everyone'.²³⁰ At that time Loten had a favourable opinion of the British monarch. In March 1762 he wrote his brother about George III's interest in experimental philosophy. However, the focus of the description was his indignation at the allowance the British monarch gave to Judith Lambert, the widow of the former Dutch ambassador Hendrik Hop (1723-1761): 'The King is working hard and wearing his wig for the Experimental philosophy, every day Musschenbroek and 's Gravesande, whose books are also read here in the Universities. H[is] M[ajesty] is a very amiable Monarch. I think nobody can see him without loving him. He dispensed an allowance of yearly f 500 to Mrs Hop, one of the most unkind Women I ever met. That is certainly undeserved'.²³¹

LOTEN'S MAID SITIE FROM CELEBES

The complaints kept Loten in England throughout 1761 although he had planned to return to Utrecht. Towards the end of May 1761 when he felt better, he moved from Lower Brook Street to 'a smaller but more decent and much cheaper house in Green Street, Grosvenor Square near New Norfolk Street', where he had a view of Hyde Park. Nevertheless Loten was determined to return to Holland in 1762. In November 1761, referring to the voyage to Holland, he declared that his luggage of 'books and prints is much increased'. Two weeks later, a casual remark - 'if you persist in this good intention' [underscored by

Loten] - by his brother about his proposed return irritated him. He quoted and underlined the phrase in his annoyed reply: '[T]here have never been any reasons to be doubtful [about my intentions], but it is true that one tried to consider the indispositions from which I suffered as a false excuse'.²³²

In September 1761 he again considered bringing Sitie, his maid from Celebes, over to England. During several months the brothers discussed her position. This changed, however, because the contracts of the two 'white maids' – Mie and Wyntje – in Utrecht were discontinued in November 1761. However, the lease of the house in the Nieuwstraat in Utrecht, which Loten rented from Mr van Straten, was extended until November 1762. Loten asked his brother to prolong the term of the house rent, 'because I do not like to stay in another lodging than my own house with my papers, books &c'.²³³ This was much to Arnout Loten's chagrin. He felt that retaining 'a house for nobody but three servants' for three years to be a waste of the 2000 guilders this cost.²³⁴

JGL: 'I think in all sincerity that it would be much better for Sitie to be in England [...] Here there are many chestnut-browns with whom she could legally marry, although it would be with the foot-boy of Mr Clootwyk who is her compatriot. These blacks wear either a blue, red, green, purple, white or black cap like the Ladies themselves' (London 2 June 1761).

AL: 'Meanwhile you could think about what we have to do with Sitie in November. I believe she prefers to go to the Indies than to England' (Utrecht 12 June 1761).

AL: 'Now the contracts of the two white maids are discontinued something must be done with Sitie. She cannot stay alone in the house, at least not in the night. We propose to take her with us till further orders or until your return. If you agree with this we pay her meals and lodging, remaining for you the diverse costs' (Utrecht 9 October 1761).

AL: 'Sitie likes it very much in our house. In circa 32 months she learned to read and write, but because she does not speak the language very well, her advance has not been like that of a professor, which means that she certainly has to continue several months, if you agree with that' (Utrecht 26 November 1761).

JGL: 'Sitie must continue her studies' (London 4 December 1761).

Four years after the exchange of the above cited correspondence, Arnout Loten wrote to his brother in London to make a provision for Sitie in case of his death: 'Now as we are talking that something human would happen to us that reminds me (and Mother and my wife have often spoken with me about it and requested me to write you about it) how to fare with Sitie and where this poor creature would remain when the afore mentioned would unexpectedly happen to you. Would you believe that van der Bruggen] would take care of her? Maybe yes, but possibly his behaviour would be unbearable, so it is necessary to settle something for her. I pray you to think in which way something can be done for her. In the mean time we pray Heaven that nothing happens to you before You are in the highest age of your existence'.²³⁵ Loten made provisions in 1767; in his testament he required with regard to Sitie: "[T]hat the same may be further instructed in the Christian religion and to let her continue enjoying her support of four pound sterling per annum besides board for which she shall on the other hand be obliged if required to serve her to satisfaction". In the codicil of 9 September 1771, Loten speaks of his regard to "the experienced honesty and fidelity of my maid servant" and requests his executors: "[T]o make such provision for her in case of her being by illness or any other means obliged to quit the service of my said wife or in case of my said wifes decease one shall help her to support herself and put her above the fear of want during the remainder of her life".²³⁶

Sitie must have been a maid with remarkable qualities and was clearly loved by both Loten and his Utrecht family. A noteworthy entry, written in the late 1770s, can be found in Loten's *Bell's Common Place Book*, under the heading "Celebes, Natives, Feudal govern[men]t". It suggests that the relationship between Loten and Sitie was of a nature different from that of a maid and her master. It is likely that they were of a more intimate character: "Yesterday when I was sitting upstairs with Madam [his wife Lettice Cotes] I brought forward that what happened in the morning with regard to the maid and I acknowledged my fault and said, that she was sent to You by the King of Bony and that You asked to send her in the year 1752 &c &c. Whereupon I was asked with the greatest attention, «So she is no Slave??». I answered «No»".²³⁷

In November 1781 Sitie was clearly still in Loten's service because she is mentioned as one of the passengers in his coach when he returned to Utrecht.²³⁸ Sitie survived her master. In his testament and later codicils to this document, Loten had provided for Sitie's future.²³⁹ After he died, she received 2,000 guilders as a legacy from Loten's heirs and 1,200 guilders from Jan Kol, the executor of Loten's testament.²⁴⁰

WINTER IN LONDON 1761-1762

Although in the autumn 1761 he frequently had a cold, Loten usually took short daily walks or drives in his coach. When he walked or if, during his drive, the coach did not hit the pavement, he had no problems with his health. In October 1761 he visited the comedies twice, his only outings in three weeks. In his spare moments he painted birds using watercolours, 'for which the old famous Gentleman Geo[rge] Edwards gladly borrowed me his originals'.²⁴¹ Loten's acquaintances, Mr and Mrs Boreel and Lord and Lady Holderness travelled to the waters in Bath, but Loten stayed in London for although he was advised to pay a visit to Bath he was afraid to travel. Even the argument that the 'road to Bath is always unbelievably even and does not pass through paved cities', could not convince him to drive to the watering place.²⁴² He no longer required medicine at this time. Instead, he enjoyed the merits of marmalade of elder and black currants in 'three bowls like buckets'. These were given to him by friends, Mrs Berens and Mrs William Molesworth, J.W. Van Clootwijk's mother-in-law. Several years later he wrote in his cashbook: "NB NB NB with the beginning of 1761 I was very ill, first in Lower Brook Street & continued so in Green-Street Grosvenor Square by an inflammation in the neck of the bladder. At last after unutterable sufferings cured by eating ripe duke or may cherries. Most likely I got this painful and dangerous disorder by oversleeping the tone of the bladder having enjoyed an uncommon sound sleep of about 12 hours, without using any opiates or medicines whatsoever, my imaginations being than not spoiled nor my temper ruffled by tyrant friends, the mind being calm and a very few asthmatic fits having made their appearance".²⁴³ Arnout Loten scrupulously monitored his brother's eating habits. In July 1763 he responded anxiously when his brother noted that he had restored himself to health after a heavy meal by eating strawberries: "This is usually disapproved by the physicians, because the previously eaten aliments such as meat, fish etc: take a longer time to be digested in the stomach than the fruits. This means that the last when eaten as a desert are prevented to pass and so they decay and can cause a slight inconvenience. Therefore I conclude that You would do better when You do not use strawberries or other fruits especially not after the meal".²⁴⁴ During the winter 1761-62 Loten hardly ever referred to his health. A description of New Year 1762 gives us a glimpse of the Loten household. January 1, 1762 during breakfast Loten was startled by his Dutch servant, Jacob Bardsyn's loud and boisterous New Year welcome:²⁴⁵

JGL: 'I heard several tremendous shots in the kitchen and asked the maid who was serving me, what is going on? She said that Jacob was shooting away the old year with two pistols, which he had bought for 36 shillings. She was astonished that I did not hear it when I was in my bed. The other domestics had advised against it saying 1. Our Master will take it into dungeon and shall be waked up by it. 2. That he was in England, and if he would appeal that it was an old custom in his fatherland and so an imperative matter, he had to realise that it was forbidden, especially in this neighbourhood with the lodgings and stalls of the Life Guards nearby. However, he persisted in his martial New-year ceremony and even intimidated the other maids by aiming at them and ricocheting, so they were uneasy about his assurance that it was only gunpowder, and dropped out of fear the pieces of bread on the ground. One year ago I advised against a marriage, for which he seriously asked permission from me. I answered that I was not against marrying, but that I disapproved that he certainly would continue the pleasure of such a legally approved living together with his Dear Wife in my house, which he apparently did not ask me. On the whole he is better now, although I cannot ask him to ride on horseback or stay on the back of the coach. According to the custom of this country, I took his livery from him and he appointed himself Valet de Chambre' (London 8 January 1762).

AL: 'We congratulate Jacob with his promotion to Valet de Chambre' (Utrecht 5 February 1762).

Early in January 1762, when he returned from a visit to the Dutch ambassador, Jacob Boreel Jansz., Loten passed Charing Cross where the war against Spain had just been declared. He expressed his support for the peace movement (against the Seven Years' war). This was an unpopular position to take at the time: 'I could not hear it by the noise of the people and by the trampling of the horses, because besides those of several Heralds in their tunics, there was 1 squadron of Life Guards, a ditto of Grenadier Guards on horseback and an army of Trumpets, French Horns and Drums on horseback, and also the two kettle drummers of the two Corps, Constables, guides of the horses &c. Meanwhile I am sorry that the predictions of Mr Pitt seem to be realised. There were many people here longing for peace'.²⁴⁶

Loten grew fat during this time and on March the 28th 1762, to remedy this, he bled more than 10 ounces of blood.²⁴⁷ Before returning to Holland, Loten had planned to visit the castle of Windsor and other places along the Thames. For this reason on the night of March 31st he took accommodation at an inn near Maidenhead Bridge and went to bed early as usual. Shortly after lying down, he was suddenly attacked by cramps in his chest. He jumped out of bed, gasping for air. The landlady sent for the surgeon-major of a squadron of the regiment of Lord Albermarle which was quartered nearby. The surgeon, 'a Swiss and sister's son of the late famous Chymist Geoffroy',²⁴⁸ came and bled him, although he had been bled three days before. An antispasmodic medicine was administered, but Loten was unable to remain in bed. Following the initial cramps he was unable to breathe for several minutes and suffered such painful 'oppressions', that he 'would have preferred to choose for the death'. The physician administered 'beneficial drugs'. Although Loten does not specify these, it is likely that he was given opiates. For three days he stood in his room, undressed and leaning with his hands on the table. He was unable to alter his posture. In the morning of the third night he enjoyed three hours of sleep in bed, dressed in his underwear and a Japanese dressing-gown. When he woke up, he had 'a slight attack of the motus spasmodici'. He recovered and decided to return to London, where he slept for five hours quietly in his bed without feeling any oppression. He woke up feeling weak and afraid of the tightness in his chest.

He had to call off an invitation to attend the annual ball of the Lord Mayor of London which he had received from Charles Bennet, the future 4th Earl of Tankerville (1743-1822), because he 'feared to be in a large crowd where it was difficult to receive help in case of an emergency'. He regretted that he was unable to see the 'most brilliant assembly but also the absolute opposite'. He explained himself saying that the aldermen of the City were composed of 'several decent persons [...] and for the greatest part of shopkeepers, like sellers of linen, saddlers, grocers'. He compared these with shopkeepers in Utrecht and Wijk bij Duurstede and described the dinner before the ball: 'Then these friends gnaw by hand, one has a ham the other the head of a calf, a sucking pig &c just like the humorous painter Hogarth has depicted these cramming Gentlemen in his farcical prints'.²⁴⁹

As he had done in the preceding two years, Loten now wrote to his brother telling him that he would have to postpone his journey to Utrecht. He was afraid of having another convulsion on the packet-boat. He also feared the privateers cruising in the Channel; one chanced disembarking 'naked on the French or Spanish coasts'. His letter reads like an emphatic plea to his brother and parents against any form of objection. He pathetically expresses his hope that his friends and relatives in Holland will 'consider [his circumstances] favourably' and will 'continue to love him'. He argues that 'after an absence of 26 years', he had 'preferred to see his Fatherland and his dear relatives again and [that he had] not favoured the attractive and great fortune that was offered to him if he would have stayed'. This was a somewhat distorted reference to rumours about Loten's candidacy for the director-generalship of the Dutch East Indies Company at Batavia which circulated in 1757. With his 'voluntarily home voyage' he had fulfilled his filial duty towards 'those who besides God have given me my life'. Loten also reasoned that 'one has to understand a not voluntarily short absence nearby and a residence among our Allies and Fellow believers'. The plea was followed by complaints about his relatives, the Abbema family in the Lange Nieuwstraat in Utrecht: '[S]ome trouble me by writing from India and Utrecht, others show disapproval like [those] at Utrecht in the Lange Nieuwstraat, whose friendship one ought to buy from time to time per ell or quarter to persuade them to approve my decisions (only in case of beautiful weather and no appearance of dark clouds or thunder in the air, which temporarily stops the scurvy of the illness of slander). I only have to laugh to myself, remembering the well known parable where a boy and an old man ride a donkey, they could not reach their goal by looking on, no matter who was guiding [the donkey], they did not advance by walking alongside and even less when they both rode on the animal. I do not care what these indifferent spectators say, but it hurts me heartily and bitterly to be forced to be separated for so long a time from my very honoured friends'.²⁵⁰

During May 1762 Loten slowly recovered. Between the 13th and 19th of that month he 'had the fifth attack of my convulsive indisposition', but the spasms became, 'more bearable, and although I have to spend the night out of my bed, I could free myself most of the time from that uneasy and gruelling posture of standing and leaning with my hands on the table. I could remain seating in my chair without the previous strangling convulsions'.²⁵¹ He concluded to his satisfaction that he had become lean again, because he had not eaten meat or chicken for several weeks. He wondered whether he should apply a 'perpetual blister', but postponed the decision because according to him in England it was considered to be a controversial remedy. From Loten's letter it is clear that his carping Utrecht relatives again gave him reason to grumble. They evidently suggested he misused his complaints to remain in London. This gossip

must have reached Loten in a way other than that of correspondence with his brother. Loten wrote a monumental response to this slander.

‘This confidentially and not for use in the family. The Nitpickers, who foretold my illness, and who certainly will do everything to make my life in Utrecht sour by their irritating civilities and by often inviting themselves against one’s will only to fulfil their self-loving purposes, pretend that they do so entirely without self-interest.

The idea to impute such a foul fairytale can only grow in those low filthy souls. I fear Nobody with such a shameless attitude who accuses me that I make abuse of such a in my opinion terrible excuse. Yes, I should be unable to make up deliberately such a despicable, tormenting fable, it is just as impossible as if the Universe could exist without a divine being. I believe the opposite, that I worship not only out of a legitimate fear, but also out of conviction’.²⁵²

Although there is no concrete reason for the concluding remark in the correspondence, it suggests that Loten’s critics in Utrecht had also alluded to atheism on his part.

COUSIN VAN KINSCHOT

Loten felt great animosity towards people who he felt had betrayed him in the East Indies; George Beens and his companions Dorth and Camerling, Anthony Mooijaert and Noël Lebeck. In Utrecht his relatives Abbema and Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten raised his anger. They stood for the censorious and oppressive climate that Loten so abhorred and which had caused him to leave Utrecht not ten months after arriving from the East Indies. Since his return to his home town, the focus of his aversion had been his cousin Catharina Aemilia Abbema, widow of The Hague lawyer Gaspar van Kinschot.²⁵³ Catharina Aemilia lived in the Lange Nieuwstraat in Utrecht. Before his departure to the Indies, Loten and Catharina Aemilia were on friendly terms. An entertaining letter written by her in January of 1749 indicates an amiable relationship between them.²⁵⁴ Upon his return to Utrecht however, Loten’s sympathies for her changed. In the correspondence with his brother and his friend Van Hardenbroek, Loten said that the reason he preferred living in London was because he disliked the ‘nitpicking’ Abbema family’s meddling and censorious attitude. In particular, Cousin van Kinschot, a friend of Loten’s aunt Christina Clara, was repeatedly mentioned with the greatest aversion.

Loten’s hostility may have been caused by the Abbema family’s attitude towards him during his absence in the East. The following passages serve as an example. In 1754 Loten sent gifts from Colombo to his relatives in Utrecht. One year later his brother Arnout wrote him about the presents he sent to Jacoba Mathia Smisjaert, the wife of his cousin captain (and later lieutenant-colonel) Johan Frederick Abbema: ‘I understood you was so kind to send several gifts to Mrs Abbema. Excuse me brother that I feel obliged to bother you (confidentially) about this. If you want to do this exclusively out of generosity than it is another matter. However, I have to confess you frankly that these friends never in the least contributed to your advancement neither did they ever try to do so’.²⁵⁵ In December 1756 Arnout Loten wrote to his brother in Colombo about the condolences that he and his parents had received after the death of Loten’s first wife, Anna Henrietta van Beaumont: ‘Most persons of rank and acquaintance condoled us with the decease of our worthy sister. The Abbema family however, has not deigned to perform this insignificant obligation to our parents or to us, notwithstanding we made it public not only by an ordinary undertaker, but to our relatives also by sending a servant to their house to announce it’.²⁵⁶

The Abbema’s indifference may have triggered Loten’s irritation. During his ten-month stay in Utrecht, contacts with the Abbema family, and especially with his cousin Kinschot, deteriorated. Illustrative is the correspondence between Loten and his brother in November 1759. Arnout Loten wrote to his brother about the Abbema family’s request that their son, Andries Sijbrand Abbema, be made deputy secretary and successor to Joan Carel Loten in his office as secretary of the Leckendijck Benedendams. Loten’s father had indignantly refused. Loten replied from London 23 November 1759 saying: ‘The old Gentleman dealt well with the matter regarding the deputy. It would not only have been unpleasant but also damaging. I cannot understand what gave them the idea, although Serpentina Teixeira must have helped them with it’.²⁵⁷ The serpent with the Jewish name which Loten refers to in the above passage was his cousin, Catharina Aemilia van Kinschot, who was characterised by Loten some time later as ‘my dear cousin in your beautiful youth kneelingly admired both by Hebrews and by Philistines’. Several years later he assured his brother that next time he was in Utrecht he would not rent a house ‘near the Jewish Harpy Serpentina Teixeira, whom I shall avoid more than ever’. Loten also compared his cousin with the landlady of a disreputable London bathing house: ‘By the way, our cousin K[in]sch[o]t (one could

even call her S[jiste]r as you please, and the world would not lose anything from that) has all the external charisma together with other praiseworthy qualities to act as an abbess in such a beneficent cloister. When I return I hope to demonstrate this to you with a print by Hogarth that I have deliberately bought for this purpose'.²⁵⁸

Arnout however, remained friendly with 'Nigt (cousin) Kinschot', evidently he hoped that she would remember his children in her will.²⁵⁹ In November 1759 cousin van Kinschot asked Arnout whether Loten could not furnish her with the so called Palsy drops, a compound tincture of lavender also known as 'red hartshorn'.²⁶⁰ For more than a year the Palsy drops were a subject of correspondence between the two brothers:²⁶¹

AL: 'Cousin Kinschot asks for "Paltshi drops" which is a medical moisture, but you are not allowed to know that it is for her' (Utrecht 11 December 1759).

JGL: 'I don't know where they deal in palsy drops (it is for a nervous breakdown), apparently it is a product of quacks. I shall try to inform about it [...] P.S. I think it must be anti-palsy, otherwise it would be to facilitate a nervous breakdown that would be a pity for Mrs Texeira's gall-sweet tongue, however, it would possibly advance the inheritance. Anti venereal drops are every day in the papers, but I think she now does not need these anymore' (London 18 December 1759).

AL: 'Please remember the palsij drops, it might be damaging for our inheritance' (Utrecht 28 December 1759).

JGL: 'I really don't know where to obtain the palsy drops. Every day I read in the papers all advertisements of quacks, nevertheless I have not discovered them' (Hammersmith 4 January 1760).

AL: 'With regard to medicines, I pray dear brother, remember the paltsi drops for our Cousin Kinschot, otherwise she will be disappointed and she would think that I have not adequately carried out my commission to you' (Utrecht 13 June 1760).

JGL: 'Yesterday I was out to hunt the Palsy drops for Mrs Serpentina Thunderwood ("Donderbos") and therefore paid a visit to the learned Doctor Heberden, who immediately said to me that he could see from my exterior that I did not consult him as a patient [...] Today I bring two small bottles with Palsi drops well wrapped up to Mr Berens. I had them manufactured by my own personal apothecary and friend Mr Perkins. To prevent hazards for such a dear relative from the so famously prepared drops, the dose is one teaspoon' (Hammersmith 29 June 1760).

JGL: 'I hope that our dear and worthy Lady Cousin [van Kinschot] received the palsy drops in good order' (Hammersmith 21 July 1760).

AL: 'We received the bottles Palsijdrops in good order, nevertheless we gave only one of them to Cousin Kinschot and kept the other one for the present with us. I am obliged for the delivery' (Utrecht 8 August 1760).

JGL: 'Are the palsy drops effective? One told me that the tongue of our dear cousin is unremittingly sharp' (London 5 April 1761).

RETURN TO UTRECHT

On the 20th and 21st May 1762, Loten had mild attacks of asthma, fortunately without serious consequences. Dr Heberden informed him that a lady had successfully fought asthma by swallowing a spoon of mustard seed before going to bed. So Loten started swallowing mustard seeds and in the morning he drank several glasses of water from Bath. His recovery from the asthma, which was 'according to several [persons]', the result of 'a nervous complaint because it is sometimes caught by catching a cold', was encouraging. He resolved to travel to Holland on his friend Berens' ship although he did remark upon the fact that the disadvantage of taking a voyage in a ship coursing for Zeeland was that the climate there was not favourable to recovery from his health problems. In June 1762 he suffered from several light attacks of asthma and was 'tormented with thousands of involuntary sighs that often wake me up in my sleep and which neither relieve me but oppress me when I try to suppress them'.²⁶² To make matters worse, his servant Jacob had the pleurisy, and according to Loten's domestics his life was in danger. He nevertheless recovered and two weeks later Loten told his brother that Jacob would accompany him to Utrecht.

Early in June 1762 Loten sought further companionship in the form of a dog called Juba: "This faithfully friendly companion came to me from Mr Berens's house: Angelcourt Throgquarter St[reet] 3 June 1762, layd then in the cap of my hat, being I guess ab[ou]t 4 months or at y^e utmost 5 or 6. [...]. The

evening I brought him home to my house in Green Str[ee]t] Grosvenor Square I went first to Vauxhall with Miss Colebrook 3d June 1762, that year he went to Utrecht &c. & attended me in all my travels. [...] I was told he came out of Miss Asher's House".²⁶³ Unfortunately it is not clear just who this Miss Colebrook was with whom Loten visited the London pleasure garden Vauxhall, but it is not unlikely that she was the daughter of Sir George Colebrook who was the director of the British East India Company from 1767 until 1772. Up until 1762 George Colebrook owned *Arno's Grove* estate located in Southgate, a hamlet near London.

Loten did not just pursue earthly pleasures however. He also sought spiritual enlightenment. In June 1762 he and John Berens, son of Herman Berens, visited the chapel of Magdalen House in London. In 1758 the *Magdalen Charity for Repentant Prostitutes* had opened its doors to all women working as prostitutes. Its primary function was to turn them into industrious, working women. To this end, Reverend Doctor William Dodd (1729-1777) preached sermons to them on Sundays. On Sundays, the Magdalen House was open to the general public and it became fashionable for the elite and visiting foreigners to attend services there to see the women of the charity for themselves.²⁶⁴ The charity was a form of entertainment for them.²⁶⁵ Loten's impression of the charity however, shows his genuine admiration for the charity's choir and their musical abilities: "[T]his was incomparable with what I ever attended, edifying and touching. The Psalms and many anthems have been sung by a numerous choir consisting of young women in a very artistically manner, deliciously and beyond all imagination. I shall tell you verbally more details about this institution".²⁶⁶ His sentiments were very different from those of his contemporaries (like Horace Walpole) who often made ironical remarks about their visits to the Magdalen charity and its inhabitants:²⁶⁷

Twenty years later Loten still remembered his visit to the chapel and referred to Reverend Dr William Dodd, who had been executed at Tyburn three years before.²⁶⁸ Dodd had been a successful preacher at the Magdalen Charity and later became the King's *First Chaplain*. In his lifetime Dodd entertained lavishly. Once, deeply in debt, he forged his patron's signature on a note of £ 4,300. Lord Chesterfield, his patron, refused to prosecute, but the Lord Mayor Sir Thomas Hallifax sent the case to court where the jury took all of ten minutes to find Dodd guilty and to sentence him to death by hanging: '[T]he case of the eloquent preacher Doctor Dodd, one of H[is] M[ajesty's] Chaplains (whom I think I heard when I still could go or dared to go to church) was also in some measure harsh and biased, as many [persons] felt. Nevertheless he was hardly commiserated [and that] in proportion to the regret of the loss of his lectures. Nearly all persons agreed that he was a very bad scoundrel'.²⁶⁹ In June of 1777 many attempts were made to pardon the Reverend Doctor. The Countess of Huntingdon interceded. A petition containing 2,300 signatures (a first being that of the foreman of the jury) was drawn up. A "Last Solemn Declaration" and a number of other documents were drawn up for the criminal who had been "led astray from religious strictness by the delusion of show and the delights of voluptuousness". The quote was in Dr Dodd's hand but its author was Dr Samuel Johnson.²⁷⁰ In the end, however, all efforts on his behalf were fruitless and Dr Dodd's execution was carried out at Tyburn on the 27th of June 1777.

In June 1762, notwithstanding his health complaints, Loten made up his mind to return to Utrecht. He received his travel documents from ambassador Boreel and on July the 1st 1762 he left London in his own coach accompanied by Jacob Bardesyn, his dog Juba, his coachman and his English servant, William. Evidently Mr Van Clootwijk did not accompany him to Helvoet. Van Clootwijk had offered to do so, 'knowing that I do not like to travel on my own, but his wife is ailing and pregnant'. The young David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross, would also have liked to accompany Loten to Holland, but he had to join his regiment in Scotland. Loten still held Lord Cardross in high regard: '[A]lthough but 19-year-old I am assured that he could occupy with the greatest honour professor's chairs in Literature, Mathesis or History'.²⁷¹

The company made the crossing to Holland in two days in a packet-boat from Harwich to Helvoet, where they arrived on the 4th of July 1762.²⁷² At Helvoet Loten disembarked, tired and with a headache. A few days later he arrived in Utrecht. It is not certain whether he went to his house in the Nieuwstraat immediately or whether he stayed in the lodging-house *Kasteel van Antwerpen* at the west side of the Oude Gracht near the Backer bridge.²⁷³ In May 1762 he wrote his brother saying that he considered staying there instead of at his house in Utrecht, for 'several days or perhaps all time, in case one would attack me too much and rob me of all time and freedom'.²⁷⁴

5. UTRECHT AND LONDON 1762-1763

GIJSBERT JAN VAN HARDENBROEK

The Loten documents give very little information about Loten's stay at Utrecht between July and October 1762. However, it is clear that he must have had agreeable meetings with Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek. Shortly after he returned to London, he started corresponding with his friend.²⁷⁵ In view of the difference in ages (10 years), it seems probable that they became acquainted only after Loten's return from the East Indies. From the available sources it is clear that Van Hardenbroek was Loten's close friend from 1762 until his death in 1788. Loten was greatly attached to Van Hardenbroek even if Van Hardenbroek sometimes annoyed him. These minor irritations did not interfere with their intimate friendship however. Loten had bequeathed several objects to Van Hardenbroek in his will, however, his friend died a year earlier than he did.²⁷⁶

Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek (1720-1788) held various important positions in the Province of Utrecht and the Dutch Republic. A member of the Dutch aristocracy of the eighteenth century, his family was related by marriage to the most prominent families of the country.²⁷⁷ His public career began relatively late due to the difficult relationship the Van Hardenbroek family had with Stadholder Willem IV and, after Willem's death, with his widow, Princess Anna of Hannover, who acted as Princess-regent for her son Stadholder Willem V. In 1748, like many Utrecht regents and aristocrats, the Van Hardenbroek family had opposed the restoration of the rights of the Stadholder to elect regents in the Province of Utrecht. As a result Van Hardenbroek did not become a member of the Utrecht States any earlier than 1759, that is, after the death of the Princess-regent. In that year he was also elected to the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC. In 1764 he was chosen in the board of the Amsterdam Admiralty. Three years later he became a delegate in the States-General in The Hague, representing the knighthood of the Province of Utrecht. This often took him to The Hague where he stayed in close contact with both the young Stadholder and the foremost regents of his time. From 1781 until his death in 1788 he was steward-general of the knighthood in the Province of Utrecht. Van Hardenbroek was a bachelor. The Utrecht Archives contain many passionate love letters written by him in French to Belle van Zuylen (1740-1808), despite the fact that he had been rejected by her.²⁷⁸

Van Hardenbroek was not a man of great political influence. His most important legacy to future generations is his personal journal, *Gedenkschriften* [*Memoirs*], which covers the period between 1747-1788. It is an unique ego-document with detailed entries about his daily activities in Utrecht and The Hague.²⁷⁹ Between 1747 and 1762 François Doublet, Lord of Groeneveld, played a prominent role in Van Hardenbroek's *Gedenkschriften*. He provided him with information about political developments in The Hague.²⁸⁰ Several items in the *Gedenkschriften* are based on information from Joan Gideon Loten. The *Gedenkschriften* give an accurate and personal description of the political and social situation of the Republic of the United Provinces and the city of Utrecht in the eighteenth century.

FRANÇOIS DOUBLET

Loten's letters to Van Hardenbroek indicate that during his stay in Utrecht in 1762 Loten was also in close contact with diplomat and aristocrat François Doublet, his cousin Constantia Johanna's husband. Loten met Doublet for the first time in Utrecht in 1758 or 1759. In June 1760, several months after the decease of the Princess-regent, Doublet received a commission from the Dutch States-General as envoy extraordinary to the Court of Sweden.²⁸¹ Constantia Johanna Loten did not follow Doublet to Stockholm; she stayed in her house in Utrecht. According to Arnout Loten: '[S]ome say she does not want, others again say something else'.²⁸² Doublet's frivolous way of life may have played a role in her decision to remain in Utrecht. Constantia Johanna was charmed by Arnout Loten's young children, particularly by his young daughter, 'Annedientje'. Arnout willingly allowed her friendly admiration, particularly in view of a possible inheritance from her.²⁸³ In Stockholm Doublet regularly corresponded with Van Hardenbroek. Loten, however, did not receive any letters from him. On January 5th 1762, François Doublet wrote to Van Hardenbroek from Stockholm saying, 'Mark my dear friend, where is my friend and cousin Loten, he will be devilishly against me and angry that I did not write him, but I shall make my apologies for the truth that is bad enough, but he is good he will forgive me'.²⁸⁴ Evidently Doublet realised his shortcomings, but also trusted Loten's character and friendship.

It is clear from Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften* and his correspondence that in 1761 his Dutch friends tried to promote Doublet as successor to Hendrik Hop (1686-1761) as the Dutch envoy extraordinary to the Court of St James in London.²⁸⁵ However, their efforts failed in part because the office in London was expensive and the remuneration available from the States-General meagre. The Duke of Brunswick, guardian of the Prince Stadholder, was strongly in favour of appointing Dirk Hubert Verelst (1717-1774) the Dutch envoy extraordinary to the Prussian Court. It was suggested that the English Government would supplement his compensation. However, Verelst declared that under such conditions he could not accept the office.²⁸⁶ It was a public secret that England often paid foreign diplomats. According to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek this had been the case with Bernard Count van Welderen who was ambassador extraordinary in London from 1727-1728. In the 1780s Loten told Van Hardenbroek that his son, Jan Walraad Count Van Welderen, the Dutch envoy in London from 1762-1780, also received money from the English King.²⁸⁷

In March 1762 Loten, apparently well aware of his friends' efforts, wrote his brother about Doublet: '[W]ill the Lord of Groeneveld migrate from the North East to the South West, stay in Utrecht or Here [=London] is no longer a vacancy'.²⁸⁸ He had probably heard from ambassador Boreel that the Embassy in London was not available to his friend Doublet. In May 1762 Jan Walraad Count van Welderen became envoy extraordinary in London. Doublet received an appointment as envoy extraordinary in Madrid.²⁸⁹ He left for Spain in October 1762 and in November he gave his letters of credence to the Spanish Court.²⁹⁰ In Loten's correspondence with Van Hardenbroek, Doublet is frequently mentioned as the 'Iberian friend', a reference to his Spanish commission (1762-1769). In a letter to Van Hardenbroek in November 1762 Loten gives us a glimpse of the envoy's character and the intimacy of his friendship with Doublet: 'I do pity him to be absent so far from Ut[recht] & in a country where it is impossible for a gentleman of his temper to like one single individual, unless it were a romantick pretty Grand Mama to soften his solitude and cares; but of whom it is very troublesome to get rid of when tired, as there is no trifling or playing the fool with the Castilian Damsels. I hope you'll forgive my self-interest when I pity him to be so far from us, for I pity there a good deal my self too, be then so kind to consider it as a self interest not of the worst kind'.²⁹¹

In July 1762 when Loten came over from London, Doublet still was in Utrecht. A few days before Loten arrived, Doublet's wife, Constantia Johanna Loten, died. Together with Van Hardenbroek, Loten was a witness to the remarkable events that followed her death on July 3, 1762, in which Doublet and his mother-in-law Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten disputed Constantia Johanna's legacy in court.

CHRISTINA CLARA STRICK VAN LINSCHOTEN

The relationship between the Loten family and Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten, Joseph Loten's widow, was difficult. This may have been due to the problems that rose from her mother-in-law, Constantia Hoeffft's inheritance in 1734.²⁹² In 1751 Arnout Loten wrote that the friendship between 'the Lady of Bunnik and our family is totally not [restored]'.²⁹³ After her husband's death she styled herself with the seigneurial title 'Lady of Bunnik'. It is possible that Christina Clara considered the Strick van Linschoten family to be of a higher social rank than the Loten family. In the 1770s the Strick van Linschotens began to use the noble prefix 'jonkheer' (esquire), much to Loten's astonishment and dismay.²⁹⁴ In 1780, shortly after the death of the 92-year-old Christina Clara, Loten remembered his aunt: 'Shortly before I left for India, the Lady of Bunnik gave me a present of 10 or 15 pistoles, and that in a manner as if she reproached me of being ungrateful – although I have to acknowledge that she never has indicated any displeasure towards me to you or any of yours. Once she had the intention to give me as a present a silver gilt travel dinner-set, consisting of several dishes and I guess a dozen plates &c, everything in a square flat case, in height, as far as I remember now, 12 or 14 inches and every side of the square 3½ feet or somewhat more; the outside leather, the inside green velvet. I have very absolutely refused to accept this'.²⁹⁵ It is unclear why he refused to accept what seems to have been an attractive gift. It may be have been the result of his occasional fits of irrational temper or by his sentiments about the long-lasting family feud surrounding his grandmother's legacy.

In the Loten correspondence much attention is paid to the legacy of cousin Constantia Johanna Loten and the incidents surrounding it. At his death in 1730 Joseph Loten left his daughter a considerable fortune. Constantia Johanna inherited 151,000 guilders. Joseph's wife Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten received 50,000 guilders, which was in agreement with the conditions under which they were married in 1723.²⁹⁶ In 1742, at the age of 17, Constantia Johanna Loten married François Doublet, Lord

of Groeneveld. Her fortune must have made her an attractive match for an aristocrat of modest means. Three years before Doublet had been one of the suitors of the wealthy 18-year-old Elisabeth de Raet (1721-1780) in Leiden, but he was rejected.²⁹⁷ It is therefore probable that Doublet's engagement with Constantia Johanna was based on finances rather than affection. In situations like this however, marriage settlements restricted a young husband's inclination to spend his wife's capital.²⁹⁸

When Constantia Johanna died, her inheritance became the subject of legal procedures between Doublet and his mother-in-law and her family.²⁹⁹ The actions of executor, bailiff and secretary, Jan de Cupere, initiated the difficulties between them. Immediately upon Constantia Johanna's death, De Cupere confiscated all of the keys to the house. The Utrecht notary archive contain several documents drawn up on Jan De Cupere's request in which Constantia Johanna's servants and her mother describe their actions prior to and after Constantia's death. In one of the documents, the 24-year-old servant Marritje van der Schroeff declares that François Doublet visited the cellar, the silver cabinet and the bookcase shortly before his wife died.³⁰⁰ In the same document she also declares that on the day that her patron died, Jan de Cupere collected all of the house keys, although he did give them permission to give some bed linen to François Doublet and his chamber servant.

Jan Kol, Doublet's representative, took over Doublet's case when he departed for Madrid in October 1762. Shortly after he left, Constantia's executor, Jan de Cupere, had notary Coenraad van Leene seal Doublet's house.³⁰¹ De Cupere's action provoked Jan Kol to respond. He referred the case to the Provincial Court at Utrecht and on December 10, 1762, the Court decided that Doublet and his delegate Kol were within their rights and that access to the household goods and chattels could not be sealed off.³⁰² In March 1763 an agreement was signed by Kol and the Strick van Linschoten family.³⁰³ Doublet received 30,000 guilders from his mother-in-law, in accordance with their marriage settlement of March 1742, and a subsistence allowance of 20,500 guilders from the estate. In 1764 Johanna Carolina Arnoudina and Joan Gideon Loten, Arnout's children, received 20,652 guilders from the estate of their deceased aunt.³⁰⁴ The remainder of the estate, including houses, money and jewels was divided up among the Strick van Linschoten family.³⁰⁵

UNEXPECTED 'BAD USAGE' IN UTRECHT

It is likely that Loten, upon his return from London, had planned to stay in Utrecht for more than three months. Thus his sudden and unexpected departure towards the end of September 1762 must have been difficult for his old parents. In January 1774 he wrote an entry in his notebook that gives an idea of the emotions caused by his departure from Utrecht: "[I]f live to inquire from my sister in law, ab[ou]t my father on my depart in 1762. Standing under the trees before his door (unknown to me) and looking on my driving by to go again to England, as I heard some muttering on that subject, as if that Good Old Gent[lema]n had caught cold by that and had much chagrin ab[ou]t my absence &c. &c. But this is all uncertain and built upon prattling of persons one can't depend upon".³⁰⁶ It was the last time he saw his 83-year-old father alive. Loten was apparently unaware of the grief he caused his father by leaving. Some time later Loten wrote: 'My sister [brother Arnout's wife] said in 1776, I could be very easy about it'.

He travelled by towboat through The Hague and Rotterdam and further by coach to Helvoet. Between Leiden and The Hague he had an unexpected encounter: 'Yesterday passing the Leydschen dam there stood V[an] D[er] Bruggen with a long pipe, looking through a window and in the company of a party of students. He was dressed in black and I am reasonably sure that it was His Dishonourable Villain, because we looked sharply at each other. Judging from the uniform of the captain of the The Hague towboat, it seems that he travelled with the yacht of the States of Holland'.³⁰⁷ On his way to London he wrote a cordial letter to his brother in which he thanked him, his wife and their children for their 'civilities'.³⁰⁸ He also mentioned that his spaniel Juba presented 'his compliments to Li', probably a domestic animal belonging to the Arnout Loten family. It is unknown who accompanied Loten on his return to London. Loten's Dutch servant Jacob Bardesyn is not mentioned in the documents. It is also unclear as to whether his Macassarian maid Sitie accompanied her master to England. At Helvoet he had 'a violent oppression in the chest'. The next day he was free of the oppression and on October 2nd 1762 he took the packet-boat to Harwich. During the crossing of the sea they 'sailed more under than on the water', because of a 'terrible storm that nobody sailing on the packet-boat had ever experienced'. According to Loten it was 'by the alertness and presence of Captain Hunt and because of God's Goodness and the luck that nothing was broken', that they safely arrived at Harwich.³⁰⁹ In the morning of October 5th 1762 he arrived at his lodgings in London and immediately had a meal with his housekeeper, 'my good friend Mr Bellis'.³¹⁰ In

the days after his arrival he took "a small house [in New Bond Street] not being able to find one agreeable to my liking; tho' the situation is pleasant and chearfull".³¹¹ He wrote to his brother saying that he had returned to England intending to come over to Utrecht, 'from time to time' depending upon his health and with the restriction 'that there are 8 months in the year when I should not dare to make a crossing from Dover to Calais for half a million or better for no treasures of the world'. He also 'hoped that in the winter he would never again live in England or Holland' and in his fatherland he would 'like to come once in a year'.³¹² Thus he again returned to England planning to stay for a longer period, the opposite of what he had intended in 1759 when he only came to travel through England.

Several documents in the Loten collection indicate that he felt oppressed by the attention he was given by his relatives in Utrecht; he found it as unbearable. Probably in 1774 or 1775, he wrote in his notebook: "It was my very sincere intention to remain, but I was disappointed by unexpected bad usage".³¹³ Early in November 1762 in a letter from London to his friend Van Hardenbroek, Loten indirectly referred to the problems he had had in Utrecht: "I went Saturday to the play where the *Busy Body* was performed. However, this is a scene which we see but to often in the course of common life, and I my self have experienced so much ruled that I ought not to be so curious to see it over again upon the stage".³¹⁴ Apparently the performance of the play *The Busy Body* (1709) by Susanna Centlivres in David Garrick's *Drury Lane Theatre Royal* reminded him of Utrecht.³¹⁵ The character Marplot in the play was described by Mrs Centlivres as "a sort of a silly Fellow, Cowardly, but very Inquisitive to know every Body's Business, generally spoils all he undertakes, yet without Design". Marplot probably reminded him of his cousin Catharina Maria Abbema (cousin Kinschot) and his aunt Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten. It seems that they were the cause of Loten's disappointment and what he meant when he referred to "unexpected bad usage". The two ladies were also explicitly mentioned in a letter written to his brother in December 1762.³¹⁶

Shortly after his departure Loten's enterprising aunt Christiana Clara Loten apparently took several possessions from his house in Utrecht. In 1780 Loten referred to this intrusion: 'Her Highborn did well to take from my house the tamarind jams &c: and the perishable goods. However, the tables or large Indian tables ["groote knaapen"] she had better left to their place, and also the portrait of my face, drawn with crayon at the Cape and in a frame with glass. I think Her Highborn did me too much honour to take that from my study. With these objects, and the small commissions of small reflector telescopes and others, it seems that she made a modest reprisal upon my ungratefulness. I never thought to speak a word about reimbursement'.³¹⁷ In December 1762 the behaviour of this 'Megeera' triggered Loten to write a furious, somewhat enigmatic, epistolary eruption. It indicates the reason for hostility towards his meddling Cousin van Kinschot: "[I]t reminds me of Joosje of the Thunder ["van den Donder"] who also would show up very martially to execute such an exploration of my Korte Nieuwstraat castle to the edification of the roaming East Indian Monkeys. Oh what to do to prevent to fall into the shame of Mr Reinis by sitting in my house and sadly meditating, when Her Honourable Reverential well meaning letters do not effectively penetrate in me, but to embody myself this summer in Utrecht at the Rhine in the amusing marriage bonds with Lady Syntje van Grootpoort, conform her tender-heartedly, motherly-coupling instructions'.³¹⁸

LONDON 1762-1763

It is clear from the correspondence with his brother that Loten became increasingly sensitive to changes in the weather. In November 1762, six weeks after his tempestuous nightly voyage from Helvoet to Dover, he wrote to his brother about his life in London: 'I am regularly invited by my compatriots, after which I usually have to stay 8 days in my house and even have to remain in my upper rooms, each time fearing to choke, either by the convulsive movements of the diaphragm or by coughing. Hardly I am recovered or some polite teaser comes along to reproach me saying that I read too much and remain in house &c. Due to my complaisance we walk in the cold air in the park, which I cannot endure, we have dinner and are for three hours at table and instead of half a bottle, the limit of a drink with an austere Englishman, I have at least one bouteille with a kind compatriot who persuades me that I do not drink enough wine. Then in the evening homewards and because of the wine without a desire in the company of ladies or the spectacles. Consequently one feels so fine that by night one walks through the house like a mad man not knowing how to breathe. It takes again 8 days to recover so that one only dares to go out in a well closed coach, which is usually followed by a meal and this again results in the same consequences. These festivities &c

caused that until now I visited the spectacles, which I generally love, only three times and only partly. I wish to be let alone again among the barbarians of this country, who usually leave me on my own'.³¹⁹

Arnout responded to this letter saying that he hoped that his brother had recovered and 'adopted again the shape of a young flux Man who is fully able not only to go love making, but also to enter immediately in that agreeable union'.³²⁰ However instead of embarking upon any amorous initiatives, Loten spent much of his time in London with the barometer and thermometer. He translated a report of his measurements in Utrecht and supplying it with an explanation, sent it to George Adams, 'who received it with a smile'. Unfortunately the report has disappeared. In a letter to his friend, Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, he sent another less hilarious impression of his return to London. The day after his arrival in London he visited ambassador Boreel. He later planned to visit the recently appointed Dutch envoy, Count Van Welderen, Lady Denbigh and Lord and Lady Holderness but he did not find them at home: "[A]nd since I remained confined within my rooms, from whence I am now removed to New Bond Street, where I have taken a small house not being able to find one agreeable to my liking; tho' the situation is pleasant and chearfull, and two tolerable rooms with a bed shall always be very much (besides a good heart) to your disposal".³²¹ He also gave a more explicit reference to the 'company of ladies' and 'love making' than was mentioned in the above-cited correspondence with his brother: "Poor devil that I am, till now I have been but thrice at the play & once in the opera, I am always catching cold in this nasty foggy London, which causes [that] I but very seldom visit the Grand Mama. I have really almost fancied to die by straightness of breath, of which by the use of the Peruvian Bark,³²² I am very near recovered since two days. I really believe that, if health & circumstances will permit it, with the summer I will go to France and afterwards to come to Utrecht [...] Since I got a dreadful cold which kept me at least a fortnight within my room & hindered me 'till last Friday from going to my Grand Mama".³²³

In his letters to Van Hardenbroek Loten regularly ironically referred to the landlady of a house of ill repute as 'Grand Mama', 'Grammaire' or 'Abbesse d'un convent'.³²⁴ As has already been illustrated in earlier citations, in terms of their appearance these ladies reminded him of his cousin Catharina Maria Abbema. His visits to whorehouses were openly discussed with his friends. Early in January 1763 François Doublet sent his first impressions of the brothels in Spain to Loten. He compared them to those in London. Loten informed his friend Van Hardenbroek about Doublet's recommendations: 'In Spain dear cousin said, we must shoe ourselves in a twofold manner just as at the late Mrs Douglass's formerly the Abbess of a very famous convent in London, where as I also mentioned to dear cousin, I'm going to spend the evening and I think that I shall retire there for a few days from the world by taking orders'.³²⁵ The reference was to a famous *bagnio* at the north-east corner of the 'Piazza', 'the great square of Venus', Covent Garden.³²⁶ The brothel was first kept by Betty Careless and afterwards by her successor 'Mother' Jane Douglas, *the Empress of the Bawds*. Her house *Kings Head* was superbly furnished and decorated. As well as paying high prices to enjoy the luxurious surroundings and hand-picked girls of her establishment, her patrons were able to take advantage of condoms manufactured by Jacobs in the Strand, presented in a silk bag and with a hefty mark up. Mother Douglas grew very fat, and with pious up-turned eyes used to pray for the safe return of her "babes" from battle. Hogarth, who frequently visited her house, featured her praying from the window of her house in his *March to Finchley* (1750). She is said to have retired with an ample fortune and become a Methodist and ardent church-goer. Mother Douglas was the original for Mother Cole in Samuel Foote's *The Minor* (1760) and *The Methodist* (1761), anti-Methodist plays in which Foote mimicked the cross-eyed Methodist evangelist, George Whitefield, whom Foote renamed Mr. Squintum. Mother Douglas died 1761.³²⁷

At this period in his life Loten evidently preferred the pleasures of the whorehouses to those of marriage. It is possible that this was another reason for leaving Utrecht. One month later he wrote Van Hardenbroek about marriage: "[M]y lungs won't bear the continual & uniform pleasures of matrimony. If I was half a dozen years younger, I would still venture the leap, as observations & experiments carried on almost thro' a quarter of a century have taught me all the mixed sweetness to be found in that sometimes happy state".³²⁸ Towards the end of December 1762 Loten wrote to his brother saying that he began to realise that he would have to move to a place with a warmer climate in order 'to make the last rest of life bearable'. Apparently he was less resistant to cold than he had been two years before. Living in England meant 'to be enclosed in flannel underwear during 6 of the 12 months'. The underwear had to prevent clothes from irritating his skin. Ironically he added that he was 'wrapped in his skins like a Hottentot. A propos of Hottentots, if I should live much longer I should consider to buy a place in the Almshouse in the Hospital at the Cape'.³²⁹ In February 1763 Arnout Loten gave his brother a comparable description of his father and mother in Utrecht: "The severe frost has been for us, as it has been for you, not very

agreeable. I observed the outdoor air with my Thermometer and enclosed a memoir for your information. The old people also strictly kept to their house. The windows in the dining room remained closed. Papa sat near the fire with a blue handkerchief tied on his head, and dressed in a fireman's coat, but afterwards in a small mantle of a lady. So this clearly looked like a Hospital. You would have recognised this as a genuine Hottentot Equipage'.³³⁰

Loten also complained to Van Hardenbroek about the cold in England and related his condition to the changes in the weather: "I've suffered beyond all description after the frost was over by the warmth & closeness of the weather, & am determined to go to France with the beginning of the summer, & if my health will permit it, I hope to come back by the way of Holland, if the change of air will not cure me there is no help for me, for tho' I am by intervals in perfect health and breath freely, there is not to be depended upon by the sudden attacks of cramps or convulsions in the muscles of the breast, which no mortal is able to bear".³³¹ Loten apparently suffered from asthma throughout the winter; his previous idea that only the summer had an adverse effect upon his complaints was no longer tenable.

END SEVEN YEARS WAR

In the correspondence with Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, Loten regularly referred to the political situation in England. In December 1762 he wrote about the atmosphere in London where the negotiations about a Peace Treaty with France, whose preliminaries were signed in November 1762, were a source of public conflict: "I can't say I find England at present as agreeable as before it seems the spirit of party has spoiled society, which however was always not very easy in London now much less than before. They begin now in general to reconcile them selves to a peace, about which we will hear more, after next Thursday when the preliminaries will be discussed in Parliament".³³² This was a poor time to be in favour of the peace movement and an end to the Seven Years War. This movement was spearheaded by George III and his chief advisor Lord Bute.³³³ Bute's opponent and leader of the Commons, William Pitt, supported the interests of the war and the economic profit derived from the colonial exploitations it permitted.³³⁴ Loten sent a letter to Van Hardenbroek saying:

"[A] little parcel [...], in which are contained the considerations upon the German war, some trifling newspapers where in You'll see to what an excess of liberty (as they call here such intolerant lampoons) the press is carried on, and a malicious print of Hogarth's [...] As far I can remember the chief contents or explanation of Mr Hogarth's scurrilous print is this: The man upon stilts tho' concealed under the figure of K. Henry VIII represents Mr P[itt] (adored by the Lord Mayor, Magistrates and Butchers who applauded him with their usual rejoicing musick of narrow bones & cleavers) endeavors to increase the fine war, which upon the globe very near reaches Britain. NB as you know Henry VIII to have been an extremely violent Prince the allusion is obvious, but perhaps too strong and not good natured-

The person directing the Engine is the Earl of B[ute], the gentleman without face squishing with a clitter seringue at Lord B[ute] out of the Temple coffehouse's window³³⁵ upon a pair of stairs represents the Earl of T[emple] brother in law to Mr P[itt].³³⁶

The old man with the wheel barrow loaded with Auditor's Monitors &c. they say represents the Duke of N[ewcastle].³³⁷

The sign of the patriot-arms is here represented with clenched fists, contrary to the way, in which they commonly are painted, when they always are opened and ready to shake hands, here they are ready for boxing: discordia res maximae dilabuntur'.³³⁸

The man playing upon the fiddle some say is the King of France other the Prussian; I do believe rather the former as he is in so careless an attitude, whilst desolation and ruin are brought upon the people around him. And meanwhile the Dutchman in the right corner sits upon his pack, quietly smoking his pipe & with a smiling contented face beholding all this potter in which however very prudently he keeps the hands upon or in his pockets for fear of his property:

Now I am afraid to have meddled to much with politicks, tho' I must join to on, that the Duke of Devonshire since a few days resigned his eminent place of First Lord of the Bedchamber and retired to his seat in Derbyshire,³³⁹ it is reported that my Lord Bute since a good while had aimed at that place, which, if he does obtain, will create him very few friends, as the D[uke] of Devonshire is said to be a good man, faithfull to the present Roy[al] Family, & universally beloved'.³⁴⁰

Loten refers to William Hogarth's first plate *The Times* (1762) about the political situation towards the end of 1762. In *The Times* Hogarth took a decisive political position in support of the peace movement against the Seven Years War. Pitt can be seen marching on stilts to fan the fires of war that the Union Officer of the King is trying to extinguish. William Beckford (1709-1770), the Lord Mayor and a follower of Pitt's, appears in the doorway on the left and points to a signboard advertising a naked Indian reading 'Alive from America', a reference to the fortune he has made from his tobacco and sugar plantations in Jamaica.³⁴¹

Loten's attention to politics in his correspondence is superficial. Its is evidently aimed at amusing his friend in Utrecht with anecdotes and gossip from London and his acquaintances. The signing of the Peace of Paris on February 10th 1763 is not mentioned.³⁴² Evidently collecting prints was a topic of greater interest. In February 1763 Loten wrote the following to Van Hardenbroek: "Tho' I always monthly peruse the Review I've seen nothing worth Your notice & so in regard to prints, the political ones are scurrilous & still incomparably worse than the Times of Hogarth, but I believe there will soon be published some fine landskips & then if I should think they answered the expectations I'll send them, & in order to avoid disputes & scrupules I'll write down a memorandum what I'll pay for it that the way be cleared for Your Lordship to command Your humble & ready friend for Your delicacy would else reckon it obstructed which would render me extremely sorry".³⁴³

In May 1763, shortly before departing on his Tour on the Continent, Loten casually remarked: "As the imprisonment of Col[onel] Wilkes may perhaps have excited Your curiosity I send some papers relatif to it, & to his discharge".³⁴⁴ This passage refers to the British politician and editor of *The North Briton*, John Wilkes (1727-1797). The 1763 Peace of Paris was hotly attacked because it appeared to cheat a victorious Britain of its just and attainable rewards. *The North Briton* no. 45, which appeared on 23 April 1763, had referred to George III's support of the Peace as "the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed". Upon its publication the Government ordered the prosecution of the writer of the paper. Since it was written anonymously, a General Warrant for the apprehension of the authors was issued. Based upon this Warrant Wilkes was taken into custody on 30 April 1763 and charged as a seditious libel. He was locked up in the Tower of London and held incommunicado. His house was ransacked and his personal papers seized.³⁴⁵ His commission in the militia was cancelled. The Warrant's legality was questionable and its use to arrest a Member of Parliament made the matter particularly grave. On the morning of 3 May 1763 Wilkes was removed from the Tower and brought before the bar of the Court of Common Pleas. On May 6th 1763 he scored a popular triumph when Loten's later neighbour, Lord Camden, had him discharged on grounds of his privilege as a Member of Parliament.³⁴⁶

Loten's attention was not only focused on public affairs, so besides the remark on Wilkes, he reported about his London acquaintances: "[L]ast Thursday night happened in my neighbourhood a calamity at Lady Dowager Moleworth's, in whose family I was very much acquainted, which perhaps has not had its equal in this metropolis, of which you'll see the particulars in Saturday's newspaper, they agree with those of Col[onel] Moleworth's returning home from the fire in which so many of his nearest relations perished & meeting me in the street told me him self, I am so affected with the terrible scenes that I am quite out of order".³⁴⁷ The passage refers to the tragic fire that took place in London on 6 May 1763 in which Lady Molesworth (née Mary Jenny Usher 1728-1763), two of her daughters, Melosina and Mary, and six of their servants were killed. Two other daughters, Henrietta (*d.* 1813) and Louise (1749-1824) were badly injured when they jumped from the upper windows. One had to have a leg removed after landing on the railings below. Their third daughter, Elisabeth (*d.* 1835), was severely burned. Lady Molesworth was the widow of Richard Molesworth, third Viscount Molesworth of Swords (1680-1758). He was a Field Marshall in the British Army. Joan Gideon Loten was acquainted with the Molesworth family because in 1761 his friend J.W. Van Clootwijk married Jane Molesworth. Her father was Colonel William Molesworth, who was Field Marshall Richard Molesworth's brother.

In his correspondence with Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, Loten regularly referred to his visits to Lady Denbigh, the Utrecht-born Isabella de Jong. When Isabella's husband died the Dowager Countess lived on Twickenham's riverside with her sister, Maria Catherine de Jong (*ca* 1695-1779), since 1729 the Marchioness of Blandford.³⁴⁸ Isabella, like others, developed a great admiration for Dr Stephen Hales, Perpetual Curate of Teddington.³⁴⁹ After his death in 1761 she took steps to ensure that she would not be spiritually separated from him for very long. She bought a piece of ground adjacent to his grave in Teddington for her own grave and was buried there herself in 1769.³⁵⁰ In one of his notebooks Loten wrote about Lady Denbigh: "The late Countess Dowager of Denbigh (Isabella de Jong) who died May 1769 aged 76 and buried at Tedington often told me (and shewed me also some well drawn up papers by

one Mr Graswinkel of Delft relative to that) her father Peter Haak de Jong to descend from a Brother of a Noble man in Flanders by the name of Boudewyn de Jong, whom I think to have lived in the XVIth century, they bore then fascé d'argt & d'azur si je le me rapelle bien de 8 pieces. L'Espinoy".³⁵¹ Despite more than forty years in England, Lady Denbigh was still not fluent in the English language. Like many of her contemporaries she probably mainly used the French language. It seems probable that she also enjoyed visits from her former compatriots so that she could also speak Dutch. Horace Walpole regularly remarked upon Lady Denbigh and her sister's insufficient knowledge of the English language.³⁵²

"I keep no company but my Lady Denbigh and Lady Blandford, and learn every evening, for two hours, to mask my English. Already I am tolerably fluent in saying she for he" (July 20, 1761 to the Countess of Ailesbury).

"I cannot help it if my Lady Denbigh cannot read English in all these years, but mistakes Wrottesley for Wortley" (October 10, 1761 to George Montagu).

"What more news I know I cannot send you; for I have had it from Lady Denbigh and Lady Blandford, who have so confounded names, genders, and circumstances, that I am not sure whether Prince Ferdinand is not going to be married to the hereditary Prince" (August 9, 1763 to the Hon. H.S. Conway).

Van Hardenbroek probably introduced Loten to Lady Denbigh. The day after his arrival in London on October 6th 1762, he tried to visit her, but she was not at home.³⁵³ Some time later he must have met her. In December 1762 he wrote to Van Hardenbroek: "I return just now home from Lady Denbigh, where I had the honor to dine tête à tête, Her Ladyship desired very eagerly I should assure You her respects and spoke of You in the most hearty & affectionate manner, and as You was so kind to write me our worthy friend hath gained his lawsuit before the Utrecht Magistrate so she was kindly pleased to read the letter received of her brother who communicated also his triumph before the Provincial Court, that good Lady did really partake in our joy for she hath a great deal regard for our Friend, but we were both sorry You did not write the ridiculous & impertinent particularities of the scene that happened at his house, for my correspondents are very scanty in regard to any sort of news tho' sometimes the subjects would be very entertaining to me".³⁵⁴ They evidently discussed François Doublet's case before the Utrecht Provincial Court. Loten also discussed the Doublet case in his correspondence with his brother:³⁵⁵

JGL: 'Last Tuesday I dined tête à tête with Lady Denbigh who read me a letter in which she was informed that the Lord of Groeneveld triumphed in the Utrecht Provincial Court. I have to complain that I do not receive much news from Utrecht' (London 10 December 1762).

AL: 'Until now Mr Doublet triumphed in everything and if there will be a revision I do not doubt he will continue in that way' (Utrecht 21 December 1762).

JGL: 'Mr Doublet arrived in good condition in Madrid. To be sure he successfully succeeded in everything after his chateau de ville was captured par coup d'assault' (London 31 December 1762).

AL: 'Mr Doublet lost his case in the Court of revision, which appears incomprehensible for many. However, a revision is asked already. I wish he will triumph' (Utrecht 8 February 1763).

AL: 'There is now a settlement between Mr Doublet and the heirs of His wife. Mr Doublet will receive from his Mother-in-law 30,000 guilders and instead of an annuity more than 20,000 guilders' (Utrecht 12 April 1763).

AL: 'Finally the case between Mr Doublet and the heirs of his wife is settled. He received 30,000 guilders from his Mother-in-law and 21,500 guilders from the estate of his wife as the redemption of the annuity' (Utrecht 9 August 1763).³⁵⁶

In January 1763, one month after his dinner with Lady Denbigh, Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek: "Today I shall have diner at your friend Lady Denbigh in company of Mr Van der Hoop. I have not seen this Lady since the Holydays & I shall not hesitate to give her your compliments. She told me that when I come to her another time I shall see Mylord her son & his wife, who is the daughter of the learned Sir Robert Cotton, whose Library is now at the [British] Museum".³⁵⁷ In this quote, Loten refers to the first advocate of the VOC, Cornelis van der Hoop, with whom Loten maintained a friendly relationship.³⁵⁸ Loten also referred to Lady Denbigh's eldest son, Basil Feilding and his wife Mary Cotton.³⁵⁹ Mary Cotton's great-grandfather Sir John Cotton, the third Bart of Connington, had bequeathed the famous library of his grandfather Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, first Bart of Connington, to the British nation.³⁶⁰ In August 1759 Loten had seen Mary Cotton at Tunbridge Wells, but it is unknown whether he was introduced to her. Basil Feilding was also mentioned to Loten one year later in June 1764, when his mother Lady Denbigh referred to the favours he enjoyed from George III: "Your Friend Lady Denbigh

has become during my absence at least half dozen years younger, and in addition to this the incomparable treasure of health. She has the pleasure to see that MyLord Her son is in Royal favour about which She reasons that it is according to the principles of a sound policy".³⁶¹ Basil Feilding was appointed *Master of the Harriers* on 24 January 1761, which earned him two thousand a year. The office was abolished on 11 July 1782. On April the 9th 1763, he became *Gentleman of the Bedchamber*, an office that earned him £ 1,000 per year. He held this position until his death on 14 July 1800.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

Loten's interest in the development of the affairs of the Dutch East Indies Company is evident from his correspondence. In November 1761 he anxiously asked his brother: 'Would it be true that all our establishments at Ceylon were taken by surprise by the Ceylonese and all ours massacred? They say that Colombo and Galle were attacked. I can hardly believe that this could have taken place'.³⁶² This question clearly refers to the rumours which circulated at the time about the Candyan incursions into the Dutch-controlled territory in the lowlands of Ceylon. Loten's successor as governor of the island, Jan Schreuder, pursued the land policy more rigorously than his predecessors had. This led to open warfare in the early 1760's during governor Van Eck's administration (1762-1765).³⁶³ The English had not sought to develop contacts with the Candyan Kingdom for fear of offending the Dutch whose neutrality in the Seven Years War was advantageous to them. In 1762, King Keerthi Sri had asked George Pigot (1719-1777), who was the governor of Fort George in Madras, to send someone to the Candyan Court to help him fight his enemy, the Dutch East Indies Company. And thus the Madras establishment of the English East India Company sent its first diplomatic mission to Ceylon under John Pybus (1727/28-1789). A British vessel took Pybus to Trincomalee on 5th May 1762. In Candy, Pybus was ceremoniously welcomed by the King on 24th May 1762. On 21st June 1762, after several discussions with the King and palace officials, he left Candy without making any conclusive promises claiming that he had no such authority. The Dutch were greatly surprised when they discovered that the Pybus mission was in Ceylon negotiating with the Candyans. By the time the discovery was made, however, they were already at war with Candy. In 1766 a treaty was signed with the King of Candy establishing the power of the Dutch in the Ceylon maritime regions. It reduced the Candyan kingdom to that of a landlocked state dependent upon the Dutch for essential supplies such as food and placed external trade under Dutch control. It also severely limited the Candyans ability to conduct foreign relations.³⁶⁴ In the Loten correspondence with Van Hardenbroek there is a reference to the situation in Ceylon: "I'll lose no opportunity that my present countrymen, as you please to call them, are concerned in the affairs of Ceylon. I don't doubt now in the least, for they have sent deputy's from Fort George to the King or Emperor of Candy to obtain of him a free-port for their trade, & if he should grant that, and we can't crush him before such a settlement is expected. We will hardly be able without the risque of an open war to get them out of such a possession. Our Commissaries, according to your conjectures, go on very slowly if they advance at all. The Company of this country seems not inclined to an acceptable accommodation, and the Government being in such a confusion, I am sure will not meddle with it".³⁶⁵

In addition to his interest in the situation in Ceylon, Loten also showed concern about the policy of the Dutch East Indies Company in Bengal. The directorate Bengal was of great importance to the Dutch Company, so that Robert Clive's victory at Plassey (1757), which established the position of the English East India Company in Bengal, resulted in a response from the Dutch. In 1759, in order to ensure there was a balance of power in Bengal, the government in Batavia sent seven large ships from Java to the Hoogley. Due to the irresolution of the Dutch Company the military force on the ships was smaller than it should have been for a successful campaign. In his essay on Clive, Lord Macaulay vividly described the victory of the British over the Dutch at Biderra (1759).³⁶⁶ In September 1760, Loten wrote to his brother from Bath about the Bengal situation: 'I do not doubt that the history with the English at Bengal mainly originates from the political intrigues of Mr van de Parra'.³⁶⁷ If I am wrong and it would be the result of Mr Mossel's policy, which I do not hope, and he is summoned to answer for it, he [Van Der Parra] has a nice chance to succeed in the Generalship, and his hands are free after those two who saw through him were disposed of.³⁶⁸ 'Those two' in the last sentence referred to Loten himself and councillor extraordinary Dithard Van Rheden.

The position of the VOC in Bengal was weak. Louis Tallefert (*d.* 1766),³⁶⁹ director of the VOC settlement Bengal in 1755 and from 1760-1763, characterised the Dutch power in Patna as exemplary for the power of the Company in India: '[I]t seems to be something, but, like everything here, it is not

much'.³⁷⁰ In London in 1764, Loten worried about the expansion of British power in India. The recent appointment of Lord Clive as governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal and his return to India was looked upon by Loten with great suspicion. In June 1764 he wrote his friend Van Hardenbroek, since 1759 a director of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC on behalf of the Province of Utrecht, about the Bengal situation: 'I do not have the highest opinion about the appearance of Lord Clive in India, who probably will extend his power as far as he believes to be beneficial to enlarge the trade of the Nation, which he cannot implement easily without a disadvantage to our position. I am angry that the Gentlemen Commissaries or Delegates of the two Companies have not found a way to reconcile on this issue, because I do expect nothing of value from the Indies, or, as those of whom I think of have made an irreparable fault giving a Truce to the King of Candy, which will serve well for him but in a manner that we shall repent'.³⁷¹ This sentiment was repeated in August 1764. In the same passage, he also expressed his confidence in Louis Tallefert, who returned to Batavia from Bengal in 1763. He further referred to the reformations of the home system of the East India Company in Bengal. Clive had disputed these with the board of the English Company. Loten commented: 'I am not much impressed by the favourable explanations that L[or]d Clive made in his meeting with the Ministers. However, though many brave people take him for an honest man, after all, he will do his best to serve his homeland or the trade of the English Company. With respect of our Company I am angry that I am compelled to believe that the direction of our affaires at Bengal is no longer like that. It must be in good hands as in those of Mr Tallefert, who at the same time that he had as his main object to serve those whom he represented, also knew how to be estimated by the other trading nations. I realise that he is fortunately looking forward to withdraw from the affairs [at Bengal] and returned to Batavia where he will be free to relax a little'.³⁷²

In the correspondence with Van Hardenbroek there is a regular exchange of information about Van Hardenbroek's relative, Gijsbert Jan Feith (or Feyth),³⁷³ who in 1761 returned to the Dutch East Indies with his family.³⁷⁴ His career in Batavia was clearly not successful. Loten supposed that the governor-general Van Der Parra was the reason. But he thought that the return of Feith's son-in-law, Louis Tallefert to Batavia, would improve the prospects of his VOC career: 'You told me about the situation of the good Mr Feyth. I have no doubt that when Mr Tallefert returns they will change for the better. I am sure that he will act together with his friends to protect & promote the good & destroy the power of Indian Tiran who mortally hates all people who come from Europe'.³⁷⁵ In the letter Van Der Parra is characterised as the 'Indian Tiran', which amply illustrates Loten's low esteem for the governor-general. At Batavia Loten had a strained relationship with Van Der Parra.³⁷⁶

In his correspondence with his brother Arnout, Loten regularly suggested that there were differences of opinion within the Indian Government in Batavia, especially between the faction of governor-general Mossel and that of the second in rank, director-general Albertus van der Parra: 'If you are in the opportunity to contribute a bit to the promotion of Mr Dithard van Rheden to Councillor Ordinary, you would oblige me very much. Not only because it is his legitimate turn as the eldest Councillor Extraordinary, but apart from our friendship, he is also the most respected. The General [=governor-general Jacob Mossel] wrote me very seriously about it. Perhaps Mr van Amerongen could do something for him, please be so kind to speak with him about it at a favourable moment. You can put forward that he [=Van Rheden] has always disassociated himself from the interests of his brother-in-law (Director General Van der Parra) to defend the reasonability, which he considered to be promoted by General Mossel, father-in-law of Mr van Amerongen'.³⁷⁷ On September the 25th 1760, shortly after he heard about the sudden death of Dithard van Rheden, Loten, in a letter to his brother, intimated that Van Der Parra was involved in the assassination of his brother-in-law Van Rheden: 'One says that Mr van Rheden died without any doubt by poisoning, for which one suspects someone whose name I think it is not wise to mention. Mr de Klerk together with Mr Gubbels & Vos are his executors, they have signed the pathetically worded announcement. So they have ignored Mr van der Parra his brother-in-law'.³⁷⁸ Three years later in a letter from Montpellier to Van Hardenbroek, Loten again wrote about Van Der Parra, who in 1761 had succeeded the deceased Jacob Mossel as governor-general at Batavia: 'Mr van Rheden who was his brother-in-law would not give his vote for his election, but this brave & generous friend was put out of work to complete his meritorious deeds by a sudden death, which overcame him with the great suspicion to be poisoned by one of his slaves &c. &c. The late Mr Mossel was the first to write me this sad news, his expressions and those of Mr de Klerk made me miss my friend in a way that touched me very significantly. Over time I got rid of my suspicions, but since a few days I met a friend here who had at that time both an honourable position in the East Indies as well as the confidence of the late General Mossel & it reawakened'.³⁷⁹ In 1771 Loten referred once more to Van Der Parra: '[A]t Spa I even

contradicted something very interestingly, one asserted that the deaths of both Mr Harting and Mr van Rheden were on his account³⁸⁰ However, after 250 years it is impossible to find out the truth of the affairs at Batavia.

- ¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Ship *Vrouwe Petronella Maria*, south of Portland, 10 June 1758.
- ² There is a drawing by J. de Beijer, 1744, depicting the former St Paulus Abbey in which the Provincial Court was located in the eighteenth century and on the left the back of Loten's residence in the Nieuwstraat in Utrecht.
- ³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 29 June 1760.
- ⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 February 1763; 12 April 1763; 3 May 1763.
- ⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 59. Undated entry in notebook, late 1770s.
- ⁶ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 778. J. van Clootwijk to J.G. Loten. Macassar 4 May 1752.
- ⁷ Thomas Nugent (1756), *The Grand Tour*, volume I, page 190-192.
- ⁸ Sacheverell Stevens (1758?). *Miscellaneous remarks made on the spot, in a late seven years tour through France, Italy, Germany and Holland*. London, printed for S. Hooper and J. Swan, page 386.
- ⁹ Harry Peckham (1780). *The tour of Holland, Dutch Brabant, the Austrian Netherlands, and part of France ; in which is included a description of Paris ...* [A new edition]. London, 1780. 278 pages, page 85-89.
- ¹⁰ Van Hulzen (1966), Chapter I, pages 13-24; Graafhuis (1965). The description of Utrecht in this paragraph is taken from these books.
- ¹¹ Antonio Monsato (1752). *A tour from England, thro' part of France, Flanders, Brabant, and Holland. Containing a true account and description of all the churches, palaces and gardens, ... very convenient for such gentlemen who travel thither*. London : printed for J. Noon, 38 pages, pages 22-23.
- ¹² Pottle (1952), *Boswell in Holland*, pages 287-289.
- ¹³ Sacheverell Stevens (1758?). *Miscellaneous remarks*, page 386.
- ¹⁴ Graafhuis (1965), pages 56-57.
- ¹⁵ Quoted from Monsieur de Blainville, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of Europe*. London, W. Strahan, 1743, volume 1, page 46. Cursivation, capitalisation and spelling as in the original.
- ¹⁶ *A description of Holland: or, the present state of the United Provinces. Wherein is contained, a particular account of the Hague, ... To which are added, directions for making the tour of the provinces*. London : printed for J. and P. Knapton, 1743, 435 pages, page 394.
- ¹⁷ Sacheverell Stevens (1758?). *Miscellaneous remarks*, page 386.
- ¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 April 1754. The references are to Diderick van Lockhorst tot Termeer (d. 1755) and Jacob Noirot (1670-1746), who married Agnes Schade, sister of Loten's grandmother. George Tammo Falck later sold the country seat *Sandbergen* to his brother Carl Gustaaf Falck.

In 1750 and 1753 George Tammo Falck reimbursed several bills of exchange.

Bill of exchange sent from	Paid by VOC-chamber	Paid in year	Value assignate at Batavia and Cape	Reimbursed in Patria in guilders
Batavia	Amsterdam	8 Dec 1752	10,000 ducaton	f 36,000
Batavia	Amsterdam	20 Dec 1752	4,769 ducaton	f 17,169
Cape of Good Hope	Amsterdam	6 Jan 1755	289 ducaton 434 rixdollars	f 1,042
Total				f 54,211

See NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02 nrs 7049 and 7050

¹⁹ According to an act of the Utrecht notary J. Kelffkens dated 10 September 1751 (HUA.NA U225a1, nr 3), Jacob van den Bosch former ‘councillor of the Indies’, rented a house at the Utrecht Domkerkhof for two years for 450 guilders per year from Cornelia Geertruyd Glas, widow of the City Councillor Gerard Caldenbach. The house was located near the house of Loten’s parents.

²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 December 1755.

²¹ Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll van Serooskerken, Lord of Vleuten, Heeze and Leende (1710-1762). He died December 18, 1762. Jan Maximiliaan was General-Major of the Cavalry. In the Helmond Municipal Archive Van Der Bruggen collection, inv. 762 there is a letter written by Tuyll in 1750. He congratulated Loten with his appointment as Councillor extraordinary of the East Indies, reported that he received a commission to meet the Russian corps of auxiliary troops and that after that he suffered from a long and dangerous illness. He further reported about the good health of Loten’s father. In 1754 Loten received another letter from Tuyll, because he referred to it in a letter from Colombo, 30 April 1754, to Michiel Romp, secretary of the High Government at Batavia (TUL.TF-Hs 78). December 31, 1762 Loten wrote his brother (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428):

“Veel gevoeliger [...] valt my ‘t verscheyden van den goeden Heer van Tuyll, die in de brieven van goede vrienden in ‘t generaal word geregretteerd, ‘t is my zo voorgekomen dat ZynHWGb gezondheidts toestand al lange zeer debiel is geweest”

²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 November 1759.

²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 January 1762. Loten’s niece had alternating preferences, sometime afterwards she preferred Dr Hendrik Schultz (1708-1789), since 1751 the Utrecht city physician.

²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 13 June 1760.

²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 24. Loten also calculated over 1776 and 1777 that the annual mortality rate in Utrecht was 1 per 39 persons (1776: 769 persons among whom 299 children; 1777: 767 persons among whom 349 children; he reckoned 6,000 households in Utrecht and its suburbs and estimated the population to be 30,000 souls), according to his entry the ratio was in London 1 in 21 persons.

HUA.GC 750 nr 152. Undated ca 1774; HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Undated but probably London April 1777.

“Prof. Musschenbroek says in his dissertat: phijs: exper. that the change of the Barometer in a whole year at Utrecht did not amount to 1½ inch, what an immense difference between England in general and that place?” The *Dissertatio Physica experimentalis de tubis capillaribus* by Petrus van Musschenbroek was published in 1729. De Pater (1979), chapter 5, pages 227-314, gives a discussion of Van Musschenbroek’s capillary work. In the Leiden University Library there are several manuscripts by Van Musschenbroek with metereological observations, among which seven folio pages with observations in Utrecht 1728-1734 (Codex 240: B 16, see De Pater, 1979, pages 362-363).

²⁶ In 1770 Loten remembered that in 1758 or 1759 he visited his friend Mr Koning in The Hague together with Van Der Bruggen. At that time, Mr Koning was in a ‘valetudinarian condition’. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 October 1770.

²⁷ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 764. D.W. Van Der Bruggen to J.G. Loten. Leiden 27 February 1759. Van Der Bruggen evidently proposed to visit Loten after the spring meeting of the directors of the Dutch East Indies Company when the bills of transfer from Batavia were to be paid out.

²⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 August 1759.

²⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 10 September 1759.

³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 5 February 1760 and HUA.GC 750 inv. 517 copy letter D.W. Van Der Bruggen and copy letter J.G. Loten 1759. Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen nr 773.

³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation scratched out.

In 1776 or 1777 he made an annotation about the whereabouts of this pastel.

“NBNBNB

At Mr Crommelin’s at Amsterdam most likely a picture (in pastel done by Geo van der Mijl) of a Lady with a Ceijlon bird on her hand, it is elegantly framed and glasses & in another case, I left it going to England under Mr

[Jacob]Levier who on his going to France left it as he wrote to me under the care of Mr Crommelin or under that of Mr Blacquiere both relations, the latter I believe lives now at Vevey on the pais de Vaud.

Where Mr Crommelin lives I remember well on the Keyser or Heere gragt at Amsterdam is a very eminent merchant. Mr Fector of Dover can give his direction, as his son is there in the counting house. Mr Crommelin is born in North-America speaks English perfectly, I think, but am not certain, his name to be Daniel Crommelin [continued in pencil] right, & lives on Keijzer's gragt where to inquire after the picture in crayon of a Lady with a bird on the hand left on my depart to England to Mr Levier, who said that he left it, for me, to Mr Blaquiere & he very likely to Dan. Crommelin. Who else may be able to give information it cost me 20 ducats to vd Myn, besides the finest glass plate & frame".

The annotation is scratched out, which indicates that the pastel was returned to Loten.

The references are to Daniel Crommelin (New York 1707- Amsterdam 1789), married in 1736 Marie le Plastrier (1711-1776); Paul-Elie Blaquiere (Den Haag 1704-Vaud 1786), cousin of Daniel Crommelin. His mother was Catharina Crommelin (1677-1773); Mr Peter Fector, banker at Dover, Loten met him in September 1776 when he travelled from Calais to Dover.

³² HUA.NA inv.nr. U184a24, aktenr. 23, d.d. 26-02-1759.

³³ *Generale Missiven* volume XII, 31 December 1754, pages 462-463.

³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to his brother J.G. Loten. Utrecht, 24 July 1759. 11 December 1759 Arnout Loten wrote his brother about the reaction of Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen on the refusal of their parents to lodge the two boys in their house at Utrecht during the Kermis. Van Der Bruggen was at that time claiming his late wife's share in the inheritance of Loten's deceased wife Anna Henrietta van Beaumont:

"De Hr. oud fiscaal de Joncheere is te Leijden bij Neef vDr Bruggen geweest, die aan Zijn Ed. zeide te vrezen dat d'oude Luijden iets tegens hem hadden, want dat zijn twee oudste zoons op de kermis belet hadden geschreven en dat zulx refuseerd was; (niettegenstaande dit op de beleefdste wijze geschied is) en dat, indien hij iets mogt misdaan hebben hij bereid was alle satisfactie te geven; dat hij dagte mogelijk hiervan d'oorzaak te wezen, om dat eenig different wegens de leg^e. portie met Uwgb. Hadde".

³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1350. Notebook Joan Carel Loten.

³⁶ Doublet visited France and England in 1755. In England he undoubtedly saw his sister Mary Doublet (1721-1801), who in 1742 married Robert Darcy 4th Earl of Holderness (1718-1778). Robert Darcy was Secretary of State for the Southern Department until 1761.

Notebook Joan Carel Loten HUA.GC 750 nr 1350. Doublet returned from a voyage to London and Paris June 16, 1755. According to Joan Carel Loten François Doublet broke his leg 27 June 1755.

³⁷ A.S. Turberville (1933) quoted in Janssen (1975), page 13.

³⁸ Parts of the paragraph on Georgian London were taken from Roy Porter (2003), "The wonderful extent and variety of London", pages 9-18 in S. O'Connell (2003). *London 1753*.

³⁹ Saturday 20 September 1777, see Hill & Powell (1964), volume III, pages 177-178.

⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Helvoet 10 May 1759.

⁴¹ See: *Generale Missiven* volume XIII, 15 October 1757, page 121. Jacob Levier accompanied Loten in May 1759 on his voyage to England, he went later that year to Spa to recover his health. On 23 October 1741 Jacob Levier went as a sergeant to Batavia in the ship *Bosbeek*. For the Notary Acts of Jacob Levier see the Inventory of the notary Archives at Batavia and its surroundings, Djakarta National Archive, ID-JaANI, Notariële archieven, inv.nr. 5624-5701.

⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colchester 14 May 1759.

⁴³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 July 1759.

⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 July 1759.

⁴⁵ The reference to the decoration is to the motives of the rococo style that by its lightness, informality and caprice enhanced its appeal to fashionable London consumers, ever demanding the latest novelty. It was combined with

fanciful motifs drawn from anti-classical styles, notably chinoiserie and gothic. See: Celina Fox in S. O'Connell (2003), *London 1753*, page 19.

⁴⁶ Henrick Hop (1686-1761), Envoy extraordinary (1724-1761). See O. Schutte (1976) pages 114-116.

⁴⁷ In March 1761 Lord Holderness was dismissed by King George III in favour of the Earl of Bute. Van Hardenbroek in his *Gedenkschriften*, volume 1, pages 175 and 176, referred to Holderness's unsuccessful advances to win royal patronage, based on information of the Earl of Brunswick and François Doublet.

From 1771 to 1776 Holderness acted as governor to two of the king's sons, a "solemn phantom" as Horace Walpole calls him at that time. In 1751 Walpole characterised Holderness in his Memoirs:

"On 18th [June 1751] appeared the last and greatest phenomenon, Lord Holderness, who had been fetched from his Embassy in Holland to be Secretary of State. In reality, he did justice to himself and his patrons, for he seemed ashamed of being made so considerable, for no reason but because he was so inconsiderable. He had a formality in his manner that would have given an air of truth to what he said, if he would but have assisted it with the least regard to probability; but this made his narrations more harmless than Lord Egremont's, for they were totally incredible. His passion for directing operas and masquerades was rather thought a contradiction to his gravity, than below his understanding, which was so very moderate, at the same time that his face being overspread with a hideous humour made his appearance offensive, that no relations of his own exploits would not a little time before have been sooner credited, than two events that really came to pass, his being made Secretary of State, and having his wife, a very pretty woman, jealous of him – but indeed, these only proved that there was nothing but what women and the Duke of Newcastle could grow to admire."

See Hodgart (1963).

⁴⁸ Letter to the Earl of Hertford December 16, 1763. See *Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, volume IV, 1770-1797, Philadelphia, 1842.

⁴⁹ The Dutch deputies were sent to England by Resolution of the States-General dated 23 March 1759. They returned in the Republic 9 July 1760.

See NL-HaNA, Boreel suppl 1, 1.10.105 nrs 58 and 59.

⁵⁰ Mr Jacob Boreel Jansz. (1711-1778), Dutch diplomat and 1761-1762 extraordinary ambassador in Great Britain. From 1737 until 1778 councillor and fiscal of the Amsterdam Admiralty. From January 23 1761 until October 28, 1762 Boreel was again in England as Ambassador extraordinary to the coronation of King George III. Jacob Boreel was the son of Jan Jeronimus Boreel (1684-1738), the brother of Loten's former protector Bathasar Boreel.

Gerard Meerman (1722-1771), pensionaris of Leiden. Jan van de Poll (1721-1801), former bailiff of Amsterdam, Meerman was the founder of a famous book collection which formed the nucleus of the present Museum Meermano-Westreenianum collection in The Hague. Mr Jan Hudde Dedel (1702-1777), Mayor of The Hague.

See: NNBW IX 80-81; Buurman Boreel (1974); O. Schutte (1976); Letters Jacob Boreel Jansz to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek HUA.HA 643-1 nr 473.

⁵¹ HUA. GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 May 1759.

⁵² DuHamel du Morceau started in 1755 with the publication of his eight-volume work *Traité complet des Bois et des Forêts*.

⁵³ Richard Davenport to David Hume, 11 June 1767. Letter in *Correspondance complète de Jean Jacques Rousseau* volume 33, pages 138-139. Also in *New letters of David Hume* volume 1, pages 220-221.

⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 June 1759.

⁵⁵ In 1751 Jacques (or James) Prevost (1725-1776), born in Geneva in a Huguenot family, married in Breda Anne Louise Mackay, born in Breda. She was the daughter of General Hugh Mackay of Scowrey, Governor of Breda (*d.* 1755).

⁵⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 19 May 1778.

⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 8 October 1759

⁵⁸ Two of his brothers, Augustine (1723-1786) and Jacques Marc (or James Marcus) Prevost (1736-?), also served as officers in the Royal American regiment.

See Hatvany (1996).

⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 May 1759.

⁶⁰ Remarkably Prevost, in contrast with his brothers, never went to North America and remained in England and became a Lieutenant-General. In the 1770s Loten made several annotations about Prevost, which suggest that their contact had become somewhat strained. On May 7, 1774 Loten wrote in his cash-book, “Lt. Gen^r. Prevost his walking visit”. Three weeks later he added another annotation in the book,

“[R]efused to give the charity demanded by the general lying in Hospital of Oxfordstreet – saying not for the present time. It was denied I had ever contributed anything, tho’ I twice sent it inclosed to Dr Macdonag each time a guinea, sending back at once his tickets for a play”.

Three years later he added the remark, “this was I think (29 March 1777) the last time I saw him”. Prevost died in 1776 in London. One year earlier Loten wrote in his cash-book (6 September 1775),

“To day in the public advertiser

“the K. has been pleased to grant unto James Prevost, of the parish of St James in Westminster, Esq. Lord of Bessinge in the territory of the republic of Geneva, Lieut. General and Colonel of the 60th Regt. of foot in his maj^s. service, his Royal Licence & authority, that he, and his Issue by his wife Anna Louisa, may assume & take the surname of Mackay only, and also to bear the arms of Mackay of Scowrey, in the Shire of Sutherland in Scotland, pursuant to the Mill of Hugh Mackay, of Scowrey, Esqr. deceased at Breda, late Lieut. Gener. and Col. of his Maj^s. Reg^t. of Scotch Infantry in the service of the States general &c. &c.”

Note: this Lord of Bessinge should be sent in High command to N. America, as being a renowned brouillou [troublemaker].”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

⁶¹ The poet Robert Lloyd described in 1757 in *the CIT'S COUNTRY BOX* the joys of buying a Country Box:

Some three or four miles out of town,
(An hour's ride will bring you down),
He fixes on his choice abode,
Nor half a furlong from the road:
And so convenient does it lay,
The stages pass it ev'ry day:
And then so snugg, so mighty pretty,
To have an house so near the city!

See *Poems. By Robert Lloyd, A.M.* London, 1762, page 45.

⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 6 July 1759.

⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 24 July 1759.

⁶⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht undated probably end July 1759.

⁶⁵ Roelof van der Mos had an inn *A la Place Royale* at the Voorstraat, Utrecht. In 1775 Loten and his wife stayed for several months in the *Place Royale*.

⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 24 July 1759.

⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1762.

⁶⁸ Penelope Atkins (before 1728-1795) who married in 1745 George Pitt of Strathfieldsaye, first Lord Rivers (before 1731-1803).

⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 July 1759.

Maria (1733-1760) and Emily Gunning, the ‘gorgeous Gunnings’, were the daughters of a poor Irish squire who married British peers; Maria to the 6th Earl of Coventry and Emily to the Duke of Hamilton. Both women were famous society beauties and the toasts of London in the 1750's. Horace Walpole letter to Sir Horace Mann explains why Loten remarked that Lady Coventry had few virtues,

“The event that has made most noise since my last is the extempore wedding of the youngest of the two Gunnings, two ladies of surpassing loveliness, named respectively Mary and Elizabeth, the daughters of John Gunning, Esq., of Castle Coote, in Ireland, whom Mrs Montague calls “those goddesses the Gunnings.” Lord Coventry, a grave young Lord, of the remains of the patriot breed, has long dangled after the eldest, virtuously, with regard to her honour, not very honourably with regard to his own credit. About six weeks ago Duke Hamilton, the very reverse of the earl, hot, debauched, extravagant, and equally damaged in his fortune and

person, fell in love with the youngest at the masquerade, and determined to marry her in the spring. About a fortnight since, at an immense assembly at my Lord Chesterfield's, made to show the house, which is really most magnificent, Duke Hamilton made violent love at one end of the room, while he was playing at Faro at the other end; that is, he saw neither the bank nor his own cards, which were of three hundred pounds each: he soon lost a thousand. I own I was so little a professor in love that I thought all this parade looked ill for the poor girl; and could not conceive, if he was so much engaged with his mistress as to disregard such sums, why he played at all. However, two nights afterwards, being left alone with her, while her mother and sister were at Bedford House, he found himself so impatient that he sent for a parson. The Doctor refused to perform the ceremony without license or ring; the duke swore he would send for the archbishop; at last they were married with a ring of the BED-CURTAIN, at half-an-hour after twelve at night, at May-fair Chapel.”

⁷⁰ Lady Mary Wolstenholme was a daughter of Sir William Wolstenholme (*d.* 1723). After the death of her father who died leaving no issue-male, she and her sister Elisabeth inherited *Forty Hills*. See R. Johnson (1771), *The baronetage of England*, London, volume 2, page 308.

⁷¹ NHM.LC 34, *Alcedo atthis taprobana* Kleinschmidt, 1894. Another reference to the common kingfisher that Loten saw at Forty Hills is in NHM.LMS page 61.

⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 July 1759. Loten spelled the names as ‘Britton’, ‘Briton’ and Wolstenhome’. In a manuscript with a description of his watercolour collection Loten made the remark (NHM.LMS page 61):

“The common Kingfisher. These resemble sufficiently those found in England and the Netherlands. Also on the island of Java. I believe that the specimens from Ceylon agree in size with those in England so far as I can judge from one seen by me in Middlesex at the estate in Forty Hill which belongs to Squire Breton’.

The manuscript referred to watercolour NHM.LC 34, *Alcedo atthis taprobana* Kleinschmidt, 1894, the Ceylon Common Kingfisher. Notes on the watercolour read:

“The common king Fisher, this appears to me the same we have in England, the Netherlands &c. I saw one the very same at Forty Hill in Middlesex at Mr Breton’s being shot there about, and upon the island Java I have also seen a great many, Mr Edwards hath this pl: 11, it is drawn at Ceylon after the life, the bird was long 6 ½ inches & weighed 11/16 oz. The plant represented here by fancy tho’ after the thing it self is called by the chingulays Werla kolle”.

⁷³ Lady Breton can be identified as Lady Mary Breton (1742-1767). She married in June 1762 John Hope (1739-1785). Until 1769 Hope worked for several years as a merchant of the family firm Hope in Amsterdam. See [J.P. Wood] (1794), *The Antient and Modern State of the Parish of Cramond*, Edinburgh, John Patterson, pages 150-151.

⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1759.

⁷⁵ James Wilson constructed a considerable number of screw-barrel microscopes which met with much success during the first half of the eighteenth century. See Daumas (1972, page 69).

⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 August 1759.

⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to cousin Kronenberg at Middelburg. Utrecht 14 November 1759.

⁷⁸ James Ferguson (1710-1776), Scottish astronomer and physicist After becoming a clergyman, he dedicated himself to the observation of the heavens, even building a celestial globe. After many years in Edinburgh, moved to London in 1743. There he published astronomical tables and lessons. In 1763 elected fellow Royal Society of London.

See: Millburn (1988); Rothman (2000).

James Boswell noted down a conversation between Ferguson and Dr Samuel Johnson on Thursday 26 October 1769:

“Mr Ferguson, the self-taught philosopher, told him of a new-invented machine which went without horses: a man who sat in it turned a handle, which worked a spring that drove it forward. » Then, Sir, (said Johnson,) what is gained is, the man has his choice whether he will move himself alone, or himself and the machine too“.

See Hill & Powell (1964), volume II, page 99.

⁷⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1759. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 14 August 1759. HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 August 1759.

⁸⁰ John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmorland (1685-1762). HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 9 March 1760.

⁸¹ Jacob Boreel Jansz's Doctors Diploma "honoris causa in Universitate Oxoniensi", dated 3 July 1759 is in the National Archive The Hague (NL-HaNA, Boreel, 1.10.10 nr 190).

⁸² Apparently the Duke of Richmond like the young Edward Gibbon joined the militia as a volunteer in 1759. "In the outset of a glorious war, the English people had been defended by the aid of German mercenaries. A national militia had been the cry of every patriot since the Revolution; and this measure, both in parliament and in the field, was supported by the country gentlemen or Tories, who insensibly transferred their loyalty to the house of Hanover".

See *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon as originally edited by Lord Sheffield*. The Worlds Classics. London, Oxford University press, 1962, page 104.

⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 14 August 1759.

⁸⁴ Mary Cotton (b. 1742-1782), daughter of Sir John Bruce Cotton (d. 1752), sixth Bart of Connington. Her grandfather was Sir Robert Cotton (1649-1740), fifth Bart of Connington. Mary Cotton was the great-granddaughter of Sir John Cotton (1621-1702), third Bart of Connington, grandson of the founder of the Cotton library, Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631), first Bart of Connington.

⁸⁵ Wimsatt & Pottle (1960) and Yonge (1890).

⁸⁶ In 1718 Isabella de Jong (1694-1769) – daughter of Peter Haack de Jong (1664-1721), a burgomaster of Utrecht, and Anna Maria van Weede tot Dijkveld en Ratelis (1665-1703) – married William Feilding, the fifth Earl of Denbigh (1698-1755). The deed with the marriage conditions is in HUA.NA U11a10 nr 231, December 3, 1718 (also HUA. Archief familie Pestere 95 nr 334). In 1706 Anthonia Schade, vrouwe van Tull en 't Waal, the sister of Joan Gideon's grandmother, Aemilia Schade van Westrum (1649-1689) became Pieter Haack de Jong's second wife (HUA. Archief familie Pestere 95 nr 326).

⁸⁷ In November 1759 Arnout Loten forwarded with Mr Clootwijk 70 letters which he had secured for his brother. According to a scratched out remark in his letter book, these 'had also cost him a considerable number of stuyvers'. The receiver of the letters had to pay the postal charges. He received these letter from his financial representative at Amsterdam Frans Adam Carelson and had paid f 168 for postal charges. HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 28 August 1759, 4 September and 20 September 1759.

⁸⁸ The request was done by his brother Captain Godin. Carel Godin returned in Patria however one year afterwards, in June 1760. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 13 June 1760. See also *Generale Missiven XIII*, 31 December 1759, page 465.

⁸⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 August 1759. The celebrated tulip tree was in the garden of the Abbey House on part of the Abbey site. The house was demolished in circa 1770. In the gardens formerly belonging to the Abbey House, now occupied as a nursery-ground, is until this day the tulip tree, reported to be the largest in England.

⁹⁰ Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll, first Earl of Ilay (1682-1761). The Duke established an estate at Whitton Park, Whitton in Middlesex in 1722 The Duke was an enthusiastic gardener and he imported large numbers of exotic species of plants and trees for his estate. On his death, many of these, including mature trees, were moved by his nephew, the third Earl of Bute to the Princess of Wales' new garden at Kew.

⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 August 1759. The reference is to Germaine, George Sackville, first Viscount Sackville (1716-1785), third son of Lionel Sackville, first Duke of Dorset, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

March 18, 1760 Loten wrote his brother that

Lord George Sackville had the vanity to request His Majesty to be court marshalled for his indifference or disobedience in Germany. He is now under arrest and the jurisdiction of this Court. One is of the opinion that it will cost his neck'.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 18 March 1760.

See also G.S. Brown (1952), The court martial of Lord George Sackville, whipping boy of the revolutionary war. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third series 9, pages 317-337.

⁹² Van Hardenbroek in his memoirs referred to the Sackville affair and the permissive position of Lord Bute. See Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 187.

⁹³ See also G.S. Brown (1952), *The court martial of Lord George Sackville*, pages 318-321.

⁹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 22 January 1760.

⁹⁵ Loten's ancestor Carel Loten (1584-1652) lived until 1607 in Norwich, England, where he married Maria de Hem, daughter of Tobias de Hem and Tanneke de Hoorn.

⁹⁶ On June the 29th 1744 Petrus de Sarnio Kreifeldia-Cliviacus, aged 25 was inscribed in the Album Studiosorum of the Leiden University as a student in Theology. Apparently he came from the city of Crefeld, now Krefeld in the Ruhr area in North-Rhine Westfalia, Germany.

⁹⁷ In 1753 Reverend Peter van Sarn married Hannah Steward (*b.* 1734), daughter of Timothy Steward (1696-1769) and Hannah Harbord (*d.* 1770). The Stewards were a family of Yarmouth privateers and merchants. In April 1758 a son Fredericus was born but died in infancy. A son Peter survived his parents. Personal communication Murray Lynn, New Zealand, 24 February 2008.

⁹⁸ Unfortunately the "fat, ugly but rich widow" could not be identified.

⁹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 8 October 1759.

In July 1760 Loten wrote his brother further details of the Reverend van Sarn,

‘When I was in Yarmouth our Dutch Reformed Clergyman wanted to marry me off to a rich but ugly wife. I thought it to be a neck breaking affair. He is in one a Medical Doctor, Apothecary and Chymist When I was ill at that time by tightness of the chest he thought he could earn several nickels from me. Afterwards when he came to me in London I told him, because sometimes one has to tease the clergymen, that I wanted to marry a younger one and consulted His Reverence about the slight complaints which were still left in my chest Upon which he immediately declared: Wait, I shall first relieve your lungs, which however, I did not want to leave to His Reverence, although he was a Med[ical] & Phil[osophical] Doctor’.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 21 July 1760.

¹⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 111. Reverend P. van Sarne to J.G. Loten in London. Yarmouth 8 October 1759.

¹⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. After reading a message in the *Public Advertiser* March 24, 1775 about the arrival one day before from Leigh in the Port of London of "Robert & Sally, Robert Loten &c.", Loten remembered that he heard these names 4 or 5 years earlier. He remarked:

“The wife of Morley the grocer in Cheapside near Newgate Street hath also the surname of Loten, & so had also a brother of her who died 1766 or 67, who lived at Merton, Surrey, being a calico printer of great wealth, being at Utrecht I read his death there in the English Newspapers. Mr H. Berens dealt with him & told he thought to be always of English descent.”

HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. In an undated annotation in his *Bell's Common place book* Loten mentioned that there was a jeweller named Loten in Carey lane in London, ‘who was a son of the calico printer of that surname at Merton in Surrey who died about 1766. They never heard but that they were of English extraction’.

¹⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 17 July 1759.

¹⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 153. Note by Loten dated 14 January 1778. Loten referred to Mr Robert Loten, South Benfleet, Essex.

¹⁰⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 February 1780. In 1782 John Loten became the collector of customs at Leigh.

¹⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to his brother Arnout, London 22 February 1780. Jan Grace Mulcahy, *Other than English* (2006). In 1753 James Loten married Sara Clare (1736-1757), Henry Clare's daughter. Robert Loten married in 1751 Sarah Greenaway. They were childless. According to Mrs Mulcahy Robert Loten of Rayleigh made a copy of the coat of arms on Governor Loten's silver. In 1791 John Loten inherited all furniture, plate and porcelain from his uncle. He always used the family arms and crest, which were engraved on his seals and plate. According to Mrs Mulcahy there are 18 pieces of the silver remaining.

¹⁰⁶ See also HUA.GC 750 nr 1426 Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 20 September; 14 October 1759. Arnout Loten consulted two Utrecht physicians for Loten's complaints about dizziness.

“Ik heb de Hr. Rosendaal over Uwgb: duijzelige constitutie geconsulteerd, die mij geadviseerd heeft Uwgb met veel succes de versche melissen 't zij op wijn of heet water getrokken kund gebruiken, mits zig dageliks wel bewegende, en NB wel diverterende; Prof. van Loenen recommandeerd sterk tegens dat ongemak de conserf van Roosmarijn bloemen, des morgens nugteren ter grootte van een nootmuscaat ingenomen. 't Geen ik ook voor dezen zelf met veel baat gebruikt hebbe”.

¹⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Undated annotation circa 1778. Loten paid 6 guilders to Professor Plumtree.

¹⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 8 October 1759.

Dr William Heberden (1710-1801), English physician. Born in London and educated in Cambridge. He settled in London in 1748 and was elected Fellow Royal Society in 1749. He was a good classical scholar and published several papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*. He contributed papers on chicken pox (1767) and angina pectoris (1768) to the *Medical Transactions*. Dr Heberden acted as Loten's physician during his first years in England. In the second part of the 1760s Loten consulted Dr Barry and in the 1770s he was a patient of Dr John Fothergill. Dr Heberden was the physician of Dr Samuel Johnson during his last two years of life. William Cowper referred to Heberden in *Retirement*:

“Virtuous and faithful Heberden ! whose skill
Attempts no task it cannot well fulfil,
Gives melancholy up to nature's care,
And sends the patient into purer air”.

See Hill & Powell (1964), volume IV, pages 228-229, 262, 353-356, 399; *Poems by William Cowper, of the Inner Temple, Esq.* London, J. Johnson (1782), page 272.

¹⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 23 November 1759.

¹¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 December 1759.

¹¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 November 1759.

¹¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 25 December 1759.

¹¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 4 January 1760.

¹¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 4 January 1760.

¹¹⁵ R. Rommes (2002).

¹¹⁶ Gaastra (2002a).

¹¹⁷ HUA.NA inv.nr. U184a11, aktenr. 151, d.d. 08-09-1744.

¹¹⁸ Rommes (2002).

¹¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 May 1759.

¹²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 15 June 1759.

¹²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 June 1759.

¹²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 June 1759.

¹²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 4 July 1759.

¹²⁴ HUA.NA inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 91, d.d. 04-08-1759, notary Jan Kol

¹²⁵ Carl Gustaaf Falck (1716-1785). In 1735 as an assistant bookkeeper to Batavia. Returned to Patria n 1738-1739 to obtain better position. In 1741 as junior merchant to Batavia. He became Resident of Tegal in the rank of senior merchant. Returned in 1758 to Patria.

¹²⁶ In January 1760, the unfortunate Diderica Geertruyd van Bronckhorst, “Truijtje”, drowned herself in the Utrecht Singel. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 29 January and 22 February 1760.

¹²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 July 1759.

¹²⁸ HUA.NA inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 91, d.d. 04-08-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 104, d.d. 31-08-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 137, d.d. 10-11-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 87, d.d. 30-07-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 99, d.d. 18-08-1759, notary Jan Kol; inv.nr. U219a7, aktenr. 106, d.d. 03-09-1759, notary Jan Kol.

¹²⁹ Arnout Loten admitted to his brother the success of the sale. HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 August 1759.

¹³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 July 1759.

¹³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 14 July 1761.

¹³² Concept letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 28 August and 26 November 1761.

The first lot consisted of 99 pieces of silver plate,

- 1 terrine
- 2 souplepels
- 1 olij en azijnstelletje
- 8 kandelaars
- 2 peperbussen
- 4 surcoupes
- 2 visplaten
- 1 tebetesdoos
- 2 confoirtjes
- 29 lepels en vorken
- 35 messen met zilveren heften
- 6 confituur-lepeltjes
- 4 dito vorkjes
- 2 zoutschupjes

The second lot consisted of 47 pieces of silver plate:

- 1 terrine
- 1 lampetschotel en kan
- 2 regout-lepels
- 36 messen met zilveren heften en zo veel lepels en vorken
- 1 olij en azijn stelletje
- 2 zuikerbussen
- 2 surcoupes
- 1 inkt-koker
- coffee jug with its surcoup from the same silversmith in Amsterdam as Mr Van Rhede’s chocolate jug.

¹³³ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen van Croy. F.A. Carelson to J.G. Loten. Amsterdam 12 January 1762 and 29 January 1762.

¹³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 November 1761.

¹³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 April 1762. The drawing was also engraved on a copper plate. The prints were glued in books. Several prints of Loten’s coat of arms and the motto “Dum Florent Olent” are in HUA.GC 750 nr 84.

¹³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 March 1762.

¹³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 June 1762.

¹³⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. The silver value of Loten’s two chests with silver plate was thus £ 215 or f 2,400. (One pound sterling is 12 ounces troy).

¹³⁹ HUA.GC 1404. List describing 210 pieces of silver plate.

“List of our plate contained in the two chests 4 Aug[ust] 1774

16 dishes viz

2 large oval ones with 2 masareens [=mascaron: ornaments representing a hideous human figure] for fish to each of them

2 somewhat smaller ones

4 still smaller oval ones

1 flatted oval dish to stand in the middle

5 round dishes

2 squarish oblong dishes

1 Terrine & its cover with 2 large soup-ladles

3 dozen or 36 equal plates

4 sauce boats & 4 ladles to them

5 waiters viz

1 large to serve also for a tea-board

2 middle sized & 2 small waiters

8 Corinthian pillar-large candle sticks with their natles

2 French large candle sticks with their nubles & to each a double branch to serve as for 4 candlesticks

2 Hand candle sticks each with a silver extinguisher & steel snuffer

1 pierced fruit or presenting ladle

1 punch ladle

1 very large Turkish fathom coffee pot

1 smaller ditto fashion to serve for 4 a 5 people (my small one I take with me so 2 as mentioned remain)

12 or a dozen large tea spoons & one p[ai]r of sugar tongs in a blue segrin case

and afluted oblong tea tray to put the tongs or spoons upon

1 silver stewing dish or pan (to serve also for a small tureen) with its cover, and a silver large lamp or stand that serves also for the following

one large silver tea kettle

one large silver vase on a ebony foot & silver cover

1 wax roller with foot & top

one large ornamented skewer & 4 smaller ones

one [large] silver hafted carving knife & ditto fork

two bread baskets with hinges

three dozen table spoons, knives & also silver 3 pronged forks in 2 mahony cases

two dozen desert spoons, knives & forks as above and in 2 mahog[ny] cases

three silver-cased tea carafes amongst them one for sugar in a black segrin case with silver hinge & top & feet

one large crystal ground sugar basin with a silver brim and silver pierced ladle

six silver salt-cellars with two ladles

six [silver] bottle wine labels

two ragout spoons with scrolls on the handles

one silver frame with silver castors, crewets & silver tops

one pierved fish-trowel or to serve for tarts

one pair of asparagus tongs”.

¹⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 March 1762. The instruments were described by Raat (1978).

¹⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Before his departure on his Grand Tour (see below) Loten brought the optical instruments which Adams made for him to Adams’workshop.

¹⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 November 1762.

¹⁴³ In the second half of the 18th century George Adams (1704-1773), father and son, who had their workshop at 171 Fleet Street, London. The instrument is now in the Utrecht University Museum (Raat, 1979). See for descriptions Maurice Daumas (1972), page 238; Van Cittert (1947), pages 1-22. For George Adams see also DNB I (1885): 97.

¹⁴⁴ This instrument case was not retraced.

¹⁴⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1450.

¹⁴⁶ Dr Matthieu (or Matthew) Maty (1718-1776) transferred in 1765 to the Department of Natural and Artificial Productions of the British Museum. He was appointed as Principal Librarian in 1772. The vacancy he left was filled in 1773 by the appointment of the Swedish naturalist Daniel Carlsson Solander (1736-1782). On Solander's premature death in 1782, the Reverend Paul Henry Maty (1745-1787), the son of Matthieu Maty, who had been in charge of the department of Printed Books, moved to the Department of Natural and Artificial Productions (Stearn, 1981, pages 18-20). Paul Henry Maty became Principal Secretary of the Royal Society in 1778. See: Janssens (1975), *Matthieu Maty*; Gunther (1980).

¹⁴⁷ In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library, "Journal Britannique per Marty [sic!] de Jan[uary] 1750 - Oct[ober] 1755 18 tom en veau", is mentioned among the duodecimo titles (HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/853, page 36 nr 16). For Maty and the *Journal Britannique* see: Janssens (1975), *Matthieu Maty*.

¹⁴⁸ *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon as originally edited by Lord Sheffield*. The Worlds Classics. London, Oxford University press, 1962, page 96-97; for Maty's connection with Edward Gibbon see also Janssens (1975), *Matthieu Maty*, pages 24-26.

¹⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 3 September 1759. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library the octavo edition of the "general contents British Museum" is mentioned (HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/853, page 17 nr 88).

¹⁵⁰ Edwards (1764), pages 229-230.

¹⁵¹ *Minutes* of the Standing Committee of the Trustees of the British Museum, 26 October 1759, page 576. The author is indebted to Mrs A. Hopley of the secretariat of the British Museum for the information from the British Museum archives.

¹⁵² Note on the watercolour of the Southern Roller, *Coracias benghalensis* NHM.LC.69. In the Leiden Naturalis copy of John Latham's *General Synopsis of Birds* (1781: I, 412) there is a note in Loten's handwriting, added to the description of the 'Indian Roller' (*Coracias benghalensis*):

"drawn after the living bird at Colombo the bird stuffed and put in a glass case presented to the British Museum in 1759".

In 1764 George Edwards published a plate and description of the bird in *Gleanings of Natural History* (plate 326).

¹⁵³ BL.MS. SC. 5263 and 5266. The folios contain 21 watercolours of 22 birds, that must have been part of Loten's donation of 26 October 1759.

¹⁵⁴ Kinnear (1952, page 105) supposed that Sydney Parkinson made the copies for Sloane, but that is unlikely because Sloane died in 1753 and most of the watercolours of Loten's collection were made after 1754. Moreover, P.C. de Bevere very probably made the watercolours in the Sloane collection, however, not one of them is signed.

¹⁵⁵ Watercolour NHM.LC.114, *Ranina ranina* (Linnaeus, 1758).

¹⁵⁶ NHM.LMS pages 31, 32, 33, 34. Undated manuscript with short numbered descriptions of watercolours in English, circa 1759. The manuscript specified 24 watercolours showing birds, one watercolour with the Buru Babirusa and one watercolour with a ruin of Ceylonese temple. They were returned to Loten and at present in the Loten collection of the London Natural History Museum. The drawing of the Ceylonese temple was not retraced. Lord Holderness received in loan 76 watercolours of birds from Ceylon, 19 watercolours of birds from Batavia and 11 drawings with fish and crabs.

¹⁵⁷ *Book of presents* of the British Museum, November 6, 1760. The author is indebted to Mrs A. Hopley of the secretariat of the British Museum for the information from the British Museum archives.

¹⁵⁸ Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788), English portrait painter and electrician who opposed Benjamin Franklin's theory of positive and negative electricity. Instead, Wilson supported Newton's gravitational-optical ether, which he supposed to differ in density around bodies in accordance with their degrees of electrification. Wilson also opposed Franklin's theory of lightning rods, holding that blunt conductors performed better than pointed ones. His best experimental work was on the electrical properties of the tourmaline. He was elected fellow of the Royal Society in 1751 and received its gold medal in 1760 for his electrical experiments. 'Experiments on the Tourmalin: by Mr Benjamin Wilson, F. R. S. In a Letter to Dr William Heberden, F. R. S'. *Philosophical Transactions* Volume 51 (1759/1760), pages: 308 – 339; 'Observations upon Some Gems Similar to the Tourmalin; By Mr Benjamin Wilson, F. R. S'. *Philosophical Transactions* Volume 52 (1761/1762), pages: 443 – 447.

On Friday 13 May 1763 the French astronomer Lalande paid a visit to Wilson which he described in his notebook:

‘In the evening I went to Mr Wilson’s to see electrical experiments. On breaking a wax rod one end attracts and the other pushes away light bodies. By rubbing a shilling attached flat to the end of a wax rod, the shilling being handled by the wax rod, it pushes away or attracts. With a large piece of tourmaline from Ceylon, one side attracts and the other pushes away. When it is heated it becomes electric’.

See Watkins (2002), page 31.

¹⁵⁹ See O’Brien (1988).

¹⁶⁰ According to R.W. Home (2002), pages 329-330, Loten was eligible for election on the home list of the Royal Society, because he lived in England. R.W. Home (2002), *The Royal Society and the Empire: The colonial and commonwealth fellowship. Part 1: 1731-1847. Notes Rec. R. Soc. London*, 56, pages 307-333.

¹⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428 J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith March 3, 1760. Loten referred to Lord Macclesfield (1694-1764), astronomer and mathematician, President of the Royal Society. Macclesfield was one of the Trustees by First Election (1753) of the British Museum (Gunther, 1980, page 39).

HUA.GC 750 nr 1428, letter Bristol tot wells August 24th 1760 in which J.G. Loten asked his brother Arnout the addresses of Van Muschenbroek and Allamand. His brother answered from Utrecht on September 12th 1760, and gave the names and addresses.

¹⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1384

Petrus van Muschenbroek (1692-1761), since 1739 professor in mathesis and philosophy in Leiden. Van Musschenbroek was from 1723 to 1739 professor in philosophy and mathesis in Utrecht. His letter of recommendation reads as follows:

Vir expertissime

Vir eruditissimus Joan Gideon Loten ex nobili stemmate oriundus ante triginte circiter annos Ultrajecti meus auditor fuit, frequentavitque diligenter collegia mea Philosophica et Mathematica a quibus temporibus non destitit ulterius scientiis animum polire, licet ad insignem dignitatem in nostris Indiarum Orientalium Coloniis fuerit evector, quamobrem hunc virum, scientiarum amantissimum, judico prorsus dignum, qui inter viros honoratos Societatem Regiam Londini constituentes, numeretur adscribaturque; quod si hujus votis annuas, eique auxiliis, rem gratam mihi, Philosophiae proficuum utilemque praestabis. Interim me tuae amicitiae commendo, manens Tibi devotissimus,

Petrus van Musschenbroek

Leide 6. April 1760

In translation:

Very learned sir,

About thirty years ago the very erudite Joan Gideon Loten, descendant of a noble family, diligently attended my lectures in philosophy and mathematics in Utrecht. Since that time he never failed to sharpen his mind in the sciences, although he held an honourable position in the East Indian colonies. For that reason I believe that this man, who is a great lover of sciences, without any doubt deserves to be included and registered amongst all the honourable gentlemen who form the Royal Society in London. If you would agree with his wish and allow him a fellowship, you’ll accomplish a matter that is agreeable to me and beneficial and also useful to philosophy. Meanwhile, I recommend myself in your friendship, while I remain yours very affectionately,

Petrus van Musschenbroek

From Leiden 6 April 1760

J.N.S. Allamand (1713-1787), professor of philosophy and mathesis in Leiden. The letter of recommendation by J.N.S. Allamand reads as follows:

Mons.

Jean Gideon Loten, ancien Gouverneur de Ceylon est un homme si distingué par sa naissance par les emplois dont il a été revêtu, par son mérite et ses belles connaissances dans différentes parties de la philosophie, qu’il ne peut que faire honneur à toute Société littéraire qui le reconnoitra pour un de ses membres. J’ose dire en particulier que sa profonde estime pour la Société Royale de Londres et pour les excellans ouvrages de ceux qui la composent le rend bien digne d’être agrégé à cet illustre corps.

Allamand

Leide ce 7. Avril 1760.

In translation:

Mons[ieur]

Joan Gideon Loten, former Governor of Ceylon is a man so distinguished by his birth, by the offices he has held and by his merits and his exquisite knowledge in the different parts of philosophy, that it can only do justice to any literary Society to reckon him amongst their members. I dare say that particularly because of his deep appreciation for the Royal Society of London and for the excellent works of those who make up this body, it is worthy to admit him to this illustrious body.

Allamand

Leiden this 7 April 1760

Both letters are kept in the Royal Society Archive EC/1760/10 and EC/1760/09 and available on the website of the Royal Society. I am indebted to Henk Nellen (Huygens Instituut The Hague) for the translation of the Van Musschenbroek letter and to Huib Zuidervaart for his acting as an intermediary.

¹⁶³ On December 30th 1760 Arnout congratulated his brother with his election as Fellow of the Royal Society (HUA.GC 750 nr 1430).

¹⁶⁴ See: Royal Society EC/1760/09 and EC/1760/10; HUA.GC 750 nr 1384, 1426 and 1428.

¹⁶⁵ See Allibone (1976).

¹⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 April 1762.

¹⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 2 June 1761.

¹⁶⁸ Loten is not mentioned in Allibone (1976), *The Royal Society and its Dining Clubs*.

¹⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 2 May 1761. On May 19, 1761 Arnout Loten congratulated his brother with his election to the Society of Antiquarians. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1430):

‘I am astonished that neither this nor your election to the Royal Society was communicated in several newspapers, like it is usually done’.

¹⁷⁰ Horatio Walpole (1723-1809) afterwards second Lord of Wolterton, fourth Lord of Walpole, first Earl of Orford, was the son of Horatio Walpole (1678-1757), the younger brother of Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) and cousin of the author and historian Horace Walpole.

¹⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 May 1762.

¹⁷² Information Mr Adrian James (Society of Antiquaries of London) April 6, 2006. Loten’s death was reported at the anniversary 1789 of the Society.

¹⁷³ Philip Carteret Webb MP (1700-1770), a well known antiquary and politician and Fellow of the Royal Society; William Sotheby (*d* 1766), since 1744 Fellow of the Royal Society; Dr Charles Morton M.D. FRS (1716-1799), since 1759 Secretary of the physical sciences of the Royal Society and since 1755 Under-Librarian of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum. In 1776, after the death of Matthieu Maty, he was appointed Principal Librarian of the Museum.

¹⁷⁴ Information on website of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

¹⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 4 January and 22 January 1760.

¹⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 11 December 1759.

¹⁷⁷ Dutch humanist and theologian Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536. Loten quoted from Epistola 65 written by Erasmus to Fausto Andreliano, from England. Anno 1499:

“sunt hic nymphae divinis vultibus, blandae, faciles, et quas tu tuis camenis facile anteponas. Est praeterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venis, omnium osculis exciperis; sive discedis aliquo, osculis dimitteris; redis, redduntur suavia; venit ad te, propinantur suavia; discedit abs te, dividuntur basia; occurritur alicubi, basiatur affatim; denique quocunque te moves, suaviorum plena sunt omnia &c.”

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) referred to this passage in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776):

“Erasmus (EpiSt Fausto Andreino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous interferences”.

¹⁷⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 29 January 1760.

¹⁷⁹ Joan Carel Loten referred to Burgomaster Joan Bitter (1638-1714), also described in the novel *Bitters bruid. Een koloniaal huwelijksdrama in de Gouden Eeuw* (1997) by Leonard Blussé (in 2002 published in English as *Bitter Bonds*). Bitter was Burgomaster of Wijk bij Duurstede in 1697 and 1710/1711. He died in 1714 and is buried in the Dutch Reformed Church of Wijk bij Duurstede.

¹⁸⁰ 13 November 1759 Arnout Loten wrote his brother in London (HUA.GC 750 nr 1426). Loten replied from London 23 November 1759 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428). In 1761 Catharina van Kinschot wrote a letter to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek with the request for a function for her cousin Abbema (HUA.HC 643-1 nr 552).

Andries Sijbrand Abbema (1736-1802), studied law in Utrecht and in 1775 was appointed in the council of the city of Utrecht. He belonged to the regents of Utrecht and was removed from the city council in 1786. After the restoration in 1787 he was not reappointed. NNBW IV, 1.

¹⁸¹ According to Arnout Loten:

“The water in the Lek has risen by the ice in such a way, that the dike busted just downstream of Schoonhoven, so the Crimpenerwaard is completely inundated. The gentlemen of the Benedendam left last Saturday to the dikes, but they have excused Papa because of his high age”.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 29 January 1760.

¹⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1352. J.C. Loten to his wife. Jaarsveld 30 January 1760. Eleven months later he was again inspecting the high water at Jaarsveld, still ‘in good health’. HUA.GC 750 nr 1429. Letters J.C. Loten to his son A. Loten. Jaarsveld 16 December and 18 December 1760.

¹⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 18 March 1760.

¹⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation circa 1775.

¹⁸⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 6 June 1760.

¹⁸⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 6 June 1760.

¹⁸⁷ Jeremy Black (1999) discussed the expanse of the British and foreign watering places.

¹⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 29 June 1760.

¹⁸⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 4 July 1760.

¹⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 11 July 1760.

¹⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 August 1760.

¹⁹² A pistole is a Spanish gold coin. The value of 100 pistoles was about 700 guilders.

¹⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 21 July 1760. Lord Henry Francis Widdrington (1700-1774) and his wife Anne Gatenby (*d.* 1780). Lord Widdrington’s father, William Widdrington (1678-1743) was the 4th baron Widdrington. He took part in the Jacobite rising of 1715, and with two of his brothers was taken prisoner after the Battle of Preston. He was convicted of high treason, and his title and estates were forfeited, but he was not put to death, and he survived until 19 April 1743. After his death his son Henry Francis Widdrington claimed the barony.

¹⁹⁴ Loten recollected that his mother called these spots “blauwe schuyt”. This Dutch word was used in the sixteenth until eighteenth century as a synonym for scurvy and for blue varicose vein on the legs. See: WNT, *Nieuwe Taalgids* 1913, page 42 and *Onze Taal* 1943, page 31. I am grateful to Ewoud Sanders, Amsterdam, for the references.

¹⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Margate 31 July 1760. This remarkable 24 feet long gun, is a 12 pounder brass Basilisk. It is still preserved in the Dover castle. As the inscription on the base-ring indicates, it was cast in Utrecht in 1544 by Jan Tolhuys. It was presented by the Emperor

Charles V to Henry VIII. It is known to have been mounted at Dover Castle as early as 1613. Near the breech are two shields, one bearing the English Royal Arms, and the other, nearer the breech, surmounted by a coronet and surrounded by a collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, bearing the arms of Maximilian van Egmont, count of Buren and stadholder of Friesland. In association with the latter, the legend *Dieu et mon Droit* may suggest that it was made for presentation to Henry VIII. See A. Brown (1974), *Dover Castle*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

¹⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Bristol 24 August 1760.

¹⁹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 September 1760.

“t is ons leed dat Uwgb: telkens door verkoudheid op borst geincommodeerd word; indien die quaal origineel uit de borst voortkomt, zoo hopen en wenschen wij dat de wateren v Bath dezelve radicaal zullen genezen, maar indien het een eigentlike verkoudheid is, dewelke op de borst vallende aan Uwgb die benauwdheden veroorzaakt, vrezzen wij dat die wateren niet veel opereren zullen, als zijnde een ijder blootgesteld om bij de minste verandering van weder daarvan aangetast te worden”.

¹⁹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 1 September 1760. Arnout Loten asked recommendations for cousin Van der Dussen and junior merchant Bartholomy van der Voort who sailed to Batavia in May 1758:

“Frans Ewoud van der Dussen, die niets in de wereld bezittende voor omtrent 3 jaren (zo 'k meen) met vrouw en 6 kinderen naar Indien is vertrokken, en zedert zijn arrivement door charitabele luiden aldaar het nodigste tot hun levensonderhoud heeft moeten gefurneerd worden, dog heeft nu een klein amptje op Samarang bekomen waar van even kan bestaan”.

¹⁹⁹ Sir Edward Barry (1698-1776), Irish physician, had his medical degree in 1719 in Leiden. MP for Charleville (1743-1760); Physician General to the Army (1745); Regius Professor of Physic, Dublin (1754-1761); FRS 1732. Barry was knighted in 1775. Barry wrote in 1727 *A treatise on the consumption of the lungs*, in which he recommended Peruvian bark as an element in the treatment of consumption. Wednesday 10 April 1776 Dr Johnson disapproved of Dr Barry's 'System of Physick'. Hill & Powell (1964) volume III, pages 34 and 476.

²⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Bath 25 September 1760.

²⁰¹ See A.C. Vila (1997). Exploring the Conversible World: Text and Sociability from the Classical Age to the Enlightenment. *Yale French Studies* 92, pages 88-101, especially pages 88-91.

²⁰² George Cheyne (1737), *The English Malady*, page 7.

²⁰³ See Sena (1968), pages 360-364.

²⁰⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Bath 29 September 1760. HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 31 October 1760. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 16 November 1760.

²⁰⁵ Lady Cochrane was the daughter of Lieutenant-General James Cochrane of Ochiltree and Culross (1690-1758) and Margaret Hawkison. Her father was James Boswell's grand-uncle. According to Boswell, Dr Johnson “used to tell with great humour, from my relation to him, the following little story of my early years, which was literally true”:

“Boswell, in the year 1745, was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling on condition that he should pray for King George, which he accordingly did. So you see (says Boswell) that *Whigs of all ages are made the same way*”.

See Hill & Powell (1964), volume I, page 431.

Loten was distantly related to Lady Cochrane, because her great-grandfather Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine (1629-1680), had married Veronica van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk (*d.* 1701). Loten's grandfather Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen (*d.* 1705) was her cousin. James Boswell (1740-1795) descended from Alexander Bruce. Both Boswell's mother (Euphemia Erskine) and father (Alexander Boswell) descended from Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine (he as a grandson, she as great-granddaughter).

See Ryskamp & Pottle (1963), *Boswell the omnious years*, published the genealogical charts, which show the relationship of James Boswell and Mary Ann Cochrane with Alexander Bruce.

²⁰⁶ Brady & Pottle (1957), *Boswell in search of a wife*, page 235. In 1780 James Boswell helped Stephen James Sibthorpe, the son of Robert Sibthorpe and Mary Ann Cochrane to place him in a university. See Reed & Pottle (1977), *Boswell Laird of Auchinleck*, page 255.

In the Loten manuscripts there is a note by Loten about the family connection

“Het volgend memortje my, zo my best voorstaat inhandigd te Bath in 1760 door eene Engelsche Dame betrekking tot ondergen. Familien hebbende, de naam [later inserted: Sibthorp] mij ontschoten.

The late General Coghran's Mother was the eldest Daughter of Veronica van Arsen daughter to Cornelius van Arsen Baron of Somersdyke and Sporke [Loten inserted: here without doubt is meant Spijck] and was married to Alexander Bruce Earl of Kinkardin in Scotland, and Gen[era]l Coghran's Eldest Daughter is the Heir at Law of that Veronica, and woud be glad to know how that family now stands, and how near her pretensions may be to any part of the Fortune which was limited over by settlement to her Grand mother, particularly that part of the Fortune in Surinam and Holland

Fulham 29 Sept. 1778.”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1396.

²⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 16 November 1760.

²⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith 16 November 1760. The beauty of the English girls attracted many foreign travellers. J.W. von Archenholz (1786) wrote:

“Von allem Schönen, was dies Insel zeigt, ist nichts so bewunderungswürdig als die Reize des Schönen Geschlechts. Diese haben eine so gewaltige Wirkung, daß jeder Ausländer [...] ohne Bedenken den Engländerinnen den Apfel zuerkennt. Ein schöner körperlicher Bau, ein zierlicher Wuchs, eine volle Brust, eine sehr zarte Haut im Gesicht, wo die sanftesten Züge durchschimmern, alles dieses zeichnet das englische Frauenzimmer vorzüglich aus”.

Quoted by Gumbert (1977), volume II, page 4. Gumbert also published George Christoph Lichtenberg's favourable remarks about British womanhood from the notes and letters of his voyages to England (1770 and 1774-1775).

²⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 December 1760.

²¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 December 1760.

²¹¹ David Steuart Erskine (1742-1829), Lord Cardross (the courtesy title of the Earl of Buchan's eldest son) was the son of Henry David Erskine, 10th Earl of Buchan (1710-1767). He was educated at St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow universities.

²¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 13 January 1761.

He made a copy of Loten's watercolour of the Palm cockatoo which is now in the Natural History Museum in London: NHM.LC 148, watercolour of Palm cockatoo, copy of watercolours in Teyler Museum Loten collection (TS.LC 29 and 30).

²¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 27 February 1761.

²¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 13 January 1761. Lady Jane Molesworth (b. ca 1742), daughter of William Molesworth (ca 1690-1770) and Anna Adair. She was the granddaughter of Robert Molesworth, first Viscount of Molesworth (ca 1656-1725). William Molesworth was the brother of Richard Molesworth, 3rd Viscount of Molesworth. There is some confusion about Clootwijk's partner in marriage. The nineteenth-century peerages mention Lady Isabella Molesworth (d. 19 December 1786), Jane Molesworth's younger sister, as his wife.

²¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428 and 1430.

²¹⁶ Jemmett Browne (1702-1782), from 1745-1772 Bishop of Cork and Ross. See W. Maziere Brady (1863), *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*. Dublin, Alexander Thom. Volume II, pages 428-429.

In September 1767 Jemmett Browne had taken a house at Scarborough where he had Laurence Sterne as his guest, who broke off his work on *A Sentimental Journey*. Browne was said to have 'a disposition that finds a cure for grief amidst the dissipation of a gay party ... Never surely was there so perfectly anti-sublime a dignitary!'. Sterne thought of him as 'one of the best of our Bishops'. See Arthur Hill Cash (2003). *Laurence Sterne: The later years*. London, Routledge, page 307.

²¹⁷ The couple had two children that grew up in England. They were remembered in Loten's testament. Van Clootwijk died at Clifton on 2 March 1804. See *Gentleman's Magazine* 74 (1), 1804, page 283.

“At Clifton, John Clootwyk, esq. formerly a governor in the Dutch East India Company's Service, and brother-in-law to Lord Viscount Molesworth. His remains were deposited in the Abbey-church at Bath, near those of his wife”.

²¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 5 April 1761.

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- ²¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 May 1761.
- ²²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 2 June 1761.
- ²²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 5 April 1761. He announced that he would take with him 14 table-cloths, 6 dozen napkins and 12 a 18 towels. The rest of his goods he would leave in London.
- ²²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 May 1761.
- ²²³ Johann Wilhelm d'Archenholz in chapter III of the second volume of his *A Picture of England: Containing a description of the laws, and manners of England* published in London in 1789, gave an overview of the pleasures that London women offered to the Gentlemen (pages 89-105). He observed (page 97-98) that London provided "a species of houses called *bagnios*, the sole intention of which is to procure pleasure. These magnificent buildings, and the furniture contained in them is not unworthy of the palace of a prince".
- ²²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith, July 21, 1760.
- ²²⁵ Dr Ambrose Dawson (*ca* 1706-1794) lived from 1750 until 1773 on number 67 Grosvenor Street south side, "where he practised in a very unostentatious way, and was a charitable man". Since 1737 he was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London. He was elected physician to St George's hospital in 1745. See Grosvenor Street: South Side, *Survey of London: volume 40: The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)* (1980), pp. 44-57; *Gentleman's Magazine* June 1841.
- ²²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 May 1761.
- ²²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 2 June 1761.
- ²²⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 June 1761.
- ²²⁹ HUA.HC inv 643-1 nr 473. Draft version of letter G.J. van Hardenbroek to J. Boreel Jzn. Van Hardenbroek was 'Hoogheemraad' (adviser to the dike warden) of the Leckendijk-Bovendams. In this role he was responsible for water management of the River Lek (a branch of the River Rhine).
- ²³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 4 December 1761.
- ²³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 March 1762.
- ²³² HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 26 November 1761 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 4 December 1761.
- ²³³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 4 September 1761.
- ²³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 19 May; 12 June; 9 October; 26 November 1761 and nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 May; 2 June; 4 December 1761. The name of Sitie is spelt by Arnout Loten as 'Sitje' and 'Sietje'.
- ²³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 March 1765.
- ²³⁶ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179. The testament with twelve codicils in English is also found in HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. See also Chapter 8, paragraph 'Loten's legacy'.
- ²³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 59.
- ²³⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten Ghent, 18 September 1781.
- ²³⁹ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179.
- ²⁴⁰ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 9 March 1790.
- ²⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 October 1761.

²⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 November 1761. During his stay at Bath Boreel's wife Agneta Margaretha Munter (1717-1761) deceased.

²⁴³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Undated but after 1772.

²⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht August 1763. The letters by Loten written on 6 and 13 July 1763 to which his brother referred are loSt

²⁴⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 January 1762.

²⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 January 1762.

²⁴⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 April 1762.

²⁴⁸ Loten referred to the French chemist Étienne François Geoffroy (1672-1731), an apothecary who also practised medicine, or his brother Claude Joseph Geoffroy (1685-1752), a chemist and apothecary and expert in botany. The first Geoffroy is best known in connection with his tables of 'affinities' (tables des rapports), which he presented to the French Academy in 1718 and 1720.

²⁴⁹ Loten referred to William Hogarth's Plate *The Industrious Prentice Grown Rich an Sherrif of London*. The plate was number 8 in Hogarth's series *Industry and Idleness* and was published in 1747.

²⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428 . J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London April 12, 1762.

The moral of Aesop's fable is that if you try to please everyone you will never know what to do, it will be hard to get anywhere, you will please no-one, not even yourself, and you will probably lose everything.

²⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 May 1762.

²⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 May 1762.

²⁵³ Catharina Maria Abbema (1694-1771), widow of Caspar van Kinschot (1679-1726). See Kinschot (1915).

²⁵⁴ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 759. C.A. van Kinschot to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 3 January 1749.

²⁵⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 25 September 1755.

Catharina Aemilia Abbema was the daughter of Johan Frederick Abbema (*d.* 1700), who was the son of the former Councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East Indies Sybrand Frederick Abbema. Captain Johan Frederick Abbema (*d.* 1766) was the son of Andries Abbema (1683-1752), the second son of Councillor Sybrand Frederick Abbema.

²⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 December 1756

²⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 13 November 1759 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 November 1759.

²⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Hammersmith, July 21, 1760. Unfortunately it is not known to which Hogarth print Loten referred, possibly to the *March to Finchley* (1750) in which 'Mother' Douglas is depicted praying from the window of her house at Covent Garden. See also Chapter 3, paragraph 'London 1762-1763'.

²⁵⁹ In July 1759, Arnout Loten inherited 20,000 guilders from Catharina Kinschot's sister, Jacoba Agnes Abbema, 'the fat Cousin Abbema'. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 August and 4 September 1759.

²⁶⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1769) volume II, under Medicine page 97-98. Palsy was described as "a lax immobility of any muscle, not to be overcome by the will of the patient". The cure could be attempted by a large variety of drugs, "[A]romatic, cephalic, nervous and uterine vegetables; their fixed and volatile salts; as also by their oils; soaps made of their oils and salts; the strong scented parts of animals; the juices, spirits, oils, and tinctures of insects; fossil salts, metallic crystals, and medicines compounded of these".

²⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nrs 1426, 1428 and 1430.

²⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 1 June and 15 June 1762.

²⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotations about Loten's dog Juba July 1, 1774. The dog was possibly called after Juba, prince of Numidia, in Addison's *Cato* (1712).

²⁶⁴ The Leiden bookseller Johannes Luchtmans visited the Magdalens Chapel together with the Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of Austin Friars on Sunday 17 May 1772. Like Loten he liked the choir of 'the Magdalen sisters', who sung behind the curtains. See Johannes Luchtmans, *Reis naar Engeland in 1772*, pages 25 and 26.

²⁶⁵ See: Shannon Elayne Gillard (2004). *"The Shame of Our Community": Authors' Views of Prostitutes in Late Eighteenth-century England*. MA Thesis Texas A&M University; Nicholas Temperley (1993), The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 118, pp. 44-72; Allan & Abbott (1992), 'Compassion and horror in every humane mind': Samuel Johnson, the Society of Arts, and eighteenth-century prostitution. Chapter 2, pages 18-38 in Allan & Abbott (1992).

²⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 27 June 1762. Loten received tickets for the entrance from Mr Godin. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg visited Magdalen's Chapel on March 19th 1775:

"Magdalen Chapel da hörte ich am 19 März des Abends eine Predigt an, es wird durch eine *Subscription* unterhalten. Es wird da eine unbestimmte Anzahl bußfertiger Huren, in allerley Handthierungen unterrichtet, die sie fähig machen in Familien zu dienen die guten Stimmen (*the good pipes*) unter Ihnen singen in der Kirche, es mögen der gefallenen Engel etwa 50 jezt seyn".

See Gumbert (1977), volume I, page 95-96 and volume II, pages 71-72.

²⁶⁷ W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Volume Nine, Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu*, edited by W. S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, Jr. (New Haven, 1941), 273-274. Letter to George Montagu dated 28 January 1760.

²⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library, "Dodd the Magdalen or History of Penitents", is mentioned on page 16, number 84.

²⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780. See Gerald Howson, *The Macaroni Parson: A Life of the Unfortunate Dr Dodd*, (London, 1973); Sherwin (1963) pages 175-180; *The Complete Newgate Calendar*, London, Navarre Society Ltd., 1926, volume 4 pages 114-119.

The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Hallifax was related through his brother Dr James Hallifax to Loten's wife Lettice Cotes.

²⁷⁰ Hill & Powell (1964), *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, volume III, pages 140-143.

²⁷¹ David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross was for a short time he was in the army in Scotland. Lord Cardross was a distant cousin of James Boswell. Saturday 18 November 1780 Boswell wrote "On Tuesday last there was a meeting at the Earl of Buchan's for the purpose of forming an Antiquarian Society In Scotland. I had a card from his Lordship inviting me to it. But as I think him a silly, affected being, I did not go; and I was pleased next day when I heard a ridiculous account of the meeting from Wight and Crosbie". As a result of this meeting the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was founded. In 1819 Buchan had premature plans for Sir Walter Scot's funeral during Scot's illness. See J.W. Reed & F.A. Pottle (1977), *Boswell Laird of Auchinleck*. McGraw-Hill, New York, Toronto, London.

²⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Helvoet 6 July 1762.

²⁷³ Also mentioned *Nieuw Kasteel van Antwerpen*. When he arrived in Utrecht 23 September 1763 James Boswell also went to this lodging-place.

"I was shown up to a high bedroom with old furniture, where I had to sit and be fed by myself. At every hour the bells of the great tower played a dreary psalm tune."

See Pottle (1950) and Barfoot & Bostoën (1995).

²⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 May 1762.

²⁷⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. The collection consists of 36 letters and an excerpt from the *London Chronicle*, written by Joan Gideon Loten in the period 1762 until 1784 to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek. Van Hardenbroek evidently returned letters to Loten. However, these are lost with the exception of one letter, written in 1767 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396), and a short fragment of a letter copied in Loten's *Bell's Common Place Book* (HUA.GC 750 nr

1393). The letters were written by Loten in French (9), English (23) and Dutch (4). Van Hardenbroek wrote in French.

²⁷⁶ Testament J.G. Loten, Utrecht February 27, 1767:

“I bequeath to the right honourable Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek Lord of Lokhorst Berkestein etc. one of the equestrian order of the province of Utrecht my large brilliant ring which I used to wear together with my collection of maps drawn with the pencil under which there is a collection bound red at London I believe sealed laying in my book case containing the Island of Celebes and some neighbouring Island which I request to accept as a small remembrance ..”

The collection of maps of the island of Celebes is at present in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the library of the University of Leiden (BLP 2038 and BLP 3052A). In the codicil to his testament, dated Utrecht February 2, 1782, there is another reference to Van Hardenbroek:

“[I] bequeath to the right honble Gysbert Jan Baron van Hardenbroek Lord of Lokhorst Berkesteyn a brilliant ring which the appearor commonly used to wear”.

According to the 12th codicil to Loten’s will:

“On the 4th of March 1788 in the evening at nine of the clock before me Willem Dop notary of the court of Utrecht residing in Utrecht and admitted etc who declared that by the decease of the right honble Gysbert Jan Baron van Hardenbroek Lord of Lokhorst Berkestein etc which has happened in this city the 22d of february 1788 the legacy consisting of a brilliant ring which the appearor has been used to wear bequeathed to him by the codicillary disposition passed the 6 of July 1785 before me notary and witnesses is lapsed”.

See: The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408.

²⁷⁷ See of biographical information on Van Hardenbroek: NNBW IV 709-710; Hardenbroek (1892) and Hardenbroek (1901-1918).

²⁷⁸ Isabella Agneta Elisabeth Tuyll van Serooskerken (1740-1808), after her marriage in 1771, Madame de Charrière de Pentaz. See Dubois & Dubois (1993). Several concepts of letters by Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek evidently written to Belle van Zuylen are in HUA.HC 643-1nr 457-c-32. On one leave (numbered 8) he wrote: ”Tout ce paquet concerne Mad^{lle}: de Zuilen a present Epouse de Mr Charieres”.

See also Kees van Strien (2004).

²⁷⁹ G.J. van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, 6 volumes (1901-1918). The original memoirs are kept in two boxes in HUA.HC 643-1 nr 448.

²⁸⁰ For Van Hardenbroek see Chapter 4, paragraph ‘Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek’. In 1749 the Stadholder elected Doublet, a delegate of the Utrecht knighthood in the States of Utrecht, to be deputy to the States-General at The Hague. He was not re-elected in 1753 due to the strained relationship between the Princess-dowager and the States of Utrecht.

²⁸¹ See Frederiks (1879); Schutte (1976) pages 274 and 397.

²⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 13 June 1760. She lived in a house rented from Eduard Petrus Ram van Schalkwijk and situated on the East side of the Nieuwe Gracht near the Wittevrouwen bridge. This is close to the house *Cour de Loo* where Loten lived from 1781 until 1789.

²⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 March 1760.

²⁸⁴ In the HUA.HC 643-1 nr. 507 there are several letters from François Doublet to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek covering the period September 23, 1760-May 4, 1762 when he was an envoy at Stockholm. Original in French.

²⁸⁵ In the correspondence between Van Hardenbroek and Jacob Boreel Jansz. there are references to a commission of Doublet as envoy to London (HUA.HC 643-1 nr 473):

Letter Boreel to Van Hardenbroek. London 10 Julij 1761:

“Ik heb onse vriend doubleth geschreeven, of niet een warmer climaat beter, dan het koude syn Ed beter gelycken souden.”

Draft letter Van Hardenbroek to Boreel. Not dated, but response to foregoing:

“P.S. bij de laatste brieven van onsen Vriend Doublet, betuigt zijn Ed: mij sig bij continuatie wel te diverteeren, en voornamentlijk dat desselfs accident merkelyk betert, soo dat absoluut geresolveert was te blyven, en geene vrees voor verder ongemak hadde.”

Letter Jacob Boreel to Van Hardenbroek. London 25 January 1762:

“Sedert dat de Heer van Groenevelt benoemt is naar Spanjen is de post alhier komen open te vallen, indien voorm. Heere met deselve mogt worde bekleedt, zo soude een verandering niet onaengenaem zijn, maar hoe dat sou te geraacken; Men wil dat de Heeren Verelst [= Dirk Huybert Verelst (1717-1774) Dutch ambassador to Prussian court in Berlin (1758-1774)] nog Borssche daar omme geen sin hebben, en so sulks amt waar mogte sijn, als dan word gesproocken van een broeder en swaeger van de Heer R.P. van Citters, de grave van Welderen vraagt daar ook om; maar soude UHEd niet eens kunnen sonderen, of er ijts voor onse goede doubleth op was, zo ja, wil ik gaarn daar toe alles contribueeren, maar anders zo is het beter dat ik daar buyte blyf, om redenen beter by monde dan by een brief te discutieeren; de Burgerm Boudaan is van de vriende, en heeft seer graticus gehandelt ten opsigte van de commissie naar Spanjen wanneer ik Syn Ed daar over geschreeven heb, Amerongen, Sandijk kunnen door [??] by Hasselaar, dog de tyd is kort, en het wordt voor pormo fid. kunnen geschieden, sat sapienti dictum [=Latin: One word to the wise is enough].”

See also Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften* volume 1 pages 235-256.

²⁸⁶ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 200 and 201.

²⁸⁷ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 201. In Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften* volume III, pages 175-176; volume IV, pages 238-239; volume V, pages 456-457 Loten told his friend Van Hardenbroek that Bernard Count van Welderen's son, the Dutch Envoy extraordinary Jan Walraad Count Van Welderen (1725-1807), also received an allowance from the King of England.

[7 January 1783] Speaking about our minister Van Welderen he, Mr Loten, said to know very well, by information from the late Lady Denbigh and by a certain Mr Buchan [= Earl of Buchan] and also by the wife of an English minister who sometimes visited his wife [=Lady Holderness], that she had always seen an entry on the civil list of the King for five hundred pounds sterling per year for the Dutch envoy or minister, without knowing whether Welderen had collected the money or not. He even did not know whether the deceased minister Hop was also on the liSt Nevertheless he was reliable informed that this entry on the civil list was and remained there during a long time. I asked whether such entries were also permitted by the King in favour of ministers of other courts? Mr Loten however, was of the opinion that that was not the case’.

²⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J. G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 March 1762.

²⁸⁹ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 236. Schutte (1976), pages 117-118, 274 and 397.

²⁹⁰ Joan Carel Loten wrote in his notebook (HUA.GC 750 nr 1351) that Doublet paid a farewell visit on 28 September 1762, one day before he left to Madrid. Arnout Loten wrote his brother 15 October 1762 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1430):

“De Hr. Doublet heeft desselfs reize voor zo veel mij bekend is, geheel alleen aangenomen.”

November 12, 1762 he wrote his brother:

“De Hr. Van Bergstijn heeft mij gezegd, dat de Hr. Doublet te Bourdeaux gearriveerd was, en nu reeds te Madrid zoude zijn; de Postchaise had zig zeer wel gehouden, except een klein ongemakje aan een der raden van geen belang“.

²⁹¹ HUA. HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762. Original in French.

²⁹² Joan Carel Loten's sister Cornelia Maria wrote 31 August 1735 a letter to Henriëtta van Nassau-Zuylenstein in which she referred to a disagreements over the inheritance of her mother (HUA. Huis Amerongen 1001 nr 3334). In 1759 her estate was still not completely divided among the heirs.

²⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426 Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 28 March 1751

²⁹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 16 August 1776. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1780. The family derived its noble pretensions to 1633 when Louis XIII of France granted a noble title to Johan Strick. See De Bruin (1986), page 210.

²⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780. The reason for his refusal of the dinner-set is not clear.

²⁹⁶ Documents on the terms of their marriage, the testament and the inventory of the estate of Joseph Loten are in HUA.GC 750 nrs 1362, 1363 and 1364.

²⁹⁷ However, Doublet had been rejected in favour of the officer in the Cavalry Nicolaas baron Van den Boetzelaer (1718-1796). See Prak (1985), pages 179 and 327-328.

²⁹⁸ Before their marriage, on 15 March 1742, Constantia Johanna Loten and François Doublet agreed about marriage conditions (HUA.NA U194a2 nr 17; notary Lobrecht).

²⁹⁹ According to the inventory of the legacy of Joseph Loten (HUA.GC 750 nr 1364) Constantia Johanna inherited in 1730 from her father 151 000 guilders. Joseph's wife Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten received 50 000 guilders, in agreement with the conditions in their 1723 marriage settlement (HUA.GC 750 nr 1362).

May, 15, 1762 Constantia Johanna made a last version of her testament before notary Jan Kol. Jan de Cupere, "canonicq of Oudmunster and St Jan", was already appointed by her as the executor of her testament (HUA.NA U219a9 nr 57, 8 June 1761, Notary J. Kol). The conditions in the testament and the conditions in the earlier marriage settlement caused the legal struggle between Doublet and the Strick van Linschoten family. The legal procedures that arose after the decease of Doublet's wife can be reconstructed from the deeds in Het Utrecht Archief (HUA.NA).

³⁰⁰ HUA.NA U188a23 nr 52, 7 September 1762 and HUA.NA U188a23 nr 63, 13 October 1762.

See also Procuration of Christina Clara van Linschoten about the goods and chattels of her daughter in her possession (HUA.NA U207a7 nr 99, 23 August 1762) and declarations of servants Jacobus Schilder, "meester schilder", and Adrianus Verbeek, "meester timmerman" (HUA.NA U188a23 nr 51, dd 7-9-1762), Anna Maria Hermesen, "dienstmaagt" (HUA.NA U188a23 nr 23, 8 September 1762), Adolff Sesselaar "groefbidder" (HUA.NA U188a23 nr 62, 12-10-1762), Aaltje de Bruyn en Cecilia de Vrij, "dienstmaagden by Christina Clara Strick van Linschoten" (HUA.NA U188a23 nr 65, 25 October 1762) and again Marritje van der Schroeff (HUA.NA U 188a23 nr 66, 26 October 1762).

³⁰¹ HUA.NA U219a8 nr 8, 30 October 1762, notary Coenraad van Leene.

³⁰² HUA.NA U207a8 nr 17, 11 December 1762, notary Coenraad van Leene. On 15 December 1762 Christina Clara van Linschoten, Doublet's mother-in-law, dismissed Jan Kol as her future executor, possibly because he represented François Doublet, her counterpart in the legal procedure about the inheritance of her daughter (HUA.NA U207a8 nr 17, 15 December 1762, notary Coenraad Leene). On 15 February 1763 Christina Clara signed a document in which she declared to pay all costs that Jan de Cupere had made in the legal procedures as executor of the testament of her daughter (HUA.NA U207a8, nr 22, notary Coenraad Leene).

³⁰³ An agreement for her inheritance was signed before notary H. van Dam at Utrecht (HUA.NA U184a6 nr. 36, 29 March 1763). In two separate documents Christina Clara van Linschoten (HUA.NA U207a8 nr 25, 28 March 1763) and the inheritors of the Strick van Linschoten family (HUA.NA U188a23 nr 100, 25 March 1763) had declared that they agreed that Jan de Cupere could act as their representative and that Jan Kol could act as the representative of François Doublet.

³⁰⁴ HUA.NA U188a24 nr 46, 15 May 1764, notary Dirk Oskamp, Utrecht. Arnout Loten was appointed guardian.

³⁰⁵ The final agreement of Doublet about the inheritance is in two documents made before notary Hendrik van Dam, Utrecht: HUA.NA U184a26 nr 80 and 81, both dated 9-8-1763. The Strick van Linschoten family signed several documents relating to the inheritance of Constantia Johanna Loten (HUA.NA U 188a23, nr 120, 7 August 1763; U227a4 nr 59, dd 17-8-1763; U188a 23 nr 122, 23 August 1763; U188a23 nr 123, dd 23-8-1763; U188a nr 136, 5 November-1763).

³⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Dated 31 January 1774.

³⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. The Hague 27 September 1762.

³⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. The Hague 27 September 1762.

³⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Harwich 3 October 1762. Much later in a letter from London, dated 29 May 1778, to Rijklof Michael van Goens, Loten again referred to the passage to Harwich in 1762 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15).

³¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Harwich 5 October 1762.

³¹¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762.

³¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 November 1762.

³¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³¹⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762.

³¹⁵ Susanna Centlivres (née Freeman) (ca 1667-1723), English dramatist and actress. She appears to have married twice before setting down in 1706 with Joseph Centlivres (d. 1725), since 1698 *First Yeoman of the Kitchen*. In 1724 he became *Second Master Cook of the Kitchen*.

According to Jess Byrd (1949) in the Augustan Reprint Society publication of the *Busy Body*, the play remained popular throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It had 53 performances in *The Drury Lane Theatre Royal* from 1746-1776. The greatest number of performances in any season was 14 in 1758-59, the year David Garrick (1717-1779) appeared in the play as Marplot.

Wednesday 27 April 1763 the French astronomer Lalande saw the *Busy Body* in London:

‘In the evening I went [...] to the comedy at Covent Garden, in the pit for 3/- [...]. They played *The Busy Body*, a Comedy written by Mrs Susanna Centlivre, drawn from Etourdi Molière. Mr Woodward, an excellent actor, played Marplot; many people prefer him to Garrick for comic roles. Mr Shuter played Sir Francis Gripe very well, and Miss Macklin and Miss Miller were Miranda and Isabinda. There were many changes of scene and of the very pleasant dances’.

See Watkins (2002), page 24.

³¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 December 1762.

³¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780. The two Ceylonese tea tables, which Loten reserved for his own use, were earlier taken from Loten’s house in Utrecht by Christina Clara’s daughter, Constantia Doublet (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. London 23 March 1762).

³¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 December 1762. Unfortunately neither Mr Reinis nor Lady Syntje van Grootepoort could be identified.

³¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 November 1762.

³²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 November 1762.

‘Wij wenschen dat de Rhumatisme van geen verder gevolg zal geweest zijn; dat Uwgb: de gedaante van Prof. Griethuijzen reeds afgelegd, die van een jong flux Kareltje weder aangenomen zult hebben, en zig dusvolkomen in staat zult gesteld zien, om niet alleen uit vrijen te gaan, maar ook om zig in dien aangenaamen Band dadelik te begeven’.

The reference is to Jacobus van Griethuysen (ca 1650-1728), a conservative preacher who led the Utrecht Mennonite congregation from 1674 to 1713.

³²¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762.

³²² Peruvian Bark, *Cinchona succirubra* (Pavon.), a source of quinine, is world-renowned for its use in treating periodic fevers, such as malaria. Peruvian Bark has also been used as a digestive system stimulant. The reddish-brown bitter tasting powdered bark is also known as Jesuits’ Powder, and was first documented in 1633 by Jesuit missionary in Peru. In 1640, Peruvian bark was introduced to Europe; eventually, it was renamed Chinchona after the Countess of Chinchon promoted the medicinal qualities of the bark.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1769) Peruvian bark was “looked upon as the most effectual remedy in intermittent fevers of almost every kind, and safe in all ages and constitutions”.

Experiments with Peruvian Bark were published in the 1766 and 1767 volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (volume 56 page 95; volume 57 pages 221-233) with the aim to find,

“in what preparation the virtues of this valuable drug are least impaired; and whether it may not be administered, under a form that is elegant, palatable, and at the same time sufficiently efficacious.”

³²³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762.

³²⁴ The word “Mama” or ‘Mother’ was used ironically for the procuress of a brothel. Elizabeth Needham (d. 1731), also known as Mother Needham, was an English brothel-keeper of eighteenth-century London, who has been identified as the bawd greeting Moll Hackabout in the first plate of William Hogarth’s series, *A Harlot’s Progress*. For ‘Mother’ Douglas see below. See also WNT IX 164.

³²⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 19 January 1763. Original in French. Loten used the expression “on se doit botter en double”. The word ‘botter’ literally means ‘to put boots on’ and is used metaphorically in the quotation, in the meaning of ‘protecting’ or ‘armouring’. Loten probably referred not only to the protection of the condom against syphilis, but also against the whims of the Spanish girls, “of whom it is very troublesome to get rid of, when tired as there is no trifling or playing the fool with the Castilian Damsels”. The last is in an earlier message from Doublet cited in Loten’s letter to Van Hardenbroek dated 2 November 1762.

³²⁶ John Fielding (1776), *A brief description of the cities of London and Westminster*, pages xxviii-xxix.:

“Covent Garden is the great square of Venus, and its purlieus are crowded with the votaries of the goddess. One would imagine that all the prostitutes in the Kingdom had pitched upon this blessed neighbourhood for a place of general rendezvous. For here there are lewd women in sufficient numbers to people a mighty colony. And that fuel for the natural flame may not be wanting, here is a great variety of open houses whose principal employment is to minister incitements to lust. The jelly-houses are now become the resort of abandoned rakes and shameless prostitutes. These and the taverns afford an ample supply of provision for the flesh; while others abound for the consumation of the desires which are thus excited. For this vile end the bagnios and lodging-houses are near at hand”.

³²⁷ See Allan & Abbott (1992), Chapter 2, pages 18-38, especially pages 28 and 29. See also E. Cobham Brewer 1810–1897. *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. 1898.

In plate XI of Hogarth’s *Industry and Idleness* (1747) the shabby, fighting, crying, stealing and immoral crowd at Tyburn is presided over by the fat Mother Douglas. See R. Paulson (1974). *The Simplicity of Hogarth’s Industry and Idleness*. *ELH* 41, pages 291-320, see page 298.

³²⁸ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 18 February 1763.

³²⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 December 1762.

³³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht, 8 February 1763.

³³¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 18 February 1763.

³³² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 7 December 1762.

³³³ John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1713-1792). In 1751 Bute joined the staff of Prince George, the Prince of Wales. In 1760 George succeeded his grandfather, George II, as King George III. George III and Bute decided to try and break the power of the Whigs in Parliament. A year after becoming King, Bute was invited to become Prime Minister. This decision upset a large number of Members of Parliament, who considered Bute to be incompetent and under the control of the King. John Wilkes became Bute’s leading critic in the House of Commons. Some people believed that Bute was attempting to extend monarchical power and after street demonstrations against him in 1763 he resigned. Bute continued to advise George III. Members of the House of Commons complained that he was attempting to undermine the new Prime Minister, George Grenville. After coming under increasing pressure from his government, the King agreed in 1765 to stop consulting Bute.

³³⁴ William Pitt (1708-1778). In 1756 the Seven Years’ War broke out, Pitt was Secretary of State with sole charge of the direction of the war and foreign affairs. During the early years of the war, Britain suffered a number of reversals but late in 1758 the army began to make inroads into French control of Canada. In 1759 Quebec surrendered. Pitt had fulfilled his promise to “save his country”. He then wanted to press home Britain’s advantage by declaring war on Spain before the Spanish had time to prepare for and declare war on Britain. This was always a likelihood since the French and Spanish Royal families were related and had signed the “Family Compact” to provide mutual assistance in time of war. The new king, George III, and his advisers - particularly the Earl of Bute - were reluctant to extend the war. Pitt’s position was made untenable and he resigned in 1761. In 1762, Bute was obliged to declare war on Spain, just as Pitt had proposed a year earlier. However, at the end of the year, Bute had begun negotiations for a peace. Pitt returned to Parliament to deliver a scathing, three-hour speech attaching the proposals. Bute found the burdens of office too much to bear and in 1763 was replaced by George Grenville, Pitt’s brother-in-law.

³³⁵ Temple Coffee-House, near Fleet Street in London. A club which met at this Coffee House during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is considered as the earliest natural history society in Britain. See Jessop (1989); Riley (2006).

³³⁶ In 1754 William Pitt married Hester Grenville (1732-1803), sister of the Earl of Temple and George Grenville. Hester was 23 years his junior. The couple had two sons (John and William) and two daughters (Hester and Harriet).

³³⁷ Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), British Prime Minister (1754-1756 and 1757-1762). George III did not trust Newcastle and attempted to limit the duke's political influence by preventing him from using public money to influence voters in the forthcoming general election. Newcastle used his own money, unaware that the Earl of Bute was using royal patronage to strengthen his own support. Despite the king's efforts, Newcastle and his followers won a substantial majority. The king continued to manipulate the appointment of the Earl of Bute to more important positions in the Cabinet until Newcastle decided that he could no longer continue in office. On Newcastle's resignation in 1762, Bute became Prime Minister.

The *Auditors* and *Monitors* are periodicals in opposition to Bute's proposed terms of peace negotiation. James Boswell memorandum in his journal dated 4 December 1762:

"Go to Child's, take dish coffee, read Auditor, Monitor, Briton".

See Pottle (1950).

³³⁸ *Concordia res parvae crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur*. Sallustius, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 10, 6. 'Through unity small things grow; through disunity great things decay'. The motto of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands.

³³⁹ William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire (ca 1720-1764), British statesman who in 1756 became titular Prime Minister of Great Britain. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1755-1757). After inheriting his father's peerage titles he was appointed First Lord of the Treasury in November 1756, and he served as First Lord until 1757 in an administration effectively run by William Pitt. In October 1762, the Duke of Devonshire was dismissed from his post as Lord Chamberlain because the King believed that he was acting under Newcastle's influence. Newcastle was outraged and pressed his supporters to resign in protest. Some of them did so, therefore Bute retaliated by dismissing all those who owed allegiance and their positions to the Duke of Newcastle.

³⁴⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762.

³⁴¹ The publication of this satire at once brought Hogarth into collision with his former friends John Wilkes and the poet and satirist Charles Churchill. In June 1762 Wilkes established *The North Briton*, a weekly newspaper in opposition to *The Briton*, a journal that supported Bute's administration. Wilkes appointed Charles Churchill, a former curate, to edit the newspaper. The immediate result of Hogarth's print *The Times* was a violent attack upon him, both as a man and an artist, in *The North Briton*, no. 17. The alleged decay of his powers was discussed with scurrilous malignity by those who had known his domestic life and learned his weaknesses. The old artist was deeply wounded, and his health was failing. Early in 1763, however, he replied by that *Portrait of Wilkes* which will for ever carry his squinting features to posterity. Churchill retaliated in July by a savage *Epistle to William Hogarth*, to which the artist rejoined by a print of *Churchill as a bear*, in torn bands and ruffles.

In the catalogue of Loten's library the quarto edition of "The Analysis of Beauty by W. Hogarth, Lond. 1753 avec fig." is mentioned on page 7 number 59 (HUA Library 6629/3766/853).

³⁴² "The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain", concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, to which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day. The Peace treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years war.

³⁴³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 18 February 1763.

³⁴⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 9 May 1763. The first advocate 'or Minister of our [Dutch East India] Company', Cornelis van der Hoop took the pamphlets with him from London to Van Hardenbroek in Utrecht. Loten assured his friend in the accompanying letter, 'I would have sent You Walpole's anecdotes on painting in England but could not get one good copy, it will soon be reprinted'.

³⁴⁵ In Wilkes affair Loten's acquaintance Philip Carteret Webb MP (1700-1770), acted as solicitor to the Treasury on the arrest of John Wilkes. See for Webb also Chapter 14, paragraph 'Fellow Society of Antiquaries' and Chapter 22, paragraph 'Marriage'.

³⁴⁶ Trench (1962), page 96-167.

James Boswell in his *London Journal* noted down Tuesday 3 May 1763:

"I walked up to the Tower to see Mr Wilkes come out. But he was gone."

On Friday 6 May Boswell wrote in his journal:

"This morning the famous Wilkes was discharged from his confinement and followed to his house in Great George Street by an immense mob who saluted him with loud huzzas while he stood bowing from the window."

See: Ayling (1966) and Pottle (1950).

³⁴⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 9 May 1763.

Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes on painting in England*, 4 volumes. The first edition was produced at Strawberry Hill from 1762 to 1771. Loten had a quarto edition of this book in his library: "Walpole anecdotes of Painting in England, 1762 avec fig. e.b." (HUA Library 6629/3766/853 page 9 number 96. Loten also possessed Walpole's "Catalogue of Engravers, 1763 avec fig. en veau" (number 97) and "Life and Reign of King Richard, Lond. 1768 an veau" Number 98). May 31, 1781 Loten wrote a letter to "Horace Walpole in Arlington Street", in which he communicated his note on the epitaph on the grave of the painter Gerard Honthorst in the Utrecht Catharijne Church. (HUA.GC 750 nr 152).

³⁴⁸ William Godolphin, Marquess of Blandford (c.1700-1731) received at his marriage a dowry of £30,000. Nevertheless Maria Catherine was received coldly by the Blandford family. In 1734 Sir William Wyndham (b.1693-1740 became the second husband of Maria Catherine de Jong.

See Jeremy Black (1999), page 203 and <http://www.thepeerage.com>

³⁴⁹ Stephen Hales (1677-1761), English physiologist and clergyman. From 1709 he was perpetual curate of Teddington. His national reputation was founded upon research into the fundamentals of animal and plant physiology and the nature of air. He became celebrated for invention and the application of science to the social and economic needs of the day. In 1733 he published experiments on the blood and blood-vessels of animals in his *Statical Essays*. Dr Johnson referred to these experiments in a discussion with James Boswell in Ulinish, 23 September 1773. Hales major energies however, were devoted to Christian welfare and philanthropic endeavour.

See James Boswell (1786), *The Journal of a tour to the Hebrides*, Hill & Powell (1964), volume V, page 246-247.

³⁵⁰ June 14th 1771, Loten visited the Countess's grave in Teddington. See HUA.GC 750 nr 152.

³⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. Loten referred to Philippe de L'Espinoy's *Recherche des antiquitéz et noblesse de Flandre*. Dovy, imprimerie Marc Wyon, 1631.

³⁵² *The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*. Volume III 1759-1769. Philadelphia, 1842.

³⁵³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 2 November 1762.

³⁵⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 7 December 1762.

³⁵⁵ See HUA.GC 750 nrs 1428 and 1430.

³⁵⁶ On 29 March 1763 and 9 August 1763 agreements were signed about the legacy of Doublet's wife by Doublet's representative Jan Kol and the Strick van Linschoten family. HUA.NA U184a26 nrs 80 and 81.

³⁵⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 19 January 1763. Original in French.

³⁵⁸ Loten hoped that his acquaintance with Van der Hoop would improve his case against the directors of the VOC. Loten wished to transfer his capital from Batavia to Holland but without paying the percentages usually charged for doing so. However, From Loten's correspondence with Van Hardenbroek it is clear that Van der Hoop did not support Loten's claim. Nevertheless, this did not interfere with their friendly intercourse. See HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Montpellier 2 October 1763. See also Chapter 11, paragraph 'Loten's East Indian capital'.

³⁵⁹ Basil Feilding (1719-1809) was one of the trustees of Loten's capital in the Bank of England. In the Codicil to his last will Loten 13 October 1778 Loten specified that his capital in the Bank with an annuity of 3½ % was in the names of "Basil Earl of Denbigh, Thomas Cotes Esquire and Herbert Mackworth the Esquire now Sir Herbert Mackworth Baronet" (The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1179). Thomas Cotes was a brother of Loten's wife Lettice Cotes. Sir Herbert Mackworth MP was a relative of Lettice Cotes.

³⁶⁰ The Cotton library was arguably the most important collection of manuscripts ever assembled in Britain by a private individual. Amongst its many treasures were the Lindisfarne Gospels, two of the contemporary exemplifications of Magna Carta and the only surviving manuscript of Beowulf. In 1753 the 861 surviving volumes of the Cotton manuscript collection were brought to the British Museum, shortly after its foundation and establishment at Montague House. An overview of Robert Cotton and the historical impact of his library is Sharpe (1979).

See Joy (2005). Loten's acquaintance in the British Museum, Under-librarian Dr Matthew Maty, prepared the first catalogue of the Cotton library in 1756.

³⁶¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 29 June 1764. Original in French.

³⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 November 1761.

³⁶³ See De Silva (1981) page 157.

³⁶⁴ See De Silva (1981) page 157. *The Account of Mr Pybus's Mission to the King of Kandy, in 1762. Printed from the Records of the Madras Government*, was published in 1862 by W. Skeen at Colombo.

³⁶⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 9 May 1763

³⁶⁶ See Gaastra (2002) and Lord Macaulay *Edinburgh Review* January 1840, quoted from *Critical and Historical Essays by Lord Macaulay*, Longmans, Green and co, 1877, pages 497-541.

“[Clive] knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied that, if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river [...] the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most danger. He took the resolution with characteristic boldness [...]. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. [...] Their ships were taken. [...] Almost all the European soldiers [...] were killed or taken. The Conquerors sat down before Chinsurah; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their factories; and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal”.

The papers of Clive's financial transactions are in the VOC Archive of the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02 nr 7050 I.

³⁶⁷ A reference to Governor-General Albertus van der Parra (1714-1775).

³⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Bath September 25, 1760.

³⁶⁹ Louis Tallefert (*d.* 1766), Director of the VOC settlement Bengal in 1755 and from 1760-1763. Tallefert was descendant of a Huguenot family from Cape of Good Hope. He died in 1766 in Bengal. Tallefert was since 1757 Councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East India Company. In 1757 he married Cornelia Charlotte Feith (1744-1812), daughter of the vendumeester, Gijsbert Jan Feith, at Batavia (see below). After his death his widow married Mr Joachim van Plettenberg, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope (1774-1783). See: NNBW V page 872; Wijnaends van Resandt (1944) pages 44-45).

³⁷⁰ Gaastra (2002) referred to Tallefert's characterization of the Dutch power in Patna:

“het gelijkt wat, en is, zoals overall hier, niet veel.”

In Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, stukken van Plettenberg, 1.10.67, inv. nr.15-23 26: Memorie van overgave van de directie van Bengalen door de aftredende directeur Louis Tallefert aan zijn opvolger George Louis Vernet.

³⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 June 1764. Original in French.

³⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 August 1764. Original in French.

³⁷³ Gijsbert Jan Feith (1719-1775). In 1737 he departed as a junior merchant to the Dutch East Indies. He lived at Batavia 1738-1741. In 1742 he married Anna van Scherpenbergh (?-1766) in Middelburg, probably shortly before his second departure to the Dutch Indies. In 1743 he was shop-keeper at the VOC-settlement Cochin and in 1750 vendumeester He returned to Patria in 1758 and lived on the Nieuwegracht in Utrecht. In 1763 he departed again to Batavia where he remained until his death in 1775. He held several senior functions in the VOC hierarchy at Batavia. He died as a free-burgher. A copy of Feith's testament, dated October 13, 1774, is in the VOC archives in The Hague (Nationaal Archief, VOC archief nr. 11957). His portrait is on page 23 in: *Familie-vereniging Feith (1973), Driehonderd jaar geschilderde familie-portretten*. His Chinese porcelan is in the Groninger Museum, Groningen (M.A. de Visser (1964), Een eetservies van Chinees porselein met het wapen van de familie Feith. *Mededelingenblad Vrienden van de Nederlandse Ceramiek*, juni 1964, pages 44-49).

Feith was related to the Van Hardenbroek family. His mother was Anna Charlotte van Hardenbroek (1686-1722), the sister of Johan Louis van Hardenbroek, Gijsbert Jan's father. One of Feith's daughters, Cornelia Charlotte Feith (1744-1812) married Louis Taillefert (see above). In HUA.HC 643-1 nr 515 there are two letters from Batavia (15 October 1762 and 15 October 1763) from G.J. Feith to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek. According to a document in Het Utrechts Archief, dated September 7th 1761, Van Hardenbroek signed a procuration to represent Feith in Utrecht during his stay in the East Indies and to assure that he and his sons Arend Willem Feith and Frederik Gysbert Feith would retain the citizenship of the City of Utrecht (HUA.NA U238a2 nr 45).

³⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht July 14, 1761. Arnout Loten also wrote his brother about Feith's departure to Zeeland shortly before his voyage to the Indies. According to Arnout Loten, Feith visited Loten's son-in-law Dirck Willem Van Der Brugghen in Leiden before going to Middelburg.

³⁷⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Montpellier 2 October 1763. Original letter in French.

³⁷⁶ See Chapter 7, paragraph 'Anthony Mooijaart'.

³⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Margate July 31, 1760. Gerard Maximiliaan Taets van Amerongen (1727-1788), Lord van Renswoude, Deyl and Emmikhuizen married Catharina Johanna Mossel (1741-1795), daughter of Jacob Mossel and Adriana Appels.

³⁷⁸ Dithard van Rhee de died at Batavia 2 December 1759. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Bath September 25, 1760. Reynier de Klerk (1710-1780) the later Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1778-1780). Loten knew De Klerk since the 1730s when De Klerk was junior merchant (1737) at Java. In 1748 he became governor and director of Banda. Since 1753 he lived in Batavia as councillor extraordinary of the Indies and director of the Opium Society (1761). NNBW VII 714-715.

³⁷⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Montpellier 2 October 1763. Original in French.

³⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 25 October 1771.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 4

LOTEN'S TOUR ON THE CONTINENT 1763-1764

1. TOUR ON ON THE CONTINENT

PREPARATIONS

The Peace of Paris of 1763 which ended in the Seven Years War caused an increase in foreign travel in Great Britain. The *St. James's Chronicle* of 23 August 1763 claimed that 7,400 French passports had been issued already that year and that this would lead to the loss of 'an immense sum' for Britain.¹ Loten, too, noticed the increase in overseas travel in January of 1763: 'It's unbelievable how many people go to France, both to enjoy the delights of Paris and for the Esplanade de Montpellier &c'.² Evidently this also prompted him, to travel abroad. In February 1763 he wrote to Van Hardenbroek saying that he was "determined to go to France at the beginning of the summer".³ When he was young, the books by Nieuhof, Dampier, Valentyn and Rumphius stimulated Loten to visit distant countries.⁴ After his return to Patria his antiquarian interests must have determined his wish to visit the European countries as he will have wished to see their palaces, churches, monuments and private collections. His yearning for travel was consistent with the expansion in the eighteenth century of foreign tourism by the European social elite.⁵ The massive growth in the production of books, newspapers and printed material, in addition to the development of travel books as a genre, must have stimulated a positive attitude towards travelling. Moreover, roads had improved and travel facilities such as coaching inns had increased both in number and in quality. Strong cultural, religious and political differences still existed in Europe, but domestic and international rivalries dissuaded few people in the eighteenth century from travelling.

In May 1763 Loten told Van Hardenbroek: "[A]t last I am packing up my luggage, tho' by other avocations very slowly, with a design when ready to set out for France, in order to try whether the air of Provence or Languedoc will be able to repair my relaxed Indian habit of body. For really what I have suffered past winter is beyond description. Several times I thought it impossible, I could live a minute longer by spasms in the muscles about the breast & stomach, and I hope my Friends will not take it amiss that I make the absence of a year more as it is indeed high time to begin thinking a little on my self, for if this was not the case I would presently return home to see my aged parents, whom I always revere with filial duty, and the Friends I honor & love sincerely".⁶ Loten apparently thought that foreign travel would be an effective cure for his 'hypochondriac' complaint, asthma. According to a contemporary source, "a voyage, or a long journey, especially towards a warmer climate, will be of greater service than any medicine".⁷

To adequately prepare himself for his Tour on the Continent, Loten had a small notebook entitled 'Memoir book beginning with my preparations for the journey to France 1763'. The notebook has the same format and leather cover as the two booklets in which he kept the *Journal* of his Tour.⁸ Most of the annotations in the memoir booklet were written in Dutch. The booklet contained a remarkable motto taken from Robert Dodson's *Oeconomy of human life* (1751): "Refuse the favours of a mercenary man, they will be a snare unto thee; thou shalt never be quit of the obligation".⁹ Given the meaning of this text, it seems likely that the motto was added several years after his journey to France had taken place. The notes in the booklet give us an interesting insight into Loten's possessions in London.

To prepare for his trip, Loten had to pack his belongings into several chests and cases and transport these to Mr Herman Berens' storehouse in Angelcourt. On April 30th 1763, two chests containing his silver plate and tea set were brought to Berens. One 'common small teaspoon and a mustard spoon' were left out of the chests with silver plate and were sent to his brother in Utrecht. On May 9th 1763, Loten entrusted his 'fowling piece', made by the gun makers Barbar, to Mr Berens.¹⁰ That day he also sent a case containing a copper box with 'drawings of living birds, landscapes &c together with several papers belonging to it' and another case 'with portfolios with nice drawings, prints &c' to Berens.¹¹ Three days later, a chest was transported to Angelcourt. It had iron straps and two padlocks and contained Loten's table linen ('my very best'). Three chests carrying his books, maps and manuscripts and one case with a saddle and bridle accompanied the table linen. On May 15th 1763, he sent a bundle of papers to Berens. The bundle included documents relating to the VOC directors' handling of his loaned capital and its transfer from Batavia to Holland. Eleven days later, four large cases, two boxes, one cassette and a suitcase with papers were moved to Berens' warehouse. In addition to trash ["rommelarij"], books, three silver saucepans and a brazier, it also contained a silver Japanese tobacco box and an ebony inkwell with crystal bottles and silver stops.¹² The rest of Loten's possessions were stored at 'Mr Woodfield's, a wine merchant in Bondstreet on the corner of Conduit Street, before this keeper of the Roundhead Tavern

located in the same house'. It consisted of a 'large chest containing unwashed linen, several books of some importance, among them the description of France and England &c published by Tirion¹³ and my very fine cane with golden handle, bought in England [...] NB the keys have been handed over to Mr Herman Berens in Angelcourt by Piggy and Mr Woodfield also has a bundle of them and a large porcelain punch bowl'. Loten's scientific instruments were kept by 'Mr Geo. Adams His Maj[esty]'s Instrument maker in Fleet Street':

'A book camera obscura with several prints in it.¹⁴

3 microscopes including a reflecting one all in copper made by Mr Adams himself I think for flat objects, also made by Mr Adams.

A [microscope] made in Germany but again assembled by Adams and placed in a mahogany box on which a small mirror can be screwed.

1 portable barometer made by Mr Adams, and 1 thermometer by Prins made for the air indoors, the other one for the outside air. I took the last with me.¹⁵

1 machine to read with in the evening made by Mr Adams himself for 2 and 1 candle'.

People in the eighteenth century did not normally take British or foreign money with them on their journeys. The risk of being robbed prevented most travellers from taking large quantities of any currency with them. The most common arrangement was to have an agreement by which the traveller could draw on foreign correspondents or representatives of his London banker or financial agent.¹⁶ Loten's *Journal* contains one note about the financial aspects of his Tour. From this we know that he took 1,000 guineas to France which he exchanged in Paris for French currency. However, it is impossible to reconstruct Loten's financial accounting of his Tour, because he did not specify his costs in his *Journal*.

According to Loten in his *Journal*: 'In Paris I got acquainted with one Colonel Ross, a Scotchman in English Service.¹⁷ He complained about the 5% to be paid to the English bankers. I think the French only take ½[0%] and at that time Mr Van Den Yver (or Iever), a Dutch banker, even gave some money back to Mr Joncheere.¹⁸ I took 1000 g[uinea]s for the House of Foley,¹⁹ which also profited from me in some other minor matters. For [exchanges] less than £ 800 they were not prepared to give me more than 30 Louis in gold.²⁰ Moreover, they took 6 pence on each pound for a bag of silver coins. This is also a proof that the Dutch nation is not the most money-grabbing'.

JOURNAL OF MY TOUR IN 1763 & 1764

Loten did take detailed notes of his trip. His *Journal of my Tour through France, Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, Flanders, Brabant &c in 1763 & 1764* is written in English and consists of two volumes.²¹ It shows Loten's impressive control of the language, although the syntax and choice of words is often Anglo-Dutch English. It is remarkable that he did not write the *Journal* in his mother tongue; he apparently saw himself as an English gentleman. His account of the nine-month long journey comprises 207 pages and is written chronologically in a legible hand with scarcely a word, sentence or passage struck out. One must therefore assume that the *Journal* was probably composed at home from notes Loten had taken abroad.

It is probable that Loten kept the *Journal* for his own personal use and to entertain a few of his friends and that he never intended to publish the manuscript. In April of 1774, Loten lent his *Journal* to naturalist and antiquarian Thomas Pennant (1726-1798).²² In exchange he may have received the manuscript of Pennant's own *Journal of a Tour on the Continent*, written in 1765, scarcely two years after Loten undertook his own journey.²³ Although Loten and Pennant often travelled to the same places, the two manuscripts differ in the way they deal with their subjects. In Loten's *Journal*, the account of the actual journey is usually limited to the names of the cities visited and short observations about lodgings. Elaborate descriptions of the churches, palaces and the monuments, tombstones and paintings he saw account for the majority of the *Journal*. Some of these descriptions were taken from contemporary travel accounts. However, personal reflections on them are scarce and are added occasionally; references to natural history are only marginally present. In contrast, Pennant paid attention to natural history and the people he met. Loten rarely said anything about his contacts with others and his descriptions of the landscape lack detail. There is no reason to believe that when he visited Paris he met with Buffon or the Parisian astronomers even though French astronomer Jerome Lalande, who had been had been professor of astronomy at the Collège de France since 1762, had paid Loten a visit in London in April 1763.²⁴ Loten did not even mention a visit to the Dutch ambassador Mattheus Lestevenon. He only briefly mentioned an appointment he had with his former VOC colleague Joncheere. With the exception of a reference to

Monsieur Chapuis in Geneva and librarian Professor Raillard (who showed him the Holbeins in Basel), there are no references to encounters he had with others. In this sense, Loten's travel account differs greatly from Pennant's. Unknown country squire Thomas Pennant, who had not yet been elected Fellow of the Royal Society, was received in the enlightened circles of the Parisian natural philosophers and visited naturalists such as Buffon and Daubenton, the ornithologist Brisson, the celebrated Duhamel du Monceau and Chappé the astronomers.

Loten apparently brought no letters of introduction with him from his friends in the British Museum and the Royal Society, nor did he use his status as naturalist Governor of Ceylon and Fellow of the Royal Society to gain him entrance into French learned society. Thus, he was snubbed during his visit to the Parisian King's Library; in contrast, Pennant was introduced to the librarians by the French Comte de Caylus. Did Loten consciously avoid contact with the Parisian natural philosophers? If so, this would appear to be in direct contrast to his behaviour in London where he sought to gain admittance into learned and polite society. It also seems unlikely that the French language was a problem for him. Neither will his asthma complaints have kept him from social gatherings, because he was visiting numerous palaces, churches and the theatre while in Paris. Could it have been because he was too 'faint-hearted' as he had been in May 1759 when he refrained from attending Count Westmoreland's election to the position of Chancellor of the University of Oxford?²⁵ Perhaps; however, it may also have simply been a conscious decision not to meet and exchange civilities with others so that he was not waylaid from 'seeing the many remarkable things in this city'.²⁶

Loten's notes and Pennant's *Journal* also differ greatly from Tobias Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), which covers the period from June 1763 until June 1765. Smollett's *Travels* were written in letter form enabling the reader to experience the journey far more immediately than might have been the case had he written his accounts in the journal form. Smollett wrote his letters after his return to England. The *Travels* are an entertaining account of the natural phenomena, history and social life in France and Italy. Smollett's report of his journey acquired notoriety as an ill-tempered story of European travel. However, his account reflects the collective experiences of an age because he consciously and artistically makes his narrator a persona who demonstrates the medical attitudes and psychological reactions typical of 'the English malady'.²⁷ His antipathy towards France is not only a crude manifestation of xenophobia, but also a way of critiquing and reconceptualising the internal make-up of his own country.²⁸

Scottish physician, historian and author Tobias George Smollett (1721-1771) was an acquaintance of Loten's in London and like him troubled by asthmatic complaints. In November 1763, they met in Montpellier where Smollett consulted "the celebrated professor F[izes]" about his failing health. But Monsieur Fizes misread Smollett's letter and misdiagnosed his illness.²⁹ In a letter in his *Travels* of 10 November 1763, Smollett wrote about his encounter with Loten: "Mr. L— had arrived two days before me, troubled with the same asthmatic disorder, under which I have laboured so long. He told me he had been in quest of me ever since he left England. Upon comparing notes, I found he had stopped at the door of a country inn in Picardy, and drank a glass of wine and water, while I was at dinner up stairs; nay, he had even spoke to my servant, and asked who was his master, and the man, not knowing him, replied, he was a gentleman from Chelsea. He had walked by the door of the house where I lodged at Paris, twenty times, while I was in that city; and the very day before he arrived at Montpellier, he had passed our coach on the road".³⁰

Loten's journey was not typical of a British Grand Tour. In the second half of the eighteenth century, young Englishmen *had* to go travelling if they wished to move up into the higher echelons of society. However, Loten, did not go travelling in order to understand the world and human affairs better. His journey was not foremost a statement of his gentlemanly position. There is nothing to indicate that he assumed French customs or dress during his Tour. Nor did he visit the Parisian salons, or pay his respects to learned men. The *Journal* does not mention purchases of prints, paintings or naturalia. It seems that Loten travelled out of an interest in antiquities and to restore his poor health. First and foremost, Loten's *Journal* reads like the notebook of an eighteenth-century antiquarian.

The *Journal* bears evidence to his multifaceted interests. It also shows the natural connection which existed between the study of antiquities and natural history in the eighteenth century. Loten's interest in and knowledge of Dutch, French, Burgundy and English history is clear from his annotations. The *Journal* also illustrates his fascination with the French King Henry IV (1553-1610) and his entourage and with Lamoraal Count Van Egmond (1522-1568), who was beheaded at the market place in Brussels in 1568. Loten was certainly interested in paintings, but his observations of these are superficial when compared to those he made about the monuments and escutcheons in the churches. At times, his *Journal* reads like an

indefatigable quest for churches, chapels, monuments, tombstones, escutcheons and paintings. Nevertheless, it is not a dutiful account, because the descriptions are usually personal and not copied from his travel guides.

Loten's *Journal* lacks information about his personal life, which may be an indication that the account was not written exclusively for his own use. It in no way resembles Laurence Sterne's fictitious travelogue, *A Sentimental Journey*.³¹ Sterne's *Journey* sometimes alludes to observations made by Smollett in his *Travels* and he implicitly asks his readers to compare the reactions of sentimental Yorick to those of the splenic Smollett ('Smelfungus'). Loten's *Journal* is no 'Work of Redemption' as is Sterne's *Journey*; there are no references to amorous adventures or pathetic episodes, nor does it contain any of the characteristics found in the sometimes prejudiced and irascible account of Smollett's travels. Although Loten was not a philandering sentimentalist, it seems improbable that he would have disapproved of Sterne's entertaining improprieties on moral grounds. The letters that Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek during his Tour supply a more personal picture of his travels through France than his *Journal* does and they include amusing insinuations of improper guile.³²

2. PARIS

JOURNEY TO PARIS

On the 3rd of June 1763 Loten left London in his own post chaise. Remarkably, the *Journal* never mentions whether or not he was accompanied by a servant while touring, so that we do not know whether or not his factotum, Jacob Bardesyn, or his coachman travelled with him. However, we do know that he used Thomas Nugent's *Grand Tour* as his guide.³³ It was often consulted and sometimes quoted in Loten's travel narrative. On June 5th 1763, a hired packet boat commanded by Captain Boykatt took him from Dover to Calais in less than three hours. Evidently Loten no longer feared the pirates, very probably because the Seven Years War had ended. He took "lodgings at the Table Royale (as there were none available at the Lion d'Argent)" and the next day he visited Calais: "[V]iewed the Nunnery viz: a parlour & other rooms at the entrance of it, and the Chapel belonging to it, where a worship was being performed, and after it was over we, Captain Boykatt of the Dover paquet and I, were let into the parlour, where two of the nuns, both born in England, came to us, tho' behind double grates, with whom we had a long conversation & bought several things such as gold purses &c from them.³⁴ We took also a walk around the ramparts; the air was very keen & cold, I could bear both the evenings I was at Calais, the fire very well & a warm bed".

On June 7th 1763, he went to Boulogne and had "a good dinner at the Lion d'Or". He travelled to Montreuil in the afternoon; it was "situated on a pretty high hill & put up at the inn called La Cour de France, before we ascended the hill we drove for a short while thro' a fenny country where they made turf for fuel". The next day he travelled through Abbeville where he dined at *La Tête de Boeuf*; before sunset he had reached Amiens and lodged at the *Hôtel de Bons Enfants* for two nights. One day later, "I viewed the cathedral which is extremely fine and ancient & said to have been built by the English.³⁵ There were several monuments & marble images deserving the inspection of the curious and amongst the monuments those belonging to the family De Mailly are very ancient. I saw also the water castle (Chateau d'eau), a new building where the water out of the river Somme is raised by a pump into a cistern on the top of the building by two pipes and from thence conveyed thro' two other pipes to the several parts of the town. This machinery is very compact and plain, the whole being put in motion by one wheel & a stream or canal of the river.³⁶ I saw also the procession of the sacrament in a solemn manner". The following day he watched 300 of the King's Life Guards on horseback giving a show "in front of the inn where I lodged". He set out for Clermont, "& before I arrived there passed by an ancient castle kept in good repair with beautiful woods & gardens belonging to Mr FitsJames son of the late Duke of Berwick."³⁷ Afterwards he crossed the Oise, "I passed near the ancient magnificent but much decayed castle called Craye sur l'Oise belonging to the Prince of Condé, who is also Lord of Chantilly, where I arrived at the post house". The next day he visited the stables and then the Château de Chantilly: "I was moved to see there a most natural bust of Henry IV, the Swiss who shewed the house told me to have been made by an impression of a mould made upon that Great Kings face after his murder by Ravailiac. His eyes were light blue, the bust was made of wax and under a glass cover, amongst them several others I saw there a picture of William II Prince of Orange & his consort the Princess Royal of England". In the afternoon he "took a ride thro' the woods, where I saw a great many pheasants, hares, & partridges.[...] I walked thro' the Labyrinth & the

Jeu d'Oye (Gansebord spel, a game played by children) beautifully layd out in the wood – the Prince of Condé plays that sometimes there, they throw the dice in the middle and according to the numbers they throw each (all the company being on horseback) ride to the assigned place”. On June 12th 1763, Loten left Chantilly at eight o'clock in the morning. At the *Sign of the Arbaleste* in St Denis he could not say that he had dined well, “[b]ut I viewed the Tombs of the Kings in the Abbey Church with a melancholy pleasure [...] I viewed also in this church some ancient carvings representing in a most ridiculous manner some adventures of St Denis with the Devil &c.³⁸ Mons[ieur] Saintfoix in his ingenious Essays sur Paris mentions more of these but he calls them paintings, which is a mistake”.³⁹ On the 12th of June 1763 at eight o'clock in the evening he arrived in Paris, “when the custom house officers stopped my chaise, examined my pass & plumb, but did not search either the inside of my carriage or the unplumbed trunks &c. They behaved very obligingly & refused to accept the money I offered them. I took apartments in the Fauxbourg St Germain a l'Hôtel de Tours Rue de Paon”.

PARISIAN JOURNAL

Loten visited many places in and around the city in the three weeks he was in Paris. He entered these excursions extensively and exactly into his *Journal*. His annotations are like an inventory of the buildings and gardens in and around Paris. In the morning of the 16th of July 1763, “I feasted my self with a full view of the Palace Royale, belonging to the Duke of Orleans (Grandson to the late Regent); the apartments and chimneys are fine beyond imagination, & the collection of pictures is invaluable, & the quantity of those done by the best Italian Masters is almost numberless, I saw the pictures by the two brothers Van Eijck sayd to be the first inventors of painting in oil colours.⁴⁰ They lived at the beginning of the 15th century, but not long ago an Italian Lady in London almost convinced me that but to have been invented not less than 150 or 200 years before, of which she shewed me an account in an Italian book of authority. There was a portrait of Th. Morus & others by Holbein,⁴¹ also the Emperor Charles V in full armour on horseback by him in small. In the passage formerly leading to the opera house (now burnt down) I saw severall fine Wouwermans and Teniers, of which Mr Major now living in London engraved fine prints”.⁴² He visited Passy in the afternoon: “[A] village pleasantly enough situated on the banks of the Seine or rather upon the hills close to them. I saw there the room where they drink mineral waters and one, which as in other places for the benefit of exercise serves for a bal room which was kept very dirty”. On the eighteenth of June 1763, he saw the “Royal Manufactory of Tapestry, [...] which is extremely well worth seeing & after it I entered the King's Physic Garden, this in general was not kept very neat and the avenue to the mount (artificial very likely) belonging to this garden was locked, as were several places or parts of the garden, that else would have afforded something worth the curiosity of the stranger, and so were the hot-houses not permitted to be seen, & they made a sordid appearance”.

The next day he walked through the Bois de Boulogne to St Cloud where he visited the palace of the Duke of Orleans:⁴³ “[I]n it I saw his own apartment of which they made me a particular favor, tho' I paid very well for it, however I was pleased to see in them an air pump & other machines belonging to Experimental Philosophy. Amongst the pictures, I found a full length one by Seigneur d'Andelot (Admiral De Coligny's Brother)⁴⁴ of the Emperor Charles V as a child, of Henry IV & Cath[arine] De Medicis, of Mart[in] Luther & the Elector of Saxe next to one another Descartes⁴⁵ &c of Gabrielle d'Estrées and her sister the Abbess of both naked in a bath tubb about the navel & a country woman like a farmer's wife with Gabrielle's child upon her arms,⁴⁶ Mich. Angelo's⁴⁷ & Tintoret's portraits,⁴⁸ & two pictures belonging to the history of Achilles, whereof I have seen beautifull prints in London. After having dined at an inn returned to the garden of the palace where I saw plays of the beautifull waterworks. There was a great concourse of people & some of them sung & danced minuets under the trees”.

On the 21st of June 1763, he had a “full view” from the Galleries of the Louvre of the “solemnity” of the Peace of Paris: “[T]he procession of the Heralds &c Magistrates & Guests de la Ville with their Kettledrummers & Trumpeters all on horseback & all Richly dressed”. The Peace was celebrated by opening the *Place Louis XV* (currently located at the Place de la Concorde). In June of 1763, Boucheron's equestrian statue of Louis XV was placed in the middle of the Place.⁴⁹ There was a procession, fireworks and a sham battle on the Seine. This was accompanied by dancing in the streets and free wine and meat for the people. After the procession Loten went to the Church of St Sulpice, “which is very magnificent but not completed”. Later that day he drove through a part of the woods and upon returning paid a visit to the “Royal Manufactory of Glasses”. Back in town he passed the “Town House” on the Place de Greve:

“[O]n a lower ground a quantity of field-pieces was planted & Coehorn mortars, which an hour later were fired for the proclamation of the peace & the town house was illuminated”.

The next day he looked at the treasures and relicts in the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame. His attention was drawn by a “most beautifully written Missal illuminated with gold & watercolours [...] it had been written since three years past & not inferior to the ancient ones, tho’ it was in modern Latin letters”. In the chapel he was shown the “magnificently embroidered chief Banner representing Our Lady with the Infant Jesus between two other saints”. On the 23rd of June 1763, “I entered the Foundling Hospital. The children were kept very clean & each in a bed asunder, several lay upon pillows around a fire of wood & were carefully nursed & attended by nuns [...] entering [the cathedral] again I observed on the left hand a little theatre & upon it severall girls of about 5 or 6 years of age begging charities for the above mentioned hospital, & besides that a quantity of nuns & beguines surrounding me for alms”.

The 24th of June 1763, he inspected the “water engine” from the Bridge Nôtre Dame and from the Pont Neuf, “where by a great wheel (now repairing (& therefore stop) the water of the Seine is pumped up in a pipe, which by another is conveyed to the Royal Palace, the Louvre &c. I walked around the top secured by a balustrade & saw the brass or copper barrel which by the spring in it moves the playing clock-work. It is long about 2½ feet & if I remember well about 2 feet diameter”. Loten visited Monsieur De Vandeuil’s *Academie d’equitation* in the Rue des Canettes on June 25th 1763: “[W]hen I remember in what an indifferent order everything in the riding house I saw was, & what bad horsemen most of the Gentlemen of the Life Guards (quartered at Amiens) were, at once I recollected General Tuyll who can be the best judge of it,⁵⁰ told me this art to be very much neglected in France”.⁵¹ Later that day he visited the Church of the Carmelite Nuns: “[I]ts inside renders it one of the finest churches that may be seen, so, in regard to paintings as well to other ornaments, especially the Temple or Ark on the great altar, which I was told weighed 16000 marks of silver. The bas-reliefs are remarkably well wrought and strongly gilt [...] a very fine picture representing St Magdalen, who is represented there also like a most beautifull woman. It is the chef d’oeuvre of Le Brun who did it after Madame De Valiere, yet after she became a penitent”.⁵² Afterwards he visited the Observatory: “[I went] along a stair case of easy ascent, went to the top of it, which is all over paved with flint stones. Upon the second floor is drawn thro’ the whole building a neat and distinct meridian of brass laid into marble, the open circle on the top of the building continues not only to the ground floor but farther thro’ vaults ’till a great depth & is at present mostly used for observatory about the fall of bodies. The prospect from the top is very fine. I saw no furniture nor machines or instruments in the observatory & however much better building & more magnificent than the observatory at Greenwich it was by far not so clean. A man in his shirt playing upon a violin walked up and down the first floor now and then making steps for dancing & cut capers. There was a small building close to the observatory (I suppose newly made) with openings in the roof. I was told a Gentleman was there for astronomical observations, but as he was not well, it was not permitted to shew those little rooms”.

On the 26th of June 1763, Loten he was in Sceaux at the Duchess of Maine’s (1676-1753) country seat:⁵³ “[I saw] some fine paintings & lacked Japan works. The Duchess’s cabinet was adorned with small pictures [...] of Ladies & Gentlemen of Her Highness’ Court and amongst them a Duchess & severall of the first quality all represented & masked like Monkeys, as they were in this metamorphose invited & danced upon a ball Her Highness gave, who herself remained unmasked. Besides this specimen of the Duchess’s good taste I saw in another cabinet very pretty painted with birds, plants, fruits &c. I gave the Swiss a crown who shewed me the house but coming out of it, as I had in my hand a honey suckle flower which I before had cut off in a hedge, and another came to me in a most brutal manner & would arrest me for having as he told me taken it out of the garden &c”.

In the Royal Hospital des Invalides he visited the Chapel: “[W]hich in beauty & magnificence exceeds all imagination, so in regard to the ornaments in general, as in particular to the fine paintings in fresco, amongst which some of Jouvenet &c,⁵⁴ the beautifull & well executed images in marble of saints, the matchless pavement of variegated marble. I viewed one of the kitchens, one of the seven refectories for the private men and that of the officers. One says that those for the invalides at Chelsea are kept much cleaner, those for the invalid seamen at Greenwich Hospital are surely so, for those of Chelsea as I had not entered I can’t be a judge of it”.

The next day he visited five churches and admired their monuments. In the church of St Genevieve he saw the “monument of DesCartes with a beautifull epitaph & that of Rohault another renowned Philosopher of that age, whose heart is deposited here”.⁵⁵ In the evening he took a walk in the garden of the Arsenal. He went to the King’s Library on the 28th of June 1763: “It was past eleven when I got there,

not one of the librarians took the least notice of me taking me very likely by my dress for a foreigner, but as soon it struck twelve, tho' several dressed like Gentlemen & Ladies were still behind me, a man also dressed like a Gentleman in passing by very near me snubbed «Il faut sortir d'icy on ne retardera pas pour Vous». Loten's reception was considerably less polite than the one experienced by Thomas Pennant two years later. Then again, Pennant had been introduced to the librarians by the French Comte de Caylus.⁵⁶ When Loten was in Geneva in March of 1764 and arrived at the library too soon, he still recalled his reception in Paris and the fact that he had been “driven out not very politely, tho' my coat was new and embroidered, but looked then sickly and neither learned nor bluff”. The day was spent visiting three churches. The next day he walked through the galleries of the Palais Royale which were “filled with shops of lace, China & Dresden, with jewels, toys, books &c. It is most disagreeable to walk through them”.

The first part of Loten's description of Paris ends with a rather bad-tempered entry into his *Journal*: “[June 30th 1763] I got a severe return of my complaint or disorder about the stomach that deprived me of the pleasure of seeing all the cavalry belonging to la Maison du Roy in their new Regimentals reviewed by the King upon the plane of Marly”. Loten was suffering from an attack of asthma which he later described in an amusing letter to Van Hardenbroek:

“I found myself sadly disappointed & deprived of the Sight [of all the cavalry belonging to la Maison du Roy in their new Regimentals reviewed by the King upon the plain of Marly I had always longed for, by severe return of that dreadful difficulty of breathing & spasms upon the breast much worse than ever in London, for last night is the first after eight that I could bear to be in bed and enjoyed a couple of hours rest. The former eight I passed standing and leaning on a table with an inclined posture, & notwithstanding this a Swiss Physician or quack doctor will cure me within a very few days only with infusion or tea of the Veronica mas.⁵⁷ He will answer for it says he Corps pour Corps, he swears by the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, cures by his skill and the blessings of God, great and small pox, cancers & scrophulous disorders [=struma or King's evil], which he all calls des bagatelles, by the use of simplicia collected from the Swiss mountains.⁵⁸ The minerals, mercurio & nemine excepto [Latin: nothing or nobody excepted] he condemns of entirely, pernicious to the humane body. By all means he ordered me to abstain from letting of blood. I answered him I could follow his precepts in this very easily, as during almost a year I had abstained from a much more pleasing evacuation.[The following dialogues were written in French] «Oh that is wrong», he answered, «because it is the good God who commands, we Catholics reckon it a great sin to hold it back». «But Monsieur what about these priests that I see every day, who are well nourished & who notwithstanding believe in abstinence». «Oh that is another thing», he replied to me, «it is very true that some do, but very rarely since eighty years»”.⁵⁹

The remarks he makes about abstaining from evacuating seem somewhat excessive here and probably are only meant to improve his story about the Swiss physician. In the same letter he confided the following to his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek about brothels and their landladies: ‘We are always embarrassed by the Grammaires (I still think of the portrait of the beautiful Grandmere du Nord) English or French that one sometimes takes home for a conversation or the language, & in our good city of Utrecht our Cousinage does not cover the peaches’.⁶⁰

It took Loten nearly two weeks to recover from his asthma attack and to go on with his *Journal*: “I was confined to my room until the 8th when I took an airing thro' Chaillot, Passy &c. On the 9th, I could get no admittance to see the hostels of Autun & Soubise; I went into the Temple church now belonging to the knights of Malta: I could discover no remains of the Templars there”. His Parisian *Journal* continued again in more detail on July 10th 1763. On that day, Loten went to Montmorency, “delightfully situated upon a hill, from whence one enjoys a very fine prospect, but the poverty of the place is not to be described, indeed all the country places in France, I have seen yet, are in the same condition”. He described the church, its tombstones and the pictures on the pillars with their coats of arms. Two days later, on July 12th 1763, he was in Versailles. He was clearly accompanied by another, unnamed person, because he no longer writes in the first person singular but in the plural form. He may have been joined by Albert Burgart Joncheere, former prosecutor at Colombo, who had returned to Patria in 1760.⁶¹ The King, Louis XV, was in Compiègne therefore, “we had liberty to see his apartments, but whilst this palace was wanting a good deal of repair, workmen were employed & every thing in a litter, but the principle and most magnificent rooms I viewed at full leisure”. In the gallery he saw the pictures of Le Brun with the achievements of Louis XIV and “a very large picture of Darius's mother and family arriving in

Alexander".⁶² He saw paintings by Rubens and also "a few of Raphael (one I saw that was taken off from the wooden panel and put upon cloth) and several Veronese".⁶³ Loten said that he did not agree with Thomas Nugent conclusions in his *Grand Tour*, he considered the Duke of Orleans's Palace Royale superior to the Versailles Palace.⁶⁴ In the afternoon, after dinner and a bottle of Burgundy (£ 2 a bottle), he saw the "pretty little palace Trianon". Afterwards he went to the Menagerie, "where the King's Lyons, Tigers, Buffels & all sort of beasts and birds are kept. After which we walked allmost till dark in the gardens & severall bosquets (groves & fountains with water spouting representations or figures, in bronze and lead, of animals & birds with a great deal of taste executed) in the Labyrinth of which we had a key, and then returned well fatigued to our Hotel".

The following morning was spent visiting Marly, where Loten viewed the tapestry; it represented the "achievements of D. Quixotte, after paintings of Coypel, of which I myself have had very fine prints".⁶⁵ In St Germain en Laye they found the Castle by Charles V, "in decay, no furniture or paintings left". In the Little Palace, built by Henry IV, the furniture had also been removed, "I missed the pictures of Henry IV & Gabrielle d'Estrées, which were formerly here & after which I inquired". Furthermore he "heard nothing about the curious Mall which Mr Nugent says to be in this castle".⁶⁶ Before they returned to Paris they "viewed the Machine of Marly which supplies all the waterworks of that place & of Versailles, & tho' I walked around and thro' it, I could form not a sufficient idea of so complicated a machinery. The Swiss who shewed it told me it yearly costs for keeping it in repair &c 50000 crowns".⁶⁷

On the 15th of July 1763, he went to the Italian Comedy, evidently without a companion: "[W]here was performed Arlequin voleur, Archer & Juge. The actors appeared to me very good. The house pretty well, the decorations poor & old, & the musicians few and not of the best. It is in Ruë Mauconseil".⁶⁸ The next day he paid visits to St Gervais, the portals of which he "deservedly admired". The coat of arms of Charles du Fresne, seigneur du Cange, "well known in the literary world",⁶⁹ were like those of "a Lady of that name, who married my great grandfather's grandfather, Willem Schade". In the Church of the Jesuits in Rue St Antoine, he observed, "besides the remarkable curiosities mentioned in books [...] a fine neat chapel used for burying place of the family la Tour d'Auvergne". He then went on to view the Chapelle de Minisnes and the monument of Diana de France, Henry II's natural daughter.⁷⁰ He was clearly energised by so many sights and thus he went to the Church of the English Benedictines and "saw a little chapel in which the corps of James II King of England and his daughter Louise Marie Stuart lay in state". The same chapel contained a wax work head of the King which had been based on "a mould made of his face after his death". In the hall of the monastery he viewed "a good picture of Prince Edward, who in the last rebellion was in Scotland, on horseback almost as big as life". Loten also said of this portrait that it was "finely drawn with black chalk, being only a bust".⁷¹ On June 17th 1763, he went to Choisy: "I saw the great Palace, the apartments furniture of which are the neatest & cleanest yet seen in France. The Salle des Comedies is very neat and magnificent with every sort of convenience & all the best taste that can be imagined. There were several large barometers & thermometers of an extraordinary construction".

In the afternoon he viewed the Little Palace: "[W]here by favour was shewn us the moving table, which by an ingenious mechanism moves perpendicularly down & another comes up in its stead, whilst the brim, upon which the plates are, remains standing. The table was round and about for 24 persons or 18 at least. Here are four dumb waiters which can hold a good deal plates &c & dishes for removal, which likewise upon a signal with a bell go down & bring up again the necessary utensils for dinner or supper. In the room underneath towards which the tables move & from whence they come up again is a very fine pendule with a second hand on it, this lower room communicated with the kitchens from whence all is served upon the tables & all is so continued, that never there is occasion for having a servant in this room". He also gave short descriptions of several hunting pieces: "[A] lion being attacked by several bull dogs and a bear opposite to it in the same circumstances". The Little Palace also contained pictures of the four corners of the earth "most beautifully represented by groups of the finest birds to be found in any of them. I observed the Casuaris amongst the American birds".⁷² The cassowary is a large flightless bird native to the tropical forests of north-eastern Australia and New Guinea.

He then walked through the gardens that were, "[K]ept very neat under the direction of an English gardener [...] Here was a plenty of the beautifull Ceylon flower tree, there called Foula mestica of the pale red kind, Oleander. After I had walked a good deal [5 lines scratched out and illegible] the intendant treated me politely with Burgundy, cyder cream, cakes &c in his very neat apartments furnished with several fine glazed & framed prints, with birds beautifully painted in water colours". Loten added a remark here saying "I hope my late Friend Mr. Geo. Edwards has seen this pretty room". This note must have been written some time after July 23rd 1773 when the English ornithologist died.

This comprehensive programme of excursions must have exhausted Loten for it resulted in two days of “illness & confinement”, after which he “enjoyed a full view of the fine pictures in the Gallery of the Luxemburg Palace & other apartments on [July] the 20th: “The first consists all in paintings of Rubens representing the history of M[arie] De Medicis in emblematical figures. In one of ‘m was shewn me Marg[uerite] De Valois first wife of Henry IV, who is there represented as a very lusty fat woman.⁷³ In the apartments observed a picture of Johan Van Eyck representing the wedding of Cana.⁷⁴ This was extremely well preserved & done upon wood. The portrait of Anne of Cleves consort to Henry VIII by Holbein and another of the same hand of an unknown Gentleman.⁷⁵ The latter is taken from the wood and put upon canvas. A battle by the velvet Breugel,⁷⁶ & the conclusion of the Treves between Archduc Albert of Austria & Prince Maurice d’Orange by Porbus.⁷⁷ One sees here both those personages in little figures of about 2½ or 3 inches standing in friendly conversation [sic] surrounded with military men all flocking together in a pleasant woody country near a castle, colours, arms &c laying dispersed upon the ground. There was a very large Jordaens representing Les Vendeurs chassés du Temple (being 9 feet upon 13 feet 3 inches) which I thought as well done but rather in the burlesque way”⁷⁸

On the 21st of July 1763, Loten visited the Hotel de Penthièvre, the house belonging to Louis Jean Marie De Bourbon, Duke of Penthièvre (1725-1793), a French nobleman and admiral. In the large room he viewed “all of the pictures of the Admirals of France since the year 1270, all in the dress of the times & with their coats of arms, theirs names &c”. He viewed the fine gallery on the first floor “& there I took notice of the birth of Romulus & Remus (if I remember correctly) by Cortonne, of which Strange in England had engraved a good Print”⁷⁹ In the St Eustache church he “could observe nothing remarkable other than that mentioned in M^r Nugent’s Tour”. He viewed the paintings and monuments in the Church of the Augustines, among which “a very large picture, however not well done, representing the massacre of Thomas Becket A[rch]B[isho]p of Canterbury, in this church interned, tho’ I did not see the monument”. When he left the church he “observed opposite to it in a niche the head of Henry IV carved in stone with a strong likeness; this niche was in one of the tradesmen’s houses & about the height of the first floor”. In the afternoon he had “a full view of Paris from the Eastside” and another visit to the monuments of the Celestins: “I took notice of the monument of Sebastien Zamet (and his son Bishop of Langres) at whose entertainment the belle Gabriëlle was taken ill [sic!], when she died two days afterwards”⁸⁰ This again illustrates Loten’s clear fascination with Henry IV’s mistress, the beautiful Gabriëlle d’Estrées.

On the 22nd of July 1763, Loten first went to the Hotel Richelieu. However, he was not admitted “because the Marchall De Richelieu was to be expected at any moment; however, at the place de Vendôme [he] saw the house of M. Crozat (now owned by M. Thiers)”. This last remark refers to the collections of banker Pierre Crozat (*d.* 1740), the majority of which went to his relatives in 1752 – that is, Louise-Honorine du Châtel, later Duchess of Choiseul, and her younger brother Louis-Antoine, baron de Thiers (*d.* 1770). The Crozat collection was sold to Catherine II of Russia in 1772 through Denis Diderot (1713-1784). It ultimately became part of the Imperial Hermitage Gallery collection in St. Petersburg. The Crozat pictures, owned by the Duchess of Choiseul, were also sold, following her death, many of them to Catherine II.⁸¹ Loten described the collection in his broken English: “The pictures were of the most eminent Italian, French & Flemish & Dutch hands viz. Raphael, P. Veronese, Bassano, Palma, Cl. le Lorrain, Watteau, Jordans, Rubens, Van Dyk, Rembrandt, Hondshorst, Douw, Schalken, Ostade, Velvet Breughel, Wouwermans, De Witt. The Pembroke family by Van Dyk, as it is at Wilton House near Salisbury⁸² is here in small not so much bigger than the print engraved by Vertue.⁸³ An old woman reading with spectacles by Douw is an incomparable little piece; never I saw anything so well finished. A man shaving himself, with the larder of soap upon his face done in the manner of Teniers (the man who shewed us the house told me by Schalken) was like nature itself, and likewise the Dutch baker blowing his horn. The pictures of Raphael are as well preserved as if but done a year ago. Severall fine crayons by Rosalba⁸⁴ & amongst ‘m the four seasons and others as small as miniatures are there. There was an ancient like a domestic church or chapel piece that could be folded with hinges (if I remember well done in the same manner as if painted by J. Van Eyk) the doors of the case for that picture hung near it [followed a description of the coats of arms] these I take to be Montfoort quartered with Sonneveldt or Oestgeest & of Borselen, & have very likely served for a domestic chapel piece, when those families flourished”.

On the 23rd of July 1763, Loten visited the Church of the Sorbonne and the Church of St Landry. In the afternoon he went: “[T]o the French Comedy where I saw represented first the Death of Cesar and afterwards l’Anglois a Bourdeaux. The actors & musick were very good & the dancers, who performed a

very agreeable ingenious ballet relative to the Peace were excellent above all what I ever have seen of that kind". A 'Patrotical' – a one act comedy in verse by Charles-Simon Favart – followed the tragedy *La Mort de César* (1733) by Voltaire. It was performed 'to celebrate the Peace of 1763 which had united the people despite the differences between nations'.⁸⁵ Voltaire gave a crushing and most amusing review of the play, very much in contrast with Loten's sentiments.⁸⁶ According to Voltaire, theatre pieces referring to public events are always 'infantile and narrow minded', which was also the case with Monsieur Favart's *l'Anglais à Bordeaux*: '[A] work so absurd, so opposed to good intentions and all good taste [...] that those imbeciles on the ground floor of the theatre lack enough hands to applaud. [...] If I had been the inspector of theaters, I would not be negligent to transfer [...] *l'Anglais à Bordeaux* to the fairground theatres. There it would be the delight of all wiggid boys, and this is its true vocation; but the theatre of Moliere must not be desecrated by makers of platitudes, which smudge the mind by the stupid the scum of epigrams'. The actor who took part in the farce was, Pierre-Louis Dubus (1721-1799) or M. Préville; his counterpart was the actress Marie-Anne Botot (1714-1796) or Mademoiselle Dangeville. Voltaire maliciously said of them: "The first played the leading role of Summers, which mainly consists of pronouncing the French with an English accent, he delighted the crowd on the floor. Mademoiselle Dangeville played the role of a French lady, and because this charming actress has long been able to get applause for what she has not said, it was not difficult for her to create a character who is both unattractive and absurd".

On the 24th of July 1763, Loten paid a visit to Mr Joncheere at Mr Joly's country seat in Marne: "a very agreeable hilly and woody spot [...] the house is not regular but very large & richly furnished". Monsieur Philippe-Charles Joly, Grand Audiencier de France, was an acquaintance of Joncheere from the East Indies. Joly married the widow of the former governor-general of the French East Indies Company in Pondicherry, Pierre-Benoît Dumas's (1668-1745).⁸⁷ Joncheere probably got to know her while he was prosecutor of the Dutch East Indies Company in Jaffnapatnam, situated close to the French settlement on the south coast of India. Later that day, "[Loten] took a closer view of the colonnade of the Louvre from the front towards the river & the Tuilleries, & I observed how the Galeries of the Louvre joined them. Many hands were employed to repair and beautify the Louvre, as it was said some of the Royal family would come to reside there". The next day he drove to St Maur, seat of the Duke of Bourbon. The "lad [...] was taking [...] lessons", thus Loten was allowed to see the whole house: "[P]art of it was shewn being all in a litter not worth seeing, except the bathroom. Its walls all over being covered with Dutch tiles with frames of gilt stucco & the pavement of the same tiles but in order not to render it too slippery of a coarser kind".

The last part of his Parisian annotations is short. Four days passed without an entry into his *Journal*, but on July 30th 1763 he wrote that he visited the church of the barefooted Carmelites, where he saw "the fine statue of Lady Mary". This was followed by a visit to the church of the Augustines, "where after inquiry a monk let me into the chapel where the tomb of Philippe de Comines is; he sits in a kneeling posture, with his Lady upon it". The next day he was near the Tuilleries in the church of the monastery. The monks showed him the Salle des Rois, "wherein the pictures of the present King & Queen". On August 2nd 1763, he viewed the Palais des Thermes and saw again the "water machine at the bridge of Notre Dame in all its parts". For a more detailed description he referred the reader to G. Brice's *Description de la ville de Paris*, which he evidently used as a guide to Paris along with Thomas Nugent's *Grand Tour*.⁸⁸

3. TRAVELLING IN FRANCE

FROM PARIS TO DIJON

"[On] 3 Aug[ust] 1763] I left Paris for my intended journey to the south of France, passed the night at Fontainebleau after having seen the castle or palace, which they say it contains 3500 apartments. It is really very large, but not kept very clean or in good repair". Loten was not impressed by this visit and continued his journey the very next day; he "found the road thro' the wood of Fontainebleau extremely agreeable". Afterwards he "rode upon the first gravel road I saw in this Kingdom". He dined in Sens and visited the Cathedral, "which is magnificent. [...] At a grocer's I took notice of severall birds called Whoops (La Hupie) [=hoopoe] with their beautifull tufts in a cage". After staying the night in Joigny, he "found the roads partly paved in the middle (like mostly in France) partly gravel or clay". He liked the countryside: "I saw severall of those fine birds Whoops, upon the grass and near ditches in watery places.⁸⁹ [...] I took notice of a placard advertising that Utrecht velvet was sold at Auxere, where I entered the cathedral & could not discover anything remarkable [...] passed the night in a most horrible inn, inhabited by the most

insolent & brutal people (which is commonly the case along the roads & in the little common towns of France) that can be imagined. However next day I dined at Viteaux in a better house & arrived at 6 at Dijon, capital of Burgundy, where I was lodged at l'Hôtel de Condé formerly La Clôche". Following this entry in his *Journal* he added: "[D]uring my stay here I was so very ill & not able to stir abroad 'till the 17th when I took a walk thro' this agreeable city and viewed first the place of Lewis XIV and his Equestrian Statue".

He entered the Holy Chapel and among the escutcheons of the Knights of the Golden Fleece observed "Henry Borssese Seigneur De Brederode & Viënné (Vianen near Utrecht)". He thought the escutcheon to be smaller than that in the Hague, "not so fine, but kept in better order". Loten's interest was certainly also related to the fact that his great grandfather, Gasper Schade, had been acquainted with Wolphert, the last count of Brederode at the castle Baatenburg in Vianen. The walks "around the town upon the ramparts" were pleasant. He "walked almost completely around them with L^r Col. Charles Ross", a Scotsman serving in the British army. It is clear from Loten's *Journal* that he visited the monastery of the Chartreuse twice: "[C]hiefly to see the monuments of Philippe le Hardi Duke of Burgundy, & that erected to the memory of Jean sans peur, Duke of Burgundy & his consort, Margaret De Baviere; they are extremely magnificent. The statues of those three princes laying upon the two sarcophagi (for John & Margaret are both on one tomb next to one another & as usual he on the right hand of his consort) are all executed with great skill & the small humane figures represented as to walk in a funeral procession around the monuments [sic!] and which one says to be not less than 400 are very fine and of the greatest variety of mourning attitudes. Their height is about 13 or 14 inches & all white marble. Phillips has no rings on his fingers; he is entirely in armour with a mantle over it". He copied the Latin inscriptions "from the black brim of the sarcophagi" and continued his very detailed description on another page in his *Journal*. He went to the Church of the Benedictines. A learned monk, "being the historiographer of Burgundy", showed him the monuments. He saw the treasures of the church among which the "head of St Benign (as he said) encased in gold & a very ancient horn formerly in use to call the people in the church". It reminded him of the "celebrated horn of Ulphus at York in the Minister. [...] I inquired whether the bodies of the Dukes and Duchess of Burgundy deposited in the Church of the Carthusians were still entire, as I was told. He assured me that he himself had descended into the vault & found one of the bodies still entire & on the skull or head of Duke Jean he had plainly discerned the stroke of the hatchet (coup de hache) he received when murdered on the bridge of Montereau". It must have impressed Loten because the monuments were mentioned again in a letter to Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek: 'I enjoyed this place very much, notwithstanding that I was not able to leave it for four days. It is very pleasantly situated & one eats & drinks well here, although I have hardly benefited. The game is in great abundance & much better than with us, but we have the best cooks, here there is an entirely appropriate proverb « that our good Lord sends the victuals & the devil the cooks». The people here seem sociable. One has very beautiful walks & the shops are much cleaner & more beautiful than in Paris. The shrines of Philip the Bold & his son Jean Sanspeur & Marguerite De Barriere are beautiful beyond imagination. The latter was as You know killed on the bridge of Montereau 1419, for inscriptions I refer to my little journal when I return, which is, as I hope, to be next summer. I think to continue the road to Provence and the Languedoc tomorrow'.⁹⁰

In Dijon Loten also visited the Cathedral which "has nothing remarkable". The two organs in the Church of the Jacobines drew his attention because of the "grates between the organs on the balustrade [were] of excellent workmanship". Walking just outside Dijon, he "saw the first partridges in France. They are very near the same as those on the island of Java". Nevertheless several weeks before he wrote that he had seen partridges in the Woods around Chateau Chantilly.

FROM DIJON TO MONTPELLIER

On 22nd August 1763, Loten left Dijon. He spent the night in Chalons sur Saone, where he "did not find anything remarkable either in the town or in the cathedral". The following day he arrived in Macon, "where likewise I saw nothing worthy of a traveller's curiosity". The inns were "bad in both & swarming with that nasty troublesome vermin". However, he had "a tolerably good dinner" in Villefranche, the capital of the Beaujolais, on August 24th. That evening he arrived in Lyon. There "polite Mr le Blanc, having no rooms empty at his, provided me with good lodgings near his house & from thence every day very well-dressed victuals were sent to me". In January of 1766, James Boswell described Le Blanc as a *baigneur* [= bath keeper]. He "paid three livres a day, for which [he] had a room and wax candles, and was

shaved and dressed”.⁹¹ The next day Loten viewed the Bellecour: “[A] handsome square & public walk & taking a ride upon the ramparts I saw first the confluence of the Rhône & Saone & the outside & beautiful front of the Playhouse. I entered the Townhouse & took notice of the large copper or brass tables with Roman inscriptions (Lady Worthley Montague gives copies of ‘m in her memoirs)⁹² and the hall where the Assembly of the Academie de Sciences & Belles Lettres is kept. I took notice of the Roman altar for sacrifices which was made in the form of a pedestall & as I guess 4½ feet high. On one of its sides is carved the head of a ram, on the other a large knife (like a hanger or couteau de chasse) for the use in sacrifices, & upon the side between those the head of a bull surrounded with prolix inscription”.

He visited the Cathedral and looked around Pierre-Encise, “a castle where now & then state prisoners are kept”. He also took a ride along the banks of the Saone. The next day he visited the silk mill, “moved by a mule on the fifth floor, but the effects were in general the same as the magnificent silk mills in Utrecht & Derby, but not so compleate [sic!] as the latter”. This last remark referred to his visit to Derby in April 1760. He described the arms of Milan above the ancient entrance of the house as “the serpent with a child in its mouth quartered with the Roman Eagle”. The Church of the Society of Gonfalons, “appeared to me very neat & adorned with fine paintings of Rubens, La Fosse.⁹³ In the Archbishop’s palace I saw a good many fine pictures. In one of his Emin[ence]’s principal bedrooms, next to the bedside, hung the late Countess of Coventry’s print, where she is represented in dishabillé, framed & glazed. In this palace I took particular notice of a good portrait of the late Pope Benedict XIV”.⁹⁴ Finding a portrait of the beautiful Countess in this unexpected place evidently fascinated Loten. He wrote the following annotation (evidently several weeks later in Montpellier) on the last page of the first volume of his *Journal*: “I do not remember any other prints or pictures in this bedroom except the print of the late Mary Countess of Coventry, where I think this beautiful Lady is represented in the Sultana dress”.⁹⁵

On September 2nd 1763, Loten left Lyon, dined at Vienne and visited the Cathedral and the cloister. He admired the “magnificent Mausoleum of Archbishop Armandus de Montmorin”. About the city he remarked, “this Vienne is a miserable place. I layd that night at Peage de Roussillion, a village, in a horrid inn the Sign of l’Ecu de France. The beds were swarming with bugs”. The next day he arrived in Valence: “[T]he cathedral is a good gothic building but I could not discover any thing remarkable in it”. He stayed at the Inn & Posthouse *Louvre* which was “somewhat better than at Peage but unreasonably dear”. He arrived in Montelimart on the 4th of September 1763 after crossing the River Isère by ferry-boat: “I stayed the night after I passed Montelimart at the large and new Inn Palais Royal, where one is entertained badly enough. The beds were swarming with vermin, everything incredibly dear & the Innkeeper & his wife deceitfull, impertinent People”.

He arrived in Avignon on the evening of the 5th of September 1763, “but facing this city I passed first the Rhône in a ferry & besides this still a branch of it, I was there somewhat better at la Ville de St Omer”. The following day he visited the Church of the Cordeliers “in search of the beautiful Laura (Petrarch’s mistress) tomb”. He found “nothing other than flat tomb & floor stones, without inscriptions, but underneath & on the inside of an arch”. He found her grave: “[A] Cordelier accosting me told, here Laura to be buried & that according to all likelihood there never had been any other monument. And when I mentioned to him the tradition that Francis I had wrote an Epitaph for her, he replied they had it amongst the papers belonging to their convent, but that he not believed it ever to have been put up on the monument”. Loten described several tombs in the church, amongst which that of Pope Clemens VII found in the great hall of the monastery: “I saw the famous picture done by King René representing bigger than nature the skeleton of his mistress with ancient French verses in gothic letters joined to it much running in the same way like Edward the black Prince’s Epitaph at Canterbury. I could not discover the cobwebb, M^r Nugent mentions in his Tour, within the coffin.⁹⁶ Perhaps the mould here & there on the picture was taken for it, or hath covered that part”.⁹⁷

He visited the Cathedral *Notre Dame des Doms*, and viewed the tombs and in the sacristy “amongst great many rich casufles I saw a cap of Johannes XXII embroidered with pearls & figures”. He also noticed paintings “amongst ‘m several done by Vernet,⁹⁸ and that original of St Genevieve, after which the famous Balechov, who lives here, engraved the fine print”.⁹⁹ On the 8th September 1763, he went to visit M^r Balechow but he was not at home. His wife showed him “an apartment where I saw several of his prints [...] pleasantly done in pastel & opposite to it the same in print”.¹⁰⁰ He also paid visits to the Church of the Benedictines and the Church of the Jacobins. He saw “very fine pictures of Mignard” in the Chapel of the White Penitents.¹⁰¹ On the 9th September 1763, he visited the Palace of the Vice-Legat, formerly the Palace where the Popes resided. In the Great Hall he viewed the white marble statue of

Clemens XI. “The Jews, who are obliged to wear yellow or red hats for distinction the women another mark like the crest of a cock of lace on their caps, have here a small synagogue” he wrote casually.

On the 10th of September 1763, Loten left Avignon. Of the landscape Loten said the following: “Here you begin to see great quantity of olive-trees & mulberry trees along the roads. The Vebascum [=Muleins] grows every where, and amongst the birds one sees more geays, magpies, gold finches & linots than amongst us. The bull finches do not come so far towards the meridional parts”. He passed the Roman bridge and the aquaduct Pont du Gard and arrived in Nimes in the evening. There he viewed the “Roman Amphitheatre at the in- & outside”. He described the reliefs, “Romulus & Remus, the Gladiators, the Bullsheads & at the inside above the principal entry the Priapus also in bas relieve”. He added: “Who could ever, without seeing believe such a thing?”. He admired the “fine Roman pavement” and visited the “Square House, now a Roman Cath[oli]c church & formerly very likely a heathen temple”. He also saw the Temple of Diana and “scattered or masonned in walls Roman inscriptions of urns &c”. The next day he arrived in Montpellier, “30 miles from hence”. He remained here until 21 November 1763.

MONTPELLIER

On his first days in Montpellier, Loten walked through the city along: “[T]he Esplanade a fine public walk on the glaçis of the citadel, & at the other side out of the city the Peyrou, in the centre of which is the equestrian-statue of Lewis XIV, being this place another agreeable public walk chiefly after sunset, for there is not one tree or any shady place”. The King’s garden “is also a public walk”. After two nights in the inn *Cheval blanc*, he “took agreeable lodgings near the Gate of Peyrou”.¹⁰² On the 18th of September 1763 he remarked in his *Journal* that he saw “the Tom-tits (tit mouse and bluetit) as forerunners of the winter”. On September 21st 1763, he entered some remarks about the weather, which he later expanded during his stay in Montpellier: “[W]e had very hard showers, thunder & wind. The climate I find in the south of France by far not agreeable as that of Cape the Good Hope in Africa, which is still less than the climate near the Line Equinoctial where, tho’ I have been and travelled thro’ many great and small islands of that great Asiatic Indian Archipel, I hardly ever felt or observed, such stifling hot sultry days as I experienced in England, France and the Netherlands. For that purpose had provided my self with the best English instruments, and besides that a most valuable Barometer & Thermometer of the justly celebrated Prins at Amsterdam. The natural reasons are even obvious almost a priori, tho’ it is here not the place for this subject”.

Besides walking along the Esplanade, Loten also visited the Cathedral, Churches and Chapels and mentioned the arms he found on tombstones. However, in general he found “nothing remarkable”. On September 23rd 1763, he “set out for a trip to Beziers”. He had a “good dinner at the Tapis verd” in Pezenas, where “the air seems agreeable soft”. He was “badly entertained & lodged at Beziers at the White Cross”. He explained in his *Journal*: “[Bezier is a] stinking city with not a single good street or house. The cathedral is not worth seeing, but from a small square before its portal is a delightfull prospect. Tho’ this place is so much cried up for wholesomeness yet all the people looks like affected with yellow jaundice & many with crooked legs. [...] I observed that the Eng[lish] Clergymen in the south of France follow the fashion of dress with laced coats & hats, bagwig with solitaire & of course a sword, as also wore a Dutch Clergyman at Paris with only silver buttons on his silk clothes. He retained the bob-wig”.

From Montpellier, he wrote to his friend, Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, about his trip to Beziers: ‘I made a trip to Beziers which, contrary to any description of it, is the most gloomy & disagreeable place I have ever seen, except the beautiful view that one has from the Cathedral. There are few streets as wide & beautiful as the Strooy-Steeg [narrow alley in Utrecht]. I felt very ill & the three nights that I spent away from this place to make this tour to Beziers, Pezenas &c. I did not spend in bed. The air in France is much more damaging to my health than that of England or Utrecht’.¹⁰³

On September 26th 1763, Loten was back in Montpellier and on the days which followed, he made trips around the city. On the 29th of September 1763, “after several days of very bad boisterous weather & for the second time since I was here very hard thunder &c, the roses came now here in full blossom”. The rain reminded him of the Dutch island of Texel.¹⁰⁴ Loten made no further annotations until November 5th 1763, when he mentioned a trip to the “beautiful country seat (formerly) La Moisson, now fallen to ruin”. His journalistic silence may have been caused by health problems. However, it is also very probable that his social activities kept him from taking notes. On November 5th 1763, he remarked: “The Society at Montpellier is agreeable enough. There is a very good playhouse (the actors were not yet arrived) & within the same building a pretty hall for the concerto’s.¹⁰⁵ Foreigners don’t pay there during the first month of

their abode".¹⁰⁶ After having made some additions to earlier entries he had made in the *Journal* in his spare moments in Montpellier, he wrote: "To the honour of the French Ladies living at Montpellier I must say that I could not observe one that did not wear her natural own face". This evidently referred to the manner in which French women of fashion "primed and painted" their faces at that time.¹⁰⁷ At Montpellier Loten met Tobias Smollett, who, like him, suffered from asthmatic complaints. Loten did not refer to Smollett in his *Journal* however.

WINTER IN HYÈRES

On November 21st 1763, Loten continued his *Journal* in a new booklet.¹⁰⁸ He wrote that he was travelling from Montpellier to "Nismes" [Nîmes]. The next day he "only proceeded as far as Beaucair, where having stayed the night I passed the 23rd the Rhone which was almost intirely frozen, it blew very hard, & being alighted, severall persons joined with me took hold of another in order not to be thrown into the river & the same care was taken in regard to the carriage". He reached Tarascon on the opposite side of the river and continued to Pont Royal, where he lodged for the night. On the 24th November 1763, he arrived in Aix la Provence, where he visited the "townhouse & the large hall" and saw the pictures of the Kings and Counts of Provence, "which is a modern work". He also observed "a Roman inscription on the right hand going upon the staircase which is very dark & the inscription much wore out, nothing in passing being obvious to me than the name of Scotius". In the Cathedral he "saw nothing particular unless at a distance the monument of a Count of Provence of the House of Anjou, I was told his name was Charles". In the Church of St John he did not see "the tombs of the Knights of Malta, as Mr Nugent mentions 'm to be found there". The other monuments were described meticulously: "The public walk or Cours within this city is extremely fine, on both sides with double rows of trees and magnificent houses, being the middle walk adorned with four or five very beautifull fountains, some of 'm give from the springs warm water. They seemed to me of the same soft taste with the Bristol waters. Besides these one sees severall fine fountains dispersed thro' this city & severall of the streets consist of fine houses".

On November 30th 1763, Loten arrived in Marseille admiring "the quay or walk along the port is very fine [...] I viewed the narrow entrance of the harbour & the gallies. This is a town of great bustle, but a handsome one as having wide streets and fine buildings, a pretty good theatre & musick with indifferent actors & dancers. I observed there as much coughing than at the play-houses in London". One week later, on December 7th 1763, "going from Marseille to Toulon I passed the night at Cuges [-les-Pins] a miserable village". He passed through Ollioules, "an agreeable country town having a quantity of lemon & orange trees and along the road & in the gardens very agreeable rivulets descending from the adjacent rocky mountains". In Toulon he "took several walks along the post or quay which is very beautifull & so is the prospect on both sides on the men of war, which lye there without topmasts or riggings".

On December 10th 1763, he arrived at Hyères, the place that Lady Denbigh had recommended to him 'with the best intentions'.¹⁰⁹ Loten's description of the town reads: "Here is a fine prospect from the inn St Pierre towards the islands of Hyeres & the port or bay made by them & the continent, and at once this view. The place where you stand, being elevated, passes over numberless orange & lemon trees spotted and gilt with millions of fruits. But Hyeres is a poor nasty place inhabited by very bad deceitfull people, who endeavour to make entirely a property of any stranger that falls into their clutches, as was my case falling there sick the first day of my arrival, else I would have gone back to Marseilles or Aix. The first days of my stay it was a dreadfull weather and like a continual hurricane of wind, rain & thunder. The fortress Bregancon situated in the sight of my windows at no great distance was blown up.¹¹⁰ The powder magazine taking fire by the lightening. Notwithstanding this far advanced winter season, the daisies along the roads, violets, gilly flowers, carnations, jasmins, hyacinths are all in full bloom, tho' one sees here not so many roses as at Montpellier, where gardens are more cultivated. Here every thing is almost a mere productions by nature. They take only pains for the orange trees by which the inhabitants get their livelyhood. I saw and tasted China-oranges of the common size, the inside of which is dark red, being this sort better than the common sort. Of the latter great many chests are daily embarked for Marseille &c and farther to England, Holland &c. It is said the red sort were first discovered not long ago, being it unknown from whence they came. Perhaps it may be a *lusus naturae* or rather a new species namely caused by difference of climate & soil".

He wrote to Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek from Hyères two months later saying: 'In my Provençale solitude, I have begun to feel a little better having suffered a from severe attack of asthma which has kept me sitting up straight for several nights to prevent myself from suffocating & as a consequence of which I

have suffered from a cruel insomnia. I am moreover housed in a miserable inn which I shall leave as soon as I can move myself into a better accommodation in town, if I dare to give it this misleading name. I am determined to stay there until the beginning of the spring when the weather will enable me to travel through Lyon and Grenoble into Geneva & Switzerland'. It was Loten's intention to return to London through Burgundy & Paris.¹¹¹ Loten concludes his winter recollections with an awful story which he heard whilst still in Hyères: "On the high ridge or mountain close at the n[orth] side of the little city of Hyeres stands a castle inhabited by M.de Clapiez de St Trophé,¹¹² whose brother, a Chevalier de Malthe, was buried alive a few years ago. A few weeks later, the vault in the church's chancel was opened for the reception of the corpse of a child, belonging to that family. The poor Commandeur was found sitting on his knees out of his coffin and having eaten partly his own hands.¹¹³ Notwithstanding this miserable example they continue in the coldest season to bury there the dead generally within the 24 hours".¹¹⁴

In Hyères on December the 18th 1763, Loten received a letter from his brother Arnout in which he announced the death of his father, Joan Carel Loten which had taken place on December the 1st 1763.¹¹⁵ The language of the announcement was stately, although more personal sentiments about their mother were also expressed, 'in her way, mama is healthy, she is very sorrowful and although overall rather composed in view of her circumstances'. The funeral had taken place in the Jacobi Church in Utrecht on December 8th 1763. According to Arnout Loten, 12 or 13 coaches were used in the funeral procession. Loten answered his brother's letter on the 25th of December 1763.¹¹⁶ In January 1764 he wrote his brother to thank him, 'for further details about the funeral, despite your many activities, which I can well imagine, and for the care and trouble you have taken for him for so many years'. He enclosed a deposition by a French notary which legally confirmed that his brother could represent him in matters concerning the inheritance.¹¹⁷

FROM HYÈRES TO GENEVA

On the 29th of February 1764, Loten left Hyères "where my indisposition had so long confined me" and travelled along "very bad & rocky roads". He spent the night at Brignoles, "a small town situated in a very agreeable country". The next day he was travelling on a road, where "all the ditches & splashes were frozen again & the nearly adjacent mountains covered with snow". He went to Aix, "where during the greatest part of my stay the weather was very raw & snowy, but one is pretty well accommodated at Hotel St Jacques at a reasonable rate, the people being frank & honest, only the house & apartment dirty". On the 7th of March 1764, he left Aix "in cold but dry weather, all splashes & ditches being covered with ice". After a night in Orgon, "where one had with the beginning of it pouring showers of rain & after these a great deal of snow. However in bad weather I passed the 8th in the morning with a ferryboat the River Durance near the Carthusian Convent Bonpas, which makes a fine & magnificent appearance. About dinner time arrived at Avignon". Three days later, in "extremely fine weather", he travelled from Avignon to Montelimar from, which he "was put up at the Hen & was served better there than at the grand new house before". He shared a meal with chevalier Berage, whom he had met before in Aix en Provence.¹¹⁸ On the 12th of March, he visited "Tain or Tein" where he met Mr Mur, a wine merchant, "who formerly with his excellent hermitage wine had travelled to England" and whom he had met before in Montpellier.¹¹⁹ He "drunk some of his excellent hermitage wine & ate some grapes of the year before which looked and tasted as fresh as if they had been picked just now". He spent the night in St Vallier and then proceeded to Vienne, where he was "recommended to a very good house being the post house, where I had an agreeable prospect upon the Rhône besides a very good supper & bed".

He passed Lyon (14th March) and Nantua in Bresse (15th March), "situated on the borders of a lake between high mountains covered with firs & box trees. [...] Near this place one ascends a steep mountain with frightfull precipices, and having got for the second time in France a female postillion, & besides that she being an unskillfull rider, I was a good while retarded by waiting for another. If remember well this passage is called Cerdon. In this country they have the finest poultry I ever met with any where, in general exceeding the capons of Java's East coast or Breda in Dutch Brabant". The next day he arrived in Geneva, the city of John Calvin (1509-1564), having passed the Fortress La Cluse: '[O]n the slope (if we may call those precipices a slope) of steep mountains, I was stopped by the Sergeant of the Mainguard who, having greedily accepted a couple of 24 d. pieces, wanted me to show my passports to the French Commander, and lucky I had one given to me by the States General of the United Provinces; & after the Commanding Officer, an Irishman by birth, had seen it, I was permitted to go on". He travelled "into this renowned city

(Geneva) over a very decayed bridge”. The guards were inspected, “not even looking quite well as the City Soldjers at Leiden commonly called Stoepjes”.¹²⁰ At Geneva he “was lodged at the Balance d’or, the scales of which indeed are turned by gold & interest, as one pays here at least equal to the most imposing inns of France & every sort of provisions, fowls, meat &c one consumes here is of the worst kind. Besides that the usage one meets with here is extremely uncivil”.

4. SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRIAN FLANDERS

GENEVA

In the tiny Protestant Republic of Geneva, Loten visited the Cathedral “or St Pierre” and inspected the tombs. From the entries in his *Journal* it is clear that he was no admirer of the strict orders which the Geneva reformed church enforced upon its inhabitants. It was a closed society and it probably reminded him of his youth and his Dutch reformed relatives in Utrecht and Wijk bij Duurstede. In a chapel with the tomb of Henry, Duke of Rohan, “I durst, considering the dampness, not stay long enough to copy the inscriptions, which, he being the chief leader of the protestants and besides that a great man, is very pompous. Amongst other grand titles he is stiled there Scotiae Princeps, and bears England & Scotland in the 1st of his quartered coat of arms with Rohan sur le tout (escutcheon of pretence)”. It is clear from the ironical tone that the *Journal* entries take here that Loten mocked what he saw and experienced in Geneva. Thus, he noted that the pews in the Church did not bear coats of arms, with the exception of one, “belonging to a private inhabitant of this city”, who “claimed to be related to a mistress of the Grand Monarque”.

Loten clearly had little esteem for the character of Geneva’s inhabitants, “tho’ several of ‘m happily abroad assume all kind of character”. In the Town hall he saw pictures of several European monarchs: “[B]ut the pictures of the judges without hands (not to take bribes) whom M^r Nugent mentions, are not to be found.¹²¹ Why, nowadays such an amputation would not avail a bit, as a person having lost both hands by a cannonball may be, by an admirable mechanism soon enabled to take snuff &c. I think my ingenious friend Mr Hogarth hath humorously introduced such a maimed Gentleman in one of his election prints.¹²² And so perhaps those insignificant pictures are wisely removed”. He described the Lake of Geneva pointedly: “No gallies nor frigates upon the lake are in being. I believe a fertile imagination has taken some flatbottom’d boats laden with wine or wood for ‘m. Notwithstanding this absence of a Republicial Navy on the lake I took pleasant rides along it in the finest weather imaginable, though the mountains all around being covered with snow”. In the same style, Loten recounted Geneva’s industry: “Upon inquiry Mons^r Chapuis told me, as also he told me that constantly, in the branch of watch-making here are employed about 10000 hands, & amongst ‘m an excessive number of masters. If I remember well I understood about 4000. Another brought this number to 15000 in all. Accordingly to the English meaning I take here only one hand per head”. Geneva’s dress code was also the focus of his irony: “A foreigner may dress himself here like he pleases & so those of this city when in foreign service. But the other subjects of the Republick are not allowed to wear any gold or silver on their clothes & the Ladies restrained to a limited quantity of jewels, and in one room is not permitted more than one looking glass”. Finally, the way Genevans prepared their fish drew Loten’s attention: “I had really very fine perches of 8 or 9 inches. When they are dressed here they look like already digested and taste mealy & half rotten. But they told me this to be the only true way of dressing fish well, assuring me nobody in Holland to know how to dress fish. And they proved sufficiently their pre-eminence in dressing fish above all others as it were the cooks of Geneva who are favoured with sending the fish ready dressed to his most Christian Majesty at Versailles”.

On the 23rd of March 1764, he left “this remarkable city” and continued his Tour. Unlike other continental travellers of this period, such as Thomas Pennant and James Boswell, he did not pay a visit to Voltaire at Ferney or Rousseau at Môtiers.¹²³

TRAVELLING IN SWITZERLAND

Loten travelled through Versoy, “a small town upon an interjacent of France & bearing an appearance of misery” and afterwards through Coupet, “which not belonging to that Kingdom looks much better”. He dined in the *Pais de Vaux* at Nyon, “pleasantly situated near the Lake of Geneva”. On his way to Morges

near Rolle, he still saw “Rosemarii shrubs wild along the roads, & some cow-slips with thousands of primroses of a pale yellow color”. He spent the night at the inn *King of Prussia* in Morges, “where one is well entertained”. On the 24th of March 1764, he passed through Lausanne, “the cathedral seems a stately building & neatly in repair, & the castle makes the same appearance. I hurried on in case of meeting any accident upon the steep and extremely bad roads on the other side of Lausanne that it might happen in the daytime. But I passed them, however with great fatigue, happily & having dined at Montprevert, put up for the night at Moudon a small city belonging to Bern, where the townhouse is the principle inn & it’s landlord a rogue”.

The following day he drove through Payerne and Avenches and reached Morat. There he “passed the Chapel which contains still a great many bones & death heads of the Burgundy Army of Charles the Bold, defeated by the Swiss before this town”. This remark refers to the Battle of Morat which took place on 22 June 1476. During this battle, the Burgundy army commanded by Charles I, the Duke of Burgundy (1433-1477), was defeated by the army of the Swiss Confederation. Loten also observed: “Two well dressed Ladies sitting upon a bench with their backs against this chapel seeing my curiosity in copying the inscriptions turned about the one putting her arm between the wooden rail, into the chapel & having taken out a large shin-bone of a slain Burgundy Warrior presented it, very courteously to me”. Loten diligently took note of the Latin inscriptions and remarked: “It would be still more decent if this chapel was thus railed in that nobody could take out the bones as great many do. My postillion broke severall & threw them away. Is this a doing for the Pia Posteritas [dedicated descendants]? Most of the citizens of Morat had formerly a couple of crossed bones with a skull for ornament’s sake & to remember the bravery of their ancestors at their houses, laying on the tops of their large family-Bible before their mirror or greatest looking glass”.

In Morat, “very pleasantly situated on a hill of an easy ascent near the lake”, Loten enjoyed better fish than he had tasted in Geneva; of it he said: “excellent fish well dressed but very dear, not that it is really so but they make travellers pay at least as much than at Richmond or other places in England”. He dined in the *Fauloon* in Berne on the 26th of March 1764. The inn was, he said: “an excellent & magnificently built inn where one is well used”. The terrace in front of the Cathedral offered a “very beautifull view” and an inscription: “A young man on horseback leapt with his horse from it, which there at least is between 60 and 70 feet. The horse was killed & he hath both his legs broken”. Its history could “more amply be read in the *Delices de la Suisse* printed in Amsterdam by the Wetsteins and Smith 4 vol. 8^o or 12^o, a reference to another one of Loten’s travel guides”.¹²⁴ He described the portal of the Cathedral: “A vastly droll representation of the day of the judgement carved in stone. On the right hand side of it, the Pope is ushered into heaven by the angels with great pomp, & on the left you see the Emperors & Kings in the flames with many other odd figures”. Loten also viewed the monuments in the Church. The next day he dined at Soleurre (Solothurn), “not so fine a city [...] and the steeple of the Collegiate Church being fallen”. He described the ancient tower, “adorned with a clock, dial &c and with an inscription maintaining no place to be older than Solothurn”. The night was spent in Balestat in “a miserable place & bad inn (the White Horse) kept by most brutish & imposing people”. On the 28th of March 1764, Loten “dined at Liechthal [...] on both sides of the road one has continual woods of oak of the biggest size & strait like arrows, whose equals I never beheld”. Later that day he arrived in Basel.

BASEL

Loten visited the Cathedral or Minister in Basel and “observed inscriptions above tombstones of bishops of 1201, 1275, 1325” and other monuments in the church. These were described in some detail in his *Journal*: “I viewed the Dance of the Dead against a wall of a church yard (this church is now for the use of the French prot[estant]s) commonly reckoned work of Holbein.¹²⁵ But never I saw a more beautifull performance of his than the passion of the saviour in eight compartments carefully kept within a very neat cabinet of oak at the townhall.¹²⁶ One loses himself by the admirable expression of it”. The Marquis of Baden Durlach “has a spacious house in the most elevated part of the city, this contains a vast number of pictures mostly portraits & amongst them several good ones of Holbein”. He probably saw the other portraits in the collection much to his satisfaction: “There was a prodigious collection of illustrious men in small pictures of 9 or 10 inches high. It began with Lamoral Count Van Egmond beheaded 1568 which was there twice the names are written on ‘m. I could not discover his fellow sufferer & relation Philippe Baron de Montmorancy Count of Horne”.

He walked through the city and spoke of the panorama on the Rhine: “The walk of St Peter is pleasantly enough, but has no prospect. The platform or terrace near the Cathedral commands a fine prospect of the Rhine, but is not to be compared with Belvedere at Nimwegen or with that on the hill (on which the King’s table) near Rhenen in the Province of Utrecht”. In the Arsenal, which he considered inferior to the one he saw in Berne, he described Charles the Bold’s helmet, his silver gilt trumpets and his kettledrums, “those warlike musical instruments don’t differ of those now in use”. He lodged at the *Savage*, “the Landlord himself deserved that name pretty well tho’ his was Merian & descended of one of the patrician families of that city”. On the 30th of March 1764, he extensively noted the paintings, prints and documents of Hans Holbein the Younger: “In the Library Professor Raillard shewed me Erasmus’s [Greek New] Testament written with his own hand, he calls himself there Rotterdamus, & his Praise of Folly in Latin printed (4°) but with figures drawn by the pen & hand of Holbein, who upon the brim has wrote (as the beginning of the book) that he drew all this within the compass of ten days & for the amusement of Erasmus.¹²⁷ The professor made me observe how the latter him self was represented on the brim of the book as sitting in his study, & tho’ no name is wrote to it every body may observe the great likeness & attitude,¹²⁸ & that Erasmus as it seems was piqued at it for, but a few pages farther, where Holbein has represented a gluttonous fool, Erasmus himself hath wrote above it Holbein.¹²⁹ I saw a sketch that pleased me very much representing Sir Thomas More and family. If I remember well it was about but hardly 2½ feet wide an 2 high the names were wrote above the heads of the persons.¹³⁰ I could give a more prolix account of it but a print (being a pretty distinct tho’ not a good one) in Knight’s Life of Erasmus renders it unnecessary. The professor continued to tell me an English Gentleman has informed him the picture of this of the same sizes still to exist in the family of Vane or Fane in England.¹³¹ Erasmus’s picture is there more than once. That in profile being small is reckoned the best, & amongst Holbein’s sketches upon paper is Erasmus’s portrait done just after his death.¹³² The picture of the dead Christ in a laying posture bigness of life is reckoned a master piece.¹³³ The Lord’s Supper is there twice by his hand, but one much better than the other, one being roughly done & when young.¹³⁴ There are also ten very fine sketches in Indian ink of this same master representing the Saviour’s Suffering in attitudes quite different from that at the Town house,¹³⁵ and also Amerbach’s portrait by his pencil.¹³⁶ As I take but notice of the pictures that struck most my fancy so amongst the books I observed chiefly one printed a[nn]o 1459 & the name of Johannes Fust after it & with movable or separate types.¹³⁷ And I had also a view of the Decrets of the Council kept at Basel in a folio M[anu]S[cript]”.

ALSACE & LORRAINE

Loten left Basel a day later and drove into the Alsace along the “famous fortress New Brisac, which is kept in very bad repair”. The night was spent in Markelsheim. At noon on the following day, he arrived in Strasbourg. He inspected the Arsenal, “stocked with canons & arms of all sorts”. The steeple of the Cathedral “did not appear to me higher than that at Utrecht, but rather handsomer & more pierced”. He viewed a parade “of about 1000 men”, among which “a detachment on horse of the Royal Allemand Cuirassier. I saw two or three different detachments on horseback & under arms. There are some fine men under ‘m but in general both men & horses are by far not equal to English or Dutch Dragoons, but their caps are very high and their coats very long till past the calves of their legs”. He paid short visits to the Town Hall (“not worth seeing”), New Church (“Monument of Marshall de Saxe”) and the Bishop’s Palace (“Magnificent”). The Citadel did not impress him because it was “falling into ruin & only kept in possession by a detachment of 10 or 12 men”. He “found the air extremely mild, the sky serene, the limetrees and goseberries were opening their leaves”.

On April 4th 1764, he continued his tour and “passed by Saverne, a small place upon the ridge that separates the Elzas from Lorrain”. He went “thro’ Phaleburg, a small fortified town & belonging to France & after it thro’ Sarrebourg, another little town”. The next day he “saw the Palace of King Stanislaus at Luneville.¹³⁸ I saw him who has at present, a^o 1764, 87 years dine very heavy in an open salon in the garden. He wore a plain snuf coloured suit of clothes of fine cloth, with a silver star of the order of the Holy Ghost. He is still a very fine Gentleman of an open good natured countenance. His Life Guards are in yellow regimentals faced with black velvet & laced with silver & black silk stockings and ditto velvet waistcoats & braces. The belts both for carabines & swords also yellow laced with silver and all clean”.

That night he stayed in Nancy, “this capital of Lorrain is but of a middling size but is the finest place I ever beheld & some parts of it exceed allmost imagination”. He found it praiseworthy: “The Place Royal is a magnificent square [...] and so is the other, if I remember well called la Place de Stanislaus. The iron gates

&c by which all the avenues to 'em can be shut are of so exquisite workmanship that if they were of gold they could hardly have been higher finished. And the buildings surrounding are of the greatest symmetry. The Townhall is magnificent to the utmost & the inside is adorned with severall good & grand pictures". In the Library there were "severall pictures of Gentlemen and artists who excelled in some sort or proved usefull members to society by their inventions. It contains also a good many medals, models of machinery & mathematical & physical instruments". The house of the Governor was "fine" and the Playhouse, "very fine & magnificently decorated & gilt". Place Stanislaus terminated with the "fine Hôtel of the Intendant built partly upon arcades thro' which you can have an agreable view and entrance to a beautifull garden where the public walks". Loten exclaimed: "What a pity it is that all those magnificent and fine improvements all executed by the hands of Lorraine artists & by the excellent taste of this munificent K[ing] Stanislaus will soon be overcast with a crust of nastiness when after his death Lorraine shall fall into the hands of the French".

Before he departed Nancy on April 6th 1764, he visited the "primatial church" and admired the monuments and tombs of the Dukes of Lorraine. His route took him past Toul, where he glimpsed the cathedral, "which is very fine". From there he travelled to Bar le Duc, St Didier to Chalons sur Marne, a "large & ugly city, where one hardly sees a good house". However, the Cathedral and Nôtre Dame "deserved to be seen". Of it he said: "A prodigious deal of beggars is here & tho' the weather is very fine & unseasonably warm, they mostly all wear muffs & so do the Ladies here and French Officers". Loten added that at the *Palais Royal* inn, one is "extremely ill used [...] very dear & everything so ill dressed that one consumes nothing of it".

AUSTRIAN FLANDERS & BRABANT

Three days later Loten arrived at Rheims. The Cathedral was "magnificent & grand but don't entertain much an antiquarian". The cloisters however, "contain good epitaphs [...] more ancient than the 15th century". In the Abbey Church of St Remy he saw "a precious shrine richly adorned with gold & gems". The Church of St Nicaise had "a remarkable front & adorned with an odd representation of the last judgement. On the left side the devils are employed in loading & packing the souls upon a cast, a monkey is the driver and away with them". From Reims he continued his tour through Berry en Bac to Laon along "the most terrible deep & dangerous roads in regard to the sucking & depth of the clay & mire". On the 12th of April, he "passed thro' St Quetin, where all my trunks were examined at the custom house". He arrived at Cambrai before sunset. He visited the Cathedral, four churches and the town hall. During his visit to the Cathedral, he made a note of the names of the families he found on the tombs there. In Cambrai "they gave me for supper very excellent and well boiled cod".

Two days later at Valenciennes, Loten visited the Great Church, "dedicated to Our Lady" and St John's Church. The tombs and coats of arms of the latter church were amply described in his *Journal*. According to Loten, "Mr Nugent calls this church a second Westminster Abbey". He had a hard time finding the monuments of the Counts of Blois "without favour & assistance of the friers, because the new wainscoat & carvings around the chancel cover them". Neither in the "Church of the Augustines, nor of the Jesuits, nor in the chapel of St Peter", did he find anything "worth notice". The following day, his "trunks &c underwent another examination upon entering the Queen of Hungary's dominions at Quievrain". He arrived in Mons in Hainaults at about noon. Upon arrival he went directly to the Great St Waltrud's church: "The service was performed. Three of the Chanoinesses in their spiritual dress & robes were then in their stalls. They have Madame Royale sister to the Emperor at their head for Abbess". Loten studied the inscriptions and tombs in the church and its chapels. He visited a further four churches, without making many comments about them in his *Journal*. He arrived in Brussels on 16 April 1764 and lodged at the *Sign of Emperess*. The next day, "after having seen the parade", he visited the Arsenal and saw "ancient curiosities, chiefly consisting in weapons, armours &c". He then inspected the Stables of Prince Charles-Alexander of Lorraine (1721-1780), the Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, and saw the St Gundule or Great Church, the Chapel of the Sablon, the Church of the Benedictines and the Palace of "the said Prince formerly the House of the Princes d'Orange ..., who has collected there a magnificent & well stocked cabinet of natural history, where I found one of those most curious birds well preserved & stuffed, which we call Kroon vogels, being a wood pigeon of the size of a full grown turkey, very likely and according to the account one of those I presented a^o 1758 a live to the Prince of Orange.¹³⁹ Besides a large collection of mathematical & physical instruments. There was a variety of mechanical models & a laboratory for chemistry, which His R[oyal] Highness him self makes use of".

Hereafter he went to the townhouse, saw the tapestries, “made in 1717”, visited the tapestry factory and then the former *Hôtel d’Egmond*, “with its beautiful gardens, but all the furniture & memorable pictures are taken out”. He evidently knew that the present Count Van Egmond whose “real name is Pignatelli”, lived in Paris. Loten “walked thro’ the park taking an outside view of the house where Charles V lived or as they tell, retired after his abdication”. He then visited the Chapel of the Sablon again. He looked for the “painted glasses given by William I prince of Orange & his consort Anna Van Egmond”. Loten noted that she was the daughter of Lamoraal Count Van Egmond. He discovered that the painted glasses “tho’ not long ago were still extant, at present nothing is to be found anymore”. On April 21st 1764, Loten “took a drive to Tervueren, ancient country seat of the Dukes of Brabant, & now of Prince Charles [Alexander of Lorraine] [...]. It is old & pleasantly enough situated, has several good pictures, but is not kept in the best repair. There are pretty pleasure baths”.

Loten set out for Antwerp the next day and passed through Mechelen. In the Cathedral he “saw many modern hatchments [...] modern tombstones”. He could not find the monument of “Margaret of England consort to Charles the Bold [...] & a recollection told me it was formerly there, but very likely removed to make room for that of the Duchess d’Aremberg”. Of the castle of Vilvorden he said: “is very much falling to ruins & alike that of Duurstede near Wijk”. In Antwerp he visited the Cathedral and “saw that matchless picture of Rubens the descent from the cross & near it that fine head of Jes. Christ by an unknown hand”,¹⁴⁰ and also “many hatchments”. He admired the “very magnificent glass windows representing Henry VII marrying Elisabeth of York”. He described the painter Quentin Matsys’s grave “on the left side against that fine steeple when one enters the Cathedral, one sees carved in stone the bust of the celebrated Metsys who from blacksmith became a great painter”. Loten copied the inscription into his *Journal*. Next he took a short walk along the river: “From the quay or beach near the Schelde one had a fine prospect but the country is very low. Above the exchange I viewed the Academy for painting & amongst the pictures observed that of Rubens’s first wife, & his chair.¹⁴¹ In the town house I saw the picture of Margaret of England consort to Charles the Bold, and that of himself & many others”. In the St Jacob Church he “saw Rubens’s Chapel, where, in the altarpiece, he painted himself in the figure of St George”. In the Jesuit church he looked at “an Assumption by Rubens”. He corrected himself some time later by inserting, “I’ve since read that it is of Van Dyk”.¹⁴² In the Church of St Michael’s Abbey, Loten “viewed at full leisure” the church “& that celebrated picture by Rubens l’Adoration de Mages”.¹⁴³

On April 24th of 1764, Loten returned to Brussels. In St Gobert’s Church he “saw the Saviour’s sufferings represented in eight pieces (if I remember this number well) by Holbein, and the Archdukes of Austria Albertus and Isabella with another large picture betwixt ‘m all by Rubens”. He again studied the hatchments and wrote about these in his *Journal*. A couple of days later, he was in Ghent where he visited several churches and in the St Michael saw “a fine piece of Rubens representing the crucifixion of our saviour, and a most beautiful picture of de Crayere Rubens’s disciple”.¹⁴⁴ He would have taken a trip to “Sotteghem” [=Zottegem], “but heard the roads thither not to be passable with a carriage, for I was willing to see there the monument erected by Lamoraal Earl Van Egmond for his mother Francoise de Luxemburg”. After he was beheaded at the Brussels Great Market place on the 5th of June 1568, Count Lamoraal Van Egmond was buried in the family vault in Zottegem. From the postman Loten heard that the monument “had been inclosed within a vault & [that] perhaps [it] would not be possible or permitted to get the sight of it”.

Loten found himself in Kortrijk on the 27th of April 1764. He found it “a pretty town, carrying on a great trade in table linen & all other sorts, beds &c. The Castlerie is a very good inn”. He visited two churches, one “not remarkable”, and the other “has a good picture”. The following day he continued his journey to Lille. His trunks were again examined by French custom officers, “I came off with a fee”. He stayed at the *Hôtel Royal*; from there he visited several churches and chapels. In the Chapel of Notre Dame de la Fiëlle of the St Peter’s Church he was impressed by the “most magnificent tomb of black marble or touch stone with the statues bigness of life of two Princesses & one Prince in the middle of brass laying upon it”. He copied the inscription into his *Journal* and added each of the Princesses has “two little dogs with collars & bells on their feet, which one does not see. The Prince has a lion”. On the 30th of April 1764 he arrived in St Omer, where he “lodged in the post house which is a good inn”. Indefatigably Loten again visited churches and took notes about the monuments he saw.

The *Journal* suddenly concludes: “after this I arrived 1st May at Calais, the 2nd at Dover, and the 4th I reached London”. On 15 May 1764, eleven days after his arrival in London, he wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek saying that his health had not improved during his tour in France.¹⁴⁵ This seems astonishing in view of the vitality and high level of activity he displayed and recorded in the *Journal* of his Tour. At the

back of the first volume of his *Journal*, Loten included a table containing the itinerary of his tour and the distances between the places he visited in English miles. On the basis of this register, we know he travelled about 2500 English miles in eleven months.¹⁴⁶

¹ See Black (1999), *Grand Tour*, page 9.

² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 19 January 1763. Original in French. The reference to the Esplanade is to the elegant Peyrou promenade with on the upper terrace the Place de Peyrou with the statue of Louis XIV on horseback walled in with a balustrade with statues of eminent persons and other mural decorations.

³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 18 February 1763.

⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 151 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1396.

⁵ Black (1999) in his *Grand Tour* gave an analysis of the changes in attitude to travelling between the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 9 May 1763.

⁷ Chambers, *Cyclopaedia* (1779), volume 2, Hypochondiria, page 1102.

⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. HUA.GC 750 nrs 1386 and 1387 two notebooks with annotations of Loten's "Journal of my tour thro' France, Switzerland, Alsace Lorraine, Flanders, Brabant &c 1763 & 1764". Part 1 (nr 1386) covers period 3 June 1763 until 25 October 1763. Part 2 (nr 1387) covers 21 November until 30 April 1764.

⁹ Refers to Robert Dodson's *Oeconomy of human life* (1751), under heading Prudence.

¹⁰ This referred to a custom-made 'fowler' or 'gentleman's gun', evidently ordered some time before from the London Barbar gunsmith's firm. Lewis Barbar (or Barber), from 1717-1741 *Gentleman Armourer* to George I and George II and his son James Barbar, *Gentleman Armourer* from 1741-1760 to George II. In May 1767 Loten showed his Barbar fowling gun to Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek, who to Loten's astonishment kept the gun and Loten "heard never anything afterwards about it". (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404). See also Chapter 6, paragraph 'Loten in Utrecht 1772-1773'.

¹¹ These collections were dispersed after Loten's death in 1789 and now preserved in the Natural History Museum London, Teylers Museum Haarlem, Rijksprentenkabinet Amsterdam and Nationaal Archief in The Hague. See also Chapter 9, Loten's Natural History Collection.

¹² According to an entry in his notebook, the 'sauce pan' consisted of a large silver sauce pans containing 31oz 19 dn silver, which costed £ 13 shilling 16, the two smaller ones weighed together 13 oz and costed £ 6 shilling 6. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1385).

¹³ Loten referred to *Hedendaagse historie, of tegenwoordige staat van Groot Brittanie ...* by Thomas Salmon (1679-1767), published in 1754-1755 as no 34 in a series in Amsterdam by Isaak Tirion in two volumes; *Hedendaagse historie, of tegenwoordige staat van Frankrijk ...* by Thomas Salmon, published in 1757-1758 in Amsterdam in two volumes by Isaak Tirion was no 35 in the series.

¹⁴ In a letter to his brother Arnout Loten referred 12 November 1773 to his Camera Obscura.

'If You would have a pleasure in using it, You have the liberty to do so. It can also be used to view prints or drawings. Perhaps sometimes we shall view through it together, which I tried until now only one time and that was in 1763 before I went to France'.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 November 1773.

¹⁵ Hendrik Prins working in the 1750s in the Amsterdam workshop of Gabriel-Daniel Fahrenheit. According to Petrus van Musschenbroek 'the noble workmen' G. Fahrenheit and H. Prins who 'endeavoured as best they could to bring this instrument [the thermometer] to the highest possible level of perfection'. Prins's instruments are remarkable for their finish and for the flawless engraving of the scale. See Daumas (1972) page 249.

¹⁶ See Black (1999), *Grand Tour*, chapter 3, pages 86-109.

¹⁷ This is possibly Colonel Ross (of Inverchaseley) who met James Boswell on 21 and 22 December 1765 in Marseille. Boswell was short of money and "made Ross give me what he had saying 'Everyman give me his purse.

Collect for the poor' “. Next day he returned Ross his money, but Ross had been with his banker and offered him more gold. “This will do him honour while I live”.

See Brady & Pottle (1955) pages 254-257.

¹⁸ *Vanden Yver Frères et Cie* in Rue Royale Paris, founded in 1756 by two Dutch merchants P.F. Goossens and Jean-Baptiste Vanden Yver, was one of the most important banking houses of Paris at the end of the eighteenth century. During the American War the firm undertook the representation of many Dutch merchants and shipowners as well as other victims of the seizure or capture of the French pirates. As a banking house it was one of the institutions joined by the French minister Necker's merchant house and which took part in all big business operations during the Old Regime period. On December 8th 1793, Jean Baptiste Vanden Yver (66) and his two sons Edme-Jean-Baptiste (32) and Antoine-Augustine (29) were condemned to the penalty of death by guillotine together with their illustrious client Madame du Barry.

The former prosecutor at Colombo Albert Burghart de Joncheere repatriated from Ceylon in 1759 and lived in the Brigittestraat in Utrecht. In March 1760 he departed with his wife to Paris.

HUA.GC nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 21 March 1760; 13 June 1760.

¹⁹ Sir Thomas Foley, English banker at Paris. Foley was also James Boswell's banker and postal address during his stay in Paris in 1765 (Pottle, 1953, page 344).

²⁰ The French Louis d'or and the British Guinea had a comparable value in the eighteenth century. Evidently Loten had to pay 2½ % as an exchange rate.

²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1386 and 1387. Loten's *Journal of my Tour through France, Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, Flanders, Brabant &c in 1763 & 1764 part 1 and part 2*. Part 1 (nr 1386) covers period 3 June 1763 until 25 October 1763. Part 2 (nr 1387) covers 21 November 1763 until 30 April 1764.

²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

“22 april 1774 lent to Mr. Pennant my own Travels into France 2 vol. M.S. in 1763 & 1764 (returned)”.

²³ Thomas Pennant's *Tour on the Continent 1765* was published in 1948 and edited by Sir Gavin de Beer.

²⁴ Watkins (2002), pages 23 and 90.

²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Bristol tot wells August 24th 1760.

²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 31 May 1759.

²⁷ Sena (1968), *Smollett's Persona*, pages 355-358, made a distinction between Smollett the man and the Persona he created in his *Travels*; see also Black (1999), *Grand Tour*, page xii.

²⁸ Terence Bowers (1997) argued that the *Travels* could be seen as a project of radical social reform.

²⁹ According to Terence Bowers (1997), page 4, in his interpretation of Smollett's *Travels*, “M. Fizes epitomizes the state of learning in France: he is an intellectual fraud, likely to do his visitors more harm than good”.

³⁰ Tobias Smollett (1766), *Travels through France and Italy*. London: printed for R. Baldwin. Two volumes. The reference to Mr L--- is in volume I on page 171. In the Auction catalogue of Loten's library there was no copy of Smollett's *Travels*. Unfortunately there are no other sources for the contacts between Loten and Smollett. Smollett lived in Monmouth House, Chelsea.

³¹ Laurence Sterne (1768), *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr. Yorrick*. London: T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt. Two volumes. The *Sentimental Journey* is in letter-form and accounts of Sterne's two journeys abroad in 1762-1764 and 1765.

The *Sentimental Journey* is not mentioned in the catalogue of Loten's library that was sold in October 1789. Sterne called his *Journey* “A Work of Redemption”, presumably for the sins and errors committed in writing the *Tristram Shandy*.

In 1769 “Mr. Loten” is mentioned as subscriber of two sets of *Sermons by the late Rev. Mr. Sterne*, published in London: printed for W. Strahan; T. Cadell, successor to Mr. Millar; and T. Beckett and Co.

³² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558: J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek: Paris 9 July 1763, Hotel de Tours rue du Paon; Dijon 21 August 1763; Montpellier 2 October 1763; Hyere 22 January 1764

³³ Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour. Containing an exact description of most cities, towns, and remarkable places of Europe. Together with a distinct account of the post-roads and stages, with their respective distances .. Likewise directions relating to the manner and expence of travelling from one place and country to another. As also occasional remarks on ... each respective country.* Four volumes. London: printed for S. Birt ... D. Browne ... A. Millar ... and G. Hawkins ..., 1749. In 1756 a second edition appeared *The Grand Tour, or, a journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France.* Loten owned the 1756 edition in two volumes and also volumes “3 & 4 & 6” (1789 Auction catalogue Loten Library page 16, number 67 and page 15, number 37). In our annotation we referred to the third edition published in 4 volumes in 1778. Nugent’s *Grand Tour* was the first major guidebook of the modern world.

³⁴ Thomas Pennant also visited the “convent of Dominiquain nuns” at Calais in February 1765 and remarked that there was “an English Lady among them”. He also lodged in the *Table Royale*. See De Beer (1948), page 1.

³⁵ Cathédrale Notre-Dame d’Amiens, the largest complete medieval church of France. The gothic Cathedral dates back to 1220.

³⁶ The Amiens Chateau d’Eau was built between 1751 and 1750. The building still exists.

³⁷ James FitzJames, 1st Duke of Berwick-upon-Tweed (1670-1734) was a French military leader, illegitimate son of King James II of England and VII of Scotland by Arabella Churchill, sister of the Duke of Marlborough. His descendants were the French Ducs de Fitz-James.

³⁸ L’Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis or Basilica of Saint Denis. Starting from 997 with Hugues Capet until 1789, all but three Kings of France - Philippe I and Louis VII in the XIIth century, Louis XI in the XVth century - were buried in the Royal Necropolis of France.

³⁹ Germain-François Poullain de Saint-Foix (1698-1776) began his life as a soldier but later settled in Paris where for 20 years he was much in demand as a playwright excelling in one-act comedies in prose. Saint Foix also wrote several historical works including *Essais historiques sur Paris* (1754). July 9, 1763 Loten wrote his friend Van Hardenbroek:

“If You never read a little book : *Essays historiques sur Paris* par M. de Saintfoix it is worth Your while, l’édition la meilleure est la troisieme de 1762 en 4 vol: 12°. les editions précédentes sont en 3 vol:”.

HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558.

⁴⁰ Tobias Smollett in his *Travels through France and Italy* (1766) wrote on October 12th 1763 about the collection in the Palais Royale:

“I have seen this great magazine of painting three times, with astonishment; but I should have been better pleased, if there had not been half the number: one is bewildered in such a profusion, as not to know where to begin, and hurried away before there is time to consider one piece with any sort of deliberation. Besides, the rooms are all dark, and a great many of the pictures hang in a bad light”.

⁴¹ Probably a copy. The *Portrait of Thomas More* by Hans Holbein is since 1912 in the New York Frick collection.

⁴² The fire in the Paris Opera of April 6th 1763, destroyed the Salle du Palais Royale in the Rue Saint-Honoré. Thomas Major (1720-1799), English engraver. Thomas Major resided for sometime in Paris before being rudely imprisoned in 1745 by the French in retaliation for the capture of French soldiers at the Battle of Culloden. After his return to England, Major distinguished himself with a number of etchings and engravings in a wide range of fields, including portraits, landscapes and historical and topographical views.

⁴³ The Château de Saint-Cloud was a royal chateau in France, built on a magnificent site overlooking the Seine at Saint-Cloud in Hauts-de-Seine, about 10 kilometres west of Paris. The château was destroyed in 1870.

⁴⁴ François de Coligny, Seigneur d’Andelot (1521-1569) was known in the sixteenth century as the Protestant “Chevalier sans peur”. There are many portraits of Andelot and his elder brother Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral de France. The Coligny’s openly supported the cause of the Huguenots. See Walter W. S. Cook (1924). Spanish and French Paintings in the Lehman Collection, *The Art Bulletin*, 7 (2), pp. 51-70. Cook described the portraits of François de Coligny by Corneille de Lyon in the New York Lehman collection and in the collection of the French Bibliothèque nationale on pages 67-70 and on plate 20 and 21.

⁴⁵ Probably a copy of the Frans Hals *Portrait of René Descartes*, which was in the eighteenth century in the collection of the Dukes of Orléans. In 1785 it came in the possession of Louis XVI with the Château de Saint-Cloud. The portrait is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁴⁶ Portrait presumably of *Gabrielle d'Estrées and her sister Duchess de Villars*. School of Fontainebleau circa 1594. Since 1937 in Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁴⁷ Loten possibly referred to paintings of Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio (1571-1610). In the collection of Louis XIV was the portrait of *Alof de Wignacourt* (1547-1622), acquired in 1670. The portrait is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris. In the Royal collection was since 1665 also Caravaggio's *Fortune-teller*, which is also in the Louvre Museum collection.

⁴⁸ Loten referred to the *Selfportrait* (1584) of Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto (1518-1594), which was in the collection of Marie-Antoinette in the Château de Saint-Cloud until 1785. The portrait is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁴⁹ In 1792 the equestrian statue of Louis XV was replaced by the guillotine for the execution of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and many others.

⁵⁰ Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll van Serooskerken, Master of Vleuten, Heeze and Leende (1710-1762). He died December 18, 1762. Jan Maximiliaan was General-Major of the Cavalry.

⁵¹ *L'Académie d'équitation* in the Rue des Canettes was founded in 1625. On the north the buildings bordered on the Place Saint-Sulpice. Loten referred to the former director of the Academy, François-Anne de Vendeuil, who was since 1747 Écuyer ordinaire of the Riding School in Versailles. In 1760 Jean de Jouan was director of the Equestrian Academy.

⁵² Charles Le Brun (1619-1690). The *Painting of St Magdalen* (ca 1650), after Mademoiselle de la Vallière, was taken during the French Revolution from the Church of the Convent of the Carmélites in Paris. It is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁵³ Anne-Louise-Bénédicte de Bourbon-Condé, Duchesse du Maine (1676-1753), daughter of Henry-Jules de Bourbon, prince de Condé and Anne of Bavaria In 1692 she married Louis-Auguste de Bourbon, Duc de Maine, the illegitimate son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan. The Duchess of Maine held a little court at Sceaux where she gave brilliant entertainments and immersed herself in political intrigues.

⁵⁴ The gilded dome of the church of St Louis has a cupola decorated with figures of saints painted by Jean Jouvenet (1644-1717) and an immense composition of Charles de la Fosse which represents holy Louis giving his sword to Jesus-Christ. This cupola shelters since 1861 the crypt of the tomb of the emperor Napoleon I.

⁵⁵ René Descartes (1596-1650), philosopher and mathematician died in 1650 at Stockholm (Sweden), where he had been invited as a teacher for Queen Christina of Sweden. Later his remains were taken to France from Sweden and buried in the Church of St. Genevieve-du-Mont in Paris.
Jacques Rohault (1618-1672), friend and supporter of René Descartes. He was a very popular scholar. He practised many experiments in public.

⁵⁶ Pennant's *Tour* page 23, 19th February 1765. See De Beer (1948). In 1782 the administration of the Royal Library was still gloomy. According to Mercier in *Tableau de Paris*, volume ii, page 312:

“Ce vaste dépôt n'est ouvert que deux fois la semaine et pendent deux heures et demie. Le bibliothécaire prend des vacances à tout propos. Le public y est mal servi, et d'un air dédaigneux. La magnificence royale devient inutile devant les réglemens des subalternes, paresseux à l'excès”.

See Hill & Powell (1964), *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, volume II, page 523.

⁵⁷ In August 1763 Arnout Loten wrote from Utrecht about the disorder of his brother Joan Gideon. He mentioned that the *Veronica mas*, or male speedwell, was abundantly available in Utrecht and that

‘according to Dodonaëij, this herb is very well both for constipations of the liver and spleen and the complaints of chest and lungs, we hope that it will have the desired effects for You’.

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1430.

⁵⁸ Simplicia in pharmacy a simple not mixed or compounded drug from vegetable, animal or mineral origin. In the *Encyclopadia Britannica* (1769), volume III, page 603, “simple” is restricted to “all herbs or plants, as having each its particular virtue, whereby it becomes a simple remedy”.

⁵⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Paris 9 July 1763. The dialogue in the last part of the letter is in French:

« O c'est mal fait » me répondit il, « car c'est le bon Dieu qui le commande, nous Catholiques contems cela pour un très grand péché de le retenir ». « Mais Monsieur comment sont donc ces religieux que je vois chaque jour, qui sont bien nourris & non obstant cruent dans l'abstinence ». "Ah c'est un autre chose", il me repliqua qu'après, « c'est très vrai que quelques uns le font mais tres rarement les quatre vingt ans »

⁶⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Paris 9 July 1763. Original in French. The reference to the "cousinage" is to François Doublet and to the "peches" is to prostitutes.

⁶¹ In 1763 Joncheere also spent time in Paris see HUA.GC 750 nr 1385; entry July 24th 1763.

⁶² Loten referred to *Alexander and the Family of Darius* (1661), by Charles le Brun (1619-1690), which in 1662 so delighted Louis XIV that he at once ennobled Le Brun.

⁶³ Paulo Caliari (1528-1588) also called Veronese. *Le Repas chez Simon le Pharisien*. (1576). Since 1665 in the collection of Louis XIV. Preserved in depot Musee National du Chateau de Trianon.

⁶⁴ Nugent (1778), *Grand Tour*, volume 4, pages 62-63: "The antient edifice, though of great extent, has nothing in it very remarkable, either in the apartments or the outer fronts".

⁶⁵ Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694-1752) from 1747 the First Painter to the King of France. Coypel designed the cartoons for a series of 28 tapestries for the renowned tapestry maker Gobelins, illustrating Don Quixote. The series was highly successful, and was produced continuously between 1714 and 1794.

Louis Surugue (1686-1762) a draughtsman, etcher and engraver, print-publisher and printseller. He trained with Bernard Picart, whom he followed to the Netherlands in 1710. On returning to France in 1715, he began publishing and selling prints, among them copper engravings of the Coypel cartoons.

In 1775 Loten described his drawing room in London and mentioned 24 a 25 Surugue prints of the Coypel cartoons. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404).

⁶⁶ Nugent (1778), *Grand Tour*, volume 4, page 136: "There is a curious mall in the castle, with square pavillions built all along, for the conveniency of the players and spectators".

⁶⁷ Providing a sufficient water supply for the fountains at Versailles had been a problem from the outset. The construction of the Marly hydraulic machine, actually located in Bougival, driven by the current of the Seine moving fourteen vast paddlewheels, was a miracle of modern hydraulic engineering, perhaps the largest integrated machine of the seventeenth century. It pumped water to a head of 100 meters into reservoirs at Louveciennes (where Madame du Barry had a dining pavilion in the 1760s), whence it flowed to fill the cascade at Marly (when the king was there) or the fountains at Versailles (when the king was there)—though not both—with a sufficient head, passing through an elaborate underground network of reservoirs and aqueducts, to drive the fountains at Versailles.

⁶⁸ In 1762 the Comédie-Italienne and *l'Opéra comique* fused into one group called *Comédie-Italienne* or *Théâtre-Italien*, which played in the Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne in Rue Mauconseil. *Arlequin voleur, Archer et Juge* the same play as *Arlequin voleur, Prévôt et Juge* was a three acts Italian play *Il Ladro Sbirro & Giudici*. The first performance was in the Italian Theatre in Paris was in June 1716. It remained very long on the repertoire in Paris and the province. The French version by Pierre Joseph Breuzot de la Roche was published in 1744 in Brussels by J.J. Boucherie. See www.cesar.org.uk

⁶⁹ Charles du Fresne, seigneur du Cange (1610-1688), one of the great French universal scholars of the seventeenth century, who wrote dictionaries of medieval Latin and Greek using a historical approach to language that pointed toward modern linguistic criticism.

⁷⁰ Diane de France (538-1619), Duchess of Angoulême.

⁷¹ Thomas Pennant visited the Convent of the English Benedictines 27 February 1765. Although his description dealt with the same objects he gave a more personal impression than Loten. See De Beer (1948), page 10.

⁷² This seems to be a reference to the Flemish still-life master Jan van Kessel (1626-1679) of Antwerp whose "The Allegory of the Continents" (1664-1666) is known in various versions. In these four paintings, devoted to Europe, Asia, Africa and America, Van Kessel allegorised each continent as a queen, surrounded by a plethora of artifacts and, most prominently, natural objects clearly set forth as emblematic of the continent itself. A famous version is at

present in the Munich Alte Pinakothek, in 1716 the four paintings were already in the Gallery at Düsseldorf. On the 'America' painting there is a panel showing a bird of paradise alongside South American macaws and in the background a Cassowary.

⁷³ The Luxembourg Palace was built in the years 1615-1627 for Marie de Medicis (1573-1642), Henry IV's second wife. Petrus-Paulus Rubens (1577-1640) adorned the walls of the large gallery with a cycle of 21 paintings chronicling the life of Marie de Medicis. The paintings are now in the Galerie de Médicis of the Louvre Museum in Paris. Loten probably referred to Rubens' painting *Coronation of the Queen in the Abbey of Saint Denis 13 May 1610*. In this painting Marguerite de Valois (1553-1615), first wife to Henry IV, is assisting in the ceremony of the Coronation Marie de Médicis.

⁷⁴ This is a reference the *Wedding of Cana* (1501/1509) by Gerard David (1450/60-1523), which was in the Collection of Louis XIV before 1683. The painting is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁷⁵ This is a reference to Hans Holbein the younger (1497-1543). The portrait of *Anne de Clèves* (1515-1557), in 1671 acquired by Louis XIV from Eberhard Jabach, can be identified from Loten's description. The painting is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris. The Louvre museum also has a portrait of *Sir Henry Wyatt formerly Cromwell thereafter Thomas More*, which was acquired by Louis XIV in 1671 from the same owner. It seems probable that Loten also referred to this portrait.

⁷⁶ Loten referred to Jan I Brueghel (1568-1625), also called the Velvet or Ancient Brueghel. His painting *La bataille d'Issus* (1602) was since 1693 in the possession of Louis XIV. The painting is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁷⁷ Loten referred to Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne (1589-1662), *Allégorie de la trêve de 1609 entre Albert, archiduc d'Autriche, gouverneur des Pays-Bas du Sud, et les Pays-Bas du Nord représentés par les princes d'Orange* (1616). This painting was in the collection of Louis XIV and acquired in 1669. In the inventory of 1683 it was ascribed to Frans II Pourbus. In 1799 it was ascribed to Van de Venne. The painting is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁷⁸ Loten referred to Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), *Jésus chassant les vendeurs du temple* (1645-1650), acquired in 1751 for Louis XV. The painting is now in the Département des Peintures of the Louvre Museum in Paris.

⁷⁹ Loten referred to Pietro Berrettini (1597-1669), also called Pietro of Cortone. His painting *The finding of Romulus et Remus by Faustulus* (circa 1643) is since 1794 in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Loten further referred to the engraver Robert Strange (1721-1792) who worked since 1751 and produced an engraving of the Cortone painting. Strange was knighted by George III in 1787.

⁸⁰ April 10th 1599, King Henry IV's mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées died a few hours after she gave birth to a dead child, the fourth she bore to the King. The rumours were that she was poisoned four days before after eating a lemon during a supper with the banker Sebastien Zamet, who acted on orders of Henry IV or the Grand Duke of Tuscany whose niece Marie de Médicis was one of the pretendants to marry Henry IV.

⁸¹ The Crozat collection included such masterpieces as Raphael's *Holy Family*, Giorgione's *Judith*, a *Danae* by Tizian, *Danae* and *The Holy Family* by Rembrandt and a *Pieta* by Paolo Veronese. Two works by Pieter Paul Rubens were also acquired; these are *Bacchus* and *Portrait of a Lady-in-Waiting to the Infanta Isabella*. Anthony van Dyck was represented by six portraits, including a self portrait. Along with paintings from the Italian, Flemish, Dutch and Netherlandish schools the collection was rich in works by French artists of the 17th and eighteenth centuries such as Louis Le Nain, Nicolas Poussin, Pierre Mignard, Nicolas de Largillier, Antoine Watteau (*Actors of the Comedie Francaise*), Nicolas Lancret and Jean-Simeon Chardin (*The Laundress*).

⁸² Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke and His Family*. 1630s. Oil on canvas. Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House, Salisbury, UK.

⁸³ George Vertue (1684-1756), English engraver and antiquary, whose notebooks on British art of the first half of the eighteenth century were the source of Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762-1771).

⁸⁴ Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757), Italian Rococo era painter.

⁸⁵ Loten referred to the Comédie-Française in the Théâtre de la rue des Fossés Saint-Germain Paris. The tragedy *La Mort de César* by François-Marie d'Arouet (1694-1778), better known as Voltaire was published in Amsterdam in 1735.

Its first performance was circa 1733 in Hôtel de Sassenage Paris. The comedy *l'Anglais à Bordeaux* was written by Charles-Simon Favart (1710-1792) as a patriotic play to celebrate the Peace of Paris after the Seven Years War. The first performance was 14 March 1763.

⁸⁶ See *Correspondence littéraire philosophique et rethorique de Grimm et Diderot depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*. Tome troisième 1761-1764. Paris 1829, pages 205-210, 1 April 1763. The farce was also on stage in Holland, James Boswell saw *Anglais a Bordeaux* Sunday 13 May 1764 in The Hague. See Pottle (1952) *Boswell in Holland*, page 237 and 352.

⁸⁷ M. L'abbé Lebeuf (1754). *Histoire de la banlieue ecclesiastique de Paris*, Paris Prault pere, page 319.

⁸⁸ Germain Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris*. 4 volumes, Paris 1752.

⁸⁹ In the Leiden Naturalis Museum there is a copy of John Latham's *General synopsis of birds* with Loten's annotations. In volume 1 part 2 (1782) the Common Hoopoe is described on page 689. Loten added in pencil the following annotation: "The whole long cage at Sens in Burgundy, plenty run along my chaise on the common road". In the London natural History Museum Loten collection there are two watercolours by Pieter Cornelis de Bevere of the Ceylon hoopoe:

NHMLC 54, 38.4 x 24.8 cm; 48.9 x 38.4 cm (unfolded). Drawing is within a blue frame 35.5 x 22 cm. Annotation in Dutch: 'The Hoopoe shot by my hunters in Ceylon is exactly the same as the one described and figured in Albin part 2 no. 41'.

NHMLC 55, 24.5 x 38.1 cm; 49 x 38.1 cm (unfolded). Drawing is within a blue frame 21 x 35.1 cm. No annotation in Dutch.

⁹⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Dijon 21 August 1763. Original in French.

⁹¹ See Brady & Pottle (1955), page 271, 2 January 1766.

⁹² Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762). *Letters Of The Right Honourable Lady M---Y W---Y M---E; Written During Her Travels In Europe, Asia, And Africa, To Persons Of Distinction, Men Of Letters, &C. In Different Parts Of Europe. Which Contain, Among Other Curious Relations, Accounts Of The Policy And Manners Of The Turks. Drawn From Sources That Have Been Inaccessible To Other Travellers*. A New Edition, Complete In One Volume. London; Printed For Thomas Martin, M.Dcc.Xc. Loten referred to her letter to Pope from Lyon 28 September (old style) 1718.

⁹³ Chapelle Notre-Dame du Gonfalon. Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716), *Adoration of the Magi*, now preserved in the Église Saint-Nizier, Lyon. The Rubens paintings are probably 17th century paintings in the style of Rubens in the same church.

⁹⁴ Very probably portrait of *Pope Clément XII Corsini (1652-1740)* by Louis-Gabriel Blanchet (1705-1772). Now preserved in the Palace of the Archbishop in Lyon.

⁹⁵ Mary Gunning (1733-1760) married the Earl of Coventry, but came to an untimely end, as a result of using lead based make-up (not to mention arsenic) as beauty aids. Loten referred to her beauty in 1759 in relation to that of Mrs George Pitt. See Chapter 3, paragraph 'Deference and Preference for female friends'. The print of Lady Coventry in Sultana dress to which Loten referred is very probably Richard Houston's mezzotint, *The Right Hon. Maria Countess of Coventry (ca 1754)*, or one of the many contemporary copies of it. The print was based on Jean-Etienne Liotard's pastel *Young woman in a Turkish interior (1752-54)*, at present in the collection of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. See Duncan Bull (2002). *Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702-1789)*. Rijksmuseum Dossiers. Waanders Zwolle, pages 22-26.

⁹⁶ Nugent (1778), *Grand Tour*, volume 4, page 185: "On the coffin, a long side of it, there is a painted cobweb, which you would have take for a real one, unless you touched it".

⁹⁷ This Convent was destroyed in 1806, all that remained were a few vestiges of the church and a partial bell tower.

⁹⁸ Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), French landscape and seascape painter. The Vernet paintings could not be identified. It is somewhat astonishing to find his paintings in the sacristy of the cathedral.

⁹⁹ Mr F.G. Meijer, Curator, Department of Old Netherlandish Paintings, Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague identified (12 September 2007) the engraver as Jean-Joseph Balechou (1716-1764). He is considered to have been one of the leading reproductive engravers of his time. Loten referred to Balechou's engraving of the painting of St Genevieve (1740) by Carle (Charles Amédée Philippe) van Loo (1719-1795).

¹⁰⁰ In 1753 Balechou retired to Avignon, where he engraved magnificent plates after Claude-Joseph Vernet's *The Calm* (1755), *The Storm* and *The Bathers* (both 1757).

¹⁰¹ Nicolas Mignard (1606-1668). Eleven Mignard paintings are still preserved in the Chapels of the Penitents blanc, gris and noir at Avignon.

¹⁰² Tobias Smollett stayed like Loten in November 1763 at Montpellier in the *Cheval blanc*.

“The weather was extremely hot when we entered Montpellier, and put up at the Cheval Blanc, counted the best auberge in the place, tho’ in fact it is a most wretched hovel, the habitation of darkness, dirt, and imposition. Here I was obliged to pay four livres a meal for every person in my family, and two livres at night for every bed, though all in the same room: one would imagine that the further we advance to the southward the living is the dearer, though in fact every article of housekeeping is cheaper in Languedoc than many other provinces of France”.

See *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), letter dated 10 November 1763.

¹⁰³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Montpellier 2 October 1763. Original in French.

¹⁰⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Montpellier 2 October 1763.

“[I]l fait icy depuis quelques jours un tems affreux de vent & de pluye pas moins qu’en Texel”.

¹⁰⁵ Théâtre de Montpellier was built in 1755 by the architect J.-P Maréchal, under the aegis of the Duke of Richelieu. It burned out in 1788.

¹⁰⁶ Tobias Smollett in his *Travels through France and Italy* (1766) remarked 10 November 1763 from Montpellier:

“It was at Montpellier that we saw for the first time any signs of that gaiety and mirth for which the people of this country are celebrated. In all other places through which we passed since our departure from Lyons, we saw nothing but marks of poverty and chagrin. We entered Montpellier on a Sunday, when the people were all dressed in their best apparel. The streets were crowded; and a great number of the better sort of both sexes sat upon stone seats at their doors, conversing with great mirth and familiarity. These conversations lasted the greatest part of the night; and many of them were improved with musick both vocal and instrumental”.

¹⁰⁷ Tobias Smollett in his *Travels through France and Italy* (1766) gave on October 12th 1763 an hilarious description of the manner in which French women painted their faces.

“I shall only mention one particular of dress essential to the fashion in this country, which seems to me to carry human affectation to the very farthest verge of folly and extravagance; that is, the manner in which the faces of the ladies are primed and painted. When the Indian chiefs were in England every body ridiculed their preposterous method of painting their cheeks and eye-lids; but this ridicule was wrong placed. Those critics ought to have considered, that the Indians do not use paint to make themselves agreeable; but in order to be the more terrible to their enemies. It is generally supposed, I think, that your sex make use of fard and vermilion for very different purposes; namely, to help a bad or faded complexion, to heighten the graces, or conceal the defects of nature, as well as the ravages of time. I shall not enquire at present, whether it is just and honest to impose in this manner on mankind: if it is not honest, it may be allowed to be artful and politic, and shews, at least, a desire of being agreeable. But to lay it on as the fashion in France prescribes to all the ladies of condition, who indeed cannot appear without this badge of distinction, is to disguise themselves in such a manner, as to render them odious and detestable to every spectator, who has the least relish left for nature and propriety. As for the fard or white, with which their necks and shoulders are plaistered, it may be in some measure excusable, as their skins are naturally brown, or sallow; but the rouge, which is daubed on their faces, from the chin up to the eyes, without the least art or dexterity, not only destroys all distinction of features, but renders the aspect really frightful, or at best conveys nothing but ideas of disgust and aversion. You know, that without this horrible masque no married lady is admitted at court, or in any polite assembly; and that it is a mark of distinction which no bourgeoisie dare assume. Ladies of fashion only have the privilege of exposing themselves in these ungracious colours. As their faces are concealed under a false complexion, so their heads are covered with a vast load of false hair, which is frizzled on the forehead, so as exactly to resemble the woolly heads of the Guinea negroes. As to the natural hue of it, this is a matter of no consequence, for powder makes every head of hair of the same colour; and no woman appears in this country, from the moment she rises till night, without being compleatly whitened. Powder or meal was first used in Europe by the Poles, to conceal their scald heads; but the present fashion of using it, as well as the modish method of dressing the hair, must have been borrowed from the Hottentots, who grease their woolly heads with mutton suet and then paste it over with the powder called buchu. In like manner, the hair of our fine ladies is frizzled into the appearance of negroes wool, and stiffened with an abominable paste of hog’s grease, tallow, and white powder. The present fashion, therefore, of

painting the face, and adorning the head, adopted by the beau monde in France, is taken from those two polite nations the Chickesaws of America and the Hottentots of Africa. On the whole, when I see one of those fine creatures sailing along, in her taudry robes of silk and gauze, frilled, and flounced, and furbelowed, with her false locks, her false jewels, her paint, her patches, and perfumes; I cannot help looking upon her as the vilest piece of sophistication that art ever produced

This hideous masque of painting, though destructive of all beauty, is, however, favourable to natural homeliness and deformity. It accustoms the eyes of the other sex, and in time reconciles them to frightfull objects; it disables them from perceiving any distinction of features between woman and woman; and, by reducing all faces to a level, gives every female an equal chance for an admirer; being in this particular analogous to the practice of the antient Lacedemonians, who were obliged to chuse their helpmates in the dark.”

¹⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1387. Loten’s *Journal of my Tour through France, Switserland, Alsace, Lorraine, Flanders, Brabant &c in 1763 & 1764 part 2*.

¹⁰⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Hyeres 22 January 1763.

“ la place de mon present sejour m’est fort recommandée par Lady Denbigh & avec la meilleure intention, sans cela j’aurois preferé Marseilles, ou peut être l’air n’est pas tout a fait si doux mais le ciel plus beau & la compagnie beaucoup moins mauvaise”.

¹¹⁰ The fortress Bregançon since 1968 the official residence of the President of France.

¹¹¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Hyeres 22 January 1763. Original in French.

¹¹² This is a reference to the noble family Clapiers de Saint Tropez that lived on the rue Ste Claire, now rue Franklin at Hyères. According to René Borricand (1971-1976), *Nobiliaire de Provence*, Aix-en-Provence, R. Borricand, page 336-337, there were eleven chevaliers de l’ordre de Malte in the Clapiers family, who received this distinction between 1515 and 1707.

¹¹³ The family vault was located in the present chapelle de Saint Joseph of the St Louis Church known as Eglise des Cordeliers at Hyères. The chapel still shows seven times the coat of arms of the Clapiers family. The vault is no longer existant and probably dated from the early 18th century. See Paul Turc, *L’église Saint-Louis d’Hyeres*, Editions C.C.D.P., page 19.

¹¹⁴ Mrs Nathalie Erny and Miss Grimaud of the Hyères library were so kind to supply information about the Clapiers family at Hyères (letter to author dated January 12, 2008). They also reported that the story of the Knight of Malta who was burried alive was unknown to local historians. Monsieur Thomas Polard, communication officer of the city of Hyères, also supplied information.

¹¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 5 December 1763.

“Donderdag laatstleden den 1. decemb als wanneer het den Allerhoogsten behaagde Zijn Ed: het tijdelike met het Eeuwige te doen verwisselen des avonds omtrent quartier voor negen uren, wegens welke verlies van onzen zo waarden vader wij d’eere hebben Uwgb. hertgrondig te condoleren en te wenschen dat nog Uwgb. en familie nog ons in lange diergelijke of andere smartelike gevallen mogen treffen; mamma is op hare wijze redelik welvarende, dog zeer bedroefd en met dit altog tamelik bedaard na haar omstandigheid; wij denken het lijk aanstaande donderdag den 8^e dcr des avonds ten 7 uren in de Jacobikerk met 12 a 13 koetsen te begraven; het wapen word geschilderd met helm en lof en met 8 quartierien; ’t geen ik meene te wezen volgens d’idees v. Uwgb. bij desselfs 2 laatste vermeld, en ’t welk ik hope Uwgb zult approberen: Bij een volgende zal Uwgb: een nader detail van deze ceremonie doen toekomen; dit kan er nog bijvoegen dat het lijk in een gewast kleed legd; Mama heeft niemand buiten deze stad wonende ter begraaffnisse willen nodigen, dan alleen den Hr. De Wijs; Hr. Vdr. Br. heeft in de lange dolerende indispositie van Papa zig bij ons desvoegens niet eens geïnformeerd, niettegenstaande ik weet dat daarvan niet is ignorant geweest; ook is ZijnEd. naar den Haag gaan wonen, zonder ons zulk eens te communiceren; zo dat wij dit maar van buiten af hebben vernomen; en daarom ook de rouwbrief op Leijden verzonden hebben; Mama verzoekt, dat Uwgb. deze missive voor communicatie geliefte te houden, om Uwgb. door ’t zenden van een gedrukte met geen onnodig port te bezwaren; Het nieuwe toeval v. Uwgb. smert ons dog is eenigzints troostelik dat de Doctor daar in geen grote zwaarigheid steld”.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1353 and 1354. Documents concerning the decease of Joan Carel Loten. Messages in *Oprechte Dinsdagse Haerlemse Courant* 1763 no 49. *Utrechtse Courant* 1763 nr 146. Woensdag den 7 December.

¹¹⁶ This letter was not found in the Loten documents. Loten referred to the earlier correspondence about his father’s decease in his letter from Hyeres 21 January 1764 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1355).

¹¹⁷ All relevant documents relating to the inheritance are in HUA.GC 750 nr 1355.

¹¹⁸ Annotation in the genealogy of the Hocuefft family. See HUA GC 750 nr 50. The chevalier Berage was not identified.

¹¹⁹ The village Tain l'Hermitage is still the centre of the Hermitage wines.

¹²⁰ According to the Dutch Dictionary WNT (lemma Stoep): Nickname in everyday speech and also common name for the city soldiers at Amsterdam, Leiden and Utrecht. The author is indebted to Mr Boudewijn van den Berg (Meertens Instituut Amsterdam) for this information.

¹²¹ Nugent (1778), *Grand Tour*, volume 3, page 182: "Where the Senate meets, there are seven judges painted on the wall without hands, to signify that they should take no bribes".

¹²² The reference is to the third print *The Polling* (1758) of William Hogarth's set of four *Prints of an Election* (1755-1758). The third engraving illuminates how a member of Parliament is elected. First in line at the polling station is a soldier who has lost three of his limbs. A clerk tries to subdue his laughter as the veteran places his hook on the Bible. Lawyers from opposing parties flank him and argue the validity of his 'handless' oath.

¹²³ Circa July 1774 Loten wrote down in his notebook about Voltaire:

"De Histoire generale van Voltaire nevens desselfs later gepubliceerde Siecle de Louis XIV en XV vinde 'k een zeer amusant en ook zeer nuttig boek te zijn, mits men excuseeren sommige der vryheden die hem zo eijgen zijn, het zou waerdig zijn date en zeer ervaren historie schrijver en oudheijd-kenner zijn plan uytbreyde of hem met byzondere aanmerkingen of noten en correction verrijkte. Ik zal 't altyd trachten onder mijn bereyk te hebben als ook Henault's Abregé de l'histoire de France, dat weërgaloos boek".

Loten referred to Charles-Jean-François Hénault (1685-1770), who wrote in 1744 *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de France jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIV*.

See HUA.GC 750 nr 152

¹²⁴ (Ruchat, Abraham) (1680-1750) & (Stanyan, Abraham) (1669-1732): *L'état et les délices de la Suisse, en forme de Relation critique, par plusieurs Auteurs célèbres. Enrichi de figures en taille-douce, dessinées sur les lieux mêmes & de cartes géographiques très-exactes*, en 4 volumes. Amsterdam, Wetsteins et Smith, 1730, in-8°

¹²⁵ Loten referred to the fifteenth century wall-paintings of the *Dance of Death*, painted circa 1480 on the outer wall of the Dominican churchyard of the Predigerkirche in Basle. The fresco-painting was a copy of an earlier one in the Augustinian convent at Klingenthal that is thought to have been done around 1440. The Klingenthal painting was neglected and eventually completely destroyed. The *Dance of Death* in the Predigerkirche was renovated successively and extensively over the years, but destroyed in the nineteenth century. The Basle paintings were even attributed to Hans Holbein (1497-1543), but both historical and stylistic evidence weigh against this. The Basle Dance is known only from copies. In the seventeenth century engravings of the Dance were made by the artist and bookseller, Matthaeus Merian. Merian's copper-plates are considered to be the most faithful renderings of the wall-paintings at the Predigerkirche. The *Dance of Death* at Basle was a typical medieval Totentanz. Introduced by a scene of the preacher in a pulpit and preceded by a death dance in a bonehouse, the Dance itself was a simple representation portraying a procession of couples of the living and the dead. Death is an active dancing figure, mocking his victim by mimicking his carriage or wearing an identical article of clothing in a rakish fashion. The living are dressed elaborately with much attention given to the details of their costumes. Although the appearance of the Basle Dance changed as it was restored, the copies made by Merian and others still convey a good general idea of what the Dance looked like when Holbein was working in Basle. The drawings for Holbein's *Dance of Death* are thought to have been made around 1526.

See Marcia Collins. *The Dance of Death in Book Illustration*. Ellis Library, University of Missouri Columbia, Missouri, 1978.

¹²⁶ In 1519 Holbein was admitted to the painters' guild of Basle. Between 1519 and 1526 he decorated many buildings there, including the Town Hall, and painted the *Passion Scenes* (circa 1525), the designs are at present in the Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basle, inv 315.

¹²⁷ See Marginal drawings in "Praise of Folly", pages 146 – 157 in: *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*. Munich, Berlin, London, New York, Prestel (2006).

¹²⁸ Drawing no 64 fol. S 3, Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett at Basle. See also page 154 in *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*. The present day anecdote about the drawing is: “When Erasmus reached this point and saw himself thus represented, he exclaimed: Oho, if Erasmus still looked like that, he would certainly take a wife”.

¹²⁹ *Erasmi Roterodami encomium morirae i. e. Stultitiae laus*, Johannes Froben, Basle March 1515. Preserved in Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett at Basle. See S. Buck (2003). Hans Holbein de Jonge portrettschilder van de Renaissance. In: *Hans Holbein de Jonge 1497/98-1543 portrettschilder van de Renaissance*. Waanders, Zwolle, pages 11-37 and figures 5, 6, 7 and 8.

¹³⁰ The *Thomas More family portrait* (385x525 mm), dated 1527, is at present in the Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett in Basle, Inv. 1662.31. See S. Buck (2003) figure 19 and *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 370-374.

¹³¹ Holbein’s large canvas of the More family group was very probably destroyed in 1752 during a fire in Schloss Krenmsier. There are several copies of the painting, the most reliable is probably the one in Nostell Priory by Rowland Lockey. See *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 371-372.

¹³² The two *Portraits of Erasmus* are at present in the Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basle. The portrait in profile was made in 1523 (inv 319), the second portrait, a tondo, is dated circa 1532 (inv. 324). See also P. van der Coelen (2008). *Erasmus in beeld*. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Portretten van Erasmus, pages 55-89 and see *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 416-419.

¹³³ The *Body of Christ in his grave* (1521), Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basle, inv. 318. See *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 257-259.

¹³⁴ The *Lord’s Supper* (1525), Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basle, inv. 316. See *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 328-330.

¹³⁵ The ten designs for stained glass windows for the passion of Christ are in the Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett in Basle. See *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 393-402. For the paintings in the Town Hall see *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 260-273 and 412-415.

¹³⁶ The *Portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach* (1519), Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basle, inv. 314. See *Hans Holbein the Younger The Basel Years 1515-1532*, pages 194-196.

¹³⁷ Probably a reference to the *Psalter*, first published in 1457 by Johann Fustner (ca 1400-1466) and Peter Schöffer (1425-1502), a folio of 350 pages, the first printed book with a complete date, and remarkable for the beauty of the large initials printed each in two colours, red and blue, from types made in two pieces. The *Psalter* was reprinted with the same types in 1459, 1490, 1502 and 1516.

¹³⁸ Stanislaus Leszczyński, Stanislaus I (1677-1766), King of Poland (1704-1709, 1733–35) and Duke of Lorraine (1735–66). Stanislaus, an enlightened, humane, and cultured man, held a small but distinguished court at Lunéville. He contributed to the embellishment of Nancy, where the celebrated Place Stanislas still exhibits his generosity and good taste. Through his thought and writings he continued to influence Polish political ideas, and despite his concern with Polish affairs he ably administered Lorraine. He corresponded with the finest thinkers of his time, notably with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who on his request drafted a new constitution for Poland.

¹³⁹ One of Loten’s Crowned Pigeons, *Goura cristata* (Pallas, 1764) was engraved by George Edwards and reproduced in his *Gleanings of Natural History* (1764), plate 338. In the accompanying text Edwards referred to Loten’s present of Crowned Pigeons to the menagerie of the Prince of Orange. In 1765 Loten asked his brother whether the birds were still alive. Arnout Loten answered:

“Tot nog toe heb geen occasie gehad om te informeren of de kroonvogels nog leven, dog hope dit te doen bij d’eerste gelegenheid”.

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 November 1765.

¹⁴⁰ In the Antwerp Cathedral Loten saw Rubens’ the *Descent from the cross* (1611-1614) and possibly also his *Raising of the cross* (1610).

¹⁴¹ Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait* (1629), and portrait of his wife *Helena Fourment*, Rubens House, Antwerp. In May 1632 Rubens became the master of the Saint-Lucas guild. By tradition, at the occasion of this appointment, he had a master chair built for him.

¹⁴² It is not clear to which painting Loten referred. The *Assumption of the Virgin Mary* or *Assumption of the Holy Virgin*, is a painting by Peter Paul Rubens, completed in 1626 as an altarpiece for the high altar of the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp. In the Widener collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC is *The Virgin as Intercessor*, (1628/1629) painted for an Antwerp chapel by Sir Anthony van Dyck.

¹⁴³ Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi* (1624), Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, Belgium.

¹⁴⁴ Loten probably referred to Peter Paul Rubens, *The Crucified Christ* (1611), now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, Belgium. Loten referred to Gaspar de Crayer (1584-1669), whose *Deposition from the Cross* was part of his collection of the former Jesuit Livinus church. This painting is lost. Rubens' *Martyrdom of St Livinus* (1634-1637), another altarpiece of the church is now in the Musées Royaux de Beaux-Arts in Brussels. See H. Vlieghe (1969). Rubens's Activity for the Ghent Jesuits in 1633. *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 111, pp. 427-432+435.

¹⁴⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 May 1765.

¹⁴⁶ Itinerary of Loten's Tour 1763 – 1764, data from Loten's *Journal*.

Date	Place	English miles	Total Miles	Date	Place	English Miles	Total Miles
1763				1764			
June 3	London				Hyeres		1168
June 4	Dover	77	77	Feb 29	Brignole	36	
June 5	Calais			March 1	Aix	41	
June 7	Montreuil	45		March 7	Orgon	36	
June 8	Amiens	60		March 8	Avignon	18	131
June 10	Chantilly	60		March 10	Pierre latte	39	
June 12	Paris	33	198	March 11	Montelimar	15	
Aug 3	Fontainebleau	44		March 12	St Vallier	57	
Aug 4	Joigny	63		March 13	Vienne	33	
Aug 5	Rolway	63		March 14	Montdual	48	192
Aug 6	Dijon	51	221	March 15	Nantua	48	
Aug 22	Chalons sur Saone	45		March 16	Geneva	48	
Aug 23	Mascon	42		March 23	Morges	27	
Aug 24	Lyon	54	141	March 24	Mouldon	24	
Sept 2	Peage de Roussillon	42		March 25	Morat	24	171
Sept 3	Valence	39		March 26	Berne	18	
Sept 4	Montelimar	36		March 27	Balestat	45	
Sept 5	Avignon	54	171	March 28	Basel	26	89
Sept 10	Nîmes	39		March 31	Markelsheim	54	
Sept 11	Montpellier	30		April 1	Strasbourg	33	
Sept 23	Beziers	51		April 4	Blemont	63	
Sept 24	Pezenas	15		April 5	Nancy	36	186
Sept 25	Montpellier	36	171	April 6	Toul	15	
Nov 21	Nîmes	30		April 7	St Dizier	54	
Nov 22	Tarascon	18		April 8	Chalon sur Marne	42	
Nov 23	Port Royal	36		April 9	Rheims	30	
Nov 24	Aix	24	108	April 10	Berry en Bac	12	153
Nov 30	Marseille	24		April 11	La Frere	56	
Dec 8	Toulon	45		April 12	Cambray	39	95
Dec 10	Hyeres	12	81	April 14	Valenciennes	21	
				April 15	Mons	29	
	Total	1168	1168	April 16	Brussels	39	
				April 22	Antwerpen	27	
				April 24	Brussels	27	143
				April 26	Ghent	33	

	April 27	Combray	27	
	April 28	Lille	18	
	April 30	St Omer	51	
	May 1	Calais	29	158
	May 2	Dover to	77	
	May 4	London		
		Total	1318	2486

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE AND TRAVEL 1764-1770

1. LONDON 1764-1765

Loten's ten-month Tour on the Continent did not change his plans to settle in London. The city obviously offered him pleasures that he could not enjoy in the Dutch Republic. It also provided him a greater personal freedom than he enjoyed in his native country. Loten loved London's pleasure gardens, its bookshops and the many instrument makers' workshops. In London, too, Loten was respected as a learned amateur of sciences. He clearly wished to be part of British society and he therefore sought and adopted the trappings of an eighteenth-century English Gentleman. A good example of this is Loten's choice of bookplate. It bears his name "John Gideon Loten. F.R.S. & F.S.A.", his coat-of-arms and the motto "Dum Florent Olent" and has been carried out in the extravagant ornamental Rococo style typical of the fashionable London elite.¹ The way of living and the tastes he developed during his first years in England, were guided by his desire to be accepted by the British social elite and by his wish to be seen as one of them. He probably aspired to a wider circle of acquaintances than those he knew from the British Museum, that is, natural philosophers who were usually patronised by wealthy *virtuosi* or aristocrats. His fellow countryman and Huguenot Dr Matthieu Maty was an under librarian at the British Museum and he was respected as a natural philosopher and physician. He participated in the polite scientific society's gatherings. However, this capable editor of the *Journal Britannique* and later secretary of the Royal Society was not socially equal to his patrons. There were subtle class differences, which found expression in the differences in wealth, landed estate and pedigree. Even among the enlightened, these differences determined a person's place in society. For a foreigner, acceptance into the society of the gentry was more difficult still. This was due to the strong cultural, religious and political differences. Loten's position was very different from that of Matthieu Maty. Loten's wealth, his interests, his library and his exotic East Indian charisma must have impressed his London acquaintances. The title of Governor which he usually prefixed to his name was an extra sign of distinction and importance, which will not have gone unnoticed in England. Loten was not dependent on patronage and had been supplied with an adequate number of introductions into London society. His election, so soon after his arrival in England, to the position of Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) and the London Society of Antiquaries (FSA) indicates that he had been received and accepted by the polite and learned London society. Although he may initially have felt he was their equal, finally he remained a foreign gentleman among the English gentry, despite attempts to break through this barrier. Individual members of the Royal Society, who belonged to the exclusive circles of the gentry, certainly gave him their attention and friendship though he never became part of the elite. This may well have been caused by his health problems, which increasingly prevented him from attending their meetings. Although the English were 'his Allies and Fellow believers', this did not prove to be enough to integrate into their inner circles.²

RETURN TO LONDON

Upon returning to London after his Tour on the Continent, Loten rented a house in North-Audley Street, Grosvenor Square, to which he moved on 10 May 1764. His notebook tells us that on that day, he bought 'a golden watch chain' from Mr Edmund Bellis, his former housekeeper and a jeweller by trade, and a 'box of smoked perches from Martin'.³ The next day two 'cauldron of coal' were delivered at his house. It is quite probable that his goods were moved from Herman Berens's storehouse to his house. The chests which he had stored with wine merchant Mr Woodfield in Bond Street, were returned to him on the 11th or 12th May, along with three bottles of Claret, three bottles of Hock and six bottles of Madeira.⁴ Loten's notebook gives some insight into his household at that time. On May 27th 1764, he gave his servant, Piggy, six guineas, 'because she will stay for sure'. On June 16th 1764, 'a new maid was hired', although, unfortunately, her identity remains a mystery.

On 15 May 1764, Loten complained to his friend Van Hardenbroek about his health saying that for the last two years the 'cruel return of his suffocations' had kept him from attending the assemblies and 'spectacles'.⁵ He now had to satisfy himself with visits to London pleasure gardens such as Ranelagh.⁶ Whether Loten's first experience of Ranelagh was the same as that of Dr Samuel Johnson – "an expansion and gay sensation to my mind, such as I never experienced any where else" – remains unclear.⁷ However, the visit he paid to Ranelagh on the night of May the 11th 1764 evidently gave rise to very different sentiments about the place: "Several years previously some daring spirits among the wealthier classes had started a movement for the abolition of vails, otherwise «tips», to servants, and the leaders of that movement were subjected to all kinds of annoyance from the class concerned. On the night in question

the resentment of coachmen, footmen and other servants developed into a serious riot at Ranelagh, special attention being paid to those members of the nobility and gentry who would not suffer their employees to take veils from the guests. «They, began», says a chronicle of the time, «by hissing their masters, they then broke all the lamps and outside windows with stones; and afterwards putting out their flambeaux, pelted the company, in a most audacious manner, with brickbats, etc, whereby several were greatly hurt». This attack was not received in the submissive spirit; the assaulted gentry drew their swords to beat back the rioters and sincerely wounded not a few”.⁸

Four days after the incident, Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek about these riots: ‘Public places of entertainment, among which those of Ranelagh, have in some ways become dangerous due to the disputes between Masters & their domestics. For the last three nights, the first have been insulted on the beloved subject of tips when one dines with one’s friends & even have been attacked in a headstrong manner. The attackers used the balustrades of the garden for their beautiful scheme & launched bricks, while the Lords & Gentlemen drew their swords without result and on the cries of discontented, Vail or no Vail, the Ladies promised to leave everything as before. One hopes that they will employ tough measures & that a suitable punishment will unambiguously settle this pleasant entertainment. In the mean time I just read in the Gazette that they had been informed that several of the troublemakers had been seized & that one of the culprits was sent to Newgate’.⁹ Loten ironically compared the dangers of visiting the pleasure gardens with the stoning of Saint Etienne.

In addition to visits to Ranelagh and Vauxhall, Loten also attended a parade of the first King’s Dragoon Guards under the command of its ‘Colonel’, General John Mostyn, in Hyde Park on 14 May 1764. King George III was also present and Loten enjoyed the spectacle and observed many differences, “between these & the troupes that I saw in France”.¹⁰ He was also entertained by the two Howard Regiments on Foot. Thomas Howard’s Regiment wore red uniforms with buff facings and Sir Charles Howard’s Regiment wore red uniforms with green facings.¹¹ The spectacle was made complete by the Life Guards and Grenadiers on horseback.

A week later, Loten had ‘a tremendous attack of suffocations that kept me out of my bed altogether for the following four nights’. Loten added that the ‘steam from boiling water or very hot water to which vinegar has been added seems to give some comfort’.¹² More details of his medical problems are not available.

NEW BURLINGTON STREET LONDON

The status of a gentleman at ease precluded living in rented rooms. If Loten was to become part of London’s polite society, he would need a residence. Thus, six weeks after returning to London, he found a suitable place in an elegant residential quarter in London’s West End. On June 27th 1764, Loten mentions a house in ‘Burlington Street’ for the first time.¹³ Two days later he informs Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek of his removal to ‘New Burlington Street near Savile Row, where I shall be a little more comfortable’.¹⁴ On July 11th 1764, he notes that he has ‘moved to the new house’. The house had previously been inhabited by George Nassau Clavering-Cowper.¹⁵ The house in New Burlington Street must have given Loten the feeling that his social position had improved. This was due not only to its Georgian façade, but also to its interior decoration. A remarkable object in this house was a portrait of Loten himself. He had this portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) in December of 1764.¹⁶ Such portraits were very costly and only people wealth and status could afford to have them made.

In the late 1600s, the Earl of Burlington had acquired leasehold possession of Ten Acre Close, a piece of ground lying north and north-east of Burlington House in London.¹⁷ Robert Boyle (1694-1753), third Earl of Burlington, carried out the majority of the development of this estate into streets with houses between 1718 and 1739. New Burlington Street was the last street to be developed on the Burlington estate (c.1735-1739). The houses were highly uniform in terms of their external appearance and they corresponded closely to the houses in Savile Row which had been built a little earlier. Like the other main streets on the estate, New Burlington Street was intended for residential occupation by people of substance.¹⁸ Each of the houses contained a basement, had three storeys and a garret, and had a brick front which was three, or possibly four, windows wide. The colour of the brickwork was reddish brown. The rather narrow windows had flat gauged arches and stone sills, while the doorway had a moulded stone architrave with a cornice on consoles above it. A broad stone bandcourse finished the ground storey; on the second storey the sills were continued, suggesting a pedestal-course. The front was carried up to form a parapet with a

stone coping, below which a moulded stone cornice continued from house to house. The first three floors of each house had two rooms consisting of dining and breakfast parlours on the ground floor, drawing rooms on the first (or principal) floor and bedrooms with closets on the second floor. The garrets became three chambers for the servants. A single staircase of stone served the whole building and existing evidence suggests that it was generally placed in the middle of the house with a room in front of and behind it. The housekeeper's room, servants' hall, kitchen and scullery were to be found in the basement. A detached stable containing a double coach-house, stabling for six horses and accommodation for the coachman could be found in the court-yard at the back of the house. The houses in New Burlington Street were the first to be numbered in London. In September of 1774 Loten informed his brother that his new address was "Gov[erno]r Loten n^o 8 New Burlington Street London".¹⁹ Those who lived in New Burlington Street definitely lived amongst people of substance.²⁰ The Loten documents mention several of his neighbours.

In 1764 the future naturalist, traveller and President of the Royal Society, Joseph Banks (1743-1820) came of age and established himself in a house on New Burlington Street. He may have initially lived with his uncle, the antiquary Robert Banks Hodgkinson (1722-1792), at number 2 New Burlington Street and later acquired the house at number 14, just opposite to Loten's residence. Banks lived at number 14 until 1776 when he moved with his collections to a corner house in Soho Square at number 32. Loten probably encountered Joseph Banks frequently. They shared an interest in natural history and Loten's collection of watercolours from the East Indies was appealing to the enterprising young naturalist. In 1779, after Banks had become President of the Royal Society, Loten wrote the following about him: "[He] amuses himself always with the most precise researches that astonish his fellow-men".²¹ In the 1770s, Dr Daniel Solander, Banks's friend and travel companion, lived in his house on New Burlington Street.

In 1767 Herbert Mackworth of Gboll Castle and his wife Elisa Cotton Trefusis moved into number 2 New Burlington Street. Mackworth owned a large landed property in South Wales. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Vice-President of the Marine Society. His mother was Juliana Digby, sister to Frances Digby, widow of James Cotes of Woodcote, uncle of Loten's wife Lettice Cotes.²²

General Charles Cadogan was another notable neighbour, living number 3 New Burlington Street.²³ In the *Complete peerage* Cadogan is characterised as "a bold, bad, boisterous, blustering, bloody, booby".²⁴ In October of 1770, Loten described 85-year-old Cadogan to his brother: '16 or 18 days ago my neighbour, Lord Cardogan, had dinner with us. They say that he is about 100 years old and has no health complaints. That same morning, he went to Chelsea on foot to inspect the military hospital. Up and back the trip this is more than a two-hour walk. When he returned, he dressed and took a ride in his coach before he came to see us. He eats everything and drinks about 4, 5 or 6 glasses of wine. After dinner he has coffee, and in the evening he has tea. After all of this, he asked my wife whether she had planned any entertainment for the evening; this not being the case, he called for his coach and went out to an assembly'.²⁵ Loten clearly held this war-horse in high esteem: '[He is] a small man, I think his growth was arrested in his youth by the heavy efforts on horseback'. Loten had recently seen him drilling his Horse Guards on horseback and on foot. Loten also said that Cadogan never missed a meeting of the Royal Society and in spite of his age, 'one sees him in all the public places, the comedy &c and more important, he also is as faithful a church-goer'. Loten described Cadogan as a 'lively and cheerful and extraordinarily gentle in all his expressions'. Cadogan's brother, William, had been an envoy and ambassador in the Hague. Loten remembered meeting Charles Cardogan and his sister-in-law, the Dutch Margaretha Cecilia Munter, in a tow-boat between the Hague and Leiden in 1728, when 'he so amusingly teased a few Jews that Lady Cardogan had to laugh heartily'.²⁶ In July 1774, the 89-year-old Lord Cadogan was still drilling his Horse Guard squadron. Upon hearing that their own nearly 90-year-old mother was ailing, Loten mentioned it to his brother in a letter.²⁷

From 1778 on, Charles Pratt (1714-1794), Lord Camden, lived at number 4 New Burlington Street. In January of 1762 Pratt was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. His conduct as judge in the prosecution of John Wilkes MP and the questions which arose concerning the legality of general warrants and Parliamentary Privilege made him popular. Chief Justice Pratt held that the warrants were legal, but pronounced that the Wilkes's privilege could not be forfeited. He thereby gave national opinion on this subject a voice and at the same time, won an extraordinary degree of popularity for himself as upholder of English constitutional liberty.²⁸ Many honours were bestowed upon him including addresses made to him by representatives of the city of London and many other large towns, and presentations about freedom by various corporate bodies. From 1765 until 1769 Pratt was Lord Chancellor. He opposed the taxation of

the American colonists, and in 1778, he signed the protest of the Lords in favour of an address to the King on the subject of the manifesto of the commissioners to America. His defence of the cause of the colonies and his praise of their conduct during the revolution won him wide popularity in the United States. Many towns and counties in this country bear his name.

LIVING IN ENGLAND 1764-1765

The few documents available to us suggest that in 1764 and in 1765 Loten was mainly occupied with household matters. However, this is probably a biased image of his daily activities in the pleasure gardens, bookshops, workshops of instrument makers and the country seats of his acquaintances. The documents only briefly inform us about his personal well-being and the reconstruction of his life in this period is therefore based on fragmentary and often incomplete information.

In June of 1764 Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek telling him why he preferred to live in London instead of in Utrecht. He quoted their mutual friend François Doublet, the Dutch envoy to Madrid, and also referred to his cousin Kinschot in Utrecht: 'If I remember correctly, he once wrote to me to say «never come to this nasty Utrecht to live». I do not flatter myself that he will choose our city as his residence. I should really like to live there, but I do not like to be subjected to the continuous nuisance of that malicious beast that lives in the Lange Nieuwstraat & who has not refrained from exercising her power over my relatives. I always knew that she greatly abused them. But this confidential'.²⁹

In London Loten 'wasted his time visiting the Ranelagh, Vauxhall and Mary le bone pleasure gardens',³⁰ visiting friends and reading books. In the letters he sent to Van Hardenbroek in 1764 and 1765, he gave no particulars about his health, indicating that he had no major complaints. There is also no information about the books he acquired and read. In August 1764 he wrote to his friend about the marriage between Constantia Isabella Fernanda Van Weede and Willem Huydecoper, son of the former burgomaster of Amsterdam, Jan Huydecoper.³¹ Although his tone is mocking, the lines reflect Loten's feelings about a relationship with a woman. Loten remembered Constantia Isabella Fernanda's 'charming face which represented, even in my icy imagination, a heaven of pleasures for the lucky husband'. Loten advised his unmarried friend, Van Hardenbroek: '[I]f you persist in celibacy make sure it is as interesting as possible'. Loten may have known about Van Hardenbroek's unanswered passion for Isabella Agneta Elisabeth van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1740-1805), better known as Belle Van Zuylen.³² Loten quoted 'the good Henry IV, who said that a greatly admired Nymph takes the place of everything else, but the devil decides who is worthy of her'. He added that such nymphs were rare in London: '[T]he wandering stars sometimes have sinister influences, as demonstrated not long ago by a Dutch girl, who sparkled for several months, as brightly as is possible in the nebulous constellation of this good city, for a friend attached to the corps diplomatique and who was quite willing to sleep with a female compatriot'.³³ The diplomatic friend and the sparkling Dutch girl have not been identified.

The scant information which follows in Loten's notebook, concerns his London household and it is anecdotal. On September 4th 1764 the staccato entry reads: '[T]he ash-grey parrots and the Virginian nightingale in house'. On November 20th 1764, Loten wrote that 'after I had heard the noise of the alarm of a clock three times during the night, I myself extracted the first molar'. Several short, somewhat confusing entries, most of them crossed out but still legible, refer to his servants and give and his domestic situation:

'11 Sept[em]b[er] 17[64]. Thomas Price the new servant employed wages £ 10 per year.

13 dito. Sarah Wilkins the new maid employed wages £ 5 and 6 pence per week for tea.

16 Sept[em]b[er] 17[64] for Thomas Price a new livery & a daily one and thin woollen under stockings.

2 Nov[em]b[er] 17[64] paid to Jacob 10 g[uinea]s for his rent and promised him for the future 12 guineas for rent & 2 for tea & Piggy keeps 8 g[uinea]s for rent and 2 for tea. However, Jacob wages 8 g[uinea]s, if he does not take profits at all and Ben Follet £ 12 or 12 guin[eas]. Advanced Ben Follet three guineas 4 March 1765.

14 Nov[ember] 17[64] Ben Follet the new servant employed wages £ 9 and also a chapeau with gold-trimming (began Febr [17]65).

28 [February 1765] Richard employed wages, if he does not receive profits, 10 guineas.

25 Feb[ruary] 1765 new livery for Richard & new coat for Jacob B[ardesyn] and hat, started 26 Feb[ruary] 1765

To Sally [=Sarah Wilkins] 13 March paid her half year wages £ 2 10 sh[illings] and her tea a 6 s[hillings]

Trousers f[or] Jac[ob Bardesyn] 8 May [17]65.

Plain hat for Richard 1 May and to Ben F[ollet] 29 May dito.

Piggy's year ends 10 May paid to her 21 & 8 g[uinea]s rent & 1 for tea.

June [17]65 to Richard 5 g[uinea]s for 1 year salary.

Sarah Barlow the cook's wages a £ 16 begins 10th June & advanced her board wages 1 g[uinea].

20 June [1765] gave to Ben Fol[let] the new green livery trousers, however he did not wear it before July 4.

Martin of Ternate entered 4 Nov[em]b[er] 1765, wages 12 guineas, he took of me for necessaries & 2 guineas & 2 more.

Richard since 28 Nov[ember 17]65 has wages a £ 13 already gave to him 6 g[uinea]s and £ 1.

Friebeck entered his service [November] 1765. His wages £ 24 a year, he took of me for his & family's subsistence first 3 guineas, then 2 more 21 Dec[ember 17]65 2 more.

Bardesyn again in my service 19 Febr[uary] 1766, earns 24 pounds sterling per year if no profits and without obligation to give him anything extra for mourning, clothes, N[ew] year or Fair'.³⁴

The annotation mentions Loten's Utrecht servant Jacob Bardesyn; it is the last time that the man's name appears in the Loten documents. No mention was made of Loten's maid Sitie from Celebes. She may have remained in the house that Loten still kept in Utrecht. In November of 1765 Arnout Loten informed his brother that the rental term of his Utrecht residence had been prolonged until 1st May 1767.³⁵

2. MARRIAGE

LETTICE COTES' FAMILY

Upon his return to England, marriage became a recurring topic in the correspondence between Loten and his brother. He was attracted by female beauty and looked for a partner in the families of the landed gentry apparently assuming that a suitable marriage would simplify his acceptance into British high society. Several things prevented him from entering into matrimony: his age, the youthfulness of potential candidates, his asthma and his feeling that marriage would restrict him in his freedom. Nevertheless when he had settled in London, he must have realised that he needed an intimate relationship with a woman and that a partner would be a support to him in his old age. After he returned from his Tour on the Continent, Loten enjoyed reasonably good health. Early in May of 1765 Arnout Loten remarked in a letter to his aunt De Wys that he was glad that his brother 'enjoyed the best health he has had for many year during the winter' and that he also 'took pleasure in the amusements of the Royal Society and Antiquaries'.³⁶ His constitution must have encouraged Loten to consider marriage once again.

Loten's future wife, Lettice Cotes, is mentioned in his notebook for the first time on 27 April 1765: 'April the 27th 1765 I gave notice of my intended legal marriage to Lady Lettice Cotes'.³⁷ Just when and where Loten first met his fiancée is unknown. Lettice or Lætitia Cotes (1733-1810), "of the respectable house of *Cotes*, in *Shropshire*",³⁸ was the daughter of Reverend Digby Cotes M.A. (1683-1744) and Elisabeth Bannister (1697-1733).³⁹ She was the twelfth child from Digby Cotes' first marriage. Lettice's mother had died at her birth.⁴⁰ The Cotes family was related to Anglo-Irish nobility and had belonged to the landed gentry for many generations. Loten was undoubtedly of the opinion that this enhanced their prestige. Digby Cotes was the second son of Charles Cotes of Woodcote and Lettice Digby the only daughter of Kildare (1631-1661), second Lord Digby of Geashill and Mary Gardiner (*d.* 1692).⁴¹ Digby Cotes's elder brother was John Cotes of Woodcote (1681-1756), who had married Lady Dorothy Shirley (1683-1721), the youngest daughter of Robert, Earl of Ferrers.⁴² Digby Cotes, a Fellow of All Souls, had been elected Public Orator of Oxford University in 1712 and was admitted as Principal of Magdalen Hall Oxford in January 1716. He retained his All Souls Fellowship until his marriage to Elisabeth Bannister on April 13th 1716.⁴³ From 1734 to 1744 he was Prebendary of Pipa minor (or Prees) in the Lichfield diocese. Many years later Loten quoted from *Gentleman's Magazine*: "Upon a vacancy of the public orator's place at Oxford, NEWTON (Dr Richard) offered him self a candidate; but Digby COTES (then fellow of All Souls College, and afterwards Principal of Magdalen Hall) carried the point against him. Newton's friends thought him to be by far the more qualified person for that eminent post; though Orator Digby was also, I think, a man of worth, as well as reputation. Newton survived him".⁴⁴

In the summer of 1768, Loten copied the inscriptions found on the monument to Lettice Cotes's parents in the church of Coleshill and remarked having noticed the date upon which Lettice's mother had died: "M^{rs} Loten, then was born 26 or 27 May 1733, or reduced to the new stile 6th or 7th June 1733".⁴⁵

Loten referred to the dates according to the Julian and Georgian calendar; the last was adopted in England in 1752. Evidently Digby Cotes was a man of letters with connections to various eighteenth-century authors. Loten wrote the following about his father-in-law: “The above ment[ioned] Gentleman was also Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral; when the late Prince of Orange visited Oxford’s university, he was deputed to make the introductory & congratulatory speech. The celebrated Addison had been his tutor, when young, and Mr Cotes him self wrote several numbers of the Spectator, amongst these some on the Duchess of Somerset (before her marriage) who was his near relation & whom he loved. She was daughter of ... [left blank by Loten]”.⁴⁶ Loten was probably referring to Digby Cotes’s cousin, Francis Digby, who in 1710 married James Scudamore, third Viscount of Scudamore.⁴⁷ She was active in the literary circles of her time and introduced Alexander Pope to her nephew William Digby’s family. William was the fifth Baron of Geashill. Pope regularly mentions Francis in his correspondence. In March of 1718, in a letter he wrote to Robert Digby (*d.* 1726), he describes her personality: “My Lady Scudamore, from having rusticated in your Company too long, really behaves herself scandalously among us: she pretends to open her eyes for the sake of seeing the Sun, and to sleep because it is Night; drinks tea at nine in the Morning, and is thought to have said her prayers before; talks without any manner of shame of good Books”.⁴⁸ It seems probable that Digby Cotes was admitted to this literary circle. In 1721, in an elegant, long-winded introduction, he dedicated his *Fifteen sermons preach’d on several occasions* to his cousin “The Right Honourable the Lady Viscountess Scudamore”.⁴⁹ Loten also referred to Digby Cotes’s tributes to Joseph Addison’s *Cato* (1713), a tragedy which appeared containing testimonials of merit composed by several minor authors among whom Digby Cotes.⁵⁰

In 1784 Loten made a short note about the ancestors of his wife. It shows that he had a high regard for her ancestry: ‘Lady Lettice Loten was the offspring of the very old freeholders and knights of Cotes in Stratfordshire and Woodcote in Shropshire. The latter location has been the family’s seat for four centuries and the Cotes were in Stratfordshire prior to the conquest of a[nn]o 1066. Lettice’s great-grandmother was Lady Lettice, baroness of Offaley and Geashill’.⁵¹ So Loten’s wife was named after her great-great-grandmother, whose heroic defence of Geashill Castle in King’s County, Ireland in 1641 was one of the most spirited episodes in the history of the Irish Rebellion.⁵² In his annotation he further remarked that the country estate Cotes and Woodcote was owned by his wife’s cousin ‘John Cotes in 177[7] married [Lucy] de Courtenay [1748-1786], daughter and sister of the Lords of Courtenay of Powderham Castle. They were formerly the Counts of Devonshire – The just mentioned Cotes now about 26 ætat, is also Member of Parliament for the County Shropshire’.

MARRIAGE

In March of 1765, Arnout Loten sent his brother an English translation of an extract of his christening certificate from the register of baptisms of the Parish of Blauwkapel.⁵³ Loten was collecting personal documents; this may have been because he planned to marry, but he may also have needed them to register his coat of arms in England.⁵⁴ Although he became engaged on 27 April 1765, he did not inform Arnout of this until May 14th. He did write to his friend, Van Hardenbroek, four days earlier saying: “I was in hopes of acquainting You with some news that would have given You pleasure. The event did not follow as soon as I wished by some unforeseen accidents. I am sorry for not being able to write more at present upon the doubtful subject of the hint I give here”.⁵⁵ In the same letter he assured his friend: “I really intend to return to Holland at least for a while and to see my friends [...] tho’ I may perhaps defer my going over ‘till next year, intending this summer season to bathe in the sea either at Southampton or Brighthelmstone with very agreeable company”. It is likely that Van Hardenbroek knew to estimate the true nature of the ‘very agreeable company’. Arnout Loten, informed about Loten’s engagement and the identity of the ‘agreeable’ companion, wrote his brother on May 24th 1765: ‘For the present we and Mama congratulate you on your future great happiness. We wish that you will possess this charming treasure during a long chain of years’.⁵⁶

From May 22nd until June 10th 1765, Loten stayed ‘in the countryside’ at Tadworth in Surrey with ‘very agreeable company with whom I am not bored’. He was at *Tadworth Court*, the manor belonging to Lady Rhoda Delves, widow of John Cotes of Woodcote, the son of the eldest brother of Lettice’s father Digby Cotes.⁵⁷ Lady Rhoda’s daughter, who was named after her and born in 1731, married Philip Carteret Webb, an antiquarian and conservative Member of Parliament. Carteret Webb and his wife lived at the nearby estate, *Bushbridge*.⁵⁸ Lettice Cotes must have been a frequent guest at *Bushbridge*; she may have lived there as a companion to her cousin Rhoda.⁵⁹ In 1761, Webb, a Fellow of both the Royal Society and the

London Antiquaries, was one of the signatories of the testimonial that supported Loten's election to the Society of Antiquaries. It is possible that Webb invited Loten to *Busbridge* where he met his future wife Lettice.

Just how Loten introduced his future wife to his family remains a mystery, because his letter about this was lost. However, the letter in which he announced his marriage to his friend Van Hardenbroek is still extant: 'Now I shall explain all the riddles, which you dealt with in your obliging letter of May 26th by communicating to you that, God willing, I shall marry Miss Laetitia Cotes within a few days. She has taken the liberty to assure you of her respect. I have no doubt that she will earn your friendship, & I approval for my choice, immediately after you have become better acquainted with her, either by means of a description that one of our friends makes of her by writing to our acquaintances in Holland, or, when she visits it to pay her compliments to the country of my birth, which she is eager to do. I should also be pleased if all my friends or acquaintances think like you do, my very dear Monsieur. I do not believe that bathing in the sea is more advantageous to my health than a journey to Holland, even though I have felt rather well for several months'.⁶⁰

Loten married Lettice Cotes in the village of Banstead on July 4th 1765.⁶¹ After their simple marriage ceremony had taken place, Loten and his wife returned to their 'hut' ["cabane"] in Burlington Street.⁶² A few days later, his brother informed him that he had 'learned about our future sister's good qualities and beauty from all sides'. Saying 'farewell to your long-lasting complaints' seemed appropriate to Arnout at the time: 'Good health is always welcome, especially now. Brother, qui va piano va sano, and one see to one's old age. Amongst ourselves, Mama is wondering why she did not receive any communication from you. I told her that in your letter of May 14th you asked me to inform her and that you would write her afterwards'.⁶³ Several weeks later Loten formally announced his marriage. Arnout nine years his junior, sent Loten his congratulations in a stately and ironically manner: 'We received the announcement of your marriage with much pleasure. We wish You both a very long and happy marriage and that it will always be blessed, prosperous and full of delight, the most important of which is the arrival of several young children, although this needs not reach the numbers we understand our new sister's family is accustomed to'.⁶⁴ Arnout also included cousin Van Kinschot's congratulations. It seems, however, that, in Utrecht, the response to Loten's announcement of marriage 'from several people, both those high in rank and those with none', was 'rather indifferent'. Arnout Loten wrote to his brother to explain: 'It is not polite, but it is usual habit. None of our friends from Wijk [bij Duurstede], who often come to the city and visit us when they need us, came to congratulate Mama or us on Your marriage'.⁶⁵

Part of the marriage preparations had been a marriage contract in which Loten settled an annuity invested in the Bank of England on the name of his future wife.⁶⁶ His notebook from 1766 tells us: "[T]he following particular annotations to serve for my dear wife Lettice Loten, formerly Cotes". The remarks dealt with his financial position and may have served as a draft account for his wife or as a way of remembering something for his testament. From the notes it is clear that Herman Berens and his son John still acted as Loten's financial agents in England.

"When I begun to receive the dividends on what I possess in the English funds my self. Mess^r H[erman] & John Berens kept under them the care of receiving the dividends on the long annuit[ies] that is bought for my blanks in a lottery & which gives me yearly £ 21:7:6 or £ 10:13:9 every 6 m[onths].

The last 6 m[onths] that H. & J. Berens, as one may see by their last account, currently brought on that in my favour was due 5 July 1765, so that they have now, whilst I write this in August 1766, under them what is due 5 Jan[uary] 1766 and 5 July 1766 or £ 21:7:6 and till what was due 5 Jan[uary] 1767 thus £ 32:1:3

And also a pair of saddle horses must come on my new acc[oun]t that Mr Her[man] Berens sold for me as he sold for 28 guineas or £ 21:-:-".⁶⁷

From the subsequent entry it is obvious that in 1766 Loten made investments using the bankers "Mess^{rs} Cliffe, Walpole & Clarke" and no longer the firm of Herman Berens.⁶⁸ In May of 1766 he mentions various investments he made in funds: £ 17,000 at 4% annuities, circa £ 26,000 at 3% annuities and circa £ 22,285 at 3½% annuities. Thus the capital he invested in England amounted to about £ 65,850. In 1766 and 1767, Loten's investments in England resulted yielded an annual dividend of 2,240 pounds sterling.

Information about any further financial dealings he may have done is scarce and incomplete. His testament, dated 27 February 1767, mentions "12,000 pounds sterling 3% annuities at the Bank of England in the names of Count Denbigh and Sir Herbert Mackworth", but no other investments in England or the Republic were registered in his last will. A portion of his capital remained in Holland. At

least until 1768, Amsterdam broker Frans Adam Carelson acted as Loten's representative for the Dutch East Indies Company. He cashed the bills of transfer addressed to Loten with the dividends from the Opium Society in Batavia. He supplied Loten and his brother Arnout with cash money to spend in Holland.⁶⁹ In the 1760s Carelson started having financial problems, however without causing damage to Loten's possessions.⁷⁰ In later years Jan Kol acted as Loten's financial representative and banker in the Dutch Republic.

HEALTH PROBLEMS

During the summer of 1765 Loten and his wife went to the English south coast to bath in sea. They planned to visit the Dutch Republic in 1766.⁷¹ From references in his correspondence, it is clear that he suffered from serious attacks of asthma in Southampton in August 1765.⁷² Loten himself said that he 'would not have been in this world anymore', had it not been for the opium which he used extensively there for the first time. Loten told Van Hardenbroek that for an entire month he had sat at a table without being able to undress or to sleep for more than 3 or 4 minutes each night. Further details are lacking. In the autumn, Lettice too, suffered from health problems, but details about these are also missing.⁷³ Asthma complaints continued to trouble Loten. In one of his notebooks he commented on a remedy for asthma found in Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia, or, A Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728). The remark, probably made late in 1765, was erased: 'Chambers in his Dictionary voce Asthma recommends an infusion of fim: equin: as an excellent remedy. I do not find this medicine in the Dispensatory and in Chambers the description is not clear, so I must look for it in another copy and if I cannot find it I must inquire the physicians. Also if necessary experiment with Enula Campana and Tussilago'.⁷⁴ Loten checked Chambers's recommendation in Dr Lewis's *New Dispensatory* and discovered that the prescribed infusion of horse dung was no longer considered an effective means of curing asthma. He also copied three prescriptions from *The New Dispensatory* (1753):

- “1. page 528 Bolus rheumaticus, «of singular effects [“efficacy” in *The New Dispensatory*] in rheumatism & old pains and aches of the limbs. The pat[ien]t ought to keep warm & drink suitable warm liquors.
2. page 530 Pilulæ asthmaticæ,
3. page 530 Pilulæ catharticæ, this composition is a warm purgative, whether for removing crudities &c after a surfeit, or preventing arthritic and other diseases. The quantity to be made into 30 pills, of which 5 or 6 for a doze (to try first with 2 or 3)”.⁷⁵

Lettice suffered from Rheumatism at *Bushbridge* in June 1762. Thus the fact that Loten sought a cure indicates she probably still suffered from this complaint.⁷⁶ It seems that Loten enjoyed reading Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, because in his notebook he said that he 'used it daily and wrote from it'. Using Elicampane also appealed to Loten as a medicine for his ails. Under the heading, "For a shortness of breath or cough", he entered the preparation for Elicampane:

- “Take the fresh roots of Elicampane, scrape it & cut it in slices the bigness of y[ou]r little finger, boil it in soft water till tender, then take it out of the water and to that water put Lisbon sugar & boil it to a syrup. Then put in the Elicampane roots & just boil it up. Keep it for use in a stone jar, take a piece two hours after eating, morning is the best time to take it. Mr Doudswell a private Gentleman at Chelsea, found by this the most benefit.
The physick herb shops in Covent garden is the place to have the Elicampane roots”.⁷⁷

3. UTRECHT AND LONDON 1766-1770

Respiratory problems increasingly became a matter of concern for Loten. However, from June 1766 until May 1767, he and his wife stayed in Utrecht, where he was in reasonably good health. He attributed this to the favourable climate there. Once he was back in London, his initial enthusiasm for living in England began to disappear from his documents. This feeling of diminished enthusiasm was probably the result of his sometimes strained relationship with his wife. This was typified by Belle Van Zuylen in July of 1770 as “une dissonance entre ces deux personnes qui fait un peu souffrir”.⁷⁸ His personal notes tell us that his position in London's social circles did not improve by marrying Lettice. Increasingly, he became a foreigner who had the feeling that he was only tolerated in the margins of polite society. Within the learned society however, he enjoyed the friendship of Alexander Dalrymple and he cooperated with

Thomas Pennant and Joseph Banks on a project to publish his natural history collection in a series called *Indian Zoology*.⁷⁹ Early in 1768 Loten and his wife took a tour through England; they then travelled to Spa in Austrian Flanders and from there on to Utrecht. The limited sources available to us suggest that during this period their health situation was fragile. In 1769 and 1770 however, Loten told Pennant that he did not suffer from asthma in Utrecht; this is in contrast to what Belle Van Zuylen observed and what the medical prescriptions in his notebook seem to imply.

FRIENDS IN UTRECHT

Loten and his wife travelled to Utrecht in 1766 and stayed until April 1767. This period was interrupted by several tours to Nijmegen, Cleve, Bois le Duc and Tilburg. During his stay in the Republic he made extensive notes of funeral boards in churches.⁸⁰ Loten also entered their itinerary in his notebook:

'1766
 16 [June] Thursday from London
 28 June from Harwich
 3- - at Rotterdam
 3 July Hage
 7 dito Utrecht
 1767
 27 April from Utrecht
 1 May from Rotterdam
 2 dito from Helvoet
 3 dito at Harwich
 4 dito in London'.⁸¹

Information about this period in Utrecht is fragmentary. In 1778 Loten wrote that “the effects the air of Utr[echt] suddenly & lasting had [...] were surprising, as [...] in 1766 and 1767 on my self”.⁸² Even so, Dr Rosendaal was consulted several times in December of 1766 and in January 1767. Rosendaal wrote prescriptions for Loten’s asthma and for Lettice’s rheumatic complaints, he prescribed Peruvian Bark [“Extr. Cort. Peruv.”], Amber in ammonium carbonate [“Sal. Vol. Succin”] and Rochelle salt [“Sal de Seignette”].⁸³

Two months after his return to London, Loten’s friend Van Hardenbroek sent him a letter about their acquaintances in Utrecht.⁸⁴ Besides former notary and banker, Jan Kol, he mentioned the French protestant minister, Charles de Guiffardière, who, according to James Boswell was a “young preacher who liked good living”. Boswell, who adhered to very strict notions of clerical decorum, was even shocked by Guiffardière’s levity. In Tilburg in 1764, the preacher had “attached himself” to a “charming woman whom I adore and with whom I have passed many delicious moments”. His Reverence communicated: “She is married to a Swiss captain, a man of very little charm [...] We live intimately connected in spite of her boor of a husband, and I hope will long continue so”.⁸⁵ He taught Latin to Belle Van Zuylen in 1765. A year later, however, she wrote to Constant d’Hermetches about her instructor: ‘I have not studied Latin for the last three weeks because my teacher is in love; I become extremely stupid’.⁸⁶ Around 1767 the amorous and gallant Reverend went to live in London where he became Queen Charlotte’s French reader and the Royal Princesses’ history instructor. Loten quoted De Guiffardière’s impression of London in December of 1773: “Here is no Society amongst Gentlemen, except a few clubs and cards”.⁸⁷ Perhaps the presumed lack of adequate amusements for a gentleman was the reason why he obtained the reputation as ‘Mr Turbulent’ among the Ladies of the British capital.⁸⁸

In his summary of acquaintances Van Hardenbroek also referred to his own cousin, Eleonora Geertuyde de Casembroot (1716-1803),⁸⁹ intimately called ‘Aunt Nel’ in his letter. Both Van Hardenbroek and his cousin belonged to the Utrecht aristocracy. Loten considered Eleonora to be one of his friends and in his correspondence with Van Hardenbroek he usually asked Van Hardenbroek to send her his and his wife’s greetings. In May of 1767 Loten bought books for her in Benjamin White’s bookshop in London: “A Bible in 4^o in sheets, Francis’ Horace in 4 volumes 8^o, Melmoth’s Pliny in 2 volumes 8^o and Literary cards with directions for Eleonora de Casembroot”.⁹⁰ In June of 1767 he also bought a Virgil for her and on July 4th he purchased Swift’s works in 21 volumes. The amount due – £5, 5s 6p – was remitted through Loten’s British agent Hermann Berens in December of 1767.⁹¹ Van Hardenbroek also asked Loten to purchase *The Seasons* (1730) by the Scottish poet James Thompson (1700-1748),⁹² and Thomas Gray’s (1716-1771) *Ode to adversity*,⁹³ because these were not available in Utrecht. Van Hardenbroek wrote

about his idle cousin Eleonora who did not acknowledge that she had received the books and who was even so impertinent as to say that it was on Lettice's own request: '[S]he remembered (despite her own idleness) the remarkable statement «that if someone would ask her [=Lettice] for a regular correspondence, she would be able to freeze the friendship with her &c». Therefore Aunt Nel pleads that she restrains herself and withholds herself dignified from putting a pen on paper to give us her interesting news. Nevertheless Monsieur, we like to receive news about her by means of you'.⁹⁴

In the notebook containing his remarks about Eleonora de Casembroot, Loten wrote that on January 14th 1768, he had bought "*A Plutarchus Life* for M^{lle} de Zuylen at Benjamin White's for £1-4".⁹⁵ M^{lle} Belle Van Zuylen was the eldest daughter of his friend Diederik Jacob Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken, Lord of Zuylen.⁹⁶ Belle was reading Plutarch in April of 1768, perhaps it was the copy Loten had sent. At that time Belle attended public lectures in experimental philosophy by the Utrecht Professor J.D. Hahn. She compared these lessons with Plutarch and concluded: 'On the one hand we admire the Laws of inanimate nature and the lessons that art has taught us to draw from them, but on the other hand we look at human nature from various points of view, depending upon the environment in which it manifests itself. Knowledge of the thinking of these two men [Plutarch and Hahn] may be even more useful, although the first is perhaps more remarkable and more satisfactory, and why exclude one of the two when both are entertaining?'.⁹⁷

FRANÇOIS DOUBLET'S FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

While both Loten and his friend François Doublet, the Dutch envoy in Madrid, were in Utrecht in September 1766, Loten appears to have loaned 1,200 pounds sterling to Doublet.⁹⁸ It was a loan which he regretted afterwards, because it prevented him from being able to acquire several scientific instruments:

'When my fortune improves or if Mr Doublet repays me at least half of the Twelve hundred pounds sterling, except the expenses, I shall try to acquire the following instruments:

Two globes of 18 inches.

One drawing instrument invented by Mr Hirst.

[scratched out] a theodolite to measure also the height of stars &c however have to speak about it with Mr Short or Bird.

A sextant of 9 or 10 inch rad[iu]s like that of Mr Dalrymple to be constructed by Bird to measure distances &c with the cross-staf see Maskelyne's British Mariners Guide.⁹⁹

A quadrant of 12 or with increase of fortune of 18 inch for all heights of the sun and moon, and stars, with telescopes on it and a mirror for steep heights. The 12 inch [quadrant] fits much better in one box while the other one requires three boxes.

Nairne opposite the Royal Exchange constructs very good drawing instruments like compasses &c also good optical glasses and a small achromatic glass with which one is able to see the ring of Saturn & satellites of Jupiter. However, Dollond is the authority for the much enlarging glasses of 3 or 4 feet for astronomical observations. The largest I think without a micrometer costs circa £ 30 or guineas.

The 12 inch quadrant by Bird is about the same price with all accessories. I considered everything with Mr Dalrymple'.¹⁰⁰

The note was probably written after Loten returned to London in April of 1767. It once again illustrates Loten's great interest in scientific instruments. Doublet's financial problems did not refrain Loten from buying a magnificent quadrant from John Bird in 1772, and a telescope made by John Dollond later.¹⁰¹ In 1775 he possessed three globes, which he stored at Mr Cruttenden during his stay in Utrecht.¹⁰² Loten shared his interest in scientific instruments with his friend, Alexander Dalrymple, who had returned from India in July of 1765.¹⁰³

In his letters to Van Hardenbroek and his brother, Loten said he felt that he had been cheated by Doublet. He even considered to taking his friend to Court: '[I]f F.D. [inserted: 'Doublet'] does not pay soon, consult F.A.C. [possibly Franz Adam Carelson] or vd Hoop in Amsterdam [first secretary of the VOC]; I think Noordbeek [not identified] is a smart lawyer as is Smith the Knight [not identified]'.¹⁰⁴

Doublet died in Madrid in 1769.¹⁰⁵ In April 1770 Loten appointed Jan Kol as his representative in this case with the instruction to regain his capital from the trustees of the Doublet estate.¹⁰⁶ In 1771, with some difficulty Loten only regained half of his claim on Doublet from his estate.¹⁰⁷ In his later correspondence, Loten referred to Doublet in negative terms; this was much in contrast to his earlier expressions of his friendship with him.¹⁰⁸ On March 15th 1771, Loten wrote a bitter epitaph for the deceased Doublet to his brother: 'One is deliberately slow in rounding off the affairs of Mr Doublet.

Money always serves people who can keep it with them. I don't know whether the cause of it is in Spain or in the Hague. Shrewd politicians do not commiserate with oafs who lend money to help a friend or a would-be friend. I am sure however, that My Lord Holderness and his wife both think differently. Altogether it is good he D[ouble]t is ad patres [=deceased], because otherwise he would have gambled away his last penny. That is the only thing in which he excelled, and not at all in the office that he held. This is a testimony given by a British Member of the Corps Diplomatique, who is very well informed and of absolute good behaviour and who knew the deceased in Castilia [Loten referred to the British Consul General in Spain Sir Stanier Porten]. However, he was well-known to be a good companion in pleasure, but besides that good for nothing'.¹⁰⁹

Loten's problems with Doublet remained a matter of concern to him for a long time, although he never told his wife anything about 'the Envoy extraordinary Van Groeneveld's nice history'. On October 9th 1780 he wrote to his brother saying: 'I cannot understand that one can be so weak. I do not always act shrewdly when dealing with such swindlers who seem so generous; I am often lured into a trap. Doublet and MyLady [=Lady Holderness] are not a whit better. I first started to realise this in 1769 and then, subsequently in 1773, I began to suspect that my otherwise so natural and captivating friend (to whom I have referred before in this letter) would, when the time was ripe seek me out as the one who would help him fill some empty pockets. I do not really love these agreeable schemers'.¹¹⁰ Clearly his opinion of Doublet's sister, Lady Holderness, had also changed.

STRAINED RELATIONS

The summer of 1767 was spent in "Henley on Thames, Sunning hill, afterwards to Bristol-wells, one day at Bath". In August of that same year, Loten and his wife were in Brighthelmstone where Loten had another attack of asthma.¹¹¹ He told Van Hardenbroek that this attack was just as bad as the one he had had in Southampton two years earlier. "At the latter end of 1767", Lettice's elder sister, Catharine Cotes, came to live at New Burlington Street.¹¹² Catharine Cotes had been widowed in 1766, which probably was the reason that she came to live with her sister and brother-in-law. Catharine Cotes was a religious woman, but Loten liked her and he later characterised her as a 'great walker' and a 'drudge with an easy temper who never bothered me'.¹¹³ She lived in New Burlington Street until June of 1774 and accompanied Loten and his wife on their travels in England and to Holland.¹¹⁴ Her late husband, Reverend Sloane Elsmere, had been rector of the Parish church of St Luke of Chelsea from 1732 to 1766. He had been a benefactor to the girls' charity school in Chelsea, which he founded in 1740. Rector Elsmere's mother, Alice Bailie, was Sir Hans Sloane's half-sister (they shared the same mother, Sarah Hicks). Sir Hans Sloane was the founder of the British Museum and former President of the Royal Society. In 1753 Sloane Elsmere was one of Sir Hans Sloane's executors.

In 1768 Loten and Lettice spent a year in England; that summer they travelled to "Bury, Cambridge, Stanford & Burleigh house, Lichfield, Woodcote, Newport, Sherif-hales, back by Coventry, Meridan, Daventree, afterwards to East Grinstead, Brighton then home". According to Loten's notebook they also visited Darkling and Ewell, where several of Lettice's relatives lived.¹¹⁵ During this time, Loten made a remark about his health in his notebook, saying: "It was I think in the spring 1768 that I felt my self 5 or 6 months so well as I thought by the essence of rad[ix] pimp[inella] albae".¹¹⁶ The extract of the root of the burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella saxifraga*) was sometimes used to alleviate asthmatic symptoms.

In 1767 he summed up a quarrel that he and his wife Lettice had evidently had about household issues. He had been "obliged to make up". The subsequent notes are scratched out and scarcely legible, but read as follows:

"[N]ot to mention what happened before viz the Saturday,
upbraiding about the imaginary disorder,
caresses of P.C. Webb,
invitations, contrary to promises to Dr H[alli]fax & wife to lodge at our house,
also of Miss M. Tryon".¹¹⁷

These remarks are the first in a series of complaints Loten made about Lettice's relatives and friends; they appear in his documents in the years following this one. The staccato tone of the entries alludes to extreme levels of irritability. In this particular entry, he refers to Lettice's intimacy with Phillip Carteret Webb MP. It is clear that their personal relationship irritated Loten. Lady Mary Tryon was Lettice's friend and from 1761 on she was Queen Charlotte's *Maid of honour*. In December of 1767, Loten and Lettice's

relationship appears to have been very strained indeed, for Loten copied an advertisement for lodgings from the *Public Advertiser* of 26 December 1767 into his notebook. Was he looking for separate lodgings?

“A young Lady, who has a genteel house, situated in a good neighbourhood, would be glad to engage her first floor to a Gentleman of character. It is a handsomely furnished, and in every respect very different from a common lodging-house, fit only for a polite person. No other but those of good character need apply.

Enquire at Mr. Frog China Shop New Bond Street, any day from twelve o'clock till two”.

Nevertheless, Loten and his wife must have been reconciled, because some time later he reconsidered the first quoted annotation and crossed it out, adding a touching and forgiving remark: “[I]ndulge, indulge! Consider the delicate frame, the natural warmth of expressions and real solid goodness of heart! How most obligingly the 29th of X^{br} [=December 1767] she spoke about her natural warm way of expression and that she would endeavour to get the better of it”.¹¹⁸ Further information about Loten’s life in 1768 is scanty and restricted to but a few observations in his notebook; most of these deal with household matters.¹¹⁹ From Belle Van Zuylen’s correspondence we know that he planned to travel to Holland, a trip which never took place.¹²⁰

DR JAMES HALLIFAX

In his complaint about Lettice’s various relations, Loten mentions Reverend Dr James Hallifax (1719-1781). Hallifax was rector of Cheddington and vicar of Ewell, and from 1777 until his death in 1781 he was also rector of Whitechurch.¹²¹ In July 1767 he married Frances Cotes, one of Lettice’s sisters.¹²² Hallifax’s first wife, Martha Louisa Cutler, had died in September of 1757. Loten considered Dr Hallifax’s marriage with his sister-in-law a misalliance. His notebook of circa 1774 contains a disparaging remark about Hallifax’s descent. It was based on a letter written by Reverend William Welchman’s widow. Until his death in 1749, Welchman was rector of Westcote Barton in North Oxfordshire and his widow evidently knew Hallifax well:¹²³

“The letter that the widow of Deacon Welchman wrote, who knew him [=Dr James Hallifax] from infancy, when he was to marry Mrs. Frances Cotes, that he, as is really true, was the son of a little country apothecary,¹²⁴ and afterwards he studied very likely on some Gentleman’s purse [sic!] & became a clergyman and was once a school-master. He said to [??] that he sent his footman, being ill at Oxford to the Apothecary Meysey who married Mrs. [????],¹²⁵ being too proud to name here his own wife [H.’s first wife M.L. Cutler], which would have been much more natural as he him self was descended from such gentry that lived by being little apothecaries & surgeons in some poor country villages & hamlets vide Mrs Welchman’s letter.

This man sayd he had always thought Mr Loten to be a proud awkward foreigner, but that he found him more & more agreeable as (by keeping such good company, very likely) he began to display him self”.¹²⁶

In 1778 or 1779 Loten again referred to Mrs Welchman’s letter, when he cynically described his sister-in-law’s attitude: “[T]he honest warning & true heart-friendly advices given in 176... when still time to prevent the not honourable consequences, by the worthy widow Mrs. Welchman, but all was not minded at all by [Mrs Frances Cotes] looking up to the rich Episcopate already dropping into the feasting Saint’s mouth”.¹²⁷ From these and other remarks it is clear that Loten and Hallifax’s relationship was anything but friendly. Thus, it is very likely that the Loten documents are very biased with respect to this gentleman.

The information available to us about Reverend Hallifax’s sermons suggests that he was a popular preacher. His stance on theological issues cannot have caused the tensions between Loten and himself. Besides being adequately knowledgeable about the Bible, Hallifax was also flexible in his interpretation of the texts, although they were expressed in the traditional long-winded paternal style that he shared with his eighteenth-century colleagues. Several of his sermons were published.¹²⁸ In February in 1756 he preached on “General fasting and Humiliation on account of the dreadful earthquake in Lisbon”. In this sermon he demonstrated that he was reluctant to view the Lisbon disaster as God’s way of punishing sinners: “[A]nd instead of employing our Thoughts and Time in a vain Attempt to determine whether those, who were the more immediate Objects of God’s wrath in this fatal Calamity, were Sinners above all the *Lisbonians*, or even above ourselves, let us rather charitably hope, that they were in a better Condition to die than those who survived them”.¹²⁹ Although Hallifax placed the earthquake in a moral context, the reasons for its occurrence were of less importance to him than was the spiritual welfare of his flock. This notion was

certainly not shared by Loten's orthodox relatives in Utrecht, who undoubtedly considered the earthquake to be Divine punishment for Lisbon's sinners.

In 1768, Halifax preached "before the President, Vice-Presidents, and Governors of the Hospitals for Small-pox and Inoculation". This sermon was a theological treatise on inoculation, which, at that time, was still controversial in clerical and medical circles.¹³⁰ Halifax supported inoculation by providing theological arguments in its favour and by arguing against Reverend Edmund Massey's *Sermon against the dangerous and sinful practice of inoculation* (1722).¹³¹ Massey viewed inoculation as a means of evading divine punishment and claimed that inoculation was a "diabolical operation, and tends providence out of the world".¹³² Dr Halifax gave a less orthodox and moral interpretation and argued that, "the integrity and patience of Job were exercised by a long train of complicated maladies, and it very certain, that those who think that he was afflicted with Small-Pox, or any other particular disease [he mentioned leprosy and venereal diseases], have no better authority than doubtful conjecture to build upon. Surely then, such a slight foundation cannot be sufficient to support that heavy charge, which the enemies to Inoculation have laid upon the defenders of this practise".¹³³ Halifax's conclusions demonstrate his enlightened belief in the value of human reason in medical matters, an opinion that he undoubtedly shared with Loten: "The Almighty Power maketh the same earth produce medicines; but the skill of the physician is to search into their healing qualities, and to apply them faithfully".

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE

The Dutch East Indies Company's policy with regard to map-making was that all maps and charts made of Indian territory were to be made exclusively for use by the Company. The VOC generally kept the official documents, maps and hydrographic knowledge of the East Indian territories a tight secret. In the East Indies, Loten had been active in the field of cartography. He himself had drawn several coastal profiles of Bali, Java and Celebes during his voyages in the Indian Archipelago. Under his supervision, Macassar bookkeeper Jean Michel Aubert had prepared a set of maps of VOC territory in southern Celebes. Aubert also made a sublime set of hydrographical charts of the coastal waters around Celebes. This was evidently done under Loten's direction on behalf of the Company. Probably because of this experience with chart-making and interest in navigation, Loten was appointed president of the Marine Academy in Batavia in 1750. In 1753, he also became commissary responsible for perfecting the VOC's sea charts.

At Ceylon Loten had close contacts with the Ceylon Survey Department. Since the Dutch occupation of the island in the early seventeenth century mapping had progressed with good results. Detailed maps of the whole island and especially those parts of the Company-held territory were done with accuracy.¹³⁴ In Loten's legacy there are several maps, drawings and charts made by the first surveyor of Colombo, Balthus Jacobz Van Lier, and other surveyors of the Department, for the Company's use. Like many returning officers Loten apparently kept duplicates. Moreover, assistant surveyor Pieter Cornelis de Bevere and his colleague assistant surveyor Pieter Van Oosten produced a collection of natural history watercolours for him. Loten paid his draughtsmen, so this collection was his private possession, although the Company also forbidded their servants to keep this type of documents in their personal possession.¹³⁵ When Loten returned to Patria his collection also included ground plans of forts and military buildings, fortifications and plans of Colombo, Jaffna and Galle. While residing in England, Loten lent these to Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808).¹³⁶ Dalrymple, a servant of the English East India Company, was an expert navigator who between 1759 and 1765 had made a detailed survey of the East Indian Archipelago on board of the *Cuddalore*. Moreover, he became one of the great historians of the Pacific of the eighteenth century. Loten was well aware of his friend's explorations. On 21 September 1779, after 'a very choking convulsive fit', he described his friend as: "The able describer of the earth, land and sea, astronomer and Navigator Alexander Dalrymple Esq., famous because of his inimitable precise and handsome maps, who has seen much of India, Coromandel, Malabar, Ceylon, Borneo and the Archipelago North and North-West. [He was] also in Macassar went along the Mandahar from Tammakeke to Magindanao, the Philippines and Manilha, China, Cape of Good Hope &c. Also at Trincomale and Batticalao at Ceylon. [He] went on sail from Madraspatnam with a small ship to Suez and from there over land and after that with a French ship to Marseille and from there over land along the usual road to Calais".¹³⁷

Dalrymple was one of Britain's foremost promoters of founding a British trade settlement in the Eastern Archipelago. However, such settlements interfered with the Dutch East Indies Company's interest in the area. Dalrymple was also interested in Celebes. In 1763, he wrote an account of the island,

which he considered to be “one of the largest and most populous islands in the world, situated in the finest climate, for the production of the richest Spices; almost in sight of the Moluccas, and parallel to Borneo; famous for its diamonds, an Island whose Mountains glow with Gold, and its Plains with neglected Riches from the apprehension of Dutch Invaders”.¹³⁸ He stressed the possibilities of stirring the native princes to revolt against the Dutch.¹³⁹

Dalrymple’s knowledge of previous discoveries in the South Pacific was unsurpassed. One of his great objects was to discover of a Southern Continent in the South Pacific. In the winter of 1768, the Royal Society recommended him for a post as commander of a vessel whose goal would be to explore the South Pacific and record observations of the forthcoming transit of the planet Venus in Tahiti in 1769. However, the Royal Navy opposed Dalrymple’s appointment as commander of the vessel, saying that this was “entirely repugnant to the regulations of the Navy”.¹⁴⁰ Command of the *Endeavour* was therefore entrusted to captain James Cook, who accepted his appointment on 5 May 1768. Evenso, many sympathised with Dalrymple, who was invited to dine with the Royal Society Club as their guest on 28 April and twice more during that summer; he was also taken to one of the Society’s meetings.¹⁴¹

Loten was probably already acquainted with Dalrymple in 1767, but from 1768 on they met more often. On 28 May 1768, one month after Dalrymple’s demise as potential commander of the Southern Continent expedition, Loten lent him a series of topographical drawings, land views, coastal line descriptions and hydrographical charts from his collection, specifically:

- “[M]ap of Java in 3 sheets done by Mr. Luepken Engineer.¹⁴²
- map of Amboina by de Beveren.¹⁴³
- Set of Sea Maps of Celebes’s coast by J.M. Aubert.¹⁴⁴
- 4 Landmaps of Celebes by dito.¹⁴⁵
- 1 of the Environs of Maccassar.¹⁴⁶
- 1 of the high land of Sagery [on Celebes] little view.¹⁴⁷
- 1 of the coasts of Calpetty [Kalpitiya on Ceylon] & near it & Adams bridge &c.¹⁴⁸
- 1 of the coast near Trincomale [Ceylon] & Baticaloa [Ceylon].¹⁴⁹
- 1 of the coast of Tutucoryn [Tuticorin on the Malabar coast].¹⁵⁰
- NB to put ‘m in some order again’.¹⁵¹

Dalrymple returned them “all generously”, undoubtedly after having first copied the information from the charts.¹⁵² Aubert’s hydrographical hand-drawn charts may have helped Dalrymple to construct three charts of the southern coast of Celebes; these were published by him “from Dutch MS” in 1786 and 1787. Dalrymple also published ‘A view of the Table Bay at the Cape of Good-Hope’ from the cartographer Johannes van Keulen. It included an engraved version of a drawing by J.G. Loten, “del. 18th may 1732”.¹⁵³ In 1881, Robidé Van Der Aa, referring to correspondence (1775) about Celebes maps between Loten and Dalrymple, spoke of Loten’s ‘scientific sense’ that prevailed over his ‘loyalty to the Dutch Company’.¹⁵⁴ It may be true that Loten’s conduct interfered with the interests of the Dutch East Indies Company. However, many charts which Dalrymple constructed from various sources were published in London and available to the general public. Loten owned several nautical publications by Alexander Dalrymple.¹⁵⁵

In the period between 1768 and 1781, Loten and Dalrymple regularly visited one another.¹⁵⁶ They evidently shared an interest in navigational instruments. In an undated entry in one of his notebooks, Loten wrote that his own calculations of the position of the fortress of Rotterdam in Macassar matched Dalrymple’s measurements exactly.¹⁵⁷ Dalrymple also borrowed books from Loten, among which Nieuhoff’s *Voyage*, the publication which had inspired both men to pursue careers in the East Indies: “1774. 1^e March or there about to Mr. A. Dalrymple: Nieuhof’s Land & Sea voyage, his China Embassy both the best Dutch impression folio & Baldeus description of Malabar, Ceylon &c. folio Voogt’s voyage in the area to Japan and 3 others”.¹⁵⁸

In February of 1771 Loten wrote to his brother about his visit to instrumentmaker Edward Nairne’s workshop: “At 12 o’clock I shall drive to Mr Dalrymple and if He is at home or not at home I shall drive in his company or alone to Mr Edward Nairne, Optician and Mathematical Instrument maker, to view for the third time the Equatorial Telescope, which costs 100 guineas, and was made for Mr Dalrymple, who shall establish, equipped with very elegant instruments worth about 50,000 guilders, a new Government on the North coast of Borneo, which means that I shall miss this agreeable connection for at least 3 or 4 years”.¹⁵⁹ Loten knew about Dalrymple’s plan to establish a settlement at Balambangan for the British East India Company, as the “foundation of a great and permanent Extension of the Company’s Commerce”,

for he possessed printed tracts of Dalrymple's plan.¹⁶⁰ The Plan dated back to the early 1760s when Dalrymple was in India. It had already been submitted to the Company in 1765. In 1768, the Company decided to move ahead with the scheme and Dalrymple was appointed chief of the future settlement. However, it took the directors of the British Company several years to move on it. When the enterprise finally began in earnest, Dalrymple was disappointed with the terms of his appointment. In March 1771 he argued with the directors and the argument culminated in their refusal to pay him any salary until after he had arrived at Balambangan, despite all the work he had done in the past six months preparing for the expedition. He so vigorously protested that on 21 March 1771 he was dismissed.

Four years later, in April 1775, Dalrymple set out on the ship *Greenville* to Madras as member of Council under Lord George Pigot. Loten regretted his friend's departure and wrote to Van Hardenbroek in Utrecht about this: "The honest and generous Mr. Alex Dalrymple, perhaps or very likely the only friend (in the full sense of the word) that I had in Great Britain, is gone a few days ago to the East Indies for company's sake with his old friend Lord Pigot. For he had else no motive as his ideas never reflect on any thing else but promoting useful knowledge astronomy, geography &c."¹⁶¹ The enterprise did not end successfully for Dalrymple, because in the summer of 1776, Lord Pigot was arrested by the dissident majority of his Council. Alexander Dalrymple was chosen to return to England with Pigot's narrative of the course of the events. Because the utmost despatch was called for, he needed to leave quickly, Dalrymple travelled to the Red Sea aboard the *Swallow* and then overland to Alexandria and from there back to England. Pigot's imprisonment had great repercussions for Dalrymple's personal career. Like the other minority members of the Council, he was exonerated, even though he does not appear ever to have been charged for anything.¹⁶² Nevertheless, his removal from the sphere of executive power enabled him to develop his abilities as a hydrographer. In January of 1779, he applied for the position of Company hydrographer. On 3 February 1779, the directors appointed him to the position. In the 1790s, when the Admiralty decided to establish the office of hydrographer, they conferred the title on Dalrymple. However, in 1808, they insisted he resign and accept a pension. When he obstinately refused, they made him redundant.

When Dalrymple returned to England in 1777, he and Loten met regularly as friends. When Loten left England in September of 1781, Dalrymple personally took leave of him and his wife at Dover.¹⁶³ After Loten's final return to Holland, he and Dalrymple exchanged letters about cartography and optical instruments.¹⁶⁴

TRAVELLING TO HOLLAND 1769

In April of 1769, Loten and his wife were preparing for a journey to Holland. Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant: "[M]y books being packed [...] I have no opportunity or time left for study and as I never am a single day free from one or two accesses or returns of the spasmodic suffocations of asthma, I can lose no time but ought as soon I can get ready to set out for the continent, in several places of which I never felt any touch of this disorder. [...] Tomorrow I hope to set out for a few days to Colchester, Wickham &c, to try how travelling will agree without lying in a bed or undressing for night rest as I have passed now many months".¹⁶⁵ A notebook entry tells us that Loten and his wife made a "spring excursion to Chelmsford, Wickham, Colchester, afterwards by Gendt to Antwerp, Mechelen, Brussels, Maastricht, Spa, Aken, Tulliers, Dusseldorp, Wesel, Cleve, Greb to Utrecht".¹⁶⁶ They were accompanied by Lettice's elder sister Catharine Cotes. Loten's maid, Sitie, came straight from London to Utrecht. She crossed the sea aboard the ship of Loten's friend, merchant Mr J. van Ryckevorsel.¹⁶⁷

In July 1769, the Loten party was at Spa, from which Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant again: "Our arrival here was the last of June, the second of that month the asthma left me & did not return since, so I am in great hopes the change to the thinner air will free me of that troublesome companion. Mrs Loten, who joins with me in respects, drinks the water, which seems to be of some benefit. We are come hither by way of Calais, St Omer, Lille, Gendt, Anvers, Brussels, Maestricht & Liege, & intend going towards Utrecht about the latter end of August by way of Aix, Cologne, Bonn, Dusseldorp, Wesel & Arnhem or Nimwegen. [...] Here, where else the entertainment is good, we are shabbily enough lodged, the good houses being taken before our arrival".¹⁶⁸ In his letter Loten asked Pennant whether he had heard anything "of the friends in the Endeavour", Joseph Banks and Dr Solander who left England a year earlier on their voyage around the world with captain Cook. Loten also wrote that he had spoken with "Mr Cressener his Maj[esty's] Minister at the Elector's of Cologne", who read "in one of the Magazines a curious account about the Anaconda [sic], a serpent on Ceylon that wrings itself about tigers or other

animals of great size, kills 'm & devores or sucks 'm in. [...] We have certainly such serpents in Java & Celebes, and I don't doubt but they are also at Ceylon, tho' I can't remember to have heard there much about them". Anacondas or aquatic boas, however, inhabit the swamps and rivers of the dense forests of tropical South America.

At Spa, Loten's wife Lettice consulted professor Pelerin, who prescribed the use of opium for her rheumatic complaints, 'however, the prejudice was so strong, that henceforth she asked every doctor not to prescribe this'.¹⁶⁹ Loten and Lettice probably also met Loten's friend from school, Diederik Jacob Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken, who was accompanied by his son Vincent. Diederik's daughter, Belle, also spent several days in Spa, but probably after Loten and his wife had already left. Belle stayed with Madame Thellusson, wife of the Parisian banker George-Tobie de Thellusson (1728-1776). Belle's friend, Lady Athlone, and her husband were also at Spa;¹⁷⁰ the Lotens probably met them on the promenade or at one of the assemblies.¹⁷¹ Loten and his wife encountered Belle's future husband Charles-Emmanuel de Charrière de Penthaz.¹⁷² They had already met him in London, where he had been a guest of the Dutch envoy Jan Walraad Count Van Welderen.¹⁷³ In January of 1771, Loten wrote to his brother about Belle's rather unexpected engagement to De Charrière: 'I was long acquainted here [London] and at Spa with Mr Charriere and Mr Warin. I am really sure about the integrity of the man; he is a very solid and worthy character. Well-informed people told me long ago that his family (not rich but very decent) was much against his travelling, which is as far as I know his only fault. I understand that many are astonished at this marriage, which several other parties could not successfully establish; however, neither my wife nor I are surprised by it'.¹⁷⁴

UTRECHT 1769-1770

In contrast to that which is available from Loten's earlier years in London, documentation about Loten's journeys to Utrecht is scarce. Unfortunately, it is not possible to paint as detailed a picture of his life in Utrecht as could be done of his stays in London. The same type of documentation is simply not available.

In February of 1771 Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant about their stay in Utrecht in his unparalleled English: "I have enjoyed still an interval of not feeling those unbearable spasms at Utrecht that lasted from ult[im]o Nov[ember 1769] till 16 June [1770], that leaving off an under waistcoat & worsted stockings on a bleak day I went into the country remaining the whole day in the open air, of which thoughtless jaunt I still feel the consequences".¹⁷⁵ In Utrecht they met the Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken family again. In November 1769 Lettice was gossiping with Belle Van Zuylen about Elisabeth Terrick, the wife of their British acquaintance and member of parliament Nathaniel Ryder. Lettice did not like Elisabeth, a daughter of the Bishop of London, whom she met that summer in Spa, but according to Belle, her future husband De Charrière did.¹⁷⁶ In December 1769, Belle asked Lettice not to invite the young Eva Maria Van Breugel, because the girl was apparently too candid for Belle's liking. Mrs Harting, Eva Maria's coquettish sister, also lacked refinement and dignity and had met with Belle's disapproval on an earlier occasion in the Hague.¹⁷⁷ On the 7th January 1770, Belle dined at the Loten house undoubtedly without Eva Maria.

Lettice, Lady Athlone and Miss Fagel, were Belle Van Zuylen's regular companions. Belle wrote to her brother Vincent about them early in November 1769: 'A few moments ago Madame Loten, Madame Athlone and Miss Fagel arrived, they are now with me. Can you see them in my room? The first is at work, the second is reading, the third is serving me tea. Can't you just hear them asking me to give you their regards and to assure you of their respect in a thousand ways'.¹⁷⁸ Belle's letters give further impressions of their encounters: 'Madame Athlone has had her portrait made for me. To my eyes, it hardly resembles her, because I see her so often & know her heart so well. Miss Tuyll's portrait resembles her delightfully. Madame Loten portrait is also very much like her & very sympathetic, when I look at it I say 'sweet elegance'. I am writing from her house. She is very ill this poor woman & has asked me to come visit her to revive & cheer her up a little'.¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately, the portrait of Lettice has not been found. Some time afterwards Belle compared her friends: 'I always say that although Madame Thellusson, Madame Loten & Madame Hasselaer are completely different due to their nationalities, the way they speak and their figures, all three are women of equal quality and value'.¹⁸⁰ There is a disparity between Loten's assessment of his health while in Utrecht and that by Belle: 'I am going to see Madame Loten who cannot sleep; because her husband cannot breathe, they make a very sad couple. One must therefore bring them as much happiness as one is able to. This is often the fate of a widow'.¹⁸¹ Several months later she wrote: 'There is a dissonance between these two people who suffer a bit although one likes them both'.¹⁸²

Aside from the remarks made about Loten and his wife in Belle's letters and the comments Loten made when writing to Thomas Pennant about his health, there are meagre details of his life for the period between November 1769 and July 1770. One short remark in Loten's notebook refers to the genealogical manuscripts of 'Mr Van Der Velde dict [=also called] Hoenselaer', which he was able to study in '1769 and 1770 when I was for several months in Utrecht'.¹⁸³ Another notebook of Loten's contains descriptions of escutcheons and epitaphs in churches in Utrecht and its surroundings. These were written during his stay in the Dutch Republic. A short entry refers to a visit he took with Mr Kenelm Digby, Lettice's cousin, to Westbroek in April of 1770.¹⁸⁴ Three years later young Kenelm Digby became working as a servant of the English East India Company in Madras in India, where he stayed until the end of the 1780s.¹⁸⁵ His visit to the Lotens may have been related to his plans to go to Asia.

¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 86, cover with several copies of Loten's engraved bookplate. The cover also contains printed coat of arms and two large watercolours of the coat-of-arms of Loten's grandfather Joan Loten, probably made by Joan Gideon Loten circa 1725-1730.

² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428 . J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London April 12, 1762.

³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Annotations dated 10 May and 11 May 1764. Martin not identified, but possibly his future servant Martin from Ternate at that time in the service of J.W.van Clootwyk.

⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Annotations dated 10 May and 11 or 12 May 1764.

⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 May 1764.

⁶ Ranelagh was the most expensive of the London pleasure gardens and claimed to be more exclusive than Vauxhall. Admission was 2 shilling 6 pence, more than double Vauxhall's fee. Its garden was dominated by a vast rotunda whose interior was ringed with fifty-two boxes. An orchestra and organist played music while fashionable men and women promenaded round the floor. Mozart performed there on the harpsichord and organ on 24 June 1764, one month after Loten wrote his letter to Van Hardenbroek.
See Brewer (1997)

⁷ "When I first entered Ranelagh", Dr Samuel Johnson told James Boswell, "it gave an expansion and gay sensation to my mind, such as I never experienced any where else".
See *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Hill & Powell, 1964) volume III page 199.

⁸ See Shelley (1909). When one was invited to dinner it was a custom to distribute a great deal of money among the servants. Like in London the custom to tip the servants was also an issue in the Dutch spectatorial papers of the eighteenth century. See J. Hartog (1890), pages 87-88.

⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 May 1764. Original in French.

¹⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 May 1764. Original in French.

¹¹ The reference to "deux de Howard" is to the XIXth Regiment of Foot. In 1738, the Honorable Sir Charles Howard took command of the regiment, and it was known as Howard's Regiment. In 1744, a Thomas Howard was commanding Howard's Regiment (later the 3rd Regiment of Foot), and a method was needed to distinguish the two. Since Thomas Howard's Regiment wore a red uniform with buff facings and Sir Charles Howard's Regiment wore a red uniform with green facings; one regiment was called the Buff Howards and the other the Green Howards. To this day, they are still known as The Buffs and The Green Howards. During King George's War, the Green Howards took part in the Battles of Fontenoy in 1745, Roucoux in 1746, and Lauffeldt in 1747. The regiment became the 19th Regiment of Foot in July of 1751. During the Seven Years War, the 19th Foot distinguished itself at Belleisle in 1761.
¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Annotation dated 20 May 1764, partly deleted.

¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. The annotation was deleted.

¹⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 29 June 1764. Original in French.

¹⁵ George Nassau Clavering-Cowper (1738-1789), Viscount Fordwich, later third Earl Cowper is nowadays known as the owner of Raphael's so-called *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna* (1508), which he bought in 1775 from the German-born portrait painter Johann Joseph Zoffani (1733-1810). The *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna* (1508) is now in the Andrew W. Mellon Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

¹⁶ A. Graves & W. Cronin (1899-1901). *A history of the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*. H. Graves & Co, London, 4 volumes. The present whereabouts of the portrait is unknown. Information by Malcolm Rodgers, National Portrait Gallery, London, 17 November 1976.
In E.W. Moes (1905), *Iconographia Batava*, Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, volume II, page 38 another portrait of Joan Gideon Loten is mentioned. This portrait was in the collection of Mr. J.A. Grothe in Utrecht. The present whereabouts of this portrait are unknown.

¹⁷ From: Cork Street and Savile Row Area: Introduction and New Burlington Street, Survey of London: volumes 31 and 32: St James Westminster, Part 2 (1963), pp. 442-55 and pp. 490-95
URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

¹⁸ At number 11 New Burlington Street the house was used for five years or more, before being taken by the first residential occupant, as a place of refreshment known as *Burlington Coffee House* or *Fisher's Coffee House* after its proprietor Robert Fisher.

¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 September 1774. In 1799 all houses in the principle streets in the City were numbered.

²⁰ Notable inhabitants of New Burlington Street during Joan Gideon Loten's residence (1764-1781). From: Cork Street and Savile Row Area: Table of notable inhabitants on the Burlington Estate, Survey of London: volumes 31 and 32: St James Westminster, Part 2 (1963), pp. 566-72.

Nr	Inhabitants	Period
1	Lady Mary Howard (1695-1786), daughter of third Earl of Carlisle	1753–1786
2	Joseph Banks (1743-1820) perhaps lived here with his uncle, Robert Banks Hodgkinson (1722-1792), antiquary Sir Herbert Mackworth MP (1737-1795) of Gnoll Castle	1765–1767 1767?-????
3	General Charles Cadogan (1685-1776), second Baron Cadogan of Oakley John Crosbie (1752-1815), Viscount Crosbie, later second Earl of Glandore	1763–1776 1778–1779
4	Robert Carteret (1721-1776), third Earl Granville Sir Charles Pratt (1714-1794), first Earl Camden, Lord Chancellor	1764–1775 1778–1784
5	Anne, Dowager Viscountess Irwin (<i>d</i> 1764), <i>Lady of Bedchamber</i> to Princess of Wales	1738–1764
6	John Sawbridge (<i>ca</i> 1732-1795), Lord Mayor of London in 1775	1765–1784
7	Not identified	
8	George Nassau Clavering-Cowper (1738-1789), Viscount Fordwich, later third Earl Cowper Joan Gideon Loten and from 1765 Lettice Cotes, his wife Lettice Cotes	1764 1764-1781 1789-1810
9	Lieutenant-Colonel William Elliott (<i>c</i> 1704-1764) Lady Frances Elliott	1737–1764 1764–1773
10	Field-Marshal Sir John Griffin (1719-1797), fourth Baron Howard de Walden and first Baron Braybrooke. Griffin was a brother of Anne Whitwell, the wife of the Dutch envoy Count Van Welden	1762–1797
11	Not identified	
12	Charles Mordaunt, fourth Earl of Peterborough (1708-1779) (? paid rates for tenants) Lady Glynn (? widow of Sir Richard Glynn, first baronet)	1762–1775 1775–1788
13	Not identified	
14	Sir Edward Dering (1732-1798), sixth baronet Joseph Banks (1743-1820), later Sir Joseph, first baronet Horatio Walpole (1752-1820), second Earl of Orford, second creation	1759–1767 1767–1777 1788–1811
15	Colonel Needham	1784–1789
16	Major-General Hon. William Keppel (1727-1782) General Peregrine Bertie (1714-1778), third Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven Anthony Preston (1736-1786), eleventh Viscount Gormanston (Ireland) Commodore George Johnstone (1730-1787), Governor of West Florida	1764–1767 1768–1771 1771–1784 1784–1787

²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Annotation about Mad dogs, 21 September 1779.

²² Herbert Mackworth of Gnoll Castle (1737-1795) was created a baronet 16 September 1776, and sat for Cardiff for 24 years (1766-1790). He died at his seat, Gnoll Castle, aged 54. His father, Herbert Mackworth of Gnoll (1689-1765) married the Hon. Juliana Digby (*d.* 1785), daughter of William, fifth Lord Digby (1662-1752).

²³ Charles Cadogan (1685-1776) held the office of Member of Parliament for Reading between 1716 and 1722 and for Newport, Isle of Wight between 1722 and 1726. He was a Fellow, Royal Society since November 1718. He was Colonel of the 4th Foot between 1719 and 1734, Colonel of the 6th Dragoons between 1734 and 1742. He gained the rank of Brigadier-General in 1735, Major-General in 1739. He was Colonel of the 2nd Troop, Horse Guards between 1742 and 1776. He gained the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1745. He held the office of Governor of

Sheerness between 1749 and 1752. He held the office of Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort between 1752 and 1776. He gained the rank of General in 1761.

²⁴ G.E. Cokayne; with Vicary Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White, Duncan Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden, editors, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant, new ed.*, 13 volumes in 14 (1910-1959; reprint in 6 volumes, Gloucester, U.K.: Alan Sutton Publishing, 2000), volume II, page 461.

²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 October 1770.

²⁶ Margaretha Cecilia Munter (1675-1749), wife of Lord William Cadogan (1672- 1726), from 1708-1711 and 1714-1721 Envoy extraordinary, Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiarius in the Hague. In 1738 her daughter Margaret Cadogan married Charles John Graaf Bentinck (1708-1779), son of Hans Willem Bentinck, first Duke of Portland. Cadogan's residence as ambassador was the magnificent country seat De Paauw on the estate Raaphorst, at present the town hall of Wassenaar. See Schutte (1982), page 89-92.

²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 July 1774.

²⁸ C. Chenevix Trench (1962). *Portrait of a Patriot. A biography of John Wilkes*. William Blackwood & Sons Edinburgh & London, pages 114-116.

²⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 29 June 1764. Letter in French, the quote from Doublet is in Dutch.

³⁰ Marylebone (or Marybone) Gardens, originally the gardens of old Marylebone Manor House. The gardens were opened as a pleasure resort in the seventeenth century and they were extended in the eighteenth century when an orchestra and an organ were erected. The gardens were closed in 1776. From 1772-1774 'Signor' Torr , a London print-seller, gave his firework displays there. Boswell gives the amusing anecdote of Dr Johnson's visit to the fireworks in which the "author of 'The Rambler'", however, may be considered on this occasion, as the ringleader of a successful riot, though not as a skilful pyrotechnist". See *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Hill & Powell, 1964) volume IV pages 324-5 and 539-40).

³¹ Constantia Isabella Fernanda van Weede, daughter of Everard van Weede (cannon of the Capittel of St Maria in Utrecht) and Philippina Baltia Elisabeth van Arckel. Willem Huydecoper, Master of Nigtevegt and secretary of Amsterdam. The marriage conditions are in Het Utrechts Archief (HUA.NA U177a12 nr 18, dated 13 July 1764).

³² Several concepts of letters by Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek evidently written to Belle van Zuylen are in HUA.HC 643-1 inv. 457-c-32. On one leave (numbered 8) he wrote: "Tout ce paquet concerne Mad^{lle}: de Zuilen a present Epouse de M^r. Charieres". See also Cees van Strien (2005).

³³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 7 August 1764. The letter is written in French.

³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 November 1765.

³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 7 May 1765; HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to family De Wys. Utrecht 13 April 1765.

³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁸ Thomas Pennant (1798). *The view of Hindoostan*, page 251.

³⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396: Transcription of the monument of Digby Cotes and his two wives on the chancel of the church in Coleshill. See 'Prebendaries: Pipa Minor (or Prees)', *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*: volume 10: Coventry and Lichfield diocese (2003), pp. 52-3.

⁴⁰ Digby Cotes remarried after the decease of his first wife Sarah Adams (1697-1767).

⁴¹ In Loten's notebook (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396) there is a transcription of the epitaph on Lady Digby's monument in the Coleshill Church in Warwickshire, with Loten's annotation:

"Mrs Stevens communicated this at Bath 1760,
mistake it was Mrs Thomas Bristoll wells 1760".

⁴² *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of Landed Gentry*, 1847, pages 268-269 erroneously mentioned Digby Cotes as the son of his brother John Cotes of Woodcote. See Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval (1908). *The Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal, The Isabel of Essex Volume*, London 1908, reprinted in 1994 by Genealogical Publishing Co, Baltimore, pages 49-56, Descendants of Lady Dorothy Shirley Ferrers.

⁴³ S.G Hamilton (1903). *University of Oxford College Histories Hertford College*. London, Robinson, pages 123-124.

⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. *Gentleman's Magazine* (November 1783), page 923. The anecdote is repeated in many nineteenth century ecclesiastical histories. The reference is to the educational theorist Dr Richard Newton principal of Hertford College Oxford since 1710. Newton died in 1753.

⁴⁵ Loten copied the marble monument on the chancel of the church in Coleshill in memory of Lettice Cotes' father (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396).

To the memory of
Digby Cotes, M.A. Vicar of this church, principal of
Magdalen Hall, and Public Orator, in the University of Oxford:
He was the 2^d Son of Charles Cotes of Cotes and Woodcote
And of Lettice Daughter of Kildare Lord Digby:
He lived, respected and beloved
For his Learning, Ingenuity, and many Virtues;
Ever chearfull, benevolent, and resigned,
With the Piety of a true Christian,
He died January the 9th 1744 aged 63. much lamented by all who knew him,
His first Wife was Elisabeth Bannister, by whom he had 12 Children;
She was called to be a better Life, June 9th aged 36.
Their Sons Charles and John died abroad,
William and James in their Infancy.
Also to the Memory of
Sarah Adams, second Wife to the above Digby Cotes;
Who departing this Life April 3^d 1767 aged 70,
Inconsolable for the Loss she had sustained,
Ordered this Monument to be erected:
Sarah their Daughter died an Infant and is buried here.

⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. The annotation is somewhat confusing, because no contributions to the *Spectator* could be identified as by Digby Cotes's hand. Moreover the reference to the Duchess of Somerset is probably not to the poet and patron of writers Frances Thynne (1699-1754), known as Countess of Hertford, who became in 1748 Duchess of Somerset, although the reference to Addison's *Spectator* could be related to her "Story of Inkle and Yarico, Taken out of the eleventh *Spectator*", which first appeared anonymously in 1726. See 'Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford, "The Story of Inkle and Yarico, Taken out of the eleventh *Spectator*", page 89-94, in: Frank Felsenstein (1999), *English trader, English Maid*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press. On March 13, 1711, an article appeared in The *Spectator* about Thomas Inkle, a young and aspiring English trader cast ashore in the Americas, who is saved from violent death by Yarico, a beautiful Indian maiden. The *Spectator* story caused a sensation as debate intensified over slavery in the British colonies.

⁴⁷ Frances Digby was a daughter of Simon Digby (1657-1685), fourth Baron Digby and Frances Noel (d. 1684), and a granddaughter of Digby Cotes's grandfather Kildare, second Lord Digby of Geashill and Mary Gardiner. Loten possibly confused Frances Digby (d. 1729) with her daughter Frances Scudamore (1711-1750), who married Henry Somerset, third Duke of Beaufort.

⁴⁸ Alexander Pope (1735), *Letters of Mr Pope, and several eminent persons, from the year 1705, to 1735*. Volume I. London, T. Cooper, 362 pages, especially pages 266-267, Letter to Robert Digby, London, March 31, 1718.

⁴⁹ Digby Cotes (1721), *Fifteen sermons preach'd on several occasions*. Oxford: printed at the Theatre for Ant. Peisley; and are to be sold by J. Knapton, W. Meadows, and T. Combes London, 410 pages.

⁵⁰ Sources: Lucy Aikin (1843). *The life of Joseph Addison* in two volumes, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, page 87; Raymond Williams (2006). *Modern Tragedy*. Broadview Press, page 118. Digby Cotes's described Addison's *Cato*:

“What pen but yours could draw the doubtful strife
Of honour struggling with the love of life?”

In 1701 Digby Cotes, “a young gentleman sixteen years old”, paid a tribute to the memory of the poet John Dryden. See Francis Wrangham (1816), *The British Plutarch*, volume IV, London, Mawman, page 491.

⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. The manuscript also contains comprehensive genealogical annotations about the Digby family.

John Cotes of Woodcote (1749-1821), MP for the borough of Wigan and for the county of Salop in several parliaments was the son of Digby Cotes's cousin Reverend Shirley Cotes (1714-1775), son of John Cotes of Cotes and Woodcote (1681-1752). He married in October 1777 Lucy, the second daughter of William Viscount Courtenay.

⁵² Lettice FitzGerald, Baroness Offaley (ca 1580-1658) married in 1600 Sir Robert Digby (b. 1585-1618). In 1642 she retired to her husband's estate at Coleshill, in Warwickshire, where she died 1 December 1658. Her son Robert Digby (1601-1642) was raised in 1620 to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Digby of Geashill. In 1642 his son Kildare (1631-1661) succeeded in the barony. In one of his notebooks Loten referred to the valiant behaviour of Lettice FitzGerald with a reference to Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396).

⁵³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 March 1765.

“Doopecdullen, die nu in 't Nederduitsch en Engels hier zijn ingesloten; 't is singulier, dat in 't Doopboek maar alleen het jaar 1710 zonder datum genoteerd staat, daar die, er bij alle de andere zijn bijgesteld; dog ik heb nagegaan welke dag der week den 16. Maij 1710 geweest is, en bevonden vrijdag te zijn, zodat den goeden Domine geen zwaarigheid heeft gemaakt, den datum des Doops daar bij te voegen, en over zulks dit gebrek te suppleren”.

HUA.GC 750 nr 1374: Extract of the register of baptism of Blauwkapel, 1710, translated in English.

⁵⁴ College of Arms Ms. 5D14.218. Loten obtained the registration of his Coat of Arms in August 1765.

⁵⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 10 May 1765.

⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 May 1765. Loten's letter 14 May 1765 was not found in the Loten documents.

⁵⁷ Rhoda Huband (d. 1772), fourth wife and widow of Sir Thomas Delves (1652-1725), 4th Bart of Doddington; daughter of Sir John Huband (d. 1727) and Rhoda Broughton. She married John Cotes (1702-1732) in 1730. See *The Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal, The Isabel of Essex Volume*, London 1908, reprinted in 1994 by Genealogical Publishing Co, Baltimore, pages 49-56, Descendants of Lady Dorothy Shirley Ferrers, page 49. Rhoda Delves inherited the manor *Tadworth Court* in 1764 from her third husband William Mabbot.

⁵⁸ It was Webb's second marriage. On the estate *Bushbridge* there was a man-made cave that contained the exposed coffins of Webb's first wife Susannah and two of their infant children (Duyker, 1998, page 43).

⁵⁹ In the *Correspondence* of Daniel Solander (Duyker & Tingbrand, 1995) Lettice Cotes is mentioned several times in John Ellis' letters from *Bushbridge* to Solander: page 202 Letter 30 December 1761, “Mr & Mrs Webb & Phil Webb with Miss Cotes desire their best Services to you”; page 234 Letter 9 June 1762 “Miss Cotes is here ill of the Rheumatism”; page 242-243 Letter 19 September 1762 “Your friend Miss Cotes”.

⁶⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Tadworth in Surrey 8 June 1765. Original letter in French.

⁶¹ Announced in the List of Marriages in the Year 1765 in *Gentleman's Magazine*, volume 35, page 346:

“John Gideon Loten of New Burlington-Str. Esq; - to Miss Coates, neice to the Countess of Northington”.

This is a reference to Jane Huband (1716-1771), who married Robert Henly, 1st Earl of Northington (1746-1772), daughter of Sir John Huband of Warwickshire. Jane Huband was the sister of the afore mentioned Rhoda Huband widow of Sir John Delves.

⁶² On the occasion of his marriage Loten bought extra bed linen and damask for the table.

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

3 p[air] bed sheets for the broad bed

4 p[air] pillow covers

2 damask table cloths & 24 servetten [napkins] and 4 damask table covers of a lesser quality

still 12 p[air] of 6 p[air] pillow covers found and changed and 24 p[air] calico napkins to pin on the draping of the damask bed.

⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 11 June 1765. The Italian proverb reads in translation: The safest way to do something is to take your time and do things well.

⁶⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 23 July 1765.

⁶⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 25 September 1765.

⁶⁶ The marriage contract was not retraced, but a reference to the contract is in a notary act made up after Loten's decease. Loten invested £ 10,000 in the Bank of England for his future wife. HUA.NA U256c26, nr 70.

⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Undated annotation partly deleted.

⁶⁸ The London banking firm was established at the corner of Clement's Lane, in Lombard Street in 1738 by Robert Surman. In 1759 the style of the firm changed in Cliffe, Walpole and Clarke, which continued until 1769, when Cliffe's name vanished and Walpole and Clarke took in a new partner of the name of Bourne. In 1770 the firm was Walpole, Clarke and Bourne, located at 28 Lombard Street. In 1776 they assumed a fresh partner of the name Potts. See F.G.Hilton Price (1876). *A Handbook of London Bankers*, Burt Franklin, New York, page 136.

⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385 and 1427. See also Chapter 2, paragraph 'Shares in the Opium Society'.

⁷⁰ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy. F.A. Carelson to J.G. Loten. Amsterdam 12 January 1762 and 29 January 1762. Carelson reported that he had some cash problems, which upheld the payment of Loten's dividends.

⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 November 1765.

⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 24 september 1765.

“[O]ntfangende Uwgb. missive van 22. Aug[ustus] uit South Hampton, zagen we met veel aandoening, dat Uwgb weder op nieuw zo hevig langdurig door desselfs oude quall waart aangetast geweest, het welk ons zeer smert, en wij onze hertelike wenschen herhalen, dat Uwgb. dog eindelijk eens van die benauwde toevallen mogt verlost worden;

HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1771. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772

⁷³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 12 November 1765.

“[W]ij met leedwezen zagen dat onze geëerde suster gansch niet wel was dog uit de laatste [reference to letter 1 October 1765], dat haar welgeb. vrij wat beter was geworden, als mede dat Uwgb. nu insgeliks redelijke gezondheid genoot, 't welk ons weder verheugden, wenshende ten opzigte van beide, dat die mag volles men worden en lange continueren”.

⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Loten quoted from the first volume page 162 in the 1728 edition of the *Dictionary*.

“The cure of the true or pneumonic *Asthma*, is bleeding; after which, with Glysters instead of Purges. – Infusions of *Fim. Equin*. Or the Juice thereof, being detersive and attenuating, are reputed excellent. *Linctus*'s also contribute to the Cure. *Millepedes*, Spirit of *Gum Armoniac*, with *Sal Ammoniac*, *Coffee*, Tincture of *Sulphur*, &c are commended in *Asthmatick* cases.”

In the entry Loten referred with “Dispensatory” to the *The new dispensatory: containing I. The theory and practice of pharmacy. II. A distribution of medicinal simples, ... III. A full translation of the London and Edinburgh pharmacopoeias; ... IV. Directions for extemporaneous prescription; ... V. A collection of cheap remedies for the use of the poor. ... Intended as a correction, and improvement of Quincy*, edited in 1753 by Dr William Lewis (1708-1781) of Kingston and printed by J. Nourse in London. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's Library the *New Dispensatory* in the 1753 and the 1770 edition are mentioned on page 22, number 226 (HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/853).

The ante-Linnaean name *Enula campana* or *Elecampala*, referred to the root of the herbaceous plant *Inula Helenium* (Linnaeus). Elecampale root was a popular medicine and was chiefly used for coughs, consumption and other pulmonary complaints.

Tussilago or coltsfoot referred to *Tussilago farara*. In the second volume of the *Supplement* (1753) of *Chambers's Dictionary* it is “generally recommended as a great medicine in coughs, and all the disordees of the breast and lungs”.

⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Loten made a mistake in the reference to the first page for the prescriptions are on p 529 and 530.

⁷⁶ Duyker & Tingbrand (1995), page 234, Letter 9 June 1762. “Miss Cotes is here ill of the Rheumatism”.

⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. ‘Doudswell’ not identified, but probably ‘Dowdeswell’. William Dowdeswell (1721-1774), who studied in Leiden; in 1765 Chancellor of the Exchequer, a position which he held for a twelvemonth, at which time he lived at no 10 Downing Street.

⁷⁸ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 Belle van Zuylen to Vincent van Tuyll van Serooskerken, 9 July 1770 lettre 370.

⁷⁹ See Section II, The Loten Natural History Collection, chapter 5, Pennant’s *Indian Zoology*.

⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1389 and 1397. Loten described funeral boards from churches in Tilburg, Bommel, Dordrecht, Gorcum, Bois le Duc, Breda, Utrecht, Neder-Langbroek, Doorn, ‘s Graveland, Woudenberg, Breukelen, Alphen and Rotterdam.

⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. In his notebook Loten gave the itinerary:
In another note-book Loten also gave the itinerary of his travelling in the following years (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404).

⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Undated annotation circa 1778.

⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

⁸⁴ G.J. Van Hardenbroek to J.G. Loten. Yacht between Utrecht and the Hague 30 July 1767. This letter is in a large note book in the Grothe collection of Het Utrechts Archief (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396).

⁸⁵ Reverend Charles de Guiffardière or Guiffardier (1720-1810), a Huguenot and French Protestant minister. In 1763 he was one of James Boswell’s companions in Utrecht and they occasionally corresponded during his stay there. Circa 1767 De Guiffardière came to London where he became the French reader to Queen Charlotte and instructor in history to the Royal Princesses. He died January 1, 1810 aged ninety, according to the inscription on the monument in the St. Mary’s church of Newington Butts.

See: Pottle (1953) *Boswell on the Grand Tour Germany and Switzerland*, Pottle (1954) *Boswell in Holland*; Thomas Allen (1831), *A history of the county of Surrey*, London, I.T. Hinton, page 253. See also Chapter 7, paragraph ‘Loten’s activities in London’.

⁸⁶ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 1 letter 215 to her brother Vincent, 8 November 1765; letter 240 to Constant d’Hermenches 18-19 June 1766. De Guiffardière married Jeanne-Andrienne Peschier (1734-1806), from Geneva.

⁸⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

⁸⁸ Fanny Burney (Madame d’Arblay) referred to Charles de Guiffardière as ‘Mr Turbulent’ and described him as “here and there a little eccentric, but, in the main, merely good-humoured and high-spirited”.

“July 25 [1787] -Mr. Turbulent amused himself this morning with giving me yet another panic. He was ordered to attend the queen during her hair-dressing, as was Mr. de Luc. I remained in the room the queen conversed with us all three, as occasions arose, with the utmost complacency; but this person, instead of fixing there his sole attention, contrived, by standing behind her chair, and facing me, to address a language of signs to me the whole time, casting up his eyes, clasping his hands, and placing himself in various fine attitudes, and all with a humour so burlesque, that it was impossible to take it either ill or seriously. Indeed, when I am on the very point of the most alarmed displeasure with him, he always falls upon some such ridiculous devices of affected homage, that I grow ashamed of my anger, and hurry it over, lest he should perceive it, and attribute it to a misunderstanding he might think ridiculous in his turn”.

A. Dobson (1903), *Fanny Burney: (Madame d’Arblay)*, p 152; *Diary Madame d’Arblay*, volume 2, page 46 (edition 1891, London: Vizetelly & Co., 16, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden).

⁸⁹ Van Hardenbroek’s cousin Eleonora Geertuyde de Casembroot (1716-1803) evidently lived regularly with Van Hardenbroek in Utrecht. She was the daughter of Leonard de Casembroot (1660-1719) and his third wife Hillegonde Geertruyde van Bergen (1673-1756). Leonard de Casembroot’s sister Adriana married Johan Adolph van Renesse (1665-1759). A daughter from this marriage, Johanna Charlotte, was the mother of Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek.

Van Hardenbroek in his *Gedenkschriften* referred to her as “Noor”. In her letters to Van Hardenbroek she referred to herself as “Tante Nel” (HUA.HA. 643-1 nr 487).

⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Annotations dated May 28th 1767 and June 29th 1767.

⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Annotation dated December 8th 1767.

⁹² A dispute over the publishing rights of *The Seasons* gave rise to important legal decisions in the history of copyright.

⁹³ Thomas Gray’s *Ode to adversity*, written in August 1742 and first published in 1753 in London.

⁹⁴ G.J. Van Hardenbroek to J.G. Loten. Yacht between Utrecht and the Hague 30 July 1767. Original letter in French. This letter is in a large note book in the Grothe collection of Het Utrechts Archief (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396).

⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

⁹⁶ In 1763 Arnout Loten wrote his brother in London about Belle van Zuylen:

‘It is rumoured that a Prince of Anhalt will come over to propose to the eldest Miss van Zuylen. However until now he has not arrived here. It is also said that that Gentleman was so much charmed by her portrait, which was showed to him by Mr Catt who was before his present office Governor at Mr Van Zuylen and afterwards and until now at the King of Prussia, that he immediately decided to propose this Lady to marry him. Time will show what will succeed’.

The Prince did not arrive, but in the 1760s many suitable candidates, among these James Boswell, proposed or considered to propose a marriage to Belle. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht February 8, 1763.

Arnout Loten referred to Henry-Alexandre de Catt (1725-1795), the Swiss governor of Belle’s eldest brother Reinout Gerard van Tuyll, who was in service of the Tuyll family from 1750-1758. During his stay in Holland he met King Frederick II the Great of Prussia who travelled incognito in a tow-boat, and who, in 1758, called De Catt to Potsdam as his personal secretary and reader. Dubois & Dubois (1993) give more detailed information about this affair (pages 52-54), which was a public secret in Utrecht (see also correspondence Belle van Zuylen in *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2). Early 1762 Van Hardenbroek also mentions the affair in his *Gedenkschriften* (volume 1, page 214-215).

De Catt is mostly known today for his journals from 1758 to 1760, which have been published in various editions as *Henri de Catt. Vorleser Friedrichs des Grossen. Die Tagebücher 1758-1760, Friedrich der Grosse Gespräche mit Catt* and *Frederick the Great, the Memoirs of his Reader*. In 1764 James Boswell found Catt “dry and even insipid”. See Pottle (1953), page 17.

⁹⁷ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 lettre 299. Letter to Constant d’Hermenches 28 April 1768. See also Dubois & Dubois (1993), page 261. Original in French.

⁹⁸ The exchange rate was £ 9 for 100 guilders. Thus the loan of £1200 was about 13330 guilders.

⁹⁹ Nevil Maskelyne (1732-1811), astronomer royal. Loten owned a copy of *The British Mariners Guide* (London. 1763). HUA.Library 6629, number 37766/853, page 7 number 42.

¹⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Undated but before 1770.

¹⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 March 1772. Zuidervaart (1999) published a photo of the instrument that is now preserved in the Utrecht University Museum. (plate 88 page 352).

¹⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 26 July 1776. Possibly Loten’s London notary J. Cruttenden of Surgeons Hall.

¹⁰³ Fry (1970), page 73-79.

¹⁰⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Undated but before 1770.

¹⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Undated but before 1770.

¹⁰⁶ HUA.NA U 256c7 nr 50. Notary C. De Wijs, 30 April 1770.

¹⁰⁷ There is some confusion about the Doublet's debt to Loten. According to a document dated July 11th 1771, in the Utrecht Van Hardenbroek Archive (HUA.HA 643-1 nr 418) the debt of Doublet to Loten was f. 29,500. Doublet was due f. 8,000 to Van Hardenbroek. Holderness is mentioned as a creditor for f 1,600. The document suggests that this debt could be paid without interest by selling the Manor Groeneveld and its stock and the table plate. Another document in this archive suggests that October 7th 1771, Loten received f. 6.543-2-6 and Van Hardenbroek f 4.000 from the Doublet estate by the intermediance of their financial agent Jan Kol. Thus Van Hardenbroek received half of his money from the Doublet estate. The 6540 guilders, 2 stuivers and 6 penningen that Loten received equal £ 588, 17 shilling and 7 pence. Thus he, like Van Hardenbroek, evidently was also repaid half of his claim.

In 1771 Doublet's Manor Groeneveld was acquired by Gerrit van der Pot (1732-1807), who so became the Master of Groeneveld. Van der Pot became a collector of paintings. In 1808 sixty-five mainly seventeenth century paintings were purchased by the Koninklijk Museum, the predecessor of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. See T. Zeedijk (2007). 'Tot Voordeel en Genoegen', de schilderijenverzameling van Gerrit van der Pot van Groeneveld. *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 55, pages 129-203; 283-290.

¹⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London October 23, 1770; March 15, 1771; October 9, 1780. HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May, 1771.

¹⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London March 15, 1771. The reference is to Stanier Porten (*d.* 1789). He was Under Secretary of the Southern Department from 1768 until 1782 and Keeper of the State Papers 1774 until 1789. He was knighted 5 June 1772.

¹¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 December 1780. Loten referred to Doublet, in the context of a visit that his wife paid to Lady Holderness:

“maar ik hoorde daarna dat mijn vrouw haar Hgb. hebbende ontmoet in gezelschap circa 6 a 7 dagen geleeden daar een kaartje had gebragt. Nota: dat ik aan boven onderstreepte de fraaye historie des Extraord. Envoye's van Groeneveld noijt heb verhaald –“

¹¹¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1771. HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772

¹¹² Sloane Elsmere (1706/07-1766). In the Warwickshire County Record Office (WCRO.FNPA CR 611/124) there is a settlement dated 1754 on the marriage of

“Catharine Cotes of Chelsea, Middlesex, daughter of the Reverend Digby Cotes, deceased, with the Reverend Sloane Elsmere, D[octo]r of D[ivinity], rector of Chelsea”.

Sloane Elsmere's *Sermons on several important subjects* in two volumes were published posthumously in 1767 in London, “printed for the sole benefit of the Charity girls school of the parish of Chelsea; and sold by J. Wren”. In the *List of subscriber names* is mentioned “Mrs Loten” for £ 1, 1s. In the Catalogue of the auction of Loten's Library (Paddenburg, 1789) the Sermons of Sloane Elsmere *Sermons on several important subjects*, are mentioned on page 19 number “145: Elsmere: Sermons, Lond.: 1767 2 tom an veau.” (HUA Library 6629/3766/823).

¹¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 March 1772. HUA.GC 643-1 nr 558 J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1779.

¹¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

“30 June 74 Mrs Elsmere went from our house in N. Burlington-street to Ewell (vulgo called Joël) to dwell there. She came to Us, I think, at the latter end of 1767”.

¹¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

¹¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

¹¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

¹²⁰ The Dutch envoy in London, Jan Walraad van Welderen wrote Belle about her intention to translate James Boswell's *Account of Corsica* that was published in February 1768. He told her that ‘on his way to Utrecht governor

Looten will take several things with him for that purpose with him'. See Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2, lettre 301 Jan Waraad van Welden to Belle van Zuylen, 30 May 1768. Original in French.

¹²¹ The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1074. Will of Reverend James Hallifax, Doctor in Divinity, Rector of Whitechurch, Shropshire dated 19 February 1781.

¹²² James Hallifax (1719-1781), entered Balliol in October 1736, BA 1740, MA 1743, B&DD 1758. In 1743 ordination as priest, Vicar in Ewell and in 1777 Rector of Whitechurch with chapel of Tilstock and Marbury, Cheshire, Shropshire. See Clergy of the Church of England database.

¹²³ The 'worthy widow Mrs Welchman' was the widow of Reverend William Welchman, Clerk of Dodford in Northamptonshire and from 1747 until his death in 1749 Rector of Westcote Barton in North Oxfordshire. See The National Archives, London, Prob 11/773; Clergy of the Church of England database.

¹²⁴ There is some confusion about Dr Hallifax's ancestors. According to a document in the Suffolk Record Office the father of James and Thomas Hallifax was John Hallifax of Barnsley (1694-1750), a clock-maker. In 1736 however, James Hallifax entered Balliol as the son of William of Rugby, gentleman. This is possibly William Hallifax, Apothecary of Brackley, Northamptonshire.

Sources: Notes about Thomas Hallifax in Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, Weller Poley & Hallifax families of Suffolk HA 519/57. In The National Archives, London, Prob 11/838. Will of William Hallifax, 1758.

¹²⁵ The Apothecary Meysey is Joseph Meysey (*d.* 1785) of the University of Oxford, Apothecary of Saint Peter Oxford.

¹²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation was deleted.

¹²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 153. Annotation was deleted.

¹²⁸ James Hallifax (1757), *A sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and the liveries of the several Companies of the City of London, at the parish-church of St. Lawrence Jewry, on Thursday, September 29, 1757*, London, J. Rivington, 15 pages.

James Hallifax [1765], *A sermon preached before the sons of the clergy, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, on Thursday May 9, 1765*. London, John Rivington, 22 pages.

James Hallifax (1766), *A sermon preached in the chapel of the Asylum for Female Orphans, at the anniversary meeting of the guardians, on Friday the sixteenth of May, 1766*. London, Bunce, Dodsley, Walter & Wilkie, 16 pages.

James Hallifax (1771), *A sermon preached in the parish-church of Christ-Church, London, on Thursday May the 23d, 1771: being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity-schools, To which is annexed, An account of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*. London, Oliver & Rivington, 117 pages.

James Hallifax (1775), *A sermon preached at the parish church of St. Paul, Covent-Garden, on Thursday, May 18, 1775, for the benefit of unfortunate persons confined for small debts*. London, W. Faden, 19 pages.

¹²⁹ James Hallifax (1756), *A sermon preach'd in St. John's chapel in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, on Sunday February 8, 1756. being the Sunday after the day appointed by proclamation for a general fast and humiliation, on account of the dreadful earthquake at Lisbon*. London, J. Hughes, 19 pages, especially page 17.

¹³⁰ W.R. Clark (1995), *At War within: The Double-Edged Sword of Immunity*. Oxford University Press US, pages 3-35: Overture to a science unborn: Smallpox and the Origins of Immunology. Inoculation against smallpox had already been introduced in England in 1721, but it took more than a half century to establish it as an accepted practise. Loten's fellow-countryman the physician and under-librarian of the British Museum Dr Matthieu Maty was considered as an authority and active supporter of the practise; he published various letters and tracts on the advantages of inoculation. See Janssens (1975), *Matthieu Maty*, page 28-29.

¹³¹ Edmund Massey (1722), *A sermon against the dangerous and sinful practice of inoculation. Preach'd at St. Andrew's Holborn, on Sunday, July the 8th, 1722.*, London, Wiliam Meadows, 34 pp. Edmund Massey (1690-1765) had earlier preached on the benefits of the plague as a judgement of God.

¹³² Job 2: 7: "So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils, from the sole of his foot unto his crown".

¹³³ James Hallifax [1768], *A sermon preached in the Parish-Church of St. Bride, London, on Thursday, April 28, 1768, before the president, vice-presidents, and governors of the hospitals for the small-pox and inoculation*. London, H. Woodfall, 37 pages.

¹³⁴ Abeydeera (1993). See also Arasaratnam (1978), pages 42-43 about cartography in Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1726).

¹³⁵ Annotation in notebook "Aan de Bevere 3 duc[aton]s, idem aan P. van Oosten". HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. No date, circa May 1756.

¹³⁶ This paragraph is based on Dr Howard T. Fry's biography of Alexander Dalrymple (Fry 1970).

¹³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Annotation about Mad dogs 21 September 1779.

¹³⁸ Fry (1970), page 160-162.

¹³⁹ See Roessingh (1986), page 154.

¹⁴⁰ Cameron (1950), page 13; Fry (1970), page 121.

¹⁴¹ Allibone (1976), pages 79, 101 and 134.

¹⁴² Claudius Anthony von Luepken, an engineer, from 1751 in the East and attached to the Marine Academie at Batavia that was founded in 1744 by Gustaaf Willem baron van Imhoff (1705-1751), Governor General of the Dutch East-Indies (1744-1751). In the Loten collection of the Nationaal Archief the Hague, one map by Luepken, "Gedeelte van Bataviasche Bovenlanden" is preserved (NL-HaNA.MIKO.W22). Zandvliet (1988), page 124 described a map of Java by Von Luepken.

¹⁴³ Not identified. In NL-HaNA.MIKO W 37 there is a map of southern part of India by P.C. de Bevere.

¹⁴⁴ The Sea Maps are at present in the Leiden University Library (see below) and Nationaal Archief (NL-HaNA.MIKO.VEL 1295-1301).

¹⁴⁵ NL-HaNA.MIKO.W 14/15. Topographical drawings of area between the Bantimoerung waterfall and the Fort Maros by Jean Michel Aubert.

¹⁴⁶ RP-TP-00-3234: Drawing in east-india ink of the citadel at Macassar, 1750 or RP-TP-00-3232: Drawing in east india ink of the coastline Macassar.

¹⁴⁷ RP-TP-00-3240: Pencil drawing of a coastline. High land of Sagery on Celebes, 1749. An annotation on the drawing indicates that it was lent to Dalrymple.

¹⁴⁸ Not identified.

¹⁴⁹ NL-HaNA.MIKO.W 32. Chart of East coast Ceylon between fort of Batticaloa and river Palvakeaar.

¹⁵⁰ NL-HaNA.MIKO.W 35.

¹⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. In 1780 Loten again lent a topographical drawing of Celebes to Alexander Dalrymple. RPK-TP-00-3246. Topographical drawing of the coast about the Turtle bay, 1749. "Communicated by Alexr. Dalrymple Esq. in April 1780"

¹⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr. 1404.

¹⁵³ A copy of this engraving (29 x 21,5 cm) is in the Leiden University Library (COLLBN 048-23-006). It was etched by Begbie with the writing by W.Harrison, and published in 1780 in London by Alexander Dalrymple. The view was later published in Dalrymple's "Zee-atlas". In 1743 Johannes van Keulen was appointed map maker of the VOC. The Van Keulen firm maintained its position as map maker until the abolishment of the Company. The engraving was published in A. Dalrymple's, *General Introduction to a Collection of Plans of Ports ... in the Indian Navigation* (1783).

¹⁵⁴ Robidé van der Aa (1881), page 53. The letters were not found, but they were probably written before April 14, 1775, when Dalrymple sailed to Madras as a member of the Council under Lord George Pigot (Fry, 1970: 227-229).

¹⁵⁵ In the 1789 auction catalogue of Loten's library (HUA.Library 6629 no 3766/853) the following references to Alexander Dalrymple's nautical memoirs are included.

“[A.] Dalrymple Voyages in the Flying Eagle from Bantam to Baber, [and other islands, in 1672.] Lond[on] 1780”, page 2 nr 25;

“[A.] Dalrymple [Introduction to a General Collection of] Nautical Publications [1783]”, page 6, nr 33;

“[A.] Collection of Plans of Ports in the East Indies [with introductory Explanation] by A. Dalrymple, Lond[on] 1775”, page 7 nr 56;

“General Introduction to the Charts and Memoirs by A. Dalrymple, Lond[on], 1772”, page 7, nr 58;

“Collection of Voyages Chiefly in the South & Atlantick Ocean [...] by A. Dalrymple [at his own expense], Lond[on] 1775”, page 8 nr 70;

“[A.] Dalrymple [An Historical Collection of the Several] Voyages and Discoveries in the south Pacific Ocean, Lond[on] 1770”, page 8 nr 75.

In the Loten collection of the Nationaal Archief (NL-HaNA.MIKO W 40/41) there are two identical copies of, *A chart of a part of the coast of China and the adjacent islands from Pedro Blanco to the Mizzen*, by A. Dalrymple published in 1771-1772 in Dalrymple's *A Collection of Charts and Memoirs*.

All titles in the bibliography of printed sources of Alexander Dalrymple by Fry (1970), pages 286-295.

¹⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nrs 1428: J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 November 1772; London 14 December 1773; London 11 March 1774: “..onlangs met Dalrymple over gebruik van quadranten gesproken...”; Letter London 10 March 1775: Solander and Dalrymple visit Loten and have a conversation on astronomy.

¹⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 151.

¹⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library, “Balaeus beschrijving van Malabar en Choromandel/ Amst[er]dam] 1727” is mentioned on page 4 number 65. The other mentioned books are not included in the catalogue (HUA.Library 6629 no 3766/853).

¹⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nrs 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 February 1771. Edward Nairne (1726-1806), owner of a workshop of scientific instruments He produced a wide variety of instruments: microscopes, telescopes, air-pumps, sextants, mathematical instruments and theodolites. He is principally known for his electrical instruments. He published of various of his instruments and became member of the Royal Society. See Daumas (1972).

¹⁶⁰ In the auction catalogue of Loten's library Alexander Dalrymple's printed tracts of his plans to expand the trade of the British East India Company are mentioned. “Dalrymple [A] Plan for extending the Commerce of This Kingdom [, and of the East-India Company], Lond[on] 1769”, was the fully elaborated version of Dalrymple's scheme. It was not published till 1771. In 1768 the plan was discussed in detail by the joint Committee of Correspondence and Treasury of the East India Company and in July 1768 they agreed to go ahead with the scheme. The second pamphlet in Loten's library, “[A]n Account of What has Passed between the India Directors [and Alexander Dalrymple], Lond. 1769”, was published by Dalrymple in November 1768 before the first mentioned tract, to promote his scheme by creating public pressure on the Directors of the East-India Company. HUA.Library 6629 no 3766/853. page 21, numbers 202 and 203 and Chapter IV in Fry (1970), pages 66-93.

¹⁶¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775 and HUA.GC 750 nr 151:

“22 April 1775. Mr Alex. Dalrymple set out for Porthmouth and the East Indies. The Greenville (Capt Abercromby) about half a month before I saw that Gentleman last I mean at my house in New burlington Str.”

In 1778 Alexander Dalrymple published the journal of his voyage in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society 78: pages 389-418.

¹⁶² Fry (1970), page 224-230.

¹⁶³ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, 18 September 1781.

¹⁶⁴ Letter in the Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy inv. 769. The letter was received by Loten May 4th, 1784.

“John Gideon Loten Esq In Utrecht Holland
Dr Sir

I received on the 24th your favour of the 20th April Major Rennell's Map and Memoir has long been in my possession for You in expectation of the Person who brought the roll from You again calling as he promised to do but as he did not; I concluded He had been stopt by the Ice but as that has been so long gone and the Navigation open, I despair also of seeing him and had applied to Mr. Sevelius who was so obliging to say he

would convey to You any thing, I might have to send and I shall therefore transmit in a few days Major Rennell's Map and a set of all the Charts, Plans, and Views that I have hitherto published.

I am intirely stranger to Capt. Trotter but am acquainted with Mr. Fraser the father of the Young Man You mention; He was 2. Son to Lord Lovat and lately, by the death of his elder Brother General Fraser, succeeded to the Estate which was restored to the Family by Act of Parliament; He was Consul at Algiers and is a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Mr. Nairne [Edward Nairne (1726-1806)] 12 or 14 years ago made for me a spying glass to magnify less than normal with a very large field; he was very much dissatisfied with it himself and begd I would let him apply a greater magnifying power; this I would not permit as the objection intended to be remedied was that the weather was seldom so clear as not to love by the magnifying power increasing the obscurity of the Air in a greater degree than the advantage of enlarging the objects could compensate he made no more for some years; I carried it with me to India in 1775 and every person in that Ship as well as aboard the M. of War in which I came to Suez said they never had seen so good a sea Glass, except one Person who could see with no glass but his own: when I landed at Marseilles I was I believe wrongly informed that English optical instruments were contraband and as I expected to return I left it there, when I came to England I applied to Mr. Nairne to make me another and accidentally carrying this to Acton one day when I went to dine there in company with Admiral Pigot, he looked thro' it and judging it much the best Glass he had ever seen mentioned it to Admiral Keppel [Admiral Augustus Viscount Keppel (1725-1786)] then going to Sea who ordered one of the same kind and they were so much approved that Mr. Nairne in a very short time sold above 200, at 6 guineas each: he made me a present of one as an acknowledgement for having got the better of his prejudice and promised that if He made any improvement I should always have the best; he has added an apparatus in the manner of an Object glass micrometer to measure the relative distances of Ships at Sea by the altitude of their Mast Head above the Horizon, this is an additional expense of £ 2.2- but they may be had optionally with or without. The tube is 34 inches long & drawn out to 39. The object glass is 2 ¼ inches diameter, the magnifying power 24 to 26 accidentally and additional tube to magnify 36 times (costs 24) These are the best glasses for Sea use but for the Pocket there is a kind made by Wright, who was formerly with Martin, and is now in partnership with Gregory, the Tubes are plated they are of three sizes He calls them "extemporé Patent Plated Tube achromatic Telescopes"

Price		Magnifying power	Length in case in inches	Drawn o of case	Length drawn out	Diameter of object glass
4.4	Twenty inch	25	8	2 inch	22 ½ inches	1 ½ inch
4.14.6	Dt. With Compass					
2.12.6	One foot	16	5 ¾	1 ½	14 ¼	1 ¼
3.3.0	Dt with compass					
5.15.6	Two foot	26	9 ¾	2 ¼	28 ½	1 ¾
6.16.6	Dt with Compass					

The Bell is going round for the last time
My best respects & good wishes to Mrs Loten
Adieu My Dr Sir
Ever affectionately Yours

A. Dalrymple
30th April 1784"

The reference to Major Rennell's Map and Memoir is to: James Rennell (1742-1830): *Memoir of a map of Hindoostan; or the Mogul's Empire: with an examination of some positions in the former system of Indian geography*, London: M. Brown and W. Faden, 1783. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library "Memoir of a Man of Heindostan [sic!], Lond[on] 1783" is mentioned on page 7 nr 40.

The reference to Mr. Fraser is to John Simon Frederick Fraser (1765-1803), a Member of Parliament and a Colonel. He was the son of Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat (1736-1815), Fellow Royal Society since August 1778, third son of Simon Fraser, 11th Lord of Lovat (1667-1747). Simon Fraser was impeached for high treason and executed. The lands of Lovat were returned to his son Simon Fraser of Lovat (1726-1782) after he (the son) had served well for his country as a General in the wars in Portugal and America.

'Wright' can be identified as Thomas Wright. 'Gregory' is Henry Gregory (before 1750-1792), who worked in Leadenhall Street London, styled himself 'optician' in an advertisement, but made, or sold, all types of instruments including globes.

¹⁶⁵ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 289.

¹⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385 and 1404.

¹⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹⁶⁸ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 289/3.

¹⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780.

¹⁷⁰ Lady Athlone, Anna Elisabeth Christiana van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1745-1819), was a daughter of Loten's schoolmate and friend General Jan Maximiliaaan van Tuyll van Serooskerken.

¹⁷¹ Dubois & Dubois (1993) ; Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2, lettre 340 au baron Constant d'Hermenches, 18 September 1769. From 18 August 1769 Lady Athlone and her husband stayed in the *Hôtel de la Couronne d'Epines* at Spa.

¹⁷² M. de Charrière arrived at the *Hôtel de Lorraine* 23 July 1769. Baron van Tuyll also stayed in this Hotel. Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2, lettre 340, note 4, page 545.

¹⁷³ See Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2, lettre 301 Jan Waraad van Welderen to Belle van Zuylen, 30 May 1768.

¹⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 January 1771. Charles-Emmanuel de Charrière de Penthaz (1735-1808) and Belle van Zuylen became engaged 14 January 1771. Warin can be identified as Nicolaas Warin (1744-1815), a city councillor at Amsterdam.

Ten years afterwards Stadholder Prince Willem V said to Van Hardenbroek: 'did you ever think [...] that the daughter of the Lord of Zuilen would marry De Charrière?'. Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume 2, page 512.

¹⁷⁵ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: J.G. Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, February, 8, 1771.

¹⁷⁶ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, Volume 2 lettre 345, Belle Van Zuylen to her brother, 27 November 1769. Nathaniel Ryder and his wife had been at Spa where they met Loten and his wife.

Nathaniel Ryder, first Baron Harrowby (1735-1803), was the son of Sir Dudley Ryder, Lord Chief Justice. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1756, a seat he held until 1776. On 20 May 1776 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Harrowby, of Harrowby in the County of Lincoln. Lord Harrowby married Elizabeth Terrick, daughter of the Right Reverend Richard Terrick, Bishop of London in 1762

¹⁷⁷ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, Volume 2 lettre 348, between 20 and 25 December 1769. Eva Maria Van Breugel (1753-1783) younger sister of Johanna Maria Van Breugel (1745-1772), the last according to Belle Van Zuylen: "une mignonne petite personne, et point trop coquette" [a cute little person and too much a coquette]. See Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, Volume 2 lettre 312, 1 August 1768.

Nevertheless, Eva Maria Van Breugel was Belle's 'favourite among the youth' of Utrecht, but 'her beauty did not improve and neither did her manners, and that even makes her less attractive. It is the effect of a major illness, it's the paleness of her beaten & more sunken eyes, and this is so pretty with her modest, simple & a bit lazy looks that you do not want he to be more beautiful'. Belle's brother Willem René (1743-1839) was in love with Eva Maria. See Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, Volume 2 lettre 353, Belle Van Zuylen to her brother Ditie, 26 February 1770. Original in French.

Eva Maria and Johanna Maria were daughters of Eva Maria Burman (1723-1812) and Jan-Festus Van Breugel (1707-1763), who had been the advocate of the Princess-regent.

¹⁷⁸ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, Volume 2 lettre 342 2 November 1769, Belle Van Zuylen to Vincent Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken. Original in French. Mademoiselle Fagel is Johanna Catharina Fagel (1747-1833), she married Belle's brother Willem René in April 1771. She was the daughter of Hendrik Fagel (1706-1790) 2nd Greffier of the States-General (1742-1744), 1st Greffier of the States-General (1744/1790).

¹⁷⁹ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 lettre 350, 25 January 1770, Belle Van Zuylen to Vincent Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken.. Original in French.

¹⁸⁰ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 Belle Van Zuylen to Vincent Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken. 9 July 1770 lettre 370. Original in French. Madame Hasselaer can be identified as Susanna Elisabeth Hasselaer-Clignet (1734-1809).

¹⁸¹ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2, letters 346. Original in French. The expression about the widow is a reference to Marc 12: 41-44 and St Luc 21: 1-4. In August 1772 Loten met Vincent Van Tuyll in Aachen and Spa. He characterised him as (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428): “deezen jongen Heer komt my voor een vriendhoudend hert te hebben”.

¹⁸² Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 Belle Van Zuylen to Vincent Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken, 9 July 1770 lettre 370. Original in French.

¹⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 152. Loten received these notes from his friend Everhard Van Wachendorff, secretary of the Court of the City of Utrecht. The reference is to Steven Jan Van de Velde genaamd Honselaer who translated in 1742 J.F. Foppens, *Historia Episcopatus Sylvaeducensis* (1723) from the Latin as *Oudbeden en Gestichten van de bisschoppelijke Stadt en Mijerije van 'sHertogenbosch*. Leiden. Pieter de Does, Fr. Zoon.

¹⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 155. Kenelm Digby (1754-1813), son of Wriothlesly Digby of Meriden and Mary Cotes, daughter of John Cotes of Woodcote (1681-1756). The last was the eldest brother of Lettice's father Digby Cotes. He must not be confused with his seventeenth-century namesake the imaginative and credulous English diplomat, Roman Catholic and natural philosopher, Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), who fed his beautiful wife Venetia Stanley upon vipers' flesh to preserve her loveliness.

¹⁸⁵ Several family letters in the Birmingham City Archives. Digby Family of Meriden Hall, Warwickshire, MS 3887. In 1780 Kenelm Digby was sheriff of Madraspatnam. In 1789-1790 he made a belated Grand Tour.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 6

DECLINING HEALTH 1770-1776

1. LONDON 1770-1772

JOURNEY TO LONDON 1770

For Loten, living in Utrecht must have been different from staying in London, not only because of the social and cultural differences, but also because of Loten's personal history. In Utrecht he resided in the city of his youth among his relatives and acquaintances who shared a common history with him. There he was part of a network from which he could not easily escape. The social control was oppressive and hindered his freedom, both physically and mentally. In London he was a foreigner who, in the ten years he had lived in the city, had found friends and acquaintances with whom he did not share a common history. He was respected for his personal merits. His status as a *virtuoso* and 'naturalist' Governor of Ceylon, his wealth, virtues and personality, contributed to the esteem he received from them. Moreover, he was usually left to his own devices when he indicated that he preferred the pleasures of his study. In Utrecht however, his merits were those he was born with; he was still very much the son of the secretary of the Leckendijk. In Utrecht's hierarchic social structure, he was consequently shut out from the intimacy of the local upper class. Loten's sneering comments on the 'bon ton' of the Utrecht French-speaking elite betray the regret he felt at being left out.

In the period between 1770 and 1776 Loten's health declined and his asthma became the central theme in his correspondence. It is clear that Loten's life in London and Utrecht was increasingly overcast by serious asthmatic problems. The letters he wrote give us a vivid impression of his suffering and suggest that he became more and more restricted in his movements. The asthma problems heightened his irritability; health worries and bad temper overshadowed everything else including the potential for joy and pleasure. However, as his letters often suggest, in the period between 1770 and 1776 these problems did not completely hinder him from participating in social life. Loten still went to pleasure parks, bookshops and workshops of instrument makers.

On July 9th 1770, Belle Van Zuylen wrote: 'Yesterday evening we said goodbye to the Loten family who is leaving today for Brussels and then to London'.¹ On the journey Loten was accompanied by his wife and her elder sister Catharine Elsmere (née Cotes). There is no information about the servants that attended their patrons, but it seems probable that Sitie followed her master. The Loten company travelled through Gorinchem, where Loten spent the night of July 13th 'in great misery and therefore without sleep'.² A day later at Breda however, he enjoyed a night of sound sleep. He went to visit the church and described the funeral boards of the Noiroot family, relatives of his uncle Jacob Noiroot.³ Several days later, they passed Antwerp and on July 20th 1770 the Loten party arrived at Brussels. There they visited the library of Prince Charles-Alexander of Lorraine, Governor of the Austrian Flanders. This library included the famous library of the Dukes of Burgundy, indisputably one of the most remarkable expressions of the ducal house's interest in arts and letters: '[I]n Brussels we were conducted to His Royal H[ighness] Prince Charles's library of manuscripts and rare books by Mr de Wit. The library is a nice building next to the garden of the archers hall which, as a matter of fact, belongs to it.⁴ Here I learned that the prince and princess Governors of the Netherlands swear their oaths on a superbly beautiful, ancient gilded and illuminated missal made during Burgundy rule. I remember that the signatures of Albertus & Isabella dating from 1599 confirm their oaths were the first signatures to be found on the missal. I was shown the signatures of several important sixteenth-century Gentlemen appearing on the ripped off inside cover of a book. The uppermost one was Charles V's signature and I remember well that somewhat to the left side just beneath this was written, although erased, in nearly the same hand «Lademora d Egmond», that is, from the unfortunate Count Lamoraal, also Wassenaere (I do not know who that can be), Vergy &c &c.⁵ Mr de Wit told me that a learned priest in Louvain was in the process of writing a *Histoire de Pais Bas* and that he had received permission to use all the best archives he needed in Brussels and Louvain to that end. The priest's name was Pacco or Packo, and he was very able to take on this task'.⁶

The Van Tuyll family may have supplied the introduction to Johan de Witt, who was the former grand pensionary Johan de Witt's great-grandson. Pensionary Johan de Witt and his brother Cornelis were assassinated by a carefully organised lynch 'mob' in the Hague in 1672. Like the Loten family, the Van Tuyll family was distantly related to the De Witt family. Loten's guide, Johan de Witt, was a bachelor who lived with his sister in Brussels. He held a leading position in Austrian Government's Department of Domaines and Finances.⁷ The above-cited entry in Loten's notebook demonstrates his interest in the history of the Netherlands and especially illustrates his admiration for Count Van Egmond who was

beheaded in 1568. One of Loten's ancestors, Van Duverden, was Van Egmond's *aide de camp*. The learned priest who was in the quote, can be identified as Louvain librarian (from 1769) and bibliographer Jean-Noël Paquot (1722-1803), who published his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la Principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines* between 1763 and 1770. Paquot is considered to be a representative of the Catholic enlightenment in the Austrian Netherlands. While he appreciated the French *philosophes*, he also disputed their materialism and atheism. There are no indications in the documents that Loten read all or part of Paquot's 18-volume *Mémoires*, a reference work that included biographies for about 2,000 authors.⁸

Loten suffered from another asthmatic attack while in Brussels. It prevented him from lying down. Thus he spent the night sitting in a chair in 'an inn or lodging house better suited to mule drivers than to decent people'. From his window the next day, he watched the magnificent annual 'processions and other amusements', which attracted an 'incredible influx of people [...], although this did not prevent one from walking nearly everywhere'. He also went to the Brussels College of Arms to learn heraldic details about his ancestors' coats of arms. Mr Jaerens, 'first King of Arms', could not tell him anything about the Ghent Lotten family's coat of arms, but did show him the arms of the Lautens family, which contained 'medlar flowers or cinquefeuilles', well know heraldic symbols.

After the festivities the Lotens left Brussels, travelled through Ghent and passed 'Bailleul or Belle'. While the horses of his coach were being changed, Loten looked for ancestors who lived there in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. In the local church he found no monuments relating to his family and although he asked people who he saw there whether they were familiar with his family name, all responded that they were not. A young English officer who lived near Bailleul told Loten that 'the people were very difficult to communicate with and as is the case nearly everywhere in Brabant and the Austrian Flanders, very bigoted and do not indulge heretics'. In a 'name book a[nn]o 1770', which Loten later bought in Lille, he found references to 'P. Looten Echevin' in Bailleul and an 'Advocate Looten' from Dunkirk, but he did not meet his namesakes. It is therefore unlikely that he ever knew about 60-year-old Thomas Looten, who more than hundred years earlier, – on 6 November 1659 to be exact – had died in Bailleul's prison after having been charged for sorcery.⁹ The tragic history of the cattle merchant from Meteren who had voluntarily given himself up for examination at the Bailleul bailiff, is amply documented in the proceedings of his trial.¹⁰ Basing themselves on hearsay, ten illiterate witnesses testified that Looten was a sorcerer and responsible for the signs of witchcraft found on a cow fourteen years earlier. According to them, he was also responsible for the death of a child after having offered it four prunes. When Jan Noorman, Dunkirk's experienced hangman (who prided himself on executing over 600 sorcerers), found the 'stigmata diabolica' on Looten's back, Looten was questioned and tortured for twelve hours. He finally confessed to his treaty with the devil. The next morning he was found dead in his cell, upon which his body was dragged to the scaffold on the market-place and burned.

LONDON 1770-1772

After stopping at Bailleul, the Loten party travelled through Lille and Calais on to London, where they arrived on August 15th 1770.¹¹ Once he was back in London, Loten's health condition became the primary topic in his correspondence. The symptoms of his respiratory ailment were obviously far more serious than ever before. His medical problems made him irritable and he was susceptible to melancholy moods. For a whole week in September of 1770 Loten was afflicted by asthmatic problems.¹² Two months later, he spoke of 'nearly daily visits by my now old complaints, which are however more bearable and do not prevent me lying in a bed'.¹³ By the end of January 1771 Loten wrote that for several weeks he had suffered from a 'continual indisposition, without ever being able to lie down and during that period only able to refresh myself once every 5 or 6 days and with the greatest oppression'.¹⁴ Three weeks after this letter, he reported that during the period of frost, he had been nearly free of his usual disorder for two days.¹⁵ A treatment consisting of 12 grains of asa foetida, tea, rice and prunes was effective against an attack of the asthma. The death of his former tormentor, cousin Van Kinschot, apparently did not contribute to his recovery. Loten's last farewell, written in London in February of 1771 shortly after the death of his cousin, reads: 'I hope that the late Lady and Cousin V[an] Kinschot will know a great happiness now that she has been released from her miserable life in which she suffered and ailed for several years. In view of the afore-mentioned observation and the agreeable dispositions she bequeathed, I condole her surviving friends by participating in their sadness. I moderate my condolence with much pleasure for the reasons I have just mentioned'.¹⁶

Loten's asthma symptoms remained. In the middle of March 1771, he told his brother that he had not left the house from February 23rd on. Nevertheless he considered taking a voyage to Utrecht in the summer. His wife had already written to his granddaughter saying that she thought that in the summer of 1771, he would prefer to stay in Holland for several months, because he had felt better in Utrecht the year before than he currently did in London.¹⁷ However, according to Loten his physical welfare was not his only reason: '[I]here are but two places in the world I wish to be, these are Utrecht and London, London and Utrecht, Utrecht and London. In London I enjoy much more comfort, and nobody, irrespective of how intimate a friend, is unwilling to accept that I am not at home or that I am indisposed. In Utrecht I sometimes become desperate with the number of intruders who penetrate my attic study despite repeated appeals by my 2 or 3 domestics. However, these people (to my joy there are only a few) insist on exercising the freedom of their personal encroachment with senatorial gravity &c. They would certainly be correct if they would be willing to observe *quod tibi &c alteri ne feceris*'. [Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris: Do not do unto others what you do not want done to yourself].¹⁸ Apparently after the death of his meddlesome cousin, he still feared intruders in his study in Utrecht.

Even so, the Lotens once again prepared to go to Utrecht. By the end of April 1771, most of their luggage had been packed, but again Loten was troubled by tightness in his chest. This potentially jeopardized their departure.¹⁹ In a letter to Van Hardenbroek, Loten described his situation: 'Every day I am troubled by at least two attacks of unbearable convulsions in or near the diaphragm. The first at 3 or 4 in the morning wakes me up from my first sleep and the second usually arrives 6 or 7 in the evening. These spasms only disappear when I use opium or Liquid: Laudanum. If I did not use this medication I would never be able to undress, to lie down, or enjoy a single moment of sleep, or even to clean my insides, which often became hard after remaining seated in my chair for 6 to 7 days, without removing my clothes, not being able to endure the movements of taking anything off'.²⁰ One month later, Loten was recovering and he started taking daily walks. His wife, however, was suffering from rheumatic pain and this kept her in bed for three weeks.²¹ Preparations for their journey to Utrecht were therefore progressing slowly.

On July 12th 1771, Loten underwent a small but painful operation because two perpetual blisters on his head were opened.²² Loten and Lettice's visit to Utrecht became uncertain and in August of 1771, they were still in London.²³ For two months, all of their valuables, including their table plate, had been stored with their banker Walpole, Clarke & Bourne at 28 Lombard Street. In the end, the journey to Holland was cancelled and Loten decided to remain in England; he rented three rooms 'at Mrs Hudson's Kew-Lane Richmond' for three months. In August and September of 1771 he, his wife and her sister whiled away their time together with "little excursions to Richmond".²⁴ His asthma usually troubled him more than twice a day and he complained that 'the spasms and contractions were much more cutting in the famed air of Richmond than they were in London'. He also noted that he had tried to pay a visit to the 'renowned M.D. Fothergill', but the famous doctor was spending the summer 300 miles from London and would not return for another three weeks.²⁵ Lettice, who will have known Dr Fothergill from her stay at P.C. Webb's country house, *Bushbridge*, in the early 1760s, may have encouraged Loten to contact Dr Fothergill.

In October of 1771 Loten, 'had a troublesome' accident in Richmond. One morning he discovered an oblong bulge on both sides of his abdomen.²⁶ He made a sketch of it for Dr Dawson, who paid him a visit immediately and said that 'he was sorry to inform me that although it was not dangerous, it was at least an annoying increase of my inconveniences'. Dawson referred Loten to two prominent London surgeons: Dr Pott and Dr Pyle.²⁷ Dr Pyle, in turn, referred Loten to truss maker Timothy Sheldrake who made him a double elasticised bandage to prevent the bulges from further rupturing.²⁸ The bandage caused Loten discomfort just under his short ribs: 'So you see the asthma has altered into a secondary disorder', he wrote his brother. Loten assumed that the rupture had been caused by his heavy attacks of asthma. This seems a very plausible explanation. He returned to London and although his wife insisted they go to Utrecht, they stayed in London for the winter of 1771-1772. Because they left their tableware and plates with their banker, Lettice went out to buy yellow stoneware, 'called English porcelain in Utrecht'. They had to eat from this stoneware with the 18 spoons and forks that were set aside when they stored the silver plate.²⁹ In a letter to his brother, Loten wrote that 'Mr. Banks, who is out of town for several weeks, usually sent me a brace of partridges and sometimes pheasants to lighten my confinement every day'. In the weeks that followed, the bandages still caused Loten pain and discomfort on the left-side of his abdomen. Loten wrote that he hardly noticed his asthma: '[B]ut more than once a day or during my first sleep the slightest irritation will usually cause an attack or outburst of a complete or universal convulsion that makes me insensible for a moment. Sometimes [this is] accompanied by complete suffocation. When

I anticipate these hundred drums, which ascend from the diaphragm and overwhelm the heart before they fly out from the ears and parts of the head, I can control them immediately by taking a dose of hundred drops asa foetida together with several drops of Laudanum. After that and during the intervals, I feel healthy, or seem to feel as healthy as I ever was in my life'.³⁰ From 1770 on, Loten referred in his correspondence and notebooks to asa foetida, or devil's dung.³¹ Asa foetida has a very strong, rather repugnant smell which is remotely similar to (although not fresh) garlic. In the East, it was known from early times as a remedy and used to cure convulsions, spasms, whooping-cough, measles, asthma, coughs, catarrhs, flatulent constipation, chorea, nervous apoplexy and consumption. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1769), "it is frequently used in hysteric and nervous complaints flatulous colics and as a promoter of menses [menstruation]".

Dr Daniel Solander frequently visited Loten and his wife. After his voyage on the *Endeavour*, he lodged at Joseph Bank's house at no. 14 New Burlington Street; Banks lived across the street from Loten and his wife. In October of 1771, Loten's health problems had become so severe and painful that Solander promised Loten that he would 'speak to the honest and able Dr Fothergill' about him and 'to send his friend' to see him.³² Loten told his brother that Fothergill remained 'nearly the only one who I want to consult in Europe [...] He is, as they call them, a Quaker; however, he is a great admirer and practitioner of the Fine Arts and Sciences and therefore intimate with the Gentleman [Dr Solander] and Mr Banks'.³³ Like a disproportionate number of British naturalists, physician John Fothergill was a Quaker. He was friend with the botanists and merchants, Peter Collinson and John Ellis, who like Fothergill, had private botanical gardens. Fothergill's "garden at Upton, was very justly reckoned one of the first botanic gardens in Europe".³⁴ Fothergill's credo, "the great business of man as a member of society is to be as useful to it as possible in whatsoever department he may be stationed", was one he shared with Joseph Banks.³⁵ In addition to being renowned botanist, Fothergill was also an able physician who was often consulted by the London elite.

Dr Solander apparently spoke to the amiable Fothergill about Loten's condition, because in January 1772, Loten referred to his complaints as 'the so-called Asthma, or better a general irritability of the nervous system as Dr Fothergill calls it'.³⁶ This was the very same diagnosis Dr Edward Barry had declared in Bath in September of 1760.³⁷ Although Fothergill became his physician, Loten continued to pursue his own remarkable medical experiments. He wrote his brother Arnout: 'Because I had a dizziness in my head I took a small box and drilled holes in the lid, put cotton wool in it and dripped several drops of Olei Succini on it. Then I sniffed and I think that the smell greatly relieved me. An open blister is very beneficial to obese persons. Since July 12th [1771], two have been cut and I think they induced me to lose much more weight. Because the convulsions did not decrease or diminish, I have decided, with Dr Fothergill's consent, to let them slowly heal again'.³⁸ Following Fothergill's advice, Loten started using opiates structurally. Therefore the description of the above-cited experiment was followed up with a detailed account of his application of opium.

Loten usually made use of Sydenham's laudanum, which he combined with drops of asa foetida, castor oil, spirit sal ammonia [ammonium carbonate] and tar-water.³⁹ In January of 1772, he took a very high dose: '[T]he 17th I felt so poorly with spasm after spasm that I took at the same time Laudanum in doses of 50, 60, 70, 75 drops (together with Tinctura castori three times that dose) within 18 hours 400 drops of that opiate. The last dose stopped the spasms. However, I did not sleep that night. The 18th I felt much better and had a perfect night in my clothes on the sofa. Between the 18th and 19th and the 19th I felt so sound as ever in my life. The 20th however, I felt worse after I caught a cold following a night in my clothes. [...] Without lying I can declare that with the exception of opium, I never experienced any evident relief from any medicine from the Materia Medica. More than once I was warned that it is dangerous for patients to take it carelessly. Careful use is very unprofitable for doctors and also (because it is a cheap medicine) for pharmacists. I really regret that I have to use it, which causes me to postpone taking it; this is further strengthened by my aversion to its smell and taste'.⁴⁰

In March 1772 Loten and his wife drank donkey milk on Dr Fothergill's recommendation; this resulted in 'an increase in physical welfare'.⁴¹ Evidently Dr Fothergill got to know Loten better and learned of his interest in natural sciences. He therefore refused to accept a fee for his work and told Loten that he was 'visiting him as a friend'. Loten had 'enough experience with his complaints' that he could treat himself, 'by continuing to live as I do, or not to live at all'. Irrespective of all medical care however, Loten still complained that he still experienced spasms, thus he found no rest in bed from the New Year onwards. The intensity of the spasmodic convulsions decreased however, to only once a day. They disappeared immediately with small doses of opium: '[O]ne grain (or 17 or 18 drops Liquid Laudanum)

gives me hope of recuperation'. The improvement in his condition gave Loten reason to expect that he might be able to 'try again the Air of Utrecht, and if I should not be able to stand this, then settle somewhere near London, such as Hammersmith &c, and to amuse myself every day in town with a thousand different activities, which can be taken part in; and in addition see as few people as is possible (with the exception of several familiar scientific friends), I now faithfully follow the latter lesson'.⁴²

JOURNEY TO UTRECHT

Loten's health evidently improved further, for he left London on July 2nd 1772 accompanied by his wife, her sister Mrs Elsmere and his maid Sitie.⁴³ Dr Fothergill had prescribed a visit to the wells of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aachen, as a remedy for his wife's rheumatism. Although Lettice would have preferred to travel to Utrecht immediately, Loten, keeping Dr Fothergill's advice in mind, decided to spend some time in Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa. On July 17th 1772, they were in Maastricht and visited the governor of the city. On their way to Aix-la-Chapelle they met Count Kielmannsegg.⁴⁴ In 1779, Loten wrote to Rijklof Michiel Van Goens about this encounter with the Count and spoke with a great deal of deprecation about the nobleman and the social reputation of his former VOC-colleague Carl Gustaaf Falck's family. The account is another specimen of Loten's remarkable Anglo-Dutch English: "You spoke of a General Weyhe, I never have seen that Gentleman but knew where he lived, and in 1772 on the road between Maastricht & Aix la Chapelle [...] I met there & spoke with a count Kielmansegg, who informed me he had a nephew (Weyhe) in Utrecht & that he married a Lady born in India.⁴⁵ This Count was a General officer wearing English uniform and came also out of England, where he had been in commission from Hanover. I can not tell why, in particular, but I did not like much some expression of this great man. They smelled I thought of a little like pride as if great honour by his nephew's match was done to my own Pays Bas. On which I endeavour'd setting his Excellency to right on the subject & the Lady's parents, that seemed but indifferently to please.⁴⁶ Perhaps I may be mistaken in this German Nobleman's outward airs, but as he spoke English perfectly, Mrs Elsmere our sister went as fast she could into the coach and left me upon the wooden bank on the road enjoying the honour of entertaining my self this distinguished traveller, whilst my wife, ever actif rambled about to see the little town, which if I remember well was called Gulpen. For our Utrecht Lady's sake, I wished Baron Wijhe had married rather the daughter out of the ancient Thunderstrucken-castle,⁴⁷ which between lofty trees opened there it's view to us, and put me in mind also the fair Cunigund,⁴⁸ whom I rather would like involved into his adversities than our Utrecht Gentlewoman. This is however not my reflexion on the Gentleman whom I know else nothing of".⁴⁹

The Loten party continued their voyage to the hot-baths of Aix-la-Chapelle. A contemporary source has described the virtues of these waters: "[T]hat they are good against all affections of nerves; such as convulsions, palsies, numbness, tremblings, gout, sciatica's, contractions, swellings, distempers of the bowels, stomach and spleen, inveterate head-achs, vertigo's, barrenness, abortion, and scabs of all sorts".⁵⁰ Clearly this was a spring that would help Lettice to recuperate from her rheumatism. In 1775 Loten explained the name of the watering place to his friend Van Hardenbroek as follows: "Aix la Chapelle (or Eks la Sjappl) as the British Nobility, Gentry and Mobbility, who, viz. the most learned amongst the two first ranks, perfectly positive affirm that spelling Names of Countries, Cities, Persons &c. with the most distinguished and acute exactness is the peculiar Characteristic of the British Nation".⁵¹ To this he added, "I have also now in my remembrance a droll tale to the purpose of Doctor la Soine a Eks Lasjapl", unfortunately without further explanation. From his notebook it is clear that Loten considered the physician to be a quack. In August of 1772, the Loten party travelled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Spa. He wrote to his brother about this place: "Thank God I have no reason to complain, because drinking the waters here agrees with my wife's constitution. I think this place is somewhat better than Aix-la-Chapelle, although generally not better than in London. There I still had the courage to go out; here and in Aix it is not worth the while".⁵² Three weeks later he sent a comparable impression to his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek: "[A] little exercise would still be advantageous to me, but spasms continually preying upon me hinder every attempt of that kind, so that both here and in Aix I always kept my apartment and since I left England [I] never could lay a single night in my bed. What the air of Utrecht may do I don't know, but I fear these spasmod[ic] contractions returning every day with their paroxysms at 2 in the night are now rooted so deep that no atmosphere, how salubrious [and] even opium [can] dispell them. Lettice thinks she feels the benefit of the Spa waters, but she likes this place and so it is possible she may be partial to them".⁵³

Loten spent the last weeks of his stay in Spa corresponding about his granddaughter Antje. She had announced, much against Loten's wishes, her intention to marry Willem Anna Von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff. Asthmatic complaints continued to be reported to his brother and although reports of his condition were more frequent than in London, the complaints themselves seemed to be less intense.⁵⁴ Towards the end of September 1772, the Loten party left Spa and went to Maastricht, where Loten suffered from a heavy attack of asthma. He was afraid to undress or to go to bed and therefore remained seated in a chair with a cover around his shoulders. He told that his legs were 'as thick as vats, so it is not possible to put on my shoes'.⁵⁵ He added, ironically, that he did not wish them to heal as this would prevent him from attending his granddaughter's wedding. Even so, Loten, his wife and her sister Elsmere resumed their journey to Utrecht travelling over Bois le Duc where they arrived early in October of 1772.

Several days later upon their coming in Utrecht, they took lodgings at the *Casteel van Antwerpen* situated at the Utrecht Ganzemarkt; they stayed there until mid-December of 1772. In September at Spa, Loten had asked his brother to confirm his reservation with Mr J. Oblet, 'that well-treating hospes'.⁵⁶ Two years earlier, George Christoph Lichtenberg a professor of Mathematics and Experimental Physics at Göttingen University, had also stayed with Oblet, who had been the host of the King of Denmark and the Corsican patriot General Pasquale Paoli several years before. Lichtenberg found it 'a pleasure' to speak with Oblet: '[I]t seems indeed that he has German and English experiences and he told me about Paoli full of admiration and with tears in his eyes'.⁵⁷ On 12 December 1772, Loten paid Oblet 665 guilders for two months lodging.⁵⁸ Afterwards, Loten rented a house from Hendrik Wittewaell Van Stoetwegen (1699-1775), a former burgomaster of Utrecht (1746-1747).⁵⁹

2. EXPLORATION OF THE SOUTH SEA

DR DANIEL SOLANDER

In the letters Loten wrote to his brother, Dr Daniel Solander (1733-1782) is regularly mentioned as a friend. Solander, born in Pitea, Sweden, was a pupil of Linnaeus. He went to England in 1760. In the summer of 1760, shortly after Solander's arrival, he stayed at Philip Carteret Webb's country seat *Bushbridge* for a while. Webb was Lettice Loten's relative.⁶⁰ Two women tutored Solander and it could be that they were, in fact, Webb's second wife Rhoda Cotes and her niece Lettice Cotes, Loten's future wife.⁶¹

Solander became an assistant at the British Museum in 1763, and an assistant librarian there in 1765. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1764. In 1768 Solander joined Joseph Banks as travel companion on Captain Cook's first voyage to the Pacific aboard the *Endeavour*. In 1772, when Banks pulled out of Cook's second expedition, Solander's loyalty to Banks prevented him from joining the crew of the *Resolution*. Instead, he joined Banks on an expedition to Iceland, the Faeroes and the Orkney Islands. Solander was promoted to the post of keeper at the British Museum, where he expanded the collections while conducting tours for visitors. He also acted as Banks's librarian at Kew and was responsible for naming many of the new plant specimens sent to the Royal Botanic Gardens.

Dr Daniel Solander was a very clubable man whose knowledge and social graces enabled him to establish a solid position in London's scientific and literary societies.⁶² After Lettice married Loten, Dr Solander often visited them in their house in New Burlington Street. Solander was an agreeable person and was therefore often invited to dine at the tables of London's fashionable society. In October of 1780, Loten wrote to his brother about Solander: 'Dr Solander is generally and rightly esteemed to be a man of the best education and the easiest manner; he is always very well dressed after the latest fashion however never in excess [...] [He] is well esteemed at Court, [he is] also very well with the other party [=Tories] – has been an intimate friend of Admiral Keppel's for 20 years – and general Trijon,⁶³ and the courteous young ladies with that name – and when [he] is at his ease, he excels in telling personal stories, – [he] has seen a lot besides his journey around the world: Lapland &c &c where he discovered *Furia infernalis*, [he] was Linnaeus's most loved disciple and like a child to him'.⁶⁴

VOYAGE OF THE *ENDEAVOUR* 1786-1771

In July of 1768, Joseph Banks and Dr Daniel Solander joined Captain James Cook on the *Endeavour* (1768-1771) as naturalists of the expedition to the South Sea. In Loten's correspondence there are several references to this voyage; he was clearly exceedingly interested in the enterprise. Loten's remarks about the expedition give us a first-hand impression of the results of this exploration of the South Sea. In July of

1769, Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant from Spa: “[I]f you should hear of the friends in the *Endeavour* I beg heartily you’ll be so good to acquaint me with all the news concerning them and their expedition”.⁶⁵ In February of 1771, he wrote to Pennant about the rumoured fate of the *Endeavour* expedition: “I am much mortified [that] the report that hath been spread first [that] Mr. Banks being at the Manilhas and afterwards that of being at Batavia, has proved without foundation, tho’ there is as yet no great reason for fearing any unfortunate accident. Yet, no tidings at all coming in, it begins making me impatient. I like a ship of about the rate of one of fifty guns and chuse always that size for my going to Ceylon, returning to Europe &c.: Our Dutch sailors use for a proverb «small ship small sea», which I thought quite contrary to my experience”.⁶⁶ On February 19th 1771, Loten wrote to his brother Arnout from London: “[S]ince the tidings, received shortly before my departure to Holland [autumn 1769], there has been no message from my other friends, Mr Banks and Dr Solander, who left for the South Sea on a small war ship to observe Venus. Thus, the mother and sister of the first-mentioned [Mr Banks] (who has an income of more than a 100,000 in gold) are very sad and uneasy. The rumour that they have been shot by the Spaniards and run aground &c does not appear to be more than an invention of slanderers to incite the public against Spain. If these Gentlemen, who were so well equipped with painters and instruments and a capable astronomical observer as a captain, have perished, the world will miss them terribly”.⁶⁷

The rumours proved to be untrue and early in July of 1771, Joseph Banks and Dr Solander safely arrived in England. Six days after their return to England, Loten wrote to his brother about his encounter with Dr Solander: ‘On [t]he 12th [July, 1771], Mr Banks and Dr Solander arrived from their voyage around the globe. In the evening when I was taking a walk to spread my wings [sic], I was pleasantly surprised to meet the last mentioned, who told me that he and Mr Banks had just taken tea at my house. By my stroll I had missed seeing Him, in which I was also not successful until now. These Gentlemen are very much besieged by innumerable visits by curious Learned men and Idiots. [They] circumnavigated Tierra del Fuago and were in this sea for 3 months. They stayed on the newly discovered island where all their astronomical observations were successful (they had taken with them a fully equipped observatory with many quadrants &c). Then they sailed from there to New Zealand, south of Nova Guinea and Tierra dos Papos and arrived at Batavia. Until that time they had only lost one man, but there everyone became ill and between the Cape and Batavia the astronomer Green, who was added to the crew, the first Lieutenant, also an astronomer and the two painters, of whom Sydney Parkinson was an agreeable friend to me, lost their lives and had the sea as their grave together with more than 50 other men. The new island George, called Taiti by the natives is situated circa 17° 30’ South, nearly at the same meridian as the island Waterland discovered by Schouten and Le Maire in a[nn]o 1616. They speak excitedly of the magnificent observatory near Batavia; it was built by the Reverend Mohr, and valued at at least £ 20,000 sterling. This is a noble enterprise, especially under the government of a man who has not been trained in the sciences and even hates these [=governor Van Der Parra] [...].⁶⁸ Two Indians from the island of Tayti, or better, Taheyti, accompanied the English war ship to Batavia, where they both died. One of them was a philosopher and astronomer and knew how to calculate the rise and fall of the sun, stars and moon as well as the English. They were civilized men, who, when the ship was anchored at Onrust, and they felt that they were going to die, had them brought back to the ship to be among the officers and cadets with whom they had been on friendly terms. Several discoveries were made, but the Lords of the Admiralty ordered these be kept a secret. M. de Bougainville also visited the island of Taheyte with two French ships, but was never seen by Europeans’.⁶⁹

Further first-hand details of the voyage of the *Endeavour* can be found in a letter that Loten wrote in September 1771: ‘Last Monday when I was seated to answer your friendly letter of August 6, Dr Solander entered and stayed with me until 10 o’clock, when he moved to my neighbour Banks across the street to stay for the night. Although Dr Solander has a private apartment at the British Museum, he will stay with Mr Banks until all their drawings of animals, birds, fishes, insects, the herbaria &c: have been ordered. I have already seen 32 Atlas portfolios, most of them either finished or sketched by that able and exact draughtsman and watercolour painter the late young man Sidney Parkinson, who, although a Quaker, very friendly and communicative and who often came to me to spend half a morning to show me the things he had drawn &c. In the month of March one [Loten inserted: ‘two » Mr Banks tells me’] other war ship will be given to these Gentlemen, equipped with competent astronomical officers. On their last [ship] there was no cadet or he could mount within an hour an 18 inch quadrant with its observatory (with the exception of the wooden detachable observatory for the large quadrant), which consisted of a very large barrel filled with sand, burrowed deep in the earth and which had been hollowed out. Another large vessel

that was completely filled with water (to prevent vibrations and sagging &c:) was placed in the opening and on the last mentioned vessel the instrument was placed’.

Loten continued to describe the exploration of the South Sea: ‘I have already recently seen several plants and trees brought from the island George or Otahaijtee (belonging to that archipelago in the S[outh] Sea where le Maire and Schouten in 1616 have seen and visited several islands) in Kew, at the botanical garden of the princess of Wales. The natives remember this voyage, because they also speak all the same language and have navigation and trade with each other; they say that five generations earlier, these ships had been there or at several of these isles. New Zealand was circumnavigated by the friends I mention above. At least they are sure that the two islands [of New Zealand] are as large as Great Britain. The natives also speak the same language as those in the South Sea (here the vocabulary found in Schouten and le Maire’s Journal came in very handy). They opposed landing again and again but then became very friendly, [they] were cannibals (not those from Otahaytie), but else good people.

The inhabitants on and near the island of Otahaytee are very beautiful people nearly as white as (north) Europeans, clean and polite, but their females have a such an unbelievably strange manner especially of greeting their masters, I shall not describe it here, someone would possibly say, o fie brother.⁷⁰ Yesterday I told it to my wife’s sister [Mrs Catharine Elsmere], who is ignorant of the potentials of fashion, who immediately spoke to send hence one or two clergymen to instruct several million people to salute each other in another way &c: [...] Pardon me that [I] am so enraptured by this traveller’.⁷¹

The last reference to the *Endeavour* expedition in Loten’s correspondence can be found in a letter addressed to Arnout written in October of 1771: ‘The official report of the voyage is still not published. Although I read an account that is dedicated to these Gentlemen [Banks and Solander] that they have sent to me. [It was published] without their knowledge and apparently by an anonymous lieutenant or deck-officer who wanted to earn a trifle.⁷² The official account of the voyage shall be a work in which the government participates and shall appear soon. The astronomical observations will be those of the late astronomer Green as far as is possible, Captain Coke [sic] and another astronomical officer, I think the first lieutenant. This will be part of the section dealing with the navigation of the ship. The section on natural history is based on the notes of Mr Banks and Solander &c. [...] Although the postal charge of this letter will be more expensive as usual, I thought I had to communicate this to you. I also bought Bougainville, [about] whom one says, and which I also believe, that he fabulates’.⁷³ Loten read the first French edition of Bougainville’s *Voyage* (1771).⁷⁴ His opinion was obviously a reflection of the colonial rivalry between France and Great Britain. This is also clear from other eighteenth-century English commentaries. Johann Reinhold and his son Georg Forster’s English translation of Bougainville’s *Voyage* was published in January 1772 by Nourse & Davies in London. In the introduction Johann Reinhold Forster claimed that the French had “discovered very little; and what they discovered, had partly already been seen by English navigators, or some Spanish ones of older date”. Furthermore, according to the translators, Bougainville had been “misled by false reports, or prejudiced in favour of his nation: as far as it was in our power, we have, in some additional notes, corrected these mistakes, and impartially vindicated the British nation”.⁷⁵

VOYAGE OF THE *RESOLUTION* 1772-1775

Banks and Solander did not come with Captain Cook on his second voyage around the world (1772-1775). Johann Reinhold Forster and his son George were the naturalists who accompanied him on board of the *Resolution*. In July 1772, Banks and Solander sailed to Iceland; in October of 1772, they returned. After the *Resolution* returned in 1775, Dr Solander told Loten about Cook’s second expedition around the world: “New discoveries Capt. Cook in the *Resolution* hath been at 71°10' south latitude, where found no land but saw immense planes of ice, almost 180° n[orth] from this spot has been at 67°30' southward here & there hath been immense mountains of ice covered with the clouds, yet except as New Holland, where Tasman was and still farther to the southward hath seen no tracks of continent (Austral[jia]) on the latitude of ab[ou]t 20° (to the W^t of new Sealand) discovered a fine pretty large island and was also at Otaheite and in a cluster of islands about what we call the Salomon’s Islands & also between Othah[ite] & America the islands that Quiros saw & Davies was also at Rotterdam & Middelburg (where Tasman was) refreshed also at the same place where the natives at N. Zealand had killed & eaten 13 of Capt. Furneaux’s men (very likely by the rude behaviour of the British officers &c) when the people behaved very civilly to him, he cruised and recruised much about the spot where Cabo Circumcision was said to be, which is very likely

not to exist, did not lose one man by illness, on one of these islands they had excellent nay even paved roads tho' no horses & no cattle except hogs and dogs. Refreshed also at Tierra del Fuogo".⁷⁶

BOOKS ABOUT CAPTAIN COOK'S VOYAGES

Loten was very interested in Cook's voyages and in other such voyages of exploration to unknown parts of the world. His library included many classical accounts of voyages in the seventeenth and eighteenth century to the East Indies, the Pacific, North America and Africa. Besides the accounts of Dutch explorers, his library also contained accounts by English and French navigators, travellers and naturalists (Knox, Dampier, J. Mandeville, John Byron, Phipps, Anson, Dalrymple, and Bougainville). In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library, the three volumes of the official account of Cook's first voyage, compiled by Dr J. Hawkesworth, are mentioned among the quarto-sized books.⁷⁷ Loten also owned the official account of Cook's second voyage, the only published account of the voyages written by Cook himself.⁷⁸ He also possessed the first published account of Cook's second voyage by George Forster. George Forster was not subject to the same Admiralty controls as his father and his work appeared six weeks before the official record.⁷⁹ Besides this Loten also owned a copy of Johann Reinhold Forster's *Observations Made During a Voyage Around the World* (1778), a work which was very different from that of his son's *Voyage*.⁸⁰ In contrast to his father's admiration for the simple patriarchy of Tahitian culture, George takes the side the commoner, who rebels against the self-indulgent and exploitative excesses of the chiefs.⁸¹ The Loten library also included an account by William Wales. Wales accompanied Cook on the *Resolution* as his astronomer and co-navigator.⁸² Early in 1778, Wales published his *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage Round the World*. In it he publicly vented all of the pent-up malice and spite he had accumulated on board the ship. Included were attacks on Johann Reinhold's lack of competence and linguistic abilities, his failings, profanity and drinking habits, and all the incidents of pig-headedness aboard the ship. Also incorporated were slanderous epithets in caricature. These were strung out for all of London to see. George Forster's *Reply to Mr. Wales's Remarks* (1778) is not in Loten's library. In this pamphlet, George noted that if his father had not been an expert in astronomy, Wales surely knew nothing of "botany, logik, physic, language, and *civility*".⁸³

There was also a copy of the German translation of Anders Sparrman's account of the second voyage of Captain Cook (1784) in Loten's library.⁸⁴ Sparrman (1748-1820), a Swedish naturalist, went to South Africa with the Swedish East India Company. In 1772, Johann Reinhold Forster engaged him to accompany Captain Cook on his second voyage as an assistant naturalist. Sparrman left the *Resolution* when it returned to Cape Town in March of 1775. He resumed his naturalist studies in South Africa and also undertook ethnological research among the region's native Hottentots. In 1778, Sparrman was back in Sweden, where he had been appointed president of the natural history collection of Stockholm's Academy of Sciences. Sparrman's account of Cook's voyage, originally written in Swedish and published in 1783, helped to popularise the newly devised Linnaean system of classification and nomenclature by applying it to the new varieties of plants and animals he had collected. It also included some of the earliest ethnological studies of the native peoples of South Africa.

The first edition (1784) of the official account of Cook's last, unfortunate third voyage (1776-1780) was also present in Loten's library.⁸⁵ It consisted of three quarto volumes and one folio atlas and included 87 engravings. This long-delayed official version of the voyage was so eagerly anticipated by the public, that it sold out the third day after publication. Loten also owned John Rickman's *Journal of Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean on the Discovery*, published in London in 1781.⁸⁶ This unauthorised account was the first printed record of Cook's third and last voyage, preceding the official account by more than two years. As all the journals kept on board were claimed by the Admiralty, the author remained strictly anonymous. The second unofficial account of the third voyage, published by the artist William Ellis, who joined the *Discovery* as the surgeon's second mate, was also in Loten's library.⁸⁷ Captain Clerke commended Ellis in his last letter written on his death bed to Sir Joseph Banks, but Ellis disappointed Banks by publishing his account of the voyage in contravention of Admiralty instructions. It appeared that, needing money, Ellis sold his narrative to a bookseller for fifty guineas.

3. FAMILY AFFAIRS

DIRK WILLEM VAN DER BRUGGHEN'S DEATH

The last twenty years of his life Loten was haunted by the conduct of his two grandchildren. His granddaughter, Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen (Antje), in particular, caused him grief and sorrow. Although Antje's affairs confirm present-day clichéd ideas about eighteenth-century liaisons and offer us amusement, her associations did not amuse her grandfather in the least. Remarkably, Loten lacked the authority to guide and set his grandchildren straight; socially speaking he even felt inferior to them. Antje, and to a lesser extent her brother Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen (Careltje), demonstrated their social superiority by showing of their intimacy with Utrecht's social elite. They looked down on their Loten ancestors and pretended to be of noble pedigree (from their father's side). Loten's mocking comments about this are without irony and reflect a deeply held bitterness.

Since their return from the East Indies in July of 1758 the Van Der Bruggen children had lived with their father, Dirk Willem, in Leiden, the Hague, Utrecht and from 1762 on at the family country seat *Langenrode* near Alphen, a village situated between Leiden and Utrecht along one of the downstream branches of the Rhine River.⁸⁸ In 1770, before settling in Utrecht, Van Der Bruggen and his children regularly came over and stayed in Utrecht or at relative Strick Van Linschoten's castle in Linschoten. From Loten's correspondence it is clear that their contacts with the Utrecht Loten family were somewhat strained.

There is no direct evidence which proves that Loten met Van Der Bruggen after their silent encounter at the Leydschen Dam in September 1762, but it seems improbable that they never spoke or saw each other after that memorable occasion.⁸⁹ In 1767, Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen 'would with pleasure have had his daughter to accompany us [Loten and his wife] to England, where she could easily have married most advantageously'. According to Loten, '[t]his attempt however, was mixed with so many intrigues, that although my wife also wanted this very much, I absolutely did not want to resolve to do this. Had it been useful to these young people, it would have been quite another matter'.⁹⁰ So Antje remained in Holland with her father and in the care of her governess. Three years later, in July 1770, Loten told his brother: '[S]hould you see Mr v[an] d[e]r Bruggen and the family, please give them our compliments and tell them we are in reasonable health'.⁹¹ The tone of Loten's request is remarkably kind and without the usual disparaging qualifications of his son-in-law.

Van Der Bruggen suddenly died on October 7, 1770. When Loten heard about his son-in-law's death, he wrote to his brother from London: '[A]lthough very carefully and sympathetically communicated by you, it has disturbed me very much'.⁹² It is the only sympathetic sentiment that he uttered about Van Der Bruggen's death. From subsequent letters it becomes clear that he was more worried that Van Der Bruggen's last will had not been found.⁹³ He feared that this might cause problems when dividing up Van Der Bruggen's inheritance between the children of his two marriages. Loten remembered that he had a copy of a testament drawn up by Van Der Bruggen in Colombo, but he did not believe it would be considered a legitimate document. The children from Van Der Bruggen's first marriage – the Hague secretary Jacob Willem and his brother Jan Anthony Van Der Bruggen, captain and later colonel of the Cavalry – were both married and lived in comfortable circumstances. Van Der Bruggen's two children from his second marriage were under age. They – seventeen-year-old Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen and his fifteen-year-old sister Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen – fell under the care of Utrecht's Orphan Chamber. By December 1770 Van Der Bruggen's testament had still not been found. Loten was not surprised and felt the situation reflected his late son-in-law's capricious behaviour.⁹⁴ He found it impossible to believe, however, that Van Der Brugg[h]en had left no special notes relating to his goods and chattels.⁹⁵ Loten suspected that the papers had been hidden from his grandchildren's agents: J.W. de Ruever, secretary of the Orphan Chamber and Jan Kol, their legal representative. Loten believed that Van Der Bruggen's two under aged children had a rightful claim to property stemming from their mother and their great-aunt Craayvanger, Gijsberta Johanna Blesius, the sister of Loten's mother-in law. The total amount of the inheritance was rumoured to be in the order of four million guilders. Of this Loten says: 'I never thought it to be this amount, but I always guessed it to be somewhat more than 2 million and close to 2½, based on remarks occasionally made by him to his admirers'.⁹⁶

In March of 1771, the testament Van Der Bruggen had drawn up in Colombo became available; it may have been the copy Loten possessed and had stored in his strongbox.⁹⁷ Even so, Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen contested his younger half-brother and half-sister's claim to the maternal part of the

inheritance.⁹⁸ The issues he brought forward were settled in a notary deed, 'to prevent procedures and advance the friendship' between the elder brothers and their younger sister and brother. This agreement ensured that Careltje and his sister received their maternal share of the estate (80,000 guilders) and that the rest of Van Der Bruggen's estate would be divided amongst the four children. Antje was allowed to keep the jewelry she had received from her father.⁹⁹ The nature of Loten's remarks several months later about the 'details in the catalogue of jewelry and pearls' suggests that he did not agree with how the inheritance had been split. He concluded his statement saying: '[B]ut nothing more of this, it might raise a feeling of compassion'.¹⁰⁰ Van Der Bruggen's legacy was thus divided and in 1773 Jan Kol also secured Careltje and Antje's share of the Gijsberta Blesius inheritance, which had also been held in the custody of their father.¹⁰¹

Loten sensed that there was a social difference between his grandchildren, with all their noble pretensions, and himself, a non-patrician burgher who had descended from Flemish/Dutch merchants. In May of 1771 he wrote to his brother, after he heard that Antje made a disparaging remark about her Loten ancestors, that he was glad that the Loten coat of arms, with its eight quarters, had been found: 'Nowadays I consider such things to be of the greatest importance, because for several years now I have found that, in view of all the toadies demonstrated to a Noble Villainous Person, these can bring much more lustre and opportunity than all the merits of an Admiral de Ruijter, as one of our old acquaintances in the Coffeehouse in Utrecht said not long ago'.¹⁰² Two months later, Loten gave an embittered description of his grandchildren's dealings, once again communicating the feelings of inferiority he felt towards them: 'I do not hear anything from my grandchildren. They are above the duties of Society in civil life and much more above those of blood-relations. I fear that they will apply the principles they have learned from their father, who throughout his life brought them up feigning an interest in them. I hope that they will be very happy and I really regret for them that the deceased did not keep his robbery together but invested, by evil advised prospects to receive more, in French bonds'.¹⁰³ After his death Mr Secretary and Careltje seemed grieved by his departure. However, well informed People in England explained that they could imagine that the children were relieved to be rid of one who continually reproached them &c.'. ¹⁰⁴

JOAN CAREL GIDEON VAN DER BRUGGHEN

After Van Der Bruggen's decease Loten wrote to his brother about the care of his grandchildren saying: '[E]very day my wife [...] begs me to invite both children (and at least Antje) to come stay with us, but because I do not see any necessity or reason for this, I have declared that I am not prepared to do this. If I were to do so, suffering as I do from poor health, I would have to sacrifice all of life's conveniences, many of which I have already had to abandon to too large a degree as a result of the incidents with Mr Doublet, the East Indies Company &c. Had the children been left in a precarious position, I believe that I should do all I could to rescue them'.¹⁰⁵ His stance here contrasts sharply with that taken by his parents, who in the 1750s were compelled to take care of Van Der Bruggen's two children from his first marriage. These two children were sent to Utrecht by their father in Colombo without any prior consultation. At that time Loten lamely claimed that there was nothing he could do to stop Van Der Bruggen and he did nothing to prevent Van Der Bruggen from placing this burden upon his elderly parents.

In November of 1770 Loten's grandchildren wrote to him about their plans for the future. Antje wanted to live in Utrecht with an unnamed friend [a "Froelyn"] in a house on the Nieuwe Gracht, which the Gentlemen of the Orphan Chamber had rented for her. Loten fully agreed with her choice. However, secretary Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen angered Loten with a 'conceited opinion, which I think ridiculous'. This was expressed in 'three very voluminous messages from Secretary Van Der Bruggen, of whom I requested (without being obliged to discuss his rather absolute and despotic sentiments), he stop sending me his annoying correspondence'.¹⁰⁶ Jacob Willem claimed that he and not the Orphan Chamber should be responsible for deciding the circumstances in which his half sister Antje lived. He clearly wanted to move her to the Hague, 'to keep the Young Lady there in much cheaper circumstances than those in Utrecht'. According to Loten, Jacob Willem was exactly like his father; his brother Jan Anthony, however, seemed to be a 'free-hearted man'.¹⁰⁷

Loten was worried about his grandson Careltje's future. Careltje had written to him saying that he did not wish to continue his studies, being a 'bad Latinist'. He preferred to pursue a military career. Loten had tried to talk him out of this idea on an earlier occasion. He told his brother Arnout: 'If he persists in his choice, he must try and perfect his Law, History, Geography, Mathesis and Drawing, because without

these essential skills, he will become an officer who looks like a farmer who has learned to drill'.¹⁰⁸ Loten was positive about a 'Voyage with a companion', which was proposed by the gentlemen of the Orphan Chamber. In March 1771 Loten wrote to his brother to say that he did not wish to see Careltje join the Admiralty or the East Indies Company, 'whose treatment I know from experience'.¹⁰⁹ He looked at several possibilities for a military career: the Academy at Brunswick, the Carabineers at Nimwegen, the Cavalry to which Careltje's half-brother Jan Anthony belonged and The Hague's Guardes du Corps, Careltje's own preference. In the middle of March 1771, Loten received a letter from Careltje, 'who seemed nearly desperate, because he thinks that I am refusing to give him my approval to pursue a military career'. Yet he had only 'strongly advised him against it, but on the other hand half permitted it, if this is what he really wants and [I] also seriously recommended to him that he continue his studies in intervals'. He had even written this letter in French, 'because fashionable People pretend that they do not understand their own mother tongue'.¹¹⁰ In May of 1771, Loten sent his grandson a 'very kind' letter, hoping to set his mind at ease. Careltje joined the Life Guard Regiment of the Prince of Orange Friesland Cavalry. However, as early as 1773 young ensign Van Der Bruggen was honourably dismissed by the Stadholder,¹¹¹ according to Joan Carel Gideon because the Duke of Brunswick refused him a commission as a captain of the Cavalry.¹¹²

From May 1774 until May 1777 Careltje travelled through Europe, spending a total of 81,962 livres in three years.¹¹³ In 1775 he visited Florence, Naples, Rome, Venice and Paris.¹¹⁴ In April of 1776, he could be found in Colombier, Switzerland visiting Belle Van Zuylen and her husband De Charrière. According to Belle, 'he acts as if he were Baron Van Der Bruggen. One can say that he is a very nice boy, & the most beautiful women here try to conquer him. He has travelled. With that beautiful figure that we have seen since his childhood & the worldly manners he must have acquired, he is more than pleasing enough. He comes from Italy, he sings, but it is a pity that he behaves so poorly. One would think that he suffers from a disease in the chest. I've not seen him often until now. It does him honour that although he is rich & his own master, he has rejoined with his former mentor M. Portalés, from whom he was separated by his father through evil actions'.¹¹⁵ In June 1777, Careltje visited Loten and his wife in London, an encounter his grandfather did not find amusing.¹¹⁶

Careltje bought Castle Croy in the province of Brabant from his brother major Jan Anthony Van Der Bruggen in 1778.¹¹⁷ Although the Van Der Bruggen family did not rise to the status of nobility until the nineteenth century, as Lord of the Croy castle and estate, Joan Carel Gideon used the title "Baron Van Der Bruggen". In the years that followed he expanded the estate and in 1782 he married Margaretha Geertruida Falck (1762-1843), the daughter of Loten's Utrecht schoolmate, former commander of Bantam, George Tammo Falck.¹¹⁸

Early in the nineteenth century Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen began experimenting with breeding Merino sheep. He was able to pay for this with the shares in the Opium Society he inherited from his grandfather. The introduction of new breeds of sheep to improve wool-production was an example of the noble art of agricultural improvement of the time; Joseph Banks, too, was involved in this.¹¹⁹ From 1815 until 1828 Joan Carel was a member of the Dutch Parliament.¹²⁰ In 1828 he died at his Castle Croy at Stiphout.

ANNA HENRIETTA VAN DER BRUGGHEN

Initially, Loten felt that having his granddaughter settled in a house in Utrecht under the supervision of the Orphan Chamber a good idea. Not long afterwards however, his opinion changed, for the rich, young orphan on the Nieuwe Gracht was a magnet for a variety of suitors, "gallants" as Loten called them.¹²¹ In August of 1771, after complaining of permanent open blisters on his head, Loten suddenly remarked: 'A propos of cutting and stinging, I was informed that there has been a skirmish about a place in the Comedy and that someone who did not earn it received two cuts (that I hope were of no importance), which (after the Bon Ton) must have caused that the young Lady granted credit to him who inflicted the injury. I was surprised that C[ount] v[an] Byl[and]'s name was mentioned again,¹²² because some time ago already someone wrote to me to tell me that the young Lady had refused him and that she was without suitors'.¹²³

In January of 1772 Loten was informed that Mr Van Brien en and cornet Abbema frequented Antje's house.¹²⁴ Johan Van Brien en was the son of a former burgomaster of Arnhem; his friend cornet Jan Carel Abbema was Antje Van Der Bruggen's relative.¹²⁵ Loten also learned that Miss Agatha Marguerite Anne Isabella Charlotte Suljart de Leefdaal, 'a girl I prefer more than her mother', was her companion ("cornuijtje").¹²⁶ Agatha was the daughter of Willem baron Suljard de Leefdaal and Marie Isabelle de

Colins de Tarsienne. Suljard was a retired Cavalry captain, who had been appointed prosecutor on the coast of Guinea in 1763. Before his departure to Guinea, Suljard had a notarial deed drawn up specifying that his daughter be given a Dutch Reformed education, because he feared that in his absence, her mother would give her a Roman Catholic upbringing.¹²⁷ Nearly fourteen years later, Suljard's religious convictions were still a topic of speculation. In his diary of January 1777, Loten's friend Van Hardenbroek wrote that Stadholder Willem V told him about Suljard de Leefdaal: '[He] was a great villain, because he was a very able swindler; for example, he was as an elder or deacon in the Reformed church and on the same morning also attended Mass in a Roman church, feigning to be Catholic as well as Reformed &c. [...] On the other hand he was a sensible and capable man'.¹²⁸

In August 1772 Loten wrote to his brother from Spa, saying that he had not yet heard anything about a rumoured 'new Gallant' of his granddaughter Antje.¹²⁹ Several days later however, he received a 'well-intentioned' anonymous letter confirming the existence of his granddaughter's new suitor. The situation immediately reminded him of the circumstances he had found himself with his own daughter Deliaantje, upon his return from Bantam in Batavia in 1752. She had engaged herself to Dirk Willem Van Der Brugghen against his wishes.¹³⁰ In an almost ironical tone Loten asked his brother to use his influence and speak with the gentlemen of the Orphan Chamber, asking him 'to remind them that they always have to ascertain the well being of the young daughter, especially when she herself seems to be careless'. Loten asked his brother to advise him about a letter – of which he sent a draft – he planned to send to the Orphan Chamber. In this letter he said: '[T]he new suitor [...] is not a favourable, or even not a convenient party [...] for your pupil'. He further argued that the young man's fortune was not in accordance with his granddaughter's 'meagre property'. He continued that her property 'also does not seem to me not sufficient to make someone happy who does not have much, particularly because the property would probably be reduced further by the debts that one told me he has accumulated and which in case of a marriage would have to be settled. In addition to this, he has a passion for reckless gambling, which will annul the small capital that would possibly remain. Thus, should this deceitful liaison take place, it will be to the total ruin of both parties'.¹³¹ Remarkably however, Loten had no idea of what his grandchildren's actual financial circumstances were. He confessed to Arnout: 'I do not have any idea in the world about what my grandchildren possesses, nor about their income and spending. Discretion prevents me from asking about it. However, should a marriage take place, it would ease my mind if I had some idea'.¹³²

Two weeks later Loten received a letter from his granddaughter Antje, who expressed herself so 'energetically and positively that I am convinced that she has already made her decision'. Loten quoted Antje: 'Therefore my dear Grand Pere I cannot delay any longer to tell you that I have decided to marry Monsieur de Willemsdorff, who seems to me a most appropriate party and because he is from a distinguished family and connected with to the foremost Houses, I dare to ask your consent for this alliance, and promise you that it is, at present, the only thing that I aspire to. I am also seeking the approval of my dear Grand Mere & I can assure you that I will be perfectly happy when I receive this Pleasant News. My Guardians told me you have written about my choice and I therefore expect I will not hear any thing other than the above &c'.¹³³ The tone of Antje's message convinced him to abandon his initial intention to write to the Gentlemen of the Orphan Chamber. Three days after Antje's letter, Loten received a message from her suitor, Willem Anna von Proebentow Van Willemsdorff.

'Utrecht 14 September

Sir

The Gentlemen of the Orphan Chamber, Guardians of Miss Van Der Brugghen, have undoubtedly informed you of the steps that I have taken towards them in order to obtain the right to visit the young lady. They have been good enough to approve my request and have promised to write to you about it. You may be surprised, Sir, that I did not address you myself; be assured however, that it was my intention and that it is definitely no lack of attention by me. If I have failed then it is because of these Gentlemen have positively assured me that they expected you to arrive in Utrecht any day now and this convinced me. They told me that they would not allow me to visit her until you had arrived. I know, Sir, that ill-intentioned people have been carefully warning you against me by writing you an anonymous letter. That is a humiliation and an insult for an honest man, who suffers by this severe treatment. Sir, although I do not have the honour of knowing you, I know that you have no reason to be persuaded by what they have told you. I am also aware that you are too enlightened and too reasonable to doubt their testimonials in view of my sincerity. Their goal is to malign me so that you will think ill of me. I am convinced, however, that you know they are dishonest because they have presented you with little convincing proof.

As I aspire to obtain your consent, I am happy to have your first impression of my designs be to my advantage. This is my goal for writing to you. No one, Sir, will be as delighted at your arrival as I will be. I shall then pay you my respects in person. I hope that I have liberated you from the falsehood others have wanted you to accept. Allow me to sign with assurances of my sincerest regards.

Sir

Your very humble and obedient servant

(Signed) W: A: Prebentau de Wilmsdorff¹³⁴

Willem Anne von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (1749-1830) was the youngest of Joost Lodewijk Van Willemsdorf and Antoinette Ernestine Jacot's ten children.¹³⁵ His father came from Prussia and was a major of the Infantry in the service of the States of Holland. In 1750 he became commander of Geertruidenberg.¹³⁶ From the middle of the eighteenth century he called himself Von Proebentou (or Proebentow) Von Wilmsdorff. The impressive ornamental addition to his name suggested an ancient noble Prussian pedigree. However, the aristocratic pretension was not based on solid and reliable genealogical and heraldic sources.¹³⁷ Nevertheless this did not prevent the family from being accepted by Utrecht's aristocratic circles.

Willem Anna was born in Voorburg and was a godchild of Stadholder Willem IV and his wife Princess Anna of Hannover. His brothers became soldiers and in the 1770s, he followed their example by joining the Cavalry at Bois le Duc.¹³⁸ Willem Anna's sisters married soldiers and members of the Dutch and German aristocracy. In 1767 his sister Elisabeth Jacqueline von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff married Frederik Christiaan Hendrik Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken, the son of Loten's late friend general Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll Van Serooskerken.¹³⁹ Loten claimed that he 'knew nothing, not the least' about the family, with one exception, that one of Van Wilmsdorff's sisters married 'a Gentleman of the first order'. After some reflection he also remembered that he had 'not heard anything disadvantageous [inserted: or advantageous] about the family at that Lady's marriage'. Evidently, Loten was unable to dispute that the family was well connected. However, he had few illusions about Willem Anna's reputation. According to a gentleman 'of high birth and rank', whom Loten met at Spa, 'he had an affair with a Lady, but Antje diverted him from her with a letter and drew this dear conquest to herself'. Loten assured his brother that the informant, probably the above-mentioned Frederik Christiaan Hendrik Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken or his brother, was 'no Enemy of W, but his friend and in favour of the marriage, but he admitted everything that could have been written against him'.

Nevertheless Loten 'dared to send advice to his granddaughter'. As always this was 'in Dutch, which was very unfashionable and as the English say vulgar; it would therefore be considered ridiculous'. His grandfatherly warning reads as follows: 'If You do not take this as an attempt by me to try to interfere with or to hinder you in Your inclinations (I daresay that this is not my intention, evidence of which you have from my previous attitude towards you), then it is not an unreasonable council for me to urge you to learn about each other's dispositions, if only for a few months. You are young and will thus be able to withstand this. The two of you will thereby become increasingly convinced of your mutual good qualities and corresponding inclinations and this will enhance the trust you give one another; when You then give Your Hand to the Gentleman, You will then know for sure that he is worthy of You'.¹⁴⁰ He asked Arnout, 'Dear brother what do you think, is this a too harsh or unreasonable a clause?'. Loten's wife Lettice had encouraged Loten to write this counsel, because not long before, Antje had had a liaison with Gabriel Paul Benelle, Councillor in the Court of Justice in Suriname: 'Considering what has just happened with Benelle, [she] thought it would be better if the Highborn parties got to know one another better for about half a year. After that there would be ample time to tie the knot'.¹⁴¹

In a letter to his friend Van Hardenbroek, written in Spa on 25 September 1772, Loten summarised his position: "Now of something else, that offers also a variety of scenes not all equally pleasant. As all worldly affairs in general sometimes whimsical enough and changeable, tho' hardly in as regular an order at the Moon's phases. I mean the Holy State of Matrimony. To enter into it my Grand daughter sent me a communicatif Note, that she was decided (such were her explicit words), to marry with M. de Wilmsdorff and that this alliance was at present the only thing, which could make her perfectly happy. And I believe she tells truth and her real present feelings. Being pretty sure, she does not like contradiction. Accordingly I did not in the least attempt it, but as I think to know her a little, only with a sort of apology for pretending. So [I] advised her to stay a very few months and so to have an opportunity of knowing one another temper &c. for this is not the first time she wrote me on such a subject and with more pressing,

tho' not quite so determined stile with regard to other pretenders and on a sudden changed her mind, tho' I never knew for what reason. But after all I think this match will take place".¹⁴²

Loten concluded correctly, for his granddaughter did not take his advice and she married Willem Anna von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff in Utrecht on 15 November 1772. Two weeks prior to the wedding, the prenuptial agreements were recorded in a contract by notary D.W. Van Vloten in the presence of Joan Gideon Loten.¹⁴³ Loten felt humiliated; eight years later he was still annoyed at the distinction made on the announcement of the marriage between the two 'High Well Born' partners and himself, 'your humble correspondent, an East Indies Sailor, of inferior origin'.¹⁴⁴ Several weeks before the marriage took place, Madame de Charrière, Belle Van Zuylen, wrote to her brother saying: 'You know that Willemsdorff is marrying M[ademoi]selle Van Der Bruggen. I also like that marriage. One is rich and the other a poor & nice boy & I should not know whether one or the other of all people has better claims than they have'.¹⁴⁵ One can be sure that Loten did not agree with this valuation of the relationship between his granddaughter and Van Wilmsdorff. He considered Antje's previous gallant, Count Van Bylandt, more worthy of her, 'because there was more to him, as they say, more though not rich. Besides, in England I heard that he was (as the expression goes) without Vice'.¹⁴⁶

In November 1774 Loten received a 'French' letter from Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff announcing that his 'dear wife was pregnant for about 5 months'. Van Wilmsdorff asked Loten to be the godfather of the child along with Mrs Van Wilmsdorff, Willem Anna's mother.¹⁴⁷ The initial tone of Loten's message to his brother Arnout about this request was entertaining, but it changed into angry and embittered humour: 'He recommended himself as « pour toujours dans mon amitié », and expressed himself sincerely in regards to the pregnancy, « Vous comprenez facilement tout le plaisir que cela me fait ». Again I could not respond to this highly agreeable [letter] in French without the use of a Dictionary. I accepted the godfatherhood by reciprocating his friendliness [...]. I initially found it difficult to accept, but my wife said that not doing so might cause Antje grief and could in turn affect the birth and then that would trouble my mind very much afterwards. So I agreed although I had my doubts about the young woman's sentiments. Afterwards I nearly regretted accepting the role, because I received a letter from a friend from which I understood that the two young people had been in Utrecht for several weeks without ever having visited Our Lady Mother [=Loten's mother], (to whom they never even presented themselves). I remembered that our Lady Mother told me that Antje, prior to her wedding, accidentally expressed her sentiments regarding her ancestry from the Loten's or Van Juchen's; she said this was shoddy (that is, insignificant). I must confess that this hit me hard and if I were more certain of what I had been told about these « apparent discourses » between them and if I were in better health, I should have written a genealogical history requesting her High-born Husband's to read it'.¹⁴⁸ It appears that Arnout Loten agreed with his brother's sentiments regarding his granddaughter and her husband.

Loten anticipated that as a godfather he would be 'honoured or employed' to pay the couple's debts on the birth of his great-grandchild, but he had every intention of being 'resolute' and refused paying off all 'obligations' in honour of his namesake. He would 'also behave as I believe is required from me, perceiving from the beginning the distance they have placed themselves from my family, my relatives and myself. Had they realised what they were doing they might have behaved more decently; this would have been more agreeable to them and would have spared me a great deal of inconvenience and bother'.¹⁴⁹ In March 1775, Van Wilmsdorff informed Loten that his wife had given birth to a son in Bois le Duc: 'Il s'appellera Jean. Gideon. Louis. Ernst. Madame la Douariere de W[ilmsdorff,] ma mere, le tiendra sur les fonds baptismaux, accompagnés de mon beau Frere &c. Underlining and separating the four names with full stops was both a supercilious and diffident clue done to ensure that no one forgets to admire the differences in birth when such High Nobles have the goodness to come and pay a visit to this world'.¹⁵⁰ There are no documents about Loten's 'employment' in paying off the couple's debts.

In September of 1775, Van Wilmsdorff bought 'Old Noble Castle Nemerlaer' and the land, houses, farms and fishing and hunting rights belonging to this estate for 88,000 guilders. The Castle is situated in Haaren, about 20 kilometres from Bois le Duc. Loten's acquaintance Marcellus Bles, former secretary of the VOC in Colombo, acted as the owner's agent. The owner was the widow of Caspar de Jongh, former VOC-commander of Galle in Ceylon.¹⁵¹ Casper de Jongh, Lord of Spanbroek, bought the Nemerlaer castle and estate in 1773 for 74,000 guilders. He moved from the Hague, but died in 1774 shortly after settling in the castle. When Loten received his brother's letter about this issue, he responded by scolding their haughtiness and their extravagance. Loten expressed his disapproval of their choice of residence saying: 'It is [a] place they especially should have avoided buying. If you consider that they already had two good carriages, one of which was brand-new, made for their wedding. They certainly did not demonstrate

their frugality by immediately ordering two new carriages, as well as two pleasure coaches of a lesser class, of which one was already in use before I left [in September 1773] (but apparently not paid for).¹⁵²

The relationship between Loten and Van Wilmsdorff remained tense. The entries he made in his notebook while in Utrecht in 1776, demonstrate how exasperated he felt. Although the remarks he makes are enigmatic, they clearly show that Loten felt hurt and deeply insulted by the arrogant Mr Van Wilmsdorff:

“To remember & make use of what had happened in regard to writings &c: as the marriage settl[emen]t of Willemsdorff & the grand daughter the difference &c: the behaviour of the ridiculous dowager &c.

The contradictions ab[ou]t y^e Vattevilles being not barons but ducs.¹⁵³

Resigning ag[ain]st the worthy gen[era]l Tuyll’s advice & that of my self.¹⁵⁴

His infriendly & ill bred declaration; I for my self do not any thing think to give for the organ, tho’ he was not asked.

The saying ab[ou]t the English & Scotch families to resent that & that of my own in regard to the v[an] d[e]r Brugghens and him self.¹⁵⁵

Towards the end of 1778, Wilmsdorff resigned from his commission in the Cavalry. That same year, a daughter was born at Bois le Duc. She was given the names Henriette Wilhelmina Jacoba Antonia Von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff.

4. UTRECHT AND LONDON 1772-1775

LOTEN IN UTRECHT 1772-1773

There is little information available about the Loten’s social life in Utrecht. Most information about Utrecht comes from his notebooks, while an insight in his London existence is usually also based on letters. The nature of the notes and letters is different. Loten’s notes have often been written down impulsively and in haste; his letters do not reflect these sudden emotions, but they contain much more irony. From the papers available to us from 1772-1773, it is not clear that Loten returned to Utrecht intending to settle permanently in that town or not. In any case, no evidence exists which confirms that he planned to sell his house in London. In any case he was looking for a more permanent base in Utrecht. In August of 1772 he wrote to his brother from Spa about a house at the Drift, a fashionable location along the Nieuwegracht. The asking price was 60,000 guilders (£ 5,400), which he considered to be ‘a third too much’.¹⁵⁶ In the end, Loten did not buy the house and between 1772 and 1773 he lived in Utrecht in lodgings and a rented house. The documents we have, give few particulars about these years in Utrecht. From the account of bankers Vlaer & Kol, it is clear that in the period from 5 October until 21 December 1772, Loten withdrew 4,676 guilders. This means he spent approximately 1,550 guilders or £ 140 per month.¹⁵⁷

On January 25th 1773, the Loten household received “two rabbits, cabbage, lettuces & asparagus” from Willem Nicolaas Pestors (1717-1794), indicating that Loten was on friendly terms with the lieutenant-*Stadholder*. Pestors was the most influential person in the City and Province of Utrecht. He represented the *Stadholder* and was very nepotistic. Loten’s brother Arnout was seen to be Pestors’s ‘footman’. In the 1780s the patriots even called Arnout ‘Pest of Utrecht’.¹⁵⁸ Loten’s notebook does contain a short reference to lieutenant-general Hendrik Willem Jacob Tuyll Van Serooskerken (1713-1800), younger brother of Belle Van Zuylen’s father. In March 1773 Loten paid him 112 guilders (*ca* £ 10) for the use of three riding-horses.¹⁵⁹

On March 3rd and 4th 1773, Joseph Banks visited Loten and his wife. Banks was touring Holland for six weeks.¹⁶⁰ There is part of a letter that Banks wrote to Loten during his tour. The letter was torn into bits and only the upper portion has been preserved:

“Amsterdam Feb[ruary] 26, 1773

Dear Sir

Short as my stay in Holland is likely to be I cannot think of leaving it without paying my respects to
[.....]

[verso]

Give me leave to beg my best respects may be delivered to Mrs Loten who I hope is better then she has been My Comp[limen]ts also to Mrs. Elsmere

Believe me sir with the warmest wishes for your health
Your affectionate
H[um]ble Servant
Jos. Banks".¹⁶¹

On March 3rd 1773, Joseph Banks and his companions travelled in a towboat ("treck skuyt") that they had hired themselves in 7½ hours from Amsterdam to Utrecht. In the *Journal* of his tour to Holland, Banks wrote:

"[A]t ½ past 7 we arrived at Utrecht & were immediately taken up by Mr Loten's coach, which waited for us & carried to his house there we met a good deal of company supd & went home.

This day as we were informed the Storks arrived at this town".

The next day Banks and Loten visited apothecary Lambartus Juliaans in Utrecht. Juliaans had a well known cabinet of shells and insects. They also visited Pieter Boddart (1730-1795), a medical doctor who became lecturer of natural history at the Utrecht Academy in 1793:

"Went to see the collection of a Mr. Julianus an apothecary who shewed us several remarkable things as

Sepia rostrum the beak of a cuttle fish of an immense size the under mandible 3 inches in length the upper the same & the breadth thereof the base of the two mandibles also 3 inches the animal to which this beak has belonged must have been of an incredible size.

Silurus a species of the genus whose upper jaw was covered with short rammenta for near ¼ of an inch in breath from his nose.

Silurus another somewhat resembling the former but whose belly was covered with short pedunculated suckers at least, bodies which appeared as such being threads ¼ of an inch in length with each a flat round substance at its end.

Lampysis the two species I had before seen at the prince of Orange cabinet with serrated rostra

Libella the two species I had before seen with a long abdomen.

From hence we went to Mr. Boddart a more liberal man than most I have found in this country who shewed us a small collection & then went with us to the garden which we found not very good nor very bad the plants tho not numerous were well taken care of & the stores upon a tolerably large establishment".¹⁶²

Banks also climbed the Dom tower and after dinner visited the Moravians in Zeist, about 6 miles from Utrecht. It is not certain that Loten accompanied him climbing the tower or on the trip. That evening, after his return to Utrecht, Banks again supped with the Lotens. At 7 a.m. in the morning of March 5th, he left on the deck of the towboat to Rotterdam. While still in Utrecht, Joseph Banks must have discussed Utrecht's mild climate with Loten, because in his *Journal* Banks touches upon his London neighbour's favourite topic of discussion: "The people here are so proud of this elevation [of the streets] of 12 or 14 feet [above the canals] that they declare & believe their atmosphere to be much cleaner than that of any other part of Holland & say that when their neighbours are immersed in fogs they above their heads see the clear ether upon the whole, the town looks far drier than its neighbourhood".

Utrecht's climate may have been favourable to Loten's health; it did not however, remedy his irritability. His notebook usually served as an outlet for his complaints giving him a means of expressing his irritations; it probably also prevented him from getting involved in verbal arguments with others. Two crossed out annotations, made during his sojourn at Utrecht in 1773, reflect his anxiety about his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek's conduct: "Before I set out for Spa in 1772 I sent to Mr de Lochorst [Loten tried to make the name illegible] on his desire & command le Gazettier cuirassé & payd Mr Elmsley in the Strand Eight English Shillings, for which & also some other pamphlet never were offered to repay".¹⁶³ The second remark about his friend followed the above-cited grievance: "In 1767 I left to the same Nobleman my English post Chariot (koetsje coupé) which he promised he would be so good to keep for me till my return. I told Him He might be so good to make use of it and that He freely might do so and have it thoroughly repaired on my expenses, against which He protested. When I returned in 1769 He never offered that carriage again and also not since I arrived here in 1772, thus very likely understood it was a present, and if so, it is really (most agreeably to me) at his service. But as there is a current report that I sold it to him and that a sum of money was given to me for it; I must protest that never such a thing existed and that, neither for this nor upon any account or disbursement whatsoever I have received any money out of Mr. de Lochorst's hands, nor that it was ever offered to me. Towards the month of May last and then being upon hand the removal out of our former house, I told so that Noble-man that I had

made by the famous Gun Smith Barbar an excellent fowling piece with the touchhole bored thro' a gold bar and tho' I intended it by my self as a present,¹⁶⁴ that I would sell it to him if He should happen to like it, but that I would do so at prime cost, I delivered to Him the key of the case or box it was carefully kept in, and a few days afterwards I sent it to Him in the case by Otterspoor,¹⁶⁵ whom I do not doubt but delivered it honestly; I heard never anything afterwards about it, not even when I gave to him a written direction how to keep it clean, so that comparing notes together I am apt to believe that it also will be told that it was bought of me and a sum of money payd to me for that".¹⁶⁶ This remarkable and candid outburst shows Loten in a subservient role; he sensed he was no match for his careless and aristocratic friend. However, his concern did not upset their relation. After his return to England, Loten continued to write him cordial and sincere letters that reflect their friendship. Even so, his distress about this matter must have been very serious and he never forgot it. Sixteen years later, three months prior to his own death and six months after Van Hardenbroek's, Loten suddenly wrote in his notebook: 'It was told that someone paid an amount of money for the coach. That is also a great delusion. Never more than an old dime. 18 Nov. 1788'.¹⁶⁷

Although no direct sources exist which tell us anything about Loten's social activities in Utrecht, he must have been in contact with friends and acquaintances. Upon his return to London in September 1773, he asked his brother to send his regards to various people, indicating they were people he knew from his stay in Utrecht.¹⁶⁸ Most of them were regents who held offices in city council or in the Provincial 'States'. Several of his friends belonged to the city's aristocratic elite. They included: Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, Diederik Jacob Tuyll Van Serooskerken, his younger brother lieutenant-general Hendrik Willem Jacob Tuyll Van Serooskerken, lieutenant-colonel Nicolaas Willem Pesters and Reverend Robert Brown.¹⁶⁹ Other friends included: Mr Jan Frederik Roëll, secretary of Police and Finances, Mr Everard Van Wachendorff, secretary to the Court of Justice,¹⁷⁰ Mr J.W. de Ruever, the later secretary of Utrecht and Count Van Rechteren, the chief-officer of Wijk bij Duurstede.¹⁷¹ These had solid positions but were not reckoned as peers of Utrecht's aristocracy. Most of them were loyal to the Stadholder in the Hague who had secured their positions as local magistrates. Loten also mentioned Utrecht banker and former notary Jan Kol, who was friends with many of the city's prominent inhabitants. The memoirs of Loten's friend Van Hardenbroek (*Gedenkschriften*) give the impression that Jan Kol's role in the Utrecht society was that of a trusted, well informed and reliable companion, who discreetly settled the affairs of his clients and friends.

RETURN TO LONDON 1773

Towards the end of August 1773, Loten and his wife, accompanied by Mrs Elsmere and their maid Sitie, left Utrecht and travelled through Gorinchem, Breda, Antwerp, Lille to Calais. Loten's East Pomeranian manservant Ernst Gottlieb Sellin Van Regenwalden carried a pocket gun, because 'he was afraid he would meet only Highwaymen and robbers on his way from Utrecht to London'.¹⁷² On September 15th 1773, they crossed the Channel in a packet-boat to Dover. However, the winds prevented them from landing, so they navigated to Downs. They disembarked soaking wet. Lettice Loten was petrified with fright at the turbulent sea and its strong breakers. Two days later, they arrived at New Burlington Street and in a letter to his brother a few days later Loten reported that they were doing well.¹⁷³ Not long after returning from Holland, Loten met Dutch envoy Count Van Welderen in one of the London pleasure gardens: 'Until now I met none of the great people except our Envoy (and Mrs Bentinck and company),¹⁷⁴ who returned my visit the next day when the others [Lettice and her sister Catharine Elsmere] were absent. However, a day later when I was with my wife in our coach, His Excellency walked from the flat pavement stones (men[tione]d yellow stones at Ut[rech]t) over the cobblestones to us and remained talking with his arms in the door of the coach. My wife was to visit them twice this week. I think you also remarked on this courteous Gentleman's politeness, and his Lady has always been so to Letty'.¹⁷⁵

It seems that a few days earlier, Lettice had sprained her foot on 'a lawn as flat as velvet'. The accident took place at Goodwood, the Duke of Richmond's seat, where Loten and his wife came to view a moose (*Alces alces*), 'a deer from Quebec, not 2 years old and larger than any horse I have ever seen. They call it a mouse-coloured deer; it is a newly discovered species, with large branched antlers'.¹⁷⁶ The excursion took place on 4 October 1773 in the company of anatomist William Hunter FRS, physician extraordinary to Queen Charlotte. Hunter carried with him a drawing of the elk by animal painter George Stubbs. According to Hunter, "General Carleton [governor-general of Canada, later Lord Dorchester] having presented another original [moose] to the Duke of Richmond, of 2 years of age [...] I accordingly went

this day with Dr Solander and several of his friends".¹⁷⁷ Evidently Loten and his wife were Dr Daniel Solander's friends. Four days later, on October the 8th 1773, Joseph Banks, Dr Solander and General George Augustus Eliott¹⁷⁸ dined at the Lotens and ate 'smoked ox rib, preventing them from having to eat the Green Kan lard biscuits'. The latter referred to an Utrecht delicacy that Loten had taken with him to London and which his old mother liked very much.

OPIUM REGISTERS

On October 18th 1773, Loten felt ill and until the 28th of October he remained in his clothes and out of bed. His notes demonstrate he hesitated to use opium: 'Not daring to use so many softening medicines as were probably necessary to conquer the spasmodic convulsions, I was not willing to send for a physician. However, my wife scared off by that ugly scarecrow opium went without my knowledge to Dr Fothergill, who understood her concerns. He approved the medicines that I applied and soothed her as much as possible; he subsequently came to see me'.¹⁷⁹

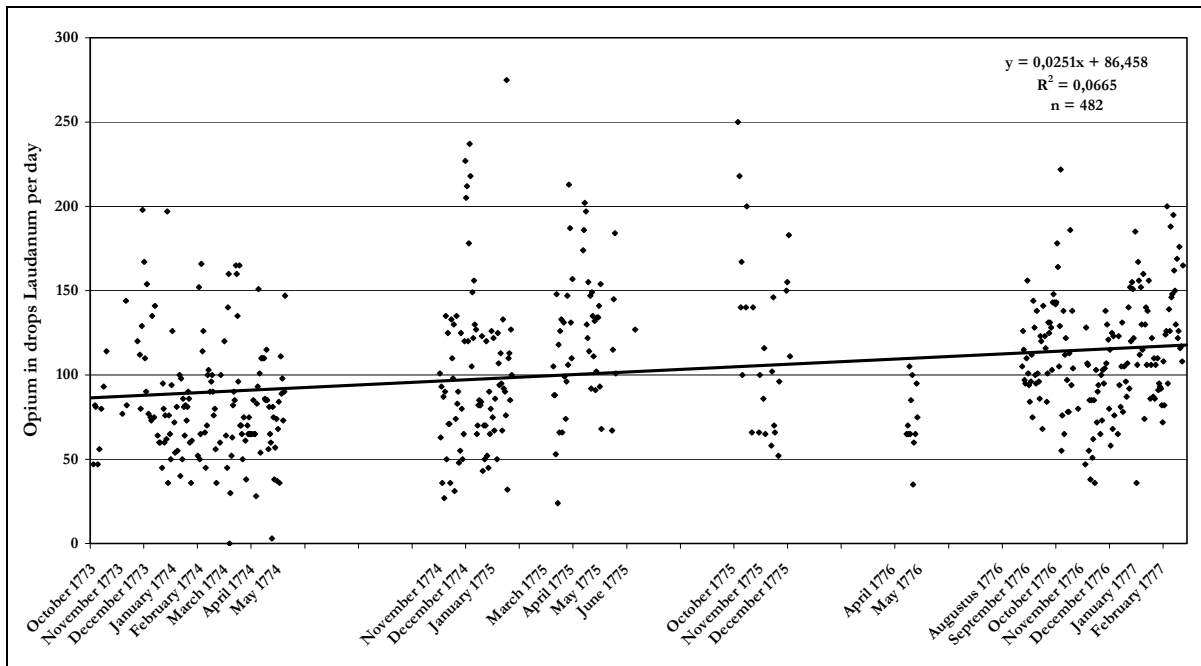
The entries in Loten's cashbook show that Dr Fothergill visited his patient twice during this period.¹⁸⁰ The October attack of asthma was probably the reason for registering his use of opium.¹⁸¹ It is clear that medications containing opiates were a matter of concern to Loten. In a lengthy passage he explained his use of opium to his brother. It sounded as a justification for and response to the critical remarks he received from Utrecht to abstain from using this drug. During his last stay in Utrecht, he evidently did not consult Johann David Hahn, a professor at Utrecht University.¹⁸² His earlier treatments still aggravated him in 1773.¹⁸³ Loten claimed that '3 physicians, all of which members of the Royal College of Physicians' approved his self-medication and use of laudanum. He also argued that there were no alternatives to the opium. In contrast to the advice he received from Hahn, Loten's London physicians had advised him to use laudanum for ease his 'suffering and enduring the convulsions [...] in the first place to moderate [the convulsions] by repeated use of opium (put straight by any other antispasmodic drugs). Thus the opium will not only be a palliative but will also probably be a curative medicine for such a disorder. This is also the reasoning Professor Robert Whytt adheres to in his excellent book about nervous diseases'.¹⁸⁴

According to Loten this treatment was successful because the convulsions were 'in general not half as vehement as they were before'. He also asserted that the contradictions in Hahn's recommendations – abstain from the use of opium or use it in high doses – had been one of the reasons he had left Utrecht in August of 1773. Loten had consulted Hahn in Utrecht in 1769. Hahn then 'remonstrated with me against using opiates for my indisposition. This is singular because in 1766 when I asked him what to do if such a sudden spasm befell me, he responded that I should not to hesitate to take 40 drops of Laudanum ilico, a dosage that for me, who at that time never used opium, was much greater than the 75, yes 100 drops that I was used to'.¹⁸⁵ In November 1773 Loten described the Utrecht physician as 'a very learned Gentleman in the Netherlands, who can excellently reason and has a great talent for eloquence and who, although he is a very able philosopher, also practises medical sciences'.¹⁸⁶ It seems Hahn's medical approach was 'experimental' like his public lectures on philosophy. In May of 1771 Belle Van Zuylen wrote to her brother that her health complaints were being 'treated by trying out, with M[onsieur] Hahn, all sorts of remedies & taking in a lot of opium without any result'.¹⁸⁷

In October and November of 1773 Loten incidentally took note of the number of drops of laudanum he took. Towards the end of November 1773 he specified the number of drops of laudanum and grains of opium he took per hour on a daily basis. He expressed his daily use in drops of laudanum, assuming that one grain of opium was equivalent to 17-20 drops of laudanum. His concern about the effects of his opium use was probably the reason he started recording his application of this drug. He kept these detailed registers in several notebooks over a period of more than three years; that is until March 1777.¹⁸⁸ The following figure summarises the information from Loten's registers and represents 482 days. There are also periods without any information about his use of opium. This is either because Loten did not register it or because not all of his registers have been preserved. From the graph below it is clear that he used opium almost every day over the total period.

The daily doses varied widely and range between a minimum of 30 drops and a maximum of more than 250 drops per day. The dosage of the opiates used by Loten was evidently related to his condition. Although the data are scattered, the graph shows a slight increase in the average daily dose taken by Loten during the period of more than 3 years in which he kept his records. His average daily dose of laudanum over the total period is 102 drops per day. By the end of 1773, his average daily dose was 83 drops; from November 1776 until February 1777 his average daily dose was 113 drops. The available data over 1775

indicate that he used the opiates more intensively; the average dose then was 123 drops per day. The graph also shows Loten's reluctance to use the opiates. He was not addicted to the drug. The increase in the dose over the period is modest and indicates that the laudanum and opium grains were applied as a sedative or palliative and a spasmolytic medicine and not as a stimulant. The registers also give an impression of the application of the opiates during the day.¹⁸⁹ For 99 days, Loten recorded the time of the day and the amount of opiates he used, expressed in drops of laudanum. In total he used the opiate 364 times which is an average of 3.7 times per day. The average daily dose over a period of three months was 96 drops per day. He usually took the opiates at noon, early in the evening and late at night.



Daily use of laudanum by Joan Gideon Loten October 1773 until March 1777.

THE EFFECTS OF LONDON'S ATMOSPHERE

The two notebooks that Loten kept from 1772 until 1779 contain many entries about what things cost in everyday life.¹⁹⁰ However, the pages containing his spending were also used to write down comments, observations and frustrations about his health and daily life; these had nothing to do with the expenses which he had usually written down earlier. The notebooks therefore not only served as a cash register, but also as a mnemonic device and a personal diary. Loten clearly used his notebooks often and on impulse and this has resulted in pages full of notes in very small, scarcely legible hand, often scratched out. The notebooks supply the most personal information about Loten's character and personality that is available. They are therefore an important source of biographical information.

From the early 1770s onwards, Loten's opinion about Utrecht's favourable climate regularly featured in his notebooks. An example is the annotation made circa 1774, in which he referred to Van Musschenbroek's observation of a moderate change in the height of the mercury column in the barometer in Utrecht in 1727: '[I]his parity in the weight of the atmosphere must be comfortable for people with tender lungs and who suffer from a convulsive asthma like I do in London and many other places and everywhere I go in England! On 25 March 1772 Lord Kilmaurs [James Cunningham (1749-1791)] said to me that it was true that one felt colder in Holland than in England. However, one can easily protect oneself against this and there one can rely on the weather much more than in England and Scotland and also especially in Utrecht the weather is much better than in the countries just mentioned. Added to this is Tirion's description of England according to whom (and if I remember well also observed by Mr Boerhaven) insensible perspiration is less than in the Netherlands. This is absolutely true and this causes those dangerous colds (diseases of the chest, asthma, consumption &c) that one find more in England than elsewhere'.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless Loten remained in London; his wife and the city's attractions kept him in England. Although his letters suggest that his asthma complaints kept him in his study in New Burlington

Street, the expenses in his notebook show that he was not always house-bound. He frequently made afternoon trips in his coach to London's fashionable parks. He also visited bookshops, printmakers and the workshops of the city's instrument makers often. He and his wife also invited guests to dinner. About his wife's brother he wrote the following ironical marginal note:

“For a model of shortness and good breeding:

Mr Cotes presents his compl[imen]ts to Mr & Mrs Loten, & is very sorry to find he has it not in his power to dine with them tomorrow, being previously engaged.

Old Bondstreet Thursday night.

Mr Loten.

New Burlington Street”.¹⁹²

Early in 1774 he complained about a serious attack of asthma caused by a change in the weather. According to Loten the frost was to blame for the convulsions, resulting in lethargy which ‘kept him from reading any even superficial book’.¹⁹³ Between November 1773 and February 1774 he registered each day in his notebook the “barometer ab[ou]t 8 or 9 o'clock in the forenoon” and made notes about his asthma. Based on these measurements he concluded about the effects of the London atmosphere on his health and that of his maid Sitie: “NB NB. I daily observe this winter that I am unable [any]more to endure the coal-fires, tho' very clear they suffocate me almost & after every little sleep the suffocating or convulsive asthma returns upon me or I lay all my limbs benumbed in bed without being able to get up or to dress me. I see too plain the absolute necessity, if GOD grants me life for returning to Utrecht, if by any means possible. It is also very plain to see the effects of this atmosphere upon Sity, who always gets cold upon cold with an obstinate cough, not yielding to any remedy, opiates, asa foetida & all the slops & drugs of the apothecary”.¹⁹⁴

Apparently Loten had studied Bishop Berkley's *Further Thoughts on Tar-water* (1752), which he purchased from Baker & Leigh, booksellers in York Street, Covent Garden in January 1774.¹⁹⁵ A week after his purchase he had already ‘consumed 4 bottles without good or evil effect’.¹⁹⁶ In March of 1774 he was still drinking tar-water to improve his ‘insensible perspiration’. According to Loten drinking the ‘disgusting’ tar-water, together with swallowing several spoons of mustard seeds, seemed to improve his perspiration. The spasms however, ‘returned periodically although not more vehement than before’. Loten wrote his brother a commentary on tar-water: ‘I read many examples of the miracles it accomplished in reddish disorders. However, the good Bishop of Cloyne (Dr Berkeley), who had no certificates or licenses from Universities or the Royal College of Physicians to practice medicine for money and his own profit (and only for the wicked principle of humanity), was regarded by the above-mentioned Royal authorised [persons] as a speculating quack. I think there was something wrong with it, but not more than usually is the case with most of the physicians who have discovered three or four positive effects of a newly developed medicine, which they praise as a universal Idol’.¹⁹⁷

Arnout apparently told Loten that his complaints might disappear after several years. Loten agreed with him and referred to conversations he had had with Dr Daniel Solander and Reverend Charles de Guiffardièrre about Dr Matthieu Maty, secretary of the Royal Society and at that time principal librarian of the British Museum. Dr Maty ‘had the misfortune of having to use [opium] for several years [...] For several years [Maty] felt so miserable as a result of his hypochondriac complaints that he had to quit all occupations. At last he resolved to take opiates and having used these for some time so soothed the irritability of his nervous system that he was able to attend to his many and heavy [tasks] as before and nowadays he visits his friends as he had always done’.¹⁹⁸ Like Loten, Dr Maty suffered from a “spasmodico-flatulent affection of the stomach and intestines, arising from an inversion or perversion of their peristaltic motion, and by a consent of parts, throwing the whole nervous system into irregular motions, and disturbing the whole animal oeconomy”, as the symptoms of asthma were described in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1769). However, Maty and Loten applied a more forceful medicine than that advised by the *Encyclopædia*: “ride on horseback almost every day, and for a, considerable time together”. In the autopsy report they made following Maty's death in 1776, Scottish surgeon John Hunter and physician Henri Watson wrote that Maty “had long been accustomed” to the use of opium. They also mentioned in this account that shortly before his death, “his medical friends were of the opinion that no more could be done than to palliate, and to procure ease and sleep. He returned to his opium, of which he took one grain twice a day, and at times was thereby much relieved and comforted”.¹⁹⁹

Besides studying the application of tar-water and opium, Loten and his wife may also have studied Mary Deverell's *Sermons* (1774). In any case, both were mentioned as subscribers to this pious treatise on

“Friendship, Gratitude to God, Mercy, Pride, Sinful Anger, The Advantages of Early Piety and The Unsearchableness of God’s Ways, and the benefits of Afflictive Providence”.²⁰⁰ In April of 1774 Loten was locked up in his house for more than three weeks, ‘hardly with asthma but instead mainly due to evaporation [Loten meant ‘perspiration’] and all 12 hours periodically coughing and now these [complaints] have changed into terrible and periodical bursts of head-, eye-, ear- and toothache, every 2 or 3 hours’.²⁰¹ His physical condition evidently made him gloomy for he jotted down a scarcely legible item which said: “All my enemies spring from people that from pity’s sake. In the E[ast] Indies & elsewhere opened my house & table and pressed to helped ‘m, settled in profitable places, marriage &c. Beens, perhaps Cousin Ruysch afterwards marr[ied] to Bouman, my Barber Monger ²⁰² &c &c O[ur] M[ajesty’s] Ser[van]t L.d. Cast[...]t [?], F.W. C[ount] de Homp[esch] & perhaps several of my nearest Relations, tho’ I hope not”,²⁰³

The foregoing exclamation was possibly provoked by former resident of Boelecomba, George Beens’s actions. In April of 1774 Beens and Utrecht advocate Willem Gerard Van Nes again tried to blackmail Loten’s friend Jan Dirk Van Clootwijk and sent copies of their letters to Count Van Welderen the Dutch envoy in London. Beens also sent a ‘mischievous’ letter to Loten in which he demanded money from him. Loten sent the letter to Jan Kol, his financial agent in Utrecht. Loten suspected that Beens and Van Nes were also stirring up trouble in regard to his inheritance from councillor Nathanael Steinmetz: ‘I have been so lenient (I should better say mad) as to permit their inspection of the extracts of all papers belonging to the estate [of Mr Steinmetz], which were at that time in possession of the heirs of Mr Carelson [Loten’s former financial agent in Amsterdam]. This world it is full of ordeals’.²⁰⁴ For ‘five or six years’ he had received letters from ‘Amsterdam and Danzig’ that evidently disputed the inheritance. Unfortunately these documents have not been found, although nothing in the Loten documents indicates that his legacy was seriously threatened. Loten’s brother clearly agreed with Loten’s sentiments about “Don Georgio Beens”.²⁰⁵ When Loten lived a year in Utrecht in 1776, Christiaan Fredrik Stuten, advocate and notary in Utrecht, sent a threatening letter on behalf of George Beens. In it, he demanded ‘1000 or 2000 ducats’.²⁰⁶ This must have greatly annoyed Loten for in one of his genealogical notebooks he suddenly wrote: “A[nn]o 1751 one Coleman a brewer’s clerk innocently executed, the perpetrators (two) of his crime (pretended) were present and drew themselves the cart from under him – Good God what monsters very near as wicked as Beens – see Continuation on Rapin 8vo pag. 437”.²⁰⁷

Loten considered taking action against Beens, but in the end he said nothing. In September 1776 he wrote to his friend Jan Kol: ‘I definitely did not want to make use of private letters. However, long before the last time I went to Utrecht there were kind acquaintances who wrote to me in much stronger words that «You must not mind such a person &c about whom his own (treacherously and cruelly treated) son, in coffee-houses &c has often told how his papa had known to exhaust the inhabitants of a residence situated far from the head-office and how he escaped from the gallows just in time». The intention of their proposal was the immediate exposure and injury (I attempt to express it simply) of his honourable associates in their hiding-places. However, I thought that I should not to take advantage of such offers which may have been made in open-heartedness, and because I did not want to bother those well-meaning people. I also did not want them to be involved in it’.²⁰⁸ On Jan Kol’s advice, Loten did not take any action although he wanted to publish an advertisement in the *Utrechtsche Courant*, offering anyone who had a complaint against him to do so thereby getting satisfaction. Several years later, when he heard that Beens had died, he wrote to Arnout, half in earnest, that he considered publishing all the papers he had relating to Beens in a book; he said however, ‘it would not be a very civil collection’.²⁰⁹ In the end he restricted himself to a note in his *Bell’s Common-place-book*, which he eventually erased: ‘[W]ho would ever have imagined, that a foul scoundrel like George Beens – who smells of the blood of multiple innocents, shed at his whim by his order and through his guilt as well as that of his horrible accomplices – would afterwards do so much evil by bothering honest people, who are themselves innocent and who have protected his shameful life. People usually see this; they listen to slander and do not look into anything’.²¹⁰

UNPLEASANT VISITORS

On July 25th 1774, Loten told his brother that for the last month he had felt unable to write even a single line due to the ‘continual return twice a day of convulsions in his chest and intestines’. Although the spasms were faint and the accompanying oppressions small if he was not in bed, he felt no desire to answer the letter he received from Arnout on July 1st 1774.²¹¹ It is likely that the death on July 2nd 1774, of his “faithful, friendly companion” and “innocent little friend without guile”, his spaniel Juba, contributed

to his feelings of lethargy. The tender feelings for his dog contrast strikingly with offensive remarks he sometimes made about his acquaintances: “[Tuesday] 28th [June, 1774] drove to Kilburn & back, Juba still with us in the coach. Friday tho’ full of water [he] came to me wagging his tail & then also his left hind leg began to swell much. Between 30 [June] & 1 [July] (Thursday & Friday) came ab[ou]t 12½ at night or 1-2 [o’clock] from his cushion to sit next [to] my left leg, as he often used when I was sitting up by the asthma. 2 or 3 days before [he] died [he had] a heavy dropsy. For 2 or 3 months [he] never would come, nor be persuaded going down to the kitchen, since Bessy threw, perhaps tho’ she is ill-natured without a bad intention, a bucket with boiling water upon him. He died Saturday 2 July in the afternoon betw[een] 2 and 3 whilst I took a drive to Jacob & Vine’s Wheel Manufactory. I came home past three, he was still warm at five and later. Mrs Loten was with me when he died. I saw him about I guess 12 o’clock, upon the sofa in the dressing room. Mrs. Tryon the widow Lady saw him also after his death in the evening.²¹² He was buried after my house in New Burlington Street before 10 in the evening & not the box nailed before it was passed 9¼ the 3^d of July. Thus 31 a 32 h[our]s after d[eath] sepult [=interment]”.²¹³ He further recorded the “measures of my little spaniel Juba”.²¹⁴ The dog was buried “at least 30 hours after death”, resulting from a “longstanding cough” that remained after his last attack of asthma. Several years later Loten’s other dog “Fineta died betw[een] 13 & 14 June 1779 (Sunday & Monday), buried Tuesday 15th post meridiem”. Evidently, the death of Fineta did not cause him as much grief as Juba’s death had five years earlier.²¹⁵

Loten’s weak condition in July 1774 apparently did not prevent him from visiting Ranalagh nor from other forms of entertainment, but it did increase his irritability. He made a record of those who visited him in his notebook. On July 4th 1774, the vicar of Ewell Reverend Dr James Hallifax and his wife Frances paid a visit to New Burlington Street.²¹⁶ It must have been a tiresome call for Loten, one that did not improve his condition, for in scratched out entries Loten refers to Hallifax in a way that demonstrates that he clearly disliked the man. His attempts to delete the entries indicate either that he later regretted his impulsive notes or that he wanted to hide his true sentiments about his wife’s relatives: “Monday July 4 Dr Hallifax dined with us. This man is brimful of vanity and ill bred to the utmost degree tho’ I believe not ill natured. When I (as being no Englishman which is not my fault) speak to him or ask any question he never pays the least attention to it. The viewing of the (so called) watch of Ana Bullen kept intirely for himself & his Lady and Daughter, turning his back in proportion. I endeavoured to see it till the possessor Mrs Mackworth granted me the sight.²¹⁷ He gave hint of showing it to his companions the Gentl[emen] of the Antiquarian Society mob or nob &c:”.²¹⁸ Possibly the assembled persons were admiring a replica of the ornate clock that was given to Anne Boleyn by Henry VIII, which was in the possession of Loten’s neighbour, Mrs Mackworth.²¹⁹ Like Loten, Dr Hallifax was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London (FSA), but the clergyman apparently did not think the Dutch Governor carried the same antiquarian status and importance as he did.²²⁰

Unfortunately we do not know whether or not Loten served ‘recovered’ beer or wine during dinner with Dr Hallifax. After the above-cited entry Loten wrote: “I hear that beer being become sour [sic] or even white wine, such as Lisbon, may be recover’d and made as before by mixing in it with a spoon some salt of wormwood (sal absynthii), one must taste it gradually, in order not to thrust too much into it, which would render it of a disagreeable taste”.²²¹ Dr Hallifax’s haughty attitude toward Loten may have inspired him to write an observation about the position of the Dutch in England. In any case, Loten’s remarks show that his English acquaintances and Lettice’s relatives irritated him. The annotation written in June or July 1774 and blotted out later is an example of Loten’s inimitable and associative grumbling in broken English: “The Britons & especially the English are great enemies of the Dutch, treating ’m commonly with contempt, & in general having received all hospitality in the Seven Provinces, when the same Dutch that shewed them such, come to England, they do not know them [any]more, and tho’ in y^e news papers often they call ’m selves a nation of princes nothing is less true. The young Gentlemen of the best blood when examined at Westminster School, ask their much inferior auditors for a fee (of one or 2 poultry shillings). The sentries even before the King’s palace at St James asked me (and many others) even for a sixpence to drink & in 1760 have given some little silver money to the French prisoners at Winchester, their sentries took it from them, saying it was not right they i.e. the prisoners should have it, but they themselves who kept the watch over ’m & served their King & country. Thus it was then not possible to give these poor prisoners something for their relief or refreshment”.²²² This narration about the French prisoners contrasts sharply with Loten’s earlier report of the British nation’s generosity in December 1759. He then cited the population’s philanthropy ‘[w]ith clothing and donations of many thousands pounds sterling [which] are so important to the French prisoners; most of them, especially

those who have some schooling, fear they will have to leave the country upon an exchange of prisoners'.²²³

On 19 July 1774 he "had a tedious visit by a German painter calling himself Count Rumph" and after it, "got a fit of asthma lasting untill 20th p.m. 3½". Unfortunately this nobleman remains unidentified. Loten characterised him as "the Turkish & Greek traveller Count de Rumpf". From the struck out entry it is clear that Loten "advanced in order to establish himself & son, twenty pounds sterling to pay me if he ever shall be able. He promised to draw some Turkish figures and dresses". Loten's register of his expenses show that this advance was "payd" some time later. However, in the Loten documents no drawings of Turkish dresses were recovered. Apparently Loten not only advanced the gentleman 20 pounds sterling, but also provided the Turkish traveller and his son with a bed: "20th [July 1774] just when I came up: & down stairs hoping to take a little air again frustrated by John Trot senior & John Trot junior,²²⁴ who took a substantial breakfast of tea, cream, butter, hung beef, and then without asking leave or any ceremonials filled my only writing table with papers and set himself to writing all his business for a couple of hours, whilst the boy turns my weather house thousand times round. This Gentleman travels to the west of England above 200 miles at the expense of nine pence, what a cheap country this must be, but Good God conduct, I beseech You, me & family once more safe out of it!"²²⁵

Loten's physical complaints and the slew of tedious visitors provoked a persistent bad temper. An angry note written on July 20th 1774, about a book that he had loaned to the Dutch envoy count Van Welderen, illustrates a characteristically irritable moment. It also shows that Loten did not always feel he was on equal footing with the aristocratic Dutch envoy: "[W]hether I live or die there must be sent to his Exc[ellency] C[oun]t Welderen an order to have returned the book bound in red leather the back & letters gilt called Slichterhorst Geldersche geschiedenis. It was sent to Him in the middle of November past (1773) as His Exc[ellency] did me the honor of asking for having it three or four days, and as afterwards was so good to remember it and that it was a book that did not read easy. So I answered, that I was not in great hurry for it & that if something should occur which should make me require it, I would take the Liberty of sending for it. I was then very ill with an unbearable Hemicranias [=migraine]. His Exc[ellency] never sent afterwards either to inquire for my health or for returning the book. This and my Cousin the Envoy Doublet's usage made me after think We poor private Individuals are chiefly made for the wage & benefit of the great, or who proudly think themselves so". To this dwindling observation Loten added: "In his Exc[ellencies] absence I sent to Mr Collard, who civilly returned it, his Exc[ellency] him self would never have thought it".²²⁶ When Mr. Isaac Collard (1738-1823), secretary of the Dutch envoy (1763-1778), returned the book in September of 1775,²²⁷ Loten's anger subsided. On October 1st 1774, he wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek saying that "M. de Welderen did me the honor to call the day before his Ex[cellency]'s depart".²²⁸

Loten must have been highly sensitive to his social and domestic environment. His notebook contains an entry dated 31st August 1774, in which he once again voices his concern about the Hallifax family. It also refers to Loten's "very bad dishonest, drunken, brutal, roguish footman" Edward Crosby. Loten had made an angry remark about Crosby before. On June 27th 1774, when the weather was "very hot, Edward [was] working in the house with his best gold laced hat on [his head] that cost more than my own", according to Loten, Crosby showed this remarkable behaviour "only for destructions sake". Although Loten felt that his wife did not agree with his indignation, Edward Crosby was fired by him on 18 December 1774. He was replaced by William Stubble, who "came into service 3 Janua[ry] 1775 in the night, is to have £ 16 & to find buck's skin breeches & boots". The notebook item of 31 August 1774 also shows Loten's chagrin about little remarks his wife made: "[C]oming home from a drive to Chelsea I was, when very little expected such a douceur, told that I was very complaisant to every body except to Mrs L[oten]. [I said] that I believe there is hardly to be found any such indulgence & kindness equal to that, but I always experienced to be a daily continual butt of ill temper and whimsical turn of mind. Never [a] day passed without some ill attuned false expressions on my maternal country & its inhabitants &c. With all that hardly ever any discontent expression was ever uttered about clown Edward, Dr Doctor Quackum & Spouse (& two satanically daughters) [Dr James Hallifax, his wife Frances and the two daughters Martha Hannah and Rhoda].²²⁹ These dined ye 31 at our house as also & the bust of honesty (some bankruptcies excepted) Mr. H^x".²³⁰

The "bust of honesty Mr H^x" refers to Thomas Hallifax, a former citizen of Barnsley and the vicar of Ewell's brother.²³¹ Thomas Hallifax started his career as an apprentice and later became a senior clerk at John Martin and Co.'s Bank in London. In 1754, with Joseph Vere and Sir Richard Glyn, he co-founded the bank which in the nineteenth century became Glyn, Hallifax, Mills & Co. Hallifax was an alderman for

Aldersgate (1766-1789). Between 1776 and 1777 he was Lord Mayor of London; his mayoralty's motto was: "Justice is the ornament and protection of liberty". He was knighted in 1773. In a note written by Loten circa 1774, and later crossed out, he remarked: "Mr Thomas Hallifax &c &c was as I was informed by many who knew him in that capacity a menial servant (not like a child of creditable family entered into the Compting house), footman to a Banker, where he cleaned shoes & did all the lowest business with apparent diligence. The Banker finding him nimble & supple took him after some years like a prentice for running messages into the Compting house. After more years [he] became a partner & at last together a bankrupt".²³² The final remark in the citation probably refers to the financial crisis of 1772. This crisis was the result of reckless land speculation by the Douglas, Heron and Co. bank. In this affair, Glyn and Hallifax were gazetted as being bankrupt.²³³ The consequence of the affair for Sir Thomas must have been slight, because he nevertheless successfully pursued a public and financial career.

Loten again mentioned Sir Thomas Hallifax in an entry of 1778. He clearly had no admiration for the enterprising magistrate and ruthless banker: "In the latter end of September or beginning of October (I guess it would be found in the interval betwixt 15 Sept[em]b[er] and 12 Oct[o]b[er] 1777) in the daily news paper Morning Post was inserted a Card or warning directed to Sir Thomas Hallifax setting forth his Lordship's Gentleman-like behaviour on the subject of a shabby bankrupt shop-keeper, his L[ordship]s nephew (brother's son), violently & with oppression of the innocent out of their money cheated lawful creditors.²³⁴ This honest worshipfull magistrate never durst make any reply. This agrees very well with what a very Genteel well-educated woman, in whose shop (where I was accidentally directed by Mr Whipham [Loten's silversmith]) about 1766 I once accidentally bought a fan (I think rather in 1765) in presence of the now S[eigneu]r de Zuylen [=Willem René Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken (1743-1839)], told me with regard of the adventures of that Sir-name of which she herself was and as she protested much imposed by Them and Her circumstances distressed to keep up their pride. [...] Several Gentlemen by own experienced knowledge and unasked occasionally assured me to have known the honble Sir Thomas a menial servant with the house of Cliffe & Co bankers in Lombard-street, [=Loten's London bankers] cleaning the shoes & going on household messages for the Gentlemen and prentices of the shop. Said unto his daughter «bridle up & lift Your head for this shall be Your characteristic to shew Your Self a Child of the Nobles of the Land»".²³⁵

AGREEABLE DISTRACTIONS

For Loten natural history was an agreeable pastime which distracted him from his ailments and family affairs. Thus, in August of 1774 he acquired 'large and small parrots &c'. Living creatures were not his only interest however. On July 26th 1774, he bought a set of Dr Oliver Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* (1774) in boards for 8 shillings from bookseller John Nourse on the Strand.²³⁶ In a letter to his brother he told him that 'Dr Solander sometimes gives me a lesson in botany', which also explains why he bought several botanical books.²³⁷ On August 3rd of the same year he obtained Jan Commelin's (1629-1692), *Horti medici Amstelodamensis rariorum ... plantarum ... descriptio et icones* (1697-1701) in 2 volumes for £ 3.10 at Benjamin White's bookshop in Fleet Street. This must have aroused his interest in botany, because a week later he says: "1774 Aug[ust] 10. By favour of Dr. Solander [at that time keeper of printed books at the British Museum] I saw at the British Museum several volumes & chiefly 1, 2 & 9 & 10 of the original drawings of the Hortus Malabaricus, they were accurately in Indian ink, underneath the first, which was the Cocos or Calappa tree was written Anthoni Jacobus Goedkint fecit, and the title before said it was the Verzameling [=Collection] of all the original draw[ing]s of the Hortus Malabaricus by een vergaderd door [=collected by] Jan Commelyn te Amsterdam 1686.²³⁸ We compared these with the printed Hortus Malabaricus and found with satisfaction that it was in all regards a perfectly faithfull copy. In the drawings the names of the plants &c were written in various kinds of compartments [Loten meant: 'text boxes'] and some with allusions to botany others like the cover of a letter others some humorous representations and not ill done; these only as things more for some ornament than reality were omitted in the cuts [Loten meant that the text boxes had an ornamental purpose, they were omitted in the printed version of the drawings]. I remember my self too have had 2 vol[umes] folio of the Hort[us] Malabar[icus] in Dutch & never did I see anymore. I have heard that this Dutch edition rested so & never was completed".²³⁹

The original drawings in Hendrik Adriaan Reede tot Drakestein's *Hortus Malabaricus* were purchased by the British Museum on 16 October 1771 in an auction of the Bernard Siegfried Albinus's collections in Amsterdam.²⁴⁰ A few days after his visit to the British Museum on 13 August 1774, Loten bought Linnaeus's *Amoenitatis academicae* for £ 2.10 and *Genera plantarum* for 6 shillings from Benjamin White.²⁴¹ He

also bought Richard Bradley's *General Treatise of Agriculture* (1757) in 2 volumes for 5 shillings. Several days later he added an entry to his notebook saying that he had obtained from "Mr. Miller for 9 numbers botanical coloured & uncoloured prints &c. not owing that artist any thing else at 1 guinea each number £9.9.0". The Mr Miller referred to in this citation is Johann Sebastian Müller or Miller, a Germany-born engraver residing at Dorset Court, Parliament Street, who illustrated many botanical works including the *Illustration of the sexual system in plants*. He also produced many plates on non-scientific subjects including some in mezzotint. On 26 April 1775, Loten went again to Mr Miller, "for a number of his botanic coloured prints &c. (the XI th) £ 1.1.7". A year later in Utrecht, Loten wrote saying he wanted Mr White to "send me all the future numbers of Miller & of Curtis & to pay'm, to write to them m'selves about it & also to Mr Walpole & Co [to pay for the order]".²⁴² William Curtis (1746-1799) apparently considered Loten as his benefactor. In 1777, this London apothecary, demonstrator of plants and *Praefectus Horti* of the Chelsea Physic Garden (1771-1777), dedicated his *Linnaeus's system of botany* to 'John Gideon Loten'.²⁴³

In one of his botany lessons, Dr Solander told Loten about the Egyptian Lotus flower, 'the most beautiful flower I know of. He had in his collection a drawing of the 'nice smaller Nymphaea' made in Ceylon, which in his words was 'considered by Mr Banks to be one of his finest curiosities'.²⁴⁴ Loten wrote in more detail about the flower and its seeds in his letter to his friend Van Hardenbroek: "[[A] few days ago, Dr. Solander being with me, I suggested that among my Indian Sketches the English virtuosi had copied, they had forgot that of the *Nymphaea* ('t Indisch water-plompen-blad met incarnaate bloemen), of which I thought not to have seen true representations either in Hort[us] Malabar[icus] Reedio, or in Rumphii herbar[ium] Amboin[ense].²⁴⁵ Upon which he told a singular anecdote; viz: that this curious plant was come [sic!] to the East Indies from Ægypt (& this afterwards by nearer investigations I found so) and that it was the identical Lotus Ægyptiacus, & that in his native country, Sweden, there hardly was an ancient family, whose knightly ancestors had shewn their pious bravery in the crusades, but had added some part or other of this remarkable plant, upon whose seeds almost a whole nation may subsist, to their original family-arms, especially of that part containing the seeds after the leaves were dropt [sic!]. He took a hard pencil and drew one exactly like the two in this figure [Loten inserted a small figure], which made me think of your crest, but found no letter closed with the seal, that hath the cimier [=crest] on it. Else I would have compared it with him, for the outlines are, as I remember, very near if not intirely of the same form. The seeds lay always open in perfectly regular elliptical reservoirs, which one can take out between the forefingers. I have eat them so myself often after they were taken out (mine being too thick & knotty), by the tapering of the fingers of a Batavian or Maccas[sarian] Lady then wrapt up in joyfull study of Natural history".²⁴⁶ The last sentence was a tender recollection of his first wife Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont.²⁴⁷

HEALTH PROBLEMS

In July 1774 Loten took several coach trips in and outside London. He went to Jacob & Vine's Wheel Manufactory to prepare his coach for the journey to Holland several times. On July 10th he and his wife visited Ranalagh and the medieval church of Lambeth, near the Vauxhall pleasure gardens. He saw the funeral-board with the coat of arms of the former Dutch Ambassador Philip Noel Carron for the second time.²⁴⁸ In his *Bell's Common place book* under the heading "Tea", he wrote about a drive in the country with his wife "by Bow & Stratford to Upton house. [...] The 15 July 1774 I saw a thriving *Green-Tea tree* in Dr. Fothergill's garden at Upton house near Stratford in Essex, about 7 miles from London, against a wall and in the ground, it was about three feet high".²⁴⁹ However, Dr Fothergill was at his rented house in the country where he and his sister usually spent their summers; he could therefore not be consulted for Loten and his wife's complaints. Loten had already sought advice from Dr Ambrose Dawson, who had suggested the use of "Pulvis Florum Cardamines or Lady Smock":

"[I]n affection of the nerves [...] the consequences have some times at least, been good: perhaps in violent cases it has been underdosed. Now was I in your situation, I think I would take this powder one, two or three grains once twice or thrice in 24 hours in any weak agreeable vehicle, nor would I stint myself to the last mentioned quantity, any more than I restraint You to the number of Laudanum drops; I would pursue it till it did me good, or harm, or till I was convinced it would do nothing; at the same time being careful in the use of the non-naturals; I judge this powder to be, tho' not an opiate, yet of a pacific nature.

It may best to begin the use of the powder an hour or two before you go to rest, and to take some time after as much opiate as You think proper, till You can judge of the efficacy of the powder; an

infusion of it may be sipped at discretion. I believe it may be had in Covent Garden to this time in perfection and plenty.

I wish I could give any useful advice to Your Lady, but her constitution & complaints are of so delicate a nature, and subject to such variations, that at this distance, it is not so easy to say what she should, as what she should not do. She should not hurry or fatigue herself in any manner whatsoever".²⁵⁰

On 25 July 1774, Loten wrote Arnout to say that he was preparing his carriage for a journey to Holland. His table plate was stored in two chests.²⁵¹ He feared that he might not be able to make the voyage in the summer, because of the 'periodical and sad return' of his convulsions. In a postscript he added that after he had finished his letter and taken an afternoon nap on his couch, he had suffered from another serious attack. He could not suppress the convulsions or diminish their force. He was afraid to undress or to go to bed at night, he did not even lie down on the couch fully dressed. On August 19th 1774, Dr Dawson wrote to Loten again and prescribed a mixture of ground malt and river water. The mixture was to be decanted after three or four hours and then taken with a little sugar or white wine. This mixture was supposed to counteract the negative effects of laudanum. Dawson continued, "I have no objection to a trial of fixed air in water either by you or y[ou]r Lady. As you don't mention the Lady Smock powder, I judge you either have not tried it, or that it failed. Permit me, dear Sir, to assure you it w[oul]d give me the greatest pleasure to hear that any advice of mine had been of real use in alleviating Your frequent discomforts".²⁵² This remark about the fixed air was probably added because Loten purchased a "fixed air machine" on August 13th 1774, from "Weikart the chymist".²⁵³ It was an apparatus which impregnated carbon dioxide with water, a procedure described in 1772 by the dissident clergyman and natural philosopher, Joseph Priestley, in his classic paper *Impregnating water with fixed air*. Drinking soda water was thought to be refreshing and as curative as drinking Spa water at the health centre. In the Loten papers there are no further references to the alleviating effects of Lady's Smock powder or fixed air on his asthmatic complaints. In any case, in September of 1774 Loten's health had not improved. He wrote to his brother explaining the sensations he had during an asthma attack: 'For about half a month [...] I cannot go to bed before half past four in the morning and not at all for the last two days. I am truly, entirely in good health; however, if I fall asleep for several minutes I wake up with a suffocating convulsion which feels much like the ruffle of drums on or in the diaphragm'.²⁵⁴

He usually felt his best between noon and three o'clock, a time he used to go riding and visiting the workshops of instrument makers John Bird and John Dollond. In October of 1774 Loten wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek: "Since two months we have been almost ready to set out for Utrecht, discarded cook & other female servants, and sent out of the house every thing of the least value, one dousin [dozen] of knives &c. excepted, but when the proposed time comes, the suffocations irritated by the little fatigue of packing, or some other unknown source, returns with more frequent visits and renders the journey next to impossible".²⁵⁵ Thus his disorders kept him in England and the journey to his ailing 88-year-old mother was postponed until 1775. He did take a short trip to Salthill and Windsor in October of 1774 where he saw "the ridiculous hunt of one tame deer or buck brought thither in a cart or cage, with some gentlemen & H.M. pack of hounds".²⁵⁶

In November 1774 Loten again wrote to his brother, revisiting the topic of his asthmatic fits: '[I]t is like you will suffocate at any moment, and if permitted to use an expression that describes it best, it is like the lower part of the omentum is torn open. The only way to relieve this is to lean on the couch in your clothes and stay out of bed, or in time to use opium (or its tincture) although this is something you often postpone until it is too late to take the drops. I maintain that this is the only cause of my other complaint [rupture of his diaphragm]'.²⁵⁷ He continued by sketching the sensation of waning convulsions, which he felt after taking small quantities of laudanum, the 'blessing remedy', together with a larger quantity of asa foetida, which he used because a cold also accompanied with coughing: '[A]s soon as the strong ascending and descending spasmodic contractions start to wane, I experience a very agreeable cool sensation around the præcordium and an elastic feeling in my knees as if I might be able to totter many feet. However at nearly the same time I also feel so spasmodic that I cannot stand up to ring a bell or to open a door. I still do not dare to speak or to move my body in my chair, because even a rustling silken robe of a woman, a chatting or whistling parrot or a dandyish greenhorn are able to set the miraculous mechanism of my diaphragm into motion'.²⁵⁸ He had evidently lost much of his former energy, but not the capacity of expressing his sensation in astounding words. In one of his numerous notebooks he wrote the Latin and Dutch motto, "Nulla dies sine linea. Ach ware dit noch heden so! 30 nov[embe]r 1774".²⁵⁹ In English: 'Everyday something has to be done. I wished that this would still be the case'.

Loten was troubled by health problems throughout the winter of 1774-1775. Early in February 1775 he wrote his brother Arnout to say that from the beginning of December 1774 he had been unable to write due to 'a painful colic'. The opium register entries from the first two weeks of December confirm this; Loten's average daily intake of laudanum was 158 drops. In the month thereafter it was 90 drops. He had not gone to bed for nineteen days and he stayed indoors for more than a month and a half. Moreover, he had lost, once during five days and another time for two days, the ability to 'use his hand to hold either a pen or even a pencil'. He had already sought an amanuensis even though his wife had offered to fulfil this role herself. Loten however, felt that she was not suitable for the position. At times he felt free of his oppressions: '[S]ince an uncommon violent convulsion in the intestines, or better the nerves of the diaphragm, surprised me yesterday night with a shaking that seemed to rumble the couch and room, I have felt free from any oppression. I could therefore go to bed this morning at five o'clock and slept very quietly for two hours; it was an unbelievable refreshment'.²⁶⁰ Two weeks later in a letter to his friend Van Hardenbroek he described in an Anglo-Dutch phraseology his condition as one which was continuously ruled by the asthmatic oppressions: "I find myself now never a day free from those unbearable spasms, not even myself able of laying out of clothes on a bed, nay even not on a sofa with clothes & all, without its being an immediate and present cause of being almost in the moment seized with a repeated fit, except the enjoyment sometimes of half hours rest after dinners & that is the total sum of all refreshment".²⁶¹

Early in 1775 the ailing Loten entered a remarkable item in his notebook. It is scratched out but still legible. The entry is a comical sketch — without the bitter irony of earlier notes — of an unidentified clergyman intruding the Loten's household. It also illustrates Loten's increasing dislike of living among Englishmen.

"19 [January 1775]. p.m. After a doze of 55 gtt having the asthma came down, before my candle was lighted the ... Gentleman came. Have You drunk coffee? No, it was postday ... stayd till past 9.

20 [January 1775]. By the fatigue of y^e evening before & unceasing questions, the whole night in fits without sleep & near 300 gtt. [He] let us wait for our dinner so often remembered, comes at 4 o'clock past.

We gave a daughter of ours to our Kings, which by the by is as great a fib as several others.

't is odd there is no nob[ility], no gentry in Holland, as also no potato's, no Jerusalem artichokes &c. The Dutch are also a very bad people.

25 March [1775]. I come for Your money, if You please give something for a distressed Cl[ergy]man, if it was but one guinea. I gave two. [He] had been before at Lady Kilmoray's,²⁶² where I believe no succes was obtained. Tho' rich, no more than bread & some fish, rotten bought along the streets when cried about.

Don Harpagnon Dronodal

6 April 1775. The threadbare miser, or Albion's apparent Marquis des Caseaux, only richer.²⁶³ The fifth day following here, stays now later than nine, hindering others from all business & amusements, in order that may h[av]e sleeping and enjoy strong c[offee] & good fire [and] that [he] may spend nothing at home.

We do not affect so much military dress, says the worthy threadbare barebonesius dissenting teacher, and fond of little things says the Reverend & learned Doctor".²⁶⁴

Loten's opium register indicates that in March and April of 1775 he used a daily average of 123 drops laudanum per day. This is about 20 drops more per day than his average intake in the period between 1773-1777. His complaints about his condition evidently alarmed his mother. In March of 1775 Loten wrote to her to say that he regretted that his 'indisposition had caused her uneasiness' and continued with a detailed description of his present medication: 'In addition to using the kina, ginseng, sal ammoniac, asa foetida, valerian, camphor, musk, mustard-seed &c, without results, I now also experiment with what is for me a very disgusting remedy. At least once every day I have to rub in my belly, below the floating ribs and sides, with the juice and substance of anchovy. Then I place a folded handkerchief on it and leave it like that. A clergyman who declared that he had healed himself without any other medicine had advertised this as being a remedy for my complaints and other ailments. His claims appeared to be too serious and disinterested for one to assume their were a deliberate deception. However, it is very repulsive and extremely grubby and its spoils ones clothes in a disagreeable way, but what can you if you do not wish to resort to using opium or to sit up undressed at night? Nevertheless I would not dream of reject this

medicine [opium] because it is the only 'friend' I have found in the large waste bin of the *Materia Medica*'.²⁶⁵

Several weeks later he was arguing with "Cl.", possibly his friend J.W. Van Clootwijk, former governor of Macassar. Their argument was about religion, the adverse English climate and Dr Fothergill and his prescriptions. With regard to the latter he recorded: "To change my Physician a worthy good doing humane man I find also no reason [sic!] He can do no miracles but is certainly as learned & expert as any and far from inhumane. What can we expect farther, he said I must keep the opii for my ships anchor. I think tho' I should try to do with as little as possible always using spir. Sal. Ammon. with it, to p[eruv]ian bark, perhaps mustard seeds & now and then asa foetid[a]".²⁶⁶ The remarks by Cl. evidently worried Loten, because in the same period he wrote in one of his genealogical notebooks about the English climate, the superior climate of Utrecht and the intake of opium.

"Air to me. I certainly, by too melancholy experim[en]ts did not breathe a worse one, than that of this island, but care, as I can not help my self, seems to be taken from all sides, that I may not get out of it. Consider the inhabitants flock themselves to the continent, where are such fogs like here, extreme changes & destroying N[orth] Easterly winds nowhere to be found. What a service did not the Utrecht air, almost immediately to the worthy now deceased Lady to General Elliott?

Consider also the aliments, food & drink that one must take here! One may pay what one will & the highest prices!

As to the taking of opium here also there are but two articles of choice, viz. according to the learned Dr. J. Fothergill

1. to take this pernicious drug in great destroying quantities, merely to exist miserably, or,
2. to die in the most horrid fits by not taking it, thus the case requires no hesitation, and of the two great evils the least to be chosen – being intirely reduced to these two mentioned points".²⁶⁷

He added to this a prescription by Dr Alexander Johnston, a physician whom he met in 1769 at Spa: "[W]hen one is so low & fainting after the use of opium to put a handfull of all-spice in some (for instance $\frac{3}{4}$ of a great bottle) of water to let it boil slowly or rather simmer, put 4 a 6 cloves to it at the same time, & after all when drinking it warm some madeira or other good white wine or brandy, that one taste somewhat the urine &c in it & to drink it warm".²⁶⁸

The desire to return to Utrecht is clear from these notes. He was craving to return to the Dutch Republic and in a letter to Van Hardenbroek Loten even referred to Henrietta Jane Speed, wife of the Sardinian Envoy Francesco Maria Guiseppe Guisino Baron de Viry de la Perrière: "[O]ur dear provincial capital, the Hague, whose beauties with regard to pleasant & convenient way of life, plenty & variety of best provisions. Not without some regret I hear that here are continually praised and even greatly extolled above all what this Metropolis can afford by the Lady of the Sardinian Minister, whom I, being my self the most zealous Dutchman in Britain, devoutly adore for so much spirit & candour tho' my eyes never have been so happy to behold this sainte, but my friend or governess L[ettic]e on returning from her evening excursions often tells me so & with so much good humour that it would not astonish me if that preference of the Italian Lady should prove catching. Yet she begins to maintain the opinion that Utrecht hath in most regards a solid claim to be chosen for continuance of habitation. As I agree with this and intend returning if I can, for the nature of my complaint doth not promise me much".²⁶⁹ This explanation was followed by a reference to his meddlesome aunt Christina Clara Strick Van Linschoten, the widow of his uncle Joseph Loten: "I can not, say to be much pleased with the great & most learned Lady's continuance there, since this wonderfull phaenomenon hath once been very able & succesfull in regard to family peace (experto crede R.) where she had continual entrance, & her amiable address &c.&c. has that everywhere at commands".²⁷⁰

Towards the end of April 1775, Loten wrote to his brother to tell him that he and his wife were ill, 'one day better, the other day worse'. He also informed Arnout that he was taking an extract of juniper.²⁷¹ In his notebook he expressed in his inimitable way, how unpleasant he felt: "[I]he butter this month of an unexpressible rancid tast, with a stink unbearable even at 2 feet distance every provision very bad, even beef and in general the butcher's meat. The bad police in not exposing the adulterating bakers, vintners, brewers &c is, besides the natural bad tendency of the common people as even Hentzner & Van Meteren already before a[nn]o 1600 observed, the concurring cause of this general evil. My bad state of health can't bear up against all this, my continual convulsive coughs (if not checked by continual opiates.) is solely the effect of this inference & changeable atmosphere".²⁷² He also made note of complaints he had about his British acquaintances: "Ingenious reasonings & proofs of good education (April 27, 1775 the thermometer being about 70° and much hotter) in my Utrecht made coach, presentibus therin Lady Orwell, L[or]d

Chesterfield, Mr Gladdell &c. these two chaps found the wheels abominable, yet they were made in England & the only pieces of the coach that were made in Britain".²⁷³

Despite their complaints, Loten, his wife and Mrs Elsmere visited Salthill for several days early in May 1775. Later that month they were back in London where they entertained Mr Digby Cotes and Sir Thomas Hallifax with his wife and daughters.²⁷⁴ This entry was crossed out as the previous ones about Hallifax had been. Loten referred to a dispute he and his wife had about the Hallifax family. Here, he talks about a dinner they had with this family on August 9th 1775. It demonstrates once more that at times, the relations between Loten and Lettice were tense. The entry is scarcely legible and rather enigmatic:

“NB NB

Declar[e]d once; that really believed if we were of the same nation we never would have had the least disputes and quarrels, which declaration was really made with much good nature.

[...]

What have I not suffered on account of that impertinent imprudent bankrupt honest Hallifax? his last so called wife, election, going upon the ???ssings, and save at times also on account of his being ???d?

In June or July 75 was still the expression that scoundrel ?????? certainly never at least offended the Lady

the brutal clown Ned ???? has gained her good graces by being impudent & impertinent".²⁷⁵

Despite his poor health, Loten evidently still left his house for a walk or drive by coach to the London's bookshops and instrument maker's workshops. Loten's condition even improved in the summer of 1775, although the effects of his daily intake of opium were obvious. Unfortunately there are no data about his daily use of laudanum for the period between May until October 1775, but from Loten's statements it appears that he used a relatively low dosage of the drug. In June of 1775 he felt 'listless and although in general my complaint is in fact better than worse, I feel it very day'. Sometimes after napping for half an hour in the afternoon and a stroll of a few hours, he enjoyed a good night's rest. Otherwise he felt weak throughout the night. When he was not able to go to bed, Loten read Linnaeus's works which 'despite all spasms' amused him very much. When reading Linnaeus, Loten read one of ten volumes he possessed of Martinus Houttuyn's *Natuurlijke Historie* which was an enlarged version of Linnaeus's *Systema naturae* in Dutch.²⁷⁶

Of his use of opium in this period, he says: "They say that those who have used opium for a long time are obliged to continue to do so. I have not experienced, because in Utrecht I used four and even six times as much opium as I use now. It eases my mind to think that at last my complaints can be overcome. [...] In short, I think that [opium], because it is absolutely or at least in some measure necessary, it [is] a Heavenly Medicine created for the welfare of mankind, and no more a poison than Ipepacoanha, Jalappa or Rhubarb, which [when taken] in excess are also able to send someone ad patres [to his death]. It is the only [medicine] that has ever given me at least perceptible relief, but I should be very glad to substitute it with something which makes me less lazy. I always keep an eye on that".²⁷⁷

Although he apparently suffered from the side effects of the intake of the opiates, Loten was still interested in the experiments of his scientific friends. In August 1775 he spoke with Dr Solander, a frequent guest at New Burlington Street, about the experiments on the effects of heat on the human body. It appears that Loten had just read about these tests in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*: "[S]everal days ago I read that Dr Solander and several other Gentlemen had been in a room heated to 213 degrees (Fahrenheit) for 10 to 12 minutes without experiencing any inconvenience. When he unexpectedly came to dine with me, I asked him whether this was true. He confirmed this and declared that after having been in a room heated by several stoves &c up to 260°F, he looked better than I had ever seen him. What do you think of this?".²⁷⁸ In January of 1774 Solander and Joseph Banks spent some time in a room that was heated to 211°F.²⁷⁹ The experiment demonstrated that one could maintain a relatively constant body temperature even under extreme conditions. In October of 1780 Loten, wrote to his brother again about these experiments: "I think I once told You that Solander spent some time in a room heated by several to 269 degrees and by one stove which burned 2 degrees higher. He stayed there for several minutes without any harm. However, the eggs in that room were boiled and well done &c &c it all seems most incredible. I think Mr Banks also tried this".²⁸⁰ It is possible that these experiments caused high blood pressure in Solander, for on May 13, 1782, he died of a stroke caused by haemorrhage in his brain.²⁸¹

DISLIKE OF ENGLAND

In 1774 and 1775 the number of references in Loten's notebooks to Utrecht's agreeable climate increased. However, in these entries Loten no longer restricted himself to the meteorological situation but also included associations relating to England's social climate, which he increasingly experienced as adverse. A characteristic example of this is a note of 1774 in which he, after listing all sorts of places around Utrecht, expressed his dislike of England's climate and food. He also complained in his unsurpassed way about how disdainfully Dutchmen were treated by the English and he included his wife.

“Where ever on our last journey or stay [in the Dutch Republic] caught cold, never a cough, nor expectoration seized me, tho' the asthma continued, yet not so strong as in England. Nor was I obliged taking in general so much opiates and the easy intervals were longer. If the Almighty and All Good grands me life and strength to do so, to try the air about Maerssen or Breukelen or between Bilt and Amersfoort. To try once the air, either near the Vecht, or in those last mentioned sandy spots, or ab[ou]t Hilversum, Bussum or Heiligenberg or even Groene Kan or Maertensdijk. Never forget the badness of the bread in England, & in general of veal & mutton, & fish ab[ou]t London & the dressing of the fish, veal & vegetables, plantation-coffee, milk, & tho' the tea [is] good [it] is difficult to be met, dear as it is. The same with the wine. For much money one is served with good looking stif horses, bad & costly coachmen. Continual fogs, changes 3, 4 times a day in y^e winter. No lettices, sereall, nor cabbage dito, nor fresh herrings, no smoaked salmon. Continually one is endeavoured to be cheated with y[earl]y Taxes, Easter offerings for the time other. In Holland tho' one pays generously a guinea a year for that, they want two. Lends one out books, one never gets them back. When mr Huygens grew in years, retired also to Holland, his native air, where he lived still many years in better health, than at London, Paris &c &c.

To consider what lies Beval's travels tell ab[ou]t the treachery of the Utrecht people selling their city to Lewis XIV,²⁸² & the ill natured one of Dr Campbell in the lives of y^e Admirals.²⁸³ The great encumbrance [=his asthma complaints] we still here have more than Trajecti [Latin: Utrecht], & often being used with contempt, & hearing everyday acute cruel sayings even of Mrs L... [=Loten] ab[ou]t the stinginess & burger fam[ily]'s of y^e Dutch.

[in the margin] Mr. Er[nest] Zellin [Loten's East Pomeranian servant] observ[e]d the difference in the sky. I coughed never at Utr[echt], nor Sitie, who is here frequently catching colds. Eggs, milk, fish, wine &c&c if the adulteration of y^e bread alone is true, as Mr. Berens says it is, that alone is enough to take one refuge to the continent. Consider also the artless of y^e weekly bills, fish, wine, laces of hats”.²⁸⁴

Apparently Loten felt increasingly out of place in England. Once he began to reside in England, he directed all of his efforts upon becoming an English Gentleman.²⁸⁵ He acquired the tastes of the English gentry and copied their customs; he shared their interests in paintings and prints; he read their books; he visited their theatres; he went to their watering places; he took a Tour on the Continent in the English style and above all, he tried to become fluent in their language. In 1778 Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek saying: “I confess my self not to be fond of writing my native language, tho' I bear great respect to it. Custom to the English has made it more difficult to me. The only reason was, that I got real experience, that being arrived at some degree at knowledge and ease to write it. I afterwards discovered that far from advancing, I found myself descending from that step, I once almost imagined to have attained”.²⁸⁶ Notwithstanding all his efforts, Loten finally realised that he would remain an outsider in England. This feeling was amplified by his wife and her family's attitude towards him. Loten became aware that he was essentially Dutch in his tastes and interests, despite his dislike of narrow-minded and meddling relatives and acquaintances in Utrecht. Attitudes towards foreigners in England were also changing and Loten sensed this.

His negative sentiments about England and its inhabitants may have increased as a result of Alexander Dalrymple's departure to Madras in April 1775: “The honest and generous Mr. Alex Dalrymple, perhaps or very likely the only friend (in the full sense of the word) that I had in Great Britain, is gone a few days ago to the East Indies for company's sake with his old friend Lord Pigot. For he had else no motive as his ideas never reflect on any thing else but promoting useful knowledge astronomy, geography &c.”²⁸⁷ On the 10th of April 1775, two days after his farewell visit to Dalrymple, he wrote the following grumbling annotation; it contains all of the elements of his earlier fulminations: “NB NB think on the tough ill tasted, tho' well looking, butcher's meat; bad, dear & ill dressed fish, potatos, dirty adulterated milk, bad coffee, dear tea & chocolate foul or old eggs, alummy & chalky bread, abominable bad adulterated poisonous wines, pepper, drugs, brandy, the impositions of all tradesman, tax gatherers &c. More than in any other country with the atmosphere as inconstant, changeable &c as some of the people (for some are

indeed very worthy individuals). If it was not for those, life would certainly not been bearable in this most always with gloomy clouds overcast island. No refreshing draughts of Seltzer-water, Mol &c., the sentries before the K[ing's] palace extort fee's, coachmen & servants most all housebreakers, thieves & drunkards hardly a single sober or honest man".²⁸⁸

Nevertheless, Dalrymple's departure to India also gave him a reason to write down a comical anecdote about Sir David Dalrymple, Alexander Dalrymple's elder brother.²⁸⁹ In 1746 David Dalrymple studied civic law at the Utrecht University. Loten's meanderings deal with the "droit de cuissage", also known as "droit de culage" and "droit de puselage", the right of a feudal lord to sleep with the bride of a vassal on her wedding night: "His elder brother Sir David Dalrymple Bart, Lord of New Hailes in Scotia, who studied at Utrecht, tho' I never had the honor of seeing him, a few days ago wrote me an obliging note, referring me to Bayle (in voce Sixti IV) concerning the ancient Right of Ancient Castles,²⁹⁰ which I am not sorry now to be abolished. & designing, if I had a book with the title of Katwijk te Oudheden by [inserted: 'the late Reverend Mr'] A. Pars,²⁹¹ [inserted: 'faihful and zealous teacher who wrote about Voshol [Fox Hole] and Ruyge Wildernisse [Rough Wilderness]'] (a very odd name for an Old Castle) [and the] Droit de Culage.²⁹² Tho' I do not know, whether that good Minister writes there in the capacity of antiquarian or in a more serious station, with regard that some young wild bucks have made a Dutch verb of this word and call the transgressing it [inserted: 'the eleventh command']. Be it as it will, it is odd enough either ways and to satisfy Mylord Hailes, I sent the best book about it. N.B. this Sir David is a very learned antiquarian & juris consult, being one of the Supreme Judges of Scotland that hath published some works. He should not be confounded with distant relations of his, Sir James Dalr[ymp]le,²⁹³ who bears a character quite different & not quite so much approved. Sir David studying in Utrecht was somewhat, or perhaps very much, in love with the then Mademoiselle Constance, the corner of the Magdalene steeg. The Old King David, that man after the heart, would have perhaps himself, notwithstanding his fervent devotions, been then in raptures with the young lady --- I am here, I confess, too wanton & wicked".²⁹⁴ According to James Boswell David Dalrymple had been enamoured of Constantia Maria Smissaert, who lived in 1748 with her mother "Nieuwegragt, hoek [=corner] Magdalenesteegh".²⁹⁵

5. UTRECHT 1775-1776

RETURN TO UTRECHT 1775

In March 1775, Loten wrote to his brother to say that he was looking for a house in Utrecht. He was prepared to pay a substantial sum for suitable housing with social standing and a lively panorama. However, his efforts to find a house 'for someone who is very invalid and who can but walk with difficulty', were fruitless.²⁹⁶ He was clearly interested in obtaining the house *Vreesenborgh* or *Fresenburgh* situated at the Oude Gracht near the Jansbrug.²⁹⁷ It was occupied by Margaretha Constantia Ruland (1714-1777), the widow of the former agent of the King of England, Jacob Pouchoud (1696-1762).²⁹⁸ In April he wrote to his brother again to tell him that he would have been prepared to pay 50,000 guilders for Johannes Vos' house which was located on the north side of the Heerenstraat, between the rampart and the Jerusalem steeg, even though he considered this sum to be almost more than he could afford. He also mentioned that he was prepared to pay 44,000 guilders for Miss Van Dam's house.²⁹⁹ However, no house was purchased.

Loten and his wife prepared to go to Holland as they had done the year before. In June 1775 they started packing for the journey while still looking for a house in Utrecht. A house in the Brigittestraat with a beautiful garden had become available. However, it did not have a stable, so Loten decided not to buy it. He declared to his brother: 'I want to have a fixum domicilium where I can amuse myself with whimsical thoughts, because now and again I dabble in Astronomy and other, comparable «Guesses», as several worthy friends and ladies like to call it'.

As early as May 1775 Loten made entries into his notebook about the goods that were stored in London or packed into trunks to be sent to Holland through his intermediary and friend and Rotterdam merchant Mr J. Van Ryckevorsel. Evidently he was preparing a journey to Utrecht with the intention of staying for a long time. He thus entered a list of 164 titles of books into his notebook; this gives us a good impression of his library in London.³⁰⁰ The list served as an index to the books that were to be shipped from his house in London to Utrecht. Into this register Loten also noted that on April 12th 1775, he had

lent Dr Hallifax a book containing a compilation of the accounts of the Danish-Halle Mission to India from the first half of the eighteenth century.³⁰¹ On May 31st 1775, Loten brought several books to John Nourse on the Strand, “to be bound together” and “to keep them for me and afterwards send to Utrecht”. On June 12th 1775, he delivered “46 numbers” of Francis Grose’s *Views of Antiquities in England and Wales* to Benjamin White in Fleetstreet, “to keep & complete ‘m for me, as also both my keys of my 2 book-cases”.³⁰² He brought three of his globes to his carpenter Mr Crutchenden. The next day, he brought his “short brass blunder buss to Clemnies, succe[ss]or to Barbar, to keep it for me till further order. Maker T. Richards”. On the 14th, he packed a trunk with “8 thick & 8 somewhat thinner best lead pencils of Middleton Vine Street”, his silk gloves and two portfolios with prints. The trunk also contained several of his scientific instruments:

- “[S]mall telescope & it’s stand made by Nairne.
- Liberkuhn’s microscope.
- Brass scale by Metz.
- Eckards parallel rulers.
- Small rulers by Metz.
- Achromatic pocket telescope fish skin & silver by ye late Adams.
- Steel pinches to take up things by Gray”.³⁰³

On July 25th 1775 Loten wrote to Jan Kol in Utrecht, to say that he was preparing to return to Utrecht within three weeks.³⁰⁴ Loten clearly longed to return to Utrecht.

His notebooks often mention Utrecht’s favourable climate and the unique qualities of the Holland’s food and its servants. The repetitive nature of these entries and the elaboration of his sometimes amusing associations, indicate that Loten no longer felt at ease in London. On August 12th 1775, he writes: “Compare the air quality and brightness in Utrecht with those in England. The fish, the sheep’s meat, wines, water, maids, vegetables, fruits, medicines, cotton is available there, at last my best books and drawings are there. I should try the air of the Green Kan. There are my very old acquaintances and friends besides my relatives, Mr van Ryckevorsel, Lady de Casembroot, Mr van Alphen father and son”.³⁰⁵ Several days later Loten wrote the following annotation which he later scratched out. In it he imagines what living in Utrecht will be like: “I could also have a saddle-horse at Utrecht, which is to me impossible here, experience had taught me so, more than sufficient & also a country house or rather a small garden about the Mal [=Maliebaan] for some curious plants & observations”.³⁰⁶

In August Loten enjoyed relatively good health. However, on August 25th 1775, he wrote to his brother saying: “[U]ntil the 19th I was content with myself, because I could often walk 5 to 6 miles in the morning without becoming too exhausted and in the afternoon after my nap (which supports me) I walk at least as far. Then, after some cultivated reading and a rest in a coffeehouse before I walk home, I happily fall asleep. However, in this defenceless posture I always wake up with convulsing. As a result, when I add this catnap to my half hour afternoon nap, I seldom sleep more than an hour and a half a day”.³⁰⁷ From the 19th of August 1775 onwards, the spasms became more vehement and also bothered him during his afternoon nap. Loten attributed this to the strain of packing his books, prints, table linen and clothes. These were carried to the customs house, which further increased his spasms. His complaints were such that he even feared he might have to postpone his journey to Utrecht another ten months because he was afraid of crossing the sea during ‘the time of the equinox’. Although he complained about his declining health, he said that his constitution was ‘nearly as good as it was when I was young’. He added that it seemed ‘to me, and to several others who are greater experts’, that his physical constitution was accidentally completely separated from the complaints of his ‘terrible nervous disease’.³⁰⁸

On September 6th 1775, a day before Loten left London, he went to see the House of Lords, where he was “first ex[torte]d by a so called porter at 6 pence and then by a very uncivil Lady or rather woman 1 sh[illing], seen also V[ault] Philippa’s once more, no arms of Hainault or Holland more existent nor any of the small figures that have been in the niches”.³⁰⁹ This reference is to the tomb of Philippa of Hainault in the Royal chapels at Westminster Abbey. The *Westminster Retable*, a thirteenth-century oak altarpiece can be found on the backside of the tomb. It is considered to be the finest early medieval painting in Europe. Immediately after writing the item about his visit to the House of Lords Loten wrote about Mr W[illia]m Elliott who, “was so good as to say that no Hollander would steal fruits (in Holland) to eat, alluding to the avarice of the Dutch: surely no body hath less proof of it”. William Elliott has not been identified. The note was erased, which may indicate that Loten began to feel awkward both about his increasing anxiety with his English environment and his patriotic sentiments.

On September 7th 1775, Loten and his wife left London in their coach, accompanied by their maid Site, servants Francois (or Francis) Antoine Werreman, Ernst Sellin Van Regenwalden and coachman Lewis (or Louis) Bezucher. They travelled through Dartford (September 7), Rochester (September 8), Canterbury (September 9) to the ship in Dover (September 10). Evidently the male servants were troublesome during the voyage to Dover. Of them Loten wrote: “Serv[ant]s can not keep or will not behind the coach. First downfall of poor Ernst. Duplicates of great coats for Fr[ancis] who brutally throws his wet hat in the coach for us to keep”.³¹⁰ This Lotenian remark either means that Ernst fell from the coach or that he was the victim of a downpour. Nevertheless according to Loten, the weather was fine during the journey. This proved lucky for Lettice who was ill and did not like to travel. In Dover he bought “2 pounds of tea to drink in Utrecht & 2 more at Calais”. The rest of this annotation was struck out but reads: “[W]ould also have bought coffee to use in Utr[echt] but did not against opposition”. Although it is not clear just who was opposed to his purchasing coffee, the suggestion is that Loten’s wife squabbled with him about the purchase for unknown reasons. On September 11th the group crossed the Channel to Calais in “2 hours and 37½ minutes”. Three days later, they were in St Omer and on September 16th in Lille where they stayed at the *Hotel Royale*. Lettice evidently wanted to visit the Comedy on the 17th, but their servant Werreman, ‘Mr Man of War always dressed like a caterpillar but being well-coiffed, refused to accompany Madame to the Comedy and back’.³¹¹

They travelled through Ghent (September 20th) to Antwerp (September 24th). The long journey through Flanders was very tiring for Loten, especially because he also missed his ‘greatest relief, an afternoon nap’. They therefore stayed at Ghent and Antwerp for a total of eight days, ‘to restore the irritated nervous system after the return of two very vehement convulsions’. In Antwerp they walked “thro’ the Cathedral where I was formerly many times, observed the stall (amongst the Knights of the Golden Fleece) of Messire Lamoral Prince De Gavre, Comte d’ Egmond”. On the 26th they visited two private collections of paintings. Loten’s description gives but a limited impression of the size and diversity of the Van Lankeren and Knyff collections: “Mr Van Lankeren’s Cabinet of many fine Flemish and Dutch pictures and also the Cabinet and Gallery of a Canon of the Cathedral of the name of Knyff, not descended of that ancient honour[abl]e family of that surname at Utrecht. They have many fine Wouwermans, Velvet & other Breugels, Brouwers, Ostades, Teniers. V[an] Lankeren has many fine v[an] d[e]r Heydens highly finished, two Saftlevens, several of Mieris.³¹² Knijff hath the finest Savary, I even behold, with Adam & Eve, both have fine Neef’s churches, with most beautiful figures of (Franks I think) & Knyff has one of Le Duc, a conversation of Gentlemen or soldjers, several of Bonaventura Peters, & in the first mentioned collection are several pretty Van Goyen’s. None of Waterloo, Miereveld, Moreels or Bloemaart nor of Honthorst or Frans Hals. At the Academy I saw one small Mostaerdt. Lankeren had a fine Paul Bril or a pair, & some good Kuyp’s, no Potter’s that I can recall, nor Mignon’s, much less Van Huijsum’s, tho’some great beauties of Berghem”.³¹³ His references to Utrecht’s seventeenth century painters and the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Dutch painters give us some idea of Loten’s taste and aesthetic preferences. The landscapes and genre scenes apparently appealed to him most; this is also clear from the way he decorated his drawing room in New Burlington Street.

On September 24th Loten pencilled in an intriguing remark into his notebook. It is only partially legible, because it has been scratched out in ink. It seems that Lettice reproved Loten about the respectability of their coach; according to her it required two postillions and six horses. She had also annoyed him “two days before (continually dropping comparisons)”. Apparently her comparisons did not favour Loten’s countrymen. He ended his annotation with an old Dutch proverb “wie een ander jaagd staat zelf niet stil” [War, hunting and law are as full of trouble as pleasure], meaning that those who thwart others will themselves have no rest.

At Antwerp they lodged at *L’Auberge de la ville de Bruxelles*. Loten copied down the names of several of the guests from the *Auberge*’s register. He noted that Arnout Vosmaer had written his name above that of the British genealogist Sir Ralph Bigland, ‘although there was more space beneath than above Bigland’s name’. Sir Ralph Bigland, the Garter Principal King of Arms, was often consulted by Loten in London on issues relating to genealogical questions.³¹⁴ Since 1756 Vosmaer had been director of the natural history cabinet of Stadholder Willem V and director of the menagerie of the Stadholder since 1771. Vosmaer visited Antwerp in August of 1762. Bigland had entered his name in the register twenty years earlier. Evidently Loten had little esteem for the director of the Stadholder’s cabinet. This may have been because of the unfavourable reports he received about Vormeer from Thomas Pennant and Joseph Banks. In Pennant’s *Journal of a Tour on the Continent* of 1765 Vosmaer is characterised as “extremely ignorant”.³¹⁵ In February 1773, Banks in company of the Leiden professor Allamand paid a three-hour visit to the

Stadholder's cabinet, where the cold "was almost intolerable". Banks wrote about Vosmaer in his *Journal* that "we learned that Prof. Allemand & he were upon every bad terms so that he shewed us the Princes Cabinet very much against his inclination".³¹⁶

In the evening of September 28th 1775, Loten and his travelling companions arrived in Gorinchem, "in reasonable condition and health". They stayed here for several days lodging at *De Doelen*, Mr Van Dongen's inn, where the stoves suited him very well. Van Dongen was an active antiquarian who 'reads and tries to acquaint himself with the history of his hometown, Gorinchem'.³¹⁷ On October 3 the party arrived in Utrecht and went to the inn called *Place Royale* located in the Voorstraat. Its owner was Roelof Van Der Mos. Loten had previously asked his brother to send Mr Jan Oblet of the *Nieuwe Casteel van Antwerpen* at the Ganzenmarkt his apologies for not staying with him. Jan Kol had made a reservation at the *Place Royale* and Loten wanted to do Van Der Mos a favour, because he had just lost his wife, Alyda Kranen.³¹⁸

In November of 1775 Loten's luggage was sent over in a packet-boat from Dover to Helvoet. Because the ship was seriously damaged during the crossing, Loten's manuscripts and prints were spoiled. From Loten's incidental references to this disaster, it is clear that many of his genealogical notebooks were spoilt.³¹⁹ Evidently his books, natural history watercolours and topographical drawings were rescued. They may have not been shipped in the same packet-boat. In his notebooks or correspondence Loten never referred to any damage to his scientific instruments, so one may assume that these were not included in the luggage damaged in the shipwreck.

ARNOUDINA MARIA AERSSSEN VAN JUCHEN'S DEATH

The information about Loten's stay in Utrecht from October 1775 until October 1776 is mainly found in a notebook in which he kept a register of his expenses and which he also used for jotting down remarks about himself, his health and his use of opium. In contrast with the information about the preceding period, there are no letters referring to his activities.

On October 4th 1775, Loten and his wife "saw my mother, who will compleat her 90th year in Nov[ember] 1775 born a[nn]o 1685". Five days after the visit to his mother, Loten wrote: "[I]n the fore noon having fatigued my lungs extremely by screaming to my d[ea]r mother with equity complaining ab[ou]t the folly & impertinencies of Willemsdorff & his wife, her great-grand-daughter, I was attacked after noon with such a convulsive fit of asthma or rather cramp in the stomach as I believe that between 5 and 3 o'clock (in de follow[ing] morning), I was absolutely obliged to taking not less than 250 drops of liquid Laudanum besides ab[ou]t the same quantity of spir. sal. ammoniac. I slept between 4 and 7 tolerably well. This is the greatest quantity of Laudan[um] or opiates that I have taken since many months".³²⁰ Although brother Arnout had earlier told Loten that his granddaughter Antje and her husband Van Willemsdorff had departed for their castle Nemerlaer in Haaren without a farewell visit to his mother, his anger must erupted again during his visit to her. The next day he wrote saying that he would "try tarwater, slight infusion of Cortex Peruv. [=Peruvian bark] and Sassafras tea, and perhaps a plaster on the diaphragm or stomach". On the 11th October he had "fits of cramp in the stomach or asthma" and took 218 drops of laudanum in addition to "Spiritus Sal Ammoniacum". He also sent 14 guilders to bookseller Sepp in Amsterdam, "for his 1st quire of 6 birds and their description". The latter referred to the part one of C. Nozeman & C. Sepp's *De Nederlandsche Vogelen*, published in 1770. Loten's opium intake remained high throughout the rest of October. The annotations also show that he was annoyed by domestic issues. On October 27th 1775, he discovered "servant's pistols, musketon & carabine" still charged and declared, "what a danger everybody runs with such careless servants?"

On the first of November 1775 Loten began "to wear the crimson spagnolet waistcoat, after having wore about a fortnight a thin soft English flannel one, both next to the skin". Five days later he "left of the spanj[ole]t wearing again the white". He clearly felt better and on the 2nd of November, he did not apply any opium. In the days that followed he used moderate doses of the drug, some 60 to 158 drops a day, usually in combination spiritus sal ammoniacum or asa foetida. On the 16th of November he wrote that after taking 36 drops at 8 p.m., he took "none the night intire; this is the best day & night I had since long time. Took at hysper [breakfast] 2 poched eggs & toasted bread & 2 or 1½ glasses of beer on it". He may have visited the Hague in this period, because on two watercolours from his collection by Pieter Matthijsz. Withoos (1654-1693) – presently found in the Natural History Museum in London – Loten wrote, 'purchased Nov[ember] 1775 at Johannes Gaillard. Hage'.³²¹

The 26th November proved to be a “bad night with asthma (tho’ no violent fits) followed”. In addition to the opiates, he also used “the so called sal. fraxin. succ.”. In the 18th century *Succinum* or Amber was considered to be a powerful drug used to counteract hysteria and hypochondriac complaints. As a result of this medication, Loten went “45 hours without opium”. Three days later he wrote: “[M]y mother being very ill but not yet without some hopes as we thought, said amongst other reasonings that she hoped everything after her dec[eas]e might be settled or done in friendship. This being assured on my side, she desired that I would keep the hands above John Gid[eon]’s head (or favor and protect him) [=would support his nephew - Loten’s namesake]. At last was uneasy about the Green-Kan [=farmstead Schadeshoeve], & in a loud tone & with grief uttered in substance that [she] could not well bear the idea that this place would be sold &c. I did what I could to tranquillise her about this subject”.³²² On a piece of paper Loten’s mother pencilled instructions regarding her domestic staff, what they should do when she died and how they should be rewarded.³²³ Two days later Loten wrote: “[I]t was the first of this month [December] that my mother being by myself, asked still how Mrs. Loten did and then on my withdrawing bid me to greet her &c. The 2nd [of December] she groaned much and spoke very thick & indistinctly”.³²⁴ Loten had a “night full of spasms, so I thought to be suffocated & could not get up but after taking 150 gtt [=drops] opii”. On the 3rd of December he went to bed without opiates, but during the night he took laudanum three times, a total of 155 drops. At seven in the morning “the fit [had] vanished”.

Seventeen hours later Loten’s mother, Arnoudina Maria Aerssen Van Juchen, died: “[B]etween ye 4th & 5th [of December] just past 12 h. o’clock my much honoured mother died aged 90 years & 24 days, being born 10 nov[ember] 1685”.³²⁵ Her funeral took place on December 6, 1775.

Within three months the inheritance had been divided amongst the two brothers.³²⁶ It seems they had already agreed several years beforehand that Arnout Loten would inherit the family home (including its stables) at the Oudmunster Kerkhof. The notarial deed which divided the legacy cited the property as being worth approximately 8,000 guilders. Since their father’s death in 1763, Arnout and his family had lived there with his mother. Arnout also inherited his mother’s farmstead Schadeshoeve, with the stables, barns and labourer’s house. This property was estimated at 3,825 guilders. In 1775 the farmstead and labourer’s house were leased for 830 guilders. Thus in accordance with their mother’s binding wish, the farmstead remained in the family.³²⁷ Arnout’s inheritance included six “morgen” land (about 5 hectare) near Schalkwijk; it was planted with willows and alder. This was estimated at 1,000 guilders. The rest of Arnout’s inheritance consisted of bonds. Joan Gideon did not inherit any immovable items; the deed specified his inheritance consisting of:

Bonds	f 31,460:17:-
Jewells, silver ware, etc	f 2,042:15:2
Linen, table linen and napkins, etc	f 252:10:-
Porcelain	f 128:12:-
Furniture, paintings, etc	f 839:5:-
Together	f 34,723:19:2

Thus, in English currency, each of the brothers inherited £3,126 from their parents. In November 1777 Joan Gideon Loten decided to put several of his Dutch bonds, including some of those he had inherited, up for auction. The auction took place in the Hoogduitsche Coffeehouse in Utrecht on 31 January 1778. The 17 bonds with a nominal value of 16,400 guilders were sold for 18,000 guilders; this included the interest. Most of the bonds were sold at 106% of their nominal value.³²⁸

LIFE IN UTRECHT 1776

Information concerning the year 1776 is fragmentary. The accounts in Loten’s notebook specify his expenses, but give little idea of his daily activities. Though the notebooks give us some information about his personal life, the notes give a biased impression, because they have often been written down in anger.³²⁹ From his annotations it is clear that on March 3 or 4 1776 the family moved from Mr Van Der Mos’s lodgings to “the house we rented at the Mary place where we staid till in Oct[obe]r 1776”.

Loten’s inheritance may have helped him to buy a new coach in Holland in 1776. His notebook contains a specification of the costs of this new carriage.³³⁰ The 1,189 guilders [circa 110 pounds sterling]

were probably paid from his account at his friend, Jan Kol's bank, Vlaer & Kol. Loten in another entry in his notebook tells us what Joseph Banks's travelling coach had cost – 125 pounds sterling. We may therefore conclude that Loten's own carriage was reasonably priced.³³¹ The new coach possibly inspired a wish for travelling. In an undated entry Loten writes, 'I hope if God spares my life and health that A[nno] D[omine] 1776 I will see again see Rhynsburg and Katwijk and Leiden (not to forget the memorial stone of Gerard) and also Weesel and Emmerik'.³³² However, this is immediately followed by a remark, which has been scratched out: '[I]t is not possible to go and see anything, because of the fractious mood, like [is evident by] the avarice because of gluttony, the 32 d[ucaton]s, 8 g[uilder]s & the payment of the ????? a f 14 &c&c from my purse circa 16 June [1776]. Constantly persisting about Bishops' Court & Lady Athlone's palace and the house B.k [??] bought at the Mary place. To put it briefly, all that I resolve is turned down and obstructed'.³³³ Possibly his wife Lettice and her friend Lady Athlone, whose husband bought the monumental *Bischofshoff* in October 1775, were the cause of this mysterious verbal eruption. Was Lettice urging for a comparable residence in Utrecht? Lady Athlone had earlier annoyed Loten by 'never mentioning to pay me the advance of f 4.6.- for the book of Buchan'; he later added the word 'futility' to this entry, indicating that he realised the triviality of her not paying for the *Domestic Medicine; or family physician* by William Buchan M.D.³³⁴ A note dated June 1776 tells us that his brother Arnout also caused frustrations: 'After sacrificing substantially A[rnout] L[oten]'s civility & hospitality scarcely lasts three days; the same and worse applies to his flattering appendage [his wife]; just remember the journey to the [Stadholderian palace Het] Loo [Apeldoorn] and the insatiable desirabilities'. Apparently Loten had the feeling that he was exploited in Utrecht by his relatives and acquaintances.

This gloomy sketch of Loten's life in Utrecht needs to be reviewed. Loten undoubtedly also met friends and acquaintances in Utrecht such as Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek and Mr Johan Frederik Roëll, at the time Utrecht's Secretary of Police. In August of 1776 Van Hardenbroek dined with the Lotens. At that time, Loten also received Van Hardenbroek's recipe for Persico.³³⁵ Among his friends were also reckoned "the ladies in the great hospitable house allmost facing the Zuylen-straat". Loten referred to Van Hardenbroek's cousin Lady Eleonora Geetryda de Casembroot and her elder sister Charlotta Maria, widow of Jan Carel Barchman Wuijters.³³⁶ Presumably Loten was not charmed by their brother the Cavalry officer Jean Louis de Casembroot. Loten was also acquainted with the young professor Rijklof Michael Van Goens (1748-1810) with whom he shared an interest in books and the inscriptions on tombstones in churches.

One of the reasons for Loten's limited mobility in Utrecht may well have been his wife's illness. Loten's notebook lists twelve prescriptions by Rudolph Abraham Schut M.D. and one by Professor Jacobus Gijsbertus Woertman, former professor in anatomy and surgery at the Utrecht University (1748-1760), for his wife.³³⁷ She was probably suffering from rheumatism again. On 27 May 1776, Woertman also prescribed a mixture of herbs a tincture from guajac wood – a medicine generally used instead of mercury to cure venereal diseases. According to Loten on June the 19th 1776, "Dr Schut ceased with his double or dayly visits, I suppose 11 to mrs L[oten] & 3 to my self". The complaints were challenged with Peruvian Bark diluted in lavender water or peppermint water. On July 13th 1776, Dr Schut prescribed 'Laudanum depuratum' for Lettice, which is remarkable because she had previously refused to use opiates. On September 22nd 1776, Dr Schut paid his last visit to his patient and again left her with a prescription including purified laudanum and cinnabar.

Information about Loten's condition is scarce. On April 19th, 20th and 21st 1776, he noted that the spasms "return every night tho' not strong, the doses of op[ium] were moderate thus in 3 days gtt [=guttae-drops] 65, 70 and 65, thus within these 72 hours all together gtt 190". The opium register of the second half of April shows that his daily intake of laudanum was 73 drops, which is below his average over the previous 3½ years. The notebook tells us that on the evening of May 20th 1775, he walked to Mr Johan Frederik Roëll's, "without much inconvenience or being worse in the night following & so I had walked a few evenings before when the weather was a little warm". Roëll advised Loten to use a box containing a mixture of English tin and quicksilver dust as a means of getting rid of lice.³³⁸ Apparently Loten suffered from this annoying nuisance, because he decided to apply Roëll's box to his bed. Arnout, too, had advice for Loten. He told him that he could free himself of spasms and convulsions by carrying a satchel containing the root of Iris with him. This did not help Loten to cure his asthma however; the notebook tells us that he continued to suffer from spasms throughout September 1776. His intake of opium in the months August and September 1776 was even above his average of 103 drops; it amounted to 117 drops per day. The intake of relatively high doses of laudanum continued in October 1776 when Loten and his wife returned to London and its use remained a topic of constant concern at New

Burlington Street. The following passage from the *London Chronicle* (September 7-10, 1776) copied into Loten's notebook is related to this concern: "18 gtt Laudani liq; & immediately after it 3 dishes of very strong coffee for the paroxysm in the nervous asthma, as also for heavy headachs, it counteracts y^e nauseatic quality op opium. Sir John Pringle says it ought to be of the best mocca, newly burnt and made very strong immediately after grinding it. I have commonly order'd an ounce for one dish, which is to be repeated fresh after the interval of a quarter or half an hour & which I direct to be taken without milk or sugar".³³⁹

The entries in Loten's notebooks also show he sometimes had tense relationships with his servants. An undated entry clearly written in earnestness, and thus touching, talks about them: 'Why I am so highly irritated when the domestics, although they have worn their clothes for fifteen months, need new ones, I do not know. It cannot be because I actually like quarrels, because I just want to prevent these from taking place'.³⁴⁰ An intriguing entry in Loten's notebook, which is not dated but may have been written in April 1776, refers to a discussion with an unidentified person about the wheels of his coach. "[T]he friend prodigiously ill tempered legs & feet on the table, contradicting the wheels possibly being made, the fellies out of one piece, tho' he may see 'm every day, grumbling that I not follow y^e Col[onell]'s advice in cheating the fits &c".³⁴¹ In the same notebook there is another annotation about a similar domestic discussion. The note refers to an occasion which took place in January 1776, possibly with the same person. It was crossed out, but is still easy to read. The enigmatic item demonstrates that Loten was unable to deal with people bolder than himself. It also reinforces our impression that Loten regularly felt that he was being victimized by people in his environment: 'Now on 23 January 1776 [he] was sitting right in front of me and he started putting his legs on the table with the soles of the feet in my direction, resolutely speaking (en ton de maitre) about matters I know nothing about. Almost every evening since then he has been indifferently cleaning his nails and making loud belching noises in the room, while kicking around and whistling a melody. My late father used to say, qui a companion a maitre, and the late Mr Baltaz[ar] Boreel turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes [it is worse to have to receive a man whom we must cast out again than to deny him admittance]'.³⁴² Clearly his interlocutor was an ill-mannered person; he may have been Loten's bold servant Francois Werremans. However, the unidentified person must have had fashionable pretensions, because the phrase that follows the above-cited remark reads: 'A British Nobleman who calls himself a Gentleman has both of his hands in the pocket of his trousers instead of in his sleeve, a custom he undoubtedly not approve of, because it is not in vogue in his circles'.³⁴³

In May, June, July, August, September and October 1776 Loten regularly visited the churches and churchyards of Utrecht. His notebooks include entries about the coats of arms of many noble and patrician families which he found on the monuments and gravestones he saw there.³⁴⁴ He also studied genealogical and heraldic manuscripts, which he borrowed from his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek. Several days before his departure to London, he visited St Job's Hospital and the Martini Hospital in Utrecht with his brother Arnout. At the first hospital they were addressed by the 'able former sculptor and draughtsman Bakker', who invited them into his room. 'Bakker' has been identified as the sculptor Gerrit of Gerardus Bakker, who lived at the 'Lysbethstraat, corner Aghter Klarenburgh'.³⁴⁵ St Job's [or "Hiob"] Hospital was founded in 1504 and was the first hospital in the Netherlands to cure syphilis, the venereal disease introduced to the Netherlands by the Spanish soldiers in 1496. In 1649 St Job's Hospital stopped treating syphilis and became a house for elderly men. Loten visited the Regents' room twice. The room was decorated with paintings by 35 Utrecht painters; they had been bestowed on the hospital between 1626 and 1640.³⁴⁶ The first time Loten visited the "Hiob" Hospital on 23 September 1776, he noticed that a large historical painting had been signed "Moreelse Eques". He wondered who this painter was and evidently asked his friends Johan Frederik Roëll and Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek. The last thought it was painted by Johannes Moreelse.³⁴⁷ The large painting, depicting 'Hiob having a large book and indicating Job 14:1', however, was given to the Hospital by Paulus Moreelse in 1632.³⁴⁸ On October 2nd 1776, after a second visit, Loten described the seventeenth-century paintings of the Hospital.

'1 large historical piece Joannes Moreelsen, Eques, pinxit & Xenodochio donavit 1632.³⁴⁹

Hans Savery, and Roeland a Savery, both beautiful animal pieces d[ated] 1629 and 1628.³⁵⁰

Octavius dal Ponte 1629 large piece showing dead wild animals.³⁵¹

A sea harbour by Joachimus v[an] Der Heuvel, I think [painted with] much restless fishermen &c 1635.³⁵²

By J. Duck 1629 a very fine conversation piece.³⁵³

A nice laboratory with a quack &c. gift of Goswinus Opheijden, destillator, qui & ejusdem pictor. ut puso a^o 1634.³⁵⁴

A piece with chickens &c by Ghysbert de Hondecoetere 1631.³⁵⁵

A historical piece carrying the name Henricus Bloemaert, at first [I] read it as Cornelius, but after some recollection I think it must be Henric.³⁵⁶

On September 26th 1776, Loten paid a visit to the room of the Utrecht's Court at the Town Hall. There he saw 'a beautiful painting of the [town hall] building in its former state with the square in front of it and statues &c'.³⁵⁷ He also mentioned a 'nice picture of the Oudmunster Church and Towers'. The Oudmunster Church or St Salvator Church was demolished in 1587.³⁵⁸ Loten's interest may have been piqued by the fact that his brother lived in a house formerly belonging to the deacon and canons of the Oudmunster Church.

RETURN TO LONDON

In October of 1776 Loten and his wife again returned to London. Preparations already began taking place as early as June and July of 1776 when Loten began packing his prints and other valuables, one of which was a seventeenth-century watch which he had inherited by his father and had belonged to members of the Fromanteel family.³⁵⁹ On September 1st 1776, he wrote that he had brought his brother "V[an] Rheden's microscopes,³⁶⁰ the small Scottish quadr[an]t in its box [...] & Padbrugge's eclipses with my calculations'. The latter item was very probably a document containing his astronomical calculations, most of which had been done at Macassar between 1748 and 1750.³⁶¹ His table clock, made by the eminent clock maker John Ellicott, was left with his brother. This also applied to the case containing a box in which he deposited his three volumes of George Edward's *Natural History of Birds* and the four-volume edition of Edward's *Gleanings of Natural History*. The thermometer by Prins and the barometer by Nairne were also left in Utrecht. A charming detail is that he took with him the 'small painting of Juba'. In this way his late spaniel, which had died in July 1774, still joined him on his travels. Loten left fourteen cases and boxes in Utrecht containing many of his manuscripts, books and prints, among which a heavy copper chest with iron locks that contained his natural history drawings from the East Indies.³⁶²

Shortly before their departure to London Loten declared in a letter to his friend Jan Kol: 'My wife [...] although she really is not well, cannot thrive here; this is clear from her outward appearance'.³⁶³ However, their return to London was not only due to his wife's indisposition, but also to how he felt about his grandchildren and his Utrecht acquaintances. The open dislike of the Loten family, which his granddaughter and her husband demonstrated, may well have been one of the most important reasons for his and Lettice's return to London.

Although Loten was a man of wealth and culture and related to prominent persons with influential positions on the VOC board and in the city councils of Utrecht and Amsterdam, this did not give him solid social standing among Utrecht's patrician and aristocratic families. Even though he had many contacts in these circles and his most intimate friend, Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, retained his important position as secretary of the knighthood, this did not enable him to become a social equal of the elite. In the Dutch East Indies one's rank in the VOC's hierarchy automatically gave social status. In the Dutch Republic however, status was not linked to a distinguished Indian position. Moreover, Loten's reputation as an Anglo-Dutch *virtuoso* did not help him to obtain the distinction he so desired.

A main object of his studies into genealogy and heraldry was surely to demonstrate that his ancestors were related to the first families of the Dutch Republic. The zealous way in which he expressed his claims probably set him apart. When his granddaughter Antje Van Der Brugghen made disparaging remarks about her Loten ancestors and especially about the Van Juchen family, Loten was furious and retorted that she and her haughty husband Van Wilmsdorff did not realise that she had illustrious ancestors.³⁶⁴ However, the upper class' behavioural code stipulated a far more delicate approach to such things. Thus, it was not only Loten's social origin which kept him from obtaining the status he aspired, but also the subtle differences between their and his tastes, behaviour and habits. He must have deeply regretted his indefinable position in Utrecht. The indignant remark he makes in his notebook is illustrative of his sentiments: 'Rudeness by Struysch family & of the noble Frisians. Wuytiers is essentially a fribble & not interested.³⁶⁵ Aikie the greatest tormentor imaginable,³⁶⁶ Jan Louis not less so. The elder brother a very impolite despicable creature who has also deceived me. The nice flatterer very greedy and concealing her true intentions.³⁶⁷ Let us better depart from here and try again the sound air of Hammersmith'.³⁶⁸ In view

of his growing dislike of England and his inkling that he was an outsider there too, Loten's feelings about his position in Utrecht strike as tragic. It is not surprising that he became an embittered person, sensitive to every interference into his private affairs.

Early in October of 1776 the Lotens left Utrecht. In a notebook he wrote, "If I recollect well took leave of my brother c[um] s[uis] Sunday 6th Octob[er], then they came en famille on Tuesday". Three days later, Friday October 11th 1776, at twelve thirty, Loten and his wife set out from Utrecht. Loten took short notes during the voyage to London: "[A]fter Vianen we passed Lek's mond a large village and then Meerkerk at 5 arrived at Gorcum. 12 [October] there saw at the house where the Daatselaar's formerly lived 3 curious glass windows contiguous to one another, where in the portraits, in the middle one of Hugo de Groot, on that on the right side, that of Rombout Hogerbeets, on that on the left that of Thomas Erpenius, with emblems, coats of arms as also of Mar. v[an] Reigersberg and verses: Erpenius I think to have seen quite with other arms than the chequed white & gules salter upon black. & below his coming out of the book-trunk. In another room is the cabinet or press where after H[ugo] de Groot absconded while stayed at Daatselaars".³⁶⁹ Mr Van Dongen, owner of *De Doelen* in Gorinchem and mentioned by Loten a year earlier as an active antiquarian, showed the highlights of the Dutch History Canon to them.³⁷⁰

On the 13th October 1776, they travelled to Breda where Loten met lieutenant-general Jean Louis de Casembroot "with his pears & wine", so they clearly must have received a pleasant reception.³⁷¹ Two days later, the party went to Antwerp and on to Ghent on the 17th: "[I]n the Hotel St Sebastian on the Kouter in Ghent', the theatre built in 1737 on the initiative of the Archer's Guild St Sebastian, Loten admired the old tapestry, he described the coats of arms on it in detail. He also visited the private cabinet of paintings of Monsieur Jacques Clemens, Canon of the St Bavo Cathedral.³⁷² The 18th of October they "saw the church newly rebuild at Harlebeek. In the sacristy is the old Tomb-stone (of a yellowish grey) of the first forresters of Flanders, partly covered with wooden banks. Above it hang 4 ancient pictures of Lideric de Buc, Odoacer (Lideric II) and the portraits of Baldewin & his consort in one". Three days later they arrived in Lille. Loten wrote: "Teeth fallen at Lille 21 [October] 1776". In Lille they met the Dover merchant and banker Peter Fector, who had just submitted a memoir to the British Treasury about the return of his ship that had been impounded allegedly for smuggling.³⁷³ Loten may have discussed this with Mr Fector, but he also wrote in his notebook: "Mr Fector to desire a direction, where I may buy pure claret & other wines, as also what I ought to pay to the Capt[ain] &c of y^e paquet? And his assistance with regard to y^e custom house &c house at Canterbury?"

They travelled through St Omer to Calais where they arrived on October 24th 1776. On 27 October, "about 7½ p.m. landed at Dover". A day later they arrived at Canterbury: "[A]fter a momentary nap in the afternoon a fit of the spasmodic asthma took first gtt [=drops] 65 Laud[anum] and some spir c[ornu] c[ervi] [=extract of burned deer antlers], three hours after 32 gtt more & at 2½ post med[ium] noct[um] 2½ gr [=grains] opii puri, which all together I reckon to make gtt 145". On October 31st 1776, they returned to New Burlington Street.³⁷⁴

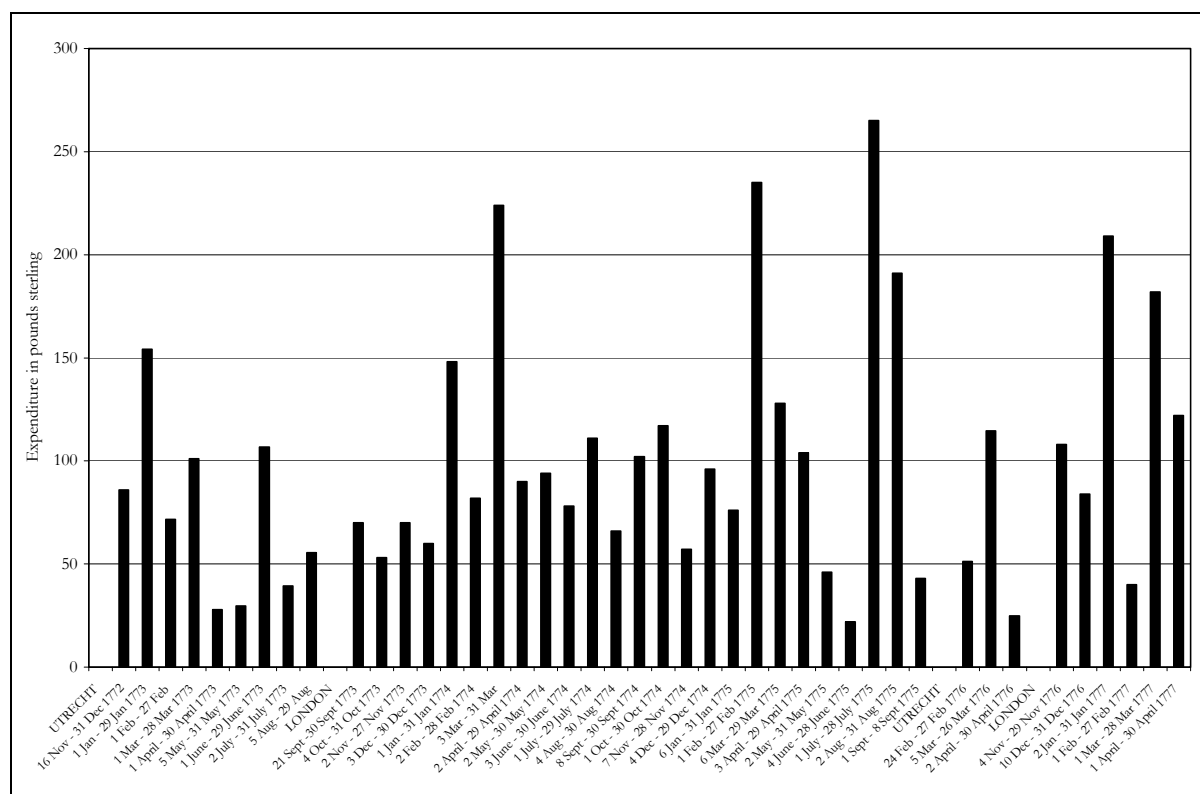
Loten's return to London and his residence in that city gave rise to slander in Utrecht. In a concept letter found in his *Bell's Common place book* and which he 'after ripe consideration' never sent, he wondered about the reasons.³⁷⁵ He wrote about his complaints under the heading 'Slander'. Apparently his friend J. Van Ryckevorsel had referred to the gossip in Utrecht and had told him that this would stop upon Loten's return to this city. Loten responded saying: 'You write that you know that there are people who are especially engaged in talking about this and that you repeatedly remonstrated with them and have told them it is false gossip. I am really very sorry that you have so many problems on my behalf, but I beseech you to tell me what they have said, what I have done wrong or what I have done to cause such gossiping and slander or what is causing it? Let us for the sake of argument assume that I have behaved badly and have insulted people, which if this be the case, I really did not do on purpose and without any evil intentions. Would my coming over change this and stop the talking?! Since I returned from the Indies I have lived in Utrecht 5 or 6 times, each time for nearly a year and sometimes for a whole year and each time I spent more, rather than less, time in town. Therefore if I am guilty or not guilty one might have warned me to rectify my errors or to protest against the allegations! Moreover, those friends and acquaintances of mine who are in correspondence with me have never reported anything to this effect. However, most of my correspondence is about business. I therefore value your friendship, and that you have given me some notice of the slander. If possible please tell me what I have done wrong, perhaps I grieved or did harm to someone (I assure you if so, I was ignorant of this fact), so that I can try or ask one

of my friends to try it for me, to rectify this'.³⁷⁶ He added the proverb “Patentia læsa fit furor [Despised patience will turn into fury]”.

6. HOUSEHOLD MATTERS

LOTEN’S HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

The registers of Loten’s expenses over the period November 1772 to May 1777 give detailed information about the costs of his daily life both in Utrecht and in London.³⁷⁷ In London he specified his expenses in pounds, in Utrecht in guilders. Loten also incidentally specified the money he withdrew from his London bank, Walpole, Clarke, Bourne & Pott in Lombard Street, and through his Utrecht banker Jan Kol. However, these entries contain less detail than do the registers of household expenditures in his notebook. These include his taxes, servants’ wages, salaries for the cook and coachman, household costs, purchases of wine and coals, and the acquisition of books and clothes. Mrs Loten generally received money for household expenditures. The expenses of travelling were specified incidentally. The accounts do not specify purchases of scientific instruments, which suggest that Loten did not buy these in the documented period. The acquisition of his coach has also not been entered in his register of expenses. The London accounts were kept routinely; the Utrecht registers, however, contain several gaps. Nevertheless the available data allow a comparison between his costs of living in London and Utrecht.



Loten’s monthly expenses in Utrecht and London between 1772-1777 (in pounds sterling).

The figure gives an overview of Loten’s monthly expenditures expressed in pounds. The average monthly expenditure over the total period (42 months) was £ 98 10s 6p. There are months in which the expenses are more than double the average, but usually this is compensated by the spending in the preceding and/or following months. Sometimes the monthly average is high because of a special purchase, like the “brilliant necklace from Mr Bellis £ 175”, in February of 1775. The available data indicate that the costs of living in Utrecht were lower than those in London: £ 72 per month in Utrecht (over a 12-month period) and £109 per month (over a 30-month period) in London. However, Loten did not specify the costs of his lodging and the rental of his house in Utrecht. In the course of three months in 1772 he withdrew f 4,676 from his Utrecht bank, representing a monthly expenditure of about 1,550 guilders or £ 140. This amount includes his lodging at the *Casteel van Antwerpen* at the Utrecht Ganzemarkt (f 665 or £ 60). His

London expenditures include the costs of maintenance of, and taxes on, his house in New Burlington Street.³⁷⁸ Thus, on average Loten's costs of living in Utrecht and London in the 1770s were probably equal.³⁷⁹ This is confirmed by the overviews Loten's friend and banker Jan Kol made of Loten's financial transactions in Utrecht over the period 1780-1786.³⁸⁰ This account, however, does not give a complete insight into Loten's financial position for only transactions relating to household matters were registered. Loten's deposits into Dutch Bank remain unknown.

The registers for January 1780 to October 1781 specify what it cost Loten to maintain a house in Utrecht while he, himself, was in London.³⁸¹ Loten bought the house in December 1779 and in the subsequent period several repairs were made to it for £ 30. Taxes and wages of the domestics amounted to £ 38, 12s. Jan Kol also paid bills from several booksellers who supplied Loten in the period between 1776 to 1782, specifically: Sepp in Amsterdam f 101, 12 st, Kribber in Utrecht f 116, 6st and De Kroe in Leiden f 160, 15st. In December 1782 Kribber received f 218, 2st for books. After Loten's arrival in Utrecht in October 1781, his banker Jan Kol regularly supplied him with cash. In contrast to the preceding period, no specifications are available to show how Loten spent this money. Kol paid city taxes for Loten out of his account. The register also specifies a loan made to Loten's manservant "Ernst Godlieb Sellin Van Reegenwalde" (1,000 guilders),³⁸² a gift to the former rector of the Seminarium in Colombo, Reverend Dr Johannes Jacobus Meijer (895 guilders),³⁸³ and a gift to Cornelia Otto Severijn (450 guilders), the natural daughter of his late friend and cousin Major Severijn. On 17 January 1783 coachmaker Van Der Ven received 1,329 guilders, very probably for the manufacture of a new carriage.

Loten's average monthly expenditure in Utrecht between 1781-1786 (£ 131) is about 25% higher than in it was in the period between 1772 until 1777. At that time, when his average monthly spending in London was £ 109 and in Utrecht it was £ 75. However, in the previous period Loten specified the expenditure of his cash. Thus his monthly expenditure of cash (£ 105) in Utrecht from 1781-1786 is comparable to his spending in London. Loten's income was generated by the interest and dividend he received on the capital he had deposited at Bank of England. Besides that he received the interest from his shares in the Opium Society and his capital from the Republic. The income he received from the shares in the Opium Society for the period January 1780 to January 1786 amounted to 26,080 guilders (£ 391 per year).³⁸⁴ According to Jan Kol's registers, the additional income he received from his Dutch capital was roughly equivalent to his East-Indian dividends. The income that his London bankers Walpole, Clark, Bourne & Pott transferred from London to Utrecht was about 5,275 guilders per year (£ 474).³⁸⁵ From Jan Kol's cash registers it is clear that from 1 January 1780 until 31 December 1785, his credit with Jan Kol's bank increased by about 15,000 guilders, or £ 225 per year.

Even in his financial administration Loten's irritability is evident. A characteristic example of his petty concerns can be found in the entries about the "Taxes for the Relief of the Poor". The local government of Westminster was controlled by a closed 'vestry', an oligarchy of wealthy residents who had extensive powers over highways, relief of the poor and rates. Taxes were collected every quarter by Mr John Buckley, an oilman and grocer.³⁸⁶ In January of 1775 Loten paid an annual rate of £ 5, 9s 17d. In May 1775 however, he had to pay £ 1, 12s 1d for a quarter, which meant that his annual tax rate had been raised to £ 6, 8s 4d. In April 1777 he discovered that in 1775, Mr Herbert Mackworth, his neighbour and his wife's relative, had not had to pay this same increase in taxes. A year and a half year later, in November of 1776 when the Lotens returned from Utrecht, John Buckley asked rate of £ 6, 17s 6d: "[H]e said, on my asking, who raised this tax newly from £ 6, 8s 4d to £ 9, 3s 4d, that it was done by a select Vestry, who I hear in this parish to be a set of scoundrels that enrich themselves & feast on what they call poor's rate". In January 1777 the poor's taxes were raised again to £ 2, 5s 10d per quarter. Of this Loten said: "[H]e says it is at the rate of 22 pence in the pound, the nature of this to inquire if possible". In April 1777 he noted down the results of his investigation into his notebook: "I inquired why this lately raised 15 shillings in the year. They do not know any other reason but that they have a book, according to which they demand it, not knowing (or pretending so) on whose orders & so almost every body pays it, because another doth so". It appears that the poor's tax rate was "being raised again to £ 2.10", amounting to £ 10 per year. In February of 1778 the poor's rate remained the same: "NB This worthy collector took first one quarter a £ 2.10 too much on finding his former receipt, I sent Samuel who made it him return". In April 1779 Loten again faced a raise in his taxes, a total of £ 3, 4s 2d per quarter: "Here have been made frequent attempts to cheat and impositions, when discovered as three times at least it was, it is only a mistake. This payment it appears the poor's rate again to be augmented till £ 12, 16s 8d in the year".

It is clear from Loten's *Journal* of his Tour on the Continent in 1763 and 1764 that he was interested in the paintings by the 'old masters', which he saw in the French palaces and in the churches of Antwerp and Brussels. To this day, the painters he mentions are truly great artists: Van Eijck and Holbein; the sixteenth-century Italian masters Raphael, Veronese, Tintoretto and Michelangelo Merisi Caravaggio, the seventeenth-century Dutch masters Jordaens, Wouwermans, Teniers, the Flemish masters Rubens and Van Dijk and the French masters Le Brun, Mignard and Vernet. Loten knew the old masters from his collection of prints. In his *Journal* he refers to French and English engravers who produced high quality copies of these paintings, several of which must have been included in his own collection. His artistic preferences were like those of his British contemporaries. In the second half of the eighteenth century, public interest in contemporary painting increased.³⁸⁷ In 1760 the first public exhibition of modern British art opened. It was held in the Great Room on the premises of the *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* founded in 1754. It was one of a number of eighteenth-century societies which regularly held exhibitions and were founded around this time, including the *Society of Artists of Great Britain* (1755), which united artists and 'gentlemen improvers' and the *Royal Academy* (1768), which united fashionable painters. The societies' yearly spring exhibitions were popular outings. Loten went to visit these in 1772 and 1774. On 28 April 1774 he viewed the exhibition organized by the *Society of Artists of Great Britain* in the Great Room of the Society on the Strand. His report of this visit is an inventory of eighteenth-century British painters: "[T]he Exposition of pictures &c. in the Strand of the Society of Artists of Great Britain, &c. it not near so beautifull as in 1772, as there was now but one picture of Wright of Derby (now at Rome) two children begging a nosegay girl three quarters done by Mr. Carter & some others of him were pretty; some views of Mr Jones, director F.S.A. &c some paintings and drawings of Mortimer vice president F.S.A. some views and landscapes by Marlow, director F.S.A. two crayons by Lady Littleton, but in it's sort perhaps the best of all one fruit and one flowers piece by Van Os (say'd to live at the Hague) in the stile of Mignon. I saw twice this exhibition, but only once the exhibition of ye Royal Academy which however in general a much better one being prevented by indisposition.³⁸⁸ Still life birds animals fishes very fine by Elmer incomparable landskips & small figures, as also fine drawings by Louthembourg, fine landskips by Sandby & small figures, Smith, Geo. Tomkins, conversation pieces by Penny, Shipping & landskips by Serres (Dominick), best miniatures by Jerem. Meyers, S. Cotes".³⁸⁹

There is no indication that Loten acquired any paintings by contemporary British artists, except for his portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. He usually bought prints from engravers in London. These engravings were not just kept in portfolios; they were also framed and mounted and used as domestic decorations. In his correspondence, he often refers to William Hogarth's political caricatures and satirical prints. Foreigners considered these prints to be distinctively English. In addition to the caricatures and satirical prints, Loten was also interested in prints of landscapes, engravings of paintings by old masters and historical prints. In 1775 he wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek about this: "I hope to bring my self some prints and also to be once more so happy to look'm over with Your Lordship amongst 'm a very large one of the meeting between Francois I & Henri VIII, the David of his time, and in the bargain a defender of the faith".³⁹⁰ Here, Loten is referring to a print of the meeting which took place in Flanders between Ardres et Guînes – also known as "l'entrevu de camps du drap d'or" [Meeting in the Field of the Cloth of Gold] between King Henry VIII and King Francois I on June 7th 1520.³⁹¹ It was a copy of a painting Loten saw in the Royal Palace of Windsor: "This very curious and fine picture, the original itself, I had the pleasure to see in the gallery at Windsor, in July 1777". The copper engraving was commissioned in 1774 by the Society of Antiquaries, and because it was so large, special paper was made by James Whatman. Engraver James Basire (1730-1802) produced the engraving. Four hundred copies were produced at the time.³⁹² On March 15, 1775 Loten noted that he had bought the print for £ 2, 2s: "P[ai]d at the house of the Antiq[uarie]n Soc[iet]y for y^e large print of the Champ de Drab d'or by Basire & it's description to send it to the Generous de Hardenbroek for a little contra present".³⁹³

Loten described the paintings and prints in his house in London in 1775. His portraits, landscapes and genre scenes suited contemporary taste in house decoration. Loten's study attic contained several portraits, among which pictures of the envoys of the Republic of United Netherlands at the Peace conferences of Munster in 1644 and 1648, when the Republic signed the Peace Treaty with Spain.³⁹⁴ Loten's interest in the history of the Dutch Republic is thus also reflected in his choice of prints. His drawing room was decorated with landscapes, it is possible that three copies of paintings by the Dutch artists Saffleven and velvet Breugel carried out by Peter Brown could be found there.³⁹⁵ According to Loten the copies were, 'considered by the unsurpassed engraver and draftsman Bartolozzi to be equal to the originals'.

Unfortunately the paintings have not been recovered. Besides the landscapes there were also watercolours with birds by the Dutch artist Aart Schouman.³⁹⁶ Visitors to the Lotens residence were also entertained by humorous prints from genre scenes of everyday life by various artists: “In my study at London following framed & glazed prints viz: God[ar]d Earl of Athlone, Barthold de Ghent, Johannes a Mathenesse, Godardus de Reede, & Ralph Bigland Esq^r. Drawing Room amongst others [...] 2 landscips & a river piece small and stained, watercolours by Schouman 2 canary birds & a goldfinch, and one canary bird by the same, together 5 & of the prints the peasant of Jordans’s who blowes heat & cold out of the mouth, a boy & girl with bird’s nest small by Golzius.³⁹⁷ 24 a 25 of Quixote’s by Coypel & Surugue,³⁹⁸ the black Mohr with bow & arrow by Visscher being an original”.³⁹⁹

Loten also possessed stipple engravings and prints in red chalk style executed by his acquaintance Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815).⁴⁰⁰ Loten acquired several of these engravings, among which prints of the ‘English Genre’, in which a child is represented as a charming, naughty or helpless being, symbolizing an unspoilt world of innocence: “8 febr[uary] 1774 to Mr Bartolozzi 2 prints children at play a 8 sh[illings] & a head a 2 [shilling] 6 [pence]. 14 febr[uary] 1774 at Mr Bartolozzi for a subscription to a print of All Soul’s college Oxford [struck out] therefore three prints in red a 5 sh[illings] and 6 sh[illings] over as I received a beautiful print of a gem belonging to the D[uke] of Malborough £ 1.1.-. May 21, 1774 Mr Bartolozzi for 4 very beautiful drawings in coloured chalks £ 18:8:-. August 20 1774 paid to Franc[esco] Bartol[ozzi] P[ro] memor[y] £ 21.0.0”.⁴⁰¹ Bartolozzi also copied and improved Loten’s own drawing of a stag hunt in Celebes. In November 1775 however, the Bartolozzi drawing was destroyed in a shipwreck.

“1775. 18 april. Mr. Bartolozzi brought me a very fine drawing (done after my bad tho’ accurate sketches) of a staghunt on the Island Celebes. The manner is pretty and easy, being first finished by washing in Indian ink as usual, & then here and there slightly washed over with bistard [??] chiefly strong on the trees figures &c on the fore-ground, this has a most picturesque effect.

Ô mihi praeterios Jupiter si referat annos! [Virgil: ‘Oh when Jupiter could bring back the past years!’]

I think it is put up in the small trunk that I bought at Zeyst & sent to Mr Stapel for dispatching to Utrecht.

This fine drawing also spoiled by the ship-wreck of nov[ember] 1775”.⁴⁰²

It is clear that Loten regularly spoke with Bartolozzi. In a footnote in one of his notebooks Loten writes, “M Bartolozzi greatly prefers the views along the Rhine above those of the Tames”, an observation evidently made during a friendly encounter.⁴⁰³ Loten’s preferences remain unknown.

LOTEN’S BOOK COLLECTION

It is clear from the documents available to us that Loten collected books throughout his life. As his wealth increased, he was more and more able to collect books dealing with his own interest in history, genealogy, natural history and travel. The acquisition of books in the East Indies seem to be less selective as were his later purchases in Europe. This probably has to do with the limited availability of titles in the East. Nevertheless it is clear where his interests lay from the purchases he made in Semarang; they also show that he was prepared to spend a considerable amount of money for his library.⁴⁰⁴ After his return to Europe, Loten built up a well-stocked library by acquiring books from London booksellers and bookshops in Utrecht, Amsterdam and Leiden. The prices of the works were no impediment to him. The composition of his natural history collection is impressive; it contained important 17th and 18th century titles on botany, zoology and travel. Most of these were by British and Dutch authors. Remarkably, there were very few French natural history books in Loten’s collection. French *philosophes* too, were virtually nonexistent in his library.

Two documents in particular give detailed information about the Loten book collection. In 1775 Loten drew up a Register of the books found in his London bookcase; afterwards these were shipped to Utrecht.⁴⁰⁵ After his death in February 1789, Loten’s book collection was auctioned off. The catalogue of the 1789 auction is the second source about the books in Loten’s possession.⁴⁰⁶ The auction catalogue however, is not the most solid source for this collection, because a portion of the books were not included in the public sale; the family took these. Moreover, some of his possessions remained in his London residence. Finally, auctioneers often added books to the collection on sale. It is for this reason that only the first section of the Auction catalogue has been analysed, assuming that it consists exclusively of books from the Loten library. The second, third and fourth section of the catalogue may have contained the books from the stores of the auctioneer.

Loten's 1775 Register contains 164 short title descriptions of the books and the bound journals of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries he possessed. The list mentions 87 books in folio, 38 books in quarto and 39 books in octavo. A comparison of the size of the books in the 1775 Register and in the 1789 Auction catalogue demonstrates that there was a disproportionate number of quarto and octavo volumes in the first list mentioned.⁴⁰⁷ Loten probably only cited the most valuable books to be found in his London bookcases.

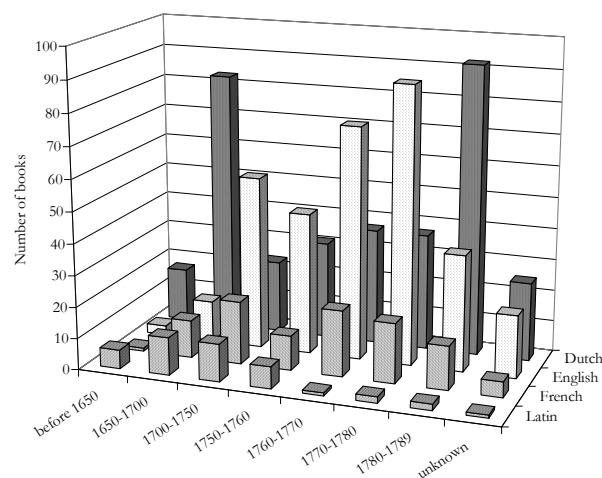
Although the 1789 Auction catalogue is an incomplete register of the books Loten possessed, the titles do give us an impression of Loten's interests. The first part of this catalogue describes 888 titles – including journals – the majority of which must have come from Loten's library in Utrecht. Sections *Appendix* (301 titles), *I Extra* (95 titles) and *II Extra* (63 titles) of the catalogue describe a further 459 titles. As argued above the latter list of titles has not been included in the following analysis, because it is not certain that these were actually also part of Loten's book collection.

Loten's collection consisted of books in Dutch (42%), English (41%), French (12%) and Latin (5%). Dutch and English titles were in the majority as were books published after 1750 (63%). These titles, therefore, were not acquired by him any earlier than after his return from the East Indies.

It is clear that in the twenty two years Loten lived in London he had acquired more books in the English than in Dutch. However, in the last decade of his life, which he spent in Utrecht, this changed: 63% of the books he had were in Dutch and 25% in English. In the preceding decades, that is from 1750-1760, 1760-1770 and 1770-1780, the majority of the books he possessed were in English. Between 1750-1760 this was 48%, between 1750-1760 this was 57% and between 1770-1780 this was 60%). Only about a quarter of his collection at that time was in Dutch: between 1750-1760 titles in Dutch represented 33% of the collection; between 1760-1770 this was 28% and between 1770-1780 this was 25%.

The figure shows the composition of the library in relation to the publication date of the titles. English titles published between 1700 and 1750 were in the majority (50% English as opposed to 21% Dutch titles). This indicates that in the twenty two years Loten lived in England, his booksellers also supplied him with antiquarian copies. In the collection of titles published before 1700 the Dutch titles outnumber the English (65% Dutch and 11% English). The number of books which had been published in the period between 1780-1789 was comparable to the number of books published in the two preceding periods when Loten lived in London. Thus we may conclude that Loten remained interested in books up to his death.

The titles in the 1789 Auction catalogue were classified according to the subjects treated in the books.⁴⁰⁸ The number of books dealing with genealogy, history and natural history titles were underrepresented in the 1789 catalogue; the titles dealing with the sciences, topography and various other topics (among which novels, plays and theological treatises) were overrepresented in this work. This disproportion may have been the result of the selection of books made by Loten's heirs prior to the catalogue's compilation. The fact that the 1775 Register did not include the smaller books (quartos, octavos and duodecimos) will also have contributed to this biased view of Loten's London library. Nevertheless it is clear that his was primarily interested in history and the natural sciences, including exploration and medicine.



Composition of Loten's library by publication date of and language.

The ornithological publications, in which Loten's watercolours were copied and described, are not mentioned in the 1775 Register and the 1789 Auction catalogue. Thus George Edwards's *A natural History of birds* and *Gleanings of natural History*,⁴⁰⁹ Thomas Pennant's *Indian Zoology*, Johann Reinhold Forster's *Indische Zoologie* and Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology*, are missing from these two documents. However, Pennant's *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* and the later extended version entitled *History of Quadrupeds*, which also included engraved plates after watercolours from Loten's collection, is referred to, both in the 1775 Register and in the 1789 Auction catalogue. The Register and the Auction catalogue also mention a few titles which Loten already owned in the East Indies. For example, the Register mentions the seventeenth-century *Saken van staet en Oorlog in ende omtrent de Verenigde Nederlanden* by Lieuwe Van Aitzema. This book was given to Loten in Semarang in 1736 by Vincent Van Wingerden. Loten's favourite travel book, Nieuhoff's *Voyages*, is not present either in the Register or in the Auction catalogue, but Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, bought in 1735 or 1736, appears in the 1775 Register and in the 1789 Catalogue. A remarkable item in the 1775 Register is "Speelman's Notitie wegens Maccassar 2 d. M.S.". This title refers to a two-volume, handwritten manuscript, bound in leather, about the position of the Company at southern Celebes, written by of the later governor-general Cornelis Jansz. Speelman (1628-1684). The manuscript is now preserved at the Tilburg University Library; another copy, also from Loten's collection is in the Nationaal Archief in the Hague.⁴¹⁰

A comparison of the titles in the 1775 Register and 1789 Catalogue shows that 50 titles are mentioned in both documents. This means that at least 114 titles from Loten's library did not appear in the 1789 auction catalogue. Either these books returned to London in the late 1770s and remained there, or they were removed from Loten's Utrecht bookcase by Arnout Loten and the other heirs. The latter supposition seems the most probable, because it is unlikely that in his last years in Utrecht, Loten left a major part of his book collection in London. If the books not in the 1775 register were in Utrecht when he died, then this means that his relatives were most interested in his books on history, mathematics and astronomy.⁴¹¹

Loten's interest in genealogy and history is also clear from the titles cited in the 1775 Register. The majority of Loten's genealogical and historical collection are historical compilations about places, persons and families in the Dutch Republic and Austrian Flanders (39 titles), and England (23 titles). The natural history collection is comprised of well-known eighteenth-century and earlier works on botany and zoology. Various titles by Linnaeus are mentioned in the 1775 Register including *Systema naturae* (1766 edition), *Amoenitates academicae* (7 volumes; 1749-1769), *Genera plantarum* (1737), *Species plantarum* (1753), and *Fauna Suecica* (1746). The Register also refers to Jan Commelin's, *Horti medici Amstelodamensis rariorum ... plantarum ... descriptio et icones* (1697-1701) in 2 volumes. The 1601 edition of Carolus Clusius's *Historia plantarum* can be found in the Register, together with Georg Eberhart Rumph's *Amboinsch Rariteitkamer* (1705) as can the complete 7-volume edition of Rumphius's *Herbarium Amboinense* (1740-1751), edited by Johannes Burman. Loten also possessed Burman's *Thesaurus Zeylanicus* (1737) and Nicolaus Laurentius Burman's *Flora Indica* (1768). Engelbert Kaempfer's *Amoenitatum Exoticarum* (1712) ['The pleasure of the exotics'] is also mentioned in the Register. This book of by the German physician and explorer (1651-1716) was the first comprehensive treatment of Japanese flora by a European. Loten also owned Kaempfer's *The History of Japan*, the first authoritative description of Japan; it was translated from the manuscript and published in London in 1727 by Sir Hans Sloane. Apparently Loten did not only specialise in the natural history of the Far East and the Orient. He did own a copy of the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (1658), consisting of four books entitled *De medicinae Brasiliensi* by Willem Piso or Piso (1611-1678) and eight books entitled *Historiae rerum naturalium Brasiliae* by Georg Marcgraf or Marcgrave (1610).⁴¹² Piso's books dealt mainly with the medical and culinary aspects of the country; Marcgraf's books dealt with Brazilian botany and zoology, as well as with some meteorology, ethnology and geography. With the exception of Linnaeus *Amoenitates* and Johannes Burman's *Thesaurus Zeylanicus*, all of the above mentioned books are missing from the 1789 Auction catalogue.

Among the astronomical titles in the Register is also mentioned: "[B]elow in the largest book-case Ferguson's first Rotula". The reference here is to the itinerant lecturer James Ferguson, whom Loten met in 1759. Ferguson wrote *Astronomical Rotula* to illustrate the movements of the planets and the positions of the sun and moon. These illustrations were engraved and sold to the public. Ferguson's autobiography tells us that the book had "gone through several impressions; and always sold very well till the year 1752, when the style was changed, which rendered it quite useless".⁴¹³ Loten also possessed Ferguson's

Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles (1756).⁴¹⁴ Another item to be found in the 1775 Register of books was, "Oeuvres de S. Stevin par Girard. 1634", the first edition of the complete scientific works of Flemish mathematician Simon Stevin (1548-1620); it was edited and translated from the Dutch original by the Lorraine mathematician Albert Girard (1595-1632). It incorporated mathematical memoirs and Stevin's astronomical treatise "De Hemelloop" (1580), a significant pre-Galilean astronomical text advocating Copernican heliocentricity. It also comprised a treatise on navigation, in which Stevin presented a method of determining longitude using magnetic variation. The *Oeuvres* also contained writings on geometry and optics and Stevin's famous work on mechanics and hydrostatics, "Beghinselen der Weeghconst" (1586).

The 1775 Register refers to several topographical titles by Thomas Pennant; the *Tour of Scotland* is mentioned in various editions. Also listed are two travel books by the Dutch painter Cornelis De Bruyn (1652-1727). The beautifully illustrated report of his lengthy tour to the Levant, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste deelen van Klein Asia, de eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c.*, was published in Dutch in 1698. In 1701, at the age of fifty, De Bruyn undertook an extensive journey to Persia and India via Moscow, arriving in Persia in 1703. The book about this voyage, *Reizen over Moskovie*, was published in 1711; Loten owned the 1714 edition. He also possessed the first edition of Robert Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East-Indies* (1681), a book he already owned when he was in the East and that attracted his attention to the tropical nature of Ceylon.

The 1775 Register and 1789 Auction catalogue also clearly show that Loten's natural history library contained many expensive books with copper engravings. Several titles that were in his possession, such as Rumphius's *Amboina* and *Herbarium* and Edwards's *Natural History*, had already been mentioned by Linnaeus in 1753 as being unaffordable to natural science amateurs with limited means.⁴¹⁵ From the Auction catalogue of 1789 we know that Loten's natural history collection consisted of 48 titles, many of which were general treatises like Martinet's *Katechimus der Natuur*, Houttuyn's *Natuurlijke Historie* and John Coakley Lettsom's *The Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion*.⁴¹⁶ The catalogue also mentions ten botanical titles, several of which have already been mentioned above. The 1644 edition of Dodonaeus's *Cruydt-Boeck* was also cited.⁴¹⁷ It is the last and most complete edition of this classical herbal work by Rembert Dodoens (1517-1585). The 1789 Auction catalogue also lists *An Illustration of the Sexual System of Linnaeus* by Johann Sebastian Müller, who published this work in twenty parts in London between 1770 and 1777.⁴¹⁸ Loten bought the first series of these engravings in 1774 and 1775 from Müller and acquired the later parts from his London bookseller Benjamin White. White also supplied the fascicles of William Curtis' *Flora Londinensis* to Loten.⁴¹⁹

Among the fourteen zoological titles mentioned in the 1789 auction catalogue is a folio-sized copy of *Various Sets Of Birds And Beasts Drawn From The Life By Francis Barlow*.⁴²⁰ Loten also owned the 1660 Dutch folio edition of John Jonston's *Naeukeurige beschryving van de Natuur der viervoetige dieren, vissen, en bloedelooge water-dieren, vogelen, kronkeldieren, slangen en Draken*, with the 250 fine, full-page engraved plates by Matthias Merian.⁴²¹ The catalogue registers two books by the Utrecht zoologist Pieter Boddaert (1733-1795), a medical doctor and in 1793 lecturer on natural history at Utrecht University. In 1785 he published *Elenchus Animalium*; it included the first binomial names for a number of mammals.⁴²² Loten also possessed the 1778 edition of Boddaert's *Natuurkundige Beschouwing der Dieren*.⁴²³ Loten also owned Zimmerman's *Specimen Zoologiae Geographicae, Quadrupedum Domicilia et Migrationes Sistens* (1777), one of the first works on the geographical distribution of mammals.⁴²⁴ As a collector of shells, Loten owned Emanuel Mendez da Costa's *British Conchology* (1778).⁴²⁵

The 28 medical titles in the catalogue consist of general works like the *Pharmacopoea Ultrajectina nova* (1749), the last edition of the Utrecht city *Pharmacopoea*.⁴²⁶ Loten also owned the popular *Domestic Medicine* by William Buchan,⁴²⁷ John Elliot's *Medical Pocket-book* (1780)⁴²⁸ and William Lewis's *Materia medica*.⁴²⁹ Johann Kasper Lavater's (1741-1801) *Von der Physiognomik* (1772) was present in Loten's library. Besides that, he possessed various titles on physiognomy.⁴³⁰ Various titles in the Register and Catalogue dealt with Loten's illness. Dr Percivall Pott's *Treatise on Raptures* (1769) was probably purchased after Loten's 'troublesome' accident in Richmond in October of 1771.⁴³¹ Thomas Berdmore's *Treatise on teeth* (1768), may have been acquired because Loten regularly complained of toothaches.⁴³² Loten also possessed George Young's *Treatise on Opium* (1753). Young, a physician from Edinburgh, was the first to recommend opium as a tranquillizer for severe psychiatric disorders. In his thirty years of practice, Young occasionally witnessed dramatic improvements, which he attributed to opium's hypnotic effect: "[It] rested the agitated particles of the nervous fluid".⁴³³ Another title which deals with Loten's complaints is Robert Whytt's

Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Those Disorders Which Have Been Commonly Called Nervous, Hypochondriac, or Hysterical (1765).⁴³⁴ Whytt related “nervous sensibility” to every aspect of modern life and said that, “[t]he shapes of *Proteus*, or the colours of the *chameleon*, are not more numerous and inconstant, than the variations of the hypochondriac and hysteric diseases”. In short, sensibility was associated with the organic processes within the body causing pathological conditions such as asthma. In the eighteenth-century medical mind sensitivity was held responsible for triggering illnesses such as melancholia, hypochondria and, as in Loten’s case, asthma. In 1786 the Scottish physician James Makittrick Adair (1728-1802) summarised the effect of Whytt’s book: “Before the publication of this book, people of fashion had not the least idea that they had nerves; but a fashionable apothecary of my acquaintance, having cast his eye over the book, and having been often puzzled by the enquiries of his patients concerning the nature and causes of their complaints, derived from thence a hint, by which he readily cut the Gordian knot - «Madam, you are nervous»; the solution was quite satisfactory, the term [nervous] became quite fashionable, and spleen, vapours, and hyp, were forgotten”.⁴³⁵ In 1773 Loten referred to Whytt, when he said ‘by repeatedly using opium [...] the opium will not only serve as a palliative but also probably also be the final curative for such disorders. This is also the Professor Robert Whytt’s reasoning in his excellent book about nervous diseases’.⁴³⁶

VARIOUS TITLES

Of the 58 titles on genealogy and heraldry found in the auction catalogue 25 titles are in French, 18 in English, 9 in Dutch and 7 in Latin. The books deal primarily with the English, Scottish, Irish and French nobility. The Dutch genealogical books focused on Utrecht. The catalogue’s section on history is dominated by Dutch titles (102) dealing with local history and the origin of the Dutch Republic. Sixty titles are either biographies of historical people or memoirs by Loten’s contemporaries in England and Holland. The catalogue also includes 26 titles of books on history in English and 14 such titles in French.

Loten’s library also contained various titles by E. Wolff and A. Deken; in the latter part of the eighteenth century they were popular female authors in the Dutch Republic.⁴³⁷ Although he possessed most of the books and pamphlets they published in the period from 1778 until 1788, it is doubtful that Loten shared their sympathies for the Dutch patriots’ cause. In 1788 Wolff and Deken went into exile in Trevoux, France. The catalogue also contains several titles by classical Dutch authors such as Vondel (*Palamedes*) and Bredero (*Werken*). Loten possessed a seventeenth-century folio edition (Amsterdam 1655) of popular poetry by the former Grand Pensionary, Jacob Cats. The auction catalogue also mentions several contemporary English authors: Oliver Goldsmith’s *Vicar of Wakefield*, Dr Samuel Johnson’s *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* are in the Catalogue. In addition, Loten’s library contained not only several popular theatre comedies, *The Beaux Strategem*, *Bold stroke for a wife* and *The Provoked Wife*,⁴³⁸ but also Shakespeare’s comedies *Merry wives of Windsor* and *Much ado about nothing*. Because there are but few titles in this category in the catalogue, it has been suggested that Loten was only casually interested in the popular authors of his time.

7. PHENOMENA OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY

In Macassar and Colombo, one of Loten’s favourite pastimes was studying mathematics and astronomy. When he returned to Utrecht, his passion for these studies may have been stimulated his brother. In November 1759 Arnout Loten studied Abbé Nollet’s *Natuurkundige lessen* and discussed experimental philosophy with Jean-Jacques Rambonnet, minister of the French Church in Utrecht. Arnout described the discussion he had with Rambonnet in an affectionate letter he wrote to his cousin, Anna Richardina Croonenberg from Middelburg. ‘The first volume of the Lessons in [Experimental] Physics by Abbé Nollet has been published in two parts. I spoke to you about it with you when you were here. I have now read it and found it pleasant and clear, and I can therefore recommend it to you. You must read it. We recently visited our Cousin Kinschot, together with French Minister Rambonnet and we discussed experimental physics (in which he is very skilled) at length with him. Among other things he was absolutely convinced that all fixed stars are just like our earth, because he doubted if such immense Celestial Bodies would be created just to suit a small place like our earth and you cannot imagine that they are (by their great distance) of use to us either by their influence or else, and why should we restrict God’s

Omnipotence? Only the latter is, I think, already convincing enough to embrace the above-cited sentiment.⁴³⁹ The citations found below from the correspondence between the two Loten brothers give some idea of the topics of their shared an interest.⁴⁴⁰

AL: 'For some time and with increasing age, I have become interested in the mathesis. My neighbour Back ⁴⁴¹ visits me twice a week [...] This has caused me to visit your Library and use the *Deparcieux trigonometrie*, the *Logarithmiis tables* of Gardiner etc. The latter were printed in London and are magnificent, but not available here. Trust me that the [books] are being handled with care' (Utrecht 5 February 1762).

AL: 'I have finished the *Trigonometrie*. At the moment I am calculating using the tables, which I have nearly mastered' (Utrecht 9 March 1762).

JGL: 'I hope that for the trigonometry you are using Wolff or some other very good author, otherwise it will be double the effort' (London 23 March 1762).

AL: 'I am glad that you advised me [to use] Wolff for trigonometry, because several weeks ago I studied this author in Latin. A propos, I hope that you took the first volume of Wolf with you, because I could not find it in your library' (Utrecht 6 April 1762).

JGL: 'Please be so kind as to inform me which edition of Wolff you bought, the one from Geneva, Halle or the one from Padua? If it suits you, please send the volumes [that are in my library] to me so I can have them bound here with the first volume, which I carry with me always and everywhere' (London 11 April 1762).

JGL: 'The second volume of Martin is an imperfect booklet which I do not need.⁴⁴² However, there are many complete [versions] dealing with useful matters like the *Ortog[r]aphical* and *Stereogr[aphical]* projections of the globe that are worth studying. I know this philosophical quack in person' (London 19 November 1762).

JGL: 'How are your studies coming along? Is Robertson still amusing?⁴⁴³ One day I will try my patience with it, because I think it is the best introduction that is available' (London 18 December 1762).

AL: 'You have ask me about my progress with Mathesis? I still have the desire but I lack the time and as you know it requires great perserverance so that I am progressing slowly. In my study of algebra I have progressed to the quadrilateral comparisons. My problem is not how to solve the equations, but how to order them so that they can be solved. I bought the *Dictionaire de Physique* by Paulian 3 volumes of 4^o ⁴⁴⁴ and the *Astronomie by La Lande* in 2 volumes.⁴⁴⁵ The latter book is very comprehensive, but it seems to me that it might have been presentated in a more orderly fashion, although I do not dare to claim that I can be the judge of that' (Utrecht 7 May 1765).

JGL: 'I have also read La Lande's three new volumes, which although a most complete and general work, seems to me to be very inexact, especially on subjects that are confusing to many people. Those who are only reading to amuse themselves, shall not find a pleasure in this book' (London 25 October 1771).

The French astronomer Joseph Jérôme Lefrançois de Lalande had visited Loten in London in April of 1763.⁴⁴⁶ Besides the short annotation in Lalande's diary there is no additional information about this meeting. The same is the case with Lalande's visit to Arnout Loten in Utrecht on June 23, 1774. It was then that Lalande saw Loten's quadrant made by Bird.⁴⁴⁷ Unfortunately Arnout's letter to his brother about his encounter with the famous astronomer was not retraced, but it seems that Lalande told him that he would travel to London. In July 1774 Loten wrote his brother from London that he had not heard anything about Mr Lalande's trip. Loten further declared that Lalande was 'a man of great use to the Society'; he pointed to society in the sense of the human community.⁴⁴⁸ In September 1774 he learned from Mr Bird that French astronomer had not been in London.

ASTRONOMICAL QUADRANT BY JOHN BIRD

Loten's interest in scientific instruments dated from his youth. In 1729 he inherited a collection of mathematical and astronomical instruments from his friend Otto de la Porte de Morselede. He may have taken these with him to the East. During his years in Java and Macassar, his collection of astronomical equipment had been expanded through deliveries from his family and gifts from his friends. He had ordered expensive astronomical devices from Colombo and these were subsequently forwarded to him by Amsterdam bookseller Tirion. After he returned to Europe, he acquired instruments from the Dutch and English instrument workshops. Thus, he possessed a thermometer and several barometers made by Dutch

instrument makers Prins and Wast. Although he owned globes, microscopes and chronometers from instrument makers as George Adams, Nairne, Bird, Ramsden, Dollond, Thomas Mudge and John Ellicott, there is no written evidence that he used the tools in England. In 1762 he ordered a set of silver mathematical instruments from George Adams, among which a magnificent sector. Two hundred years later this instrument was characterised as “a royal gift”.⁴⁴⁹ In London Loten often visited the workshops of Edward Nairne, John Dollond and John Bird where he discussed the instruments with constructors and natural philosophers, among whom his friend Alexander Dalrymple. He knew a lot about their application and admired both the skill of those who made them and the precision of the equipment itself.

Like a zealous collector, Loten wanted to possess the instruments, but his asthma prevented him from making use of them in practice. In March of 1772 before his departure to Utrecht, Loten wrote to his brother to say that he very much wanted to see a demonstration of the ‘new modern astronomical quadrant such as the masterpiece which Mr Bird has constructed for me’.⁴⁵⁰ Loten had ordered a 12-inch quadrant from the workshop of John Bird (1709-1776), the mathematical instrument maker located in the Strand near the New Exchange. Bird is famous for the great improvements he brought to the construction and graduation of large mural quadrants. Loten had undoubtedly consulted his friend Alexander Dalrymple about the acquisition. As early as 1767 he had wished to obtain this instrument, “or with increase of fortune”, a quadrant of 18 inches long, used to measure “all heights of the sun and moon, and stars, with telescopes on it and a mirror for steep heights”.⁴⁵¹ Although there were ample occasions for a demonstration of this kind, Loten’s fear of a relapse in his asthma restrained him from realising his intention. None of the available sources confirm that the demonstration took place prior to his departure to the Continent in July 1772. Nevertheless the quadrant was delivered to Loten. That summer Loten’s friend the Rotterdam merchant J. Van Ryckevorsel brought the instrument over to Utrecht. The quadrant remained there when Loten returned to London in August 1773.⁴⁵² John Bird had also supplied a booklet with specifications about the working method of his quadrants, for which the author, according to Loten, had ‘been honoured by the Government with a gift of £ 500, to ensure that his art and science would not be buried with him [in his grave]’.⁴⁵³

A few weeks after his return to London, Loten sent his brother several instructions about the use of astronomical instruments.⁴⁵⁴ It included an addendum ‘communicated to me by Mr Dalrymple’. Another booklet was *Directions for the use of Hadley’s quadrant, with remarks on the construction of that instrument*,⁴⁵⁵ written by Reverend William Ludlam (1717-1788) of Leicester. Loten wrote to his brother to tell him that ‘he often spoke about it with the author (a clergyman who can do more than annoy his parish for 2 or 3 hours)’. William Ludlam possessed an 18-inch quadrant and published his astronomical findings in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society in 1775.⁴⁵⁶ Loten wrote that he almost considered ordering a quadrant for his brother from Bird or Ramsden, ‘because it takes about a year for them to complete it’. He added that he doubted whether Bird could finish such an instrument, because he was seriously ill at that time.⁴⁵⁷ In the same message Loten remarked that the London instrument maker ‘Mr [George] Adams had died’.

From the correspondence between the two brothers it is clear that when Loten returned to London in August 1773, the quadrant remained in Utrecht in the care of Arnout Loten. The letters Loten wrote after his arrival in New Burlington Street give detailed information about his attempts to acquire silver wire for the plumb line of the quadrant. Three days after his arrival in London, Loten told his brother that ‘Mr Bird is still alive, and tomorrow I hope to go to him’. However, Mr Bird had moved to another address and the new residents could not tell him Bird’s present whereabouts. Loten therefore drove to the late George Adams’ son; however, he did not know Bird’s new address either.⁴⁵⁸ Nevertheless, two weeks later Loten forwarded a small drawing and detailed description to his brother explaining how the plumb line was to be fastened to the quadrant.⁴⁵⁹ Mr Bird had explained that the size of the silver wire was dependent upon the size of the quadrant. Bird had also supplied him with the address of the silver wire maker, Mr Stackhouse. Loten ordered the silver wire and also left an example of it with optician and scientific instrument maker Edward Nairne (1726-1806). He told his brother about Nairne’s electrical machines: ‘This artist has constructed an electrical device from which sparks are created; three Ducks passing through it fell dead after touching one another, from their outside you could not see anything’.

In November 1773 Loten received the silver wire and Mr J. Van Ryckevorsel took it from London to Arnout in Utrecht. A month later Loten again mentioned the 18-inch quadrant, when he wrote to his brother to tell his brother that Alexander Dalrymple had stopped by his house in vain. Thus it was that he had ‘missed the instruction about the two plumb lines and the weights, I shall try to better myself’. His brother, too, must have been sorry to read: ‘I still feel the passion for this kind of pursuit [and I] even

[have] the desire to own an 18-inch quadrant. However, it is clear that for this type of activity I will never be healthy enough (nor to enjoy unimpeded breathing) to be able to use it'.⁴⁶⁰ In March 1774 Dalrymple, 'who owns a large and a small quadrant and who uses both', explained that the two plumb lines were for observations near the zenith, a fact Arnout had already presumed.⁴⁶¹ It seems that Arnout regularly used the quadrant on the roof of his house at the Oudmunster Kerkhof in Utrecht, because in July 1774 Loten again ordered silver wire, 'a quantity of just three times as much as was sent to you last time'. In September 1774, Loten, ignoring his asthmatic oppressions, went again to Mr Stackhouse for the silver wire. There Stackhouse's daughter told him that 'three ounces were ready'. In the evening, the silver wire was delivered at New Burlington Street and several days later 'examined by Mr Bird with glasses &c and found to be fine'. It was subsequently despatched to Utrecht.⁴⁶²

In October 1774 Loten admired an Equatorial instrument, which he saw in John Dollond's workshop at St Paul's Churchyard. It had been made for Reverend William Ludlam. Once again Loten was overcome by a desire to own such an instrument: 'I guess it costs are about 100 guineas, which is a great deal for a man of moderate means even if he does deserve it. I think you have his [=Ludlam's] booklet about Hadley's octant. I was greatly tempted to order the instrument, but then I realised that I should never be able to use it due to shortness of breath &c. Otherwise I think the quadrant is the most amusing astronomical instrument known to those who enjoy carrying out accurate observations'.⁴⁶³

In February 1775, Arnout Loten carried out measurements of the moon-eclipse of Saturn in his observatory on the roof of his house in Utrecht. A month later, Loten spoke of the eclipse with Mr Dalrymple and Dr Solander: '[Solander] had seen the emersion and both had heard that the phenomena differed considerably from the Tables [of the French astronomers], although they had no particular information'.⁴⁶⁴ On February 18th 1775, Loten sent his brother the information about the eclipse found in the *Nautical Almanac*, which was according to him 'more accurate than the *Connoissance de Temps*'. Loten told him that the position of the Moon in the *Almanac* was based on Mayer's (Göttingen) *Tables*. Arnout's observations of the eclipse were highly rated by the Utrecht professor in astronomy, Johann Friedrich Hennert.⁴⁶⁵ In 1778 Hennert wrote about the 'enlightened amateur astronomer' Arnout Loten: 'There should be two or three enlightened Maecenas like Mr Loten to restore the worship of Urania in a country where this goddess is hardly respected'. According to Hennert this would improve the navigation of the ships, an essential asset for a country dependent on trading as the source of its wealth.⁴⁶⁶

The last of Arnout's observations using the Bird quadrant was recorded by Loten in one of his genealogical notebooks: 'Utrechts polus position, taken by Mr Arn[ou]t Loten about 21 May 1776 with Bird's quadrant with 1 foot radius, however very accurately constructed by that artist, was 52° 5' 0" 3"'.⁴⁶⁷ There is no indication that Loten, who lived in Utrecht at that time, assisted his brother when this observation was done, but this may have been the case. The exact latitude of Arnout Loten's house at the Oudmunster Kerkhof measured with modern equipment is 52° 5' 25" 82". The position indicated by Loten in 1776 corresponds to where the present Eligenstraat crosses the Vrouwjuttenhof, about 750 meter south of where Arnout used to live.

In June 1775 Loten wrote to Arnout from London telling him about another visit to John Bird's workshop: 'I recently paid a visit to Mr Bird and found him somewhat recovered and again busy with a glorious 8-foot radius mural-quadrant for the Elector of the Paltz; it will be installed at Mannheim. Reverend Mr Mohr in Batavia also has this instrument as well as several other dear instruments. He is a zealous observer. The current Governor-General [Van Der Parra] used to be greatly opposed to such studies and I do not doubt that deep in his heart he still is. At least half of the Reverend's colleagues preach emphatically against this happy Son of Urania, who built an observatory that must have cost him at least 30 thousand pounds sterling. The Reverend became an Idolater of this Queen of Sciences when he bought the quadrant at an auction. It was sent to me but arrived too late'.⁴⁶⁸ The latter refers to a dispatch forwarded to Loten by the Amsterdam firm Tirion in December of 1757, when Loten was already on his way home to Patria.⁴⁶⁹

It is clear that Loten appreciated John Bird's art. In 1777 he scribbled biographical information about the late John Bird in his notebook: "1777 24 March, or 22nd Mr Dutton, on inquiry, told me Mr. Bird was when ☉ [=deceased] ab[ou]t 64 y[ea]rs ... was a Norsh countryman out of the bishoprik of Durham. Left to Capt[ain] John Campbell of the Royal Charlotte Yacht [inserted: now Admiral (rear)] & to Mr. Aubert (Alexander) what he had earned by his great industry & the income of 1,000 (one thousand) 3 pct to the person that has the care of the astron[omical] instrum[en]ts at Oxford, lately made by him, and an equal income for the woman, that took care of his house till his death, for her life time. Taken all together this worthy man an unparalleled Artist did not leave more than ab[ou]t 5 or 6 thous[and] pound as but since

perhaps ... years ... he could lay by something, as for many years he had no more to live upon than about fifty pounds a year ... Mr. John Bird, above mentioned, was a disciple of old Sisson".⁴⁷⁰

Loten retained his interest in astronomy. In September 1780 he wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek about Martinus Martinet's *Katechismus der Natuur*: "Mr. Martinet confounds the number of planets & also the world with our small globe of earth, ascribes a satellite to Venus & more things of that nature, which I think he knew better, but by zeal and hurry of proceeding committed errors, that by a following edition, when he can hardly fail to have perceived them, will be corrected".⁴⁷¹

HAVE PITY WITH MY IMMORTAL SOUL

Loten's interest in genealogy and his pursuit of astronomy using Bird's quadrant, troubled some of his Utrecht acquaintances. They apparently adhered to the orthodox Calvinistic interpretation of *Heidelberger's catechisms*, which stated that too much trust in human ratio leads to heresy; *curiositas* stands in the way of true faith. Loten wrote about this to his friend Van Hardenbroek: 'A Gentleman whom you know once visited me and saw me studying the so-called antiquitates patriae. He disapproved of these studies meaning that (according the refined and unrefined) I am not allowed to amuse myself very quietly with the phenomena of Heaven and Earth; I am not even permitted to learn, step-by-step &c, about that which lives above and under the Earth. They say that one is just guessing, meaning that if one is unable to everything, one should not look at all and remain blind. How does one live free of such meddling?'.⁴⁷² However, the majority of the those in Utrecht who communicated about Loten's pursuits did so from a distance and in secret. Two months after Loten returned to London, he received an anonymous letter. Ten months later he commented on this in a letter to Arnout: 'From an undated letter (lacking both sender's name and seal, although the cover indicated that the contents should be read) which I received and read on 27 Nov[ember] 1773. I understand that several people in Utr[echt] — I know this because it is clear that the letter was written there by a friend or female friend, servant or maid (at least that is what they call themselves) — think that the Sciences, to which instruments belong, lead to guesses at best. Its authors told me that they often observed me during my last two stays [in Utrecht 1769-1770 and 1772-1773], pitying me for my miserable life,⁴⁷³ and sympathising with my immortal soul. It could be, that an even more miserable death would be my part (to be sure already a very charitable pity of this good-hearted author or female writer). They insisted that one must not live as one likes and that I should stop what I was doing. Yes they even thought that if I were in better health I would try to amuse myself even more with the cited pursuits. This conclusion is definitely correct for I spent the winter and summer in an idleness, which was more than hard labour. The most important point that my friends have tried to make whilst counselling me is that I should be pursuing the Truth rather than diverting myself with such idleness. In summary, the author wrote a very useful letter. Even so, He or She (it is clear from the letter that it is a decent Gentleman or Lady) does not know me well enough and knows even less about the effect my illness has on my studies. Having said that, it would be unfortunate if the world could benefit from a letter such as this in one way or another. For this reason, it may be worth my while to have it published and distributed. I had dearly hoped I might come over myself this year to find out just who the author was. If the writer was well-intentioned, I could demonstrate well-meaning benevolence (not an exalted judgement by one who looks down on another) and show that I was grateful for the good counsel. I should do my level best to give the Worthy Counsellor or Lady a good impression of myself and than tell him or her that I do not attend the church, nor the often useful Meetings of the Royal Society and those of the Antiquaries here, simply because my illness does not allow me to. Although the latter [=meetings of the London Antiquaries] on the whole leads to less exalted practices, because the study of antiquity is rather harmless and often useless, especially in the case of genealogy. These studies give rise to a more countless number of the above mentioned guesses than the practice of the Queen of Sciences, Astronomy, as Governor-General Laurens Reael elatedly characterised it in a letter you can find in Philip Baldaeus's *Beschrijvingen*'.⁴⁷⁴

One week after Loten wrote to his brother about the anonymous letter, he wrote to his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek expressing more ironical sentiments: "Notwithstanding my not very luxurious situation I received once, about 9 months ago, a very ample well written letter from Utr[echt]; not signed, but only with dienaer or dienaeresse [=servant] ... in blanco, who acquaints me that, during both the last times of my stay in that capital, often saw me with great pity, considering such a miserable life, and much more still pitying (what a prodigious excess of good nature!) my immortal Soul, since a much more miserable death might soon follow upon that &c: Not to be troublesome with the contents of

this vrienden-raad, [counsel by friends] as the writer calls his friendly advice, I have taken the liberty of sending, as before the spring I can not come my self, to Mr. Kol and begged to show this obliging letter to M[ademoise]lle de Casembr[oo]t,⁴⁷⁵ Your Good self and if He thinks fit, also to the Worthy Dr. Brown⁴⁷⁶ &c. and my brother. I joined a bit of paper some of my humble remarks, and in defence of the little progress I have made in the contemplation of the works of the Almighty Creator (for even some pleasure, I had in cultivating astronomy & Natural history, is to me, in this sensible & studied letter, imputed if not a great crime, at least an attempt to frivolous sciences) and the manner my humble endeavours were directed in, which I do with perfect truth assure, that according to the little powers allotted to me, always were with lucent innocence infinitely more directed to heighten true religious principles, not the enthusiastically ones, then to eradicate them.⁴⁷⁷ But enough of this: I long rather for looking once the contents substantially over with a very few select friends in Utr[echt].⁴⁷⁸

Loten expressed ideas that he must have learned from his teacher Petrus Van Musschenbroek, whose reason for studying the natural phenomena was to learn about God's omnipotence and to extract wisdom from His Works in nature.⁴⁷⁹ Loten was impressed by the German philosopher Christian Friedrich Wolff (1679-1754), whose insistence on clear and methodical exposition, and confidence in the power of reasoning as a means of reducing all subjects, agreed with Loten's ideas. He clearly supported Wolff's natural theology and believed in the existence of God without recourse to any special or supposedly supernatural revelation. In one of his letters to Van Hardenbroek Loten refers to J.F. Martinet's *Katechismus der Natuur*. Here he observes: "[I]t occurred there to me, that this rev[erend] Gentleman, as well as many others, had not been able to avoid offending the so called pious orthodox, by using the common, but generally understood & received expression Laws of Nature (Wetten der Natuur), as if he doubted or rather believed that the latter was it's own Agent, without a Superior allwise & Almighty Director. I am not acquainted with Mr. Martinet, but I believe & am not perfectly convinced he never harboured the least such thoughts as those, who liking to seek knots in rushes, would be glad to find in this amusing and edifying writer".⁴⁸⁰ Like Loten, Martinet, a pupil of Petrus Van Musschenbroek's, held to an experimental approach. He referred to his own observations and research and used many of the results of other natural philosophers. When he used the word "Nature" he always did so in the sense of the created Works of God, or their own character and quality. Oliver Goldsmith took the same approach in his work, *Animated Nature* (1774). God is not the ever-present God of the Scriptures, but a being who has withdrawn from direct contacts with his creatures. God acts through Nature. Goldsmith's and Martinet's 'Nature' is simply God as manifested in the working of natural laws.⁴⁸¹

Evidently the application of reason in religion and experimental sciences was an important topic for Loten. In his notebook, he recorded a remark about a dispute with "Cl", possibly his friend Van Clootwyk; it gives his views on the application of reason in matters of religion: "One begins to advise, when one begins to despise. Cl. hath since long begun to advise & to rely on his superior despotic judgement. The advice ab[ou]t Mr. Morley is not of great discernment but founded on brutal ignorance shewing that even he has even not read the little pamphlet. This seems a step also towards advising in Religion. If farther insists on either, begging to be excused corresp[onden]ce ab[ou]t religions & physic as every body ought to think for him self & what is most conductive to the welfare of Soul & Body. I find no reason to think that in adoring the Great Supreme Being & to Love Him according the establ[ished] Religion], we are educated & admitting our reason in our faith is the most unsafe way. I think it the most reconcilable to my mind & also the most comfortable".⁴⁸²

This verbal explosion is rather enigmatic if we do not realise that Loten was probably referring to pamphlets by Reverend Thomas Morgan (1719-1799) of Morley near Leeds.⁴⁸³ The pamphlets were a response to Joseph Priestley's propagandist essay, *An Appeal to the serious and candid Professors of Christianity [...] by a Lover of the Gospel* (1770).⁴⁸⁴ Priestley, a dissenting clergyman and natural philosopher, Minister of Mill Hill Chapel at Leeds, asserted that everyone should have their religious views tolerated and be accorded full rights. His *Appeal* was a plea, "to make use of your reason in matters of religion, or where the scriptures are concerned". Priestley went on to explain: "*Searching* must imply an earnest endeavour to find out for ourselves, and to understand the truths contained in the scriptures; and what faculty can we employ for this purpose, but that which is commonly called *reason*, whereby we are capable of thinking, reflecting, comparing, and judging of things?". This was in contrast to Thomas Morgan, who in a pamphlet (1771) addressed "to a protestant dissenting congregation" declared the following about the use of reason: "The knowledge of God and of ourselves may, in some measure, be obtained by the light of nature and reason. The works of creation declare the power and wisdom of God; and the dictate of reason will inform us, in part, what we ourselves are, what relation we bear, what duties we owe to other beings;

but the Word of God only, is our infallible guide in these important discoveries". Morgan's pamphlet was "intended as a Preservative against the Principles and Practice of the INFIDELS and ENTHUSIASTS of the present Age". In his 1772 pamphlet, Morgan no longer wrote to anonymous dissenters, but directly to Priestley: "I do assure you that I have a very high opinion of you as a writer, and a very sincere respect for you as a man, a scholar, and a Christian; but you must give me leave to say, that I do really think that you are a very mistaken Christian".⁴⁸⁵ Nevertheless, he demonstrated that he had been insulted by Priesley and argued strongly against Priesley's earlier *Appeal*. Loten apparently agreed with Priesley's view and thought, "that admitting reason into our faith" was "most reconcilable" and "most comfortable" to his mind.

In May 1775 Loten gave his friend Van Hardenbroek an example of the disastrous consequences of ignoring the findings of experimental sciences in favour of theological argument. Loten's remarks deal with the use of lightning conductors on ships and the attitudes and inclinations of the former Colombo ministers: 'Not long ago a ship with 300 men exploded at the Batavian roadstead and some days ago there was a sad accident with a Dutch ship here in the river. In Colombo I recommended the use of a conductor on the ships, but two clergymen, in particular Sigibert Abrahamus Bronsfeld, preached against its use. Dr Solander & Banks' ship, lying on the Batavian roadstead, was not damaged when a Dutch ship anchoring near it suffered a lot of damage. Nevertheless the English ship was hit, because one of the connectors belonging to the conductor had broken or melted. I do not believe that the costs for each ship would have amounted to more than 3 guineas. There are no examples of an accident to ships equipped with this equipment. I do not know whether Dutch Navy ships were allowed to be equipped with this conductor. I pray to God that it be allowed! In Ceylon there were also 4 or 5 very distinguished and worthy teachers in favour of reasoning, such as Fybrands and, I believe, Dr Meijer and the Emeritus Potkens'.⁴⁸⁶

As Fellow of the Royal Society, Loten was aware of William Watson's work, *Some suggestions concerning the preventing the mischiefs, which happen to ships and their masts by lightning; being the substance of a letter to the late Right Honourable George Lord Anson, first Lord of the Admiralty*. In this contribution to the *Philosophical Transactions* the author refers to Benjamin Franklin's discoveries and advised using "wire or iron or any other metal were connected with the spindles and iron work at the tops of masts of ships, and conducted down the sides of the masts, and from thence in any convenient direction so disposed as always to touch the sea water" to guard against the effects of lightning on ships.⁴⁸⁷

¹ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 Belle Van Zuylen to Vincent Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken, 9 July 1770 lettre 370. Original in French.

² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. [Brussels July] 1770.

³ In one of his numerous genealogical notebooks Loten made remarks about the Noirot family and also mentioned his visit of the church at Breda, July 11, 1770. See HUA GC 750 nr 96 page 131. One entry dated 3 January 1779 mentions that Jacob Noirot told him that in 1676 one capatin Noirot, who was a brother of his father, served under Admiral De Ruyter.

⁴ At his death, in 1477, Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy, left a library of some 1,000 manuscripts. Officially established in Brussels since the sixteenth century, the Librairie des Ducs de Bourgogne forms the historical core of the Royal Library of Belgium, which today preserves the vast majority of the remaining manuscripts – approximately 300. Other traces of this collection are nowadays found mainly in Europe (Bibliothèque nationale de France, the British Library and the Austrian Nationalbibliothek) and the United States.

⁵ It is possible that Loten made a mistake and confused his admired Count of Egmond with an earlier ancestor. Wassenaer possibly refers to Count Jan Van Wassenaer (*d.* 1523), since 1506 knight of the golden fleece. He was a soldier in the service of Emperor Maximilian and later in his life he served Emperor Charles V. Source J. Kok (1793), *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek*, volume 30, pages 431-432.

Vergy is possibly Guillaume de Vergy (1490-1531) who married Marine de Bourgogne (*d.* 1567), a natural daughter of Baudouin of Burgundy (1445-1508), or his son François de Vergy (1530-1591).

⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 152. In 1744 Empress Maria-Theresia appointed Prince Charles-Alexander of Lorraine (1712-1780) and his wife Maria-Anna (1718-1744), Maria-Theresia's sister, as her representatives in the Netherlands. Prince Charles-Alexander was also the brother of Maria-Theresia's husband.

⁷ Dr Tom Verschaffel (KU Leuven) identified Mr de Wit as Jean de Witt, "auditeur à la chambre des Comptes, conseiller-commis au conseil des Domaines et Finances (1761-1783)" and "chef de la jointe des Monnaies (1767-1783)". Jean or Johan de Witt (1724-1783), lived with his sister Wilhelmina (1723-1798), also a single, at Brussels. Their grand-father was a son of the Dutch statesman, grand pensionary Johan de Witt (1625-1672), who was assassinated in 1672 with his brother Cornelis (1623-1672) by the 'mob' in The Hague.

See *Journal. Chronique belgo-bruxelloise, 1766-1770* by J.K.C.H. comte de Zinzendorf, published by Georges Englebort in 1991 as 'hors série' of the *Nouvelles Annales Prince de Ligne*, page 191 annotation 15 October 1769. See also Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2, lettre 492, Belle Van Zuylen to her brother Vincent, 12 August 1780: "M. & M^{lle} de Wit nos parens, gens aimables, honnêtes, gens de merite, qui decendent de Jean & de Corneille de Wit, de tous deux". [Mr. & Ms. de Wit our relatives, friendly and honest people, people of merit, decendents of both Johan & Cornelis de Wit].

The brother of the father of Constantia Hoeufft, Loten's grandmother, married in 1641 Maria de Witt, the sister of Johan en Cornelis de Witt. The grandchild of Maria de Witt and Diederick Hoeufft, Agneta Hoeufft de Fontaine Pereuse was the grandmother of Belle Van Zuylen. See Annexe Genealogy Hoeufft. Apparently Loten did not know of this family connection. In the late 1770s he remarked in one of his genealogical notebooks that his great-grandfather Charles Loten became related to the De Witt family by marrying Maria Van Der Corput:

"...door Carel Loten's huwelijk met Maria Van de Corput moesten de ongelukkige Heeren Cornelis en Johan de Witt tegens Charles Loten Oom zeggen".

HUA.GC 750 nr 1396.

⁸ J.N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir a l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*. Louvain, Imprimerie Academique, 1763-1770. See also: T. Verschaffel (1998). *De Hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1715-1794*. Hilversum Verloren, pages 47, 67, 117-122. Verschaffel considered Paquot's *Mémoires* as one of the most important books published in the eighteenth century in the southern Netherlands.

⁹ Boutens, S. (1974). Van een tovenaarsproces te Belle in Vlaanderen, *Iepers Kwartier*, 10, pages 57-62; Le Calvé, M. (1990). *Un procès de sorcellerie dans la Flandre du XVIIe siècle*, Armentières.

¹⁰ Vandenbussche, E. (1872-1873). Procès de sorcier à Bailleul (1659), La Flandre. *Revue des Monuments d'Histoire et d'Antiquités* 4, pages 291-304 and 367-395. Thomas Looten went to bailiff Mr Jacques Vande Walle, on 21 September 1659 after the High Mass, to plead not guilty against the imputation of sorcery: "ten eynde van hem te purgeeren vande crime ende ansech dannof hy befaempt was" (page 297-298).

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- ¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 August 1770.
- ¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 October 1770 (possibly mistake for 16 September 1770).
- ¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 November 1770.
- ¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 January 1771.
- ¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 February 1771.
- ¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London, February 1771.
In 1771 Arnout Loten acted as the executor of Catharina Aemilia Abbema's testament and enjoyed agreeable dispositions. Arnout Loten inherited f 38,759 5st 1p (HUA.NA U188a30, aktenr. 42, d.d. 15-07-1771). In 1760 he had been appointed executor together with the above mentioned Adries Sybrand Abbema, canon of the chapter of the St Mary Church in Utrecht, who never became the Secretary of the Leckendijck-benedendams (HUA.NA U201a8 nr 58, dd 30-01-1760 and U188a30 nr 27, d.d. 17-04-1771). In the 1770s Andries Abbema (1732-1802) came in the Utrecht City Council.
- ¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 February 1771.
- ¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 March 1771.
- ¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 April 1771.
- ²⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1771. Original in Dutch.
- ²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 May 1771.
- ²² See also Chapter 3, paragraph 'Marriage a jump over the ditch'.
- ²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 August 1771.
- ²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 13 September 1771; Annotation in HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.
- ²⁵ According to his earliest biographer John Elliot (1781):
"For several years before his death [Dr Fothergill] was accustomed to retire to Cheshire, in the month of July, to Lea Hall, a pleasant estate in the neighbourhood of Middlewich, which he rented of Sir John Leicester".
John Elliot (1781), An Account of his life; and occasional notes. In: *A complete collection of the medical and philosophical works of John Fothergill*. London, John Walker, page xiii.
- ²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 October 1771; Annotation in HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.
- ²⁷ Pott can be identified as Dr Percivall Pott F.R.S. (1714-1788), a successful and renowned surgeon in the London St Bartholomew Hospital, who operated Oliver Goldsmith and who treated Dr Samuel Johnson for sarcocele (Hill & Powell, 1964, volume III page 501 and volume IV page 239). Loten possessed the 1769 edition of Percivall Pott's, *A treatise of ruptures*, London: printed for Hawes, Clarke, and Collins, 1769 (page 19, nr 159 in the Auction catalogue of Loten's library, 1789).
The identity of Pyle is uncertain, perhaps he was William Pyle, a surgeon to Westminster Hospital. According to Loten Pyle was acquainted with Arnout Loten.
- ²⁸ Timothy Sheldrake junior (*d.* 1806), truss maker in London, who published several treatises on ruptures and the application of elastic trusses.
- ²⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 October 1771.
- ³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 October 1771.

³¹ *Asa foetida*, homoeopathic medicine, devil's dung. The milk juice (obtained from the root of *Ferula assa-foetida* L), which becomes a brown, resin-like mass after drying.

³² John Fothergill (1712-1780), medical doctor, botanist and philanthropist, friend of Benjamin Franklin. In 1772 Loten submitted an essay to the Haarlem Holland Society of Sciences "Considerations on the distemper amongst horned cattle in the United Provinces communicated by John Fothergill MD and FRS to John Gid. Loten FRS and FSA".

³³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 October 1771.

³⁴ John Elliot (1781), 'An Account of his life; and occasional notes'. In: *A complete collection of the medical and philosophical works of John Fothergill*. London, John Walker, pages xiii-xiv.

³⁵ Quoted in Gascoigne (1994), page 78 from R. Hingston-Fox (1919). *John Fothergill and his friends*. Macmillan, page 384.

³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772.

³⁷ See Chapter 3, paragraph Marriage a jump over the ditch.

³⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772.

³⁹ The Liquid Laudanum of Sydenham was described in William Lewis's *The New Dispensatory* (1753) on pages 409-410 as a mixture of:

 "Strained opium, two ounces;

 Cinnamon,

 Cloves, each one dram;

 Mountain wine, one pint.

 Macerate without heat for a week, and then filter the tincture through paper".

The mountain wine could be exchanged by Canary wine and sometime an ounce of saffron was added to the mixture. A drop was considered to be about the sixteenth part of a grain. The Cinnamon and cloves were intended "to take off the ill odour of the opium". Addition of French brandy dissolved the opium better than the mixture based on wine and water.

⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772.

⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 March 1772.

⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 March 1772.

⁴³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Maastricht, 18 July 1772.

⁴⁴ Possibly Count Georg Ludwig of Kielmansegge (1705-1785) or one of his sons Count Carl Kielmansegge (1731-1810) or Count Friederich Kielmansegge (1728-1800). Friederich Kielmansegge wrote a diary of his journey to London in 1761-1762 where he and his brother Carl attended the Coronation of George III. See P. Kielmansegge (1902). *Diary of a journey to England in the years 1761-1762*. London, Longmans Green. The relationship of the Von Kielmansegge family and the Von Weyhe family at Utrecht was not unravelled.

⁴⁵ The reference is to Major-General Otto Adolph baron Van Weyhe (or Wyhe). He married in 1766 Constantia Johanna Maria Falck (*b.* 1749 Tegal), daughter of Carl Gustaaf Falck (1716-1785), former resident at Tegal and senior merchant, younger brother of Loten's schoolmates George Tammo, Otto Reinhard and Frans Willem Falck. According to documents in the Utrecht Notarieel Archive Weyhe (or Wyhe) was not accurate in paying his debts. V. Grand Lainé declared in a document, deposited 22 May 1780 at notary D. Van Lobbrecht in Utrecht, that Weyhe owed him f. 400. He tried to get this sum from Van Weyhe's father-in-law (HUA inv.nr. U194a15, aktenr. 84). There is also a procuration dated 24 April 1784 in which Professor Franciscus Burmannus, professor in Theology of the Utrecht University and his wife Anna Geertruid Van Leeuwen declared that they had a claim of f. 1.000 on Van Weyhe and his wife that dated from 18 November 1778 (HUA notarieel archief inv.nr. U236a12, aktenr. 67).

⁴⁶ Constantia Johanna Maria's father Carl Gustaaf Falck and Loten's schoolmates Frans Willem, Anton Reinhart and George Tammo Falck, were the sons of Otto Wilhelm Falck (1679-1730) and Constantia Margaretha Meinerzhagen (1684-1765). Loten probably referred to the fraudulent activities of Constantia Johanna Maria's grandfather Otto

Wilhelm Falck as a director of the *Provinciale Utrechtsche Geotroyeerde Compagnie*, which forced him to resign from the board in 1728. It is also possible that he referred to the bankruptcy of Johan Werner Meinertzhagen (1681-1751), brother in law of Otto Wilhelm Falck and initiator of the *Compagnie* in 1720. The Loten family probably owned bonds of the *Compagnie*. See also Slechte (1998).

⁴⁷ Castle Neubourg in Gulpen built after 1288. The Castle was rebuilt in 1732 and 1774.

⁴⁸ The reference is to Cunégonde a fictional character in Voltaire's *Candide*.

⁴⁹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15 B 11. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 3 May 1779.

⁵⁰ John Trusler (1788). *The habitable world described, or the present state of the people in all parts of the globe, from north to south; shewing the situation, extent, climate .. including all the new discoveries*. London Literary Press, volume 10, pages 165-166.

⁵¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775.

⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 25 August 1772.

⁵³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Spa 25 September 1772.

⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 20 September 1772.

⁵⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Maastricht 1 October 1772.

⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 17 September 1772.

⁵⁷ George Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799) stayed at Oblet in April 1770 and remarked:
“Wir logirten am Markt bei HE *Obelet*, in dem Hauss in welchem der König von Dänemarck und *Paoli* logirt haben, der Wirth spricht englisch Französisch und deutsch ausnehmend gut, ausserdem weiss er seinen Vortheil von den Fremden zu erhalten ohne ihn[en] aber die Haut gleich über den Kopf zu ziehen. Ausserdem ist es ein Vergnügen mit diesem Manne zu reden, er scheint in der That Deutsche und englische Empfindungen zu haben und hat mir von Paoli mit Thränen und vieler Bewunderung erzählt”.
See Gumbert (1973), page 18.

⁵⁸ Loten paid f 635.16 and f 30.14. Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774. Cash register Loten 1772 by Loten's banker Jan Kol. Jan Kol sent 5 October 1772 24 half ryders (f 168 guilders) to Loten in Bois le Duc.

⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 October 1773.

⁶⁰ Solander referred to his stay at *Busbridge* in a letter to Carteret Webb published by he last in the *Philisophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (52, part II, year 1762), An Account of the Gardenia: In a Letter to Philip Carteret Webb Esq F. R. S. from Daniel C. Solander, M. D., pages 654-661.

⁶¹ In 1784 Joseph Banks asserted that Solander went to the estate of Lord Northington where he was tutored by the Lord Chancellor's wife and daughter (Rauschenberg, 1964). Duyker (1998) page 42-43, suggested that Solander was tutored by Rhoda Carteret Webb and John Ellis young daughter Martha.

⁶² The term 'clubable' was invented by Dr Samuel Johnson, who declared that James Boswell was a “very *clubable* man”.
See Hill & Powell (1964), volume IV, page 254.

⁶³ Augustus Keppel, first Viscount Keppel (1725-1786), British Admiral who held sea commands during the Seven Years War and the War of American Independence. During the final years of the latter conflict he served as First Lord of the Admiralty.

William Tryon (1729-1788), Colonial Governor of the Province of North Carolina (1765-1771) and the Province of New York (1771-1780). The “courteous Ladies” were his sisters, the friends and relatives of Loten's wife.

⁶⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. London 9 October 1780. On Saturday 31 March 1781 James Boswell wrote:

“Dr. Solander was here. Mrs Thrale said he was the best man in the world for a rout. For you might put him into any room filled with any company, and he at once was one of them. They carry him into another room, and he instantly is one of the company *there*. I said, “Throw him where you will, he swims.”...”
See Reed & Pottle (1977), *Boswell Laird of Auchinleck*.

⁶⁵ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. Spaa, July 24th 1769.

⁶⁶ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. London, February, 8, 1771.

⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 February 1771.

⁶⁸ In 1765 the Reverend Johan Maurits Mohr (1716-1775), whose wife had received a large inheritance, undertook to build a fully equipped private observatory at his country seat *Klipphof* near Batavia. Since 1763 he was a member of the Holland Society of Science at Haarlem. He made several major astronomical and meteorological observations among these about the transit of Venus on June 6th 1761. Mohr's initiative inspired other Europeans living in Java around 1770 to start a scientific movement. Because of lack of governmental and other support, it was not until 1778 that the Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten en Wetenschappen was founded.
See Troostenburg de Bruijn (1893), pages 302-305; Zuidervaart & Van Gent (2004).

⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 July 1771.

⁷⁰ In Captain Cook's journal there is a description of a greeting ceremony on 2 May 1769, at Tahiti, which probably stands for the information that Solander and Loten exchanged.

“This morning a Man and two young women with some others came to the Fort whome we had not seen before: and as their manner of introducing themselves was a little uncommon ... [the man] took several pieces of Cloth and spread them on the ground, one of the Young Women then step'd upon the Cloth and with as much Innocency as one could possibly conceive, expose'd herself intirely naked from the waist downwards, in this manner she turn'd her Self once or twice round, I am not certain which, then step'd of the Cloth and drop'd down her clothes, more Cloth was then spread upon the Former and she again perform'd the same ceremony; the Cloth was then rowled up and given to M^r Banks and the two young women went and embraced him which ended the Ceremony”.

In his journal of the second voyage of captain Cook with the *Resolution*, George Forster decently remarked that as a visible sign of respect the subordinates would bare their shoulders upon encountering a noble.

⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 13 September 1771.

⁷² This referred to the publication in September 1771 of the *Journal of a voyage round the World in the Endeavour*, published by Thomas Beckett, bookseller in the Strand. See page 28 in E. Smith (1911). *The life of Sir Joseph Banks*. John Lane, London

⁷³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. London 25 October 25 1771.

“zie hier wat op ordre der regeeringe in alle papieren gepubliceerd is:

« Admiraliteyts Hof 19. septb. 1771. Ter voorkominge dat het publik misleijd worde by eenig vervalscht verhaal dat gepubliceerd kan worden wegens de Voyagie van Zijn Maj^s. Schip the Endeavour, zo heeft het aan My Lords Commissarissen der Admiraliteyt behaagd kennisse te geeven, dat een authentik verhaal van die reyze zal gepubliceerd worden zo spoedig als de materialen in eygentlyke ordre kunnen worden geschikt, en de noodige kaarten en tekeningen zorgvuldiglyk gegraveerd (getek^d.) Ph: Stevens, Secretaris van d'Admiraliteit ».”

⁷⁴ Loten referred to Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's *Voyage autour dus monde par la Frégate du Roi La Bondeuse et la flûte L'Étoile en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769*. Paris, 1771. Loten owned the 1771 French edition. HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten's library, page 10, number 122.

⁷⁵ John Dunmore (2002) in the Hakluyt Society edition of *The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville 1767-1768*, pages lxx-lxxvii, discussed the achievements of the Bougainville's *Voyage*. According to Dunmore the expedition had, in contrast with Cook's voyage, not been conceived as a scientific enterprise.

“The lack of navigational details, of precise latitudes and longitudes, which guaranteed that his narrative would flow and captivate the reader, was criticised by the savants, and even seen by some as evidence that his claim to have made new discoveries in the South Seas was suspect”.

In that respect Dunmore (2002) referred to a contemporary source Bachaumont, who wrote in 1780 *Mémoires secrets*.

“Mr. Bougainville takes good care to conceal the latitude the longitude and anything that might reveal the position of the island he claims to have discovered”.

⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. “From Dr. Solander 9 July 1775”, annotation was erased.

⁷⁷ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 8, number 67.

⁷⁸ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 8, number 65. *A Voyage Towards The South Pole, And Round The World. Performed In His Majesty's Ships The Resolution and Adventure*. Printed For W. Strahan and T. Cadell., London: 1777.

⁷⁹ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 8, number 63. George Forster. *A Voyage round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution, Commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the Years, 1772, 3, 4, and 5*. 1777, London, Benjamin White.

⁸⁰ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 8, number 62. Johann Reinhold Forster. *Observations Made During a Voyage Around the World*. London: G. Robinson, 1778.

⁸¹ Rod Edmond (2001). Book Review. *Journal for Maritime Research*, November 2001.

⁸² HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 17, number 97. *Remarks on Mr. Forster's account of Captain Cook's last voyage round the world, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775*, by William Wales. London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1778.

⁸³ Richard P. Aulie (1999), *The voyages of Captain James Cook. Captain*. Cook Study Unit, 1999.

⁸⁴ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 29, number 402. Loten owned the second German edition, *Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung, den südlichen Polarländern und um die Welt, hauptsächlich aber in den Ländern der Hottentotten und Kaffern in den Jahren 1772 bis 1776. Aus dem Schwedischen frey übersetzt von Christian Heinrich Groskurd ... Herausgegeben und mit einer Vorrede begleitet von Georg Forster*. Berlin, bey Haude und Spener, 1784.

⁸⁵ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 8, number 66. James Cook and James King. *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by the command of His Majesty, for making discoveries in the northern hemisphere, to determine the position and extent of the west side of North America, its distance from Asia, and the practicability of a northern passage to Europe*. London, 1784.

⁸⁶ HUA.Library 6629, number 377/853, Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 22, number 225 is a reference to the first edition, published in London by E. Newberry.

⁸⁷ In the 1789 Auction catalogue Loten’s library, page 18, number 115, there is a reference to “Cook and Clark [sic] Voyage, Lond[on] 1783 2 voll.h.e.b. avec fig”, which is a reference to William Ellis, *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in H.M. Ships Resolution and Discovery During the Years 1776-1780; in Search of a North-West Passage Between the Continents of Asia and America. Including a Faithful Account of All Their Discoveries, and the Unfortunate Death of Captain Cook*. Second edition. London, G. Robinson, J. Sewell and J. Debrett, 1783.

⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept-letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 28 May 1762 and 5 December 1763. S.J. Fockema Andreae, J.G.N. Renaud & E. Pelinck (1952). *Kastelen Ridderhofsteden en buitenplaatsen in Rijnland*. Vereniging Oud Leiden. Page 77 and figure 42. After Van Der Bruggen’s decease the estate Langenrode was sold by his heirs. See HUA.NA U247a10, nr 75, notary D.W. Van Vloten, 29 March 1771.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 5, paragraph ‘Unexpected bad usage in Utrecht’.

⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Maastricht 1 October 1771.

⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. [Brussels July] 1770.

⁹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 October 1770.

⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 October 1770. October 10, 1770 notary Van Vloten sealed the desk and several East Indian chests in Van Der Bruggen’s house. On October 14th 1770 the desk and

chests were opened by the notary, Arnout Loten and Mr Andries Jan Strick Van Linschoten acted as witnesses. They did not find Van Der Bruggen's testament. See HUA.NA U247a9 nr 211, notary D.W. Van Vloten 10 October 1770 and HUA.NA U247a9 nr 213 notary D.W. Van Vloten 14 October 1770

⁹⁴ On November 8th 1770 several bills of exchange from Van Der Bruggen's legacy were divided among his four children. HUA.NA U247a9 nr 232, notary D.W. Van Vloten.

⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 28 December 1770.

⁹⁶ From the VOC-administration of the money transfers from Batavia and Colombo it is evident that Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen reimbursed f 743,160 when he returned in Patria. See NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02 nr. 7050 and Chapter 2, paragraph 'Voyage to Patria'.

In the archive of the Utrecht Orphan Chamber there are many documents about Van Der Bruggen's financial transactions over the period 1759 until 1771. His correspondence with the Parisian Bank Thelluson Necker and with his London agent Peter Stapel is preserved. From the documents it is evident that Van Der Bruggen had £ 55,000 in annuities of 3% in the Bank of England in 1769 and 1770 and about 60,000 Livres (nominal value) in bonds in France. In 1758 and 1759 he had invested 640,000 Livres in France. In 1760 he invested his capital like Loten in the Bank of England, probably because of the more favourable stock rates in England at the end of the Seven Years' War. In December 1761 he estimated his capital to be 598,578 guilders. See HUA Stad Utrecht, momboirkamer 1577-1796, inv 702-3, nrs 1471-1 and 1471-2.

⁹⁷ In the archive of the Utrecht Orphan Chamber there is a document written by Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen in Leiden September 1759 in which he revokes earlier testaments. In this document he declares his four children as his universal heirs. Loten is appointed as executor of the testament. In the document Van Der Bruggen also makes a bequest of 10,000 guilders for a 13-year-old adopted girl, named Wilhelmina Christiana du Pon from Rembang, living at Batavia. The unsigned document probably never passed as an official deed of a notary. See HUA Stad Utrecht, momboirkamer 1577-1795, inv 702-3, nr 1471-2.

⁹⁸ In the archive of the Utrecht Orphan Chamber there are several annotation of Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen, that indicate that he wanted to restrict the inheritance of his eldest son to the legitimate portion and to appoint the three remaining children as his universal heirs. See HUA Stad Utrecht, momboirkamer 1577-1795, inv 702-3, nr 1471-2.

⁹⁹ HUA.NA U247a10 nr 76. Notary D.W. Van Vloten Utrecht 29 March 1771. About the maternal part of the inheritance and the division of the jewels the two parties had diverse ideas. According to the notary act:

“[D]ssentieerdende gedagten en consideratien waren opgekomen, waaruit te dugten was dat epineuse questien en kostbare procedures stonden te emergeeren, waardoor de schiftinge en scheidinge des boedels merklijk zoude vertraagd worden”.

The Testament of D.W. Van Der Bruggen and Arnoudina Deliana C Van Der Bruggen made at Colombo 7 March 1755 is at present in the Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 6.

¹⁰⁰ The jewellery, diamonds and pearls from Van Der Bruggen's legacy were sealed by notary D.W. Van Vloten on 22 November 1771. See HUA.NA U247a10 nr 209.

¹⁰¹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. Jan Kol was appointed as the agent of the two adolescent children on 8 November 1770. HUA.NA U256c7 nr 111, notary C. de Wijs, Utrecht. HUA.NA U266a1, nr 114, notary W. Huygen, Utrecht, 6 April 1773. According to the last 33 Bonds with a nominal value of 49,200 guilders from the inheritance of Gijsberta Johanna Blesius were secured from the legacy of Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen for Antje Van Wilmsdorf.

¹⁰² The expression in the quote came from Loten's friend Everard Van Wachendorff (1712-1775), Secretary to the Court of Justice of Utrecht (HUA.GC 750 nr 151):

“My above mentioned old good friend Wachendorff sayd once at Utr^t in the coffeeshouse, I think a^o 1769 or 70, that nowadays any a scoundrell or rogue if of noble extraction, would be always preferred above another worthy man (not being acknowledged so) if he even had all the virtues of an Admiral de Ruiter, or above de Ruiter himself. Certainly this honest humane hero was not much favoured & his precious life sacrificed to prefer a boisterous noisy tho' also brave tar not so polite as de Ruiter, nor so humane and not of so cool and steady courage, but zealous enemy to the so called Loevesteyn faction, to which however de Ruiter also did not belong. His only desire to live in peace with everybody”.

The coats of arms are at present in HUA.GC 750 nr 107.

¹⁰³ Van Der Bruggen had a part of his capital invested in the French bank of Jacques Necker and George Tobie Thellusson at Paris. See HUA.NA U256c8 nr 101, notary C. de Wijs, Utrecht 18 September 1771. Van Der Bruggen invested in English annuities, French loan effects, bonds of the City of Paris and contracts on the Canadian colonies of Nouettes, which were rated respectively 84%, 22%, 35% and 25% of their nominal value. See HUA.NA U247a10 nr 76, notary D.W. Van Vloten, 29 March 1771. See also HUA.NA U247a9, n 232, notary D.W. Van Vlote, 8 November 1770.

¹⁰⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 July 1771.

¹⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 October 1770.

¹⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 January 1771.

¹⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 April 1771.

¹⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 November 1770.

¹⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 March 1771.

¹¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 April 1771.

¹¹¹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 91. Act signed by Prince of Orange The Hague 19 October 1773. Two months before Loten declared in a notary act that his 20-year-old grandson was able to settle his own affairs and could be considered 'venia aetatis' [of age]. HUA.NA U 256c10 nr 106, notary C. de Wijs, 28 August 1773.

¹¹² Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 766. J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen to J.G. Loten. Rome 18 March 1775.

¹¹³ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 65, Journal of travels J.C. Van Der Bruggen 1774-1777.

¹¹⁴ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 766. J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen to J.G. Loten. Rome 18 March 1775.

¹¹⁵ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, Volume 2, letter 457, 7 April 1776. Belle Van Zuylen to Ditie, her brother Vincent Tuyll Van Serooskerken. Original in French. The editors of the *Œuvres complètes* identified M. Portalès as Louis-Théophile de Pourtalès (1739-1819) de Valenciennes, or Jean-Jériémie de Pourtalès (1734-1796) from Neuchâtel. In his Journal of travels J.C. Van Der Bruggen wrote in May 1776 that he paid 3600 livres to Pourtalès & c[ompany] at Neuchâtel. See Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 65, Journal of travels J.C. Van Der Bruggen 1774-1777. The Pourtalès family at Neuchâtel traded in printed tissues ('sitsen') from the Dutch East Indies, which may be the relationship between Van Der Bruggen and Jean-Jériémie de Pourtalès.

¹¹⁶ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 65, Journal of travels J.C. Van Der Bruggen 1774-1777. See also Chapter 7, paragraph 'London and Fulham'.

¹¹⁷ Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen sold several bonds for purchasing the Croy castle. See HUA.NA U256c15, nr 59, notary C. De Wijs Utrecht, 2 May 1778.

¹¹⁸ Joan Gideon Loten acted as a witness in the Marriage Act of his grandson, dated 10 October 1782. See Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 9.

¹¹⁹ Gascoigne (1998), page 173 and H.B. Carter (1979), *The sheep and wool correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks 181-1820*. Sydney, Library Council New South Wales.

¹²⁰ NNBW, volume II, page 262. According to Mrs. L. Van Zalinge-Spooren (1989), Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen used his shares in the Opium Society in the beginning of the 19th century as a security for debts due to his breeding experiments with Spanish merino sheep. See also Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 476.

¹²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 19 February 1771.

¹²² Count of Bylandt is probably Otto Willem Hendrik Van Bylandt (1750-1818), son of Frederik Christoffel Willem Lodewijk Bylandt and Maria Johanna Munter. In 1781 he married Carolina Barones Van Wassenaer (1749-1824).

¹²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 August 1771.

¹²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 January 1772.

¹²⁵ Loten's friend Everhard Van Wachendorff (1712-1775) married Anthonetta Van Brienen, the sister of Johan Van Brienen's father. In the later 1770s Johan Van Brienen was the sheriff of the States of Utrecht, he lived at Leersum. He died in 1787. Cornet Abbema was Jan Carel Abbema the son of Loten's cousin Johan Frederick Abbema (*d.* 1766) and Jacoba Mathia Smissaert.

¹²⁶ According to the editor of the third volume of Van Hardenbroek's *Gedenkschriften* (volume III, p XV and 112), Mrs Suljard maintained a clandestine relationship with Loten's acquaintance Johan Fredrik Roëll (*d.* 1782), secretary of police and finances of the city of Utrecht and afterwards secretary of the city of Utrecht. This is probably the reason why Loten preferred the daughter to the mother. Loten wrote about Agatha Marguerite Anne Isabella Charlotte Suljard's mother an item in his notebook. HUA.GC 750 nr 1405 (erased).

“1777. the 7th Febr[uary]. Written to Mr J. Kol in Utrecht to pay to Mr Röell Two thousand guilders. It is an advance for prints, but actually to do a pleasure to Mrs Sulyard, who is somewhat embarrassed, because the yearly payment from her husband in Africa is retarded, which would cause, if I should not assist her, a delay of the marriage of the Lady her daughter. This Lady promised to restitute the mentioned sum next year. I have no reason at all to doubt this.

Not long after this I got reasons enough.

The mentioned Lady never had the politeness to make or let make some excuse about her delayed payment”.

This related to the marriage of her daughter with Benjamin Graaf Van den Boetzelaar Van Langerak. The marriage conditions are in the Utrecht Notary Archive. Johan Fredrik Roëll acted as a witness (HUA.NA inv.nr. U247a16, aktenr. 68, d.d. 27-04-1777). During the patriot upheaval in Utrecht Boetzelaar sympathised with the patriots.

In a short entry in one of his notebooks Loten remarked: “[T]he behaviour of Mrs Sulyard C.S. was aristocratic but not correct”. See HUA.GC 750 nr 152.

¹²⁷ According to a notary procuration Agatha Suljard de Leefdaal was ten years in February 1763 (HUA.NA U214a3 nr 73, dd 25-02-1763). In the procuration it was agreed that Christiaan Frederik Stuten, advocate at the Court of Utrecht and Marie Isabelle de Collins de Tarsienne would take care of the Reformed education of Agatha Suljard.

¹²⁸ Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften*, volume I, page 400. Entry January 10th 1777. Willem baron Suljard de Leefdaal died *ca* 1784 at the coast of Guinea at St George d'Elmina (Presently Ghana) (HUA.GC inv.nr. U247a21, aktenr. 17, d.d. 25-02-1785).

¹²⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 25 August 1772.

¹³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 4 September 1772. The anonymous letter was not enclosed. Two weeks later (17 September 1772) Loten agreed with his brother's suggestion that the anonymous letter was written by their relative mrs Abbema in an attempt to promote Antje's former suitor Johan Van Brienen, however his granddaughter was not ‘captivated’ and ‘apparently was not interested in the man’.

¹³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 4 September 1772.

¹³² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 20 September 1772.

¹³³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 17 September 1772. Loten copied the passage in French from the original.

¹³⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 20 September 1772. Loten copied the passage in French from the original.

¹³⁵ Joost Lodewijk (von Proebentow) von Wilmsdorff (Bestendorf 1703-1757), married at Maastricht 1731 Antoinette Ernestine Jacot (Van Axele) (Maastricht 1709-Bois le Duc 1791).

Children:

1. Sara Maria Henrietta von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Maastricht 1731-Noordwijkerhout 1797) married Prinsenhof at Geertuidenberg 1753 Willem Meyners (Rotterdam 1717-Noordwijkerhout 1780).

2. Jacob Lourens Bernhard von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (*b.* Maastricht 1732). In 1757 ensign in the regiment of Wechmar.
3. Johann Albrecht von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (*b.* Maastricht 1734). Ensign of Dragoon Guards 1749; in 1765 lieutenant of this regiment.
4. Gerhardina Henrietta von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Maastricht 1735-The Hague 1793) Married Oegstgeest 1766 Gerrit Pieter Hooft (The Hague 1726-The Hague 1805).
5. Von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Maastricht 1737). Dead at birth.
6. Jeanne Leopoldine Esther von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Bois le Duc 1740-Bois le Duc 1787) married Rosmalen 1766 Mr. Frans Van Heurn (Bois le Duc 1717- Bois le Duc 1781).
7. Albertine Louise Ernestine von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Maastricht 1743-The Hague 1774) Married at Bois le Duc 1767 Vincent Count von Hompesch Ruerich, Lord of Genderen (The Hague 1728-The Hague 1778).
8. Elisabeth Jacqueline von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Maastricht 1745-The Hague 1811) married first at Fort Isabel Bois le Duc 1767 Frederik Christiaan Hendrik Van Tuyll Van Serooskerke, Lord of Vleuten (Utrecht 1742-Sterrenberg Zeist 1805); married second at The Hague 1808 Mr. Nicolaas de Gijsselaar (Gorinchem 1753-The Hague 1818).
9. Willem Anna von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (Voorburg 1749-in Engeland 1830) married at Utrecht 1772 Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen (Colombo 1755-Utrecht 1835).

¹³⁶ Van Hardenbroek in his *Gedenkschriften* (volume I, pages 67-68) mentioned in the financial problems of Major Joost Lodewijk Van Willemsdorff, which were the reason that in 1750 he became subject of a High Court-martial. Like in 1747, when he also had financial problems, he requested the States of Utrecht to annul the fidei-commis on the inheritance of his wife. The States of Utrecht granted his request in October 1750, after a message of the Stadholder Prince Willem IV in support of Van Willemsdorff's case.

¹³⁷ Sources: *Nederlands Adelsboek* 80 (1989) 541-548; *De Nederlandse Leeuw* 43 (1925), Bijdragen tot de genealogie van het geslacht von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff, 225-233.

¹³⁸ In October 1778 Loten mentioned him in his testament as "Captain of the cavalry in the service of the united provinces in Bois [le Duc]".

¹³⁹ The couple separated in 1781. HUA.NA U261a2 nr 52, notary A. Van Toll, Utrecht, 29 April 1781.

¹⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 20 September 1772. Loten referred to the eighteenth-century meaning of vulgarism: an expression of common, unlettered people; a vulgar or bad-mannered idea or expression..

¹⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1780.

¹⁴² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Spa 25 September 1772.

¹⁴³ HUA.NA inv.nr. U247a11, aktenr. 163, d.d. 29-10-1772.

¹⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1780.

¹⁴⁵ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Oeuvres complètes* volume 2, lettre 433, October 21, 1772 to her brother Ditie (Diederick Jacob Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken). Original in French.

¹⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 20 September 1772. Shortly after his marriage Van Wilmsdorff borrowed 3,000 guilders from the agents of Willem Sulyard Van Leefdaal, the father of his wife's companion Agatha Marguerite Anne Isabella Charlotte. HUA.NA U24712 nr 13, notary D.W. Van Vloten, 27 January 1773.

¹⁴⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

¹⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

¹⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

¹⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 10 March 1775. The French phrase reads in English: 'He will be called Jean. Gideon. Louis. Ernst. Lady-widow de W[ilmsdorff,] my mother, shall carry him to the baptismal font, accompanied by my brother-in-law &c.'

According to the genealogy of the Von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff family, Jean Gideon Louis Ernst ('Louis') von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (1775-1834) became a general in British service. However, no general of his name was identified. It seems unlikely that he received a distinguished commission in the British Army. Jean Gideon Louis Ernst von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff married Martha Richards (*d.* 1855) in 1802 and following the family folklore added the name of Richards of Rathaspick to his already colourful name. He lived in Ireland at Rathaspick. A debt of more than £ 10,000 in 1810 urged him to fly from Ireland to the Isle of Man.

See Bijdragen tot de genealogie van het geslacht von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff, *Maandblad van Genootschap De Nederlandse Leeuw* 43 (8), August 1925, pages 225-233; M. de Jong (1999). *The Diary of Elisabeth Richards (1798-1825): From the Wexford Rebellion to family Life in the Netherlands*. Verloren, Hilversum; 'Stirum and others vs Richards' in *Irish Jurist*, volume XIV, Ponsonby, Dublin, 1862, pages 69-71.

¹⁵¹ Regionaal Archief Tilburg, Bossche protocollen 1775 september 9 sH,R.1759,221v, and A. Van Oirschot & C. Vos [2007]. *Kasteel Nemerlaer 1303-2007*. Carole Vos & Stichting Kasteel Nemerlaer, especially page 25.

¹⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 10 March 1775. Loten referred to a letter of Arnout Loten dated 21 February 1775. He promised to destroy ["vulcaniseeren"] the letter immediately.

¹⁵³ This probably is a reference to Baron de Vatteville, during the reign of Charles II, Ambassador of Spain in England. De Vatteville is mainly known from the incident at the reception of the Swedish Ambassador with the French Ambassador Comte d'Estrades, Marshal of France, about precedence after the King's coaches. Each ambassador sent his coach well attended with an armed retinue. No sooner had the King's coach drawn up at the Stairs with the Swedish one next, than the Spaniards placed themselves immediately behind it. The French then tried to cut in, and were supported by 150 horses and foot soldiers, armed with muskets, carbines, and pistols, which they fired at the Spanish retinue. The Spaniards held the position and the French horse had to retreat. Besides those of them who were slain by bullets on the wharf and near the Bulwark, there was a valet de chambre of the Spanish Ambassador and six more, and among them a poor English plasterer. Forty were wounded.

¹⁵⁴ The reference to Tuyll is to lieutenant-general Hendrik Willem Jacob Tuyll Van Serooskerken (1713-1800), commander of the States-General Frisian Cavalry regiment Prince of Orange.

¹⁵⁵ HUA.GC 750 no 1404.

¹⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 25 August 1772.

¹⁵⁷ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774.

¹⁵⁸ De Bruin (1997), pages 157-161.

¹⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹⁶⁰ From February 12, 1773 until March 22, Banks made a tour to Holland. He was accompanied by Joan Albert Count Bentinck (1737-1775) and his son Willem Count Bentinck (1764-1813). The manuscript of the Journal that Banks kept during the tour is in the Dixon collection of the State Library of New South Wales in Canberra, Australia.

¹⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396.

¹⁶² Manuscript Joseph Banks Journal of a tour to Holland in the Dixon collection of the State Library of New South Wales. For the natural history collections of Juliaans and Boddaert see Engel (1939) and Smit, Sanders & Van Der Veer (1986).

¹⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

This referred to Charles Théveneau de Morande, *Le gazetier cuirassé: ou anectotes scandaleuses de la cour de France*. As pornographer, scandalmonger, extortionist, and spy De Morande (1741-1805) was one of the most notorious men of the eighteenth century. His writings helped to undermine the moral basis of the old regime in France. In 1769 or 1770 he fled to London, where in 1771 he published his most notorious work, *Le Gazetier cuirassé*. See Simon Burrows (1998), pages 76-94.

¹⁶⁴ Loten referred to the gunmakers Lewis Barbar (or Barber), from 1717-1741 Gentleman Armourer to George I and George II and his son James Barbar, Gentleman Armourer from 1741-1760 to George II. Loten evidently refers to a custom-made 'fowler' or 'gentleman's gun', that he ordered from the Barbar gunsmith's firm.

In April and May 1763 Loten was preparing his tour on the Continent. He entrusted his London agent Herman Berens with the care of his silverware and other precious possessions, like his shotgun made by Barbar and his natural history topographical and landscape drawings.

“9 May aan denzelven Heer toegezonden een kas waarin gesloten de door Barbar gemaakte fraaye snaphaan gemerkt I.G.L.♣
een platte kas waarin de koperen doos met de naar ‘t leeven getekende vogels, landschappen &c: mitsgaders verscheydenen aangelegene papieren
gemerkt I.G.L. 3.
nog een platte kas, waarin mede portefeuilles met fraaye tekeningen, prenten &c:
gemerkt IGL 6.”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1385.

¹⁶⁵ Loten’s laundry man in Utrecht.

¹⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹⁶⁷ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 776.

¹⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 September 1773.

¹⁶⁹ The Reverend Robert Brown (1728-1777), British agent in Utrecht and Minister of the English (Presbyterian) church there. See for more particulars about Brown in Utrecht F.A. Pottle (1952), *Boswell in Holland 1763-1764*.

¹⁷⁰ Everhart Van Wachendorf (1712-1775) was according to Loten a “skillfull and good natured genealogist”. He died Friday 17 March 1775 “after ... weeks lingering illness of an anthrax (or confluent boil) on which followed an apoplexy”. See HUA.GC 750 nr 151. Loten copied many parts from a manuscript that Wachendorf obtained from the Lord of Zuylen and Drakenborgh. Loten presumed it to be a copy of circa 1600 of annotations of the Utrecht burgomaster Cornelis Booth. See HUA GC 750 nr 96, page 63.

¹⁷¹ Adolph Henrik Count of Rechteren (*d.* 1794), Lord of Geerestein, he lived in Utrecht.

¹⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 October 1773. The manservant probably came from the town of Sellin in the County Regenwalden in East Pommern.

¹⁷³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 September 1773.

¹⁷⁴ In 1739 Lady Margaret Cadogan married Charles Bentinck, second son of Willem Bentinck, first Earl of Portland and Martha Temple. Lady Cadogan was the daughter of Lord William Cadogan and the Dutch Margaretha Cecilia Munter. Lord William Cadogan was the brother of Loten’s neighbour Lord Charles Cadogan (New Burlington Street no 3).

In his *Bell’s Common-place book* Loten made an annotation upon the decease of Charles Bentinck, 8 March 1779 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1393). Loten met Charles Bentinck ‘in 1775 or 1776’ at the watch-maker Dutton in London.

¹⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 October 1773.

¹⁷⁶ The identity of the Moose was a topic of great interest in the second part of the 18th century. The debate was whether the North American Moose was related with the fossil Irish ‘Elk’. The first living Moose reached England in the early 1770s. Gilbert White 1720-1793) wrote to Thomas Pennant from Selbourne, March 1770 (Letter XXVII).

“On Michaelmas-day 1768 I managed to get a sight of the female moose belonging to the Duke of Richmond, at Goodwood; but was greatly disappointed, when I arrived at the spot, to find that it died, after having appeared in a languishing way for some time, on the morning before. [...] The spring before it was only two years old, so that most probably it was not then come to its growth. What a vast tall beast must a full-grown stag be! I have been told some arrive at ten feet and an half! This poor creature had at first a female companion of the same species, which died the spring before. [...] In the house they showed me the horn of a male moose, which had no front-antlers, but only a broad palm with some snags on the edge. The noble owner of the dead moose proposed to make a skeleton of her bones.

Please to let me hear if my female moose corresponds with that you saw; and whether you think still that the American moose and European elk are the same creature.”

See Gilbert White (1788). *The Natural History of Selborne*. Thomas Pennant (1785). *Arctic Zoology*, volume 2 page 19.

¹⁷⁷ William Hunter (1718-1783) was interested in the differences between the North American Moose and the fossil Irish 'Elk', he wrote in a paper intended for the Royal Society. Sources: W.D.I. Rolfe (1983). A Stubbs Drawing Recognised. *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 125, No. 969 (Dec., 1983), pp. 738+740-741; W.D.I. Rolfe (1983). William Hunter (1718-1783) on Irish 'elk' and Stubbs's Moose'. *Archives of Natural History*, 11, pp. 263-290.

¹⁷⁸ George Augustus Eliott (1717-1790), British general. Appointed (1775) governor of Gibraltar, he was forced to defend it against a combined Spanish and French siege that lasted three and a half years (1779–83). For this memorable defense he was raised to the peerage in 1787. Eliott was educated at Leiden University and the French Military College of La Fere. Eliott and his wife Anne Pollexfen Drake (1726-1772), a distant relative of Sir Francis Drake, had spent time in Utrecht. In January 1767 Belle Van Zuylen stayed in London at the house of General Eliott. See Pottle (1952); Dubois & Dubois (1993), pages 234-245; Egerton Brydges (1812), *Collins's Peerage of England; Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical*, volume VIII, pages 119-127.

¹⁷⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 November 1773.

¹⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404:

19 October 1773 Dr J. F[oothergill]. for a fee 2.2.-.

28 October 1773 Dr J. F[oothergill]. ut supra 3.3.-

¹⁸¹ The peculiar powers of opium are attributed primarily to the morphine it contains. The percentage of morphine in good quality opium is 10-15 per cent. What the other components of opium do differs widely. All of them have some effect on the drug and together they influence the powers of the opium and morphine to one degree or another. One sixth of a grain of morphine is about equivalent in activity to one grain of average opium. I am grateful to my friend and pharmacist Matthieu Tjoeng (Amersfoort) for this information.

¹⁸² Johann David Hahn (1729-1784) studied medicine in Heidelberg. Hahn was Professor of philosophy, experimental physics, and astronomy (1753-75) and also Professor of botany and chemistry (1759-1775) at the Utrecht Academy. From 1775 until 1784 he was Professor of medicine at Leiden. He published extensively on chemistry and toxicology. His public lectures on experimental physics and astronomy with demonstrations were attended by James Boswell and Belle Van Zuylen and possibly also by Loten. Hahn also acted as a physician at Utrecht. See also: Smit, Sanders & Van Der Veer (1986), page 110.

Hahn is immortalised by his diagnosis of James Boswell's melancholy, "bad nerves, acrimonious juices, lax solids" and his analysis of Belle Van Zuylen's character, "would be always *une malheureuse demoiselle*, as she was governed by fancy". See Pottle (1952), *Boswell in Holland*, pages 251, 276 and 278, 25 May, 12 June and 14 June 1764.

¹⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 November 1773.

¹⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 November 1773.

Robert Whytt (1714-1766) studied in St Andrews, Edinburgh, Paris and Leiden and began to practice as a doctor in 1738. Loten referred to Whytt's *Observations on the Nature, Causes and Cure of Those Disorders Which Have Been Commonly Called Nervous, Hypochondriac or Hysterical*, (1765). Loten owned a copy of the 1765 edition (Auction catalogue page 19, number 170). See also Chapter 7, paragraph 'Books on Natural History, Travel and Medicine'.

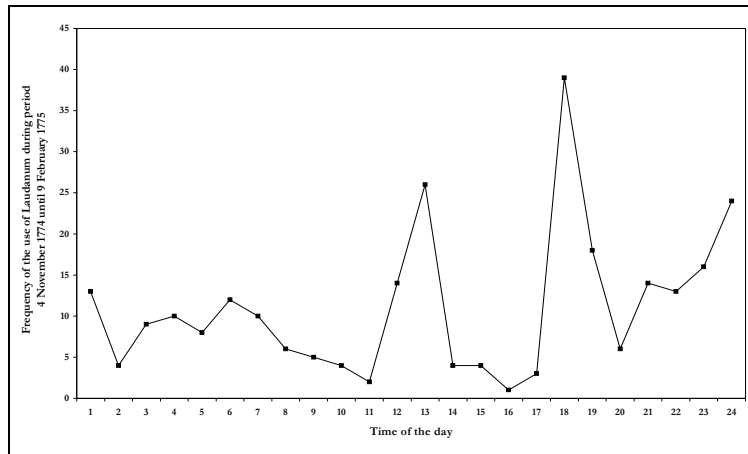
¹⁸⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 21 January 1772.

¹⁸⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 November 1773.

¹⁸⁷ Candaux, Courtney & (1979-1981). *Œuvres complètes*, volume 2 a Ditie 13 May 1771. Letter 397. Original in French.

¹⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nrs 26; 151; 1404; 1405.

¹⁸⁹ Frequency of use laudanum by Joan Gideon Loten 4 November 1774 until 9 February 1775.



¹⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404 and 1405.

¹⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Undated circa 1774.

¹⁹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 18 February 1774.

¹⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1774.

¹⁹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation not dated but probably between November 1773 and January 1774

¹⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Entry in cash-book January 1, 1774. Loten also bought the *Dictionaire de Bayle*, 4 volumes for £ 4.4.0.

¹⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1774.

¹⁹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 March 1774. Insensible perspiration is perspiration that evaporates before it is perceived as moisture on the skin.

Loten referred to the last publications of George Berkeley (1685-1753), since 1734 Bishop of Cloyne. He is known as an influential philosopher. Having received benefit from the use of tar-water, when ill of the colic, he published a work on the *Virtues of Tar-water* (1744). It is a work which begins with a discussion of the medicinal values of tar-water and goes on to expound on the metaphysical natures of the physical and spiritual universe as well as God. His last work, published but a few months before his death, was *Further Thoughts on Tar-water* (1752), in which he freely owned that he suspected that tar-water is a panacea.

¹⁹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 March 1774.

¹⁹⁹ The report appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* Volume 67 (1777): pages 608-613, *A Short Account of Dr. Maſy's Illness, and of the Appearances in the Dead Body, Which Was Examined on the 3d of July, 1776, the Day after His Decease*, by Dr. John Hunter and Mr. Henry Watson.

²⁰⁰ Mary Deverell [1774], *Sermons on the following subjects, viz: I. Friendship. ... VII. The unsearchableness of God's ways*. Bristol: printed and sold by S. Farley: also sold by T. Cadell, B. Becket; Frederick and Bally, Bath; J. Bence, Wotton-under-Edge; G. Harris, Gloucester; Carnan and Newbery, London, page 21.

²⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 13 May 1774.

²⁰² 'Barber monger', according to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English language*. "A word of reproach in Shakespeare, which seems to signify a fop; a man decked out by his barber". Reference to *King Lear* act II: "you whoreson cullionly barber-monger, draw".

'Cousin Ruysch' married senior merchant Jacobus or Jacques Bouman, the chief of the VOC settlement at Trincomalee at Ceylon. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1754). In July 1759 Arnout Loten wrote his brother that 'Cousin Boudaen', Jan Boudaen, Lord of Schellagh at Middelburg, who was also a cousin of cousin Ruysch, had asked him in confidence, whether he could promote Bouman's replacement from Trincomalee to improve his fortune. Loten probably wrote a recommendation to Batavia, but never received a

sign of gratitude from his cousin Ruysch. HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 15 July 1759.

²⁰³ HUA.GC 750 n 1404. Annotation circa 1774. Hompesch possibly refers to the husband of Albertine Louise Ernestine von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff, Vincent Count von Hompesch Ruerich, Lord of Genderen.

²⁰⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London, 13 May 1774.

²⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London 25 July 1774.

²⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 153.

²⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. The reference is to *The Continuation of Mr. Rapin de Thoyras's History of England, from the Revolution to the present times by N. Tindal*. London, Knapton, 1759, volume 9, page 437. The *Continuation* was an extension by Nicolas Tindal (1687-1774) of his translation of Rapin-Troyras's *Histoire d'Angleterre*. Loten referred to a note in the section dealing with the year 1751 that was added to the author's remark:

“The profligacy of the common people, still continued to a most amazing degree, and numbers were executed for the most shocking crimes”.

Loten did not mention the names of the “two fellows, Welsh and Jones”, and that “both of them were hanged, confessing the fact”.

In June 1774 Loten copied from the Public Advertiser of Wednesday, June 29, 1774,

“Monday morning died at Greenwich, aged 86, the Rev. Mr Tindall (Nicholas) the celebrated translator of Rapin's History of England”.

In the Catalogue of the auction of Loten's library a French edition of “Rapin Thoyras Histoire d'Angleterre à la Haye 1733 10 tom”, is mentioned on page 10, number 108.

²⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Concept-letter J.G. Loten to J. Kol. Utrecht 29 September 1776.

²⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780. George Beens died in poverty, but until his death he seemed to have had protectors. He was buried in Culemborg December 29, 1779.

²¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393.

²¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 July 1774.

²¹² Mrs Tryon the mother of the friends of Loten's wife Lettice Cotes.

²¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

“Measures of my little spaniel Juba
English inches

Some what more, tho' little, than 19 inch from the nob at the forehead till the beginning of the tail, where the white blasé ended or it's upper tip, between 4½ and 4 5/8 inch from that upper tip till the end of the nose.

From the beginning of the tail till it's end about 5 inch, where it seems to have been pinched or cut off when quite young puppy before he came to me, and with the tail I think white proff [?], and all full, or about 7 inch

Height from the back or (garot or schoft) about 13 inch

So much as I could observe when he layd stretched”.

²¹⁵ Apparently Loten was very much interested in dogs. In his *Bell's Common Place Book* there are two entries that further demonstrate his curiosity in the species. An annotation about “Mad dogs” that he wrote after “a very suffocating burst of convulsion” on 21 September 1779. In a three pages sentence Loten concluded that mad dogs were not reported from Asia and America. The second entry is about a “Sagacious Dog” after an extract from the *Craftsman* Saturday 24 August 1782. A man jumped in the water from Battersea bridge in a wager with his friends. A Newfoundland dog jumped after him in the water and brought him save to the river shore. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, pages 53-56.

²¹⁶ Dr Hallifax had one daughter, Martha Hannah (*b.* 2 September 1757), from his first marriage with Martha Louisa Cutler (*d.* 22 September 1757). From his second marriage with Frances Cotes he had one daughter, Rhoda Hallifax.

²¹⁷ Eliza Cotton Trefusis (*d.* 1799), wife of Sir Herbert Mackworth of Gnoll Castle (1737-1795), they lived in number 2 New Burlington Street.

²¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²¹⁹ The clock is now in the *Royal Collection, St. James's Palace*.

²²⁰ Apparently Hallifax was proud of his FSA, he was elected May 2nd 1771. In 1771 he published a *Sermon preached in the Parish-church of Christ-Church, London*. On the title page he is mentioned as "James Hallifax, D.D. Rector of Cheddington, in Bucks, Vicar of Ewell, in Surrey, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries".

²²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 December 1759. Loten doubtlessly referred to the Committee for cloathing the French prisoners that held its first meeting on 18 December 1759 in the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. Loten's physician Dr Fothergill and Thomas Hallifax Esq were chosen as members of the General Committee. The Committee collected £ 4,134. The *Proceedings* of the Committee, for which Samuel Johnson composed an introduction, were published in 1760. Hallifax probably participated as partner of the banking firm *Messr. Vere, Glyn and Hallifax* that received a part of the contributions collected by the Committee. See: *Proceedings of the Committee appointed to manage the contributions begun at London Dec. XVIII MDCCLVIII for cloathing French prisoners of war*.

²²⁴ "John Trot" an eighteenth-century expression for "an uncultured person, bumpkin" which is no longer current. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs gives as the earliest reference 1753, however Lord Chesterfield already used the expression in 1752

Source W. Mieder, 2000. "A man of fashion never has recourse to proverbs": Lord Chesterfield's tilting at proverbial windmills – critical essay. *Folklore* 111 (1) 23-42.

²²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. On the last page of this notebook there is an earlier note about this book, dated 13 December 1773 in which Loten specifies that "on top of one of the white leaves before the title of the book, if I remember well was in clean plainhand written Willem Jeronimus Van Doeijenborch 1702".

²²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Collard was born in Maastricht and returned to Valkenburg in 1778. See Schutte (1976) page 118.

²²⁸ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 1 October 1774.

²²⁹ Martha Hannah Hallifax married in 1779 John Bather (*d.* 1796), 22 years Vicar of Meole Brace. Rhoda Hallifax did not marry, she is mentioned in the last will of Lettice Cotes as "my niece Rhoda Hallifax spinster". See: Shropshire Archives: Deeds relating to the Bather family of Meole Brace, reference 4215/15, date: 21 May 1779; and *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1847 page 542-545, Orbital Ven. Archdeacon of Salop Edward Bather; Last will Lettice Cotes in The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1513.

²³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. The remark was blotted out.

²³¹ In 1784 Sir Thomas Hallifax (1721-1789) became member of Parliament for Aylesbury (1784-1789). In 1780 Thomas Hallifax and Thomas Rogers, another London banker, were candidates for the seats of Coventry in an exceptionally corrupt and violent election. Many ineligible freemen, known as 'mushroom voters' in allusion to their appearance overnight, were sworn in. However the return of Hallifax and Rogers in Parliament was called in question and a Commons committee of inquiry appointed. The 'mushrooms' were ordered to be removed and the counterparts of Hallifax and Rogers were declared elected. As a result of the abuses at this election, the Coventry Elections Act was passed in 1781.

See *A History of the County of Warwick*, Volume VIII, The City of Coventry and Borough of Warwick, edited by W.B. Stephens (1969), Boydell & Brewer Ltd, pp. 248-55. Walter Thornbury (1878). *Old and new London*, volume I chapter 34, pp 396-416.

²³² HUA.GC 750 nrs 1404. Annotation erased.

²³³ John Francis (1849). *Chronicles and characters of the stock exchange*. London, Willoughby and Co., chapter VII pages 105-122, especially page 112. Francis (1849) supplied an anecdote about Sir Thomas Hallifax:

“Sir Thomas Hallifax had not a high reputation for liberality. During a severe winter, when requested to join his neighbours in the subscription for the poor, and told that »He who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord;« he replied, »He did not lend on such slight security;« and it is curious that, when he afterwards applied to a rich neighbour for assistance, a similar reply, couched in similar language, was given to his application”.

The anecdote is also on page 113 in the *City Biography: Containing Anecdotes and Memoirs of the Rise, Progress, Situation & Character, of the Aldermen and Other Conspicuous Personages of the Corporation and City of London*. 2nd edition. London, J.W. Myers, 1800. According to this source the incident took place in 1789 in Enfield.

²³⁴ The shabby bankrupt shop-keeper was not identified.

²³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 153. Annotation erased, entered in notebook at Fulham 1778.

²³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Circa 1774.

²³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 14 October 1774.

²³⁸ See for Jan Commelin’s role as commentator of the *Hortus Malabaricus* Heniger (1986), pages 159-170.

²³⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 152. Entry in notebook about Hendrik Adriaan Van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691) and his *Hortus Malabaricus*. See J. Heniger (1986) for his biography and a detailed description of the *Hortus Malabaricus*.

The original Latin edition of the *Hortus Malabaricus* was published in Amsterdam in 1678-1693 in folio and consisted of twelve volumes. Loten referred to the two volumes of the Dutch edition of the *Hortus Malabaricus*, published in folio in 1689 in Amsterdam as *Malabaarse Kruidhof* in the translation of Abraham Van Poot. A title-page reissue of this work appeared in The Hague in 1720. The Dutch translation was never completed. Source Heniger (1986), pages 95-104

²⁴⁰ BL Add MS 5028 and BL Add MS 5029. See also Heniger (1986), pages 125-138.

²⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Circa 1774. Loten registered the books in his possession in London. According to this list he had the following books by Linnaeus: *Genera plantarum* (1753), *Species plantarum* (1753), *Amoenitatis academicae* (1745), *Systema naturae* (1766) and *Fauna Suecica*.

²⁴² William Curtis (1746–1799), botanist, Praefectus Horti and Demonstrator to the Society of Apothecaries at the Physic Garden in Chelsea. In 1772 he published his translation of Linnaeus’ *Fundamenta Entomologiae* and began work on his *Flora Londinensis, Or plates and Descriptions of Such Plants as Grow Wild in the Environs of London: With their Places of Growth, and Times of Flowering; Their Several Names according to Linnaeus and Other Authors*. Curtis’ *Flora* was issued from 1775 until 1798, each of the six fascicles including 72 coloured plates. Loten was mentioned as a subscriber of the *Flora Londinensis*, page 4 and 6: “John Gideon Loten in Insulis Zeylano et Celebe olim Gubernator” and “John Gideon Loten, Esq.”.

The engravings by Müller and Curtis are also mentioned in the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library (HUA.Library 6629, number 3766/823), page 15, number 43 and page 7, number 57 (“Linnaeus system of Botany by W. Curtis, Lond[on] 1777, avec fig[ures] an [sic] veau”). Loten also owned the *Fundamenta Entomologiae*, mentioned in the 1789 Auction catalogue on page 22, number 234.

²⁴³ According to Ray Desmond, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora* (Royal Botanical Gardens, Oxford Univ Press 1992), page 158, Curtis dedicated the book to Loten. In the copies of Curtis’ book in the Amsterdam Artis library and the Utrecht University Library the dedication was lacking.

William Curtis (1777), *Linnaeus’s system of botany: so far as relates to his classes and orders of plants; illustrated by figures entirely new, with copious explanatory descriptions*. Printed for and sold by the author and Benjamin White, 19 pages.

I am grateful to Mieke Beumer (Amsterdam) and Jan Hastrich (Utrecht) for information about the Curtis copies.

²⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

²⁴⁵ The reference is taken from J. Burman’s *Thesaurus zeylanicus* (1737), page 173. Loten further referred to volume 11 of the *Thesaurus Malabaricus* (1692) with a description of *Nymphaea Indica* on page 51 referring to plate 26. In Rumphius’ *Herbarium Amboinense*, volume 6 page 172 the species is described as *Nymphaea indica minor* I vulgaris. Linnaeus referred to the species in *Species plantarum* (1753) as *Nymphaea Lotus*.

November 6, 1774, Loten also wrote about the Lotus and Solander's observation to his brother Arnout. 22 February 1780, Loten again referred to Solander's remarks about the Lotus:

“ik ben zeer in twyffel of ons wapen wel Angelier Loten zijn; van Loon deriveerd het van Meli-Loten – in zyn penningen, waarom zouden het niet regt uit de zelve Loten kunnen zijn, die mij eens Dr. Solander heeft onderricht, dat verscheidenen Zweedse families die sederd de croisades in hunne wapens geplaatst hebben zo Uwgb. heeft Caroli Clusii Exoticae kan Uwgb. een nette afbeelding zien van de fraaye Zaadbol der Egypte. Lotus ik heb ze dikwyls geroosterd in Indiën geproefd en niet lang geleeden in 1777 bij Windsor in de herberg een fraaije kamer hebbende behangen met goede Chineese afbeeldingen van deeze allerfraayste waterplompen heb ik die (of de bladen, bloemen, en zaadbollen) nagekrabbeld en zal zo'k nog mogt continueeren wat te existeren, want leeven kan ik het sederd een dousain jaaren niet wel meer noemen, het Uwgb. zien toe te schikken “

In the margin of page 2 of this letter Loten made two sketches of the Lotus flower and the seed. The subscripts read:

“de bloem omtrent zo, doorgaans wit, maar blad der corolla met carmosyn gestipt.”

“de bol wel iets na die der papaver gelykende doch veel grooter en fraaijer men kan de zaadboontjes boven er los uit neemen”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1428.

²⁴⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 1 October 1774. Loten referred to watercolours NHM.LC 130, 131 and 132 representing the *Nymphaea stellata* Willd. Watercolour 130 is made by Pieter Cornelis de Bevere. Numbers 131 and 132 are copies. The original watercolour of NHM.LC 132 is not present in the Loten collection.

²⁴⁷ In her letter dated 5 March 1736 from Semarang Anna Henrietta wrote to Arnout Loten about her interest in gardening (HUA GC 750 nr 1422):

“Sus die zoude 't Utrecht zijnde een fiscalisatie in broers tuijn doen gelooff ik, want haar ed: is mede gepassioneerd liefhebber van tuijnieren en bloemen aan te queeken, van welke laatste egter weijnig fraaije soorten hier te lande gevonden werden, dog die bloemen bij Ued: genoemd zijn egter als aan de Caap zijnde bij Ued: Suster bekend.”

²⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. Sir Philip Noel Caron, Dutch Ambassador to the court from 1609-1624, close friend of King James I. Sir Noel Caron died at his South Lambeth house 1st December 1624. He was buried in St Mary's Lambeth with the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating.

²⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Also mentioned in his note-book HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Copy of Dr Dawson's letter in Loten's note-book. The letter from Langcliff Hall near Settle in Yorkshire is dated 12 July 1774. Lady's Smock or Cuckoo Flower, *Cardemine pratensis*.

²⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. On the 4th of August 1774 he made a detailed register of their contents. See Chapter 3, paragraph 'Loten's silver plate and silver instruments'.

²⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1392. Letter A. Dawson to J.G. Loten. 19 August 1774.

²⁵³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. In the same notebook Loten referred in an not dated annotation to Joseph Priestley, “NB NB The Experiments of Dr Priestley on fixed air &c &c: also on vegetables & animals in vol. LXII”. This was a reference to Priesley's *Observations on different Kinds of Air*, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, volume 62, pages 147-265.

²⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 September 1774.

²⁵⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 1 October 1774.

²⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. In June 1783 Loten spoke with his friend Van Hardenbroek about King George III and repeated his astonishment about the English hunting practises:

‘Even in his hunting practise childish circumstances take place, like catching the deer in the park, transporting them to the open field, and next going to hunt there. Because of this he is mocked by the nation, especially by the huntsmen’.

Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume IV, page 502, 7 June 1783.

²⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

²⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

²⁵⁹ The motto of his note-book. HUA.GC 750 nr 151.

²⁶⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 3 February 1775.

²⁶¹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1775.

²⁶² Loten referred to Lady Kilmorey, Anne Hurleston (circa 1708-1786) of Chester, wife of Robert Needham (1709-1791), tenth viscount of Kilmorey living Saville Row no 12 (1771-1787).

²⁶³ Possibly the reference to the Marquis des Caseaux is to Charles Marquis de Casaux (1727-1796). A rich French-born sugar cane planter at Grenada. After the English captured Grenada in 1759 he became a British citizen. In 1777 he came to England and published in 1779 an *Account of a new method of cultivating sugar cane*, about industrial sugar cane manufacture, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, volume 69, pages 207-279. He was elected FRS in 1780. He published several books on political economy. According to the *British Critic* (1832, Volume XII, page 26) Marquis de Caseaux was “a man whose brain seemed to be made of wool—a most tedious, mystical, and unintelligible personage—but, who contrived, nevertheless, to fascinate, and, what was worse, to indoctrinate Mirabeau”.

²⁶⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²⁶⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 10 March 1775.

²⁶⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 10 April 1775.

²⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 151, note circa April 1775.

The reference is to George Augustus Eliott (1717–1790) and his wife Anne Pollexfen Drake (1726-1772).

²⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 151, note circa April 1775. See also Chapter 7, paragraph ‘Dr Alexander Johnson’.

²⁶⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1775.

The reference is to Henrietta Jane Speed (1728-1783). It was rumoured that she and the English poet Thomas Gray (1716-1771) were going to make a match. In November 1761 however, she married Francesco Maria Guiseppe Guisino de Viry, Baron de la Perrière, afterwards Comte de Viry, son of the Sardinian Minister at the Court of St James. De la Perrière was the Sardinian Minister at The Hague (1764-1765), London (1765-1769), Spain (1769-1773) and Paris (1773-1777).

“My old friend Miss Speed has done what the world calls a very foolish thing; she has married the Baron de la Perrière, son to the Sardinian minister, the Count de Viry. He is about twenty-eight years old (ten years younger than herself), but looks nearer. This is not the effect of debauchery; for he is a very sober and good-natured man honest and no conjurer”.

See Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton, *Works* volume III page 263 and Schutte (1982), page 647.

²⁷⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1775.

Experto crede Roberto: Believe Roberto who has had experience in the matter. Proverb quoted by Robert Burton (1576-1640), or “Democritus Junior”, in the introduction of his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621):

“Concerning myself, I can peradventure affirm with Marius in Sallust, “that which others hear or read of, I felt and practised myself; they get their knowledge by books, I mine by melancholising”. *Experto crede Roberto*.”

²⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 April 1775.

²⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Entry April 1775.

Paul Hentzner, a German scholar who visited England, noted in *Travels in England* (1598) that the people in England ‘are more polite in eating than the French’, but confirmed that they ‘devour less bread, but more meat, which they roast to perfection’. The Dutch writer Emanuel Van Meteren made a similar observation in the *Nederlandsche Historie* (1575) that the English ‘feed well and delicately, and eat a great deal of meat; as Germans pass the bounds of sobriety in drinking, these do the same in eating’.

²⁷³ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. The entry is crossed out. The passengers in the coach shared a devotional interest. Like Loten and his wife, Mr James Gladdell, Esq. and Lord and Lady Orwell subscribed in 1774 and 1776 to the *Sermons*

on the following subjects, viz: I. Friendship. ... VII. The unsearchableness of God's ways, ... By Mary Deverell. Francis Vernon, Lord Orwell was a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, but also a member of the Corporation for well governing the Magdalen Hospital for the reception of penitent prostitutes. Philip Stanhope, fifth earl of Chesterfield (1755–1815) was felt to have acted harshly in 1777 when he refused to intervene to save his former tutor, William Dodd, the preacher of Magdalen's Hospital from the gallows for forging a draft on him for £4200.

See DNB and W. Dodd (1770). *An account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Magdalen Hospital, for the reception of penitent prostitutes. Together with Dr. Dodd's sermons, preached before the president, vice-presidents, governors, &c. Before his Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. and in the Magdalen Chapel*, London: printed by W. Faden, sold by J. Knox, H. Parker. and at the Magdalen-Hospital, pages 413 and 416. See also Chapter 3, paragraph 'Return to Utrecht 1762'.

²⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. May 8 and 9 1775 they were in Salthill. May 18 and 19 they were visited by Mr Cotes and Dr Hallifax and family. Sir Thomas Hallifax married Magaret Saville, daughter and heir of John Saville, Esq of Clay Hill, Middelsex. See Burke, B. (1862). *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain*, part 1, London, Harrison (fourth edition), page 628.

²⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 30 June 1775..

Martinus Houttuyn's magnum opus, the 37-volume *Natuurlyke Historie* [Natural History of animals, plants and minerals according to the System of Linnaeus]. According to his biographers Boeseman & De Ligny (2004):

“[I]t is far from unlikely that Martinus Houttuyn was in his time the author displaying the broadest and most complete knowledge of natural history, second only to Linnaeus in ingenuity but far less restricted, or to Buffon in brilliancy, but far more complete as is shown, e.g., by his 37 volume 'Natuurlijke Historie' (1761-1785), unfortunately written in Dutch.”

²⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 30 June 1775.

²⁷⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1775. The experiments were published in 1775 by Charles Blagden in the *Philosophical Transactions Royal Society* 75: 111-124 and 484-494: *Experiments and Observations in an heated Room.*, and *Further Experiments and Observations in an heated Room.*

²⁷⁹ Sir Charles Brian Blagden FRS (1748-1820), British physician, Secretary of the Royal Society (1784-1797).

Dr George Fordyce (1736-1802), Scottish physician, Fellow Royal Society (1776) and Fellow Royal College of Physicians (1787).

Constantine John Phipps, second baron Mulgrave (1744-1792), Captain Royal Navy, commanded a northeast arctic exploring expedition in 1773. Phipps was an intimate friend of Joseph Banks, in 1766 they went together to Newfoundland.

²⁸⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780.

²⁸¹ Duyker (1998), pages 268-272, suggested that the 1774 experiments with heat weakened Solander's brain vessel.

²⁸² Loten referred to 1672 when the Utrecht city council surrendered the city to the French army, that occupied the city until 1673. 'Beval's travels' not identified, but possibly Loten referred by hear-say to Blainville's *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Italy* (1743). However, in volume 1, page 47 Blainville only described the surrender of the little town Muyden.

²⁸³ John Campbell (1708-1775), *Lives of the Admirals, and other eminent British seamen. Containing their personal histories, and a detail of all their public services. Including a new and accurate naval history from the earliest account of time, etc.* Loten possessed the second edition published in four volumes in 1750. Loten probably referred to volume 2, page 301-302 about the peace negotiations in 1672.

²⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Dated 1774.

²⁸⁵ In a letter to Rijklof Michael Van Goens he even corrected him how he wanted to be addressed, 'I pray you to address me without the addition of the title Right honorable that was added to my [name] out of politeness'. Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 5 November 1778.

²⁸⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 19 May 1778.

²⁸⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775 and HUA.GC 750 nr 151: “22 April 1775. Mr Alex. Dalrymple set out for Porthmouth and the East Indies. The Greenville (Cap^t Abercromby) about half a month before I saw that Gentleman last I mean at my house in New burlington Str.”

In 1778 Alexander Dalrymple published the journal of his voyage in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society 78: pages 389-418.

²⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²⁸⁹ Sir David Dalrymple, 3rd Baronet Hailes (1726-1792). Lawyer, judge and historian. Born in Edinburgh into a family of lawyers and educated at Eton and Utrecht. Called to the Bar in 1748, he became a Judge of the Court of Session (1766). He wrote a two-volume *Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm Canmore to the Accession of the House of Stuart*. Dalrymple lived at Newhailes (East Lothian) and was largely responsible for the fine contents of its library, which drew praise from Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784). Dalrymple was a friend and correspondent of James Boswell (1740-1795). It was Dalrymple who advised the 14 years younger Boswell to study in Utrecht. Dalrymple was a model of behaviour for Boswell.

Sources: *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, G.B. Hill & L.F. Powell (1964); Pottle (1952).

²⁹⁰ This referred to Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. In the item about Pope Sixte IV Bayle refers to a strange custom of the House of Rovere in the Piemont, northern Italy:

“Un étrange privilege. C'étoit un droit sur le pucelage des filles que leurs vassaux épousaient. Un Cardinal de cette Maison jetta dans le feu la patente de ce privilege. *Cotal costume da pagani & da gentili, fu già in Piemonte, & il Cardinale illustrissimo Hieronimo della Rouere mi diceva baver egli stesso abbruciato il privilegio, che bavea di cio la sua Casa.* Ces paroles sont d'un Auteur qui vivoit au commencement du XVII siecle. Voiez la marge”

The last sentence is not in the item on Pope Sixte IV on page 1058 of the first edition (1697) of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, published by R. Leers in Rotterdam. It is to be found in the 1720 and 1740 editions. The note in the margin reads as follows:

“Monsr. Pars, *Ministre de Katwic*, raconte dans un *Ouvrage Flamand intitulé Katwykse Oudheden, c'est-à dire Antiquitez de Katwic, pag. 196, que certains Seigneurs de Hollande (il en nomme quelques-uns) ont en un semblable privilege, & que les Etats l'ont aboli en leur donnant quelque argent.*”

January 1 1774 Loten bought in London at Mess. Baker & Leigh “Dictionaire de Bayle 4 vol. (£4.4.0)”. In the same cash-book there is a specification: “Dictionaire de Bayle. 4. vol. 1720 by Bohm [crossed out: & Ch. Levrier] 3^{me} edition a Rotterdam”. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²⁹¹ Reverend Adrianus Pars (1641-1719) wrote a Latin chronicle about the history of Katwijk and its surroundings. Adrianus Pars. *Catti aborigines Batavorum*. First published in 1697 by Johannes de Vivie en Isaac Severius, Leiden, 1697. The second edition was edited by P. Van Der Schelling and published in 1745 by Johannes Arnoldus Langerak, Leiden en Gerrit de Groot, Amsterdam, 1745. The second edition has the subtitle: *dat is: de katten, de voorouders der Batavieren ofte de twee Katwijken aan see en aan den rijn met de huizen te Britten en Sand. met aant., nevens eene verzameling van Katwijksche, Rijnsburgsche en andere oudheden.*

²⁹² Alain Boureau demonstrated that the “droit de cuissage” is a myth. Under contextual examination, nearly all the supposed evidence for this custom melts away. Yet belief in it has survived for seven hundred years. Each era turned the mythical custom to its own ends. For instance, in the late Middle Ages, monarchists raised the specter of the “droit de cuissage” to rally public opinion against local lords, and partisans of the French Revolution pointed to it as proof of the corruption of the Ancien Régime.

See Alain Boureau (1998).

²⁹³ Possibly a reference to Sir James (or John) Dalrymple (1726-1810), Scottish judge. In 1773 Dr Johnson and James Boswell visited him at his house of Cranston, near Edinburgh. Sir John had boasted of killing a seven-year-old sheep especially for Johnson, but never did so, though he went so far as to offer him a choice of foreleg or hindleg. “Accordingly none appeared, for which some foolish excuse was made”.

See Reed & Pottle (1977).

²⁹⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. The Dutch entries in the quote are translated into English.

²⁹⁵ In 1748 Constantia Maria Smissaert (b. 1723) lived “Nieuwegragt, hoek Magdalenesteegh” with her mother, Sophia Alida Van Lugtenburg, widow of Major Hieronimus Smissaert (d. 1730) (HUA.NA U184a14 nr 391-1, d.d. 22-12-1748). Her cousin Jacoba Mathia Smissaert, daughter of the Major's brother Balthasar Smissaert, head-sheriff at Rhenen, who married Loten's cousin Lieutenant-colonel Johan Frederick Abbema (d. 1766). In 1749 Constantia

Maria Smissaert married Captain Gerrit Jan Sichterman (or Sigterman) (1725-1796), the son of Mr. Jan Albert Sichterman (1692-1764), former Director of the VOC in Bengal (1734-1744). See also letter C.A. Van Kinschot to J.G. Loten 3 January 1749 (Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 759).

According to James Boswell David Dalrymple had been enamoured of Constantia Maria Smissaert. Boswell wrote in his journal 8 March 1764:

“You drank tea with Madame Brown [wife of Reverend Robert Brown in Utrecht and close friend of Belle Van Zuylen], with Madame Sichterman, whom you found agreeable, and was pleased to see the lady to whom Sir David has poured forth his complaints. You mentioned him. But she waived the nice subject”.

In Boswell’s journal there is a letter written 11 April 1764 from Edinburgh by David Dalrymple to Boswell with a reference to Madame Sichterman:

“When you write to me about Utrecht, vous me faites rajeunir. I reflect with pleasure on the easy days which I passed there, and I am proud of being remembered by so many persons who honoured me with their friendship. Let me entreat you to make my best compliments to all my friends ... Madame Sichterman, my old friend – an expression more tender than polite – does she remember me?”

See Pottle (1952).

²⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 10 March 1775.

²⁹⁷ The house *Fresenburg*, presently Oudegracht 113, is the oldest house completely built with bricks in The Netherlands (before 1250).

²⁹⁸ HUA.NA inv.nr. U229a7, aktenr. 55, d.d. 19-06-1770. Biographical information about Margaretha Ruland and Jacob Pouchoud, a Huguenot whose father David Pouchoud (*d.* 1736) came to Utrecht circa 1698, in F.I. Kappers (2009) *De IJseren Hoet*. *SteenGoed* nr 48, april 2009, page 18.

²⁹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 26 April 1775.

Loten probably was interested in the house of Johannes Vos, former councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East Indies, who was to return to Batavia in 1775. The house was situated on the north side of the Heerenstraat, between the ramparts and the Jerusalem steeg. Johannes Vos transported the house to his sister, Johanna Wynanda Vos, widow of Jan Bouman Boddens (HUA.NA inv.nr. U230a12, aktenr. 102, d.d. 11-08-1774).

The house of Miss Van Dam was not identified.

³⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. The eight pages register of books is undated, but probably made in 1775 before Loten’s voyage to Utrecht. The register is discussed in the annex under ‘Loten’s library’.

³⁰¹ There were various editions of this compilation work of Johann Lukas Niecamp based on the publications in the *Hallesche Berichte* (1705-1736). Loten referred to an abridged edition in Latin: Niecamp, B.Jo.Luc., *Historia missionis evangelicae in India Orientali*. tr. J.H. Grischovius, Halae, 1747.

³⁰² Captain Francis Grose (1731-1791) was an eminent English antiquary who first began to publish his *Views* in numbers in 1773, and finished in 1776. The next year he added two more volumes to his English *Views*, in which he included the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, which were completed in 1787.

³⁰³ In 1738 Johann Nathanael Lieberkühn (1711-1756) invented a microscope to be used in illuminating opaque objects. It was based on the principle of the solar microscope (1736) of Gabriel Daniel Fahrenheit (1686-1736), consisting of a small, concave, highly polished silver speculum, that provided intense reflection of the sun’s rays directly upon the object. The noted English microscope maker John Cuff (*ca.* 1708-1772) later adapted Lieberkühn’s model by adding a mirror to it which provided better control by reflecting the sun’s rays to the speculum and then to the object.

The Metz family in Amsterdam produced several surveying instruments to the VOC in the 17th and 18th century. Dirk Metz (*ca.* 1674-after 1742) and his son Coenraad Fibius Metz (1703-*ca.* 1749) made copper and brass drawing instruments as rulers and compasses. (W.F.J. Mörser Bruyns, 2003. *Schip recht door zee*. Amsterdam, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Werken uitgegeven door de Commissie voor Zeegechiedenis).

³⁰⁴ Helmond Archief van Der Bruggen van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen a La Salle par Nisme et St Hipolite. Utrecht 7 September 1775.

³⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Lady de Casembroot is Eleonora Geertuyde de Casembroot (1716-1803). Mr Van Alphen father and son are the apothecary Gerardus Barnardus Van Alphen and one of his sons: Rogier Van Alphen, medical doctor in Utrecht or Coenraed Van Alphen, advocate at the Utrecht Provincial Court.

³⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1775.

³⁰⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1775.

³⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. In another notebook he wrote in the same period:

“Sentries at the Royal palace demand drinkgeld,
so the shewer of Westminster Abbey an extraord[i]n[ary] fee for attending a dried bit of Queen Catherine
Consort to K. Henry V”.

HUA.GC 750 nr 151.

³¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Original in French:

“Mr Man of War toujours habillé en chenille mais bien coiffé ne veut point accompagner M[ada]me a la
Comédie ou de retour”.

³¹² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Mr F.G. Meijer, Curator, Department of Old Netherlandish Paintings, Netherlands
Institute for Art History in The Hague informed me (10 September 2007) that in 1855 and 1856 two Van Lankeren
collections were auctioned, but they did not include paintings.

Loten visited the famous painting collection of P.J.A. (Petrus) Knyff (1713-1784), a wealthy canon of the Antwerp
Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Chapel, which included paintings by Rembrandt, David Teniers, Rubens, Van Dyck, Adriaan
Brouwer, Jordaens, Frans Snyders, Jacques Callot, Holbein, Jan Breughel I and II, Quentin Matsys, Cornelis Schut
and Maarten Van Heemskerck. On 18 July 1785 the collection of 524 paintings was sold in auction in Antwerp
(Antwerp Stadbibliotheek SBA H83895). Knyff's library was sold in auction on 20 June 1785. The Antwerp Knyff
family was indeed not descended from the Utrecht Knyff family. See Delsaerdt & Vanysacker (1998), pp 79-96.

An English gentleman, described a visit to the “Van Lancker” collection in 1785:

“[Y]ou see the famous picture of Rubens of our Saviour presenting the keys of Paradise to St. Peter - there are
many more by Vandyke, Jordaens, and other eminent masters”.

Remarkably Loten did not mention the Rubens, Van Dyk and Jordaens paintings.

See English gentleman (1787). *An hasty sketch of a tour through part of the Austrian Nethelands, and great prt of Holland, made
in the year 1785*. London, R. Faulder, J. Debrett, T. Sewell, J. Walker, T. & J. Egerton, 298 pages, page 92; English
gentleman (1791). *An entertaining tour, containing a variety of incidents and adventures, in a journey through part of Flanders,
Germany & Holland*. London H.D. Symmonds, 301 pages, page 92.

Sir James Edward Smith (1759-1828) visited the private collection of “Mr Van Lancker, in the Place de Mer” in
1786:

“I saw a most capital picture of an Army plundering a country, by Wouwermans, and a view near Scheveling by
the same hand; a fine landscape by Both; several pieces of Rubens and Rembrandt, &c”.

See James Edward Smith (1793). *A sketch of a tour on the continent, in the years 1786 and 1787*. London, printed for the
author sold by J. Davis & B. and J. White, 3 volumes, volume 1, page 55.

³¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. William Beckford (1760-1844) in his *Dreams, waking thoughts, and incidents; in a series of letters,
from various parts of Europe* (London: printed for J. Johnson; and P. Elmsly, 1783), described in an hilarious letter his
visit to the Van Lankeren and Canon Knijff collections in June 1780 (page 13-15):

“First, I went to Monsieur Van Lencren's, who possesses a suite of apartments, lined, from the base to the
cornice, with the rarest productions of the Flemish School. Heavens forbid I should enter into detail of their
niceties! I might as well count the dew-drops upon any of Van Huysen's flower-pieces, or the pimples on their
possessor's countenance; a very good sort of man, indeed; but, from whom I was not at all sorry to be
delivered. My joy was, however, of short duration, as a few minutes brought me into the court-yard of the
Chanoin Knyfe's habitation; a snug abode, well furnished with easy chairs and orthodox couches. After viewing
the rooms on the first floor, we mounted a gentle staircase, and entered an anti-chamber, which those who
delight in the imitations of art, rather than of nature; in the likeness of joint stools, and the portraits of tankards;
would esteem most capitally adorned: but, it must be confessed, that, amongst these uninteresting
performances, are dispersed a few striking Berghems, and agreeable Polemburgs. In the gallery adjoining, two
or three Rosa de Tivolis merit observation; and a large Teniers, representing a St. Anthony surrounded by a
malicious fry ofimps and leering devilleses, is well calculated to display the whimsical buffoonery of a Dutch
imagination. I was observing this strange medley, when the Canon made his appearance; and a most
prepossessing figure he has, according to Flemish ideas. In my humble opinion, his Reverence looked a little
muddled, or so; and to be sure the description I afterwards heard of his style of living, favours not a little my
surmises. This worthy dignitary, what with his private fortune, and the good things of the church, enjoys a

revenue of about five thousand pounds sterling, which he contrives to get rid of, in the joys of the table, and the encouragement of the pencil. His servants, perhaps assist not a little in the expenditure of so comfortable an income; the Canon being upon a very social footing with them all. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a select party attend him in his coach to an alehouse, about a league from the city; where a table, well spread with jugs of beer and handsome cheeses, waits their arrival. After enjoying this rural fare, the same equipage conducts them back again, by all accounts, much faster than they came; which may well be conceived, as the coachman is one of the brightest wits of the entertainment. My compliments, alas! were not much relished, you may suppose, by this jovial personage. I said a few favourable words of Polemburg, and offered up a small tribute of praise to the memory of Berghem; but, as I could not prevail upon Mynheer Knyfe to expand, I made one of my best bows, and left him to the enjoyment of his domestic felicity”.

The yearly income of canon Petrus Knyff from his clerical office was 3000 guilders. Source Delsaert & Vanysacker (1998), page 81-82.

³¹⁴ Sir Ralph Bigland (1712-84) supplied Loten with information on the family of his wife Lettice Cotes (HUA.GC 750 inv 130 and 131). Loten was in possession of Bigland's 1764 publication in quarto, *Observations on Marriages, Baptisms & Burials, as preserved in Parochial Registers, with sundry specimens of the entries of marriages, baptisms, &c. in foreign countries*, Printed by W Richardson [etc.] 1764, 96pp. (HUA Library 6629/3766/853, page 7 number 44). This wide-ranging work appeared over a decade before Bigland's appointment as Garter Principal King of Arms. The book treats the history of recording births, marriages, and deaths both in England and elsewhere, with many examples and proposed reforms.

³¹⁵ Thomas Pennant's *Tour on the Continent 1765*, page xxx.

³¹⁶ Manuscript Joseph Banks Journal of a tour to Holland in the Dixson collection of the State Library of New South Wales. Entries 20 and 22 February 1773.

³¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 153.

³¹⁸ Sources journey to Holland: HUA.GC 750 nr 1404 and 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Gorinchem 30 September 1775. Roelof van Der Mos: HUA.NA inv.nr. U227a8, aktenr. 182, d.d. 19-10-1773.

³¹⁹ In an annotation dated "Londoni 3 May 1778" in HUA.GC 750 nr 1396 (formerly 27) Loten wrote about his genealogical papers:

“in eene voorreede te introduceren het grootte gedeelte had by d'overkomste tusschen England en Holland in novbr 1775 schipbreuk geleden dus heb geen ordre gehouden naar die t meeste bedorven waren een maand in zeewater geweest, eerst gecopieerd en in 't net geschr. 't welk door een register zo hoope te verbeteren”.

³²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³²¹ Watercolour of a Robin, *Erithacus rubecula* (Linnaeus, 1758) and a Greenfinch, *Chloris chloris* (Linnaeus, 1758): NHM.LC 149 and NHM.LC 150.

Pieter Matthijsz. Withoos (1654-1693) a Dutch painter of birds, insects and flowers in watercolours on vellum. He was born in Amersfoort and second son of Matthias Withoos (1627-1703) who taught him. Pieter Withoos died in Amsterdam. According to Jackson (1999), page 496, “he seems to have been fond of native species”.

³²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1356.

³²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1359. Act of division, signed by J.G. Loten and A. Loten 26 February 1776.

³²⁷ After Arnout Loten's decease his daughter Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten, married with Johannes Van Doelen, inherited the Schadeshoeve. In 1823 after the death of Johanna Carolina Arnoudina the Schadeshoeve was inherited by two daughters of her niece Anna Henrietta Van Wilmsdorff, Wilhelmina Anna (1781-1829) and Gerharda Henrietta Wilhelmina Anna Van Wilmsdorff (1786-1859) (HUA.GC 750 nr 1258). In 1859 the farmstead was auctioned and bought by Johanna Carolina Arnoudina's grand-daughter Arnoudina Johanna Carolina Loten van Doelen (1817-1875), who married Mr Jacob Anne Grothe.

See Van den Brink (1994).

³²⁸ HUA.NA U 256c15 nr 20, C. de Wijs notary 31-01-1778. Loten sold 14 bonds invested in the Utrecht Province and 3 bonds invvested in the States-General. In the Utrecht notary archive there are also several acts of delivery of the bonds that were sold at the auction.

³²⁹ HUA.GC 750 nrs 1404; 1405; 151; 153.

³³⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

The new Coach, all paid, for memoranda only.			
for making of the coach, carring, the wheels and wood to the coachmaker	f 370	-	-
for the 4 large standing springs	f 60	-	-
for the 4 smaller springs along the shafts.*	f 16	-	-
for the crancks with chased gifs and ironing the coach and wheels	f 230	-	-
for the 4 copper or brass boxes in the wheels weighing 41 lb to y ^e brass founder *	f 41	-	-
for the drag chain & its apparatus	f 5	4	-
for the drag or checkpole &c	f 2	10	-
for 14 ells of cloth Dutch measure	f 89	5	-
for 4 glasses	f 42	-	-
for all the leather, covering the whole spring curtains, making &c.	f 318	16	8
for painting in ground colors	f 15	4	-
To several workmen	f 1 189	19	8
at once a fee of two guilders			
* f 41 + 16 extra but not necessary articles			

³³¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

Mr Banks's Travelling Coach (I believe at Hatcher's)			
for the Coach and Silver Cyphers	£ 105	-	-
for the conveniences for swords, canes &c	£ 10	-	-
for two platforms	£ 10	-	-
	£ 125		

³³² Reference to Michiel Gerard (Leiden 1575-Leiden 1649) who married Cornelia or Neelken Loten (Bruges 1572-Leiden 1635). Cornelia was a daughter of Loten's ancestor Dirk Loten (Honschoten 1545-Leiden 1623).

³³³ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1404. Loten used the word 'mangeritiq', an unknown word in Dutch, which was possibly based on the obsolete word 'mangretig', literally 'desirous of a man', but possibly used by Loten in the sense of 'gluttony'. The monumental house *Bisschopshoff* located at the present Dom place, opposite to Arnout Loten's house. The house was formerly inhabited by Johan Daniel baron d'Ablaing Giessenburg. On 17 October 1775 it was sold in a public auction to Lord Athlone. See *Utrechtsche Courant* 11 October 1775.

³³⁴ William Buchan (1729-1805) published the first edition of his *Domestic Medicine* in 1769. Until 1828 there were printed 22 editions. During Buchan's life 80,000 copies were sold. Loten owned the 1779 edition (HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/853: 1789 Auction catalogue Loten's library, page 23, number 253).

³³⁵ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1404.

"1776. 3 Aug: Mons. De H. de Loch.^t dined with us alone"

and

"R. pour faire du Persico. Otés les amandes du noyau de peches et d'abricos, de chacun la pesanteur d'une once coupés et tres petits morceaux, ajoutés y un demie quart de livre de sucre en pain: jettés c'est ensemble dans une bouteille de la meilleure eau de vie, laissés le tout tremper 2, 3, 4, et même six mois dans cette eau de vie, et vous aurés du persico qui sera fort bien.

25 aug. 1776 du Seign. D'H. de L.”

³³⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. Letter J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 19 May 1778. Loten referred to the house of Van Hardenbroek's cousin Lady Eleonora Geetryda de Casembroot (1716-1803). In 1778 she lived with her elder sister Charlotta Maria Barchman Wuijters (1707-1790) in the house. The house of Lady Eleonora Geetryda de Casembroot was situated, “OZ Nieuwe gracht tussen de Brigitte- en Schalkwijks bruggen, Belendingen: daarachter uitkomende op de Nieuwe Kamp. ZW Raadsheer [Nicolaas] Van Haaften. NW Erven Mevr. Zoesdijk”. She bought the house 1 February 1769 from the estate of Melchior ten Hove for 21 000 guilders. The house was situated opposite the Zuylenstraat. Source Het Utrechts Archief.

Charlotta Maria de Casembroot married in 1747 Jan Carel Barchman Wuytiers, Lord of Drakestein and Vuursche. He died in 1759. Charlotta's portrait in words was made by Belle Van Zuylen (HUA HC 643-1 nr 457-c-29 nr 26 'Portrait de Madame Barchman, née De Casembroot'.

³³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³³⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³³⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation written after the entry, “1776 25 April: grapes & straw berries on the breakfast”.

³⁴³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation written after the entry, “1776 25 April: grapes & straw berries on the breakfast”.

³⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 153. Loten visited the following Utrecht churches:

St John's church: May 10 and May 16, 1776

St Mary's church: May 25, 1776

Jacob's church: June 24; July 24; August 13, 1776

Geerte church: July 3, 1776

Wees church: July 20, 1776

Buurt church: July 8; September 24, 26, 29; October 4, 8, 1776.

September 5, 1776 he visited the church at Maarssen.

³⁴⁵ HUA.NA U194a7, aktenr. 63, d.d. 07-01-1754; U229a9, aktenr. 55, d.d. 20-07-1772; U229a9, aktenr. 152, d.d. 27-10-1773.

³⁴⁶ The history of the Job's Hospital and its collection of paintings was described by Marten Jan Bok (1984). Dr M.J. Bok (University Amsterdam) was so kind to inform me about the painting collection in the Job's Hospital (6 September 2007).

³⁴⁷ Johannes Moreelse (Utrecht, 1602-Utrecht 1634), son of Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638).

³⁴⁸ Bok (1984), pages 67-68. The present location of the painting is unknown. Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638), Utrecht portrait and genre painter.

³⁴⁹ A reference to the above described Hiob painting of Paulus Moreelse.

³⁵⁰ Roelant Savery (1576-1639), working since 1618 in Utrecht. Hans Savery (ca 1593-1654) his nephew was his assistant. Bok (1984), page 86-93. Roelant Saverij's 'Orpheus and the animals' (1628), bestowed to the Job Hospital in 1628, is at present in the collection of the Utrecht Centraal Museum inv.nr. 2309. The present whereabouts of the 'smaller painting with animals' that Hans Saverij bestowed to the Job Hospital in 1629 is unknown.

³⁵¹ Octaviano del Ponte (before 1564-1645). Bok (1984), page 82-83. In 1628 del Ponte bestowed a painting 'depicting dead birds' to the Job Hospital. The present whereabouts of the painting is unknown.

³⁵² In 1635 Joachim Van den Heuvel bestowed a painting of ‘a doctor, consulted by all kinds of poor patients’ to the St Job Hospital (Bok, 1984, page 56). The fish still life that Loten attributed to Van den Heuvel, very probably was a painting by Marcus Ormea (before 1578?-1636), ‘view from beach in sea, showing in front all kinds of sea- and river fish’, bestowed to the Hospital in 1628 (Bok, 1984, pages 74-77). Fred G. Meijer (2004), page 269, in the description of a painting from Bruges (Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn inv.nr. O.S. 116.1), attributed to Marcus Ormea, ‘fish on a beach, with miraculous draft of fishes’, rejected the painting as the missing work from St Job’s Hospital, because only sea fish were depicted. However, it is questionable whether the 18th century description by notary Hoevenaar of the fish on the painting (Bok, 1984, pages 114 and 116) was made by an expert ichthyologist.

The present whereabouts of the Van den Heuvel and Duck paintings is unknown.

Fred G. Meijer (2004) in: *Still lifes by Dutch and Flemish masters 1550-1700*, Liesbeth Helmus (editor). Centraal Museum Utrecht, 2004.

³⁵³ Jacob Duck (ca 1600-1667) however, bestowed in 1629 a painting with ‘a company of musicians’ to the Hospital (Bok, 1984, page 48-49).

³⁵⁴ Goswinus Opheijden, see Bok (1984), pages 73-74. In 1634 he bestowed the St Job Hospital a painting, ‘depicting the laboratory of a chemist, aside whom he placed a portrait of himself’. The present whereabouts of the painting is unknown.

³⁵⁵ Gijsbert de Hondecoeter (1604-1653) Utrecht landscape painter, father of Melchior de Hondecoeter. Because the painting was not described in the earlier descriptions De Bok (1984), pages 56-61, suggested two Hondecoeter paintings dated 1731, a landscape and ‘peacocks, ducks and other birds’. Based on Loten’s annotation the second painting, now in the Copenhagen Royal Museum of fine Arts (catalogue 1951, nr 317), possibly formerly was part of the Hospital’s collection.

³⁵⁶ Hendrik Bloemaart (circa 1601-1632) Utrecht painter, son of Abraham Bloemaart. Dr M.J. Bok suggested that the Hendrick Bloemaert painting is at present in the St. Waltrudis Church in Herentals (6 September 2007). See also M.G. Roethlisberger & M.J. Bok (1993). ‘Abraham Bloemaert and his Sons. Paintings and Prints’. *Aetas Aurea*, vol. 8, Doornspijk 1993, pp. 462-463, cat. nr. H44/H45.

³⁵⁷ This is a reference to the painting of the Town Hall Bridge by Adriaen Honich (ca 1644-1683) that was ordered by the city council in 1662-1663. At present the painting is in the Utrecht Centraal Museum collection inv.nr. 2493. Loten saw the picture in the “Geregt’s kamer”, initially it was in the Chamber of the City council. De Meyere (1988), pages 156-164.

³⁵⁸ The painting of the St. Salvator Church (Anonymus ca 1600) is at present in the Utrecht Centraal Museum inv.nr. 2468. De Meyere (1988), page 170-174.

³⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404, an inventory of several of his valuable goods in Utrecht and London.

³⁶⁰ Possibly instruments which Loten inherited from his frined former councillor extraordinary Dithard van Rheden.

³⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1377. In the leather bound manuscript there are several sheets which summarised Loten’s findings about the location of Macassar and in which he compared these with Governor Padbrugge (1637/38-1703)’s findings.

³⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1396 (formerly 26).

³⁶³ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1404: Copy letter J.G. Loten to J. Kol 29 september 1776. In 1748 Jan Kol (1726-1805) together with Everhart Vlaer founded the Utrecht “kassiershuis” (banking firm) “Vlaer and Kol.” Jan Kol married Anna Elisabeth Vlaer (1726-1778), the sister of his partner Everhart Vlaer. Kol also was notary in Utrecht and steward of the nobles of the Province of Utrecht.

³⁶⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 6 November 1774.

³⁶⁵ Possibly Jan Willem Barchman Wuytiers (1727-1791) who married in 1776 Antoinette Van Brienen 1727-1801). She was the widow of Loten’s friend Everhard Van Wachendorff (1712-1775).

³⁶⁶ Probably a reference to Frederik Christiaan Reinhart Van Reede, fifth Earl of Athlone (1743-1808) in 1747 he also succeeded to the title *fifth Baron of Aghrim*. “Aikie” is probably Loten’s phonetic version of “Aghrim”. See for his character De Bruin (2004).

³⁶⁷ Not identified. Loten used the Dutch word “sleepdeken”, an obsolete word for an older woman, or widow of low stature who is constantly flattering.

³⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Not all persons could be identified. Possibly Loten referred with ‘noble Frisians’ to the aristocratic officers in the Cavalry regiment Orange Friesland of the Dutch States-General.

³⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1396 (formerly 26).

The reference is to Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a Dutch jurist who laid the foundation for international law. His *Mare Liberum* (1609) formulated the still valid principle that the sea is international territory. In 1618 Grotius was arrested on the authority of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and sentenced to life imprisonment in the *Loevestein* Castle, near Gorinchem. At *Loevestein* he was imprisoned with the former Pensionary of Leiden Rombout Hogerbeets (1561-1625). In 1621 Grotius managed to escape the Castle in a book chest and fled to Paris.

Thomas Van Erpe [known as Erpenius] (1584-1624) was a Dutch orientalist, born at Gorinchem. Since 1613 he held the chair of Arabic and other Oriental languages at the Leiden University. Van Erpe regularly sent books to the imprisoned Grotius and Hoogerbeets at *Loevestein*. Erpenius’s sister had married Adriaan Daatselaar, who sent the books in a chest from his house at Gorinchem to the *Loevestein* Castle. It was to his house that the book chest with the famous jurist was returned, and from which he escaped disguised as a bricklayer.

The famous book chest is miraculously preserved in two fold in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam and the The Hague Mauritshuis.

³⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 153.

³⁷¹ Lieutenant-General Jean Louis de Casembroot (1709-1777), widower of Anna Constantia Margaretha Cau (1712-1769) and re-married in 1771 Louisa Cornelia Elisabeth Clunder (1754-1822).

³⁷² The paintings were sold in auction in Ghent in June 1779.

³⁷³ Treasury: Treasury Board Papers and In-Letters T 1/519-527, dated 1776 September 24.

³⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

³⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Concept letter J.G. Loten to J.v.R. in Utrecht. Fulham 16 December 1777.

³⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

³⁷⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁷⁸ In 1768 Loten copied from the *St James Chronicle* “Sat[urday] 9 July 1768” an account of the expenses of an English Gentleman and his family (HUA.GC 750 nr 1385). It possibly served a a reference for his own expenses. For the present the account serves at least as a framework of the expenses of an English Gentleman in the midst of the 18th century.

	£	Shilling	Pence
House rent & taxes	100	0	0
Wife’s pin-money	100	0	0
Her chair	50	0	0
Two daughters board, schooling clothes &c	160	0	0
Son’s dito, ditto, ditto	70	0	0
Man and Boy’s wages	22	0	0
Three maids ditto	28	0	0
Liveries &c, &c	20	0	0
Housekeeping, six guineas per week	327	12	0
Wine	25	0	0
Coals	25	0	0
Country Air for two months in summer for my wife and children	30	0	0
Apothecary &c	25	0	0

Contingencies for furniture, linnen, glass &c	17	0	0
Left for my own clothes and pocket money &c, &c	0	8	0
Total	£ 1000	0	0

“Whoever has a tolerable idea of what is stiled genteel life, will see that every expence is set as low as possible; and now I would ask, whether in any station of poverty, whether among the Poor Lords, the Poor broken Merchants, or the poorest Cottagers, any one can be found that has left out of his income for clothes and pocketmoney [more] than the sum of Eight Shillings? And I must ask too, if Provisions, and the ordinary necessary of Life remain as dear as they are at present, what must be the condition of this middle order of People, who have no Priviledge to plead, have no title to the Benefit of Bankruptcy, and no right to ask relief of the Parish?

I am, Sir, Yours &c
Medius fidius”.

³⁷⁹ This is not in agreement with the current estimates of the Retail Price (England) and the Consumer Price (Dutch Republic) in the 1770s, which suggest that the average daily costs of living in England were about 30% lower than in the Dutch Republic. See Introduction.

³⁸⁰ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774. The registers cover the following periods:

5 October 1772 until 3 January 1773;
25 February 1780 until 25 May 1781;
26 May 1781 until 4 June 1782;
8 June 1782 until 12 April 1783;
19 May 1784 until 3 January 1786.

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Summary of Loten's Expenditure and Income from accounts Jan Kol Utrecht 1780-1786				
Period	Total expenditure (cash money included) in Utrecht	Expenditure in cash money in Utrecht	Income from Holland	Income from England
Loten in London				
1 January 1780-17 October 1781	f 1,982	f 0	f 10,658	f 3,108
Loten in Utrecht				
17 October-31 December 1781	f 3,616	f 2,493	f 0	f 0
1 January -31 December 1782	f 17,658	f 14,035	f 13,372	f 0
1 January- 12 April 1783	f 6,404	f 5,075	f 0	f 0
19 May-31 December 1784	f 8,661	f 7,828	f 0	f 22,394
1 January-31 December 1785	f 16,863	f 13,255	f 17,668	f 0
Total over 36.5 months in Utrecht	f 53,202 = £4,788	f 42,686 = £4,322	f 53,434 = £4,809	
Average per month in Utrecht	f 1,458 = £131	f 1,169 = £105	f 1,464 = £132	

The above table does not contain any data for the period between 12 April 1783 to 19 May 1784 because no cash register specifying this is available in the Loten documents.

³⁸² Loten's East-Pommeranian manservant Ernst Gottlieb Sellin Van Regenwalden received 600 guilders in loan on December 4th 1784 and 400 guilders on 15 April 1785. 1 December 1785 and 3 January 1786 he paid f 50 to Loten as the terms of his loan of 600 guilders (Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774). In the codicil of 16 February 1788 to his testament Loten revoked the disposition of 2000 guilders to his manservant (codicil 9 October 1780). It is not evident why Loten revoked his disposition to Sellin Van Reegenwalden.

³⁸³ Reverend Johannes Jacobus Meyer, 'predikant' in Colombo.

In 1754 Loten's father, Joan Carel Loten, wrote in his notebook (HUA.GC 750 nr 1350):

“den 25 Nov^r [1754] is de Hr Proponent Jan Jacob Meijer met Juff^r Tetta Qualenbrink in de Catharina Kerk getrouwt.

Den 20 Decemb is de Hr Jan Jacob Meyer tot Doctor Theologia te Leiden gepromoveert.”

In a letter Utrecht dated 8 december 1754 from Utrecht Arnout Loten asked a favour for the Reverend Meyer (HUA.GC 750 nr 1426):

“Ook zijn wij van den Predikant Meijer, die met Juffr. Qualenbrink, zijnde een ongelukkig Utrechts-kind, en van irreprochabele conduites, getrouwt is, en dezen mede neemt, gesolliciteerd voor hem bij Uwgb. te willen interesseren, en in ’t bijzonder te verzoeken dat Uwgb. hem met het rectoraat van ’t Seminarium bij vacature van ’t zelve gelieft te benificeren; ik heb niets als goeds van hem vernomen; Uwgb: zult uit zijn bequaamheid kunnen oordelen, waar toe best behoord geemplijeerd te worden”.

His brother replied from Colombo in a letter dated 9 November 1755 (HUA GCnr 750 nr 1422):

“Wegens den S.S. Theol. Dr. Meyer cum ux. gelieve Uwgb. zich te gerusten dat alles favorabels zal worden aangewend, het welk met de redelykheid den myn waarlyk bepaald vermogen maar eenigermaaten kan over gebracht worden.”

In the postscriptum to this letter Loten again referred to Meyer:

“gelieft niet kwalyk te duyden ik my by provisie noch kortelyk uytte ’t my duydelyk genoeg voor te komen den Theol. Dr. Meyer niet misdeeld te weezen van een vry groote verbeelding zo omtrent zyn Doctorale waerdigheyd als huwelyk (hebbende hy van Tutucoryn aan zyn zwager de Vries schryvende zyn vrouwtje die my anders hupsch genoeg voorkomt Gemalin getituleerd) zo dat de laatstgen: al in beraad leyde of zy niet Mevrouw diende te worden genaamd dat men echter hoewel ’t haar toekwam zou nalaaten, uyt consideratie voor Mevrouw Vreeland, Loten, Domburg en daarby is Zyn Eerw. gansch niet gewillig tot prediken, dog dit voor eerst onder ons.”

The reply from Arnout is dated 24 December 1756:

“Wij hebben den Predikant Meijer mede niet vrij geschouwt van eene tamelik grote verbeelding van zig zelve, en twijffelen niet of de door zijne Gemalin te voeren titel van mevrouw of Juffrouw zal reeds lang gedecideerd zijn; hier te lande althans worden de predikantsvrouwen Juffrouw genoemd en krijgen de naam van mevrouw niet”.

According to an annotation in Loten’s *Bell’s Common place book* (HUA.GC 750 nr 1393) in September 1776, when Loten was in Utrecht, ‘Dr Theol: J.J. Meyer’ visited Loten together with the Leiden professor Johannes Jacobus Schultens:

“de ongeveinsde deugd dacht my deezen hoogEerwaardigen Heere d’oogen uit te blinken.”

In a letter from London, July 24, 1780 Loten asks his brother about Meijer:

“weet Uwgb wat er geworden is van den Heer Prediker J.J. Meyer?”

In HUA.NA U194a7 nr 132, d.d. 24-11-1754, the marriage conditions between Tetta Qualenbrink and Jan Jacob Meyer “predikant te Colombo”.

³⁸⁴ Sources: NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02 nrs 7052 and 7052 I.

³⁸⁵ The estimate is over 58 months, because the data over the period 12 April 1783 until 19 May 1784 were not available.

³⁸⁶ John Buckley lived at first in Brewer Street and later at James Street Golden Square, number 2.

The entries about the poor’s rate are in HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. 23 January 1775; 23 May 1775; 11 August 1775. HUA.GC 750 nr 1405. 14 Nov 1776; 28 January 1777; 26 March 1777; 24 April 1777; 11 October 1777; 24 February 1778; 8 May 1778; 23 January 1779; 19 April 1779.

³⁸⁷ John Brewer (1997), pages 201-325, discussed the role of British painters in eighteenth-century England.

³⁸⁸ In the following part of his annotation Loten referred to the exhibition of the Royal Academy (RA):

Stephen Elmer (circa 1714-1796), British painter of animals, birds, fish still lifes. Elmer contributed from 1772 until 1795 to the RA exhibitions. From 1783 until 1799 his work was exhibited in the RA exhibitions.

Philippe Jacques de Louthembourg (1740-1812), French born English painter, painted landscapes, sea storms, battles.

In 1771 he came to London and was employed by David Garrick to superintend scene-painting in the Drury Lane Theatre. From 1772 to 1812 his landscapes were exhibited in the RA exhibitions.

Paul Sandby (circa 1721-1798), English mapmaker turned landscape painter. Not mentioned in the catalogue.

George Tomkins (ca 1750-ca 1810). From 1769 to 1809 he contributed landscape paintings to the RA exhibitions.

Edward Penny (1714-1791), portrait and history painter. From 1769 to 1782 his landscapes were contributed to the RA exhibitions.

Dominic Serres (1719–93), French born painter of naval and marine scenes, settled in London around 1758. Loten had regularly contacts with this painter about navigation and ship building. From 1769 1793 he contributed landscape paintings to the RA exhibitions.

Jeremiah Meyer (1735-1789), Miniature painter to the King. From 1769 to 1783 his miniatures were exhibited in the RA exhibitions.

Samuel Cotes (1734-1818) younger brother of Francis Cotes (1726-1770), pastellist who turned to oil painting. In 1765 he became a director of the Society of Artists, with whom he had exhibited since 1760, and became an important figure in the London art world. He was instrumental in setting up the Royal Academy in 1768. His miniature paintings were from 1769 until 1789 in the RA exhibitions. The Cotes brothers were no family of Loten's wife Lettice Cotes.

Source A. Graves (1905), *The Royal Academy of Arts, a complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*. Henry Graves & Co; George Bell and sons, London. Eight volumes.

³⁸⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. The 1774 Society of Artists of Great Britain (SAGB) exhibition opened 25th of April. The 1772 SAGB exhibition was from 13 May until 20 June. Most of the painters also contributed to the Royal Academy of Arts (RA) exhibitions. The painters and the paintings mentioned by Loten can be identified with the catalogue of the 1774 exhibition:

Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797), English landscape and portrait painter. He married in 1773, and in the end of that year he visited Italy where he remained until 1775. His painting *The old man and death* was in the exhibition.

In 1772 he had five paintings in the exhibition: two *portraits* of officers, *a landscape*, *a blacksmith shop* and *an iron forge*. From 1778 until 1794 Wright also contributed to the RA exhibitions.

George Carter (1737-1794), was present with seven paintings among which *Two children begging* and *A nose-gay girl, three quarters*. From 1775 until 1784 Carter also contributed to the RA exhibitions.

Thomas Jones (1742-1803), Welsh landscape painter, represented with six paintings: five landscapes and *The Bard from Mr. Gray's Ode, "But oh! What glorious scenes, &c."*. From 1784 until 1798 his work, mainly Italian landscapes and city scenes, was also exhibited in the RA exhibitions.

John Hamilton Mortimer (1740-1779), history painter. He had fifteen paintings in the exhibition. Among the paintings exhibited was his *Caius Marius on the Ruins of Carthage*. The dialogue between Caius Marius and his servant in the catalogue of the exhibition (page 34). Mortimer contributed in 1778 and 1779 to the RA exhibition.

William Marlow, in 1774 Director SAGB, he had ten paintings in the exhibition, landscapes from England, France and Italy. From 1788 until 1807 his work was exhibited in the RA exhibitions.

Lady Littleton, was a honorary exhibitor, she had two *pictures in crayons* in the exhibition.

Jan Van Os (1744-1808), Dutch painter in The Hague (1773-1808) was represented with two paintings, *A piece of fruit* and *ditto flowers*. There are several Van Os paintings with fruit and flowers known from this period, but they cannot be identified with those exhibited at the 1774 SAGB exhibition.

See *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, models, designs in architecture, drawings, prints, &c.. exhibited by the Society of Artists of Great-Britain, at their new-room, near Exeter-Exchange, Strand*. 1774, London, Harriot Bunce, 34 pages; The 1772 SAGB catalogue has 30 pages; M. Hargraves (2006). *Candidates for fame: The Society of artists of Great Britain 1760-1791*. Yale University Press

³⁹⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775.

³⁹¹ In the Catalogue of the auction of Loten's library "[Sir Joseph] Ayloffé [Historical] description of [an] ancient picture in Windsor Castle [representing the interview between King Henry VIII. and the French King Francis I. between Guines and Ardres, in the year 1520], London 1773" is mentioned on page 6, number 38.

³⁹² In his *Bell's Common-place book* Loten made the following annotation under the heading "Prints Francois premier & Henry the eighth.":

"The Society of Antiquaries have had the honour of presenting to the King, their Patron, a most capital and magnificent Print, together with a tinted drawing from which it was engraved, being a representation of the memorable interview between King Henry VIII & Francis I in the Champ [scratched out: between] de Drap d'Or between Guisnes and Ardres in the Year 1520. The Drawing, which, as well as the Print, was executed at the expence, and under the inspection of the Society, was taken, by his Majesty's permission, from the original picture, which is preserved in the King's private apartments in Windsor Castle, and hath always been justly admired not only for the exactness and fidelity wherewith it exhibits the various scenes and occurrences during that remarkable interview, but also on the many Portraits which it contains, more particularly those of Henry the eighth, and the principal Nobility of his Court. The Society, in order to do justice to so curious a Piece, have caused it to be engraved on a single copper-plate, four feet and one inch by two feet three inches, (a size far longer than hath been at any time before attempted) and have likewise put them selves to a very considerable expence on account of the extraordinary dimensions of the paper necessary for rolling off he Print. The Drawing was the work of Mr. Edwards of Wardour-Street, Soho [painter Edward Edwards was commissioned in 1771 to make a reduced watercolour, which took him 160 days], the Plate was engraved by Mr. Whatman of Maidstone. From the Public Advertiser of Saturday February 18, 1775.

See HUA.GC. 750 nr 1393, pages 19 and 20.

³⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

³⁹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 1775. The prints in his study showed the envoys Barthold Van Ghent (*d.* 1650), Johan Van Matenesse (1596-1653) and Godard Adriaan Van Reede (1621-1691). The other prints showed Godard Adraan's son Godard Van Reede (1644-1703), who became the first Earl of Athlone. Van Reede had been commander of the English army in Ireland and commander of the Dutch army. Sir Ralph Bigland (1711-1784) was the Garter Principal King of Arms. Loten consulted Bigland regularly on genealogical questions.

³⁹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 4 September 1772.

“t is my lief dat Uwgb. de landschapjes wel geschilderd vind, eenige kenners, daaronder de weergalooze graveerder en tekenaar Bartolozzi hebben die wel equaal met d'orig^lc. geoordeeld, het paar is na Zachtleeven, t kleyne na fluweele Breugel. Myn goede kennis de H^r. Gale had een Zachtleven in 's Hage laten koopen dat aan Graaf Wassenaer had toebehoord en my dunkt niet fraaijer dan myne te zijn, welke gedaan zyn door eene Brown, uyt Noorwegen geboortig en te London geëtablisseed”.

Two landscapes after the Utrecht painters Herman Saftleven (1609-1685) and his brother Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681). One small painting after ‘velvet Breugel’, Jan Breugel the elder (1568-1625). It is not known whether the copies were made in watercolours or in oil.

³⁹⁶ The Aart Schouman watercolours could not be identified, with the exception of one watercolour of the Reed bunting, which is at present in the Teyler Museum Loten collection. Watercolour TS.LC 35 of Reed Bunting, *Emberiza schoeniclus*, with annotation:

“Caapsche Canari, en het zwarte suratsche mosje, leevensgroot geteekend door A. Schouman 1763.”

Schouman was a specialist in bird drawing. A catalogue of Schouman's watercolours of birds was published in connection with an exhibition in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris. [M.D. Haga] (1982). *Exposition La Volière imaginaire Aquarelles d'oiseaux par Aert Schouman (1710-1792)*.

³⁹⁷ Loten referred to an engraving after a painting of Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), *The Satyr and the Farmer's Family*. The reference to Golzius is to an engraving by Jan Saenredam (1565-1607) after Hendrick Golzius (1558-1617), *The four seasons, spring. Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings And Woodcuts Ca. 1450-1700*, volume XXIII (1980), Saenredam – R. Savery, nr. 89. Fred G. Meijer, Curator of the Department of Old Netherlandish Painting, Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague and his colleague Jan Kosten identified three prints in Loten's drawing room.

³⁹⁸ Loten referred to Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694-1752), who designed the cartoons for a series of 28 tapestries for the renowned tapestry maker Gobelins, illustrating Don Quixote. Louis Surugue (1686-1762) a draughtsman, etcher and engraver, published copper engravings of the Coypel cartoons. 14 July 1763 Loten viewed at Marly the tapestry with the representation of the “achievements of D. Quixotte, after paintings of Coypel, of which I my self have had very fine prints”. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1386).

³⁹⁹ The print is by Johannes Visscher (1633-*after* 1692), much copied in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings And Woodcuts Ca. 1450-1700*, volume XLI, J. Visscher-Van Voerst, nr. 148.

⁴⁰⁰ Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815), Italian artist, engraver, etcher, and painter. In the Florentine Academy he learnt to work in oil, chalks, and water colours. From 1745 until 1751 he studied with Wagner, the Venetian historical engraver. In 1764, Dalton, King George III's librarian, took him to England, where he was appointed Engraver to the King, and, four years later, Royal Academician. In London he engraved over two thousand plates, nearly all in the stipple or the “red-chalk style”, a method recently invented by the French, but brought into vogue and elevated into a distinct art by Bartolozzi. The stipple engravings used patterns of etched or engraved dots to create areas of tone and made colour reproduction easier. They became popular because they were softer in their effect than mezzotints or line engravings. In 1802 Bartolozzi went to Lisbon, where he was knighted, and where he worked and taught until his death. See Brewer (1997) pages 449-463

⁴⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

The identification of the prints to which Loten referred is hardly possible. There are countless variations on Bartolozzi's ‘child at play’, which was extremely popular (Boschloo, 1998, pages 126-145). The “print of All Soul's college Oxford”, which was evidently not available for Loten, is possibly Barolozzi's 1773 engraving, *Henricus VI Fundator, after John Keynes Shervin from an ancient window in All Souls College*. The “beautiful print of a gem belonging to the D[uke] of Malborough”, is one of Bartolozzi's engravings in the famous collection of engraved gems of George Spenser Marlborough (1739-1817). It was first published in 1780-1791 in an edition of some 100 copies. The text of this “sumptuous work” is by Jacob Bryant (1715-1804) with a French translation by Dr Paul Henry Maty.

⁴⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Loten's drawing is in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet: RP-T-00-3252.

In Het Utrechts Archief, Grothe collection (HUA.GC 750 nr 1412) there is a manuscript written by Loten in Celebes dealing with his journeys in Celebes. August 10th 1744, he gave a description of a staghunt:

“dewijl den Inlander op een plaats te landerwaard genaamd Epeka een hertenjagt had aangeregt, begaaven w'ons met den dag derwaards en kwamen na drie uren rijdens op die plaats, daar de herten in meenigte als in een zeer grote fuijk off schuttingen van bamboezen gemaakt reeds waren ingedreeven, nadat er een was geschoten reed den Inlander te peerd zittende alomme de herten na door groot geraas uijt het bosch wordende gedreeven en vongen omtrent 100 stuks, dezelve in een volle ren een strik, aan een lange bamboes waar mede zy de strik uijthielden geattacheerd, om den hals werpende en bragten die levendig bij ons, die daar op de keel wierden afgestoken”.

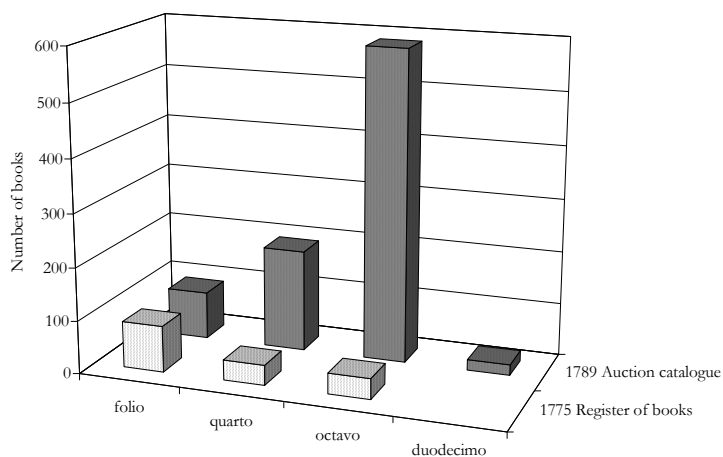
⁴⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

⁴⁰⁴ See Chapter 2, paragraph 'Books in the East Indies'.

⁴⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

⁴⁰⁶ Het Utrechts Archief. Library 6629 nr 3766/858.

⁴⁰⁷ Number and size of books in the 1775 Register of books and the 1789 Auction catalogue.



⁴⁰⁸ The division is sometimes arbitrarily, because often the books can be classified in more than one category.

Dictionaries: Dictionaries and encyclopedia,

Genealogy: Books about nobility, genealogy, heraldry, epitaphs, coins,

History: Historical studies about towns, countries, persons,

Natural History: Books about medicine, botany, gardening and zoology,

Sciences: Books about astronomy, physics, mathematics, scientific instruments,

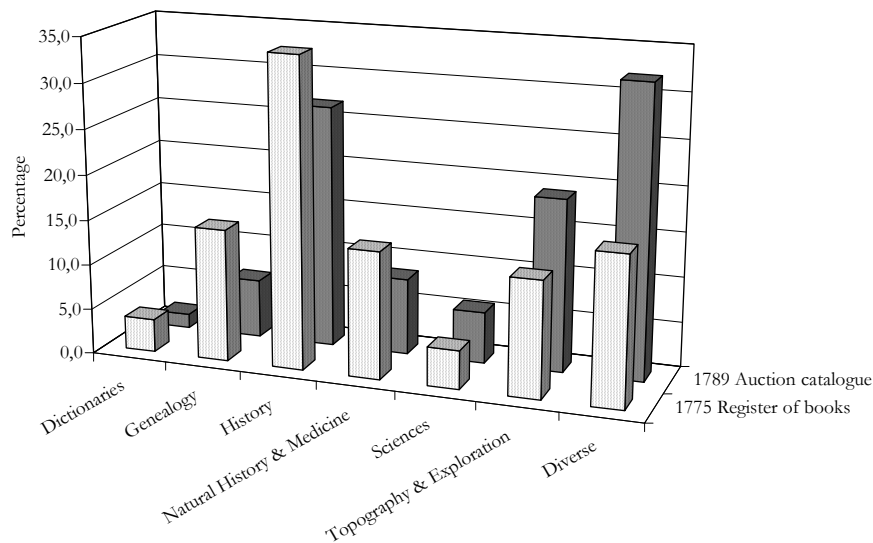
Topography: Books on exploration, travel guides, travel descriptions, descriptions of towns and buildings, maps.

Diverse: Books about art, theology, literature, journals.

⁴⁰⁹ Before his departure from Utrecht to London October 11th 1776, Loten sent 10 October 1776 a nailed up box with “Edward’s” to his brother Arnout (HUA.GC 750 nr 1396 formerly 26).

⁴¹⁰ Library Tilburg University TF-Hs catalogus 47 nrs 54-55. The manuscripts are bibliographically described in J. Van de Ven (1990).

⁴¹¹ Comparison of titles in 1775 Register and 1789 Auction catalogue.



⁴¹² P.J.P. Whitehead & M. Boeseman (1989). *A portrait of Dutch 17th century Brazil. Animals, plants and people by the artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau*. North-Holland Publishing Comp. Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, 359 p. Especially pages 27-31.

⁴¹³ Autobiography of James Ferguson, prefixed to his *Select Mechanical Exercises, with a Short Account of the Life of the Author, written by himself* (1773).

⁴¹⁴ In July 1759 in Tunbridge Wells Loten attended Ferguson's public lectures on experimental philosophy.

⁴¹⁵ Carolus Linnaeus (1756). *Amoenitates academica*, volume III, 'Incrementa Botanices', proposuit Jacobus Biuur, Upsala 11 Juni 1753, pages 377-393, especially pages 391-393. See also Florence F.J.M. Pieters (2007). 'Naturae Artis Magistra Linnaeus en Natuurhistorische prachtwerken'. In: *Aap, Vis Boek. Linnaeus in de Artis bibliotheek*, Waanders Uitgevers, pages 63-77.

⁴¹⁶ John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815). *The Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion, containing Instructions for Collecting & Preserving Objects of Natural History*. 2nd ed., London: E. & C. Dilly, 1774. In 1772, Lettsom, a British physician who had a private natural history museum and botanical garden, produced one of the earliest and most handsome manuals on collecting, preparing, transporting, and preserving scientific specimens. Loten owned three copies: Auction catalogue page 14, numbers 22 and 27, page 17 number 105.

⁴¹⁷ Auction catalogue Loten library (1789) page 4, number 78. It is not evident whether Loten owned a copy of the *Cruydt-Boeck* published on regular paper (1250 were issued) or on special paper (250 issued). *Cruydt-Boeck, Remberti Dodonaei, volgens sijne laetste verbeteringhe: Met Bijvoeghsels achter elck Capitel, nyt verscheyden Cruydt-beschrijvers: Item, in 't laetste een Beschrijvinghe vande Indiaensche ghewassen, meest ghetrocken nyt de schriften van Carols Chsivs. Nu wederom van nieums oversien ende verbeteret*. T'Antwerpen, In de Plantijnsche Druckerije van Balthasar Moretus. MDCXLIV.

⁴¹⁸ Auction catalogue Loten library (1789) page 15, number 43. The title description gives "1729" as date of the publication.

⁴¹⁹ HUA.GC 1404. Auction catalogue page 22, number 234. Loten is mentioned twice in the list of subscribers of the *Flora Londonensis*.

⁴²⁰ Auction catalogue Loten library page 2, number 24. Francis Barlow (1620-1704) was the first English artist to continue a well-established European tradition of animal painting. The Various Sets Of Birds And Beasts Drawn From The Life By Francis Barlow, were issued in various editions during the 18th century. The Auction catalogue does not specify the edition in Loten's possession.

⁴²¹ Auction catalogue Loten library page 4, number 70. John Jonston's (1603-1675), *Historiae Naturalis* appeared in instalments at Frankfurt between 1649-1662. It was reprinted in its entirety at Amsterdam in 1660: *Naekleurige beschryving van de Natuur der viervoetige dieren, vissen, en bloedeloze water-dieren, vogelen, kronkeldieren, slangen en Draken*. Amsterdam, J.J. Schipper, 1660.

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- ⁴²² Auction catalogue Loten library page 14, number 13.
- ⁴²³ Auction catalogue Loten library page 31, number 460.
- ⁴²⁴ Auction catalogue Loten library page 5, number 4. Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann (1743-1815). *Specimen Zoologiae Geographicae, Quadrupedum Domicilia et Migrationes Sistens*. 1777 Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Theororum Haak, et Socios.
- ⁴²⁵ Auction catalogue Loten library page 9, number 83. Emanuel Mendez da Costa (1717-1791), first Jewish member of the Royal Society of London, and became its librarian.
- ⁴²⁶ *Pharmacopoea Ultrajectina nova*. Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht), Apud Jac. à Poolsum, 1749. Loten owned two copies of the Utrecht *Pharmacopoea* (Auction catalogue Loten library page 13, number 1 and page 14 number 13).
- ⁴²⁷ Auction catalogue Loten library, page 23, number 253.
- ⁴²⁸ Auction catalogue Loten library page 17, number 95. Elliot, John. *The Medical Pocket-Book. Containing a Short but Plain Account of the Symptoms, Causes, and Methods of Cure, of the Diseases Incident to the Human Body. Including Such as Require Surgical Treatment: Together with the Virtues and Doses of Medicinal Compositions and Simples*.
- ⁴²⁹ Auction catalogue Loten library page 9, number 102. William Lewis (1708-81), a fellow of the Royal Society, an important figure in the history of English chemistry for his influence on the development of chemical technology. Lewis was awarded the Copley Medal of the Royal Society in 1754, for his already substantial contributions to pharmacy and materia medica. Loten owned the 1784 edition of the *Materia Medica: An experimental history of the materia medica ... The third edition, with numerous additions and corrections by John Aikin*. London: J. Johnson; R. Baldwin, 1784
- ⁴³⁰ Auction catalogue Loten library page 32, number 484, Lavater over Physiognomie/ Amsterdam 1780;; page 26, number 349, Handleiding tot de Physiognomie / 1780 2 deelen; page 28, number 392, Verhandeling over de Physiognomie of Gelaatkunde/ Amsterdam 1781. Loten also possessed theological works by Lavater: page 26, number 338, Lavater Geheim Dagboek/ Amsterdam 1780 [translation of Lavater's, *Gebeimes Tagebuch von einem Beobachter seiner selbst* 1771]; page 30, number 437, Lavater Broederlyke brieven/ s'Hage 1783.
- ⁴³¹ Auction catalogue Loten library page 19, number 159. See also Chapter 6, paragraph 'London 1770-1772'.
- ⁴³² Auction catalogue Loten library page 18, number 141. Thomas Berdmore (ca1740-1785). *A treatise on the disorders and deformities of the teeth and gums: explaining the most rational methods of treating their diseases: illustrated with cases and experiments / by Thomas Berdmore, member of the Surgeons Company, and dentist in ordinary to His Majesty. -- London: Printed for the author: Sold by Benjamin White ... James Dodsley ... and Becket and De Hondt ..., 1770.*
- ⁴³³ Auction catalogue Loten library page 20, number 195. George Young (1691-1757). *A Treatise On Opium, Founded Upon Practical Observations*. London: A. Millar, 1753.
- ⁴³⁴ Auction catalogue Loten library page 19, number 170. Robert Whytt (1714-1766), *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Those Disorders Which Have Been Commonly Called Nervous, Hypochondriac, or Hysteri*, Edinburgh, 1765.
- ⁴³⁵ Quoted from: S.L. Gilman, H. King, R. Porter, G. S. Rousseau & E. Showalter (1993), *Hysteria Beyond Freud*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 478. See page 166.
- ⁴³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 12 November 1773.
- ⁴³⁷ The following titles by Elisabeth Wolff–Bekker (1738-1804) and Agatha Deken (1741-1841) were mentioned in the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library:
- E. Wolff (1779), *Proeve over de opvoeding*; page 26, number 347, Wolff Proeve over de opvoeding, Amsterdam, 1780.
 - E. Wolff & A. Deken (1782), *Historie Sara Burgerhart*; page 28, number 387, Wolff Historie van Sara Burgerhart, 's Hage, 1782, 2 volumes.
 - E. Wolff & A. Deken (1779), *Nederlands verpligting tot het handbaaven der nuttige maatschappyyen en genootschappen in ons vaderland* page 29, number 409, Nederlands verpligting, Hoorn, 1729 [misprint for 1779].

- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1781), *Ondernyzend gesprek, over het geloof en de zedenleer der Christenen; ook geschikt naar de bevatting van den gemeenen man*; page 30, number 433, over het Geloof en de Zedenleer der Christenen, s'Hage, 1781.
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1781), *Economische liedjes*; page 30, number 434, Oeconomische liedje, s'Hage, 1781, 3 volumes
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1782), *Twaalf leerredenen en eenige gebeden, ten gebruike van den gemeenen man*; page 30, number 435, 12 Leerredenen voor de gemeene Man, s'Hage, 1782.
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1780-1781), *Brieven over verscheiden onderwerpen*; page 30, number 452, Wolff en Deken brieven, s'Hage, 1780, 3 volumes.
- E. Wolff (1785-1786), *Mengel-poëzy*; page 31, number 458, Mengelpoezy, Amsterdam 1785, 1st volume
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1784-1785), *Historie van den heer Willem Leevend*; page 31, number 459, Historie van Willem Levend, s'Hage, 1784, 2nd volume
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1782), *Historie Sara Burgerhart*; page 31, number 481, Historie van Sara Burgerhart, s'Hage 1784, 2 volumes.
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1784), *Fabelen*; page 32, number 502, Fabelen uitgegeven door Juffr. Wolff, 's Hage, 1784.
- E. Wolff (1778), *Beemster-winter-buitenleven*; page 34, number 549, Beemster Winterbuiten, Amsterdam, 1778.
- E. Wolff & A. Deken (1787-1789), *Brieven van Abraham Blankaart*; page 35, number 573, Brieven van A. Blankaart uitgegeven door Wolff, 'sHage, 1787, 2 volumes.

⁴³⁸ References to: George Farquhar, *The Beaux: Strategem* (1707); Suzanna Centlivre, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (1717); Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Provoked wife* (1697).

⁴³⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to cousin Kronenberg in Middelburg. Utrecht 14 November 1759. Anna Richardina Croonenberg had married Hubertus Swaanenberg, a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church. She was related to Arnout Loten's wife Lucretia Scheffer.

Arnout Loten referred to the Dutch edition of Abbé Jean-Antoine Nollet (1700-1770)'s Lessons in Experimental Physics, *Natuurkundige lessen, door proefneemingen bevestigd, tot opbeldering van allerley dagelyks voorkomende zaaken*. The Dutch edition was published 1759-1772 in seven volumes. The first two parts of volume I, mentioned by Arnout Loten, were published in 1759 in Amsterdam by K. Van Tongerlo.

⁴⁴⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letters A. Loten to J.G. Loten and HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Arnout referred to Christian Friedrich von Wolff (1679-1754), *Elementa matheseos universae*, appeared in five volumes in 1734-1741. Since 1750 it belonged to his brother's favourite books. Antoine Deparcieux (1703-1768) published in 1741 a *Treatise on Trigonometry and Gnomons* (1741). In 1742 a seven-figure table was published in London in quarto form by William Gardiner, which is celebrated on account of its accuracy and of the elegance of the printing: *Tables of Logarithms for all numbers from 1 to 102100 and for the sines and tangents to every ten seconds of each degree*.

⁴⁴¹ The Utrecht mathematician and lawyer Gerbrand Nicolaas Back (*d.* 1781). See Zuidervaart (1999), pages 156-157, 476.

⁴⁴² Benjamin Martin (1705-1782), English maker of optical scientific instruments. Martin was also known as an author of the Newtonian physics and astronomy. Loten possibly referred to *The description and use of both the globes, the armillary sphere and orrery: exemplified in a large and select variety of problems in astronomy, geography, dialling, navigation, spherical trigonometry, chronology etc. also a new construction of each globe, by an apparatus exhibiting the phaenomena of the earth and heavens exactly as they are, and adapting the same to every age of the world*, which was published in London in 1762. See also Zuidervaart (1999), page 447.

⁴⁴³ John Robertson FRS (1712-1776), secretary of the Royal Society. The reference is probably to *A treatise of such mathematical instruments as are usually put into a portable case: containing their various uses in arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, architecture, surveying, gunnery, etc.: with a short account of the authors who have treated on the proportional compasses and sector: to which is now added an appendix, containing the description and use of the gunners callipers*, which was published in several editions for T. Heath and J. Nourse in the Strand; J. Hodges on London-Bridge, and J. Fuller in Ave-mary-Lane. The title is taken from the second edition published in 1757.

⁴⁴⁴ Arnout Loten referred to Aimé Henry Paulian (1722-1802)'s, *Dictionnaire de physique, dédié à Monseigneur le duc de Berry*. Avignon, Chambeau, 1761, 3 vol. This Dictionnaire was a continuation of Paulian's *Dictionnaire portatif* published in 1758.

⁴⁴⁵ Joseph Jérôme Lefrançois de Lalande (1732-1807), French mathematician and astronomer. Lalande's *Astronomie* appeared in 1764 in two volumes, published by Desaint et Saillant in Paris. With his publications in connection with

the transit of Venus of 1769 he won great fame. Loten probably refers to *Astronomie de La Lande* in a French edition. The Dutch translation was published in 1773. As a lecturer and writer Joseph Jérôme Lefrançois de Lalande helped popularise astronomy. His planetary tables, into which he introduced corrections for mutual perturbations, were the best available up to the end of the 18th century.

⁴⁴⁶ Dr Huib Zuidervaat, Huygens Institute The Hague, drew my attention to Lalande's diary of his trip to England in 1763. Lalande visited Loten on Friday 22 April 1763. He was introduced by Loten's former travel companion Mr Jacob Levrier. Lalande noted that 'He will spend next winter on the islands of Hières'. In Lalande's list of addresses Loten is typified as 'member of the Royal Society. Formerly counsellor of the Indies and governor of the island of Ceylon. I have his address care of Be[a]rens bankers in the city; Bond Street, near Clifford Street'. See Watkins (2002), pages 23, 59, 90 and 143.

⁴⁴⁷ Dr Huib Zuidervaat, Huygens Institute The Hague, showed me Lalande's manuscript notes of his visit to Utrecht in 177 in which he referred to Arnout Loten as "Bourgemaistre Loten, astronome". Lalande entered in his notebook: "Le quart de cercle de Bird chez M. le bourgemaistre Lotten" and "J'ai sollicité à M. Lotten pour procurer à l'observat[oire] une lunette achromatique".

⁴⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 July 1774.

⁴⁴⁹ See Daumas (1972), page 238 and Raat (1979).

⁴⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 March 1772. The costs of the instrument must have been circa £ 1,000. See Daumas (1972), page 233. See also: C. D. Hellman (1932). John Bird (1709-1776) Mathematical Instrument-Maker in the Strand. *Isis*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 127-153.

⁴⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1385. Undated but before 1770.

⁴⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 July 1772.

⁴⁵³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 25 August 1772. Loten referred to John Bird (1768), *The method of constructing mural quadrants*. London, published by order of the Commissioners of Longitude, 27 pages. See Daumas (1972), page 104.

⁴⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. [Utrecht] 24 November 1772.

⁴⁵⁵ William Ludlam. *Directions for the use of Hadley's quadrant, with remarks on the construction of that instrument*. pp. ix. 137. London: printed by R. Hall. Sold by T. Cadell, 1771. Loten owned this book (1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library, page 22, number 233).

Hadley's quadrant or *octant* is a hand instrument used chiefly at sea to measure the altitude of the sun or other celestial body in ascertaining the vessel's position. It consists of a frame in the form of an octant having a graduated scale upon its arc, and an index arm, or alidade pivoted at its apex. Mirrors, called the index glass and the horizon glass, are fixed one upon the index arm and the other upon one side of the frame, respectively. When the instrument is held upright, the index arm may be swung so that the index glass will reflect an image of the sun upon the horizon glass, and when the reflected image of the sun coincides, to the observer's eye, with the horizon as seen directly through an opening at the side of the horizon glass, the index shows the sun's altitude upon the scale.

⁴⁵⁶ William Ludlam published his observations in 1775. *Astronomical Observations Made at Leicester. By the Reverend Mr. Ludlam, Vicar of Norton, Near Leicester. Communicated by the Astronomer Royal* were published in *Philosophical Transactions*, Volume 65, pp. 366-372.

⁴⁵⁷ Ramsden in this reference is Jesse Ramsden (1735-1800), a famous instrument maker in London. See Daumas (1972), pages 241-245.

⁴⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 September 1773.

⁴⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 8 October 1773.

⁴⁶⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 14 December 1773.

⁴⁶¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 11 March 1774.

⁴⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 September 1774.

⁴⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 14 October 1774.

An *equatorial* or *equatorial telescope* is an instrument consisting of a telescope so mounted as to have two axes of motion at right angles to each other, one of them parallel to the axis of the earth, and each carrying a graduated circle, the one for measuring declination, and the other right ascension, or the hour angle, so that the telescope may be directed, even in the daytime, to any star or other object whose right ascension and declination are known. The motion in right ascension is sometimes communicated by clockwork, so as to keep the object constantly in the field of the telescope.

Peter Dollond described the equatorial instrument in 1779: *An Account of an Apparatus Applied to the Equatorial Instrument for Correcting the Errors Arising from the Refraction in Altitude*. By Mr. Peter Dollond, Optician; Communicated by the Astronomer Royal. *Philosophical Transactions*, Volume 69, pp. 332-336.

⁴⁶⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 10 March 1775.

⁴⁶⁵ Arnout Loten was in contact with Johann Friedrich Hennert (1733-1813), who became professor of philosophy and astronomy at Utrecht University in 1764. In 1771 Hennert dedicated the first volume of his *Elementorum universae astronomiae* to Arnout Loten. See Zuidervaart (1999), pages 329-333. In the collection of the Royal Library in The Hague (KB Letters N333 H 121 E2) there is a undated letter by Arnout Loten to Hennert concerning calculations of Venus with to request to compare his calculations with those of Loten. In the letter there are references to the tables of Halley, De la Caille and Cassini.

Professor Hennert and Arnout Loten also agreed in their political philosophy, both were staunch supporters of the prince stadholder. In 1786 Hennert took his dismissal from the Utrecht Academy, because as an Orangist he was hindered to work (Van Hulzen 1966, page 85). After the restoration of the stadholder he returned in Utrecht.

⁴⁶⁶ Hennert (1778), *Dissertations physiques en mathematiques*, page 115. Original in French. The citation is taken from Zuidervaart (1999), pages 332-333.

⁴⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 151.

⁴⁶⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 30 June 1775.

⁴⁶⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. Concept-letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 27 October 1757; 31 October 1757; 24 December 1756. Zuidervaart (1999) doubted whether Mohr acquired an instrument that was meant for Loten.

It is remarkable that Loten estimated Reverend J.M. Mohr's observatory at a higher price than he had four years earlier, when he wrote to his brother to say that on the authority of Dr Solander it was 'valued at at least £ 20000 sterling'. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 18 July 1771.

⁴⁷⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

⁴⁷¹ HUA.HC inv 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 18 September 1780.

⁴⁷² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 february 1775. Original in Dutch.

⁴⁷³ Loten inserted the following remark:

'Mons^r. du Four bookseller at Maestricht said, hearing my complaints and that nevertheless I felt completely sound, que non obstant cela j'avois tres honetement ma part etc.'.

⁴⁷⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 September 1774.

Laurens Reael (1583-1637) from 1616-1619 Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. The reference to P Baldaeus is to *Beschrijving der Oost-Indische kusten Malabar en Coromandel, benevens het eiland Ceylon*, Amsterdam 1672.

⁴⁷⁵ Eleonora Geertuyde de Casembroot (1716-1803). She is the daughter of Leonard de Casembroot (1660-1719) and his third wife Hillegonde Geertruyde Van Bergen (1673-1756). Leonard de Casembroot's sister Adriana married Johan Adolph Van Renesse (1665-1759). A daughter from this marriage, Johanna Charlotte, was the mother of Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek. Van Hardenbroek in his *Gedenkschriften* refers to her as "Noor". In her letters to Van Hardenbroek she refers to herself as "Tante Nel" (HUA.HA. 643-1 nr 487).

⁴⁷⁶ The Reverend Robert Brown (1728-1777), British agent in Utrecht and Minister of the English (Presbyterian) church there. In one of his cash-books Loten wrote the following remark:

“rev.^d Dr. Robert Brown @ at Utrecht, on Monday 6. Jan. 1777. aged (according to the newspapers) 49 ys. the 15th I received this sorrow-full news.”

Samuel Johnson referred in February 1766 to the Reverend Robert Brown in a discussion about happiness:

“A peasant has not the capacity for having equal happiness with a philosopher, “I remember this very question very happily illustrated in opposition to Hume, by the Reverend Mr. Robert Brown, at Utrecht. “A small drinking-glass and a large one, (said he,) may be equally full; but the large one holds more than the small.”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1405; Pottle (1952); Hill & Powell (1964), volume II, page 9.

⁴⁷⁷ In the seventeenth and eighteenth century religious ‘Enthusiasts’ were radicals who had little patience with organised Christian religion. In Loten’s time in England conventional believers referred with the term to dissenters, Quakers and adherents of the brothers Wesley. According to David S. Lovejoy (1987), page 73:

“The word was used pejoratively - no one admitted to being one - for an enthusiast by definition in this early period was one who orthodox believers insisted was deceived into thinking that the Spirit dwelt in him, guiding his every step and thought through revelation. Conventional Christians, throwing up their hands at such presumption, believed that God had given over bestowing this kind of immanence once the Bible became available for guidance. God at one time may have dealt individually with his people, but direct inspiration was pretty much a thing of the past since his will had been fixed for all time in Holy Writ. Enthusiasts were extremists who were outside conventional religions; they bypassed the Bible, accustomed worship, and, of course, the clergy, and they paid the price set by the orthodox for their spiritual arrogance”.

See D.S. Lovejoy (1987). Shun Thy Father and All That: The Enthusiasts’ Threat to the Family. *The New England Quarterly* 60 (1) , pages 71-85.

⁴⁷⁸ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 1 October 1774.

⁴⁷⁹ See Pater (1979).

⁴⁸⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 4 April 1780.

⁴⁸¹ Martinet, J.F., 1777-1779. *Katechismus der Natuur*. In four volumes, Johannes Allart, Amsterdam. Martinet explained his position in the first volume (page 12).

Oliver Goldsmith’s (1728-1774) 8 volume ‘hack work’, *An History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* (1774, J. Nourse, London). Loten was in possession of this work. On July 26, 1774 he payed the bookseller J. Nourse £2.8.- for, “a set of Dr. Goldsmith’s natural history in boards” (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404).

In Goldsmith’s *Animated Nature* God is not the ever-present God of Scripture, but a being who has withdrawn from direct contact with his creatures.

“Modern philosophy has taught us to believe, that, when the great Author of nature began the work of creation, he chose to operate by second causes; and that, suspending the constant exertion of his power, he endured matter with a quality by which the universal economy of nature might be continued without immediate assistance”.

Instead of ruling the universe by his divine will, he has appointed attraction to be his regent, and in order to retain harmony has counteracted the first attraction:

“By another power of equal efficacy; namely, a progressive force which each planet received when it was impelled forward, by the divine Architect, upon its first formation”

The difficulty of this conception is that, by placing God at such distance, we are at loss when we speak of the more minute happenings of the natural world. The word ‘Nature’ supplies in this lack. The rapid growth of popularity of the word ‘Nature’ in the eighteenth century as rationalism gradually drove out the word ‘God’ except in very restricted sense.

See J.H. Pitman (1924); Paasman (1971); Jürgens (2004).

⁴⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 10 April 1775.

⁴⁸³ Thomas Morgan (1771). *An appeal to the common sense of plain and common Christians, in behalf of the old Christianity of the Gospel. Addressed to a protestant dissenting congregation..* Leeds, J. Bollinger, 24 pages.

⁴⁸⁴ Joseph Priestley (1770), *An Appeal to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity on the following subjects, viz 1. The Use of Reason in Matters of Religion. 2. The Power of Man to do the Will of God. 3. Original Sin. 4. Election and Reprobation. 5. The Divinity of Christ. And, 6. Atonement for Sin by the Death of Christ.* In 1771 Priestley wrote another pamphlet in answer to Thomas Morgan’s pamphlet: Joseph Priestley (1771), *Letters and Queries, addressed to the anonymous Answerer of an Appeal, to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity, to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Morgan, and to Mr. Cornelius Caley.*

⁴⁸⁵ Thomas Morgan (1772), *Letters to the Rev. Dr. Priestley, of Leeds, in defence of An appeal to the common sense of plain and common Christians, [...] To which is added, A letter to the Rev. W. Graham, M.A. containing remarks on his sermon ... Repentance the only condition of final acceptance.* Leeds : printed by G. Wright, 28 pages.

⁴⁸⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. Original text in Dutch. Dr J. Van Goor in a personal communication (28 April 2008) explained that with the exception of Reverend Petrus Sinjeu (*d.* 1726), the Rector of the Colombo Seminarium (1705-1722), who was an adept of Cartesianism, there is no information available about the inclination of the eighteenth-century clergymen at Colombo.

See also: Van Goor (1978), pages 62-70.

Reverend Sigisbertus Abrahams Van Bronsveld (1723-1769), born at Ceylon, educated at the Ceylon Seminary and afterwards Theology at the Leiden University (1744-1746) where his teacher was professor Albertus Schultens. Minister at Colombo 1748-1769, Rector of the Seminary since 1762. Since 1755 he held sermons in Portuguese. Troostenburg de Bruijn (1893), pages 58-59; Van Goor (1978), page 85.

Reverend Johan Joachim Fybrands or Fijbrands (1724-1801), 'mixties' educated at the Seminary of Colombo and afterwards Theology at the Leiden University (1744-1747), Minister at Colombo 1747-1774, he held services in Sinhalese and translated the St Luke gospel in Sinhalese (1771). See Troostenburg de Bruin (1893), pages 140-141; Van Goor (1978), page 102; *Journal Dutch Burger Union* (1918), volume 10 (4), page 127.

Reverend Gerardus Potken (1695-1762) from Oldenzaal from 1718 until 1738 clergyman at Colombo and Jaffanapatnam. He participated until 1753 in the Colombo consistory. See Troostenburg de Bruin (1893), pages 346-347.

Reverend Johannes Jacobus Meyer (1734-1806), 'Castizo' educated at the Seminary of Colombo and afterwards Theology at the Leiden University (1750-1754). He obtained a doctor's degree at Leiden University in 1754, Minister at Colombo 1755, Rector 1757-1762 of the Seminary, Minister at Batavia 1763-1775. He was suspended by the church council of Batavia in 1775, 'although perhaps only by inappropriate pleasantry and elaborate carelessness in words'. He returned to the Dutch Republic in 1776.

See Troostenburg de Bruijn (1893), pages 288-289; Van Goor (1978), page 82.

During Loten's residence the Colombo clergyman were besides Van Bronsveld, Fybrands and Meyer: Rev. Matthias Wermelskircher, the Rector of the Colombo Seminary; Bernardus Engelbert and Philipus Melho.

⁴⁸⁷ Published in 1761/1762 in the *Philosophical Transactions Royal Society* 52, page 629-635. Loten owned Benjamin Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, London 1769 (Catalogue Library Joan Gideon Loten, 1789, page 9 number 92).

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 7

PORTRAIT OF A LONELY MAN 1776-1781

1. LONDON AND FULHAM 1776-1779

It was another five years before the Lotens again travelled to Holland. The reasons Loten cited for the long absence from Patria were their poor health and fear of crossing the Channel. The sources however, also suggest that Lettice preferred to stay in London whereas her husband longed to return to Utrecht. Another impediment to returning to the Dutch Republic may have been Loten's irritability about his grandchildren, grumbling remarks in his notebook suggest that their aloof attitude kept him from a departure to Utrecht.

In October 1776, upon his return to London, Loten started a new notebook which gives an impression of his life in the period from 1777 until 1779.¹ Most of the biographical information for the period from 1776 until 1780 is based on this notebook and on his correspondence with Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek and Rijklof Michael Van Goens. These data contrast with the information on Loten's preceding period in London in the sense that the data about that period are based mainly on his letters to his brother Arnout. Information about his daily life is scarce, but it seems probable that although he suffered almost daily from his asthma, he will have visited London's bookshops. The sources suggest that Loten spent most of his time in his New Burlington Street study attic adding comments into his genealogical notebooks.² During the winters he lived in a rented house at Fulham. More than before he was concerned with small household incidents. His physical health became the restricting and ordering principle of his daily life. It amplified his need to be on his own, not troubled by unwanted intruders; it also strengthened the feeling he had that he was being used by others more cunning than himself. In February of 1778, Loten copied Cornwall's monologue on false honesty and bluntness from Shakespeare's *King Lear* into his *Bell's Common Place Book*, under the heading "Character of modern honesty". It is a bitter assessment of friendship, which evidently reflected his own sentiments. To this citation, he added his own comments:

"[M]y greatest misfortune hath always been to have several such Friends or rather Masters about me at Utrecht

In London

At Macassar

Who begins to advise, begins to despise".³

LONDON AND FULHAM

Loten suffered further health problems in the winter of 1776-1777. On 13 January 1777 he wrote that he had had a "friendly visit by Dr Fothergill" adding that the doctor later "advised me to take mustard seeds now and then". He went on to say that on "Tuesday 14 Jan[uary 1777] died John Lockwood, Esq. in Harleystreet, hath had the asthma many years, thought mustard-seed to him the best remedy, I guess his age to be ab[ou]t 41 y[ea]rs. Poor master James at Mr. Cadell's died also of the same disorder, but very likely caused by absess in his lungs, tho' to me it appeared only nervous, for he was well these past 2 summers that observed his illness, & with October begun to grow so bad".⁴ Several days later he sketched the following situation: "1777 Jan[uary] 17 on Friday, the Rev[erend] Mr. Hotham takes leave, going to Ireland, he was really affected by my situation about my disorder and living here against medication, & upon my expression that I lived here as if buried a live, not being able to trust myself in the streets &c my books & drawings &c. parted. He agreed in it, saying it was very true &c."⁵ Apparently Loten's ailment was causing him trouble, but also the notion that many of his books and drawings were left in Utrecht. The next day he wrote: "[January] 18th these two days breathing very troublesome even after taking sufficient quantity of opium, thick, stinking fogs almost impossible to draw thro' the lungs. I feel them (and smell) like a muddy liquor mixed up & thicken'd with a gross powder of seacoats, that must all be drawn in. This is not seemingly so, but in reality – therefore, if by any means possible, let us endeavour an intire removal to the continent".⁶

Several weeks later Loten seemed to feel better, but his improvement was only temporary.⁷ On January 30th 1777, Loten bought "Baumé's Elements de Pharmacie" from Peter Elmsley on the Strand, Southampton Street for "£-.6.-".⁸ He studied this treatise and had evidently discussed Baumé's process for making a liquid distillate from opium crystals with the amiable Dr Fothergill, because on 12 March 1777 he made a note of this saying: "[John] F[othergill] advised now and then to swallow mustard seeds & for the rest to trust to opii, in what form I best could take it, either Baumés &c. keeping the body open with now and then an aloë-pill. This seems a very worthy well meaning, truly pious, good Physician &

member of Society". Two weeks later, he wrote that he had paid Fothergill £ 2, 2s, "for the second time since our arrival tho' with great opposition accepted".

Early in June of 1777 Loten received a message telling him that his friend, city councillor of Amsterdam Isaak Sweers, had died. Loten was 'extremely affected, especially because I have neglected him, at least so it appears'.⁹ The last time he had seen his friend was in Amsterdam in 1766 when Loten "was ill and he paid me that philanthropical visit".¹⁰ In the 1750s, Sweers, the deputy first advocate of the Company, had played a role in Loten's career in the Indies and had contributed to his election as a councillor of the Indies. In a letter to Van Hardenbroek, Loten respectfully remembers his friend Isaak Sweers in the context of gloomy reflections about human nature: "[T]he late Monsieur Isaac Sweers I had wished a longer life and that I myself had been able to go & see Him much oftener. For I think we were acquainted and Friends since 1720 it was the best temper possible and endowed with great agreeable acquisitions of learning without the least ostentations. At least I found Him always so and acknowledge my great obligations I lay under Him for uncommon & very essential favours that, tho' never asked for when in India and even quite out of correspondence [=they did not exchange letters], he then, concealing Him self without claiming any merit, endeavour'd to bestow upon me – human nature is not so universally bad as some cynics define that, I have had many reasons besides these. Thank God to think that for one instance some might reckon partiality as I have had some more so very agreeable and soothing comfortable experiences – in so pleasing Ideas & remembrance, yet greatly mixed with grief of absence".¹¹ This epitaph in Anglo-Dutch English is a plea for genuine friendship, which Loten probably still found in Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, which is reflected in their correspondence. In the last five years that he lived in England, Loten's exchange of letters with his friend intensified not only in quantity, but also in candour.¹²

In July 1777 Loten and his wife paid a two-week visit to Salthill, where his wife's relatives lived. They also visited Windsor Castle's picture gallery where they admired the historical painting entitled *Meeting in the Field of the Cloth of Gold*. In March of 1775, Loten had purchased a large copper engraving of the picture.¹³ There they met Major William John Spearman Wasey with his wife and son: "It was the 19th [July 1777] when Mrs. Loten and my self met there with Major Wasey of the horse guards, his Lady, and son, who being now (in 1777 he was about, I guess, 18) had been some years at Warmond in Holland, at a school, or what in England they call Academy for education (and spoke well of that school)". Major Wasey was the son of a former President of the Royal College of Physicians, his wife Margareth Spearman a daughter of the Bishop of Durham.¹⁴

In 1777 Joan Carel Van Der Bruggen visited the Lotens in London. It was an encounter his grandfather did not enjoy.¹⁵ In 1781, Loten wrote his brother an indignant letter about it saying, 'the for me very maliciously chosen and very indiscreet visit by Charles Van Der Bruggen (although that miserly young whippersnapper confirmed that he did this pour l'amour de moi [love of me])'. One year earlier he had written about his grandson's visit in much the same tone of voice: 'The very foolishly timed, and consistently postponed visit by J.C. Van Der Bruggen, who bitterly shed tears because – in his own words – he was an unmarried man with just 400,000 in gold, seriously deteriorated my already weak health such that after his departure I was listless for a long time'.¹⁶ According to Loten, the unhappy visit was followed by 'many nauseous attacks and packing and again unpacking of the coach'. Consequently, he had been unable to return to Utrecht, although 'everything, nothing excepted, was prepared and packed, suitcases, coach, saddles &c &c., the silverware were removed from the house'.¹⁷ Joan Carel was evidently aware of the fact that his visit to London had been a nuisance to his grandfather. In April 1780, after his sister told him that the Lotens were preparing to come to Utrecht, he wrote to his grandfather: 'Your coming over is a great [relief] especially to me who, having had the honour of visiting you, was the cause of a delay in your voyage. I have much regretted that I did not know of this sooner, as I made the trip with the very best intentions'.¹⁸ These kind words did not soften his grandfather's heart however. In March 1781 Loten again expressed his annoyance about his grandson: 'Baron Charles showed several examples of miserliness which surpassed those of his father. I must confess that if I should have to see him or his brother-in-law [Van Wilmsdorff] often, or possibly always, I should prefer to travel from here to any other country'.¹⁹

In October 1777, Loten told his friend Van Hardenbroek that he was very weak; he complained that he was forced to write, "with half a lame hand and a thumb now & then out of joint". To find more rest than in their house in London, Loten and his wife withdrew to a cottage, which they rented from Mrs Martin for half a year at a rate of £ 31 10s 0d, in Fulham: "At last growing no better I took the beginning of this month a little house at Fulham, to which I can drive from New Burlington street within one hour's

time, that during the winter's fogs we may lay out of London. Last Thursday 16 Octob[er] I attended by Laetitia, fled out that overgrown Metropolis. But tho' the sky is clear enough here, & certainly wholesome, it is just the same thing. We both had rather preferred going to Utr[echt] but could hardly fore see how that could be done with tolerable prospect of safety in regard of the very precarious state of health in which we both found ourselves and still continue so".²⁰

At Fulham the 'cheerful' Mrs Elsmere regularly stayed with the Lotens. In 1781, Loten recalled that while at Fulham, they were also visited several times by Anne Whitwell, the wife of the Dutch envoy Jan Walraaf Van Welden. At that time Loten usually wore his nightcap and slippers, which indicates that he was suffering continuously from his asthmatic complaints. In May 1778 he wrote to Rijklof Michiel Van Goens, an acquaintance from Utrecht, about the winter in Fulham: "[A]bout the middle of Octob[er] I moved to Fulham taking with me some favorite books agreeable to my fancy, but they were not read. I had no spirits for riding any of my hobby horses, I do not believe the vicinity of a river like the Thames, which, there is not a pistol-shot distant from our house, every 24 hours rising & falling 12 or 13 feet and of course causing perhaps too continual a change in the atmosphere to [be] beneficial for those, that like me, have the nervous system much deranged. Else the spot is pleasant full of nightingales, as we find it now, and many sorts of melodious birds, which also make a part of my Marottes [=follies]. We hired this cottage about the Autumn of past year finding we could not repair conveniently to Utrecht. I felt my self spent and also on the account of Mrs Loten I durst not venture on the journey and, tho' so much used to sea, I bear the passage from Dover to Calais with much trouble and the just mentioned companion still worse. My hopes were that perhaps we might enjoy better health this year".²²

In January 1778, Loten still complained about his hand and thumb; the pain prevented him from answering his letters. It seems he had burned his hand when, wanting to stir the fire, he had grabbed a red-hot poker.²³ Nevertheless, this inconvenience did not prevent him from writing to his friend Van Hardenbroek about the death of his cousin and former hunting companion, Major Otto Martinus Severijn. Severijn had a natural daughter by his mistress Geertruy Maria Blankenberg. The child's name was Cornelia Otto Severijn. Severijn was a man of honour and thus married his mistress: 'Although my late cousin the Major, who I sincerely hope is in heaven, was already my loyal hunting companion before my departure to India, never told me, even not in confidence, any particulars about the circumstances of his life. Nevertheless, I had anticipated his marriage for 3 to 4 years. Rumour had it there was a daughter; I was told she was a cheerful girl, the fruit of the Blank Buttockian Cohabitation [a word-play on the name of the Major's mistress Blankenberg or 'Blank Mountain']. In confidence I shall not include more of that kind of joke, for to speak of them thus is not well-mannered. Nevertheless, in her own way, the distressed widow demonstrated by announcing this [the death of Severijn] her need to renew and continue these confidences'.²⁴ This is an example of the cheerful gossipy tone of Loten's correspondence with his friend Van Hardenbroek.

SIR ASHTON LEVER AND THE HONOURABLE DAINES BARRINGTON

Loten and his wife remained in London in the summer of 1777. They 'saw Mr Barrington, Banks, Solander and Lever now and then'.²⁵ Sir Ashton Lever was the "sole possessor of the first museum in the universe" at Leicester House in London until 1785.²⁶ This museum consisted of a large collection of stuffed exotic birds. Lever came from an old Lancashire family and was a great sportsman.²⁷ His natural history collection embodied the *virtuoso's* yearning for variety and show rather than system.²⁸ In 1777, Joseph Banks's close friend Charles Blagden commented that Lever wanted anything "that he happens not to have in his Museum, whether it tends to illustrate Science or not; on the contrary nothing can be an object to you but what will conduce to the improvement of natural History as a branch of Philosophy".²⁹ Loten however, probably appreciated the variety and beauty of the birds in the Lever collection.

Lever was an example of the ridiculed *virtuoso* type.³⁰ Like Samuel Johnson's Quisquilius, Lever acquired his collection by "an unextinguishable ardour of curiosity, and an unshaken perseverance in the acquisition of all the productions of art and nature".³¹ In the end, Sir Ashton also had to sell his collection as did Johnson's unfortunate *virtuoso* Quisquilius.³² Johnson's eighteenth-century Quisquilius and his hilarious seventeenth-century predecessor Sir Nicholas Gimcrack in Thomas Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (1676) do not remind us of Loten. He was not like Quisquilius "culpable for confining himself to business below his genius, [or losing] hours which he might have spent in nobler studies, and in which he might have given new light to the intellectual world".³³ Neither was he "a fool who is blinded to the

proper uses of reason, and who possesses a mind which is given over to the fruitless examination of irrelevant minutiae” as Shadwell’s Nicholas Grimcrack.³⁴ In London his position as an *amateur of sciences* was not ridiculed but rated with respect, because his knowledge and authority were not exclusively based on his natural history collection. He devoted much time as a man of wealth and leisure to the studies of mathematics, astronomy, natural history, antiquity, history, genealogy, heraldry and painting, becoming something of an authority for his contemporaries.

Loten and Lever must have been in touch with one another if only incidentally. In his copy of Latham’s *General synopsis of birds* (1783), Loten wrote in the margin of the description of the crested white peacock: “Sir Ashton Lever shewed me this bird himself”.³⁵ Loten also referred to a specimen of the Red-breasted Parakeet or Moustached parakeet which he had seen in Lever’s collection.³⁶ In the Loten collection of the Teyler Museum, a watercolour of a Rhinoceros hornbill can be found; it is based on a specimen from Sir Ashton Lever’s collection. On the watercolour is an annotation in Dutch by Loten: ‘Courtesy of Sir Ashton Lever. Drawn for me in 1780 by Peter Brown – currently (in 1785) his royal highness the Prince of Wales’ natural history painter – based on a well-stuffed and preserved bird found in his Honourable’s astonishing cabinet (or better Nature and Art Magazine). The living bird came from the Prince island south of Sunda Strait. I myself have seen a bird like this at Mr Assuers Zwaen’s (Lieutenant of the Infantry) residence in Samarang on Java’s east coast.³⁷ It was walking among his poultry &c in the year 1733. Now and again it produced a horrible cry much like that of a pig whose throat has been cut. Its size was that of a turkey cock’.³⁸

In the above citation ‘Barrington’ refers to the ornithologist Hon. Daines Barrington, vice-president of the Royal Society and the Antiquaries of London, and close friend of naturalist Thomas Pennant.³⁹ In 1780, Loten referred to him as “My friend the judge Mr Barrington”.⁴⁰ The polite judge’s extravagancy must have impressed Loten: ‘Recently this kind and learned Gentleman gave his sister-in-law a cage for her goldfinch; it was made like those belonging to the ancients and described by Statius in Sylvius. The Silver smith was so modest as to take 60 guineas for it’.⁴¹ This was followed by the quotation from Publius Papinius Statius’ verse ‘On the death of a favourite Parrot’:

‘At tibi quanta domus rutila testudine fulgens, conexusque ebori virgarum argenteus ordo.

[A cage bright with its (golden) dome and silver bars joined to ivory].

(elegantly written on the ivory)’.⁴²

Daines Barrington was a regular visitor of Loten’s London study attic. In May 1778, Loten cheerfully wrote to Van Hardenbroek about a call of the eminent vice-president of the Royal Society and the London Society of Antiquaries: “[I] wrote & drew a sketch of my own portraiture sitting in Dr Kelly’s fumigating bath,⁴³ much like the chairs where infants sit to play with their bells licking pickballs,⁴⁴ and do every thing in which I did then intend to ornament my epistle with. The room my Excellency, not without some grain of vanity was represented. I had not less ornamented with some maps, as one of Maccassar one of Ceylon, which I contemplated not without some ebullition of the pleasure, in stead of drooping, with a hanging down melancholy head in this machine of regeneration. In comes Mr. Barrington, whilst I covered part of my papers, and indicating a French book of Natural history, where he said I would find many portraits of old acquaintances, meaning birds, I begged to note the title down, which very likely not seeing the sketch, or not thinking it of so much importance, he presently complied with, and wrote it on the upper part of my fine drawing (destined for my humble letter’s ornament). The underpart being concealed for him and cover’d with a Sink-paper”.⁴⁵

In the same letter, he also mentions, “some very curious experiments with regard to the voice & times of birds, not long ago deliver’d to the R[oyal] Soc[iet]y] by the above learned Gentleman, who notwithstanding wrote several pieces of more important subjects”. Barrington made contributions to the Royal Society’s *Philosophical Transactions* in December 1772 and December 1773 about bird migration and bird song.⁴⁶ The 1772 essay on bird migration discussed the evidence found about swallow hibernation.⁴⁷ Barrington drew his conclusions only from the observations available to him and was critical about the speculations he found in older literature, including Linnaeus’ *Dissertations*. In his second essay, Barrington discussed several experiments done on birdsong learning and imprinting. He owned that “no very important advantages” could be derived from his own experiments, a statement Loten evidently agreed with. However, the essay is an example of an ingenious and enlightened eighteenth-century approach to experiment. After presenting definitions of the stages in birdsong learning, Barrington described several experiments with caged young male songbirds. Here he demonstrated that, “Notes in birds are no more innate, than language is in man, and depend entirely upon the master under which they are bred, as far as their organs will enable them to imitate the sounds which they have frequent opportunities of hearing”.⁴⁸

Barrington put forward that “there is no better method of investigating the human faculties, than by a comparison with those of animals”, an approach that was elaborated in the essay to illustrate the mechanism of birdsong learning and memory. Barrington also called attention to the fact that all singing birds are small. He believed that this was because larger birds would have difficulty hiding from their enemies if they called attention to themselves by making loud noises. He stated that he thought that hens did not sing for the same reason; this talent would be most dangerous during the incubation period. Barrington also suggested that the lack of plumage amongst female birds could have the same explanation.

Barrington’s comment that “considering the size of many singing birds, it is rather amazing at what a distance their notes may be heard”, must have encouraged Loten to write a remark in his notebook with the heading: ‘On occasion to the Hon: Daines Barrington’. The entry dealt with the nightingales at Utrecht: ‘Reading Your observations on nightingales & in particular about the distance that the sound of it’s song can be heard, it came [to my] mind that while I was in Utrecht in 1770 & 73, my brother Mr Arnout Loten told me that when he was on the second story of his house, situated but a few yards from the Cathedral Church, & in the middle of that City, he could very plainly distinguish the songs of these birds that were out of town about the Mall [= were outside the ramparts near the ‘Maliebaan’ or Mall], which as the bird flies I conclude to be not nearer than at least 200 Rhymland roedes from the house, the interval betwixt being filled with houses, trees, and the ramparts. A Rhymland roede is somewhat more than four yards’.⁴⁹ Like his friend Barrington, Loten was fond of the song of nightingales. The birds are regularly mentioned in his correspondence. In July 1779, after a description of “the unbearable spasms in the diaphragm”, Loten wrote the following from Fulham: “Thus to avoid suffocation I am then obliged to fly up & to sit up for the remainder of the night. My bedroom surrounded with trees made me enjoy, tho’ in that state, every night the song, or rather a wonderful plaintif tale of a nightingale, almost close to my windows. It begun about midnight and ceased near four, with two pauses or three of half an hour betwixt. This I never in my life had observed so near or so distinctly”.⁵⁰

DR ALEXANDER JOHNSON

Loten’s notebook gives several examples showing that he distrusted people increasingly. His entries are a dialogue with himself and seem to have served as a means of giving expression to his feelings. Loten’s grumbling about his acquaintance with the Scottish Medical Doctor Alexander Johnson (1716-1799) is a characteristic example. The case is not only of interest because it shows the special qualities of Loten’s character, but also because it introduces a remarkable addition to his London entourage. Loten was introduced to Alexander Johnson at Spa in 1769. Johnson seems to have been a socially conscious physician of moderate means; his activities show him to be an utilitarian. For some time he had lived in The Hague as a military agent, possibly as agent for military supplies and victuals to the Scots Brigade in the service of the Dutch States-General.⁵¹ After his stay in Holland, Alexander Johnson lived in London, where he became a pioneer and promoter of resuscitation.⁵² At that time he must have been a regular guest of the Lotens. Contacts with Alexander Johnson probably ended with Loten’s return to the Dutch Republic in 1781.⁵³

In 1773, Johnson summarised the design and methods of the *Amsterdam Society for the Recovery of Drowned Persons* and thus brought the plan for an English *Humane society* to Britain: “The author of this account flatters himself that the subject of it is worthy of attention, and shall think himself happy if his design of promoting an Institution in Great Britain, with some Improvement upon those adopted in the neighbouring nations, in order to which he had already taken some steps, shall meet with general countenance and approbation”.⁵⁴ As most doctors were not largely involved in such undignified activities as resuscitation, Johnson wanted knowledge of it to be absorbed at all levels of society, enabling “all classes” to intervene, not just doctors. However, Johnson’s attempt to form a *General Institution for the Relief of accidental death* failed.⁵⁵ Dr Alexander Johnson’s *Directions for an extension of the practice of recovering persons apparently dead* were nevertheless published in pamphlets in 1784 and 1785.⁵⁶ In 1789, a summary of the *Directions* was even published in verse, “to divulge and generally establish *successful Treatment* for recovering Persons, who meet with Accidents that produce suddenly an *Appearance of Death*; and to prevent them, or any others, from being *buried alive*”.⁵⁷

On December 14th 1776, Loten wrote about his humane and undervalued acquaintance, Johnson, in his notebook: “[T]o Dr Alex[ande]r Johnson, on his request, given a draught on Mess^{rs} Walpole, Clarke, Bourne, and Pott, for one hundred pounds, for which, in case payd”.⁵⁸ The entry was crossed out and the

remark, “these 100 £ are repayd 31 X^{br} 1777”, was added. However, prior to this payment, Loten clearly feared that Johnson would not repay him, because on March 8th 1777, he said:

“NB NB NB

Dr Alex. Johnson, never speaks more of paying the one hundred pounds he begged (about middle of decemb[er] last) to lend & which upon pretext of the most imminent distress and change of his character (NB) he obtained by draught on Mess^{rs} Walpole, Clarke & Co.

At Spaw I would make him (A.J) in 1769 once a pres[ent] (for I suspected always the man) of 6 guineas in a paper. He would not accept it; thanking & smilingly refusing. I did this by way of a Doctor’s fee (that he afterwards not might make his visits voluntary) to consultations. So when he desired subscribed to his plan for the recovery of drowned persons &c, I offered him five guineas. He made a bow of thanks, and returned presently two, saying it was sufficient, or in substance. Very likely (as this passed I think 1775) he was laying a scheme of greater cheat or imposition which plan he now executed in Decemb[er] 1776”.⁵⁹

This annotation was also scratched out and the following remark, “All repaid 31 X^{br} 1777”, was added. Apparently Loten discovered that his suspicions about Dr Johnson’s intentions were false. Loten’s notebook contains his candid confession admitting that he had erred. As on other occasions, Loten thus allows us to see the benignness of his personality: “I perceived afterwards, as I believe, that the man was really in great distress, and had no other than good intentions, as appeared by his draft here annex on Robert Boswell Esq^r, writer to the Signet”.⁶⁰

At the time, Johnson was working for the *Westminster General Dispensary* at no 33 Gerrard Street in London. This dispensary was founded in July of 1774 with the goal of providing “assistance to the Poor” of Westminster, St. Marylebone and the surrounding area, “at their own Habitations”.⁶¹ The founders declared that many people, who “from a decent pride are restrained from going into Hospitals, or whose little business would be totally overturned by leaving their habitations, may be made happy by this Institution. Several eminent and experienced physicians, among which Dr Alexander Johnson, were appointed to attend to patients at their own homes.⁶² In addition to his medical activities, in 1782, Alexander Johnson also edited the third volume of Robert Dossie’s *Memoirs of agriculture, and other oeconomical arts*, a publication by the *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*.⁶³ He did his editing work anonymously, but the *London Magazine* cited Johnson as its editor and as “a gentleman equally well known as a man of letters, and as an eminent physician”.⁶⁴

There is nothing in the Loten documents to indicate that Loten shared an interest in social and economic reform and usefulness with Johnson. Loten probably felt that his pursuits in natural philosophy were not of a practical nature. Moreover, the *London Society for the Encouragement of Arts* did not have the same social status as the *Royal Society* or the *London Antiquaries*, which also may have impeded Loten from becoming a member. The professionals that formed the *Society of Arts* operated in a culture that judged practical skill through a code of gentlemanly conduct and which rated the status of the disinterested philosopher superior to that of engineers, industrialists and craftsmen.⁶⁵ Evenso in the 1760s and early 1770s, many noblemen and gentlemen of property were prepared to mix with ‘the virtuoso tribe of Arts and Sciences’.⁶⁶

MICHIEL VAN MILLINGEN

Another incident arousing Loten’s suspicions about the reliability of his acquaintances concerned the Dutch adventurer Michiel Van Meijningen or Van Millingen (ca 1723-1806). In 1745, Van Millingen went to Dutch East Indies as a soldier aboard the ship *Voorzigtigheid* [‘Prudence’]. It was an unfortunate voyage, for 50 of the 105 soldiers died during the passage to the East.⁶⁷ In nine years of VOC-service Van Meijningen rose to the rank of sergeant.⁶⁸ On August 10th 1753, he became a free burgher in Batavia. He was active in private trading, exported tea and imported wine.⁶⁹ In June of 1757, Van Millingen was an ensign in the Batavia civil militia. He married Elisabeth Westplate Cool (b. 1740) in Batavia in 1758. She was a Lutheran and the daughter of merchant and captain of the civil militia Jacob Cool or Kool, a leading participant in the Batavia Opium Society, and Magdalena Westplate or Westplaat (ca.1714-1741).⁷⁰ Jacob Cool’s position in the Opium Society suggests that he was wealthy although this cannot be substantiated.⁷¹ After the death of her father, Elisabeth may have grown up at her grandmother Sara’s house. Sara was a ‘free Christian woman’ from Macassar and the widow of Adriaan Westplaat from Heinkenszand, a bookkeeper and ensign of the VOC.⁷² In November of 1760, Van Millingen and his wife adopted Michiel, the son of the free Macassar woman Alima who apparently died shortly after the

birth of her son.⁷³ The young Michiel, probably Van Millingen's own child by Alima, died in Batavia before 1763.

In November of 1763, Van Millingen and his wife returned to Patria aboard the ship *Oosthuysen*. They arrived at Hoorn on 11 May 1764. Soon after their return in the Dutch Republic, they went to England where Van Millingen's brother, London diamond merchant Samuel Van Millingen, lived.⁷⁴ A recollection (dated 1868) by Samuel Van Millingen's grandchild, Nathan Millingham, tells us that: "Michael was sent to India and became a great man there, - none of his family in England heard anything from him for 25 years - when grandfather received an order from (his brother in) East Indies telling him to call every 3 months at a certain banker and he would receive so much yearly. Michael came to England enormously rich with cash and jewels to above a half million sterling".⁷⁵ The statement about Van Millingen's financial position seems to have been exaggerated; it can, in any case, not be confirmed by information available to us from the VOC archives or other documents. The exaggeration also applies to the sketches of Michiel van Millingen in the *Recollections of Republican France* (1848) by Van Millingen's son John Gideon.⁷⁶ Apparently, John Gideon Millingen told his father's own version of his East Indian career. This version tells us that early in life, he went to Batavia as a clerk and that, as an officer of the VOC army, he distinguished himself during the Chinese revolt. There are no documents which confirm Van Millingen's valiant behaviour as an officer. Van Millingen's son also reported that his mother had an uncle who was supposed to have been a former Admiral in the Dutch service. The Admiral has not been identified and it is therefore disputable that he ever existed.⁷⁷

In London the Van Millingens set up house at 9 Queen Square. Van Millingen's son explained why his father did not choose the Dutch Republic: "[F]or although a Dutchman, he disliked his countrymen, and abhorred their tyrannical and arbitrary sway in their East India possessions". Several notarial documents from the Archive of Rotterdam confirm that Michiel Van Millingen was an enterprising merchant. From 1754 until the 1780's, he was involved in business with the VOC in Batavia.⁷⁸ Loten must have been acquainted with Van Millingen while in the Dutch East Indies. However, he first mentions Van Millingen in May of 1771 when he thanks his friend Van Hardenbroek for a letter of introduction for Van Millingen.⁷⁹

In 1772, Michael Van Millingen was listed as a member of the London *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*. As mentioned above, this was a dignity that he did not share with Loten.⁸⁰ Van Millingen's son also mentioned another trait not shared alike by Loten: "Unfortunately for his family, my worthy father was prone to follow two fearful pursuits - *speculation* and *travel*. He could never allow his purse or his person a moment's rest, or stagnation". Various disastrous transactions and investments in Italy, France and England are mentioned by John Gideon Millingen who also said that his father was well read in French literature and highly cultivated. It is clear from Loten's notebooks that he also knew of Van Millingen's 'pursuit of speculation' and of his interest in literature. Circa 1774, Van Millingen borrowed Loten's volumes of the popular Dutch historical series *Vaderlandsche Historie* by Jan Wagenaar.⁸¹ In 1775 before he travelled to Utrecht, Loten presented Van Millingen with his own eight-volume edition of Oliver Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, the one he had bought from John Nourse on the Strand in July of 1774. Van Millingen also received Loten's copies of the Dutch translations of the works by German physician and pioneer in nervous physiology, Johann August Unzer (1727-1799).⁸² Unzer, a professor working at Halle, expressed emotions in terms of variations in the tension of the nerves.⁸³ It is not clear just why Loten loaned these books to Van Millingen.

In April 1777, Loten wrote down intriguing complaints of his wife Lettice. The heavily struck out and scarcely legible item reads, "... my keeping low company as ex[am]p[e]l Millingen, my situation the way of life & as if had but 500 years, had expected buying larger house & also to have another in the country". Some time later, Loten added: 'Cursory matters which will soon blow over'. Evidently Lettice aspired a more fashionable way of life than her house-bound ailing husband. The former sergeant from Batavia, Van Millingen, who was probably also "conciuous that he was not a fit subject for a west-end drawing-room",⁸⁴ was considered to be 'low company' by her. This impression may have been confirmed at a dinner party in New Burlington Street a few days earlier: "Dr D.C. Sol[ander] & Millingen dined with us. The next day the 1st sent us a brace of Lagopi or Ptmigans from Norway [=kind of grouse], the weight was 42 ounce they tasted still very sweet & fresh, to inquire, from what port they were sent?".⁸⁵ Eight months after the dinner party, the following remarks were entered in Loten's notebook, afterwards crossed out and therefore only legible with the greatest difficulty:

"Thursday Nov[embe]r 27, 1777.

Driving in company with Mrs Loten from Fulham to town, I met with Mr Michiel Van Millingen. After having called to my coachman bidding him to stop, alighted from out the stagecoach, entered in together. We drove thus to our house in New Burlington-street (after Mrs. Loten was let down in Picadilly before a street where her friend Miss ..[?] dwels). Being entered in my study, Mr Millingen complained he was drove to the utmost distress more as that he ever had been, in the most affected manner. I had just in my pocket, being myself at a loss for courante, two hundred and ninety six (296) ducats, which I offered Him, who presently accepted these and pressed all into his pocket, saying it would help him out till March, when he was to have his remittances out of India, and that he would give me a bond or promissory note. He went with me to the Hon. Mr. Walpole, Clarke and Co in Lombard street, where he went in the room before me and spoke to Mr. Walpole in such a way as if he wanted me to think he was much acquainted with him, [inserted: that Gentⁿ] & how much he was obliged to his brother Mr. Robert W[alpole] the Envoy in Portugal &c:⁸⁶ On this he took leave and went away immediately. Mr. Rich[ard] Walpole asked me then if I knew Mr Millingen and by which means he lived &c all in a way that proved he was at the utmost but very little acquainted with him. It is now the 29th Saturday & the day finished without Mr. Van Millingen, who declared his distress with tears in his eijes, tho' without giving me any bond or promissory note of these 296 ducats or one hundred and forty pounds sterlings, by which loan I have greatly distressed myself and very imprudently by my (for myself unlucky) missionary temper, thus this Mr. Michiel Millingen owes me one hundred and forty pounds sterling.

If I recollect well, he could not once ordently pay his fare and freight in the stagecoach, which my servant did, who this Saturday evening asked me who should repay him, I answered that I should.

Mr. Millingen also hath borrowed of the 5 or 6 volumes of the English philosophical transactions.⁸⁷

I ought to have rememb[ere]d that once having had all the volumes of Valentyn at his house he kept them more than a year, till I asked for 'm, he answered, he would else have forgot to restore them, notwithstanding they were on a table in the middle of a room where were then no other books.⁸⁸ As also that once he told me to have had a very long conference at Brussels with Prince Charles [of Lorraine] which sometime he entirely denied, then opposed &c.

I ought to have remembered this, but it is my great misfortune to be so often taken in by this sort of people".⁸⁹

The affair with Van Millingen must have been resolved, because Loten crossed out all of his critical remarks about the man. In September of 1782, Loten even became the godfather of Van Millingen's son and his namesake John Gideon.⁹⁰ This may be viewed as proof that they had reconciled; it can also be seen as a means by which Van Millingen wished to secure protection for his youngest son. In his *Recollections*, John Gideon Millingen mentions that he possessed an engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815), a Madonna and child "dated 1755", bearing a dedication by Bartolozzi to Joan Gideon Loten.⁹¹

Michiel Van Millingen died at the Rue de Cloitre Notre Dame no 11 in Paris on July 27th 1806 at the age of 82. He was a widower characterised as a man of independent means. According to the unsubstantiated family folklore, he was buried in one of Paris's Jewish cemeteries.⁹²

LOTEN'S ACTIVITIES IN LONDON

In the latter part of the 1770s, Loten exchanged several letters with Utrecht city councillor Rijklof Michael Van Goens (1748-1810).⁹³ The five letters give an insight into Loten's interests and activities. Young Van Goens was a controversial person, known for his strong support of Stadholder prerogative. From 1766 to 1776, Van Goens had been an extraordinary professor in History, Eloquence, Antiquity and Greek language at the university of Utrecht. Two years before he was appointed to the professorship, the 16-year-old student Van Goens was mentioned by James Boswell as "a pretty boy, lively though very learned. See him often".⁹⁴ Jonathan Israel has characterised Van Goens as being "another of the best minds of the later Dutch Enlightenment, and its most cosmopolitan figure". He also refers to him as "the foremost sympathiser, if not champion, of Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Hume, in the Republic".⁹⁵ After some commotion about his sympathies for French *philosophes*, he was forced to resign from his post at the university in 1776. However in the same year, he was appointed to Utrecht's city council by Prince Willem V. Here he became an exponent of the Orangist movement which brought him into conflict with the Patriots. A vituperative campaign led by the Patriots and dominated by student Pieter Philip Quint

Ondaatje, the son of a Colombo clergyman,⁹⁶ led to Van Goens' removal from both the council and the city in 1783.⁹⁷

Although Loten held more moderate opinions about the role of the Stadholder in the Dutch Republic, he shared several interests with Van Goens. Both were book collectors with bibliophile interests. An analysis of Loten's library, however, shows that he was first and foremost a collector of books whose contents interested him and not one who collected books for their intrinsic value. In May 1778, Loten asked Van Goens' opinion about the best edition of the *Historiarum svi temporis ab anno Domini 1543 usque ad annum 1607* written by Jacques Auguste de Thou (1533-1617) or 'Thuanus'. The book by Thuanus was considered to be an important source for the period's religious and literary history.⁹⁸ Loten compared the various editions, indicating that he was acquainted with Thuanus and that he may have owned various other editions of the *Historiarum*. 'That of Buckley in 7 volumes is certainly the most elegant; I have never seen the ones from Geneva; the French edition by Gosse of the Hague (in 11 vol. 4o) differs greatly from that which was printed in Paris (although it says London) in 16 volumes 4o; the latter seems to me the best, but I think I noticed several shortcomings'.⁹⁹

In November of 1778, Loten referred to Van Goens' "most interesting books [...] that have entertained me very much, and so they continue still to do".¹⁰⁰ He was referring to Van Goens's *Diatriba de cepotaphii* [Exposition of tomb-stones] that reminded him of his own manuscripts about epitaphs and church monuments: "My scheme retiring to Fulham was to digest my scattered paperasses, which besides their confusion, were greatly hurt by the ship-wreck of November 14 or 15, 1775, into some order. But the execution failed and the intervals that I was easy & not convulsed by spasms in and about the stomach have been so short, that even a few Lines to a Friend rarely could be finished". Half a year earlier, when he had just returned to London after staying in Fulham, he made a note about his attempts at organising his collection of genealogical manuscripts. The remark suggests that he saved at least a part of his 'spoiled' annotations:

'After reading the collection of monuments made by me J.G.L. since my youth.

To introduce in the preface:

The largest part suffered damage in November 1775 as a result of the shipwreck during the passage from England and Holland, so I have not kept it in order, but first copied those that were spoiled by lying in sea water for a month; they were written neatly and I hope to finish it with an index making it easier for a reader to use when searching for the families and the places where the monuments are located. Those that I did not see myself but which were copied from unpublished Manuscripts so that they would not be lost, were meticulously written out and have been authorised by me.

Londoni 3 Meii 1778

D.O.M. favente [by the grace of God]'.¹⁰¹

In Het Utrechts Archief the copies that Loten made of his 'spoiled' genealogical annotations are preserved, they include an alphabetical register.¹⁰² The cataloging of his collection kept him busy and gave rise to a pious reflection: "The titles, which I think I can suitably use for my collection, shall be, so GOD spares me, Historical and Genealogical Memoirs, or perhaps better, Memorials of many Noble and old Honourable Families most of them Dutch, or more expressly if someone is particularly interested, Account of Family and Ancestry of (for instance) Mr Martin Van Juchen, Colonel, Governor of Wesel and other nearby Fortifications &c'.¹⁰³ From Loten's documents it is clear that he was very interested in his forefather Martin Van Juchen, Commander of Wesel in 1672.¹⁰⁴ In London, Loten ordered Francesco Bartolozzi to make an engraving of his ancestor based on a watercolour by Aart Schouman. In October 1780, the engraving was inserted into a book that Loten sent to his brother in Utrecht.¹⁰⁵

Loten also had the intention to arrange his natural history collection. He made a note about it, which annotation is also remarkable because of its religious intensity: 'I also hope, with the most earnest devout resignation to that Infinite, Most Highest, Most sacred Eternity, but also the Most Merciful, Most Wise Creature of Creatures, who I just mentioned with deep affections, to register all that I have observed during my travels and residence in various Countries with regard to the Natural history and other particularities related with that. Spes animo nutrix [Hope is the nurse of the soul]'.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately this project was never accomplished by him.

Van Goens and Loten also exchanged information about Simon-Henri Linguet, a French journalist and advocate, who had been disbarred as a lawyer and suspended as a journalist.¹⁰⁷ Linguet had been forced to give up his newspaper in France. He fled to England in 1776, where he continued his career and resumed attacking and then supporting the French government, in his publication *Annales politiques, civiles*

et littéraires, which he published from 1777 to 1792, first in London, then in Brussels and finally in Paris. In May 1778, Loten wrote: “Monsieur Linguet hath, I believe left England, I do not know, that he has yet published anything, nor on account of my indisposition I ever saw him, but he bore universally the character of a man possessed of great capacities”.¹⁰⁸ It seems that Loten sympathised with Linguet’s criticisms of the French *philosophes* and the excesses of royal ministers, parliamentary magistrates, lawyers and anyone he considered to be exercising too much power.

Upon his resignation from Utrecht University in 1776, Van Goens auctioned off his huge private library, consisting of more than 19,000 titles. He may have wished to sell off other parts of his possessions as well. Thus, the correspondence between Loten and Van Goens was probably prompted by Van Goens’ wish to sell his intaglios in England through Loten. Apparently Van Goens asked Loten for information about English stamp-cutters. Loten gave him well-informed answers to his questions. He referred him to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century members of the Cuijlenburch family, stamp-cutters from the Utrecht Mint. He also mentioned Jan Conrad Marmé and his son Jan Willem Marmé (*circa* 1740-1825), who in the 1770s were stamp-cutters at the Royal Mint in Cleves and at the Mint in Utrecht. He further referred him to the celebrated English sculptor and gem engraver, Edward Burch, whose signature can be found on a number of cameos and intaglios.¹⁰⁹ Loten’s responses to Van Goen’s requests demonstrates his thorough and careful mode of operation. It also gives us insights into who he knew in London and shows us that he was regularly visited by those he knew: “With Your favour of March the 30th [1779] by friend Guillaume [not identified] came safe the intaglio’s (seven in number) within the tin box whose seals were unhurt – next door’s but one were then three days ago offered for public sale the lately deceased Duke of Queensbury’s *preciosa*, pictures, and books.¹¹⁰ The last and the pictures went at so low a rate, that never was heard any thing like it. For inst[ance] Blauw’s Atlas complete & in finest condition,¹¹¹ such as were not seen here in a quarter of a century were bought by Leigh the bookseller for three pounds, about four shillings a volume. Therefore having begun with the gems and other *preciosa* & finding the commencing success too unpromising, a stop was put so the sale and the various very costly articles committed to custody of the bank, where they may perhaps lay a long while as I see, or at least I think so, this country involved in a gloom, which formerly I did not perceive. This is a long winded preamble, but too much applicable on the subject of the gems. The day after Guillaume brought them I had a visit of M[onsieur] de Guiffardiere, one of the Prince’s of Wales’s préceptors,¹¹² who was then going to the D[uke] of Marlborough,¹¹³ the possessor of the finest collection of intaglio’s &c in England. We opened the box together, tho’ we found best not to shew ’m to the Duke before he should have been acquainted with the subject. M[onsieur] Guiffardiere promising he would return, if he found any reasonable prospect for disposing of the articles – this hoped for visit has not happened – nor those of Doctor Solander and Mr. Bartolozzi, who were so good to come to see me last Saturday, and to whom I communicated the matter; which I also did to another who deals in such curiosities [not identified], but he insisting on taking them home with him of whom I had my self formerly experienced some not perfectly dishonest (pardon expression), but at least very inconsistent actions. I denied my self, this morning to him, the more as I dislike very much his harpagonic grin & drawing up of his nose at the prices, tho’ I would have made not the least scruple to trust the first named Gentlemen, at my full risico, with all the contents of the box; having then considered the affair in all it’s circumstances. I thought the best I could do was to return them, as I am but too sure that at present there is no prospect here for disposing of these *preciosa* without loss and great hazard of not being paid at all. I am indeed extremely sorry for it, but that is all the apology I can make, how great and sincere my endeavours tend to be of some utility to You or Your friends”.¹¹⁴

AFTERMATH BANTAM COMMISSION

In a letter to Rijklof Michael Van Goens in Utrecht, Loten referred to Abbé Raynal’s popular *L’Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770).¹¹⁵ This work, a six-volume history of the European colonies in the West and East Indies and North and South America, was a compilation of travel accounts, history, economy and anecdotes, illustrating the noble passions among exotic savages. It was completed by Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713-1796) with assistance from Denis Diderot. The book was a product of French *philosophes* and influenced by Rousseau, who argued the case for the natural passions of man.¹¹⁶ In the *L’Histoire* Raynal, an anglophilic *philosophe*, criticised the unlimited power of the Dutch East Indies Company and accused it of being a mercantile monopolist in Asia. In the end such attitudes towards the company caused harm to the free

entrepreneurial spirit of its servants and was the reason for its economic decline.¹¹⁷ Raynal did not initially support American independence, but his admiration for the American colonists changed in the later editions of his work; he became a supporter of their political and economic autonomy. Loten acutely sensed Raynal's anti-Dutch notions and favourable opinion of English policy: "[T]he *History Philos: des Indes*, which seeing first at Spaw or Aix la Chapelle in 1769 or 1770 I fell a reading with the utmost eagerness, but was soon disappointed discovering the well, out of which the muddy spring arose. Being arrived at Utrecht a bookseller shewed me a second edition augmented, not illustrated, by the worst maps copied from obsolete patterns by far not equal to the oldest of Hondius or any Geographer of that time.¹¹⁸ The glaring contradictions on account of the author or compiler's so much beloved Chinese Empire present themselves the most recent to my memory. Returned to England I asked Mr Nourse (Libraire de S.M. homme très savant en Mathématique & Géographie & Luy même intéressé dans le cas) how the book could sell so well? His answer was: «Do You not see it is very ill natured, expatiates in praise of Us English, who are held up for living under the most perfect government, and for You, the Dutch, to be implicitly as a perfect pattern imitated. Besides that Your Nation in general is rendered there despicable enough to rejoice any Englishman, who thinks like this philosophical historian».¹¹⁹ Loten did not seem impressed by the French *philosophes's* cultivation of sensibility and natural passion. In his documents there is no indication that he criticised the way in which the Company in Amsterdam and Batavia governed their possessions in the East. His criticism of the VOC was more of a more personal nature; he felt abused by its directors in Amsterdam and he detested governor-general Van Der Parra. His response to the *L'Histoire philosophique* was a rational, very factual comment on the failure of the author and compiler to represent the real state of affairs. He seems to have missed Nourse's message against the age and its institutions and was annoyed by the hostile attitude towards the Dutch, a source of growing irritation in Loten's final years in England. This is also clear from Loten's following comments: "One Justamond, assisting under librarian of the British Museum, was now with the beginning of this year pretty far advanced with an English translation of which several volumes were greedily sold.¹²⁰ To increase the avidity of buyers he added notes. [He] was assisted by an acquaintance of mine, who had been in our service as a serjeant & then turned vryburger [free burgher] at Batavia, so that, tho' an Englishman born he understood Dutch but very little English, even not speak it intelligible. [He] was much discontented of the Dutch (tho' he had reasons for the contrary) & having a few books like Valentyn &c: assisted Justamond with them and not less with his ill nature. On the sale of the finished volumes this Justamond & his brother lived splendidly and after a short brilliancy of their praised work made, about December, a most scandalous bankrupt, no body knowing what became of them. Their assistant my acquaintance did what he could to cheat me out of a good sum of money, but he miscarried in that as to his great design. So I came pretty well of with the loss of a trifling sum, by which I was so happy to get rid of a disagreeable, of that sort, that one must suffer in society by having not well enough known them in the beginning. The deservedly famous Geographer & Navigator Mr. Alex. Dalrymple, whom I see often, expressed his indignation also on these maps &c".¹²¹

Jean Obadiah Justamond (1723-1786) was the son-in-law of Loten's former acquaintance Dr Matthieu Maty, principal librarian of the British Museum and secretary of the Royal Society. Like Maty, Justamond was a Huguenot. In 1768, prior to being appointed to the position of a deputy keeper of the collections at the British Museum during Daniel Solander's absence, he was a surgeon at Westminster Hospital. Less than a year after his father-in-law's death (1776), Justamond became involved in debts and petitioned the trustees of the British Museum for six months' leave abroad, presumably to escape his creditors. Justamond's position in the Museum was declared vacant in 1778.¹²²

It is tempting to assume that Justamond's assistant was Michiel Van Millingen. According to his son John Gideon Millingen, Raynal was one of his father's favourite authors.¹²³ Loten's observation that he was cheated by the assistant reminds us of his involvement in Van Millingen's financial problems in November 1777. Although Loten's description did not completely agree with the sketch that John Gideon Millingen gave of his father, there are strong similarities.¹²⁴ Millingen said that his father was a Dutchman by birth, but Loten said that Justamond's assistant was English. Loten and John Gideon Millingen do agree that Van Millingen served the Dutch East Indies Company and became a free burgher of Batavia. Loten also says that assistant Van Milligan had been a sergeant and this was, indeed, the man's military rank. The assistant's discontentment with the Dutch was also referred to by John Gideon Millingen, who also said that Justamond was the "celebrated practitioner" who treated his mother's breast complaints. Loten recollected that Van Millingen "had all the volumes of Valentyn at his house he kept them more than a year, till I asked for 'm", which explains the reference to the author of *Oud en Nieuw*

Oost Indie.¹²⁵ Loten suggests that Justamond's assistant became a Methodist, but according to John Gideon Millingen he did not. In his account of the assistant's newly acquired beliefs Loten says: "Methodists or refined pietists, they call them selves here professors, and those like me (for whom they often pray & have communions about with BEING, that they treat rather in too familiar way) they title the Carnals".¹²⁶ It is possible that Loten in referring to the 'Methodists' actually meant the London Baptists of the Grafton Street Chapel, whose preacher Reverend John Martin often used the word 'carnal' in the sense used by Loten. Mrs Van Millingen was a disciple of this preacher. However, the man was "damned heartily" by her husband.¹²⁷ Therefore if the identity of the assistant is correct, Loten wrongly concluded that Van Millingen adhered to the same religious creed as did his wife.

In the autumn of 1780 in a letter to his brother, Loten again referred to 'a very untruthful historical account' in Raynal's *L'Histoire philosophique*. Loten may have been referring to a passage in the paragraph "Reasons of the decline of the Company".¹²⁸ Loten apparently experienced this representation of the situation as a personal affront and in his letter to Arnout he linked Raynal's accounts to his own role as a Commissary of the Company at Bantam in 1752. He was convinced that the conflict at Bantam was a breach of treaties, which he himself had resolved for the Company. He was resolute in his explanation saying that, since his Commission to Bantam, 'nothing was heard anymore from the enemy'.

MELANCHOLY

Information about Loten's life in 1778 and 1779 comes from his letters to Van Goens and Van Hardenbroek. They relate the story of a disabled man who was often handicapped by his asthma. In May 1778, Loten wrote to Van Goens saying: "While I am writing these [lines] I suffered since six o'clock this morning two contractions or fits drawing inward the pit of the stomach so that the flesh or skin, on the outside remained black as ink, spreading till on my left leg, below the knee, so that I hardly could think it possible to save my miserable life any longer, yes this terrible suffocating circumstance excepted, I seem in perfect health, tho' emaciated to the very skin and bone".¹²⁹ Loten often talked about his asthmatic complaints, "although in reality my ailment is hypochondriacal it does not cease to be there". He wrote about his wife Lettice saying that "she felt nauseous by the frequent relapses of fevers that pursued her since her youth". These were the circumstances which prevented them from returning to "the fatherland, which I impatiently long to see again". Van Goens evidently responded by recommending that Loten comes to live in the healthy "atmosphere and soil of Utrecht, Doorn, Driebergen, Langbroek &c.". Early in November of 1778, Loten answered by enumerating his objections in a remarkable piece of Dutch-English: "I can assure You that I shall leave no stone unturned, if to express the least degree of possibility for returning to Utrecht this manner of speaking is allowed, provided it can be undertaken with appearance of safety with regard to my wife's state of health. For on my own, tho' considering le pauvre petit systeme nerveux precarious to the full, I would not hesitate a moment, if the passage by Calais shall be open during the course of next year. But with regard to that by Helvoet I confess an intire want of spirits to face the Ipecacoanhical (forgive my coining this new adjective, which alone is near enough replete with the virtues of turning one's stomach) feelings on that else not very long trajet, that at present I reckon much worse than a round the globe-voyage.¹³⁰ Besides even the French sailors, in spite of their reputed superiority in politeness, to which British or Belgic Tars for as yet are arrived, frighten me a great deal more by the scrupulous ideas of being ransacked, then they did when in earlier situations, with regard to health and less advanced age.¹³¹ I did now and then cross the Harwich-passage before the last war was at end, tho' even then we poor passengers, only perhaps by too much magnifying powers of pocket telescopes, changed a few and not unlikely peaceable vessels into the smartest bank rigged sloops of war".¹³² However, the departure to Holland was not just impeded by the conflict between France and England, which will have endangered any crossing of the Channel. Loten concluded the above-cited explanation with a puzzling remark: "[T]he only difficulty, and a very great one indeed it is, consists in the obstacles, that should be first, at least for a part, removed to get thither".

In July 1779, Loten's grandson still believed that his grandfather would come over. However, Loten's friend Utrecht banker Jan Kol told him that 'the dangerous sea and the continous capture by the French of English packet-boats', would prevent his return to the Netherlands.¹³³ Loten's wife Lettice, too, resisted a voyage to Holland. In May of 1779 Loten wrote about this: "My wife was just reading in the morning paper that a ship was again taken just off Dover, and at the same time sitting with the former Italian Master C. de St. Almaz, lately Minister of the Gospel at Jersey and hearing him talk, not without reason, about the Miseries of war, that chiefly the best minded people there feel, cried out to me

(ordering Travelling cages for my bullfinches to be made): «Good GOD would it not be madness to go in these precarious times!». The answer was: «I have done 3 or 4 times the voyages in time of war». The reply: «Then you was in better health & had no wife». I could not say so much against it, but it chagrins me & wish that heaven in it's mercy may soon restore peace to the belligerents on this globe".¹³⁴ In the same period, when his wife was not in the room, Mrs Van Welderen, the wife of the Dutch envoy, admonished Loten for trying to go to Utrecht: 'How is it possible that you are proposing to ... (I forgot the exact words she used) cross the sea with a woman who looks so sick and who is ailing. After all you can precede her and she will come when she is better and when you have settled there'.¹³⁵ Loten did not follow her noble advice and remained with his wife in England.

Loten amused himself with drawing in May of 1779. He told his brother about this distraction more than one year later, in July of 1780: 'On the 10th of May 1779 I still had the courage to make a drawing of something in Indian ink, although very bad, much better than anything I had ever done since 1737. Between the 9th and 10th of May I suffered many attacks and could only save myself by taking between 3[00] to 400 drops of opium tincture'.¹³⁶ Loten may have made a copy of his watercolour of the Purple-faced Langur. It is the only drawing in Indian ink in the Loten collection and it has been executed on paper with English watermarks.¹³⁷

He also amused himself with the satirical sketches of public men in the *R---l Register*,¹³⁸ a diversion that he wanted to share with his friend Van Hardenbroek: "Since a good while I saw in the daily papers advertised a pamphlet r.l [=Royal] register – I thought it a pasquil, and a very ill natured one, I did not buy it – I hate Lampoons and I believe I may be indulged in that odium – but it continued by succeeding volumes – I found it laying at a shop, peeped a little into it, and found some characters that I knew prettily or justly described – I bought it and marked the characters with what I thought I was able to conjecture, or else doubtfully; I'll send it this week when some opportunity offers, either by J. Smith at Rotterdam or Sir Pat[ric]k Crawford's family – for by the post would cost three times more at least than the book – some tell the K[ing] wrote it, but more that it is not by main de maitre – I have acquired no experience sufficient to deny or to allow".¹³⁹ In July 1779, he had forwarded three volumes of the *Register* to Van Hardenbroek; in April 1780 another dispatch followed. The *R---l Register* was written by William Combe (1742-1823) who spent his life chiefly behind the bars of the King's Bench Prison. In the sketches of the *Register*, the names of the public men were indicated by initials, but contemporaries could easily identify them.

In July 1779, Loten again mentioned obstacles preventing a return to Holland citing "our vulgar Dutch proverb, «to be bitten by your own dogs»", which indicates that the problem may have been his own family - perhaps his granddaughter Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen and her husband Van Wilmsdorff. In any case, he was clearly very depressed. In the same letter he told Van Hardenbroek: "I left London the 16th of June and drove in $\frac{3}{4}$ of one hour to Fulham, where I continue still, and never since have been able yet, to be one single night undressed, like other people in my bed, or on a sofa even lifted up to an inclined plane. [...] If within my own machinery not interrupted by more violent spasms that wanted help of one or another of my domesticks (not being able to help my self, or to move so much), who subdued the terrible paroxysm by helping to pour down in my throat a good doze of the Spir. of Sal Amonia & pills of Asa foetida & opium. Else I seem in tolerable health, tho' by such continued fatigue totally emaciated and I believe that since a few months my usual spirit & chearfulness turned into melancholy by the succession of experiments too well proved made on the herefore quoted Dutch proverb".¹⁴⁰ His letter concludes pathetically with a reference to merchant and Scottish agent Sir Patrick Crawford who had returned to Rotterdam with his packet-boat: "Could I possibly fly with Him, I would certainly do it, for please it Heaven! I must see You before I die – Lettie hath indeed no objections even notwithstanding her disadvantageous state of health". In the following five months he felt not able to answer the letters of Van Hardenbroek. At last in December 1779 he summed up his situation, "I do not believe I have been, except the journey to Fulham and back (about the distance of Zuylen) three times out of my house within one year's time".¹⁴¹

2. FINAL YEARS IN LONDON 1780-1781

ANGLO-DUTCH CONFLICT

Loten's last two years in London were darkened by the American War of Independence (1775-1783). In February of 1775 he first wrote to his brother about the situation taking place in British America: '[H]ow American affairs will pan out is uncertain and is concealed in unknown future. On the whole people are of the opinion that the Government cannot do nothing more than stick to their guns, for it is in regard of those of Boston, about whom one thinks, as they offer resistance or immediately start hostilities (which as in other civil wars must be accompanied with numerous misery)'.¹⁴² Loten referred to 'The Boston Tea Party' of December 1773, a key event in the growth of the American revolution.¹⁴³ In February 1778, France had declared war on Britain and in 1779, Spain also entered the war and besieged Gibraltar. England faced an invasion from the French. In the Channel it was touch-and-go between the French-Spanish fleet under French commander admiral Louis Guillouet, Comte d'Orvilliers (1708-1792) and the Home Fleet, initially under admiral Augustus Keppel. When admiral Keppel resigned his command of the Channel fleet in May 1779, no active officer could be found to succeed him. So, admiral Charles Hardy was taken out of retirement and became Admiral of the Fleet.¹⁴⁴ His ships were greatly outnumbered by a French-Spanish fleet, which appeared in the Channel in August of 1779. Hardy decided to draw the enemy fleet away from its base at Brest by returning to the Spithead. This tactic proved unpopular with the men on board of the *Royal George*. They considered it cowardly and draped their jackets over the figurehead so that it wouldn't 'see' the ship turning its stern to the enemy. Hardy's tactic, though unadventurous, was successful and on 3 September 1779 the French commander d'Orvilliers abandoned his attempt at attack and returned to Brest; over 8,000 of his men were ill. In December of 1779 in a letter to his friend Van Hardenbroek, Loten referred to the British Navy's retreat: "Happy I think every body who at present can get out of this Kingdom. Gracious Heaven! What a decline since a dozen years! When the combined fleets appeared before Plymouth it is too well acknowledged there was not, or hardly, three rounds of powder & shot and not above 36 men belonging to the Artillery. S[ir] Charles Hardy said in the House of Commons that he offered twice battle to the Bourbonians, but they did not chuse to come to actions. At the other side a Young Cadet wrote to his father, that it was not so, but that they run with all the sail they could crowd. And a Naval Gent[leman], homme de beaucoup de scavoir & d'experience, told me that some sailors on Sir Charles's Ship Royal George, took a Napkin and blindfolded the statue upon the ship's head (which is that of K[ing] George II), that his late Majesty's image might not see the ship, named after him, turn tail. Very, very few are pleased with these multiplied wars and it makes one's heart bleed. When one hath heard most moderate & experienced people, in June or July last, still affirm that then had been neglected a fair & not dishonorable opportunity of setting all matters to right".¹⁴⁵

Several weeks later, he gave his brother an account of the British Naval actions in the Channel: 'Yesterday I received a visit from a former Sea Officer who told me people generally felt that the that last time both sides only fired powder & shot because the commanding officer had discussed this politely [with his counterparts] beforehand and that they had considered this to be the best approach. I wish that the same charity also existed among the Great and Powerfull, a [feeling] some appear to be lacking very much'.¹⁴⁶

The Dutch Republic, and especially the City of Amsterdam, supported American Independence. This caused problems for Dutch ships navigating the waters of the Channel. In December of 1779, rear-admiral Count L. Van Bylandt sailed from the Marsdiep with a small fleet of five men-of-war to escort a convoy of 28 Dutch merchantmen heading for the Mediterranean laden with timber and naval stores.¹⁴⁷ Van Bylandt had been given orders by the States-General, who had passed a 'restricted convoy' Resolution on November 23rd 1779. Nevertheless the English government sent out a squadron of armed ships under the command of Captain Fielding, in pursuit of the Dutch. The Dutch opened fire on the English boats. Captain Fielding responded by firing a shot across the head of the Dutch admiral's ship; this was returned by shot broadside. Several shots back and forth ensued. In the end however, Count Van Bylandt thought proper to strike his colours and surrender to the English. All of the Dutch vessels were taken to Portsmouth. The English took seven Dutch merchant ships into custody. On January 18th 1780, Van Bylandt was called back by the States-General to justify his behaviour. He was court-martialled, and cleared of blame. Evidently Loten anxiously followed the incident, because in February 1780 he told his friend Van Hardenbroek that "I was greatly hurt by the affair of Admiral Bylandt".¹⁴⁸

On April 17th 1780, the long-standing Anglo-Dutch alliance of 1678, which William III had made the keystone of his policy, ceased to exist. War was not declared, but the States-General voted for a Resolution of ‘unrestricted convoy’, that is, armed protection of ships irrespective of their cargo or destination. In vain Count Van Welderen, the Dutch envoy in London, endeavoured to reassure England that the States were keen to maintain strict neutrality. Although no war between the Dutch Republic and England had been declared, Loten feared that his letters would be intercepted; nevertheless he assured his brother: ‘[T]here are few secrets here, because the papers write about everything, at least nearly everything. I fear that Peace is still far away as long as there is room for the Great and Powerfull of the Earth, who fill their pockets by pushing on in a disorganised way’.¹⁴⁹

It appears that Van Hardenbroek drew Loten’s attention to a booklet entitled *Le destin de l’Amérique*, by Antoine Marie Cérurier (1749-1828), editor of the Francophile *Politique Hollandais* and a staunch supporter of the American constitution: “I sent to the chief French book-seller for the pamphlet «destin de l’Amérique» but no such thing to be had here. Even in peaceable times most French books arrive here later than in Holland. There is one [paper] called the Morning Post who in favor with the C..rt [=Court] that on every occasion uses the Dutch very cruel, to inflame the people repeating continually the old story of Amboyna, which, at the worst being perpetrated by four or five severe or cruel individuals, with unrelenting malice is laid to the charge of a whole nation”.¹⁵⁰ This citation refers to the Dutch destruction in 1623 of English trading posts on the islands of Ambon and Ceram. During this raid, eight Englishmen were executed by the Dutch ‘opperhoofd’ (chief) Herman Van Speult, an incident that is remembered as the ‘Amboyna massacre’. John Dryden’s tragedy about this event, entitled *Amboyna, or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants*, was published in 1673. In act five of this play, Dutch merchants torture their virtuous English counterparts, setting their fingers on fire and wrapping their necks in oiled cloths, then forcing them to drink until they swell to grotesque proportions.¹⁵¹ Loten typically came to the defence of the Dutch by arguing that in 1586 Robert Dudley (1532-1588), Earl of Leicester, had appointed an ancestor of one of the torturers of Amboyna to the position of Governor of Utrecht; the moral being that the English indignation about the Amboyna massacre was hypocritical.¹⁵² He continued: “Before I could never believe what I have experienced since I returned hither the last time in 1776 and still a good while after this. I am credibly assured [probably by envoy Van Welderen] that an easy opportunity had been offered, which if not neglected & scorned the Amer[ican] troubles would have been honorably & practicably settled, and the flames of the now raging war kept under & not broke out. Dabit deus his quoque finem! [=Virgil *Aeneid*: A God will also give an end to these things]. I hope, but how! Now I cannot understand it”.¹⁵³ Loten no longer felt he lived freely in England.

LOTEN IN HIS STUDY ATTIC IN LONDON

In a letter to his brother dated January the 7th 1780, the nearly 70-year-old Joan Gideon Loten exclaimed: ‘Good Heavens is it possible that I am able to write to you this year! Yesterday it seemed as if I would not live a day longer. Now, at about half past two in the afternoon, it is, with the exception of some fatigue from yesterday’s attack, as if nothing ails me at all. I find it so exasperating that the periodical attacks return so frequently’.¹⁵⁴ A month later he wrote to Van Hardenbroek giving him a comparable sketch of his personal welfare: “Tho’ my intervals that I am able to do the least thing are very short, notwithstanding better than at Fulham, and that when I drink very strong coffee about one or two at night, I can lay on an inclined matrass and undressed. This hinders a sound sleep, but makes me easier and prevent the cruel spasms to fall violently on my scelotony body. With this little advantage I have been able three or four times to take a drive for a very few visits or messages and to begin a letter, which mostly is thrown a side half finished in convulsion by an unwelcome visit of a spasmodic fit”.¹⁵⁵ He therefore remained in his study attic in New Burlington Street where he read the London newspapers, wrote his letters, studied and annotated his genealogical and natural history manuscripts, and read the ‘poemata by Casp[ar] Barlaeus [Latinisation of Van Baarlo]’ and other books. He wrote to his brother to say that he had found a 38-line poem by Barlaeus, written between 1630 and 1640 and dedicated to “Virum D. Johannem Lotum”, their great-grandfather Johan Loten (1612-1676).¹⁵⁶ The poem referred to Joan Loten’s role in the draining of Lake De Beemster near Amsterdam, and the subsequent creation of the polder with the same name.

In his correspondence Loten also described his dental problems, in a hilarious way, although he must have suffered seriously from toothaches: ‘I can swallow a mashed meal, but I have to cut the meat into small pieces and eat these like pills, because since my last letter to you [one month ago] I have again lost 2

complete, fair teeth. So with the exception of one (the worst since I was 16 years old and which Mr Balth[asa]r Boreel had already noticed when he said that it would be affixed after eating pisang in India) I have no teeth in my upper jaw and two weak ones that are sure to loosen one of these days. Recently I read in Reverend Martinet's *Catechismus der Natur* that cows lack teeth in their upper jaw. It embarrasses me that I did not know that, but many are as ignorant as I am'.¹⁵⁷ He wrote to Van Hardenbroek in the same way, for example about his New Burlington Street neighbour and former Lord High Chancellor of England, Lord Camden. Camden remembered for his defence of the American fight for independence, but also for his association with actor David Garrick, who according to James Boswell, was "very vain about his intimacy with Lord Camden".¹⁵⁸ Loten quoted a critical observation from the *General Advertiser* about the Royal preferences; he clearly agreed with these sentiments: "Ex[trac]t Gen[eral] Advertiser of 15 febr[uary 1780] Verbotenus [Latin: word-for-word], while L[ord] Cambden has been driven from the service of the people, and the councils of his Sovereign with the pityful reward of fifteen hundred pounds a year, Sir Richard Worsley, a boy of 24 y[ea]rs of age, for being the creature of the court, is rewarded with sinecure places to the amount of 6,000 G[uinea]s per annum (being made governor of the Isle of Wright [...])."¹⁵⁹ In 1780, the above-cited Sir Richard Worsley became George III's *Privy councillor*. However, his public career was badly damaged by the very public collapse of his marriage.¹⁶⁰

Loten's health remained fragile and his dental problems continued to bother him, as is clear from the message he sent to Van Hardenbroek early in April 1780: "I should have sooner acknowledged Your greatly welcome favours of 22 febr[uary] and 28 March, but I am almost lost to tell it, have been severely attacked, first by a sudden fit of suffocating contractions drawing the bowels up to the thorax, no motion of hand or feet, or apparent breath, or the faculty of speaking left. Luckily a domestic was in the room & gave me a little tea-spoon of opii without effect, but the second with a little, the fifth spoon removed it intirely. I went to bed, slept agreably the whole night, but 5 or 6 days afterwards at dinner my yawbones were suddenly locked by a spasm and in less than half a second all my underteeth (the upper ones can not be named more) wrung lose & moved about with a pain that is impossible to have an idea of. Tho' the spasm & violent pain went of, I remain in the condition that other mortals who have heavy toothachs feel & I can eat nothing but crums of fresh bread or rice, or soft fish and that even with great trouble. Else thank good Heaven I am perfectly well, or think to feel my self so «hoc in mundo omnium possibili cum optimo» [because in the world everything is possible with optimism], as my much honoured humane philosopher Wolff taught me by his immortal books.¹⁶¹ It is considering each reckons life, tho' yet so old, worth something at least. One endeavours to prevent such excruciating exit, ventured much to go out of one's study or bedroom: more than enough of this".¹⁶²

Loten's correspondence in this period continues to provide us with detailed information about his health. 'Between the 9th and 10th of May [1780]' he had 'very many attacks' of asthmatic convulsions. Only the use of '3[00] to 400 drops of opium tincture' helped him cope. The opium therefore once again became a theme in his correspondence: 'Today a very nice and fresh-looking Lady (Court Lady of the Queen) will be visiting us for dinner. For several years she used 2 to 4 tablespoons (she started with 10 drops) of opium every day. However, for 5 to 6 years now, she has used nothing and is in good health. If I were young and strong I would not imitate her for any kind of money in the world. However, it saved Her. The comparatively insignificant doses that I have taken in addition to the Merciful Creator of this beneficial Blessing Herb have lengthened my life by at least twelve years (if you call this a life)'.¹⁶³ The Court Lady who 'had kept her plumpness, fair teeth and healthy colour', was Lettice's friend and relative, Lady Mary Tryon, Queen Charlotte's *Maid of Honour*.¹⁶⁴ In June 1780, Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek in detail about this woman's astonishing recovery from her addiction to opium: "Opium's extract prepared by the celebrated Monsieur Baumé at Paris, or it's tincture, according to Sydenham prepared here, I use pro re nata [= as the situation needs], and rather less than in 1772.¹⁶⁵ The 25 of June 1779 Dr Fothergill taking leave from me on his going to Cheshire (where he passes every year 4 or 5 months) said: «You see now plain that of Medicines this (the O.) alone has for many years prolonged and saved Your life». And not a quarter of an hour past, trots, leste & principante [=proud like an eastern Princess], by my study a Lady of honour to the Queen (coming from my Wife's bedroom), who these last 3 years took no opium at all, but before many years upon advice of Sir Geo. Baker.¹⁶⁶ The 2nd physician beginning at first with 10 drops, soon after taking generally two ounces in three days, & if the accesses were heavy sometimes in one day. Her usual phial lays here near me in a table drawer. She found herself after several miserable years (finding no benefit of any remedy, and most always by the O., when taken in a sufficient doze, for instance a common table spoon full (her own words were: « nearly so full, that the table-spoon but just kept the tincture without running over ») or half an ounce at once) on a sudden

restored to perfect health and is as healthy looking a woman as any here or else, where not one tooth lost, whereas mine all dropt so that I can eat nothing but rice, peeled barley and fish. If one would give me hundred thousand golden riders, I would not venture to take such dozes as this good agreeable Lady has been obliged to come to".¹⁶⁷

One of the things which Loten's occupied himself with in his London study was comparing his natural history drawings with contemporary ornithological literature. At that period he decided to present a part of his watercolour collection to the Holland Society of Sciences in Haarlem. It is not known just what instigated this, but it may have been an attempt by him to get elected to the position of director of this Society. However, if this was the case, then his attempt failed. Loten had been in contact with the Holland Society of Sciences in 1772. He had sent them an essay entitled "Considerations on the distemper amongst horned cattle in the United Provinces communicated by John Fothergill MD and FRS to John Gid. Loten FRS and FSA".¹⁶⁸ Fothergill's short essay was a belated response to the Society's 1759 prize question concerning 'the uncommonly long period of death among cows in nature'.¹⁶⁹ The question was related to various epidemics which had taken place among cattle in Friesland in the years 1713, 1719 and in the period 1744-1767. The mortality rate amongst the cattle had been over 65%.¹⁷⁰ Fothergill's essay did not receive a prize nor was his article published in the *Verhandeligen* of the Society.

On July 31st 1780, Loten wrote a letter to his relative Mr Jean Deutz (1743-1784), who was a member of the Amsterdam city council and from 1778 on, one of the Holland Society's Directors.¹⁷¹ Loten enclosed eight watercolours with his letter; five were of birds, two of octopodes and one of a Portuguese man-of-war ("Besaantje").¹⁷² Loten asked Deutz to present the drawings to the Society on his behalf. The minutes of the Society tell us that the drawings were presented to the Natural History Cabinet of the Society on November 7th 1780. Dr Martinus Van Marum (1750-1837), director of the Cabinet, was asked to examine the drawings.¹⁷³ In the Society's meeting of January 2nd 1781, Van Marum said that the drawings were 'executed excellently'. He also declared that some of them had already been published. He suggested that copperplates be made of the watercolours of the Ceylon Tailor Bird and the "bezaantje [or] Holotijria Phijsalis". Although his proposal was accepted, the Holland Society never published the plates. In the Loten collection at the Natural History Museum of London there is also a second letter by Loten to his cousin Deutz in which he describes another ten watercolours he wished to present to the Dutch Society.¹⁷⁴ Five drawings of birds, three drawings of the fruit of a Ceylonese apple tree and two drawings of plants are described in this letter. On May 1st 1781, Deutz presented the drawings to the Society but there no further notes about the gift can be found in the minutes. In the Society's Programme for the period May 21, 1780 until May 20, 1781, the two gifts from Loten are mentioned.

Two of Loten's pictures suffered another, for him most unfortunate fate. In June of 1780, he described the loss of Schouman's watercolour of the Goldfinch and Schouman's treasured portrait of his ancestor Martin Van Juchen. Loten was greatly attached to these images in his drawing room, but his wife decided to give them away. The 'tragedy' was recorded in one of Loten's most heart rendering annotations.

Post prandium [= after breakfast]

Sunday 28 May 1780

Although owning the best well-meaning heart, upstairs with the saddest experience of evil for right, everything to no avail. A sweet kind goldfinch value thousand harpies.

The portr[ai]t against my appeals given away to Lector Hollow Fox, I begged for it so arduously'.¹⁷⁵

It is clear that the pun referred to Reverend Dr James Hallifax, vicar of Ewell, who thereby made his last appearance in the Loten documents.

GORDON RIOTS

Towards the end of June 1780, Loten told his friend Van Hardenboek: "I will not begin to speak on the subject of the extraordinary bustles we have been in here and hope that they are all over. A little time may very likely acquaint us more with the sudden rise and progress of so ruinous tumult, of which we know at present but little except the terrible effects which seemed that had could been checked by a prompter & more efficacious exercise of the civil power".¹⁷⁶ He was referring to the "Gordon riots" which broke out in London early in June of 1780. Lord George Gordon (1751-1793), a retired lieutenant of the Navy, was strongly opposed the proposed Catholic emancipation. On 2nd June 1780, Gordon led a crowd of 50,000 people, all wearing blue cockades and carrying blue flags with the motto «NO POPERY» on them, to the

House of Commons to present a petition for the repeal of the 1778 Roman Catholic Relief Act. This demonstration turned into a riot and in the following five days many Catholic chapels and private houses were destroyed. Other buildings that were attacked and damaged included the Bank of England, King's Bench Prison, Newgate Prison and Fleet Prison. On the 7th of June, the army was called out and it was later reported that 285 of the rioters had been killed, 173 wounded and 139 arrested. Lord George Gordon was tried for high treason, but was found not guilty. However, 25 of the rioters were hanged and 12 imprisoned. It is estimated that over £180,000 worth of property was destroyed during these riots.

Although he was brief in his report about the riots to his friend Van Hardenbroek, two weeks earlier, on Thursday 15 June 1780, Loten had written a comprehensive account of the insurrections to his brother.

'Since I have been at Dollonds [on March the 25th 1780, Loten visited instrument maker Peter Dollond], I have not left my house, except last Monday June the 12th, to see the unbelievable destruction in my neighbourhood: the Chapel of the Bavarian Minister Count Haslang,¹⁷⁷ and the houses of Count Talbot,¹⁷⁸ and the Sardinian Ambassador Marquis de Cordon.¹⁷⁹ The magnificent Chapel and its paintings have been plundered, burned and demolished. The rioters brought about the total destruction of many other houses as well as the new magnificent Newgate (which has been under construction for 15 years) with several other buildings and prisons and they allowed all of the robbers and murderers (at least 5[00]-600) escape. I have not exaggerated, but You will have read all of this in the newspapers described in a far better way than I have been able to do.

[In the margin: Among these there were 7 to 8 who were to be hanged in the morning. Since then several of the minor criminals have been so good as to give themselves up and they have given their current addresses should the Judge require them.]

The King's bench, a prison and the area across from it, with high walls and airing places &c were also forced open and all the prisoners escaped and I also believe still more [prisons] [were attacked]. I hope I can stay here with God's Benevolence Saevis tranquillus in undis ['Quiet among restless waves': Prince William of Orange's motto]

While I was out, MyLord Talbot and both Marquis and Marquise de Cordon left their visiting cards at our house thanking my wife and me for our assistance and care, however, this was not a kindness we had shown, at least, not intentionally. The house of MyLord Mansfield [Lord Chief Justice] and all its contents were pityfully destroyed, although the Gentleman is a Protestant, at least he seems to be. Not far from my house I saw several hundred crowbars, levers, hatchets &c &c. [in the margin of his letter Loten made a small drawing of the crowbar]. However, neither our valuables nor the illumination of our house was destroyed as has been the case with my acquaintances. My domestics have not been wearing a blue coquarde when going out. However, Henrik who is a Roman Catholic (our former Utrecht coachman a sincere and modest young man), and Ernest too have been stopped several times in the streets by modest, well-dressed women who have asked them who they were. And when they answered «No Popery» or «Protestant» they let them pass. After demolishing the Chapel of the Bavarian Envoy, the perpetrators wrote «There are no Popes anymore in here, they have all been burned» &c. on the front door. I have seen texts like this before on over a thousand houses. The damage is estimated be 10 to 11 million Dutch guilders, and I believe this. Several people have tried to find excuses for Lord Geo. Gordon's great diligence. He usually goes to church with a Batavian Lady, whom I knew in Batavia in 1757. It is a pity that so many innocent people have lost their lives. A young cavalryman, who was posted in front of Newgate, was thrown into a fire. Badly hurt, the poor man crept away from it, but the mob broke his bones and threw this very miserable man back into the fire, where he perished.

The Roman Chapel in Bath has also been burned and demolished. It is quiet now, but on Wednesday evening the rioters read out and distributed terrible printed pamphlets with the same text. Mr Dalrymple's coachman, who came to visit me, was compelled to stop. They let him off however, after he said told them he was not a Popist.

But enough about this Tragedy, which I hope is over now. It was fortunate that a guard (stationed at the Bank) accidentally looked up and noticed something moving near the chimneys. When he saw a person throwing things into them, he shot and killed him. It appeared to be all kinds of fire boxes, which could have caused damage to half of Europe. So the Bank was preserved.

Every fifteen minutes, Grenadiers on horseback ride past my house; by day there are two and at night there are four of them. Their commander, Sir John Griffin (Gen[er]al of the Cavalry), is my neighbour across the road.¹⁸⁰ However, the rioter chose to destroy his house and also that of my

other neighbour Lambridge [not identified] and yet another on Saville Row belonging to someone whose name I have forgotten. On Tuesday the 13th, Sir John Griffin left town; two head domestics, both known to us, and several maids stayed in his house. On Tuesday night, a man called us and told us – it turned out to be true later on – that he had been warned by someone else that his house was to be attacked. He and our domestic found a heap of cobble stones. We agreed with the guards on horseback (the Gren[adiers]) stationed in our quarter that they would come to our help immediately if we signalled them. The cobble stones were taken into the house and we took several other precautions. At one o'clock I went to bed; however nothing happened. Although they are Protestants, others are angry with them (Sir John Griffin, Lambridge &c) because they signed a bill stating that more tolerance should be shown to R[oman] Catholics. If there is still more behind these texts, than only the ALMIGHTY knows'.¹⁸¹

Reports of the riots in London reached Loten's granddaughter Antje Van Wilmsdorff in her 'noble' Nemerlaer Castle in Dutch Brabant. At the time, she and her husband Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff were in great financial distress resulting from Willem Anna's gambling losses. Loten heard the rumours about this from his acquaintances in London. In January of 1780, he wrote a bitter letter to his brother about Van Wilmsdorff. Loten was angry about the man's display of exalted superiority, his pretense at a disputable noble status, his use of the title of Baron and his gambling: 'Speaking about Coats of Arms and family I remember that a few days ago a qualified British Gentleman spoke with praise about his encounter with a Baron Van Willemsdorff at Spa. Van Willemsdorff played for high stakes and was nobly generous. He was there without his wife so I have every reason to believe that it cannot have been my grandson-in-law, who may be a Polish baron, but bears another name; he also never gambles &c. In short, with pleasure I have listened to various anecdotes'.¹⁸²

Evidently Van Wilmsdorff's 'nobly generous gambling' was unsuccessful for in April of 1780, Joan Carel Van Der Bruggen wrote to his grandfather about the state of his sister's affairs: 'You have undoubtedly heard about my sister's sad circumstances. Her husband has been away for some time, leaving her her with her two children. Her fate is most unfortunate and this affects me greatly. Her husband only returned a few days ago; however, their affairs are until now absolutely chaotic'.¹⁸³ Loten had definitely been informed by others about the disastrous results of Van Wilmsdorff's gambling at Spa. In July of 1780, he wrote to his brother about the affair. As he had done in his previous letter, Loten commented upon the noble pretensions of his grandson-in-law whose new wax seal suggested a princely ancestry: 'About 9 or 10 days ago I received a letter sealed with a new wax seal with a shield containing the crown of a Prince. It was from Antje who was very anxious that the [Gordon] riots not be detrimental to my health. However, these occasions frighten me far less than do a message from Willemsdorff or Carel. I also hope that should I continue to live, I never have to see either Monsieur le Baron or the other two again. When I heard rumours saying that the Gambler was planning to come over, I gave the strictest orders that should His High Born come over, regardless of who was in his company, he not be allowed to come in. They says he has nobly gambled away about 400,000 guilders leaving him only the High Noble Residence and Castle in the State of Brabant'.¹⁸⁴

The rumour proved to be true. In July of 1780, the lands, farms and buildings belonging to the Nemerlaer Castle estate were sold by Hendrik ter Croy, notary in Bois le Duc.¹⁸⁵ In August of 1780, Loten again referred to his granddaughter's letter: 'Recently I received a calm and also rather polite letter from V[an] Wilmsdorff's wife on behalf of both of them. In it she expressed her worry that the riots here had alarmed me &c. Whether this is true I do not know, because after such [uproars] it is customary to show one's sympathy although I was very astonished about the calmness of the letter. However, if one considers that a professional gambler can both win and lose, then it is possible that this is an attempt to obtain a fortune for the small children, which I hope'.¹⁸⁶

In the codicil to his last will, dated 13 October 1778, Loten made unconditional donations to his grandson and granddaughter and her husband. However two years later, on 16 December 1780, he changed his will: "I will and desire that all and whatsoever I have given and bequeathed to my grand daughter Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen married to Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff by my former testament and codicils shall remain bound by and subject to the tie or obligation of a fidei commis. That my said grand daughter Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen and her said husband Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff shall only have and enjoy the usufruct thereof during her and his natural life and that after the death of both the property and possession thereof with full right or institution shall come and devolve to the child or children of my said grand daughter Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen begotten in lawful

wedlock".¹⁸⁷ The change in Loten's will may have been the result of Van Wilmsdorff's visit to London. Loten wrote to his brother in December 1780 about his encounter with his grandson-in-law: 'Since 1772 I have gradually observed and become acquainted here with the [malicious hearts of several so called people] of the so well received Relative, who may be able to boast that I was his victim now and then (if he believes this glory will not soil his Nobility) as do about half or two-thirds of my acquaintances. However, he cannot boast of any familiarity, because I just listened to him expressing his sentiments and they are totally different from mine. I laughed about some (a few) and agreed with none of them. I only recently discovered that he is able to turn his own words into those of another. He is capable of good manners and benevolence, gambling away several guineas at a time with apparent indifference, which is what one must do to be accepted in several places frequented by His High Well Born'.¹⁸⁸

LOTEN'S HEALTH CONDITION

Notwithstanding the Gordon riots and his irritability about family affairs, in July of 1780 Loten seemed to be in a reasonable health: 'With the exception of periodical spasms, I am enjoying perfect health (at least that is what I assume). Nevertheless I must not go out. A few days ago, I drove to Fleetstreet twice in 3 days; it is about a quarter of an hour from here. However, both times this was most unsuccessful. Every draught stops my perspiration and causes a slight or heavy attack, depending on the time that it takes me to get out of the coach and enter the house &c'. This was why he did not visit the 'annual exhibition of the Academy of painters' as he had done in 1771 and 1772: 'Thus I exist from year to year scarcely being able to see anything or profit from it'. His wife however, 'although she is ill, continues to go out, something Dr Fothergill encourages'.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless one month later in August of 1780, Loten wrote about returning to Utrecht that their health condition was poor. He assessed the chance 'as twelve against one to reach Ostend or Calais from here, considering the sudden suffocations, and the always present and as a whole exhausting fevers of my wife'. Notwithstanding that, Lettice had already discharged the kitchen maid and the house maid, 'both reasonable domestics'. This clearly showed, according to Loten, that his wife was serious in her intention to travel to Utrecht.¹⁹⁰

In the same letter he talked about his 'nearly 4-year-long imprisonment in his house'. There, he 'usually lived with a sleeping cap on his head, slippers on and a silken scarf around his neck'. Apparently he preferred to be let alone. These 'whims' were the subject of a discussion with the Dutch diplomat Willem Van Citters and Lady Mary Tryon, who agreed with Loten that he could receive Van Citters 'in profondeshabillé, and that it was absolutely not necessary to announce a not at home'. Loten must have suffered a serious attack of asthma two days after he wrote the foregoing observations. It moved him to religious contemplation, for in his *Bell's Common place book* he wrote the following words: 'For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand on the earth on the last day. Job 19 [: 25]. My hand is still reasonably firm and by God's goodness still under my control even though last night for many hours I suffered from violent attacks of successive contractions and spasms! This did compel me to leave my bed to prevent myself from suffocating. Altogether [I] used about three hundred fifty drops of Sydenham's liquid Laudanum, containing about fourteen grains of pure opium. London 27 Augusti 1780. Sit Nomen Domini benedictum [=Blessed is the name of the Lord]'.¹⁹¹

In September of 1780, Johan Alexander Roëll, secretary of the Utrecht Orphan Chamber, visited London. Alexander was the son of Jan Frederik Roëll, an acquaintance of Loten's who had been secretary of the City of Utrecht since 1779. Young Roëll was visiting London without the City Government's permission and was the object of rumour in Utrecht. Rumour had it that he had escaped to England with a girl and that his father, who had been involved in a mysterious affair regarding a factory fire in Bodegraven, accompanied him. However, Alexander travelled alone to England. In the confusion surrounding young Roëll's sudden voyage to England, Loten's brother burgomaster Arnout Loten even spoke in the Utrecht City Council about his 'escape'.¹⁹² While in London, Roëll, who was an agreeable and polite person, usually spent his evenings in the Dutch envoy Van Welderen's house. In his writing, Loten made no mention either of a girl or of Alexander's father. Young Roëll dined with the Lotens several times. There he met Lady Mary Tryon and Dr Daniel Solander. Loten remarked about this encounter: 'I felt that such a solid and very polite man [=Solander] would also be agreeable to Mr R[oëll]. However, I did not observe anything favourable, or for that matter, unfavourable resulting from my efforts to bring these very accomplished Gentlemen together. Perhaps they had not found the opportunity to converse at

length with one another'.¹⁹³ Once he was back in Utrecht, Roëll apologised to his colleagues for his careless behaviour and promised to be more careful in future.¹⁹⁴

The report that Alexander Roëll gave to Arnout of his brother's health seemed overly rosy to Loten. He wrote to Arnout explaining that 'this was how people who have not seen me during an attack assess me'. Which observation was followed by a description of his continuous suffering: 'In the preceding weeks I suffered at least two times in 24 hours from the most indescribable cramps and convulsions so that I had hardly two minutes in a week, when the diaphragm was only a little irritated, to change my underwear, half decayed on my body. In the depth of the night at 1 or 1½ &c when I go to my so called bed, I feel myself the best'. Evenso, Roëll's visit did encourage Loten to visit the Dutch Reformed Church in London, an institution he had not gone to for 15 or 16 years. He saw the church of Austin Friars 'in the kind company of Reverend Putman, who I met then for the first time in my life'.¹⁹⁵

In November 1780, Loten definitely felt better: 'For the last 10 to 11 days I have felt better although I do not know which medicine has caused this. It may also simply be the result of the clear weather (sent by Heaven's goodness) and the disappearance of the suffocating heat. Those unbearable contractions near the heart have also disappeared and the usual spasms are more bearable. I therefore almost dare to allow myself to be driven on an afternoon, which is here between 1 and 3, for some simple shopping. In short, I think it is wonderful; I never thought that I should ever again enjoy such an agreeable situation'.¹⁹⁶ He could think again about going to Utrecht, 'however I very much wish that my wife would accompany me, but she may be in no better shape than I am.'

Although Loten's health seemed slightly better than in previous periods, he and his wife stayed in New Burlington Street. Loten was clearly worried about his heart and therefore consulted Dr Smith, 'who was astonished that my pulse was as regular and calm as that of a healthy 38-year-old person; however they all say the same thing. It seems that he does not have the same good opinion of my liver, however'.¹⁹⁷ Evidently he prescribed camphor, a well-known potion for the heart and nervous system. Loten wrote his brother in December 1780: 'Yesterday evening (with yesterday evening I mean this morning at a quarter to two) I made the mistake of trying to go to bed without opium. I slept the whole night through. I could only but with the greatest difficulty wake myself up as late as half past ten. Then after breakfast as I was writing this, I had such a bad attack of asthma that I could scarcely contain my impatience to find refuge in taking opium, which once again saved me and enabled me to finish this [letter]. I clearly realise that I cannot trust myself, even though my heart seems to be sound'.¹⁹⁸

In the same letter Loten wrote to about his physicians Dr Smith and Dr Fothergill: 'I do not remember the time when I went out. Nevertheless I do not in general feel any worse [than I was before]. The cramps near the heart have disappeared, which is a major relief. However, the zone around the diaphragm still periodically contracts, despite the fact that the famous nerve specialist doctor Smith has prescribed loads of camphor and soap &c. Several people insisted that I consult this scholar. However I have done so with some regret for I am afraid of disappointing the generous, cordial and kind quacker-Doctor Fothergill. This good man continues to send us hares and partridges often. I do not disapprove of the advice I was given [=the decision to consult doctor Smith] it came from a great body of very respectable people here and elsewhere. My wife has been visited by His [=Dr Fothergill's] sister in her ash gray simple clothes and a small snow white cap'.¹⁹⁹

The reference to Dr John Fothergill was written just 10 days before the kind physician died. Several weeks after his death, Loten wrote the following sympathetic recollection of him to his brother: 'On the 26th Dec[ember 1780] Dr John Fothergill died to the general grief of at least peace loving people. He died of a blockage of uri... [=urine] (which became worse in the end), something which already started to make him seriously ill a year ago. In 1779 when he was in Cheshire (a place he visited every year to get some rest) with his sister and another woman, he remained shyly sitting in his coach for too long and he thus postponed doing what he was being pressed to do. This was the cause of this dignified man's terrible inconvenience, by which he suffered beyond description. He was about my age, walked very erect and was capable, although not at all strong; he was tall and thin because he lived so very simply. Nevertheless, except when he was in Cheshire, he tired himself out because he so conscientiously carried out his practice not with hopes of making a fortune, but simply to help people, mainly the poor. For both of us this is a great loss'.²⁰⁰ The disease which killed Fothergill was "occasioned by a schirrous enlargement of the prostate, which compressed the neck of the bladder so as to prevent the introduction of a catheter". The dissection of his bladder after his death was described and illustrated in detail in the biographical sketches that appeared shortly after his death.²⁰¹

FOURTH ANGLO-DUTCH WAR

Loten was worried that the American war would be disadvantageous to the Dutch East Indies Company at the Cape of Good Hope and in the East Indies. In October of 1780, he wrote to Van Hardenbroek saying: ‘Yesterday Mr [Alexander] Dalrymple told me that the King of France sent a nice sedan chair to Mrs v[an] Plettenbergh at the Cape and also that he sent a present to Mr Gov[erno]r v[an] Plettenbergh (about which I hope to inform you [later] in more detail, because my head is still somewhat confused by an asthma attack last night). Both of these were sent to acknowledge the welcoming and courteous reception of the French ships. One of the Captains (who usually are reasonably contented by the polite and decent treatment of the Governor) of an English Man-of-War shamelessly left without saluting the roadstead where he enjoyed civilities. I had the pleasure of hearing a condemnation, a forceful one at that’.²⁰² The above citation refers to the follow-up of the French-Dutch alliance (signed on 1 May 1780) against the British during the American War of Independence. In the period 1781-1784, the Cape of Good Hope fell under French military protection with Joachim Van Plettenberg as its Governor.²⁰³ The future of the Dutch East Indian possessions remained in Loten’s thoughts. A few days before the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, he wrote to Van Hardenbroek: “Yesterday a Gentleman of some quality, & of ancient origin, dined with us & told, I suppose in a jocular way only, two regiments were raising a new for a plunder of oriental Batavia. I wished I could explain my self clearer (this was his very expression, tho’ himself a senator, but others say they are intended, as perhaps more likely, for the West Indies). It is fruitless squander treasures for rendering that place much stronger by fortifications. But the old plan of the former century was then there the best, and it was to « have good squadrons of ships in & about the streets of Sunda » ”.²⁰⁴ This was followed by a detailed criticism of the ship-building policy of the East Indies Company. According to Loten the later governor-general Baron Van Imhoff “helped to lay aside the larger ships of 160 & some more feet, which would always have proved, in case of emergency, an prodigious sheat anchor of naval force to the Lion with the united arrows [=Seal of the Dutch States-General of the Seven United Netherlands]”.

In 1778, Amsterdam regents and American representatives had begun secret negotiations. In September of 1780, the English government got a hold of copies of these negotiations. They found the text of a proposed draft treaty approved by the Dutch pensionary Van Berckel among the documents of Henry Laurens, the American envoy who had been removed from *The Mercury* on his way to the Republic. It was one of the incidents occasioning further deterioration of Anglo-Dutch relations. On December 20th 1780, this in turn resulted in the British Manifesto setting off the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. Shortly after the declaration of war, Loten wrote to his brother expressing his concern about Dutch East Indies and about his own possessions: ‘I hope that they take serious care of the Eastern possessions and Africa’s Far Corner before it is too late. This is a grave matter, as is the fact that my wife has already spoken to me many times about sending our silver plate to the Bankers’.²⁰⁵

Little support existed in the Dutch Republic and among the Dutch community in London for anti-British policy.²⁰⁶ After their last conflict with England in 1672, relations between the two nations had become close. Loten’s acquaintance Rijklof Michael Van Goens even wrote a pamphlet, *Politique vertoog over het waar systema van Amsterdam* (1781) [‘Political elucidation about the true motives of Amsterdam’] about this. His words were directed against the City of Amsterdam’s pro-American policies. From Van Hardenbroek’s *Gedenkschriften*, it is clear that Loten did not share Van Goens’s ideas and that he probably agreed with his friend Van Hardenbroek who in April of 1781 told the Prince of Orange that he thought that publication of the pamphlet would cause ‘estrangement instead of consensus’.²⁰⁷ In November of 1781, Van Hardenbroek wrote to say that Loten had told him that the Dutch diplomats and Reverend Justus Melchior Van Effen in London had asked him to translate a pamphlet by Van Goens into English. Loten had indignantly refused to do so.²⁰⁸

A prominent member of the Dutch community was Lady Mary Holderness, sister of Loten’s former friend and cousin François Doublet. In December of 1780 shortly before the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War, Loten told his brother that to his “great astonishment three or four evenings past I found Lady Holderness’s visiting card had been left for my wife – tho’ I guess it has been about nine or ten years that I have in vain endeavoured to see Her Ladyship – something I finally gave up”.²⁰⁹ It reminded him of the ‘History of the Envoy extraordinary Van Groeneveld [Doublet]’, an affair about which he had evidently never told his wife anything. The affairs of Lady Holderness’s daughter, Amelia D’Arcy, however, had been a topic in Loten’s letters to Van Hardenbroek.²¹⁰ Lady Holderness had been a widow since 1778.²¹¹ Lord Holderness had had no sons so that all of his titles had lapsed except that of the

Baronies of D'Arcy (de Knayth) and Conyers; these were Baronies by Writ. Lord Holderness' daughter Amelia had succeeded her father in those peerages. In Loten's correspondence with Van Hardenbroek, Lady Conyers is mentioned several times. In 1773, Amelia D'Arcy had married Francis Godolphin Osborne (1751-1799), styled Marquis of Carmarthen and in 1789 fifth Duke of Leeds. In May of 1779 however, she had divorced him by Act of Parliament. On 9 June 1779, she married John Byron (1756-1791) with whom she had eloped on 13 December 1778. Several years later, John became father to Lord Byron. On 18 December 1778, Horace Walpole wrote about this affair: "Lady Holderness expresses nothing but grief and willingness to receive her daughter again on any terms, which probably will happen; for the daughter has already opened her eyes, is sensible of her utter ruin, and has written to Lord Camarthen [her husband] and Madam Cordon [wife of the Sardinian Ambassador], acknowledging her guilt, and begging to be remembered only with pity, which is sufficient to make one pity her".²¹² In October of 1780, Loten refers to Lady Conyers's divorce in a letter to Van Hardenbroek, who evidently knew both Lady Holderness and her daughter:

"A Friend, who dined at the [Sion] Hill [=Lady Holderness' country seat] not many days ago, told me last Friday, the 12th [October 1780] that Lady Holdernesse was to be in London that very evening for the purpose of receiving her daughter Lady Conyers, then expected from Yorkshire, for they say she hath no house in town at present. She has three fine children of the 1st marriage, who are all with their grand mother, who on her turn officiates with the 2...[husband]. When Lady C. (the daughter) (Lady C. was once that sweet child Emilie, then certainly known to You), had been married about 3 months with Biron, who is a few years younger than she, her Ladyship was brought to bed of child, that soon after died & whose father hath not been ascertained. Afterwards another made its appearance, either still-born or soon after died. All what this friend, who has the honour of being known to You, acquainted me with, agrees perfectly with what I daily heard. Since four days I wrote & sent to the City for the Trial of this famous Lady, of which tho' many thousands have been printed, till now have not been able to get it. In the beginning I neglected sending for it, my curiosity being satisfied with the sundry specimens I met with in the daily papers".²¹³

However in February of 1781, he obtained a printed version of Lady Conyers's divorce proceedings for Van Hardenbroek, who had apparently shown an interest in the affair.²¹⁴ According to Loten, it was nearly impossible to obtain the document because it was 'so eagerly acquired by virtuosi & the curious and besides that very avidly purchased by the Ladies'.

A DUTCHMAN IN HOSTILE LONDON

When war was declared on December 20, 1780, Dutch diplomats were recalled to Holland. The former representative of the Prince Stadholder in Zeeland, Mr. Willem Van Citters, 'was so good as to have dinner with me on Saturday 31 December [1780] and left Sunday morning together with His High Honourable friend Count Van Welderen (the Countess joined him) and Secretary Lelieveld, who has always been very kind to me'.²¹⁵ In May of 1780 Van Citters, a deputy of the States-General on behalf of the Province of Zeeland, had come to London without a commission from the States-General and against the wishes of the Stadholder. People in the Hague suspected that he had gone to England to secure the Province of Zeeland and his family's own interests.²¹⁶ He had regularly visited Loten in New Burlington Street. In August of 1780 he taken a tour of England with the secretary of the Dutch envoy, Mr Bernard Pieter Van Lelyveld. While in Porthmouth, Van Lelyveld had been invited to board the war-ship *Prince George* by admiral Robert Digby, cousin to Loten's wife.²¹⁷ Secretary Bernard Pieter Van Lelyveld, too, had been a regular visitor to New Burlington Street.²¹⁸ In 1779, Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek about Lelyveld saying that he was "now and then so good to sit an hour with me, he possesses a good deal of useful and agreeable knowledge".²¹⁹

Two weeks after the declaration of War and the departure of Dutch diplomats, Loten told his brother: 'I have not spoken with any Englishman who wants or approves of this. Some are even sad about it and I too am unhappy about the innocents who suffer most. The Declaration of Unrestricted Convoy was very reasonable. The alliance at Celebes was set up like this and it usually worked out rather well. Sometime ago I read a proposal like this for the High and Powerfull in Europe; however, where would you find Influential Great Persons willing to submit to these'.²²⁰ In his letter, Loten also referred to a recent visit by Admiral Robert Digby. According to Loten, Digby 'said that the situation also saddened him, a very respectable man; several years ago already, I had heard that he preferred to be on land, which I very surely believe'. He also noted that 'several of my departed compatriots do not agree at all with me'.

Among these was Miss Hop, the daughter of former Dutch envoy Henrik Hop. Miss Hop lived in London with her stepmother Judith Lambert. Miss Hop told Loten that the phrasing of the British Manifesto was ‘of a kind of softness’ not understood by the Dutch.²²¹ However in May 1781, possibly encouraged by Loten’s fervent patriotism, she told him that she too wanted to go to her homeland, Holland.²²²

Before the Dutch envoy Van Welderen left London, his British wife Anne Whitwell visited the King and Queen. Van Hardenbroek described her in June of 1781 as being ‘very fervently in favour of the English’.²²³ In February of 1781, Loten wrote his brother about her reception by the Royal couple. He received his information from his wife Lettice, who had heard about it from Mrs Van Weldren’s younger sister, Mary Whitwell (1728-1799). In 1768, Mary married the ‘haughty Reverend [William] Parker’, one of His Majesty’s chaplains and rector of St James’s, Westminster.²²⁴ Miss Hop also confirmed that the ‘distinguished reception’ took place.²²⁵ Shortly after he returned to Utrecht in November of 1781, Loten wrote to Van Hardenbroek with more details of Mrs Van Welderen’s visit to King George III and Queen Charlotte: ‘When she came to say farewell to the King and Queen, Mrs Van Welderen was received in the following way. The King took his two youngest children from their attendants – who had carried them – and when they had left the room, the King took a child on each of his knees. With the attendants gone, Mrs Van Welderen sat down near the King and Queen. She stayed there for at least one hour, probably to settle the things that her husband could not complete, because he had been ordered to leave without a farewell ceremony’.²²⁶

This demonstration of Mrs Van Welderen’s intimacy with the hostile British Monarch evidently irritated Loten. However, he was even more annoyed by the Dutch-born Lady Holderness’s behaviour. Lady Holderness had been *Lady of the Bedchamber* in Queen Charlotte’s household since 1770, an honour for which she received a salary of £ 500 per year. In February 1781, Loten wrote to his brother with some irony in his words saying: ‘I see that our worthy cousin Lady Holderness is again making her Rounds as Lady of the Bedchamber. This convinces me that she was sure that Peace was at hand, because otherwise I should think that somebody who thinks well (and I have no reason to doubt that Her High Born feels like that) and who can also live out of town, has to give up this service with dignity’.²²⁷ In the same period, probably with much satisfaction, he registered the following under the heading “Fraud” in his *Bell’s Common place book*: “A most superb court-dress belonging to the Countess of H---sse [=Holderness] has just been seized by some of the revenue officers, and carried to the customhouse. The elegance of the dress draws a number of spectators to behold it. It is a white spotted satin ground embroidered with gold, silver, white pearls, and foiles of various colours: other pieces of silk, black and white crape, trimmings; gloves, &c. to a large amount, were likewise seized in the same chest. The principal piece of silk is said to have been intended as court dress for her Ladyship’s daughter the Marchioness of C--- [=Conyers]”. Perhaps he remembered an incident which took place many years before, between 1763 and 1765, when Lady Holderness, according to Horace Walpole, “invaded the custom-house with a hundred and fourteen gowns”.²²⁸

In March 1781 Loten ‘was so upset by the sequence of what I see and hear to occur, that I almost do not want to write in English’.²²⁹ For this reason, he wrote his letter to Van Hardenbroek in Dutch. He expressed his indignation about the attitude taken by diplomatic compatriots who had left London in December 1780. Upon his return to Holland, the former Dutch envoy Van Welderen stated that he felt that a more careful diplomacy in the Hague could have prevented the conflict.²³⁰ Rumour in the Hague, had it that Zeeland representative Willem Van Citters was also against the war, which was unfavourable to trade between Zeeland and England.²³¹ Loten was astonished by the passivity of the Dutch: ‘Today several [English] public newspapers have recommended [...] to invade Curaçao and after that Suriname. At the moment the Dutch have more patience than ever. Now that the [English] great fleet is in Gibraltar, I do not read or hear anything about any arrangements being made by the allies to hermetically close the Channel &c’.²³² A few days later he told his brother that if the ‘Dutch Nation [...] always lets her lion sleep without stirring her claws, it will not command much’.²³³ The reference was to the ‘Generaliteitsleeuw’, the Dutch lion in the coat of arms of the Dutch States-General.

The passivity of the Dutch in regards to the English continued to irritate Loten. In his letters to Van Hardenbroek and his brother, he also expressed his feelings of bitterness regarding young Willem Count Bentinck, the grandson of his late friend General Jan Maximiliaan Tuyl van Serooskerken. Sixteen-year-old Bentinck was a cadet in the service of the British Navy: ‘W[illem] B[entinck], whose grandfather was my highly respected Friend from 1726 until 1762 (when unfortunately suprem: diem ☹), also works on the Conquering Fleet. However, it is my humble opinion that the sentiments of his father’s family are

leading. Several competent persons assert, and I think that is probably true, that W[illem] B[entinck] has not contributed anything good (in fact probably the opposite) to what has happened to date. Because the B[ritish] evilly threatened to drive him off of his property he gave into B[ritish] pressure. I was told this by a highly respected Compatriot who has left and who gave me all kinds of details about it'.²³⁴ The remark refers to Willem Bentinck's grandfather, Willem Bentinck of Rhoon, who in 1748 had been instrumental in restoring the power of the Stadholder in the Dutch Republic.²³⁵ Nevertheless one month later, the young Bentinck, together with his cousins Frederik Willem Van Reede and Arend Jacob Diederic Perponcher-Sedlnitzky,²³⁶ dined with Loten and his wife at New Burlington Street: 'Frits Van Reede (or Lord Aigrim) regularly visited us and also dined with us one day before his departure [to Holland] with his cousins Bentinck & Perponcher. It is a nice, handsome boy who also amuses my wife. [He] behaves well. Perponcher is also a well-mannered boy who will always be welcome here. Bentinck appears to be more reserved and will continue to serve the English. I regret that Jan Van Tuyll's grandson is under arms now [scratched out: 'against half of his homeland or almost all']'.²³⁷

RETURN TO UTRECHT

From the correspondence of 1781, we may conclude that Loten's health improved somewhat. This made a return to Holland increasingly realistic. His wish to go home was intensified by London's hostile atmosphere. In March of 1781 he wrote to Van Hardenbroek: 'I would much prefer that a happy peace be restored very soon before I come over, not because of myself or the danger, but because of the convulsions in my stomach &c. At this very moment, my body is contorted by one that is torturing me, even though I am in a period in which I have flattered myself that I am somewhat better. I have been out in a closed coach for the first time in several months, but it has once again spoiled everything. However, I lament the innocents suffering nearly irreparably. I wonder about the lack of courage to attack and redress'.²³⁸ This final sentence was a comment on the Dutch Republic's hesitation to take action in the recently declared war. Several days later he wrote to his brother about his health: 'Now and then it seems that I am perfectly healthy, especially between 10 & 2 at night, and then this feeling wanes. Yesterday it was eight days ago that, having spent several months at home, I had dared to drive to Fleetstreet about 6 to 8 minutes from here. A new cold and a change in the convulsions followed. About 3 weeks ago, I was in pain, possibly the result of a stone at the entrance of my bladder. Like his predecessor Dr Dawson [in May 1761] &c., Dr Smith thought it was calculus. Suffering considerable pain, I lost lumps of coagulated blood the size of acorns, once 4 at a time, the largest like an acorn. However, with one or two doses of Opium I recovered, although I would not be surprised if one small stone has remained'.²³⁹

Loten's wife Lettice still went out in the evening and in March of 1781 she visited 'Mrs Lyël, whose husband is a Swedish Gentleman'.²⁴⁰ In that month, Loten travelled by coach to Hoxton, three-quarters of an hour from London, where he paid a visit to William Ferguson and his family. Loten met Mr William Ferguson (*b.* 1735), a merchant of Hoxton and Amsterdam in November of 1780. Ferguson was a local Methodist preacher who distributed John Wesley's sermons among his Dutch friends.²⁴¹ In April of 1778, he preached in Holland and was introduced "to the chief of the country, the prince of Orange" who asked him "many questions concerning both my country and religion". Thereafter, he visited many cities in the Dutch Republic. He repeated this in 1779 and 1780. During his tours through the United Provinces, he met the Loten family from Utrecht, probably on the invitation of Loten's niece Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten, a devout Methodist.²⁴²

The Methodist revival originated in England, where it was started by John Wesley (1703-1791) and his younger brother Charles (1707-1788). The movement focused on studying the Bible; its approach to Scripture and Christian living was methodical. The early Methodists reacted against the apathy of the Church of England; they became open-air preachers and established Methodist societies wherever they went. They were notorious for their enthusiastic sermons and were often accused of fanaticism. Thomas Sheridan described their preaching as "to work upon the fancy and imagination, by the enthusiastick notions of the operations of the spirit". According to Sheridan: "To answer this end, canting and frantick gestures might be more forcible than the best regulated oratory; for the less natural the tones, and the less human the looks and gestures might appear, the more in the eyes of a fanatick multitude would they seem to be divine inspirations, and the working of the spirit".²⁴³ Loten was not a follower of the Methodist movement and its enthusiastic preaching, but he was sympathetic to William Ferguson. Loten appreciated the man's visits. Ferguson spoke in a peace-loving way about the conflict between England and the Netherlands, although it was clear that Loten did not share his opinions: 'Once that good man told me

that the K[ing] loved the Dutch people (after all his actions prove this) and that H[is] M[ajesty] longed for Peace &c. Then he spoke of an eternally greater BEING and that it was THERE disposed. I said that it was impossible that it could be otherwise, but that the circumstances proved the opposite'.²⁴⁴

In March of 1781, Loten described Ferguson's family and house: 'Ferguson has, I think, 7 sons and 1 daughter and a pretty small house, which seems to be about 30 miles from London. His consulting room is nicely furnished'. On the wall Loten saw prints of 'the house at Zeist' [=The house of the Dutch Moravians], Luther, Calvin and the Methodist preachers Whitfield and Romayne.²⁴⁵ Moreover, 'a clock containing a funny sailor dancing a jig is the finest thing I have ever seen. I did not know he was such an artist'.²⁴⁶

One may be sure that William Hogarth's engraving *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism: A Medley*, a satirical illustration ridiculing 'enthusiastic' Methodist preaching, did not hang on the wall of Ferguson's cottage. The powerful preacher who dominates the print clearly alluded to George Whitefield. In the devout atmosphere of Mr Ferguson's consulting room, the print, which also depicts a banderole-like sonometer called "W[hitefiel]d's Scale of Vociferation" showing ranges from "Nat[jura]l Tone" to "Bull Roar" and apparently also registering screams of "Blood, Blood, Blood, Blood", would undoubtedly have been regarded blasphemous.²⁴⁷ Loten must have been familiar with the engraving as it was published in its final state in March 1762. At that time, it probably aroused a recollection of his early youth: the 'crying, roaring and stamping' Reverend Schutter at the pulpit in the Wijk bij Duurstede church.²⁴⁸

In April of 1781, the Lotens prepared to leave for Holland. Loten clearly wanted to leave behind England's hostility. He expressed his opinion about London in the following way: 'I am annoyed especially about the feelings and expressions of several Dutchmen, one of whom one (with a Noble title) visited me this morning. I declined to see him and found an excuse. I shall do my best to remain calm at least until I am in the Netherlands, an intention which, despite the fact that our health forbids either of us from going on such voyages. I do not plan to give up and to this end, I have ordered 3 new saddles this morning'.²⁴⁹ Late in May 1781 about two months after the above cited message was written, Loten was much more pessimistic about returning to Utrecht. He suffered from constipation. About this, he wrote: 'I do not know how I can reach Utrecht or cross the sea in a state in which despite medication, I am only able to go to where even His Imperial Majesty goes by foot, once every 11 or 12 days, usually just once in a week'.²⁵⁰

Despite his constipation, Loten prepared to cross the Channel. He had written 'two letters to Mr Fector in Dover and taken measures to ensure that he was able to cross in the best possible way under the Imperial Banner'.²⁵¹ This time his preparations were successful. The day before they set out from London to return to Holland, Lady Vere "called at our house in New Burlington Street to wish us a happy journey". This demonstrates that right up to the end of their stay in London, London's social elite visited them. Lady Vere was the wife of admiral Vere Beauclerk, who was described by Loten in January 1783 as follows: "I remember well that He came to see us in New Burlington Street where h[is] L[ordshi[p]] sat in the blue room, on a pair of stairs. [He] was in appearance the greatest likeness of Charles the Second – M[ademoise]lle Hop said and I believe it perfectly true, that he was the best bred Gentleman in G[reat] Britain. Had been an Admiral of good repute, which did not lessen the gentleness of his manners".²⁵²

Towards the end of August 1781, Loten left his house in New Burlington Street for the last time: "We (thus Letitia is amongst the travelling society) set out from London 28 August [1781], were laid up by severe fevers & sore throat of indeed poor Letty for about a week at a good Inn at Canterbury, where those that kept it and did so a good while ago, took a more friendly care of us than I ever remember was done in times of perfect tranquillity & peace".²⁵³ They travelled in the company of Loten's maid Sitie, 'my Governor Ernest Sellin, my former Utrecht coachman Henrik and my English domestic William Stubble, who has a brother who is an able painter who won several golden and silver medals from the Academy when he was just 17 years-old'.²⁵⁴

While delayed at the *Red Lion* in Canterbury, Loten and Lettice were cared for by Doctor Knowler, the brother of two retired British Naval officers, one of whom Loten knew in Ceylon.²⁵⁵ Despite the infection in Lettice's throat and Loten's "unbearable spasms [...] that did return but twice in twenty four hours", the company resumed their travels from Canterbury to Dover five days later. They arrived at Dover on 4 September 1781. Loten's friend Alexander Dalrymple had travelled from London to say farewell to him and his wife. Their departure was delayed 'by bad weather & contrary winds'. At last, nine days after arrival in Dover, they embarked on a small packet-boat: "The patron's name John Sharp a young Englishman with a Mate [...] of the same nation besides the two Flemish or Dutch sailors. Not a

gun, swivel or even musket a board, which as it could not be useful, I was very glad of it. About 7½ a.m. the 13th Sept[ember] we set sail with a favorable breeze & entered Ostend-harbour about the same time p.m. Consequently dark, which I was sorry for as this harbour consisted as much as could distinguish in a sort of a river bordered with numberless shipping on both sides & several that had four & five cabin sashes. They told me to be Swedish vessels. Two nights I stayed there, and the same time at Bruges, but at the last I saw three churches”.

Loten asked Captain Sharp whether he had ever had to deal with pirates. Sharp confirmed this and showed Loten a flag with an Imperial Double Eagle on it. This was supposed to protect them in the case of an emergency. In his cynical comments about this, Loten spared neither his fellow-countrymen nor the Dutch-born Lady Holderness: “That is the way Jan Bul, brother of the Sovereign of the Ocean [The Netherlands] protects himself. I shall not spoil this letter with a description of his features which is now renowned. People in the towns and inns on the road were never as kind as they are now. I even saw teary eyes. However, I am sure that the just mentioned Auld Barque Ship [Great Britain] has no scruples, even if such an approach causes millions their lives. How heartily Great Britain is laughing and ridiculing the Dutch, much like in a stage farce; while MyLady, our Dutch cousin [a reference to Lady Holderness], modestly stands behind her Mistress, without ever taking a seat, which is in any case permitted, and representing her Compatriots. Oh God Almighty! Is it possible to endure this any longer and also, to be praised, mainly by the Dutch?”. In short, in the end it was a bitter farewell to the country where he had lived, with periodic absences, for nearly twenty-three years.

From Bruges the Loten party travelled to Ghent, where they stayed at the ‘nice S^t Sebastien Inn’. At eight in the evening on September 17th 1781, Loten ate ‘half a partridge with half a perch, waterzoodje’ [Waterzoodje is a dish typical of Ghent. It consists of several kinds of freshwater fish boiled in water, sometimes with chicken added] and drank ‘half a glass of light beer and two glasses of Burgundy wine’. He went to bed at one o’clock without drinking a ‘strong coffee’. However, he was punished for his ‘gluttony’, because he woke up at two o’clock and sensed the ‘enemies approaching’. These drove him from his bed, where he ‘could not return any sooner than six thirty.’ He laid down ‘until half past eight, however without sleeping’. He planned to travel to Brussels and then to Utrecht. He wrote his brother from Ghent: ‘I never imagined, and I speak earnestly, that with my declining constitution I should come so far’. However, Lettice was inclined to visit Spa, which had been ‘strongly recommended’ as being favourable to her indisposition. Loten, however, could not begin to imagine how he would accomplish this detour ‘now the year is so far advanced’. The Loten documents do not contain any information relating to their final itinerary to Utrecht. It seems probable that they did not make the detour to Spa first, but arrived in Utrecht early October 1781.²⁵⁶

¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

² Many remarks on the genealogy of families were entered in the period 1776 until 1781 in his large genealogical notebooks. See HUA GC 750 nrs 96 and 97.

³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 39. Loten quoted Cornwall's monologue (*King Lear*, Act II, scene 2) from the *Morning Post*, February 17, 1778.

This is some fellow
 Who, having been prais'd for bluntness, doth affect
 A saucy roughness, and constrains the garb
 Quite from his nature: he cannot flatter, he, —
 An honest mind and plain, — he must speak truth!
 And they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.
 These kind of knaves I know which in this plainness
 Harbour more craft and more corrupter ends
 Than twenty silly-ducking of servants
 That stretch their duties nicely.

Loten concluded the entry with a French quotation about 'Friendship' [Loten added 'of some Friends'] from the *Conseils de l'amitié*, published in 1749 in Frankfurt by J.G. Eslinger.

'Friendship. You live in the world my dear Aristide. Soon you will see that men who do nothing are the most bored people, they are also the most boring men. They are a burden to themselves, their families, their friends and to those who do not know them: we are tired of seeing them'.

⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405. John Lockwood Esq. was a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance; "Cadell" was Thomas Cadell (1742-1802) the London bookseller on the Strand no 141.

⁵ The reference is to Reverend John Hotham (1735-1795), Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, Archdeacon of Middlesex, Vicar of Northall and Shoreditch, married since 1765 to Susannah Mackworth, daughter of Sir Herbert Mackworth MP. Mackworth was Loten's neighbour at no 2 New Burlington Street in London and was related to Loten's wife Lettice Cotes. John Hotham was in 1777 Chaplain to John Hobart, (1723-1793), second Earl of Buckinghamshire, during his term as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1776-1780). John Hotham's elder brother Charles (1729-1794), a Colonel and *Groom of the Bedchamber*, was married to Lady Dorothy the sister of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. See R. Johnson (1771). *The baronetage of England*, London: printed for G. Woodfall and others, volume 1, page 233.

The second Earl of Buckinghamshire is still remembered for a remarkable reverie about his fears of contracting a venereal disease and the pox after a "condum crack". See Black (1999), page 191, who incorrectly characterised the verse as a "masturbatory reverie".

⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

⁷ Jan Kol, Loten's financial agent referred to Loten's health situation in letters to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen, Utrecht 13 February 1777. See Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64.

⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405. Antoine Baumé (1728-1804) was a French pharmacist who invented a process for making a liquid distillate from opium crystals that he called "sel essentiel d'opium". According to *The new dispensatory* of William Lewis (1768 third edition and later editions), the Baumé extraction technique "required several months of boiling". In 1768 Baumé also devised an improved hydrometer using the scale that now bears his name.

⁹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15, B 7. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 23 June 1777.

¹⁰ NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 Inventaris 425. *Journal voyage to Batavia* 1732.

¹¹ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777. Isaac Sweers was buried the 13th of June 1777 in Amsterdam (Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, Archief familie Sweers inv. 319, number 42). June, 23, 1777

HUA.GC 750 nr 96 gives a genealogy of the Sweers family by Joan Gideon Loten (pages 218-221). Loten mentions Isaak Sweers as "myn zeer oude lieve vriend @ t'Amsterdam 1777", he further characterised his friend as "Magistrat integre & tres éclairé". He also quoted the message of Sweers' death in the *Utrechtsche Courant* of Monday June 9, 1777.

¹² Loten wrote between 1777-1781 fifteen letters to Van Hardenbroek. In the 19 years of their correspondence (1763-1784) he wrote 37 letters. Unfortunately only one letter by Van Hardenbroek to Loten was retraced: HUA.GC 750 nr 1396. G.J. Van Hardenbroek to J.G. Loten. Yacht between Utrecht and The Hague 30 July 1767. Van Hardenbroek must have been a loyal correspondent, because in most of his letters Loten referred to the letters he received from his friend.

¹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. See Chapter 6, paragraph 'Loten's paintings and prints'.

¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393 and 1405.

The reference is to Major William John Spearman Wasey of the Horse Guards, later a Colonel in the Guards and Silverstick to George III. The Major had several sons. William John Spearman Wasey was the only son of William Wasey M.D. of Norfolk (*d.* 1757), who studied in Cambridge and Leiden (1716). Dr Wasey was President of the Royal College of Physicians (1750-1754). He was chosen Physician to the Westminster Hospital at its establishment in 1719, but resigned his office there in 1733, having been one of the six physicians appointed to St. George's Hospital. He married (*ca* 1730) Margaret, second daughter of Gilbert Spearman, Esq., of Thornley and Bishop Middleham, co. Durham.

The French boarding-school at Warmond was founded circa 1675 and remained until 1799 an educational institute for young gentlemen. In 1799 the institute became a Roman Catholic Seminary (information Mr A.C.L. Van Noort, chairman Historisch Genootschap Warmelda, 17 February 2008). The institute was reckoned among the best of its kind in The Netherlands. See Hartog (1890), page 130.

¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 May 1781.

¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780.

¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780.

¹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 395. J.C. Van Der Bruggen to J.G. Loten. Croy 20 April 1780. Letter written in French.

¹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 March 1781.

²⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777.

²¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London 29 May 1781.

²² Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778.

²³ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 7 January 1778.

²⁴ Otto Martinus Severijn was the son of the Alida Theodora Aerssen Van Juchen, the sister of his mother, Arnoldina Maria Aerssen Van Juchen. March 19, 1771 Severijn, at that time "captyn", living in Utrecht, made his will for notary H.N. Schalkwijk a Velden, in which he declared that Cornelia Otto Severijn, his natural daughter with Geertruy Maria Blankenberg, would come in her mother's place in case Geertruy Maria Blankenberg should die. See HUA.NA U242a7 nr 72.

²⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777.

²⁶ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP280/1-4. Press cutting dated 1781 of Ashton Lever's address. A description of the Leverian collection was published by George Shaw (1792-1796), *Museum Leverianum*. G.F.A. Wendeborn described the collection in *Der Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und Kunst in Großbritannien gegen das Ende des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. (Berlin, 1785-1788). See Gumbert (1977), volume II, pages 148-149.

²⁷ In 1780 Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788) established the Royal Toxophilite Society, the oldest and most important of English archery clubs, in conjunction with Mr. Waring, the curator of his museum of collections, who had studied bow-making under Mr. Constable and the survivors of the Finsbury Archers. At its first institution, which marks the revival of archery, the society shot in the grounds of Leicester House. In 1784, however, it obtained leave from the Honourable Artillery Company to shoot in the Artillery Ground. In 1787 H.R.H. the Prince of Wales became patron of the society and sometimes shot with its members.

See 'Sport, ancient and modern: Pastimes', *A History of the County of Middlesex* (1911), Volume 2: General; Ashford, East Bedford with Hatton, Feltham, Hampton with Hampton Wick, Hanworth, Laleham, Littleton, pages 283-292.

²⁸ In 1784 it was stated by Sir Ashton Lever's manager that the museum had been brought to London in the year 1775; that it had occupied twelve years in forming, and contained upwards of 26,000 articles; that the money taken for admission amounted, from February, 1775, to February, 1784, to about £13,000, out of which £660 had been paid for house-rent and taxes.

See 'Leicester Square', *Old and New London*. Volume 3 (1878), pp. 160-173.

²⁹ The observation and quote about the Lever collection were taken from Gascoigne (1994), page 68.

³⁰ For *virtuoso* see: Houghton (1942a&b); McCue (1971) and Gascoigne (1994).

³¹ Samuel Johnson: *The Rambler* no 82, December 29, 1750. The Latin motto of *The Rambler* no 82 is from Martial's *Epigrams*, and reads in translation: 'Castor buys everything, it may so happen that he may be obliged to sell all'. The second quote is from *The Rambler* no 83, January 1, 1751. The Latin motto of *The Rambler* no 83 is from Phaedrus, *Arbores Deorum*, and reads in translation 'Unless what we do is useful, glory is foolish'.

See also the concluding lines in Mark Akenside, *The Virtuoso* (1737) for the character of the ridiculed *virtuoso*:

All things with vitiated sight he spies;
Neglects his family, forgets his friends,
Seeks painted trifles and fantastic toys,
And eagerly pursues imaginary joys.

³² From: 'Leicester Square', *Old and New London*. Volume 3 (1878), pp. 160-173. In 1784 Sir Ashton Lever presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying to be allowed to dispose of his museum by a lottery. Sir Ashton proposed that his whole museum should go together, and that there should be 40,000 tickets at one guinea each, but of this number only 8,000 tickets were sold. However, the proprietor allowed the lottery to take place, and although he held 28,000 tickets, he lost his museum, which was won by a Mr. James Parkinson, who only held two.

³³ Samuel Johnson: *The Rambler* no 83, January 1, 1751.

³⁴ See for an assessment of Shadwell's *Virtuoso*: J.M. Gilde (1970). Shadwell and the Royal Society: Satire in The Virtuoso. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*. 10 (3), pages 469-490. The quote is on page 472.

³⁵ In the library of the Leiden Naturalis Museum there is a copy of John Latham's *General synopsis of birds* that was evidently Loten's own copy. Loten's remark about the white peacock is in volume II part 2, page 672, published in 1783.

³⁶ Watercolour of the male of Red-breasted Parakeet or Moustached parakeet, *Psittacula alexandri alexandri* (Linnaeus, 1758) in London Natural History Museum: NHM.LC 10, 38 x 25 cm; 38 x 50 cm unfolded. Drawing is within a light blue frame 34.5 x 21 cm. In ink by Loten:

"Parrakeet from the mountainous parts of the Island Java. I shot this about half way the Gov. Genr. Seat 1757, drawn in its natural bigness the only one I ever saw of this species very similar to the black cheeked parriquet from Borneo in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum of which Mr Brown toke the best drawing add 7 aug 1780 nor did the natives know it whom I shewed it to.

It remained many days a live being carried with me to Batavia".

NHMLMS page 6 note in Dutch: [I did not find at Ceylon the unusual beautiful very small green parrot or parakeet that one can find on the whole island of Java and on Celebes, however I found a species as large (portrayed on ...), the first mentioned small parakeet is described by Valentijn .. & also by Derham where it is also portrayed, I have seen the same in my home town Utrecht who came, as was told to me, from America, those were called at home West Indian sparrows.]

NHMLMS page 27 note by Loten in Dutch dated 31 July 1780: [C. Grey-headed Parrot with black collar and a black stripe from the head to the eyes, with green wings mixed with yellow feathers, the breast is of a red colour mixed with yellow, which shines like gold and with grey. I shot this one in the highlands about 10 or 11 hours walk S. of Batavia. This is the only one that I ever saw; when still alive it was drawn by the artist de Bevere.]

³⁷ The reference is to Assuerus Swaeffken from Doesburg, who departed to Batavia as 'adelborst' for the Chamber of Delft, 2 May 1724, with the ship *Stadhuys Delft* to Batavia, where he arrived 23 February 1725. Swaeffken died 23 May 1734 at Samarang. In TUL.TF-Hs 78 number 12, there is a note on the funeral costs of Assuerus Swaeffken, dated Samarang 1 November 1739, signed by J.G. Loten and Van DerMeijden.

³⁸ TS.LC 17, 29.7 x 42 cm; 60x 42 cm (unfolded). The drawing is within a rose coloured frame 24.9 x 33 cm. Watercolour of Rhinoceros hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros* Linnaeus, 1758. In the Leiden Naturalis Museum copy of John Latham's *General synopsis of birds* volume I part 1, page 343 (published 1781) the Rhinoceros hornbill is described. Loten wrote in pencil:

“Sir Ashton Lever kindly gave me leave to take a drawing of it, which M P. Brown did for me in a most masterly manner”.

³⁹ The Hon. Daines Barrington (1727-1800), lawyer, antiquary and naturalist. Barrington was the fourth son of the first Viscount Barrington. He was educated for the profession of the law, and after filling various posts, was appointed a Welsh judge in 1757 and afterwards second justice of Chester. Though an indifferent judge, he had a high reputation among historians and constitutional antiquaries. Barrington's writings are to be found in the publications of the Royal and Antiquaries Societies, of both of which he was long a member.

⁴⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 4 April 1780.

“I had some other trifles to send, for amusement or use at the Heiligenberg [Van Hardenbroek's country seat since 1770], such as render rural life philosophically agreeable &c. My friend the judge Mr. Barrington has published without his name an ingenious direction for daily observations”.

⁴¹ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777. In his *Bell's Common place book* Loten wrote under the heading “Vogels kooyen”:

“wegens de kooijen der ouden Statius Sylv.
At tibi quanta domus, rutitula testudine fulgens
Connexusque ebori radorum argenteus ordo.
my gecommuniceerd door den HoogEdelen
Heer Daines Barrington 10 July 1777.”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 35.

⁴² ‘On the death of a favourite Parrot’, Publius Papinius Statius (c 45- c 96), *Silvae liber 2*, IV Psittacus eiusdem. The translation is from: Harm-Jan van Dam (1984), *P. Papinius Statius, Silvae book II, a commentary*. Brill, Leiden, page 39 and 349-350.

⁴³ The reference to Dr Kelly and the fumigating bath is to Dr Christopher Kelly of Knightbridge, a Doctor of Medicine of Aberdeen and Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, in 1771 consulting physician of the British Lying-in Hospital for Married Women in Brownlow-Street, Long-Acre. Dr Bartholomew Dominiceti and his son Dr Rhodomonte Dominiceti wrote an hilarious account about Kelly's disastrous application of Medical baths. According to the Dominiceti's, Italian physicians who introduced medical bathing in England, Dr Kelly under false pretences copied the Dominiceti fumigating bathing apparatus. In their pamphlets Dr Kelly is mentioned *Dr K--ly* and *Dr Kill-all* and described not only as a plagiarist but also as a madman:

“He came to St James, dressed in a naval commander's uniform; and as a divine prophet, and the Ambassador of Jesus Christ, presented to the hands of Majesty a note written with his blood, desiring that the name of the Royal Consort might be changed into Queen Mary; in consequence of which strange extravagance he was immediately replaced in confinement”.

Dr Bartholomew Dominiceti also related the case of one Mrs L.; it is tempting to identify her with Loten's consort.

“Mrs. L. being brought as a patient to Dr Kill-all, was put into a water bath, and about five minutes after she was in, he let into the bath such a quantity of boiling water, as occasioned a total contraction of her limbs; violent tremours ensued; and for two years the lady lived on in pain, unable to move hand or foot”.

Bartholomew di Dominiceti (1779). *A short account of the introduction, nature, and use of the apparatuses of health, invented, improved, and perfected by Dr. Barthol. Dominiceti. Humbly addressed to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain*. London, 46 pages, especially pages 21-26.

Rhodomonte Dominiceti (1782). *A dissertation on the artificial medicated water baths, partial pumps, vapourous and dry baths, .. together with a description of the apparatus erected in Panton-Square, Hay-Market, to which are added, many well authenticated cases of cures*. London, printed for author, sold by W. Nicoll and all other booksellers in London and Westminster, 169 pages, especially pages 82-90.

⁴⁴ Loten referred to “pekballen”, a sticky sugar candy that could be bought in Wijk bij Duurstede. In a letter to his brother Arnout from Hammersmith, dated 21 July 1760 Loten refers to pekballen (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428):

“...met deeze malle vrolyke luijm [Loten wrote about the efforts of the Reverend Sarne in Norwich to couple him to a rich, fat and ugly widow] heb zo veel papier beklad dat het een stuyvertje meer aan post zal moeten kosten, schoon nergens voor goed als voor Portugal zynde; Kee Van Bladeren, als die te Wyk noch leefde, zou er ook pekballen of suykerarten in kunnen verkoopen ..”

⁴⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 19 May 1778.

⁴⁶ *On the periodical appearing or disappearing of certain birds* and *Experiments and Observations on the Singing of Birds*, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* Volume 62, December 1772, page 265-326 and Volume 63, December 1773 pages 249-291. Barrington also published about other natural history subjects. He contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1770 (volume 60 page 54-64), an account of the eight-year old Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's visit to London. It is doubtful whether Loten considered this as 'a piece of more important subjects', although nowadays it is without any doubt Barrington's most famous publication.

In 1781 Barrington collected his papers in *Miscellanies* (London, Printed by J. Nichols). The book includes Barrington's valued works on travel such as "The Possibility of reaching the North Pole Discussed" and the "Journal of a Spanish Voyage in 1775, to explore the Western Coast of N. America", together with essays on natural history, the child prodigy Mozart. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library the *Miscellanies* are mentioned on page 8, number 69.

⁴⁷ 'On the periodical appearing or disappearing of certain birds', *Philosophical Transactions*, volume 62, pages 265-326.

⁴⁸ This a very modern notion, which was recently confirmed in studies of the neural mechanism of birdsong memory, which showed that the process through which young male songbirds learn the characteristics of the songs of an adult male of their own species has strong similarities with speech acquisition in human infants. Sources: Bolhuis, J.J. & M. Gahr (2006). Neural mechanisms of birdsong memory. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 7, pages 347-357 and S.M.H. Gobes & J.J. Bolhuis (2007). Birdsong Memory: A Neural Dissociation between Song Recognition and Production. *Current Biology* 17, pages 789-793.

⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 151. Undated annotation probably early 1774. This is a correct guess, because the distance between the house at Oud Munsterhof and the Mall in straight line to the closest or to the farthest point is 580 or 1,200m. A Rynlandse roede is 3,77 meter.

⁵⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 July 1779.

⁵¹ J.H. Childs (1984). The Scottish brigade in the service of the Dutch Republic, 1689 to 1782. *Documentatieblad Werkgroep De Achttiende Eeuw* 16, pages 59-75.

⁵² Ronald V. Trubuhovich (2006), History of mouth-to-mouth rescue breathing Part 2: the 18th century, *Critical Care and Resuscitation*, 8, pages 157-171.

⁵³ Dr Alexander Johnson died in Charlotte Street, Portland Place, London in August 1799. *Gentleman's Magazine* 1799, September page 820. In the *The Medical Register for the year 1783*. London, J. Murray, pages 13, "Alexander Johnson M.D. Portland-street" is mentioned in the List of Physicians resident in London.

In J.R. Reuss (1804), *Alphabetical Register of all the authors actually living in Great-Britain, Ireland and in the United Provinces of North-America, Supplement and Continuation from the year 1790 tot the year 1803*, Dr Johnson is mentioned on page 547 with references to his publications on accidental death and agriculture.

⁵⁴ Alexander Johnson (1773). *A short account of a society at Amsterdam instituted in the year 1767 for the recovery of drowned persons*, London, sold at J. Nourse, S. Leacroft; J. Robson; L. Davis; J. Wilkie; Richardson & Urquhart, 141 pages. Also published as: *An account of some societies at Amsterdam and Hamburgh for the recovery of drowned persons, and of similar institutions at Venice, Milan, Padua, Vienna, and Paris; with a collection of authentic cases*, 144 pages [1773]. In 1775 published as *A collection of Authentic cases, proving the practicability of recovering persons visibly dead by drowning, suffocation, stifling, swooning, convulsions and other accidents*, 140 pages.

⁵⁵ Nevertheless in 1774, a *Humane Society* was instituted by Thomas Cogan (1736-1818) and the apothecary William Hawes (1736-1808).⁵⁵ Apparently Doctor Alexander Johnson did not play a role in this *Society*. In 1795, when the *Transactions of the Royal Humane Society* were published, his name was not mentioned; neither was a reference to his 1773 treatise included by the editor, the William Hawes, then a Medical Doctor and Senior Physician to the Surry and London Dispensaries.⁵⁵ The credits were claimed by Hawes, who only referred to Dr Thomas Cogan's translation of the *Transactions of the Amsterdam Society for the Recovery of Drowned Persons*, which, like Johnson's *Account*, was also published in 1773.⁵⁵ Apparently Hawes ignored the fact that Johnson had the first resuscitation practice in Great Britain.

According to the report in the *The Medical Register for the year 1779*. London, J. Murray, pages 46-49, the Humane Society was founded, "chiefly through the zeal and activity of Mr. William Hawes, Apothecary in the Strand". The Society published the methods of treatment of drowned persons and planned to reward a person who "will attempt to recover man, woman, or child, taken out of the water for dead". Humane Societies were also instituted at

Liverpool, Chester, Colchester and Leeds. In the last mentioned place six sets of fumigating apparatus were provided “and deposited at the most convenient parts of the town”. See *The Medical Register for the year 1780*. London, J. Murray, pages 92, 163. *The Medical Register for the year 1783*. London, J. Murray, pages 36-37

Dr Thomas Cogan had been a Dissenting Minister who preached in Holland (1759-1760). He obtained a M.D. at Leiden. He and William Hawes founded the Humane Society in 1774. For six years Cogan prepared the Annual Reports of the Society, on the return of Dr Cogan to Holland, the duty devolved on William Hawes.

See *The Gentleman's Magazine* 138, February 1818, page 177-178, Obituary Thomas Cogan; *Transactions of the Royal Humane Society from 1774 to 1784: with an appendix of miscellaneous observations on suspended animation to the year 1794; dedicated by permission to His Majesty by W. Hawes*, volume 1. London, J. Nichols; Rivington, Dilly, Johnson & Hookham, 1795.

⁵⁶ Alexander Johnson [1784]. *Relief from accidental death; or summary instructions for the general institution, proposed in the year 1773*. Republished in 1784 at the expence of the Maidenstone Society. Maidenstone, J. Blake, 19 pages; It was republished in 1785 at the expence of the author in London and printed by T. Hodgson, George's Court, Clerkenwell.

⁵⁷ Alexander Johnson (1789). *Relief from accidental death; or summary directions, in verse, extracted from the instructions at large, published by Alexander Johnson, M.D.. The whole accompanied by explanatory notes*. London, published at the expence of the doctor, Logographic Press, Picadilly, 16 pages.

⁵⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405. Loten inserted the address of Dr Alexander Johnson, “lives in White Friars New Wharf Temple, now Tavistock-Street at Cowper's no, ni fallon, 27”.

⁵⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

⁶⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405. Robert Boswell (1746-1804) was a first cousin of James Boswell, being a son of Dr John Boswell. He was writer to the Signet and held the position of Lyon King of Arms Depute.

More information about Johnson's financial distress is to be found in two legal papers, composed by James Boswell, the later biographer of Dr Samuel Johnson.

[James Boswell (1773)]. Johnson, Alexander. *Lord Gardenston reporter. Information for Dr Alexander Johnson, late military agent at the Hague, now of Salisbury-street in the Strand London, by Robert Boswell, writer to the signet, his attorney, pursuer; against Patrick Crawford of Auchinames, Esq; and Gilbert Meason, merchant in Edinburgh, executors of the late Mr James Crawford, merchant at Rotterdam, defenders*. [Edinburgh], [1773].

[James Boswell (1775)]. Johnson, Alexander. *Observations for Dr Alexander Johnson, pursuer; against Crawford's executors, defenders*. [Edinburgh], [1775].

Boswell acted as Alexander Johnson's lawyer in Scottish Court, Boswell's cousin Robert Boswell was the agent in the process. Alexander Johnson was involved in a judicial affair with the executors of James Craufurd or Crawford (*d.* 1766), a Scottish merchant at Rotterdam (*ca* 1745-1766). As a military agent Johnson had trade contacts with James Crawford, but after his decease Crawford's executors, Patrick Crawford of Auchinames and Gilbert Meason, a merchant at Edinburgh, refused to pay Johnson's claims out of the Crawford estate. In 1768 the two parties decided “to refer all their disputes to two merchants of character, one to be chosen by each party”. In 1769 the two merchants produced an “Award or Decreet arbitral”, in which they found out that Alexander Johnson was accountable for a bill of forty pounds sterling. They also concluded that the executors of the estate were obliged to pay to Johnson two thousand nine hundred eighty-eight guilders, and thirteen stuyvers. However, the executors refused to pay, so Dr Johnson finally brought an action against them in the Scottish Court. In June 1773 James Boswell supplied an exhaustive commentary of the case for the Scottish judges. In 1775 this affair was still not settled, because the legal status of a Deceet arbitral made up in the Dutch Republic was uncertain in Scottish and English Courts. Boswell supplied in a second commentary the views of the defence, which were in favour of his client Dr Alexander Johnson. The legal affair apparently brought Johnson in financial distress. In his *Journal* Boswell referred to the case of Dr Alexander Johnson several times. In April 1775 Boswell called on his client who had taken lodgings at Somerset House in London and “was pained to think that I had neglected to return his visits, especially as I had his cause to talk to him about”. On 23 August 1776 Boswell was dictating a paper for his client. On 13 December 1776 the Court found the executors and trustees liable to Dr Johnson in the full sum of the Decreet. Unfortunately it is not evident whether the legal affair was concluded successfully for Dr Alexander Johnson.

See also Ryskamp & Pottle (1963), *Boswell: The Omnious years 1774-1776*, page 140-141: 12 April 1775; Weis & Pottle (1970), *Boswell in extremes 1776-1778*, page 25, note 4.

⁶¹ Westminster General Dispensary (1776). *Plan of the Westminster General Dispensary. Instituted 1774*. London, 79 pages. Dr Alexander Johnson is mentioned as Member of the Committee on page 21.

⁶² The dispensary remained at No. 33 Gerard Street, London, until 1825, when it removed to No. 9. In 1904 No. 33 was purchased by the National Telephone Company and demolished. See Gerrard Street Area: The Military Ground: Gerrard Street, *Survey of London*: volumes 33 and 34: St Anne Soho (1966), pp. 384-411.

⁶³ In the third volume of Dossie's *Memoirs of agriculture, and other oeconomical arts*, Dr Johnson's contribution is not mentioned. "Johnson, Alexander, L.L.D. Military Agent at the Hague" is mentioned in the 1769 List of the *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*. In the 1772 List his address is given as Salisbury Street, Strand. In the period 1771-1776 Dr Alexander Johnson was a member of three committees of the *Society*. He chaired several meetings of the Committee of Miscellaneous Matters. See Allan & Abbott (1992), pages 360, 362 and 363.

⁶⁴ *The London magazine, Or, Gentleman's monthly intelligenter*. London: R. Baldwin, August 1782, page 385.

⁶⁵ See D.P. Miller (1999). The usefulness of natural philosophy: the Royal Society and the culture of practical utility in the later eighteenth century. *British Journal History of Sciences*, 32, pages 185-201.

⁶⁶ See Allan & Abbott (1992), pages xvii-xviii.

⁶⁷ Michiel Van Meijningen (or Millingen) sailed from Goeree as a soldier in service of the Chamber Delft on the ship *Voorzigtigheid* to Batavia, departure 6 October 1744, arrival 11 September 1745. NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 13977.

⁶⁸ From 3 October 1744 until 10 August 1753 Van Millingen's total income was f 244 6st 7 p. See *Scheepsoldijboek Voorzigtigheid* (NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 13977).

⁶⁹ Mr Thijs Westplate (Rotterdam) found several documents in the Rotterdam Notary Archive dealing with the trading activities of Van Millingen. The acts suggest that there were problems with the payments by the partners at Batavia and Rotterdam.

⁷⁰ Jacob Kool (1708-1747) from Bamberg departed to Batavia as a soldier in the service of the VOC-Chamber Amsterdam on February 10th 1724 with the ship *Lejden*. On 21 February 1731 he became a free burgher at Batavia. In 1745 he became a leading participant of the Opium Society. From the Opium Society he received a yearly income of 2,500 rixdollars. See NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 5822.

⁷¹ I am grateful to Mr Thijs Westplate (Rotterdam) for this information. He found copies of the testaments of Elisabeth's father and grandmother that do not describe a large inheritance. On February 25th 1747 her father bought as a life insurance on her name a bond of 500 rixdollars 48 stuyver for the building of a Lutheran Church at Batavia.

⁷² NL-HaNA.VOC 1.04.02 inv 12233. Adriaan Westplaat (1667-1727) went 'as a boy' to the Dutch East Indies in 1685 with the ship *Prins Willem Hendrik*. At Maccassar and Semarang he became an authority on the indigo culture. De Haan (1910), page 282.

By her second marriage (*circa* 1739) Sara Westplaat (*c.* 1695-1758) was the wife of Johan Christoffel (Anthony) Boroslosky (*d.* 1755), from Lissau in Pommerania. Anthony Boreslosky arrived in 1732 at Batavia as a soldier in the service of VOC-Chamber Amsterdam. Since 1739 he was free burgher at Batavia, in 1750 he was as a member of the waterboard at Batavia. In 1752 he was replaced, and became again bookkeeper of the VOC at Batavia. Boroslosky died October 7th 1755 on the Moorschebracht at Batavia in the house of Anthonie Van Dort, whose role in the aftermath of the Beens's affair at Boelecomba is described in Chapter 2. See also *Generale Missiven* XII, 31 December 1750 and 30 December 1752, pages 76 and 269. On 23 December 1758 Michiel Van Millingen, ensign Westside civil militia of Batavia, is mentioned in the Last Will of widow Boroslosky-Westplaat.

I am indebted to Mr Brian Johnston (Penridge, Sydney Australia) and especially to Mr Thijs Westplate (Rotterdam) for the detailed information about the Westplate, Cool and Van Millingen families.

⁷³ Centraal Bureau voor de Genealogie (Number: VIBDNI012476): "Akte van adoptie door het echtpaar Michiel Van Millingen en Elisabeth Cool Van Michiel, zoon van wijlen Alima, opgesteld door notaris Andries Jan Zallé", dated 3 November 1760. According to the Act the baby was four month old when adopted. On November 4th 1760 the child was baptised in the Batavia Post church, now 14 days old, apparently postdated. In the family papers it is suggested that Michiel Van Millingen fathered the son and that Alima was bestowed as a favour on Van Millingen by the Prince of Goa (Celebes).

⁷⁴ According to Mr Brian Johnston (Australia) their sister Elisabeth (*b.* 1727) married a Jew, Solomon Goldsmith (Goldsmidt or Goldschmidt) of London. Their son, Lewis Goldsmith (1763-1846) of Paris and Mannheim, was a

well known political writer and journalist. See Simon Burrows, 'Goldsmith, Lewis (1763/4?-1846)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004

⁷⁵ Information from Mr Brian Johnston (Australia) who referred to a letter in his family by Natan Millingham from 1868.

⁷⁶ Chapter I in John Gideon Millingen, *Recollections of Republican France from 1790 to 1801*. London, Henry Colburn, publisher. The book was published in 1848. In the English sources the name 'Van Millingen' is often spelled as 'Van Millengen'.

Besides his *Recollections* John Gideon Millingen probably left another memoir of his parents in the second volume of his *Stories of Torres Vedras* (1839). The character of Jeremy Fancour, the father of the fictitious Captain Fancour, is possibly based on Michiel Van Millingen. The sinister Methodist Mrs Fancour has traits remarkably like Mrs Van Millingen in the *Recollections*. I am most grateful to Mr Brian Johnston (Australia) who drew my attention to this remarkable book.

See *Stories of Torres Vedras* by the Author of 'Adventures of an Irish Gentleman'. Three volumes London, Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, volume 2, 'Captain Fancour', pages 50 to 294.

⁷⁷ The information is from Joan Gideon Millingen *Recollections* (1848).

In the Van Millingen family papers that Mr Brian Johnston forwarded to me it is said that "she was a daughter or niece of a former Governor (who may have been also an Admiral) of Batavia".

The couple had three children. Michael Van Millingen, born 17 July 1765, baptised 16 August 1765 as son of Michael Van Millingen and Elisabeth his wife. John Gideon Millingen reported in his *Recollections* about his eldest brother (page 5):

"He was a Westminster boy, and lies buried in the cloisters of the Abbey, with an epitaph on his tomb-stone, indited by Cowper, who was an occasional visitor at our house".

Michael Van Millingen's second son was the archeologist James Millingen (1774-1845). The third son John Gideon Millingen (1782-1849) was an army surgeon and writer. James Millingen's son Julius Michael (1800-1878) was the physician of Lord Byron in Greece. He was responsible for the repeated bleeding that fatally weakened the poet on 19 April 1824.

See: J.L. Chester (1876), *The Marriage, baptismal, and burial registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St Peter, Westminster, London*, page 427; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: Millingen, James (1774-1845), archaeologist; Millingen, John Gideon (1782-1849) army surgeon and writer; Millingen Julius Michael (1800-1878), physician and archaeologist.

⁷⁸ According to Mr Thijs Westplate his business friends in the 1750's and 1760's were Jacob Wilhelmus Van Rotterdam, then in the 1780's Nicolaas Cornelis Van Rotterdam and Abraham Van Rotterdam.

⁷⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. Letter J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1771.

⁸⁰ In the 1772 List of Members of the London *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* is mentioned non page 49, "Van Millengen, Michiel, Esq. *James Street, Westminster*".

⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten's library and the 1775 register of books in London, the 22 parts of the 1752 octavo edition of Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche Historie* in 21 volumes is mentioned in the Appendix on page 23, number 513. Under 513 and 515 the short edition (Amsterdam 1789) and volumes 2 and 3 of the continuation of Wagenaar in the 1787 edition. Loten also possessed the three volumes of Jan Wagenaar's *Beschrijving van Amsterdam* (1760), they are mentioned on page 4, number 80 in the 1789 Auction catalogue.

⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Register of books undated probably 1775. Loten presented to Van Millingen:

J.A. Unzer. *Verzameling van mengelschriften : bebelzende, in aangenaame vertoogen, redenvoeringen en brieven, veele byzonderbeden uit het ryk der planten en dieren; verhandeling eeniger luchtverschynselen, zonderlinge waarnemingen*. Amsterdam, Petrus Conradi, 1768-1772, five volumes.

J.A. Unzer. *De artz of geneesheer. In aangename spectatoriale vertogen, op eene klaare en eenvoudige wyze leerende, wat men moet doen, om gezond, lang, en gelukkig te leven*. Amsterdam, Kornelis Van Tongerloo en zoon, 1767-1771, 10 parts.

⁸³ G.E. Berrios (2006). 'Mind in general' by Sir Alexander Crichton. *History of Psychiatry*, 17(4), pages 469-497. Unzer was probably the first to employ the word "reflex" in connection with sensory-motor reactions.

⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. The reference to 'low company' reminds of John Gideon Millingen's description of the fictitious Jeremy Fancour (possibly based on his father Michiel Van Millingen) in volume 2 of the *Stories of Torres Vedras* (1839), page 54:

“He had sense enough to feel that any attempt at gentility, (horrible word in vulgar parlance!) would have exposed him to ridicule; [...], he was conscious that he was not a fit subject for a west-end drawing-room. Thus, driven with indignation from one society that he affected to despise, he found himself kept out of all other”.

⁸⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 6 April 1777. Loten possibly knew Daines Barrington’s ‘Observations on the Lagopus, or Ptarmigan; in a letter from the Hon. Daines Barrington, V.P.R.S. to Mathew Maty, M.D.F.R.S.’ *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* vol 63 (December 1773) pages 224-230.

⁸⁶ In this remark Loten referred to Richard Walpole (1728-1798), a banker of the city of London. Richard Walpole’s firm, Walpole, Clarke, Bourne & Pott, acted as the London bankers of Loten. Walpole was the son of Horatio Walpole (1678-1757), the younger brother of Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), prime minister (1721-1742) and first Earl of Orford. Richard Walpole’s brother Robert Walpole (1736-1810) was Envoy extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Lisbon.

⁸⁷ In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library several volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* are mentioned on page 7, number 54: Volume 50 pars 2 [1760] to Volume 64 [1774]; Volume 65 pars 1[1775] to volume 69[1779]; volume 74 pars 2 [1784] to volume 77 [1787]; General index until volume 69 pars 2 [published by Paul Henry Maty in 1787]. Volume 70 [1780] is mentioned in the Auction catalogue on page 7, number 46. The set starts in 1760 when Loten was elected FRS. The volumes loaned to Van Millingen in 1777 must have been returned to Loten. Volumes 71 until 74 pars 1 are lacking, they were probably left in Loten’s London house in New Burlington Street. After the end of the Anglo-Dutch war in 1784 the *Philosophical Transactions* were probably sent to Loten in Utrecht.

⁸⁸ In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library the five volumes of Francois Valentijn’s *Beschrijving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, are mentioned on page 4, number 68. The first volume had worm holes.

⁸⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

⁹⁰ John Gideon Millingen was baptised the 5th November 1782 by the curate of St Margaret’s, Westminster, the parish church of the British Houses of Parliament in London.

⁹¹ Apparently John Gideon Millingen made a mistake in the year the print was executed. The 1775 engraving in the stipple technique is described in A. Baudi de Vesme & A. Calabi (1928). *Francesco Bartolozzi, catalogue des estampes et notice biographique*. Milan, Guido Modiano, page 35, nr 120:

“(Eau-forte et pointillé). La Sainte vierge et l’enfant Jésus.

Rond. La Vierge à mi-corps, vue presque de face, tient dans ses bras l’Enfant dont les cheveux lui touchent la joue gauche.

»F. Bartolozzi invent. et sculp. 1775 \ This plate is Inscribed to John Gideon Loten Esq:ʳ \ late Governor of Ceylon \ by ... \ Francis Bartolozzi. \ Publish according to Act of Parl.ʳ 12th Jen.ʳ 1775 [sic]!«

Dans la marge deux anges portent un écusson avec une fleur.

Gr 127x127; Pl. 193x165.”

The two angels carry the Loten coat of arms. There are four states known of the engraving. In the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet the fourth state of the engraving is since 1816 in the collection and came from the Royal Library (RP-P-OB-34.216). The inscription reads:

“F. Bartolozzi invent. et sculp. 1775/ This Plate is Inscribed to John Gideon Loten, Esqr/ late Governor of Ceylon/ by his most devoted humble servant/ Francis Bartolozzi”.

The reference to the Act of Parliament is lacking on this engraving.

⁹² Information kindly supplied by Mr Brian Johnston (Penrith, Sydney Australia). On 6 April 2009 the AKEVOTH (Traces)-Research of the family origins and heritage of Dutch Jewry (A.R.), informed him that there is no evidence for the Van Millingen family being Jewish.

⁹³ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15, B 7-11. Five letters J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens, one in French, four in English. Van Goens most likely was fluent in English, because his mother was from the Cunningham family in Scotland.

⁹⁴ Pottle (1952), page 247. The young Van Goens had been in the Utrecht Hieronymus School at the same time as Loten’s grandchildren Jacob Willem and Jan Anthonij Van Der Brugghen.

⁹⁵ Israel (1995), *The Dutch Republic*, page 1063.

⁹⁶ Pieter Philip Juriaan Quint Ondaatje (Colombo 1758–Batavia 1818). See Chapter 7, paragraph ‘Life in Utrecht’.

⁹⁷ In 1783 Van Goens went to The Hague, and received an annuity from Stadholder Prince Willem V. In 1786 he emigrated to Switzerland and made acquaintance with Lavater. Here he used the name of his Scottish mother, Catharina Juliana Cunninghame. He lived in Switzerland and Germany, was respected as an author. He had problems both with his health as well as his finances. He died in 1810 in Wernigerode in Germany. NNBW III, 473-478. See also page 85 in Schama (1977).

⁹⁸ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778. In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library “Histoire Universelle de du Thou, à la Haye 1740 11 tom en veau”, is mentioned on page 10, numer 109.

⁹⁹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778. Original in French. The best edition of the Latin text was prepared by Englishman Thomas Carte in the eighteenth century and published in London in seven volumes by Samuel Buckley (1733). French translations and summaries were also available.

¹⁰⁰ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 5 November 1778.

¹⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 26, genealogical notes by Joan Gideon Loten.

¹⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 96.

¹⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 153.

¹⁰⁴ As early as 1730 Loten received from captain Cordier a drawing of the tombstone of Van Juchen’s wife, Lady de Regniere, who had been buried in Wesel City church on 11 April 1672.¹⁰⁴ In 1769, Loten visited the church himself and found that fifteen years after her death, the wooden panel containing her coat of arms had been thrown into her grave on the order of the King of Prussia. See HUA.GC 750 nr 115. Several drawings of tombstones and Memorial Panels of Martin Van Juchen and his wife Lady de Regniere with notes in Loten’s handwriting. With regard to the Memorial Panel of Lady de Regniere Loten remarked:

“dog over 15 jaren [=circa 1715] sijn de wapens (neffens alle andre die over de 10 jaren gehangen hadden) door last van sijn Maj[esteit]t Van Pruissen in de graven gesmeten”.

In 1778, Monsieur Hiltrop made a drawing of the Memorial Panel of Martin Van Juchen, dated 1673, in the Rijnsburg church. Loten visited the church in 1730. In 1760 brother Arnout had furnished him with sketches of the monument. See annotations about the Juchen family in HUA GC 750 nr 96, nr 115 and nr 150.

¹⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780. Loten referred to a ‘book (two vollumes) that includes the copper plate with M. Van Juchen’. The book could not be identified. An engraving of Martin Van Juchen by Francesco Bartolozzi after a watercolour by Aart Schouman, is kept in the Iconografisch Bureau in The Hague, IB-nummer 2007161. The engraving is mentioned in A.W. Tuer (1884), *Bartolozzi and his works*, volume 2, page 139 nr 1821. The print is also described in A. Baudi di Vesme & A. Calabi (1928). *Francesco Bartolozzi, catalogue des estampes et notice biographique*. Milan, Guido Modiano, page 234, nr 847.

¹⁰⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 26, genealogical notes by Joan Gideon Loten.

¹⁰⁷ Simon-Henri Linguet (1736-1794) was a prolific writer in many fields. Examples of his historical writing are *Histoire du siècle d’Alexandre le Grand* (Amsterdam, 1762), and *Histoire impartiale des Jésuites* (Madrid, 1768), the latter condemned to be burned. His opposition to the philosophes had its strongest expressions in *Fanatisme des philosophes* (Geneva and Paris, 1766) and *Histoire des revolutions de l’empire romain* (Paris, 1766-1768). His *Theorie des lois civiles* (London, 1767) is a vigorous defence of absolutism and attack on the politics of Montesquieu. Linguets imprisonment in the Bastille afforded him the opportunity of writing his *Memoires sur la Bastille*, first published in London in 1783. It has been translated into English (Dublin, 1783) and is considered the best of his works though untrustworthy. His last work was a defence of Louis XVI. He retired to Marnes near Ville d’Avray to escape the Terror, but was sought out and summarily condemned to death for having flattered the despots of Vienna and London. He was guillotined at Paris on the 27th of June 1794.

Loten possessed the French edition of Linguet’s *Memoires sur la Bastille*. (HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/823, page 24 number 283).

¹⁰⁸ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778.

¹⁰⁹ Edward Burch (*circa* 1730-1814) was a self-taught seal engraver who studied drawing and modelling at the St Martin's Lane Academy. This training, and his links with the Royal Academy, enabled him to meet many professional artists, particularly Sir Joshua Reynolds with whom he shared a life-long friendship. Burch later co-founded the Society of Artists of Great Britain, with whom he exhibited his miniature sculptures on ringstones and medallions. In 1770 he was made an Associate of the Royal Academy and in 1771 he was a member of the first group of elected (rather than nominated) full Academicians. As such, he was the first gem-engraver to receive this honour and remained the only one for 38 years. He enjoyed great success and attracted wide patronage. In the British Library there is a *A Catalogue of One Hundred Proofs from Gems, engraved in England, by E. Burch, R.A., Engraver to his Majesty, etc.* The Author, London 1795.

¹¹⁰ Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry and second Duke of Dover (1698-1778). His London residence was at Burlington Square, very close to Loten's house. He died 22 October 1778. Queensbury's son, William Douglas, third Earl March, fourth Duke of Queensbury (1725-1810), was one of eighteenth-century England's most notorious rakes ("Old Q"). He was known for three things - his love of the turf, his love of 'Bacchus', or wine and his love of women. See Sherwin (1963).

¹¹¹ Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638) was the founding father of the most important cartographic publishing company in the Netherlands. In 1635 he published (together with his son Johan) the first two volumes of his *Le Théâtre du Monde ou Nouvel Atlas*. This atlas was intended to include an up-to-date and comprehensive collection of maps of the known world. Over the years this project grew to the *Atlas Maior*. This extended to 11 volumes (later editions ranged from 9-12 volumes), the first publication being in 1662. Blaeu depicted in about 600 maps the entire known world as best as possible regarding cartographic exactness.

¹¹² Reverend Charles de Guiffardière (1720-1810), a Huguenot and French Protestant minister, who filled the office of French reader to the Queen and Princesses and minister of the French Chapel at St James Palace See also Chapter 5, paragraph 'Friends in Utrecht'. De Guiffardiere published *Cours elementaire d'Histoire ancienne a l'usage de L.L. A.A. Royales mesdames les Princesses d'Angleterre*, Windsor, C. Knight, 2 volumes.

¹¹³ George Spencer, third Duke of Marlborough (1739-1817). In 1789-1790 J. Bryant and W. Cole published a two volume description of the Marlborough Gems, the engravings were by Francesco Bartolozzi.

¹¹⁴ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 3 May 1779. Friend 'Guillaume' not identified.

¹¹⁵ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778. Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713-1796), French historian and philosopher. The reference is to Abbé Raynal's, *L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 4 volumes, 1770). Loten bought the original edition of the book on 2 February 1775 from "Wingrave at Nourse's" for 3sh .6d (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404). Loten also possessed Raynal's "Histoire du Stadhouderat, 1750, 2 tom" (HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/853, page 26 n 327). The *Histoire philosophique .. dans les deux Indes* was extremely popular, going through about 40 editions between 1772 and 1795. The radical tone becoming more pronounced in later editions. Placed on the Index of the Roman Catholic Church in 1774, Raynal's book was burned and he was forced into exile in 1781.

¹¹⁶ Herold (1958), page 190; Schutte (1974), pages 6-10.

¹¹⁷ Schutte (1974), *De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën*, pages 6-10.

¹¹⁸ Loten referred to Henriettacus (Hendrick) Hondius (1597-1651), the younger son of the cartographer Jodocus Hondius. Henriettacus Hondius assisted his father and brothers in the family map business until 1621, when he opened on his own firm in Amsterdam. H. Hondius updated family map plates and issued the last edition of the Mercator-Hondius atlas under his imprint in 1641.

¹¹⁹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778.

¹²⁰ The first edition of the translation *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies, translated from the French of the abbé Raynal, by J. Justamond*, appeared in 1777 published by T. Cadell in London and Dublin.

¹²¹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778.

¹²² Justamond edited together with his father-in-law Matthew Maty, the *Miscellaneous Works* of the Earl of Chesterfield (1777). He was elected Fellow Royal Society in 1775. See Gunther (1987).

¹²³ John Gideon Millingen (1848), *Recollections of Republican France from 1790 to 1801*, pages 4 and 74.

¹²⁴ The character of Justamont's 'assitant' agrees well with the character of John Gideon Millingen's Jeremy Fancourt in volume 2 of the *Stories of Torres Vedras* (1839), page 52-53.

"Money was his idol - the want of it a disgrace. He thought everything fair in the *way of business*, as it is called, to obtain it. He would not have wronged a customer of a farthing in cash, but felt no hesitation in underselling, over-reaching, forestalling, or endeavouring to depreciate the merchandise of a competitor to the amount of thousands. He was what is called in trade a "good man", that is, a man able to do honour to his signature, but a devilish "sharp fellow". Now, with all due respect to my father's memory, I much fear that this sharpness in traffic too frequently exposes the keen trader to the suspicion of being a *sharper*".

¹²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

¹²⁶ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 29 May 1778.

¹²⁷ Reverend John Martin (1741-1820), Baptist minister from Kimbolton and Sheepshead in 1774 he was appointed to Grafton Street Chapel. See John Gideon Millingen (1848). *Recollections of Republican France, from 1790 to 1801*, pages 10-14. Afterwards when she lived with her husband in Paris she attended divine service in an Protestant Church in Rue Louis le Grand.

In John Gideon Millingen's volume 2 of the *Stories of Torres Vedras* (1839), Captain Fancour's mother is described as a Methodist, a passage very much like the description of his mother in the *Recollections* (1848):

"Deprived of the society she once had frequented, her temper was soured by disappointment, and she took to methodism. Thus my father, having neither business nor ease at home, very naturally sought for some compensation abroad". (page 55).

"She maintained that no rich man could ever go *to* heaven, and the only proper use of money was to bestow alms and support the clergy. True to this principle, she was the most charitable person in her own elect *coterie*, and whenever we had a good dinner, three or four preachers were invited to partake of it. On these occasions, I had observed that the grace delivered by these sanctimonious guests was very concise and short; and young as I was, I was profane enough to suspect that this brevity was to be attributed to the fear of the dinner getting cold; for when by ourselves the benediction of our meals was of a freezing prolixity. This circumstance was of no importance to my most irreligious father, who "fell to", as he called it, without any preamble; for which impiety bitter reproaches and upbraidings were showered upon him, more especially on Sundays. Her philosophical husband was too well occupied in indulging the cravings of a hearty appetite, to gratify her with a reply, which of course would have led to what she earnestly wished - a dispute and a sermon, which would have driven him out of the house, and left a clear field for her *exercises*". (pages 57-58).

¹²⁸ Raynal described the Company's attitude towards the inhabitants in negative terms:

"Ceylon has been a scene of perpetual disturbances; which are full as frequent, and still more violent at Java, where peace can never continue long, unless the company will give a reasonable price for the commodities they require. [...] All these wars have proved ruinous, more ruinous, indeed, than might have been expected, because those who had the management of them only sought opportunities of enriching themselves".

A philosophical and political history (1777), volume I, Book II, pages 189-192 and pages 212-213.

¹²⁹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London, 29 May 1778.

¹³⁰ Reference to Ipecacuanha (in 18th century spelling: Ipecacoanha), a South American plant belonging to the madder family, the dried roots of which are used in medicine as an emetic (to cause vomiting) and to treat amoebic dysentery (infection of the intestine with amoebae) (*Psychotria ipecacuanha*, or *Cephaelis ipecacuanha*, family Rubiaceae). In volume 66 of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (pages 168-175), December 1776, William Scott

published, Violent asthmatic fits, occasioned by the effluvia of Ipecacoanha. Loten probably read this publication which described a case of a Mrs. S. who was attacked by violent asthmatic fits when her husband powdered any Ipecacuanha in his shop. Loten probably referred to this source.

¹³¹ The word ‘Tar’ apparently referred to the Dutch vernacular *pars pro toto*, ‘Pekbroek’ or ‘Pikbroek’ [=tarred trousers], for Dutch sailor.

¹³² Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, bijzondere collecties 130 D 15. J.G. Loten to R.M. Van Goens. London 5 November 1778.

¹³³ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen VanCroy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 1 July 1779.

¹³⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1779.

¹³⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London 4 April 1781 and 29 May 1781.

¹³⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to his brother A. Loten. London 24 July 1780.

¹³⁷ The drawing of the Purple-faced Langur, *Presbytis senex* (Erxleben 1777), is in the Loten collection of Teylers Museum in Haarlem (TS.LC 7). The drawing is not signed, but has an annotation by Loten dated March 18, 1784. The drawing is a copy of a watercolour by De Bevere in the London Loten collection (NHM 105). The watercolour was reproduced as the ‘Lion-tailed Monkey’ in Thomas Pennant, *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771), page 109 (var.β), plate XIII, figure 1.

¹³⁸ *The R--l [Royal] Register: with annotations by another hand. [Being sketches of the principal nobility, supposed to be written by the King. By W. Combe.]* 9 vol. J. Bew: London, 1778-84. An octavo edition of the *Royal register* is mentioned on page 20 number 185 in the 1789 catalogue of Loten’s Library: “The R----L. Register with Annotations by A. Haud, Lond.1778 6 tom.” (HUA Library 6629/3766/853)

¹³⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 3 May 1779.

¹⁴⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London (Fulham) 21 July 1779.

¹⁴¹ HUA.HC 643-1 number 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. VanHardenbroek. London 13 December 1779.

¹⁴² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 3 February 1775.

¹⁴³ On December 16, 1773, after officials in Boston refused to return three shiploads of taxed tea to Britain, a group of colonists boarded the ships and destroyed the tea by throwing it into Boston Harbour. The incident remains an iconic event of American history, and has often been referenced in other political protests.

¹⁴⁴ Charles Hardy (1714-1780) entered the Royal Navy in 1731. In 1755 was knighted and appointed governor of New York. In 1762 he was promoted Vice-Admiral, and was MP for of Rochester from 1764 to 1768. His career continued with his promotion to Admiral of the Blue in 1770, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital in Plymouth in 1771.

¹⁴⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 13 December 1779.

¹⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1780.

¹⁴⁷ See Roodhuyzen (1998).

¹⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 February 1780.

¹⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1780.

¹⁵⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1780. Antoine Marie Cérésier. *Le destin de l’Amérique ou dialogues pittoresques dans lesquelles on developpe la cause des evenemens actuels, la politique et les interets des puissances de l’Europe relativement à cette guerre, et les suites qu’elle devoit avoir pour le bonheur de l’humanité, traduit fidelement de l’Anglois.* London, 1779, printed for J. Bew. About Cérésier Schama (1977).

¹⁵¹ See Markley (1998).

¹⁵² In 1585 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532-1588) was sent with the English army to succour the Protestant Netherlands in their struggle with Spain. The Earl displayed great extravagance and great incompetence. He allowed the States-General to name him to the Governorship of the Provinces and thereby incurred much scolding from Queen Elisabeth I, and wasted much time, which would have been better employed in fighting the Spaniards, of which business Leicester did very little. He was recalled in November 1587. Loten referred to the authority of Everardus Reidanus or Reydt, Reid, (Everhard van) (1550-1602) burgomaster and advocate at Arnhem, member of the States-General. His cousins Johan Vanden Sande and Joh. VanReydt published in 1626 his work on the history of the Dutch wars from 1566-1601. *Voornaemste gheschiedenissen in de Nederlanden ende elders. Van den jare 1566 toten iare 1583, in 'tkorte, ende van dien tijdt tot het iær 1601 in 't langhe (als hebbende vele secreten ende ghevichtige saken selfs byghewoont) die andere histori-schryvers door onwetenheynt hebben moeten voor-by gaen, ofte door quaet bericht onrecht stellen.* Arnhem 1626.

¹⁵³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1780.

¹⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1780.

¹⁵⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1780.

¹⁵⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 February 1780. He also referred to Barlaeus in a letter to Van Hardenbroek (HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 October 1780).

¹⁵⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 22 February 1780.

¹⁵⁸ David Garrick's vanity evidently irritated Dr Johnson. On Friday 17 April 1778 he spoke about it with James Boswell, who told him that Garrick asked him one morning when he went to breakfast with Garrick, "Pray now, did you-did you meet a litle lawyer turning the corner, eh?"-"No, Sir, (said I.) Pray what do you mean by the question?"-"Why, (replied Garrick, with an affected indifference, yet as if standing on tip-toe,) Lord Camden has this moment left me. We have had a long walk together." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, Garrick talked very properly. Lord Camden *was a little lawyer* to be associating so familiarly with a player."

See Hill & Powell (1964), volume III, page 311. In 1780 Lord Camden was blackballed at The Literary Club.

¹⁵⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1780.

¹⁶⁰ In 1775 Sir Richard Worsley (1751-1805) married Seymour Dorothy, the younger daughter and co-heir of Sir John Fleming of Brompton Park, Middlesex. Though the marriage brought Worsley over £70,000, the couple soon fell out. Lady Worsley's numerous affairs (twenty-seven lovers were rumoured) became notorious. In 1782 Worsley brought an action for criminal conversation with his wife against George M. Bissett, an officer in the Hampshire militia and a neighbour on the island of Wright. The jury found for the plaintiff but, on the ground of Worsley's connivance, awarded him only 1 shilling damages, not the £20,000 that he claimed. He subsequently entered into articles of separation with his wife in 1788. There is a cartoon of this affair by James Gillray entitled *Sir Richard Worse-than-shy, exposing his wife's bottom; - o fye!* Published by William Humphrey, 14th March 1782. It shows Captain Bissett, on the shoulders of Sir Richard Worsley, spying on Lady Worsley as she takes a bath.

Sources: Bissett, George Maurice, defendant. *The trial, with the whole of the evidence, between the Right Hon. Sir Richard Worsley...and George Maurice Bissett...for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.* London: G. Kearsley, 1782. 4to. Cindy McCreery (2003), *The satirical gaze: Prints of Women in late eighteenth-century England.* Oxford Historical Monographs, pages 164-167; Cindy McCreery (2002), 'Breaking all the rules: The Worsley affair in Late-Eighteenth-century England', pages 69-88 in: R. Hewitt & P.Rogers (editors), *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Society.* Bucknell University Press.

¹⁶¹ Christian Friedrich Wolff (1679-1754).

¹⁶² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 4 April 1780.

¹⁶³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780 and 9 October 1780.

¹⁶⁴ Lady Mary Tryon (1734-1799), the sister of General William Tryon (1729-1788), from 1771 until 1780 the Governor of Province of New York. Since September 1761 she was *Maid of Honour* of Queen Charlotte. She held the office until 18 February 1799, when she died. The salary of the office was £ 300 per year. In October 1780

Loten's wife went to the Tryon family at Onslow to welcome General Tryon who returned from New York. (HUA.GC 750 nr 1428, London 9 October 1780).

Lady Mary Tryon was the daughter of Charles Tryon of Bulwick and Lady Mary Shirley, the daughter of Robert Shirley, Earl Ferrers. Lady Mary Shirley was the sister of Lady Dorothy Shirley (1683-1756), the youngest daughter of the Earl of Ferrers, who had married John Cotes of Woodcote (1682-1756), brother of Lettice Cotes's father Digby Cotes.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689), English physician, who introduced opium into medical practice.

“Among the remedies which it has pleased Almighty God to give to man to relieve his sufferings, none is so universal and so efficacious as opium.”

See Thomas Sydenham Works, “A Treatise on Gout and Dropsy”, translated by R. G. Latham.

¹⁶⁶ Sir George Baker (1722-1809), President of the Royal College of Physicians, 1785 to 1790, 1792 to 1793, 1795, and recognised head of the medical profession in England. He was physician of King George III. His diary and correspondence in relation to madness of George III (1788-95) is in the archives of the Royal College of Physicians.

¹⁶⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 30 June 1780.

¹⁶⁸ Letter of J.G. Loten in the archive of the Holland Society of Sciences.

¹⁶⁹ De Bruijn (1977), pages 34-35.

¹⁷⁰ Johan van Der Wal (1984). Pestbosjes in Friesland: sporen van historische drama's. *Noorderbreedte* 8 (2), pages 33-36.

¹⁷¹ According to Elias (1905, page 955) Jean Deutz (1743-1784) was from 1775 to 1784 regent of the city of Amsterdam, in 1782 he was 'schepen' (sheriff). He was the son of Gerard Deutz (1699-1759), the brother of Willem Gideon Deutz (1697-1757), who accompanied Loten in 1732 to the ship *Beekvliet* on his departure to Batavia. For Jean Deutz also see BWN volume 11, page 44.

¹⁷² NHM.LMS pages 27, 28, 29, 30, 35 and 36. Concept-letter J.G. Loten to J. Deutz. London 31 July 1780.

¹⁷³ Martinus VanMarum (1750-1837) studied philosophy and medicine at Groningen University. His teachers were the physiologist and anatomist Petrus Camper (1722-1789) and the physician Wolther VanDoeveren (1730-1783). Van Marum set up as physician at Haarlem in 1776. In that year he was elected a member of the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen (Dutch Society of Sciences). In 1777 director of the Natural History Cabinet of the Maatschappij. In 1784 also director of the Physical Cabinet and collection of minerals and fossils and librarian of the Haarlem Teyler's Stichting. Van Marum was appointed secretary of the Maatschappij on May 19, 1794 – a function that he retained until his death on December 26, 1837 (Bierens de Haan, 1952; Muntendam, 1969).

¹⁷⁴ NHM.LMS. pages 27 to 30, 35 and 36. Concept-letter J.G. Loten to J. Deutz. “London, New Burlington Street, Maert 21, 1781, gaat af 23 [sent 23]”

¹⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 153. The annotation reads in Dutch:

“Post prandium

Sunday 28 May 1780

Uit grond van 't best meenende hert na boven; met verdrietigst ondervinding van kwaad voor goed, alles is de moriaan gewassen – een zoet vrendlyk goudvinkje waerd duizend harpijen

Het portr[e]t tegens myn bedde weggegeeven aan Lector HollenVos [Hallifax], ik had er zo om verzogt”.

¹⁷⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 30 June 1780.

¹⁷⁷ The Bavarian envoy Count Haslang lived in Warwick Street, Golden Square. Horace Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, Strawberry Hill, June 5, 1780 wrote:

“Old Haslang's Chapel was broken open and plundered; and, as he is a Prince of Smugglers as well as Bavarian Minister, great quantities of run tea and contraband goods were found in his house. This one cannot lament; and still less, as the old wretch has for these forty years usurped a hired house, and, though the proprietor for many years has offered to remit his arrears of rent, he will neither quit the house nor pay for it”.

C.D. Yonge (editor), 1890. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, volume II, London, T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G.P. Putnam

¹⁷⁸ Lord Talbot is William Talbot 1st Earl Talbot (1710-1782), became a member of the Privy Council in 1761. He served from 1761 until his death as *Lord High Steward* of the Royal Household. He is immortalised by the behaviour of his horse during the ceremony of the Royal Coronation in 1761. Talbot had to ride up to the throne and next to rein back out of Westminster Hall, lest he turn a disrespectful rump on His Majesty. The animal however, insisted on approaching the King backwards. John Wilkes ridiculed Lord Talbot's horsemanship in an article in the *North Briton* in 1762, which resulted in a duel.

C. Chenevix Trench (1962), pages 51 and 62-68.

¹⁷⁹ Vittorio Amadeo Sallier de la Tour Marchese di Cordon (1726-1800), Sardinian Envoy extraordinary in Great Britain 1774-1784. He had been minister in The Hague from 1769-1774 (Schutte, 1982, page 647-648).

Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann about the demolition of the chapel of the Sardinian envoy in Duke Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields:

“Monsieur Cordon, the Sardinian Minister, suffered still more. The mob forced his chapel, stole two silver lamps, demolished everything else, threw the benches into the street, set them on fire, carried the brands into the chapel, and set fire to that; and, when the engines came, would not suffer them to play till the Guards arrived, and saved the house and probably all that part of the town. Poor Madame Cordon was confined by illness. My cousin, Thomas Walpole, who lives in Lincoln's Inn Fields, went to her rescue, and dragged her, for she could scarce stand with terror and weakness, to his own house”.

According to Ignatius Sancho:

“The Sardinian ambassador offered 500 guineas to the rabble, to save a painting of our Saviour from the flames, and 1000 guineas not to destroy an exceeding fine organ: the gentry told him, they would burn him if they could get at him, and destroyed the picture and organ directly”.

C.D. Yonge (editor), 1890. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, volume II, London, T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G.P. Putnam; Letter Ignatius Sancho to J[ohn] S[pink], Esq., Charles Street, June 6, 1780.

¹⁸⁰ Sir John Griffin is John Griffin Whitwell, 4th Baron Howard de Walden (1719-1797), 1st Baron Braybrooke, a British soldier and nobleman, who acceded to his peerage in 1784. Sir John Griffin lived at number 10 New Burlington Street. He was a brother of Anne Whitwell (1721-1796), the wife of the Dutch envoy in London, count van Welderen.

¹⁸¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 June 1780.

¹⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 7 January 1780.

¹⁸³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1395. J.C. van Der Bruggen to J.G. Loten. Croy 20 April 1780. Letter in French. The castle and estate of Croy was purchased 26 June 1772 by Jan Anthony van Der Bruggen, Major in the Cavalry Regiment Orange Friesland. April 15th 1778, he sold the castle and estate to his brother Joan Carel Gideon van Der Bruggen. See Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen VanCroy nr 751 and 746: C.P.W. Robidé van Der Aa (1841). *Verhandeling over Het kasteel van Croy*. Uit Oud Nederland in vroegere dagen, overgeblevenen Burgen en Kasteelen.

¹⁸⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780.

¹⁸⁵ Regionaal archief Tilburg: Bossche Protocollen. 1780 July 10, sH,R.1768,256, Hendrik ter Croye on behalf of Willem Anne VanWilmsdorff (fol. 253) and 1780 July 10, sH,R.1768,261v, Hendrik ter Croye on behalf of Willem Anne VanWilmsdorff (fol. 253).

¹⁸⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780.

¹⁸⁷ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Codicils 13 October 1778 and 16 December 1780. In the codicils of the testament Loten referred to his grandson-in-law as Mr. Willem Anna VanWilmsdorff, without the prefix Von Proebentow and without the title of Baron. His granddaughter is mentioned as Lady Anna Henrietta van Der Bruggen.

¹⁸⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 December 1780.

¹⁸⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780.

¹⁹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 25 August 1780. Two months before he wrote to Van Hardenbroek

“But hélas! I being to despair of seeing more those quarters for ever, from which chiefly the inexpressible severity of suffocation in the hypochondric regions and not so much the war deprive me; yet in such

circumstances & my companion L^a (also but a poor invalide) if ill-luck befalls as happened to 3 or 4 of even the Ostende packet boats being roughly used by some ruffians or privateers it must prove a most distressing⁹¹.
HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. VanHardenbroek. London 30 June 1780.

¹⁹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393 page 160. Loten used the text of the Dutch “Statenvertaling” of the Bible.

¹⁹² Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume II, 15 September 1780, page 170-171. Arnout Loten even informed the Stadholder about young Roëll’s sudden voyage to London.

¹⁹³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 October 1780.

¹⁹⁴ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume II, 7 October 1780, page 212-213. Roëll did not apologise to his colleague in the Orphan Chamber Pieter Lodewijk d’Aulnis, who had reported Roëll’s absence to the Utrecht City Council. Evidently Van Hardenbroek sympathised with D’Aulnis and recommended him to the Stadholder as the Treasurer of the City of Utrecht. The Prince followed this advice and appointed D’Aulnis in this office (Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften* volume II, page 229, 12 October 1780).

¹⁹⁵ Reverend Henrik Putman (1725-1797), since 1751 the 41st Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in the London city in the church of Austin Friars.

¹⁹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 November 1780.

¹⁹⁷ Possibly Dr Hugh Smith the younger (1736?-1789), who published *Letters to Married women* (1767), in 1775 translated into Dutch, in which advised to nurse child. In 1770 he published the *Family physician*, which was reprinted several times. His *An Treatise on the use and abuse of mineral waters* (1776) also appeared in several editions. In view of Loten’s complaints his *An Essay on the Nerves, illustrating their efficient, ... material, and final causes. To which is added an Essay on foreign Teas ... in which their nature ... and effects are investigated, so as to demonstrate their pernicious consequences on the nerves, etc.*, published in 1780 in London, is of interest.

Another possibility is Dr William Smith of Carrey Street in London. He published in 1776 *A sure Guide in Sickness and Health, in the Choise of food and Medicine, &c.*

¹⁹⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 December 1780.

¹⁹⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 December 1780.

²⁰⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 February 1781.

In the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library is mentioned on page 9, number 101, “The Works of J. Fothegice”, which referred to: *The works of John Fothergill*, with some account of his life, by John Coakley Lettsom. London, Printed for C. Dilly, 1784. On page 17, number 103 “Some account of the Late J. Forthergis, Lon. 1783”, is mentioned, which is a reference to John Coakley Lettsom, *Some account of the late John Fothergill M.D.*, that was published in 1783 in London

²⁰¹ John Elliot (1781), ‘An Account of his life; and occasional notes’. In: *A complete collection of the medical and philosophical works of John Fothergill*. London, John Walker, page xvi; John Coakley Lettsom (1784), *The Works of John Fothergill, M.D., with some account of his life*. London, Charles Dilly, pages 755-767.

²⁰² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 October 1780.

²⁰³ Joachim baron VanPlettenbergh (1739-1793). After studying law at the University of Utrecht, he left the country in 1764 to become a member of the Council of Justice in Batavia. In 1767 he married Cornelia Charlotte Feith, the widow of Louis Taillefert. In 1772 he came to the Cape Colony and succeeded Ryk Tulbach as the Governor of the colony in 1774. He resigned from this position in 1785 and returned to the Netherlands, where he died in 1793. Plettenberg Bay, on South Africa’s eastern coast, was named after the Baron in 1778 where he erected a beacon with the monogram of the Dutch East Indies Company, as well as his name.

According to Van Hardenbroek (*Gedenkschriften* III, pages 517-518, 543) in June 1782 the French Government was not contact with Plettenbergh’s behaviour therefore it was considered to recall him from the Cape.

²⁰⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 17 December 1780.

²⁰⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 January 1781. According to Van Hardenbroek in his *Gedenkschriften* (volume 2, page 363), Envoy Van Welderen had also warned 14 January 1781 the Dutch

Raadspensionaris that the English would try to expel the Dutch from the Cape and from their spice trading in the East Indies.

²⁰⁶ Van Hardenbroek remarked in his *Gedenkschiften*, volume 2, page 449, 11 March 1781, that the Chief Officer of Utrecht, Count Athlone, remarked to Mrs Bentinck (Margareth Cardogan, widow of Charles Bentinck), ‘that he wished that the English would further gain several advantages over us, which would learn us better &c’.

²⁰⁷ Van Hardenbroek. *Gedenkschiften*, volume 2, page 518, 6 April 1781.

²⁰⁸ Van Hardenbroek. *Gedenkschiften*, volume 3, page 175-176, 17 November 1781.

Reverend Justus Melchior VanEffen (1732-1791), from 1765-1781 the 42nd Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars at London. See Schutte (1976) page 114. Van Effen was the grandson of Mr. Justus VanEffen (1684-1735), editor/ publisher of the weekly periodical (1731-1735) *Hollandsche Spectator*, who in 1727-28 had been Secretary of Bernard Count VanWelderer, the Dutch Ambassador extra-ordinary in England. The Dutch author E. Wolff-Bekker wrote in 1765 the poem: *Vaarwel-groet. Aan mynen zeer geeerden vriend, den heer Justus Melchior van Effen, By zyn E. vertrek naar Londen, om aldaar den Predikdienst, in de Nederduitsche Gemeente te verrichten.*

Van Goens’s pamphlet was issued in a French translation in London in 1781 by J. Cambridge as: *L’esprit du systeme politique de la regence d’Amsterdam, ou lettre, contenant un précis détaillé d’un mémoire hollandois.*

²⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 December 1780.

²¹⁰ The reputation of Amelia D’Arcy’s (1754-1784) mother was also not spotless. Horace Walpole, who abhorred English peers marrying foreign women, wrote:

“[Lady Holderness] is tenderly attach’d to the polite Mr. Mildmay, and sunk in all the Joys of happy Love notwithstanding she wants the use of her 2 hands by a Rheumatism, and he has an arm that he can’t move. I wish I could send you the particulars of this Amour, which seems to me as curious as that between 2 Oysters, and as well worthy the serious Enquiry of the Naturalists”.

See *Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, volume IV, 1770-1797, Philadelphia, 1842.

In the correspondence of Belle VanZuylen (1740-1805) with David-Louis de Constant de Rebecque, “D’Hermenches” (1722-1785), in August 1770, Lady Holderness is referred to as an unhappy wife, because she married a husband without fortune (Dubois & Dubois, 1993).

²¹¹ From 1761, when he resigned from the Cabinet, until 1771, Lord Holderness did not hold public offices. From 1771 to 1776 however, Holderness had officiated as the *Governor* to the Prince of Wales (1762-1830), the future George IV. According to Horace Walpole two points only were looked to in this education.

“The first was, that he should not be trusted to anything but ductile cypher; the other, that he should be brought up with due affection for regal power; in other words, he was to be the slave of his father, and the tyrant of his people”.

It is open to criticism whether Lord Holderness educational efforts resulted in a success of this programme. The Governor, or “solemn phantom” as Horace Walpole called him, evidently had no sobering effect on the Prince of Wales’s amorous nature, which was highly controversial because he had many mistresses.

Hodgart (1963) page 240-242.

²¹² *The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*. Volume IV 1770-1797. Philadelphia, 1842. Letter to Lady Browne.

²¹³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. VanHardenbroek. London 15 October 1780. The three children from Lady Conyers first marriage to whom Loten referred are:

George William Frederick Osborne, 6th Duke of Leeds (1775-1838);

Francis Godolphin Osborne, 1st Lord Godolphin of Farnham Royal (1777-1850);

Mary Henrietta Juliana Osborne (d 1862).

From her marriage with Byron she had one child:

Augusta Byron (ca 1784-1851).

²¹⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 February 1781. The reference to the printed version of the trial is to: ‘The Marquis of Camarthen against the Marchioness of Camarthen, Libel given in the 26th of January 1779’, 76 pages in: *Trials for adultery: or, the history of divorces. Being select trials at Doctors Commons, ... From the year 1760, to the present time. ... Taken in short-hand, by a civilian. ... Vol. II.* London, S. Bladon, 1779.

²¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 January 1781. For Willem Van Citters (1723-1802) see Gabriëls (1990), pages 204-212, 414-416.

²¹⁶ Van Hardenbroek. *Gedenkschriften*, volume 2, page 135, 21 November 1780.

²¹⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 24 July 1780, 25 August 1780 and 9 January 1781. Admiral Robert Digby (1732-1815) was the third son of Charlotte Fox and the Hon. Edward Digby (1714-1746), eldest son of William Digby, 5th baron Digby (1661-1752). After the surrender of New York city in 1783, Digby helped to organise the evacuation of some 1500 United Empire Loyalists to the small port of Conway in Nova Scotia. The settlement he led transformed the tiny village into a town, which in 1787 was renamed *Digby*.

²¹⁸ Mr. Bernard Pieter Van Lelyveld (also written as Lelieveld) (1750-1824), Secretary of the Dutch envoy (1778-1780). See Schutte (1976) page 118.

²¹⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 13 December 1779 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 February 1781.

In his *Bell's Common place book* Loten added under the heading “Voorschiften, Recepten, Préscriptien Asthma” :

“Een Kalf's Long
even veel gewigt's Boerhaafsche Suyker –
even veel gewigt's Corinthen.
even veel gewigt's Water.
Samen gekookt tot dat het consistentie
van siroop heeft, en dan door een doek
gedaan,-
's morgens en s avonds een lepel vol
genegentlyk medegeedeeld
door de Heer v. Lelyveld
te Fulham in Middlesex w. 4 aug. 1779.”

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 27.

²²⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 January 1781.

²²¹ According to the *Annual Register of 1781*, “a door is opened towards the end of the manifesto”, where is declared:
“But we are too sensible of the common interests of both countries not to remember, in the midst of such a contest, that the only point to be aimed at by us, is to raise a disposition in the councils of the republic, to return to their antient union, by giving us that satisfaction for the past, and security for the future, which we shall as ready to receive as they can be to offer, and to the attainment of which we shall direct all our operations. We mean only to provide for our own security, by defeating the dangerous designs that have been formed against us. We shall ever be disposed to return to friendship with the states general, when they sincerely revert to that system which the wisdom of their ancestors formed, and which has now been subverted by a powerful faction, conspiring with France against the true interests of the republic, no less than against those of Great Britain”.

See *The annual register, or a view of the history, politics, and literature, for the year 1781*. London: printed for J. Dodsley, 1782 [1783], pages 163-164.

In a letter to Van Hardenbroek, written from Ghent 18 September 1781 Loten again wrote about the, according to several Dutch people in London, ‘softness’ in the British Manifest.

“ook niet eens of op dezelve wijze denkende, als eenige groote Nederl. Heeren in January &c. uit England vertrokken – de zagzinnigheid VanJan Bul's manifesto is zelf door dezelve met uerbied gepreezen geworden”.
HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. vann Hardenbroek. Gend 18 September 1781.

²²² HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 9 January 1781 and 29 May 1781.

²²³ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften* volume 2, page 682.

²²⁴ The adjective ‘haughty’ is from Loten. For the Whitwell family see: ‘Ellis, Lord Howard of Walden’, pages 752-757 in: *Collins's Peerage of England*, volume VI, London 1812.

²²⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 February 1781.

²²⁶ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften* volume 3, pages 175-176; volume 4, pages 238-239; volume 5, pages 456-457.

²²⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 15 February 1781.

²²⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 6, undated but probably made circa 1780-1781. Loten's remark reminds of the incident that was described by Horace Walpole to George Montague in 1769:

“Your two letters flew here together in a breath. I shall answer the article of business first. I could certainly buy many things for you here, that you would like, the reliques of the last age's magnificence; but, since my Lady Holderness invaded the custom-house with a hundred and fourteen gowns, in the reign of that two-penny monarch George Grenville [April 1763-July 1765], the ports are so guarded, that not a soul but a smuggler can smuggle any thing into England; and I suppose you would not care to pay seventy-five per cent, on second-hand commodities”.

See: *The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*. Volume III (1847). Horace Walpole to George Montagu, Esq. Paris, September 7, 1769. Letter 369, page 553.

²²⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 16 March 1781.

²³⁰ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften* volume II, page 359, 13 January 1781; page 362, 14 January 1781.

²³¹ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften* volume II, page 301, 22 December 1780; page 342, 8 January 1781, in The Hague there was a rumour that Van Citters remained in London after the declaration of he war; pages 366-367, 16 January 1781; Volume III, page 175, 17 November 1781; Volume IV, page 237-238, 7 January 1783.

²³² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 16 March 1781.

²³³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 March 1781.

²³⁴ Willem (or William) Count Bentinck (1764-1813), Master of Doornwerth & Terrington. He was the son of Joan Albrecht (or John) Bentinck, Lord Terrington (1737-1775). Joan Albert married a daughter of Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll VanSerooskerken, Master of Vleuten, Heeze and Leende (1710-1762): Reniera Van Tuyll VanSerooskerken (1744-1792). Joan Albrecht was a captain whose last command being the ‘Centour’. Joan Albrecht and his son Willem accompanied Joseph Banks in 1773 on his voyage to Holland (manuscript in the State Library of New South Wales in Canberra, Australia). At that occasion they visited Loten in Utrecht, March 12, 1773. William Bentinck was promoted captain of the ‘Assistance’ as early as 1783. A half-length portrait of captain William Bentinck by George Romney (dated 1787-88) is in the collection of the National Maritime Museum in London. In the same Museum there is a full-length portrait (dated 1775) showing captain John Bentinck and his son William in the captain's cabin of the ‘Centaur’ by Mason Chamberlin.

It seems improbable that Loten knew that Joan Albrecht Bentinck was probably a child from the extra-marital relationship of Charlotte Sophie Countess of Aldenburg (1715-1800) and Count Albrecht Wolfgang zu Schaumburg-Lippe (1699-1748). Hella S. Haasse's novels (1978, 1981), *Mevrouw Bentinck of Onverenigbaarheid van karakter*, and *De groten der aarde of Bentinck tegen Bentinck*, described the unfortunate relationship between Willem Bentinck, first Count Bentinck and Charlotte Sophie Countess of Aldenburg (1715-1800).

²³⁵ Willem Bentinck (1704-1774), first Count Bentinck was a son from the second marriage of Hans Willem Bentinck, first Duke of Portland (1649-1709). In 1749 after the Austrian Succession War (1740-1748), he played a role in the return of Willem IV as Stadholder of the United Dutch Provinces. Although he was a Dutch politician and diplomat he also tried to obtain an income from the English crown. (Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften* volume I, ad passim).

²³⁶ Frederik Willem VanReede (1766-1810). He was the son of Frederik Christiaan Reinhart Van Reede, fifth Earl of Athlone (1743-1808) and Anna Elisabeth Christina Van Tuyll Van Serooskerken (1745-1819), daughter of Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll VanSerooskerken.

Arend Jacob Diederick Perponcher-Sedlnitzky (1765-1822), son of Count Mr. Cornelis de Perponcher-Sedlnitzky (1733-1776) and Johanna Maria VanTuyll Van Serooskerken (1746-1803), daughter of Jan Maximiliaan Tuyll Van Serooskerken. His father drowned 27 October 1776 at Zuilen.

²³⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 May 1781. HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 17 December 1780.

²³⁸ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 16 March 1781.

²³⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 March 1781.

²⁴⁰ Possibly the Swedish merchand Henry Lyell of Bourne, whose only daughter Sara (*b.* 1758) married in 1783 John Richard Earl of Delawarr.

²⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 16 November 1780; 15 December 1780; 9 January 1781. John Wesley (1837), *The experience of several eminent methodist preachers*, New York, T. Mason & G. Lane, section Mr. William Ferguson, pages 277-286, especially 284-286. In 1786 William Ferguson's son Johnathan was Wesley's interpreter during his journey to Holland. See John Wesley (1789), *An extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's journal from Sept. 4, 1782 to June 28, 1786*, volume XX. London: printed for the author; and sold at the New Chapel, and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching-houses in town and country, 134 p.

²⁴² Arnout Loten's daughter Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten (1753-1823) was until his death, a correspondent of John Wesley.

²⁴³ Quoted from Thomas Sheridan, *British education: or, the source of the disorders of Great Britain*. London, R. & J. Dodsley, 1756, page 157.

²⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 May 1781.

²⁴⁵ References to Methodist preacher George Whitefield (1714-1770), together with John Wesley one of the leaders of the Methodist movement, and to William Romaine (1714-1795), evangelical preacher and professor in astronomy at Gresham College, London.

²⁴⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 4 April 1781. Loten went to Hoxton on 23 March 1781.

²⁴⁷ B. Krysmanski (1998). We See a Ghost: Hogarth's Satire on methodists and Connoisseurs. *The Art Bulletin* 80, pages 292-310. In the first state of the etching the fainting woman in the foreground represented 'Mother Douglas'. Hogarth replaced her in the final version with Mary Tofts. See: *Anecdotes by William Hogarth written by himself*. J.B. Nichols & son, London, 1833, pages 258-265. For Mother Douglas see Chapter 3, paragraph 'London 1762-1763'.

²⁴⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 23 March 1762. See also Chapter 1, paragraph 'Early impressions'. The final state of Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism: A Medley* was published on 15 March 1762, one week before Loten wrote his recollection of Reverend Schutter.

²⁴⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 4 April 1781. The aristocratic Dutchman could not be identified.

²⁵⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 May 1781.

²⁵¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Gend, 18 September 1781.

²⁵² HUA.GC 750 nr 1393, page 135-136.

Admiral Vere Beauclerk, 1st Baron Vere of Hanworth (1699-1781) deceased in London two months after Loten's departure. In 1736 he married Mary Chambers (*d.* 1783). In 1783 Loten estimated her age "at least 80" and remarked that she was the sister of Countess Temple.

²⁵³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London Gend 24 sept 1781.

²⁵⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Gend, 18 September 1781. Fred G. Meijer, Curator of the Department of Old Netherlandish Painting, Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague identified the brother of Loten's servant as Henry Stubble (e-mail to author dated 1 October 2007).

Mr Henry Stubble received in 1770-71, "for drawing after pictures, a silver pallet", a "Honorary Premium given in Polite Arts" by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Between 1785 until 1791 he participated in the expositions of the Royal Academy. See A. Graves (1905), *The Royal Academy of Arts, a complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*. Henry Graves & Co; George Bell and sons, London.

²⁵⁵ Dr Knowler, a surgeon and apothecary at Canterbury (*The Medical Register for the year 1779*. London, J. Murray, pages 91). His brother was Rear-Admiral Charles Knowler RN (1699-1788), the other brother was Rear-Admiral Thomas Knowler RN (*d.* 1784), who was in correspondence with Loten in 1754, when his ship the *Salisbury* was repaired at Trincomalee. The Indian voyage of the squadron with the *Salisbury* under Rear-Admiral Watson was described by Edward Ives (1773). *A voyage from England to India, in the year MDCCLIV. And an historical narrative of the operations of the squadron and army in India, under ... Watson and ... Clive, ... Also, a journey from Persia to England, by an*

unusual route. With an appendix, containing an account of the diseases prevalent in Admiral Watson's squadron: a description of most of the trees, shrubs, and plants, of India, ... Illustrated with a chart, maps, and other copper-plates. ... London, E. & C. Dilly.

²⁵⁶ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774. October 15th 1781 Loten received f 575 from his account at the bank Vlaer & Kol in Utrecht, which suggests that at that date he had arrived in Utrecht.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 8

LAST YEARS IN UTRECHT 1781-1789

1. LIFE IN UTRECHT

HOUSE IN UTRECHT

Loten and his wife returned to Utrecht in October of 1781. The city no longer was the quiet provincial town that they had left five years earlier. The traditional balance of power between the ruling elite and the citizens was threatening to collapse. The burgher militia (Free Corps) of the emancipated citizens had become a powerful opponent against the regents who owed their positions to the Stadholder in the Hague. Loten was a witness to the Patriot revolt in which his brother Arnout, as one of the ruling magistrates of the city, was to play a role.

Loten spent the last seven years of his life with his wife in his house *Cour de Loo* ['Quadrangle in the Forest'] at the Nieuwe Gracht in Utrecht; today this house can be found at Drift 27b. It is situated on the east side of the Nieuwe Gracht near the Wittevrouwen Bridge.¹ On December 1st 1779 Loten bought the house from Gerard Godard Taets van Amerongen (1729-1804), Lord of Oud Amelisweerd, and his wife Anna Suzanna Hasselaer (1730-1788). Anna Suzanna had inherited the mansion from her mother Elisabeth Clignet (1702-1776), Gerard Arnout Hasselaer's (1698-1766) wife.² To the house belonged a vegetable garden as did a stable with an accommodation for the coachman; this was located at the backside of the house on the so-called "Vuijle Sloot" [dirty ditch]. Nowadays this is the Keistraat.³ The cellars of the house dated from prior to 1393. The house itself probably dated from the fifteenth century. The Van Renesse family expanded it in the sixteenth century. The Convent of Outwijk, a cloister for aristocratic ladies founded in Utrecht in 1135, possessed the house from 1614 until 1644. *Cour de Loo* was a large house. It could be found in one of the city's most exclusive locations. Loten's neighbours in Utrecht were prominent Utrecht regents: Mr Johannes Willem Swellengrebel, deacon of the Dom church and Mr Wouter Hendrik van Nellestein, canon of the Oudmunster church and a former member of the States of Utrecht. Swellengrebel was the son of a former Governor of the Cape and was married to Geertruyda Elisabeth Hilgers a daughter of Henry Hilgers, a former companion of Loten's in Batavia.⁴

Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek's house stood at a close distance, next to the Seat of the States of the Utrecht Province at the nearby Janskerkhof [St John's Churchyard].⁵

In May of 1775, Loten had told Van Hardenbroek that he dreamed of building a castle near his friend's house: "As usual last night not being out of clothes, nor in a bed (and with a much more severe fit as since 10 or 12 days) my confuse dreams & reveries being filled up with an ancient castle on St. John's Kerkhoff, flying on my Spanish Genet [=broom] over it's basse cour as one often does in chevaleresque dreams to those Thunderstrucken habitations. [...] I believe the very worthy Friend [...] is as I hope now very busy in getting me intitled to such an antiquity (as represented in the fine drawing [...]) situated on the before mentioned St John's Square, not far from the Residence now actually erecting for the Seigneur de Lochorst [Van Hardenbroek], to Whom not presuming on the superior strength of my future (quels chateaux en Espagne je batis que peut être je ne verrai pas jamais!) strong hold, I devote my self for life's remainder, at least, in the capacity not of a very useful but a perfectly liege's-servant and peaceable neighbour".⁶

Loten and his wife did not settle into their new Utrecht residence until two years later. In the meantime, his brother used the stable for his horses, evidently against the wishes of the coachman who considered the stable his own lawful territory.⁷ In January 1780, Loten explicitly authorized his brother to use his stable. Of his own house he said, 'in view of the uncertainty of all human business, I hardly dare to call it my own'.⁸ In August of 1780, he wrote to his brother from London about his house: "The greatest difficulty is not to buy it, but to travel to it. The moment I bought the house in the city I was more engaged with its size and Our Late Father's expression «Homo proponit, DEUS disponit» [Man considers and GOD decides] than whether there was an easy or reasonable way to get there from here".⁹

LIFE IN UTRECHT

A reconstruction of Loten's last years at Utrecht is impeded by the diverse and fragmentary nature of the information available to us. It is likely that Loten usually stayed in his house. However, in spite of his complaints, Loten also incidentally left Utrecht. In Loten's cash register of 1784-1785, Jan Kol specified that he had forwarded 300 guilders to 'His Honourable in Amsterdam' on 10 October 1784.¹⁰ Loten's wife may have gone to London now and again.¹¹

The various dated entries in Loten's genealogical notebooks as well as the comments he made on his natural history watercolours indicate that he regularly consulted his collections.¹² For example, in the library of the Leiden Naturalis Museum there is a copy of John Latham's *General synopsis of birds* (1781-1785) with several annotations in pencil by Loten.¹³ Loten also bought many books from booksellers in Utrecht, Amsterdam and Leiden and he very probably also ordered books from London booksellers.

Shortly after his return to Utrecht, Loten was elected a member of the *Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap*. It is not clear whether or not he actually participated in the activities this society organised.¹⁴ In Utrecht Loten was visited by his acquaintances and also went to see his family and friends in town. He also went to see places of genealogical interest to him.¹⁵ In March 1782 he referred to the visits that he and his wife paid to their friends Lady Charlotta Maria Barchman Wuytiers and her younger sister Eleonora Casembroot, at the Nieuwe Gracht in Utrecht. The conversation apparently dealt with the hostilities of the British Navy against the Dutch: 'Yesterday evening the varium & mutabile semper [=]the always slippery and changeable thing' from Virgil *Aeneid*] who lodges with me under one roof [a reference to his wife] was there with one of the Maleprade's,¹⁶ for a chat or knitting party. About ½ month ago I was there and saw both Ladies. Because I was alone, we talked with astonishment about the Warrior Exploits of our highly honoured Former Allies and Fellow Believers'.¹⁷

In June of 1783, the English Methodist John Wesley visited Utrecht where he was entertained by Arnout Loten's family at their farmstead Schadeshoeve:

"*Thur[sday]* 26 [*June 1783*]. We were scarce got to our inn at Utrecht, when Miss L[oten] came.¹⁸ I found her just such as I expected. She came on purpose from her father's country-house, where all the family were. [...]

Fri[day] 27 [*June 1783*]. I walked over to Mr L[oten]'s country-house, about three miles from the city. It is a lovely place, surrounded with delightful gardens, laid out with wonderful variety. Mr. L[oten] is of an easy genteel behavior, speaks Latin correctly, and is no stranger to philosophy. Mrs. L[oten] is the picture of friendliness and hospitality; and young Mr L[oten] seems to be cast in the same mold. We spent a few hours very agreeably. Then Mr L[oten] would send me back in his coach.

Sun[day] 29 [*June 1783*]. At ten I began the service in the English church in Utrecht. I believe all the English in the city were present, and forty or fifty Hollanders. [...] In the evening a large company of us met at Miss L[oten]'s, where I was desired to repeat the substance of my morning sermon".¹⁹

John Wesley's journal does not refer to Joan Gideon Loten, but mentions a meeting with an unnamed Dutch merchant after the Sunday service. Wesley's description of the merchant bears a striking likeness to Joan Gideon Loten: "Afterwards a merchant invited me to dinner: For six years he had been at death's door by an asthma, and was extremely ill last night; but this morning, without any visible cause, he was well, and walked across the city to the church. He seemed to be deeply acquainted with religion, and made me promise, if I came to Utrecht again, to make his house my home".²⁰

Loten had friends in Utrecht who were well-acquainted with the political situation in the Republic and especially in Utrecht. They furnished him with first-hand news, usually from the perspective of the regents and the aristocracy. In the available Loten-documents there are no traces of any contacts he might have had with the Patriots, although Loten and his brother knew the family of Pieter Philip Quint Ondaatje (1758-1818), one of the leaders of the Utrecht Patriot revolt.²¹ They also knew and were related to the family of Jan Anthonie d'Averhoul (1756-1792).²² D'Averhoul played a prominent role in Utrecht during the Patriot upheaval.²³ After the restoration of the Stadholder regime in 1787, he escaped to France. In 1792, D'Averhoul was president of the the Assemblée Législative, the French parliament, for a short period of time. We know that Loten was acquainted with the Patriot publications.²⁴ In October of 1789, three years after the Patriots were banished from the city, A. Van Paddenburg, who organized the auction of Loten's library, did not dare to sell 'a lot of Kruijers, Posten van den Neder Rhijn and other blue booklets' from Loten's legacy.²⁵ Apparently these journals from the Patriot press were still illegal. For this reason Jan Kol, Loten's executor, offered to send the journals to Loten's grandson who could then split the legacy with his sister.

Loten's friend Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek had good connections to the principal regents and statesmen in the Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht. He did not belong to the group of staunch followers of the Stadholder and openly disapproved of Utrecht lieutenant-Stadholder Willem Nicolaas Pestere's nepotism. Loten and Van Hardenbroek evidently discussed international, national and local affairs, but they also exchanged genealogical information.²⁶ In May 1783 Loten spoke with him about the *Rotterdamse Courant*. Loten disapproved of the articles dealing with the way ships belonging to the Republic saluted English ships. He considered it humiliating to the Dutch Republic. He also gossiped with his friend about

the Prince of Wales, a passage which was excluded from the printed version of Van Hardenbroek's *Gedenkschriften*: "Then speaking of another article in the same paper dealing with the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnabrugge, Mr Loten informed me that the above-cited Prince of Wales was very licentious with regard to Wine and Women; that his highness was often drunk; that he associates a lot with a Doctor Tompson; that recently, while riding very fast on horseback, they both fell from their horses; that the above-cited Doctor is considered to be a very able physician, especially in the case of Venereal disease; that most of the court ladies in England tried to charm the above-cited Prince of Wales, and that he was well received by most of them .. to summarise, he had little praiseworthy to say of the Prince mentioned here".²⁷ Another regular visitor to Loten was Jan Kol, who also often provided Van Hardenbroek with the latest news about the city's affairs. He frequented the circles of distinguished families such as the Pestere and other Utrecht regents and could therefore supply first-hand information about their opinions and family circumstances. He undoubtedly furnished Loten with comparable gossip.

There is little information about Loten's sympathies during the Patriot upheaval in Utrecht. From Van Hardenbroek's *Gedenkschriften* it is clear that Loten did not like to be in the company of Mrs d'Ablaing, "because she has little sympathy for the English, but also because she is somewhat too blind a supporter of the Stadholder, in the broadest sense of the word".²⁸ To a large extent, he probably agreed with Van Hardenbroek's reticent attitude towards the spitfire orangists. Jan Kol tells us that in April 1784 Loten was supportive of an address to the City Council favouring a moderate approach to the 'Constitutional restoration' of burgher's former rights and privileges. The address claimed that it was 'more important to take into account the essential prosperity of the people than their due rights'. The address was also in favour of a Stadholderate, 'with enough authority to ensure lasting protection for the outer and inner Freedom of the Country'.²⁹ Because he was a man of independent means, Loten was less restricted in uttering his opinions about things than was his brother Arnout, whose career and income depended upon the goodwill of the Stadholder and his deputy Pestere.

Loten still read English papers in Utrecht. In October of 1784, he copied an "extract of a letter from Antwerp" from the *London Chronicle* for his friend Van Hardenbroek. It dealt with the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch War and the intervention of the Austrian Emperor and the role of France: "The Dutch must either submit to all the demands of the Emperor, or try their fortune by arms. They have been long infatuated with France. The truth is, they are destined to ruin as a republic. His Highness the Prince of Orange must be made a King, after the powers who are to divide shall have settled between them selves upon the districts to be lopped from the Republic. They are agreed about the European division, but they have not yet settled about dividing the Dutch colonies - &c. &c. &c."³⁰ Although it is not clear whether Loten shared the correspondent's opinion about the Republic's government, he probably favoured 'lasting protection of the outer and inner Freedom of the Country' over sovereign role by the Stadholder. Moreover, he must have been worried that the peace treaty was decided by the foreign powers for the Dutch Republic and that the division of territories in Europe and the colonies took place without a substantial role of the Republic.

PATRIOT REVOLT IN UTRECHT

Arnout Loten also undoubtedly reported to his brother about developments in local affairs. As one of the city's most important regents, Arnout was involved in the Patriot turbulence. He had been a member of the Utrecht City Council since 1749 and was a loyal supporter of the Stadholder.³¹ In 1782, the Patriot press in Utrecht considered him to be Perster's accomplice.³² Early in 1783, Utrecht's City Council attacked Pestere's corruption and nepotism. The city's citizens protested against the Stadholder's right to appoint people to fill the city best positions. Despite this, Arnout Loten remained a loyal supporter of both the Stadholder and Pestere. His stance during the Patriot revolt is more well documented than that of his brother Joan Gideon.³³

Early January 1784 burgomaster Arnout Loten was attacked by the burghers of Utrecht; Loten's friend Van Hardenbroek described the incident in his *Gedenkschriften*: "[L]ast week several of the most important burghers visited the burgomasters and former-burgomasters, insisting that they stick to their Regulations strictly etc. When they got to Loten's office, his servant left said burghers standing in the hallway and asked them if he could not communicate their message to his master himself. They responded that this was not possible as they had come to speak to the burgomaster personally, whereupon Mrs Loten appeared, who probably said to her servant: «Ill-mannered brute, why did you not invite the gentlemen in the antechamber», whereupon the servant did as he was asked. Somewhat later Mr Loten went to see the

burghers, but what happened after that is not known. Another story had it that Loten's daughter called the burghers back to the house, and came out of the house for that purpose, however, those who had left, refused to return'.³⁴

In December of 1785 burgomaster Arnout Loten initially refused to accept a petition from a delegate of burghers. However, his colleague Van Bronckhorst, persuaded him to change his mind this and he therefore accepted it and presented it to the council. The majority of the councillors however, refused to submit. When Arnout Loten went home to his house at the Oudmunster Kerkhof that evening, the burghers stopped him: 'When burgomaster Loten wanted to drive home on the 19th [of December 1785], his carriage was brought to such a violent halt by a mob that the horses dragged along and then fell to their knees; when the coachman cracked his whip again, the carriage continued on through the Choorstraat, swaying so vehemently that we feared it would bump against the corner of a porch. At least 50 people had already walked to burgomaster Loten's house; they stopped him when he descended from his carriage and insisted he return to town hall. When he struggled to climb his porch he was stopped so violently that his wife and son, who were coming out of the house onto the porch, cried, «Murder, Help», which one believes the burgomaster also once shouted'.³⁵ Van Hardenbroek tells us that on that evening, Arnout Loten was 'more angry and disturbed than he was alarmed'. Several days later, Jan Kol told van Hardenbroek that, 'when he ascended his porch the evening of the 19th, burgomaster Loten lost part of his overcoat, that he was even pushed backwards against the banister of the porch, and, without the help of deputy sheriff [Johan] Oskam and several constables, he probably would have collapsed'.³⁶ The regents were finally obliged to abandon their stand under the threat of violence by the members of the Free Corps who had gathered in front of town hall. After the council meeting, Arnout Loten left town hall stealthily through the back door, accompanied by a friendly burgher and sheriff Oskam.

In August 1786 the Patriots took over the government of Utrecht. On August 28th 1786, fifteen newly elected councillors were sworn in at an impressive ceremony at Neude square. It is now characterised as the Utrecht Patriot upheaval's climax.³⁷ From John Wesley, who visited Utrecht towards the end of August 1786 for a second time, we know something about Arnout Loten and his family during this turbulent period.

"Fri[day] 25 August 1786. [Utrecht] I kept close to my work all the day. I dined at Mr. Loten's, where was such variety of food as I never saw at any Nobleman's table, either in England or Ireland. [...]

In the evening I expounded to a select company of very honorable ladies, Matthew 7:24; Miss Loten interpreting for me sentence by sentence: [...]

Sun[day] 27 [August 1786]. [...]. After Service I went once more to Mr. Loten's. Both Mrs. Loten and he came to town on purpose to see me; otherwise, he could find little comfort there, during the present state of affairs. The Burghers have all agreed to depose their Burgomasters, and elect new ones in their stead; who are tomorrow to take an oath on a scaffold erected in the open market-place, not to the Prince of Orange, but to the city of Utrecht. To this end, they had displaced all the Prince's Guards, and placed Burghers at all the gates".³⁸

Arnout Loten lost his position as burgomaster and member of the city council. In September 1787 the Patriot revolt in Utrecht came to an end. An army of around 26,000 Prussians crossed the frontier of the Republic. The resistance to the Prussian army melted away. Schama unsurprisingly summarised the situation: "Years of parades, drills, Free Corps manoeuvres, and martial ballyhoo simply disappeared in the general terror at the advance of the Prussian armies".³⁹ In Utrecht the Free Corps that had been preparing to defend their liberties for months, now threw their rifles on the floor of the town hall or into the canals in disgust. By nightfall of September 15th, the Patriot troops marched out of the city, followed by the Patriot councillors and the editors and publishers of Patriot newspapers. The last to leave with handcarts and in wagons were the dispirited Free Corps families and the burghers. Late in the afternoon of the 16th, the Prince's troops and the Prussians marched into the empty city. Thus restored to power, the Prince reinstated Utrecht's former city council and Arnout Loten once again became the city's provisional first burgomaster.

In contrast to the Gordon riots or the Wilkes demonstrations, which Joan Gideon Loten witnessed in London, drunken rampages and looting did not take place during the Patriot Revolt Utrecht. However, the atmosphere in the city of that time was definitely very tense and mobs regularly broke the windows of supporters of the regents. Thus, it must have reminded Loten of the upheaval in London. He will therefore have feared intimidation by the Patriots and their burgher militia.⁴⁰ Simon Schama tells us: "The revolution in Utrecht may have been bloodless, but it was nonetheless ruthlessly executed. When their representations were declared illegal, as indeed they were, by the constituted authorities of Stadholder,

States assembly and council, the Patriot burghers simply set about creating their own legality, and then ramming it down the throats of those it displaced. In these circumstances, that most overworked category of political descriptions, “revolutionary”, seems appropriate”.⁴¹

VAN WILMSDORFF FAMILY

Loten’s last years in Utrecht were not only overshadowed by the Patriot upheaval, but also dominated by family affairs, in the last year of his life even with dramatic dimensions. Having lost a great deal of money in 1780 as a result of his gambling, Loten’s grandson-in-law Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff’s financial circumstances deteriorated even further. In October of 1781, Van Wilmsdorff and his wife obtained a credit of 6,000 guilders, which provided temporary relief.⁴² However, it was not sufficient to fully alleviate their financial problems. Their relationship with Loten also worsened. In February of 1782 Loten put further limitations on his granddaughter and her husband’s inheritance. In a codicil to his will, he stipulated that after his death, the bequest would “remain under the direction and keeping of his appointed executor”.⁴³ Furthermore, this restriction was to remain effective after the deaths of Van Wilmsdorff and his wife. His capital was to be “charged with and bear all real taxes and charges to which the said goods are liable or may be liable”. Loten also stipulated that within six weeks after his death, a judicial act would take effect in which Anna Henrietta Van Der Brugghen declared and her husband endorsed: “That she is fully satisfied with the disposition of him the appearor and that she approves the same in all the particulars thereof with promise that she will not oppose or use the same to be opposed directly or indirectly either in judgement or otherwise. In case she should neglect to produce the said judicial or notarial declaration the testator declared to revoke all that which his said grand daughter should otherwise by virtue of the said testament and codicils inherit or obtain of him the appearor and also the bequeathing of the usufruct and on the contrary to institute her the Lady Anna Henrietta Van Wilmsdorff born Van Der Brugghen to her bare legitimate portion due to her according to the rigour of the law”.⁴⁴

Despite their financial problems, the Van Wilmsdorff family grew in the 1780s. Four children were born in Bois le Duc and in the castle Nemerlaer at Haaren: Wilhelmina Anna (1781-1829), Jeanne Françoise (1783-1845), Jan Carel Willem (1785-*after* 1789) and Gerharda Henrietta Wilhelmina Anna (1786-1859).

In the autumn of 1787 after the restoration of the Stadholderian power and the removal of the Patriot regents in Utrecht, Loten’s personal life remained turbulent, mainly as a result of the financial and personal disasters his granddaughter Antje and her husband Van Wilmsdorff found themselves. There is no doubt that these affairs caused the old man a great deal of grief. In August of 1788, Van Wilmsdorff was no longer able to pay his creditors and he left his wife and six children. Evidently Antje’s brother, Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Brugghen, had taken several of Van Wilmsdorff’s due-bills upon himself. These were to be paid early in November of 1788. Joan Carel Gideon’s correspondence with his banker Everard Kol about the payment of these debts give us some idea of the urgency of their situation and the position Loten took towards this. Just before the end of September 1788, Kol assured Van Der Brugghen that he would have to pay the debts ‘to prevent unpleasantness resulting from a refusal to pay’ from taking place. Kol also described Antje’s situation: ‘My father [Jan Kol] has already done his utmost with Mr Loten to help the unfortunate children. Until now he has not succeeded; however, he will persist and do everything he can. But let me be honest with you and say to You that You should not get too involved this affair for I think it is a hopeless case’.⁴⁵ Two weeks later, Everard Kol advised Van Der Brugghen to sell several bonds enabling him to settle the due-bills he had accepted from Van Wilmsdorff. He also wrote: ‘I am very sorry for Mrs [Van Wilmsdorff] especially because Mr Loten’s position is uncompromising. However, I hope that he will become accessible in the end for everyone is seeking a solution’.⁴⁶

Joan Carel informed his half-brother Jan Anthony Van Der Brugghen about the situation. Jan Anthony, recently promoted to the position of colonel of the Friesland Cavalry, responded sympathetically: ‘Our very dear sister Antje and her dear children’s misfortune grieves me deeply. The only solution is to help her. If old Mr Loten – who is a very honest, very dear and prudent man, and who will definitely not back away from this – refuses to help and support her, which I cannot imagine, then please let me know how and in what way You propose to support our sister. I am very willing to help her but I have to know how and in what way. As both of us have children, we know that they have to be taken care of. Wilmsdorff’s actions are most atrocious and inexcusable’.⁴⁷ In October of 1788, Loten was, according to Everard Kol, ‘still unswerving; they have neglected that Gentleman and old people are highly sensitive

to that'.⁴⁸ Three weeks afterwards, on November 10, Kol confirmed Van Der Bruggen that Loten had indeed become more approachable: 'I am glad that Mr Loten at last took pity on Mrs v[an] W[ilmsdorff]'.⁴⁹ It is not clear in what form his approach took place, but Loten's compassion certainly did not include his grandson-in-law. Towards the end of November 1788, scarcely two months prior to his death, Loten changed his testament; he revoked the bequest he had made to Van Wilmsdorff: "The appearor declared by these pursuits expressly to revoke the bequeathing thereby made to Mr. Willem Anna van Wilmsdorff and further expressly to will and desire that the said Mr. Willem Anna van Wilmsdorff shall never have any the least direction over any revenues which by virtue of the aforesaid disposition shall come to the appearors granddaughter the right honble Lady Anna Henrietta van der Bruggen at present separated from the said Mr. Willem Anna van Wilmsdorff".⁵⁰

In May of 1789 Van Wilmsdorff was declared insolvent. Mr Willem Cornelis Ackerdijck, junior secretary at Bois le Duc and curator of Van Wilmsdorff insolvent estate sold the 'old noble castle' and the remainder of the Nemerlaer domain for 42,000 guilders to Mr Michiel Hubert, Lord of Hilvarenbeek, Diessen, Riel and Westelbeers.⁵¹ Willem Anna Van Wilmsdorff, however, had escaped his creditors by fleeing to England.

2. FINAL YEARS AND DEATH

LOTEN'S LAST YEAR

On 22 February 1788, Loten's friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek died in his house at the St Janskerkhof in Utrecht. His *Gedenkschriften* do not give us any reason to believe that he suffered long from a disease. Until ten days before his death, he continued to write in his *Gedenkschriften*, without referring to his health in any way.⁵² In July of 1785, Loten had bequeathed his diamond ring to Van Hardenbroek "as a small memento". Loten bought the ring in London in 1759, at which time he presumed that it would make him look like 'a small Indian Seigneur'.⁵³ Two weeks after Van Hardenbroek's death Loten changed his will: "On this day the 4th of March 1788 in the evening at nine of the clock before me Willem Dop notary of the court of Utrecht residing in Utrecht and admitted etc who declared that by the decease of the right honble Gysbert Jan Baron van Hardenbroek Lord of Lokhorst Berkestein etc which has happened in this city the 22d of february 1788 the legacy consisting of a brilliant ring which the appearor has been used to wear bequeathed to him by the codicillary disposition passed the 6 of July 1785 before me notary and witnesses is lapsed [...] The appearor declared to bequeath to make and bespeak to his consort the honble Lady Lettice Cotes the aforesaid brilliant ring which the appearor has been used to wear and which here before was bespoken to the said Lord of Lokhorst all which the appearor declared to be his last will etc".⁵⁴ There are no tokens of the friendship between Van Hardenbroek and Loten's in his final documents, except a sudden recollection in November 1788 of Van Hardenbroek's false belief that he had paid for Loten's chariot in the early 1770s. This recollection meaningfully shows that Loten's anxiety about this incident had never been forgotten.⁵⁵

The few sources which exist about Loten's last year of life inform us in detail about the contacts he had with the Utrecht apothecary G.B. van Alphen & Son and the wine merchant 'Widow Post & Willem Post in Comp'.⁵⁶ The wine merchant's invoice tells us that nine orders were placed by their customer at the *Cour de Loo*. A total of 10 'ankers' of wine – one anker amounts to approximately 39 litres – was delivered to the customer in corked bottles, of which 8 anker was of the 'best Red wine', 1½ anker of the 'best white wine' and ½ anker of the 'best Rhine wine'. On February 4th 1789, the bill for 1788 was paid; it amounted to f 275 13st.⁵⁷

The invoice the apothecary sent to Loten's for 1788 specified 148 items over 124 days; the sum total amounted to a quarter of the sum paid to the wine merchant: f 66 2st. There must have been frequent contact between G.B. van Alphen & Son and the Loten household. Notwithstanding the accuracy of the invoice, it is impossible to distinguish between the medicines destined for Loten, his wife or their servants. Moreover, the list may only represent a portion of the medications supplied to the Loten household. The items on the list were probably ordered without a doctor's prescription and recommended by the apothecary. The drugs prescribed by Loten and his wife's physicians may have been provided in another way. Old professor Oosterdijk Schacht visited Loten almost every day. He must have prescribed medicines for him as is evidenced by the comments Loten made in his *Almanac*.⁵⁸ Even so, the sheer number of medications cited on the apothecary's invoice give us some idea of how healthy the inhabitants

of *Cour de Loo* were, in particular, Loten. Most of the medications relate to Loten's asthma. He apparently no longer had any need for the camphor which he used for his heart in December of 1780.⁵⁹

The most expensive medicine the apothecary delivered was supplied on 28 March 1788; it was Sydenham's Laudanum and cost f 5 8st. This drug was intended for Loten. It was the only opiate on apothecary Van Alphen's list. Most of the other drugs he supplied were probably designed to alleviate the symptoms of Loten's respiratory complaints. In the months February and March of 1788 a "Mixtura pectoralis" is mentioned. This is a medication used for chest complaints. In the last week of December 1788, Van Alphen & Son delivered "Pulveres antispasmodices", probably to alleviate Loten's spasms. In 1788, nearly every two weeks "pillulae purgatoriae" were supplied by the apothecary. Evidently Loten required a purgative on a structural basis to help him battle constipation. This is not surprising considering his frequent use of laudanum. "Gentle laxatives" were given to patients with "Convulsive Asthma [...] if they have hypochondriacal or flatulent symptoms".⁶⁰ Preparations containing oil from the bark and leaves of Sambucus, which served as a purgative and diuretic, were mentioned in Van Alphen's specification of March and December 1788. For one week in May of 1788, Van Alphen also sent "spiritus aperiens" and "mixtura aperiens", suggesting that an additional laxative was required. In May, September, October and December 1788 carminatives were mentioned in the list as "Spiritus carminans" and "Mixtura carminans". These "medicines [were] used in colics or other flatulent disorders, to dispel winds", but they were also used as diuretics.⁶¹ In April and May of 1788, Van Alphen sent "Mixtura diuretica" to the Loten household seven times, evidently intending to increase the amount of urine discharged by his customer.

Other medicines mentioned in the list were meant to cure stomach problems. In May 1788 "Rob juniperi" a medication based on the berries of the Juniper, was provided. The extract of the Juniper berries was considered to be a carminative and was also used for stomach complaints. In the same period, several medications containing Succus, an extract of Aloë, were used for stomach complaints at the *Cour de Loo*. However, the most popular medicine for stomach disorders in the Loten household was "Haustus stomachicus"; from 29 April until 11 July 1788, Van Alphen supplied this to the Lotens fourteen times. In the months thereafter, medication for gastric disturbances were not mentioned as frequently on the list. Medications for headache, called "Haustus cephalica" and "Mixtura cephalica", could be found on the apothecary's list in February, May and July 1788. Migraines were fought using "Pulveres cephalica" in December of 1788. In May and November of 1788 Van Alphen's bill also specified, "Spiritus Cornus Cervi", or Hartshorn, a volatile substance made from the horns of common male deers. It was used to revive people who had fainted; it was very pungent.⁶² The "Elixer viscerale Hoffmann", a mixture of 1 part ether and 3 parts alcohol, which was supplied to the Lotens in July of 1788, had the same application. From 9 to 12 September 1788, Van Alphen supplied "Mixtura antiscorbutica", suggesting that someone at *Cour de Loo* suffered from scurvy. This complaint is surprising given the time of year it was used and indicates an insufficient number of vegetables from Loten's garden were consumed.

Although the list of medicines used by Loten and his household is impressive, the state of health did not prevent his acquaintances from visiting him. In 1788, he made short notes in a small *Almanac*, both about his visitors and about his use of opium.⁶³ Only part of this document has been archived: the pages containing annotations from the period 20 November 1788 until 1 January 1789 are complete and the handwriting in them is shaky. Remarkably, none of Loten's nearest relatives has been mentioned in his annotations. However, we have no reason to believe that his brother and family did not visit him. According to the records, Loten was visited almost daily by Johannes Oosterdijk Schacht (1704-1792); Schacht was nearly 85 years old and a professor in medicine at Utrecht University.⁶⁴ Loten probably consulted him as his personal physician. He cites Oosterdijk Schacht's name several times in connection with "nocturnal pollution" and "decoïtu senili". Evidently Loten suffered from involuntary ejaculation, a complaint many elderly men have. In a shaky handwriting, Loten wrote the following reflection about this complaint: 'I always supposed to be guilty of something that I very much feared and loathed. Several of these [imagination] totally spoiled my fancy. [Now] I think that it was an excrement that happened to me, like it often happens with the females'.⁶⁵

Another regular visitor was his friend Jan Kol, who sometimes dined with the Lotens. Loten's notes also tell us that William Robert Spencer,⁶⁶ the grandson of the Duke of Malborough, regularly visited Loten and his wife. He was a student at Utrecht University. In December of 1788, he dined with the Lotens together with Arend Jacob Diederick Perponcher-Sedlnitzky, who was elected councillor of the city of Utrecht by the Stadholder in October 1787. Perponcher had visited the Lotens in London in April of 1781 and had been 'a guest, who always will be welcome'.⁶⁷ On occasion Loten also wrote down his innermost thoughts in the *Almanac*; so, too, on December 19th 1788 he wrote 'ruthless'. We can only

speculate about who or what was without mercy to him. More pious remarks were also to be found in the booklet:

‘[B]y the grace of God’s clemency I was protected and snatched away from the greatest danger and liberated. O Lord release me further and protect me until the end, against the return of even the least of those melancholies or depressions’.⁶⁸

‘One must not show one’s own grief, it is our duty to hide it and thereby improving oneself as much as is possible’.⁶⁹

‘And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.
And lead us not in temptation, but deliver us from evil.
For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen’.⁷⁰

The notes containing his reflections apparently helped him to maintain his inner self-control. Another document originating from Loten’s final period is a small playing card, the Queen of Hearts or Judic, which was found in one of his genealogical notebooks. It bears the date November 29th [1788].⁷¹ Like the *Almanac*, it also shows his clear need to write about the issues which concerned him. The comments on the card are in the same shaky handwriting found in Loten’s *Almanac*. They contain symbols of Mars and Mercury, remarks about his complaints, medication and visitors, including: Professor Oosterdijk Schacht, George Tammo Falck, Mr van der Weert, alderman W. De Ruyter and notary Willem Dop. On it, he also refers to Jan Kol, probably because Kol brought him the documents pertaining to the codicil to his testament of November 25th 1788. A complaint on the card reads ‘joint of ankle feels raw & as planed’. It may have been a reference to gout. The other remarks on the card refer to Loten’s use of laudanum, which he specified both in liquid form as drops (gtt) and as cristals. Although apothecary Van Alphen delivered Sydenham laudanum to Loten in March of 1788, in November 1788 he used a Baumé extract, which is a liquid distillate of the opium cristal.⁷² Loten assumed that one grain of the opium cristal was equal to 22 drops of laudanum. In his *Almanac* he also made a note of the number of opium cristals he used. These data suggest that he took an average of 173 drops of laudanum each day, a dose which is higher than the average of 102 drops he took in the period between October 1773 and March 1777.

The last of Loten’s actions was documented shortly before his death when he added another codicil to his will: “On this day the 12th of January 1789 before me Cornelis de Wys and besides the profits and benefits thereby stipulated and bespoken in behalf of the said consort still to make bespeak and bequeath to her his the appearors house in New Burlington Street London with all its appurtenances and also all the furniture and household stuff which at his the appearors death shall be found in the said house which he the appearor declared to be his last will etc.”.⁷³ This addition to his will indicates that Loten was still able to act deliberately and independently, although we cannot rule out the possibility that someone else suggested this disposition to him. In 1767, he had already bequeathed all of the furniture at New Burlington Street to his wife and had settled an annuity from his capital in the Bank of England in her name. He also bequeathed his household linen (in London and Utrecht), half of the silver plate and the “coaches or carriages with harnesses thereunto”, to his wife.⁷⁴ These bequests were added to her legitimate portion of their estate and the settlements made in the marriage contract.⁷⁵ Loten’s last codicil guaranteed that his widow could reside permanently in London and lead a dignified life there.

LOTEN’S DECEASE

On the morning of 25 February 1789, six weeks after signing the last addition to his testament, Joan Gideon Loten died in Utrecht.⁷⁶ His death was announced in the *Utrechtsche Courant* on Friday 27 February 1789:

‘Utrecht 26 February. Yesterday morning the right honourable Mr Joan Gideon Loten, former Councillor of the Netherlands Indies and Governor of Ceylon, died here of an illness of the chest at the age of about 79 years’.⁷⁷

It appears his respiratory problems were finally too much for him. It seems probable he died as a result of the strains of an asthmatic attack. Loten was buried in the family crypt at the Chancel of the Jacobi church in Utrecht on Wednesday 4 March 1789.⁷⁸ The “Funeral list of blood-relatives and other gentlemen” tells us that the funeral procession consisted of 15 coaches, indicating that Loten’s relatives had made sure that

their last salute to him was aristocratic and stately.⁷⁹ The list mentions 47 persons, among which his brother Arnout, his grandson Joan Carel Van Der Bruggen and several other members of the family. The list is an enumeration of the names of many of Utrecht's prominent aristocrats and orangist regents and is indicative of the environment in which Loten spent his final years there. Also mentioned are several professors from Utrecht University, two notaries, several physicians and his apothecary G.B. Van Alphen. The costs of the funeral in the Jacobi Church amounted to 250 guilders indicating that it was of the highest class.⁸⁰ On May the 2nd 1791, Loten's coat of arms was hung in the church among the 250 funeral boards; this costed 24 guilders. The funeral board included an epitaph that summarised Loten's life.⁸¹ The escutcheon with the epitaph in Latin was removed on 5 February 1795 by order of the 'Provisional Municipality of this City dated 4 February 1795'. A remarkable tribute by the newly founded Batavian Republic to the memory of Governor Joan Gideon Loten, Fellow of the Royal Society and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It is not clear whether Loten's family rescued it from the church or not, so it may have been destroyed in July 1795 when the Jacobi Church's wardens decided to move the remaining boards to the City orphanage and to destroy and burn them there.⁸²

LOTEN MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

In March of 1790, Jan Kol, the executor of Loten's will, informed Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen that Loten's widow intended to erect 'some kind of tomb' in Utrecht in memory of husband. However, she left the city for London before this was ever realised.⁸³ Once she was in London however, she took steps to fulfil her goal. In December of 1789 she paid her respects to her former neighbour Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society. As he was not at home, she wrote him a short note asking him:

"[I]f the late worthy Doctor Solander had not a monument erected for him in Westminster Abbey, if he has where & to whom must an application be made or leave to have room for one".⁸⁴

Banks replied to Mrs Loten:

"Madam

Had I had an idea of your being in England I should not have omitted to pay my respect to her who I have been always avid to consider as an old friend excuse then madam my unintentional fault & allow me the honor of waiting upon you on Tuesday morning and talk over the circumstance of an deceased friend who was burried in the Swedish chapel in Wellclose Square & has not any monument erected to his memory.⁸⁵

I have the honor & be Madam Your Most Faithfull Servant

J: Banks

I am under an engagement & spent the whole day at Kew or I should not have postponed my desire in [New] B[urlington] street till tomorrow".⁸⁶

Loten's widow probably asked about the memorial for Dr Solander only as a pretext for receiving an opinion about her intention to erect a monument in the Abbey for her late husband. In the eighteenth century, grand funerary monuments to figures of national importance became of growing prominence in the Abbey. The monuments were the subject of guidebooks, histories and poems. A relatively broad range of people congregated together before the monuments of national fame.⁸⁷ Apparently Lettice considered this type of environment to be suitable to the memory of her husband. Whether she was acting on Loten's explicit instructions remains unknown, although her enterprise will have agreed with his wish to become part of the British elite. A monument for Loten in the Abbey will also have affirmed her status as widow of a distinguished and remarkable *virtuoso*.

A memorial for Dr Solander was never realised in Westminster Abbey, but on 17 March 1790 the chapter of the Abbey gave its permission to "erect a monument in a window of - Loten for a fine of 50 guineas".⁸⁸ It is clear that Joseph Banks was involved in this project, because in July of 1790 he spoke with Reverend Dr John Thomas, the Dean of the Westminster and Bishop of Rochester about where in the Abbey the monument should be placed as well as what the inscription on the monument should be.⁸⁹ Three years later, in 1793, an impressive monument in memory of Joan Gideon Loten was erected in the Abbey. It could be found in front of the fifth window from the west on the North side in the Nave.⁹⁰ The monument, which was made of marble, was probably designed and executed by Thomas Gayfere (1751-1827) Westminster Abbey's master-mason, and sculpted by Thomas Banks RA. (1735-1805). It was a "majestic Statue of a female representing Generosity, attended by a lion, and placing a Medallion of the deceased on an inscribed column".⁹¹ Painted coats of arms on the left side of the memorial represented the families of Schade van Westrum, Hoeufft, Aerssen van Juchen and Deutz. Those on the right side

represented the Selyns, Strick van Linschotens, Deuverdens and Loten himself (a gold shield with a bulb or root on it from which shoot two sprigs of a flower). The first part of the inscription was in Latin and (in translation) reads:⁹²

Sacred to the memory
of the most famous and excellent man,
JOHN GIDEON LOTEN,
Governor of Batavia in the East Indies,
sometime Minister both in the Island of Celebes and Ceylon,
distinguished by the highest office.
Fellow of the Royal Society of London
and of the Society of Antiquaries.
In serving his country through
public works
he was a distinguished citizen of the highest rank.
In his private affairs
all things were carried out with the utmost care and diligence
and by these principles he lived:
genuine faith, unsurpassing calmness of spirit, temperate pleasing manners,
and deep but broad learning.
He went to India in 1732;
and on 24 August 1733 married Anna Henrietta Beaumont,
who died on 10 August 1755.
He came back to Europe in the year 1758
and in the county of Stafford in England on the 4 July 1765 was married again to
Laetitia Cotes of Cotes.
He died in Utrecht on the Rhine, on 25 February 1789 aged 80.

Below this in English the following words can be found. They are from Psalm 15:

Lord, who shall abide in thy Tabernacle,
Or who shall rest upon thy holy hill.
Even he that leadeth an incorruptible life: and doeth the thing which is right
And speaketh the truth from his heart
He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and dissappointeth him not:
Though it were to his own hinderence
He that hath not given his money upon usury:
Nor taken reward against the innocent.
SUCH was John Gideon Loten!

Since its erection, the memorial has been cut down from its original size. The triangular-shaped pyramid which rose up behind Generosity and the lion have been removed so that the upper part of the figure of Generosity is now freestanding. The coats of arms which were affixed to the pyramid have been removed and have been positioned lower down on the monument, in an arbitrary order of rank.

3. LOTEN'S LEGACY

LOTEN'S LAST WILL

On the 4th of March 1789 at noon, Loten's last will was opened by Cornelis De Wys, "doctor of laws and notary" of the Court of Utrecht, in the presence of Jan Kol, "steward of the nobles and knights" of the Province of Utrecht, Loten's grandson Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen, "Lord of Stiphout and Croy", and two witnesses. By virtue of a grant of the Court of Utrecht, dated 21 September 1758, Loten could bequeath money and several goods in his possession in Utrecht and London to various persons.⁹³ The English version of Loten's lengthy will consists of twenty four folio pages being his testament and eleven codicils.⁹⁴ The will was drawn up in Utrecht and London. In the testament Loten declares: "[I]o approve and fully to confirm the marriage contract with my present consort Lettice Cotes which hath

been made before the date of our marriage and without diminishing of all that which I hereby in the testament have bestowed to or settled upon her before our marriage either by way of settlement or any manner whatsoever further". In the later codicils, Loten repeatedly confirms this marriage settlement.⁹⁵ In the testament of 1767, Lettice Cotes was appointed executrix of his estates and goods in London and Utrecht; she was also appointed guardian over a future child or children. In the codicil of October 25th 1769, Jan Kol is appointed executor and guardian too.⁹⁶

Besides his wife as his inheritor Loten also mentions the following in his testament: "[My] sole and universal heirs the child or children which I with my present consort may beget and have behind each for one share and the two children of my daughter the late Lady Arnoldina Deliana Loten named Johan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen and Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen jointly for one share and should I have no child or children behind my present marriage then my said two grand children each for half to all my remainder goods and effects". Loten made a special provision in the codicil of October 3rd 1778 should he die without children. Should that happen, Lettice Cotes was to receive 3% interest and dividends from a capital of 12,000 pounds sterling in the Bank of England for the term of her life.⁹⁷ This amount was additional to the annuity of 10,000 pounds in the Bank of England carrying an interest of 4% (but later reduced to 3%) which would be at Lettice's disposal after her husband's death.⁹⁸ Loten's heirs also received income resulting from the public auction of those of his goods which had not been disposed of otherwise in his will. The proceeds from the 'Amphioen Societeit' in Batavia went to his two grandchildren, although his shares in the Society were not mentioned in his last will.⁹⁹

Loten's feelings for Arnout Loten's two children, his nephew and namesake Joan Gideon and his niece Johanna Carolina Arnoudina, is evident from the numerous bequests he made to them. Besides household goods and objects of personal worth, he left a part of his silver table plate to his niece and nephew.¹⁰⁰ His wife Lettice was given first choice of 1,200 ounces of silver from the set of plate; this amounted to about half of the silverware. The remainder had to be auctioned; the proceeds went to his heirs. Loten's nephew and niece also inherited his house on the Drift in Utrecht, valued at 25,000 Dutch guilders.¹⁰¹ Loten left the house to them, under the condition that they pay 5,500 guilders to his six servants, among whom his "Indian maid" Sitie.¹⁰² In the codicil of 13 October 1778, Loten stipulated that Sitie receive an annuity of 220 Dutch guilders or 20 pounds sterling annually, but only if she married with his executors' consent.¹⁰³ Loten also bequeathed £ 1,000, "to be equally divided" amongst Jan Dirk Van Clootwyk, former Governor of Macassar's three children. Lady Catherine Cotes, Reverend Sloane Elsmere's widow and Lettice's elder sister, received an annuity of 300 Dutch guilders from Loten's estate.¹⁰⁴ His executor and friend, Jan Kol, received money through several codicillary bequests.¹⁰⁵

After Loten's death, Lettice, in her role as executrix of her late husband's testament, and Jan Kol, as Loten's executor, wrote to the Court of Canterbury about the goods and effects in England. An inventory of Loten's possessions in London was made and the taxes were paid.¹⁰⁶ On 17 July 1789, Lettice Loten declared before notary Cornelis De Wijs in Utrecht, that she had authorised Jan Kol to be the sole executor of her husband's testament.¹⁰⁷ The notary deed drawn up at this occasion gives us additional information about Loten's assets in London. It specifies that Loten had 51,550 pounds sterling in England in 1789. One part of it was in cash and the other part was in the form of annuities at the Bank of England or on accounts at the bank Walpole, Clark & Company in London.¹⁰⁸ The same notary deed also stipulated that after she had selected her 1,200 ounces of silver plate, she would place the silver table plate into Jan Kol's hands or into that of one of his representatives. In March 1790, Jan Kol writes to Loten's grandson Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen about this matter saying: 'It appears to me that the number of silver plate items is not as large as one imagined here. If I had followed my own feelings the silver plate had been brought from London [to Utrecht]. However out of respect for the widow, the risk and costs, it has remained in London. However, I have no doubt that in this matter everything was done honestly'.¹⁰⁹

LOTEN'S POSSESSIONS

The public auction of the Loten's possessions which had not been "disposed of otherwise" was announced in the *Utrechtsche Courant* of Monday, 6 July 1789:

'On Thursday July 23, 1789, in the house of the late FORMER GOVERNOR LOTEN on the Nieuwe Gragt near the Wittevrouwen Brug T.D. PAUW, Auctioneer of this City, shall auction: A clean LOT consisting of all kinds of Furniture, Jewells, made of Gold and Silver, Pocket-watches, Mathematical and Physical INSTRUMENTS, 2 extra beautiful English GLOBES, ditto China-ware,

Mahogany Cupboard and Desk, Mantel-piece Clock, Carpets from Smyrna, Scotland and England. Iron Money Box and ditto Stoves. Also on Friday the 24th in the afternoon at half past 12, in front of the stable, 2 extra beautiful black Mares and a ditto Riding Horse, a CARRIAGE of four, harnesses, saddles and further stable-tools. More information to be obtained at the above-mentioned Auctioneer 8 days before Auction, and on view the day before Auction’.

The enumeration gives us some idea of the contents of the house *Cour de Loo*. Several objects were mentioned in the testament and codicils. In accordance with Loten’s will, Lettice inherited not only that which has been mentioned above, but also an “enamelled case mounted in gold”, a “golden chain” and “one pair brilliant slave buttons of my bearing”.¹¹⁰ His brother Arnout received the “large gold medal with cable formed gold ring through the head of it”, which was given to Loten in 1758 by the directors of the East India Company. His “gold shoe knee and stock buckles” were left to his nephew and namesake Joan Gideon Loten. The proceeds from the public auction of the “briljant stock buckles, brilliant breast buckles, watches, swords, 1 pair of gold buckles, shoe buckles, 2 pair gold knee gold stock buckles, turtle shell tobacco bar mounted in gold, 2 cannas with golden heads and whatever kind of jewellery”, went to Loten’s heirs.

In the testament and codicil of 13 October 1778, Loten also allotted watches, clocks and scientific instruments. The “gold watch with black shagreen case [=an untanned, coarse, grainy leather, made from the skin of a shark, seal, horse, or donkey], which was born by Mr. Caspar Schade [Loten’s grandfather] and given to me by my father”, was devised to his brother Arnout. It was a seventeenth-century watch made by one of the members of the Fromanteel family.¹¹¹ Lettice received a “gold repeating watch made by Ellicot” and his niece Johanna Carolina Arnoudina got a “silent clock” made by the same London watch and clockmaker.¹¹² The “repeating watch by Mudge,¹¹³ with two gold cases, one of the artist Moser,¹¹⁴ and a golden chain”,¹¹⁵ were bestowed upon his nephew Joan Gideon. Loten allotted his scientific instruments to his brother Arnout. Loten’s astronomical quadrant by Bird and telescope by John Dollond were not mentioned in the testament and codicils; these were probably given to Arnout Loten at an earlier date. The testament specifies a “barometer and thermometer made by P. West”,¹¹⁶ a “magazine case of mahogany wood containing Mathematical instruments of silver and among them a large sector of 12 inches made by George Adams”,¹¹⁷ and a “Box or casket made of China wood with the papers and various things contained therein and among them a very small case with silver instruments for the pocket”.

“Four pictures in oil” were bequeathed to Loten’s niece Johanna Carolina Arnoudina in October 1778. She also inherited his collection of prints. The “framed prints” were conferred to his wife Lettice.¹¹⁸ The profits of the public auction of Loten’s “2 bookcases, 1 large desk and 1 drawing, Table, both of mahogany wood” went to his heirs.

LOTEN’S LIBRARY

On March 15th 1789, notary Cornelis De Wijs sealed the library adjacent to Loten’s bedroom after the shutters of the room had been closed in his presence and the ‘large quadrangle copper chest’ that contained ‘valuable drawings bequeathed to the Haarlem Society of Sciences’ was carried into the room.¹¹⁹ On April 22nd 1789, the seals were broken by the same notary so that an inventory of the collection of books could be prepared.¹²⁰ Loten’s books were auctioned by A. Van Paddenburg in Loten’s house in Utrecht on 6 October 1789. The title page of the 58-page auction catalogue describes the collection as follows:¹²¹

CATALOGUE
of a very beautiful collection of
BOOKS,
in various FACULTIES and LANGUAGES
Like LATIN, ENGLISH,
FRENCH &c.
Being a part of the LIBRARY left
By the Late Well Born Mr
JOAN GIDEON LOTEN,
In life FORMER-COUNCILLOR of NETHERLANDS
INDIA and GOVERNOR of

CEYLON &c &c
To which is added an
APPENDIX &c.
*Which shall all be publicly sold in the
House of the Deceased at the Nieuwe
Gracht near the Wittevrouw Bridge, at
Tuesday the 6th October 1789 and
following days.*

In his testament (1767) Loten stipulated that his books in London and Utrecht be sold in a public auction. In October 1778, Loten also determined in a codicil that his brother have first choice of the books in his book collection. In October 1789 a day before the auction took place, Arnout Loten made use of this privilege. Jan Kol wrote the following to Loten's grandson and heir Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen: 'Yesterday many have come to see the books. I hope a good profit will be the result. However, the Burgomaster [Arnout Loten] took quite a number of the books that you have already seen in the catalogue; nothing could be done about that'.¹²² There are no details about the books Arnout Loten removed from the auction, nor is there any information relating to the auction's profits.

In his testament Loten explicitly bequeathed "Views of Rome, 3 volumes large folio". In 1756 Arnout Loten had sent the three volumes, 'Les restes de l'ancienne Rome by B. d'Overbeke' to Colombo, as 'a slight acknowledgement of indebted appreciation' to his brother.¹²³ The books contained about 150 fine full-page engravings of the public buildings, temples and baths in Rome. Loten received the gift in January of 1757 and told his brother that he had hardly had time to glance through it. He expressed the hope that when he was in Batavia, he would find 'more time for some amusement in useful books and sciences'.¹²⁴ In 1758 the three volumes returned to Patria with Loten.

LOTEN'S MANUSCRIPTS, EAST INDIAN PAPERS AND MAPS

Loten left a large collection of papers in his "handwriting, and that of others, also drawings and sketches of monuments" to his brother Arnout.¹²⁵ After Arnout Loten's death in 1801, his daughter Johanna Carolina Arnoudina (wife of Johannes Van Doelen) inherited this collection. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the papers came in the possession of Mr Jacob Anne Grothe, the husband of Johanna Carolina Arnoudina's granddaughter.¹²⁶ At present they are part of the Grothe Collection at the Utrecht Archives.¹²⁷ The "MS album of William Schade containing several Devices, small arms and signatures of renowned and learned men collected by him in 1605 and 1606 on his travels through France England And Holland, with 2 original bulls of Pope Gregorius XIII of the year 1572, all in little Book of red morrocco leather with gilt cover", which Loten had bequeathed to his brother, is now also part of the Utrecht Grothe Collection. However, Pope Gregory's bulls are missing.¹²⁸

In October of 1789, Jan Kol mentioned a 'parcel of East-Indian paper reports &c', which was still in Loten's house in Utrecht.¹²⁹ They were forwarded to Loten's grandson Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen at his residence at Croy castle in Stiphout. The papers remained in the castle until 1873 when Joanna Carolina Wilhelmina Van Der Bruggen (1795-1873), Joan Carel Gideon's daughter died. She was a spinster who became a Roman Catholic in 1871.¹³⁰ She left her possessions to a spiritual foundation called *Geloof, Hoop en Liefde* ['Faith, Hope and Love'] that had been founded by her testament. Professor Pfenning made an inventory of the collection of books and papers after her death; he visited Croy '35 times' to this end. He destroyed many 'old papers and decayed books', and sent part of the collection to the Seminary of the diocese Bois le Duc at Haaren. Another portion of the archive remained at Croy, among which several of Loten's letters.¹³¹ In 1985, these papers were transferred to the Helmond Municipal Archive.¹³² The collection at the Seminary of Haaren was also split in the 1980s and the documents from the Loten collection were transferred; one part went to the Library of the University of Tilburg and the other to the archive of the diocese Bois le Duc.¹³³ The Loten collection included a copy of Cornelis Janszoon Speelman's *Memorandum* (1670) of Macassar. The *Memorandum* is neatly bound in two leather volumes. Another two-volume copy of the Speelman's *Memorandum* with Loten's annotations in the margins can currently be found at the National Archive in the Hague. The Archives acquired the volumes from the Ministry of Colonies in 1926.¹³⁴

Loten's testament also bequeaths a "Collection of maps drawn with the pencil, among which there is a collection bound red containing the island of Celebes" to his friend Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek.¹³⁵

However, Van Hardenbroek died in 1788. Thus, after Loten's death the collection remained in the Loten family. The collection of charts, "bound red containing the island of Celebes" became part of the auction of Loten's library in 1789.¹³⁶ It is unknown to whom the charts went after the auction. In 1835, one leather-bound volume with 25 charts of Celebes by J.M. Aubert was presented to King Willem I by J.P.S Favrod De Fellens. The volume with charts was deposited in the library of the Ministry of Colonies. In 1963, the charts were transferred to the collection at the Leiden University Library.¹³⁷ In 1865, two folio volumes with each 20 charts of the coast of Celebes were auctioned by bookseller Van Dooren in the Hague.¹³⁸ The two leather bound volumes were almost certainly the "collection bound red", described in Loten's testament. One Atlas, actually containing 25 charts of the coast of Celebes and several islands of the Indonesian archipelago, was acquired by J.T. Bodel Nijenhuis and is presently part of the 'Bodel Nijenhuis' collection at the Leiden University Library.¹³⁹ It is a less refined copy of the charts which were presented by Mr Favrod de Fellens to the Dutch King in 1835; the cartouches are not finished and lack the details. The hand-drawn charts have the same quality.

After the death of his brother Arnout in 1801, Loten's collection of topographical drawings, coastal views and charts from Ceylon, Celebes and Java, was split into two lots. One lot consisting of 30 topographical drawings can now be found in the topographical collection of the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet (Print Room).¹⁴⁰ The history of its dispersal is not known. The other part of the collection consisting of 34 topographical drawings and charts very probably came into the possession of Loten's nephew Joan Gideon Loten. After his death in 1809, the collection remained in the hands of his widow Henriette Adriana Van Den Heuvel (1769-1829). In 1813 she re-married J.P.S. Favrod De Fellens who presented the collection and the above-cited Atlas of Celebes and Speelman *Memorandum* to King Willem I.¹⁴¹ The gift was accepted on 29 April 1835.¹⁴² The collection includes seven charts of the island of Celebes by Jean Michel Aubert, a chart of Ceylon and two plans of Colombo by Balthasar Van Lier and a chart of the southern part of India by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere. Moreover two leather-bound volumes with charts of the *Corles* or *Korala* at Ceylon by Balthasar Van Lier, dated July 1753, were part of Mr Favrod De Fellens's donation. In 1880, they were deposited in the collection of the National Archive.¹⁴³ The first volume contains nine charts of the Company's land at Ceylon; the second volume has seven charts depicting the remaining VOC territory. The charts were probably prepared for the land registration of the island Ceylon by the Dutch (Tombo registration).¹⁴⁴ Both volumes include an annotation in Loten's hand: "Thursday April 13 1780 Londoni". The carefully executed charts, which include three larger charts of the Jafnapatnam, Colombo and Mannar districts, are fine examples of Van Lier's ability as a land surveyor.

LAST WILL LETTICE COTES

On 11 June 1810, twenty-one years after the death of her husband, Loten's widow Lettice Cotes died the age of 77.¹⁴⁵ She was buried next to her father in St Helen's Church, Clifford Chambers, Coleshill, and Warwickshire.¹⁴⁶ A year earlier, on 12 August 1809, she had drawn up her last will (in London).¹⁴⁷ After her death the testament with codicil was opened in London, "the 10th of July 1810, before the worshipful John Daubeny Dr of Laws etc by the oaths". The opening of the will was attended by her relatives and executors Wriothesly Digby Esq. of Meriden in the County of Warwick,¹⁴⁸ Reverend Henry Cotes,¹⁴⁹ vicar of Bedlington in the County of Northumberland and Rhoda Hallifax, spinster.¹⁵⁰ From this testament it is clear that Lettice Loten owned land, "situated at Iffley in the County of Oxford". This was devised to her nephew Robert Cotes. The three executors had to sell the New Burlington Street House, "by public auction or private contract". Lettice left £ 9,900 from her capital of "three percent consolidated Bank Annuities now standing in my name" to six nephews and nieces. This bequest probably came from the £ 10,000 annuity mentioned in her marriage settlement of 1765. Lettice Cotes also bequeathed £ 7,500 from her "stock" of "three percent Imperial Annuities now standing in my name" to six other English relatives. In 1789, Lettice had received the interest and dividends of a three percent £12,000 annuity consolidated in the Bank of England for the term of her natural life. After her death this annuity went to Loten's grandchildren. Thus, it was not specifically mentioned in her last will.

Lettice's books, silver plate, tea china, sheets, curtains, damask and table linen were left to her many nephews and nieces. To Mr Robert Adocus, the apothecary at Charlotte Street in London, Lettice Loten left "[A] fine china japanned waiter, one beautiful silver bread basket, one inlaid escritoire and writing table with a stuffed parrot and glass on the top of it & twenty guineas begging his acceptance of them as a small token of my gratitude for his great attention & kindness to me when he thought my house in danger

of being set on fire". Besides the gifts to her English family and acquaintances, she also bequeathed to her Dutch relatives and friends.¹⁵¹ These legacies were mainly objects from her late husband.

"I give & bequeath unto Monsieur van der Bruggen, grandson of Governor Loten, the very fine collection of shells collected by his grandfather ¹⁵² & one of the portraits of Mr Loten, as also my English carriage, if I may die possessed of. Likewise a silver tea kettle and lamp with a round silver dish and cover, as also a fine ring of cats eyes, set round with brilliants, also a diamond stock buckle & some bezoars or Goa stones.¹⁵³ Hoping he will keep them in his family in remembrance of his late grandfather. And I desire that he may be made acquainted with this bequest immediately after my decease. I give & bequeath to Madame van der Bruggen, wife of the above named, a pair of pearl bracelets with brilliant fastenings. I give & bequeath to Madame Wilmsdorff, granddaughter of my late worthy husband, a miniature picture of him, set round with brilliants, & a ruby ring, set also with brilliants.

I give & bequeath to Madame van Doelen, niece to Mr Loten, one of the portraits of him, & a very fine repeating gold watch made by Ellicott, & a Dutch bible with prints, and also a Ceylon wood box with silver fastenings, & a Ceylon wood inkstand and box.¹⁵⁴ I give & bequeath to Madame Loten of Utrecht, born van der Heuvel, widow of my late worthy nephew Joan Gideon Loten,¹⁵⁵ fourteen amethyst buttons surrounded with brilliants. I give & bequeath unto Madame Barchman Wuytiers my blue ring set round with brilliants, & also give & bequeath another red diamond or ruby ring, also mixed with brilliants, to Mademoiselle de Natewisch.¹⁵⁶ And I request my Executors & Executrix will send the said rings to Madame Loten, requesting her to present them in my name to those ladies as a grateful remembrance of their kindness to me in a severe illness at Utrecht. All those above I desire may be packed up carefully and send to Utrecht as soon as convenient, to the care of Madame Van Doelen, or Madame Loten widow, whom I request to deliver the same to the persons entitled thereto. But if the said Madame La Baronne de Croy & Mademoiselle de Natewisch or either of them shall happen to die before me, then I give the rings or ring intended for them or her so being unto Madame van Doelen".

Unfortunately none of the portraits of Loten mentioned in this last will have been found.

¹ In 1789 the value of the house was estimated to be 25,000 guilders. HUA.GC. 750 nr 1407 is a certificate signed by A. Loten on September 26, 1789 proving that a tax of 5% (20ste penning) is paid over 25,000 Dutch guilders, being the estimated the value of the house. See also HUA.Stad Utrecht, gerecht 1577-1795, 702-7 nr 3249-14, pages 527-528.

² Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 20 October 1777. According to Jan Kol Loten bought a house in Utrecht. From the documents in the Utrecht Archief it is clear that the notary transaction passed on December 1st 1779. In February 1780 Jan Kol paid the tax for the transport of the house from Loten's account and specified that this took place in the preceding year. (Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774).

HUA.GC 750 nr 149, pages 76-78. Loten made an annotation about the owner and inhabitants of the house in the 17th and 18th century. In 1807 the house was sold to Louis Napoleon, King of Holland (HUA.GC 750 nr 1451).

H. Van Dijk & B Overbeek (2002). *Drift 29, onderdeel van de bibliotheek van de faculteit der letteren. Bouwhistorische en Bouwtechnische opname*. (http://www2.let.uu.nl/Solis/letterenaandedrift/documenten/blok6_bijlagen.pdf)

³ The vegetable garden of the house was kept by gardener Johannes Beekman. In January 1781 Jan Kol paid f 37,14st from Loten's account for the gardener's work in 1780 (Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 774). A specification of Beekman's work in 1788 showed that he and his assistant regularly worked in the garden and supplied the young plants. On 14 February 1789 he was paid f 31, 3st for his labour in 1788 (Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 775).

⁴ Apparently he met Hendrik Swellengrebel, the brother of his neighbour. Loten took notes from the travel description of Swellengrebel's journey to the Cape of Good Hope in 1776, which notes in Loten's written legacy confused his early biographers. NL-HaNA.1.11.01.01 inv. 425. See also Introduction, paragraph 'Historiography'.

⁵ On June 6, 1774 Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek, Master of "Lochorst Berkesteijn Aartzenbergh Bergambaght en Ammerstol", bought from the Well Honoured Gentlemen Deputies of the States of Utrecht for f. 6.500 a house on the Janskerkhof, annex to the Seat/Chamber of the States, a former monastery. After his decease and until 1880 Van Hardenbroek's mansion was used as the seat of the Knighthood of Utrecht.

⁶ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. Letter J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 8 May 1775. The French passage reads in translation: 'What castles I built in Spain that may never see'.

⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten London 16 November 1780.

⁸ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten London 7 January 1780.

⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten London 25 August 1780.

¹⁰ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 774.

¹¹ In 1786 "Mrs Loten" was mentioned as one of the subscribers of the Concerts of Antient Music. See *Concerts of antient music, under the patronage of Their Majesties: as performed at the New Rooms, Tottenham-Street, MDCCLXXXVI*. London, [1786], page 8.

¹² In the Utrecht Grothe Archive there are several notebooks with genealogical information in Loten's hand or with annotations by Loten. He copied information from manuscripts, like those of Atteveld. Now and then he noted down the date of his remarks, we found entries over the period 1760 until 1787.

HUA.GC 750 nrs 181, 149, 150, 151.

¹³ In the library of the Leiden Naturalis Museum there is a copy of John Latham's *General synopsis of birds* that was evidently Loten's own copy. The set consists of three volumes. Volume I (part 1, 1781 and part 2, 1782, bound together in one band) has for the two parts title pages "London Printed for Benj. White". The rest of the three volume set has title pages "Printed for Leigh & Sotheby, York Street, Covent Garden" (Volume 2 part 1 1783; volume 2 part 2 1783; volume 3 part 1 1785, volume 3 part 3 1785). This three volume set does not have any supplements that were published in 1787 and 1802. Several of the remarks correspond with annotations by Loten on his watercolours. The *General synopsis of birds* was not mentioned in the 1789 auction catalogue of Loten's library.

¹⁴ "Jan Gideon Loten" was elected November 1, 1781. *Verhandelingen Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap* (1784), volume 2, page XVIII.

¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 149. There are several references to visits to churches in Utrecht and its surroundings. In July 1783 he visited the Utrecht Hiob Gasthuis, where he examined the register of Regents (page 83).

¹⁶ Probably Henrietta de Maleprade-Visscher (1715-1793) who married in 1745 lieutenant-general Elie Jacques de Maleprade (1720-*ca* 1793). They had at least one daughter, Hillegonda Susanna de Maleprade (1746-1814). James Boswell planned to see Henrietta on December 12, 1763. She was one of the ladies on the list given to him by the countess of Nassau Beverweerd. See Pottle (1952).

¹⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Utrecht 3 March 1782.

¹⁸ Arnout Loten's daughter Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten (1753-1823) was until his death in 1791, a correspondent of John Wesley. In his correspondence Wesley characterised Joan Gideon Loten's niece:

“Miss Loten is an Israelite indeed; she is a pattern to all that are round about her. One would scarcely have expected to see the daughter of the head burgomaster dressed on a Sunday in a plain linen gown. She appears to have but one desire--that Christ may reign alone in her heart.”

Letter John Wesley to Elisabeth Richie, Bristol, July 20, 1783.

¹⁹ John Wesley (1789), *An extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's journal from Sept. 4, 1782 to June 28, 1786*, volume XX. London: printed for the author; and sold at the New Chapel, and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching-houses in town and country, 134 p. See also Mulcahy (2006).

²⁰ John Wesley (1789), *An extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's journal from Sept. 4, 1782 to June 28, 1786*, volume XX. London : printed for the author; and sold at the New Chapel, and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching-houses in town and country, 134 p.

²¹ His father was Willem Juriaan Ondaatje (1731-1790), who studied Theology in Utrecht. He married in 1757 in Amsterdam Hermina Quint (1736-1789). His grandfather was Philip Juriaan Ondaatje (1694-1754) who belonged to a considerable group of Ceylonese Protestants in Jaffnapatnam. Willem Juriaan Ondaatje returned to Ceylon where he became minister at the 'Hollandsche, Tamulsche en Portugeesche Gemeente' first in Colombo, later in Jaffnapatnam. His son Pieter Philip Ondaatje went to Holland in the age of 15. In 1778 he enrolled as a student in Utrecht University. In 1782 followed his promotion in philosophy. He continued in University studied law and not Theology as was the intention of his father. He was the dominant leader of the patriotic party in Utrecht (R.E. de Bruin [1994], 'Pieter Quint Ondaatje'. In: *Utrechtse Biografieën* I: 145-150).

Joan Gideon Loten wrote to his brother Arnout Loten from Batavia 27 June 1756 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1422) about Willem Juriaan Ondaatje and his family:

“Telkens heb vergeeten de melden hetgeen al lang van intentie heb geweest, namelyk het my voorkomt als of de studenten Philipsz. en Ondaatje veele beleefdheden by onze hooggeëerde ouderen genieten, de vader van d'eerste is eerste Bediende van d'Inlanders by my geweest een doorsleepe guyt die voor dat myn voeten aan de wal heb gezet zonder hy wist ik kwaad of goed was my allerley lagen heeft gelegd om myn totale ruine te veroorzaaken en allerley heymelyke byeenkomsten by nacht en in afgelegenen tuijnen met de kwaadst geintentioneerde seditieuse subjecten gehouden om zyn patroon Gollennesse te behaagen &c. Ondaatje belangende zo heb van die zyn familie noch goed noch het tegendeel ondervonden”.

On 24 December 1756 Arnout Loten answered his brother (HUA.GC 750 nr 1426):

“Het slegte character en guijtestukken van de vader van Philipsz is oorzaak dat ik hem zedert genegligeerd heb, hoewel Ondaatje mij anders van een goed naturel voorkomt; zij hebben egter hunne studie zeer wel waargenomen, en hebbe 2 a 3 weken geleden den laatst gen. in den Dom met genoeg, horen prediken; Philipsz, die over Batavia repatriëerd, heeft ons om een briefje van recommandatie verzogt, dog Uwgb. weet best, wat die familie meriteerd”.

The reference to Philipsz. is to the Henricus Philipsz (1733-1790), a Sinhalese Christian minister of the Dutch Reformed church in Ceylon. His tombstone now lies in the Wolvendaal Dutch Reformed church in Colombo. Rev. H. Philipsz had his education in Holland. He was the son of Philip Philipsz Panditaratne, Maha Mudaliyar. He was a grandson of a schoolmaster of Cotta by the name of D. Philippe. Hendrik Philipsz married the first time in Colombo to Susanna Scharff on Nov 4th, 1759, daughter of Jan Christoffel Scharff from Sangerhausen and Elizabeth de Saram. He married for the 2nd time Anna Maria Cabraal on June 19th, 1785, widow of the Mudaliyar Don Simon.

²² Bruin (2006), *De cirkel gesloten*.

²³ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 30 June 1780.

“[I]t grieved me much to see M. d’Averhoul so early snatched away and a board a Man of War, such a contrast to the quiet and regulated residence of the Ladies his Aunts, whom I greatly also long to see in my way to Heiligenberg”.

Reference to Pompejus d’Averhoul, brother of Jean Antoine d’Averhoul, sons of Jan d’Averhoul (1721-1772) and Gerhardina Valcke. Pompejus d’Averhoul died in 1780 at sea. The reference to the aunts is to their father’s sisters, daughters of Johan Anthony d’Averhoul and Anna Jacoba Hoeuft: Charlotte Suzanna, Isabella Agneta, Anna Magdalena, Josina Benjamina and Maria Catharina (she married Joost Taets Van Amerongen).

²⁴ Helmond Archief Van Der Brugghen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Brugghen. Utrecht 6 October 1789.

²⁵ Schama (1977), page 79-80:

“In the 1780’s two journals signalled the arrival of a full-blooded Patriot press. These were the *Politieke Kruier* (*Political Courier*), edited in Amsterdam by J.C. Hespe, and the *Post van Neder R[h]ijn*, edited by Pieter ‘t Hoen and published in Utrecht by Wildt and [van] Paddenburg. The *Post* was perhaps the more outstanding of the two, and duly became the journalistic banner of the Patriots as a whole’.

See also P.J.H.M. Theeuwen (1987). Pieter ‘t Hoen (1744-1828), politiek journalist en Utrechts patriot. *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht 1987*, pages 43-77.

According to the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library Loten also owned the first number of the Orangist journal “De ouderwetse Nederlandsche Patriot” [The old-fashioned Dutch Patriot], published by Rijklof Michiel Van Goens (page 26, number 342).

²⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1390. An annotation about the Van Hardenbroek Coat of Arms in the St Bavo Church in Ghent, by Gijsbert Jan Van Hardenbroek,

“ter navorsing mij overgegeeven a° 1788 door den HWGB Heer Gysb. Johan Baron v. Hardenbroek, die overleed 22 febr: 1788”.

²⁷ George IV (1762-1830), in 1810 Prince-regent and from 1820-1830 King. The entry in volume IV of the *Gedenkschriften*, dated 27 May 1783, was probably excluded by the editor because it was too scandalous for standards of the early 1900’s. The text reads in the original:

“Vervolgens over een ander articul in deselve courant [*Rotterdamse Courant*] rakende de prins van Wallis en de Bisschop van Osnabrugge, sprekende, onderrigte mij gem. Hr. Loten, dat bovengezegde prins van Wallis aller gedébaucheert was, soo door Wijntje als Trijntje, zijnde zijn Hoogg. seer dikwerfs knips [= 18th century expression for ‘drunk’]; gaande veel om met seker Doctor Tompson; die laatst met die prins te paard gerent hebbende, beijde van Haer paard waren afgefallen; dat nogtans gem. Doctor voor zeer kundig arts wierde gehouden, bijzonder in ‘t cas van Venus siekte. Dat de Hofdames in Engeland meest alle de bovengen. Pr. v. Wallis sogten in te nemen; en dat hij bij de meeste derselve wel stindt... kortom sijn Ed: gaf mij wijng eloges van Hr. gem. prins op.”

Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume IV, 27 May 1783. HUA.HC 643-1 nr 448-4. Dr A.J. Van Der Meulen, the editor of volume IV (1910) of the *Gedenkschriften*, did not include this item in the printed edition. Dr. F.J.L. Krämer however, included in volume V (1917), page 16 of the *Gedenkschriften*, a description of the Prince of Wales by Count Athlone, dated 11 January 1784, in which the Prince was called ‘most appalling, because that sovereign was a gambler and as is commonly known the most licentious person of England, being trapped in a terrible way by his mistress, the wife of an officer, who was a beautiful lady, nevertheless he daily visited brothels with [Charles] Fox’.

George’s amorous nature was highly controversial and he had many mistresses. In 1785 he secretly married, without his father’s permission, a catholic widow, Maria Fitzherbert. This marriage was declared illegal at his father’s behest. In 1795 he married again, this time his cousin Caroline of Brunswick.

²⁸ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, Volume V, page 457, 11 September 1784.

Mrs d’Ablaing, Juliana Maria Francisca Isabella Johanna Frederica Freiin von Syberg-Vörde (1752-1792) since 1770 wife of Jan Cornelis d’Ablaing Van Giessenburg (1735-1788)

²⁹ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, Volume V, page 269, 24 April 1784. Loten was according to Jan Kol willing to sign an address to the City Council of Utrecht, which was submitted 22 May 1784 by Arend Rutgers. Van Hulzen (1966), pages 98-99, described the address.

³⁰ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. Excerpt form *London Chronicle* October 21-23, 1784.

³¹ Van Hulzen (1966) and Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, Volume IV, page 521-522, 28 June 1783.

³² Van Hulzen (1966), chapter IV, pages 44-51.

³³ Arnout Loten's role in the Patriot Revolt is also described by H. Hooft (1999) *Patriot and Patrician*. Science History Publications. Pages 107-109.

³⁴ Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften*, volume V, page 22-23, 13 January 1784

³⁵ Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften*, volume VI, page 152, 22 December 1785. See also the memoir of Arnout Loten: HUA.GC 750 nr 1453).

³⁶ Van Hardenbroek *Gedenkschriften*, volume VI, page 156, 26 December 1785.

³⁷ John Adams, Ambassador of the United States of America in England, attended the ceremony at the Neude place. 11 September 1786, he wrote to Thomas Jefferson:

“In no Instance, of ancient or modern History, have the People ever asserted more unequivocally their own inherent and unalienable sovereignty”.

See Grijzenhout (1987), page 98.

³⁸ John Wesley (1789), *An extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's journal from Sept. 4, 1782 to June 28, 1786*, volume XX. London: printed for the author; and sold at the New Chapel, and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preaching-houses in town and country, 134 p.

³⁹ Schama (1977), page 129.

⁴⁰ Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume V, page 284-285, 19 May 1784.

⁴¹ Simon Schama, *Patriots and Liberators* (1977), page 99.

⁴² Regionaal archief Tilburg: Bossche Protocolen. 1781 October 22, sH,R.1775,49v, Mr. Willem Anne Van Wilmsdorff and Lady Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen husband and wife living at Haaren obtain a credit of 6000 guilders.

⁴³ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Codicil 2 February 1782. Jan Kol was appointed executor of Loten's testament. In 1793 Jan Kol appointed his eldest son Everard Kol (1753-1824), secretary of the Leckendijk benedendams, as executor of the legitimate part of Anna Henrietta's part of Loten's inheritance (HUA.NA inv.nr. U236a17, aktenr. 36, d.d. 13-07-1793).

⁴⁴ According to an act in HUA.GC 750 nr 1409 Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen wrote such a declaration on May 5, 1789.

⁴⁵ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 64 E. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 30 September 1788.

⁴⁶ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 64 E. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 14 October 1788. Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen paid the due-bills, see Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 64 E. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 10 November 1788.

⁴⁷ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 18 J.A. Van Der Bruggen to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Leeuwarden 22 October 1788. The letter is in Dutch in contrast to his half-brother who always corresponded in French.

⁴⁸ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 64 E. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 24 October 1788.

⁴⁹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr. 64 E. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 10 November 1788.

⁵⁰ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Codicil 25 November 1788. Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen was four times partly freed from the fidei commis charge on her inheritance. On August 22, 1792 and on April 12, 1797 4500 and 5000 Dutch guilders were released from the fidei commis capital for her son Jean Gideon Louis Ernst Van Wilmsdorff. On January 6, 1800, 2500 guilders were released for her

daughter Henriette, while on April 24, 1805, 8000 were released for herself (see acts in Utrecht Municipal Archives Grothe Collection HUA.GC 750 nrs 1409 and 1410).

⁵¹ Van Oirschot & Vos [2007], page 25. Regionaal archief Tilburg: Bossche Protocolen 1789 May 23, sH,R.1777,56 Otw,R.473,11v. Mr Ackerdijk was discharged as a curator 18 May 1790.

⁵² Van Hardenbroek, *Gedenkschriften*, volume VI, pages 696-697 and introduction by Prof. Dr. F.J.L. Krämer, the editor of volume VI of the *Gedenkschriften*.

⁵³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. Letter J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 17 July 1759.

⁵⁴ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Codicil 4 March 1788.

⁵⁵ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 776. See also paragraph Loten in Utrecht 1772-1773.

⁵⁶ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 775.

⁵⁷ The prices of the wine: 1 Anker best white wine f 16; 1 Anker best red wine f 21, 13 st 8p; 1 Anker best Rhine wine, f 40.

⁵⁸ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 776. On 23 February 1788 there was a prescription with 'Sal Sed[ativum] Homb[erghi]' [=boracic acid] and Aqua Melissa, 'to take in as a whole', which lacks in the invoice of the apothecary. The boracic acid was used in solution to relieve itching. In the *Almanac* there is mentioned that Loten used medicines against 'nocturnal pollution'. A reference is included to his use of the Baumé extract, a liquid destilate from opium crystals that Loten also used in 1777.

⁵⁹ The medicines were delivered by apothecary Van Alphen in various forms:

pulveres: powder;

pilulae: pills

haustus: potion or medical draft.

⁶⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1771, volume III, page 101.

⁶¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1771, volume II, page 37.

⁶² *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1771, volume II, page 772.

⁶³ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 776.

Between 20 November 1788 and 1 January 1789 Loten was visited by:

Professor Johannes Oosterdijk Schacht.

Mr W. de Ruyter, councillor and alderman and in 1790 burgomaster of Wijk bij Duurstede.

Secretary George Tammo Falck.

Mr Jan Kol.

Mr Cornelis de Wijs, notary in Utrecht.

Mr Willem Dop, notary in Utrecht.

Mr Van Der Weert, not identified.

William Robert Spencer (see below).

Mr Roosmalen, councillor of the States of Utrecht.

Mr Thomas Adriaan de Joncheere, councillor of the city of Utrecht.

Lady Van Nahuys, wife of Rudolph Hendrik Nahuys, Councillor of the City of Utrecht.

Mrs Godin, not identified.

Mr Spliethoff, not identified.

Arend Jacob Diederick count Perponcher-Sedlnitzky.

⁶⁴ December 10, 1788 Loten wrote in his notebook, "Prof. O.S. aetat 84&10". Johannes Oosterdijk Schacht was born in Leiden October 26, 1704.

⁶⁵ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 776.

"NB 6 oct. 1788

Dat altyd heb getracht mijselven schuldig in te beelden aan iets waar van altyd grootste schrik en afkeer heb gehad en nog zo, dat sommige my geheel d'imaginatie bedurven is of mij dus verbeeld, dit was dan maar een gepermitteerde ontlastinge, zoals meest aan de vrouwen gebeurd”.

⁶⁶ William Robert Spencer (1769-1834) was the son Lord Charles Spencer (1740-1820) and Mary Beauclerck (1743-1812) and grandson Charles Spencer, 3rd Duke Marlborough (1706-1758). His great great grandfather was John Churchill, 1st Duke Marlborough (1650-1722). John Churchill was married with a daughter of Lord Digby, the ancestor of Loten's wife Lettice Cotes. Spencer visited Loten November 27, 28 and December 9 (dined), 15, 19 (dined with Perponcher and Van Der Weert).

⁶⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 29 May 1781.

⁶⁸ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 776. Undated annotation after the remark dat Cornelis Deutz master of Assendelft, Asseburg and Heemskerk died March 17 or 19 1788. According to the entry one Reverend or Doctor Van Bommel mentioned Deutz as an example to Loten. Possibly Deutz was also suffering from asthma. The meaning of the first part of Loten's note is not evident.

“De medgezel mij als ten voorbeeld gesteld D.S. Van Bommel, doch genadiglyk ben door Godes genade beschermd en uit grootst gevaar gerukt en verlost geworden. O Heere verlos my verder en behoed ons ten eijnde toe – voor wederkeering zelve van eenige der minste dier melancholiën of zwaarmoedigheden”.

D.S. Van Bommel was not identified.

⁶⁹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 776. Undated annotation:

“Eygen leed mag men niet openbaaren, de pligt is het te bedekken leeven zo meer en meer mogelyk te beteren”.

⁷⁰ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 776. Undated annotation. Loten recorded in Dutch the last part of the protestant version of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13).

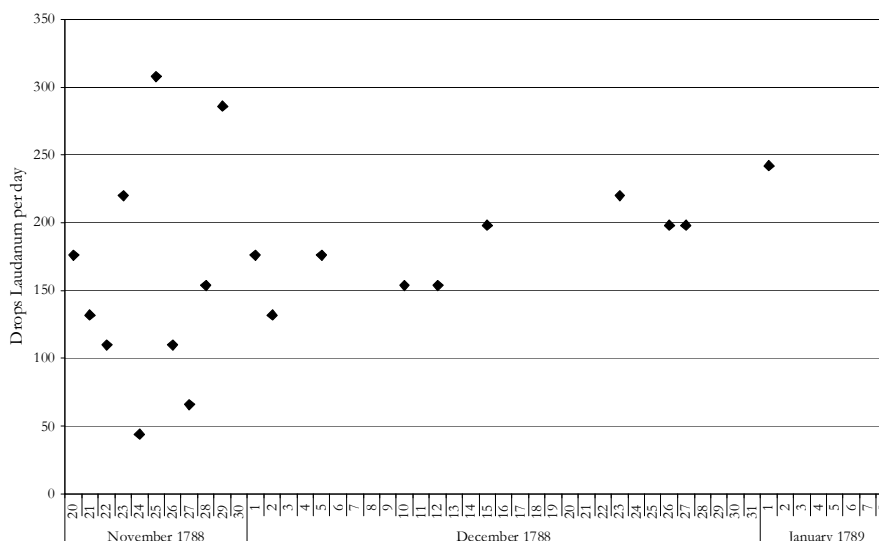
⁷¹ HIA GC 750 nr 101. The Dutch note reads:

”Raw gevoel op den Enklauw & als geschaavd”.

According to the WNT the word ‘Enklauw’ is an old composite word consisting of of ‘Enkel’[Ankle] and ‘Klauw’ [Claw].

⁷² There are two references to Baumé in the *Almanac*. Loten referred for the first time to the Baumé distillation technique in January 1777. See HUA.GC 750 nr 1405.

Reconstruction of Loten's use of opium November 1788 until January 1789, based on the data in his *Almanac*.



In the period October 1773 until March 1777 Loten also registrated the daily dose of opium that he used. The comparison of these data with the data of 1788 has to be done with care. In the 1770s Loten calculated the equivalent of grains of opium crystals to drops of laudanum by multiplying the number of grains with a factor 17-20. In England he usually used the Sydenham prepareate. In 1788 he used the drops of the Baumé distillation technique and calculated the equivalent of the opium crystal in laudanum drops by multiplying with 22. See also Chapter 6, paragraph ‘Opium Registers’.

⁷³ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Codicil 12 January 1789.

⁷⁴ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Testament 17 February 1767.

⁷⁵ HUA.NA U 256c26 nr 70, notary C. de Wijs, 17 July 1789.

⁷⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1399. The Funeral list mentioned that Loten deceased 25 February 1789.

⁷⁷ *Utrechtsche Courant* Friday 27 February 1789:

“Utrecht den 26. February. Gister ochtend overleedt alhier de Wel. Ed. Gestr. Heer Mr. Joan Gideon Loten, Oud-Raad van Neerlands Indiën en Gouverneur van Ceylon, aan eene borstziekte, in den ouderdom van circa 79 jaaren.”

⁷⁸ In the Registers of the graves and crypts in the Jacobichurch the crypt is specified as number 10, ‘crypt with 5 graves, entrance 17’. It was on the name of J.C. Loten for the heirs of Hoeufft and Isabella Deutz. In 1829 the costs for the maintenance of the crypt were paid by Cornelia Agatha Anthonia Van de Muelen, widow of Arnold Christiaan Loten Van Doelen, for her daughter Arnoudina Johanna Carolina Loten Van Doelen. HUA Nederlandse hervormde Gemeente Utrecht, kerkvoogdij 747, nr 54, 55 and 56.

⁷⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1399. List with names of relatives and friends of J.G. Loten invited to the funeral on Wednesday 4th of March, 1789.

“Rouw-cedulle van Bloed-vrienden en andere Heeren genodigd op de Begraffenis van wijlen den Heere Joan Gideon Loten, Oud Raad van Nederlands India en Gouverneur van Ceilon, etc, overleden tot Utrecht 25. Febr: 1789 en in de Famille-kelder op het choir in de Jacobi-kerk aldaar bijgezet op Woensdag 4. Maart 1789”.

The list specified whether the named person ‘abstained’, or was ‘absent’.

Coach 1.

Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen (1753-1828), grandson of Joan Gideon Loten.

Jan Antonij Van de Bruggen (1747-1817), half-brother of Joan Carel Van Der Bruggen, absent.

Mr Arnout Loten (1719-1801), brother of Joan Gideon Loten.

Coach 2.

Mr Cornelis Joan Van Beaumont, brother of Loten’s first wife Anna Henriette Van Beaumont, absent.

Mr Joan Gideon Loten (1755-1809), son of Loten’s brother Arnout.

Mr Johannes Van Doelen (1751-1828), husband of the daughter of Arnout Loten.

Coach 3.

.... Bruijn, abstained. A cousin of Loten. Possibly Otto Jacobus Bruyn from Wijk bij Duurstede, son of Loten’s cousin Sibilla Helena Severijn (1708-1764), or Ijsbrand de Bruyn, a former President-Alderman of Wijk bij Duurstede.

Mr Andries Sijbrand Abbema (1736-1826), Loten’s cousin, former councillor of city of Utrecht.

Mr Jacob Carel Martens (1737-1826).

Coach 4.

Mr Gualterus Johannes Martens (1748-1794).

Mr David Jan Martens (1751-1811).

Coach 5.

Mr Willem Jan Baptist Van Dielen, former Councillor of City of Utrecht.

Professor Franciscus Burmannus (1708-1793), Professor of Theology of Utrecht University, abstained.

Lieutenant-General Hendrik Jacob Van Tuijl Van Serooskerken (1713-1800), Lord of Vleuten, abstained.

Balthazar Constantijn Van Lynden (1731-1822), Lord of Lunenburg, absent.

Johan Balthazar Strick Van Linschoten (1743-1820), Lord of Rijnauwen.

Coach 6.

Joost Taets Van Amerongen (1726-1791), Master of Natewisch, former Chief-officer of Amersfoort.

Mr Jan Burman, councillor and steward-general in Utrecht, abstained. He played an important part in the first phase of the Patriot revolt in Utrecht (Van Hulzen, 1966: pages 131, 144-147).

Mr Jan Wijnand de Ruever, since August 1782 Secretary of the Utrecht City Council.

Coach 7.

Mr Michiel Anthonij Van Asch Van Wijck, canon Oud Munster.

Willem René Van Tuijl Van Serooskerken (1743-1839), Lord of Zuijlen, absent.

Frederik Christiaan Hendrik Van Tuijl Van Serooskerken (1742-1805), absent. He married in 1767 Elisabeth Jacqueline Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff (1745-1811), sister of Willem Anna von Proebentow Van Wilmsdorff.

Vincent Maximiliaan Van Tuijl Van Serooskerken (1747-1794), abstained.

Gerard Leonard Maximiliaan Taets Van Amerongen tot Natewisch (1762-1807), son of Joost Taets Van Amerongen.

Coach 8.

Jan Hendrik Van Lynden tot Lunenburg (1765-1854), son of Balthazar Constantijn Van Lynden.

Jan Jacob de Geer, abstained.

Frederik Christiaan Rijnhard Baron Van Reede (1743-1808), Count of Athlone, chief officer of the city of Utrecht, absent.

William Robert Spencer (1769-1834), student Utrecht Academy (see above).

Coach 9.

George Tammo Falck, absent

Mr E.Th. Roosmale, Councillor Court of Justice Utrecht, abstained.

Mr. A.J. Van Den Heuvel, Councillor Court of Justice Utrecht.

Mr. C. de Wijs, Greffier Court of Justice Utrecht.

Coach 10.

Mr Jan Kol (1726-1805).

Professor Philippus Joannes Bachiene (1750-1797), since 1788 professor in Theology, Utrecht University.

Professor Johannes Oosterdijk Schacht (1704-1792), professor in medicine, Utrecht University, abstained.

Coach 11

Professor dr. William Laurence Brown (1755-1830), Theological professor and preacher of the English Community in Utrecht.

Canon Johannes Willem Swellengrebel, Loten's neighbour.

Canon Nellesteijn, Loten's neighbour, abstained.

Coach 12.

Doctor v. Alphen, Apothecary in Utrecht.

Doctor Greeve, possibly professor Egbert Jan Greve (1754-1811).

Coach 13.

Mr Russel, abstained, not identified.

Mr Helmke, not identified.

Mr. Van Der Weert, probably Jan Van Der Weert who received 2,000 guilders according to the codicil to Loten's testament. His servant Louis Bonneville received 50 golden ducats (HUA.NA U255a9 nr 64: Notary W. Dop, Utrecht 16 February 1788).

Coach 14.

Mr. L. Juliaans, dispensing chemist at Utrecht, possessed a well-known cabinet of shells, insects, fishes.

Mr. Schalkwijk a Velde, notary in Utrecht

Coach 15

Mr. Gerrit Greeve, city surgeon of Utrecht.

Mr. Greeve Junior, probably the son of the above mentioned.

⁸⁰ De Bruin (1986), page 218 specified the funeral costs of 45 regents in Utrecht in the period 1795 until 1811. The costs of regents from the patrician class varied from 25 to 300 guilders with an average of 110 guilders.

⁸¹ Notes on Joan Gideon Loten in the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague. The inscription on the funeral board read as follows (HUA.GC 750 nr 1390) and the Engelbert Van Engelen Manuscript in Het Utrechts Archief volume I page 379.

Loten
Hoeufft
Seleijns
Deutz

Aerssen van Juchen
Schade van Westrum
Deuverden
Strick van Linschoten

D.O.M.

Nobilissimo et Amplissimo Viro
JOANNI GIDEONI LOTEN
Supremi Senatus Indiae Orientalis
Batavae quondam Consiliario Ordinaris
Nec non in Insulis Celebe & Ceilana
Gubernatori ; his aliisq muneribus
Summa cum integritate functo :
Societatis Regiae Londonensis et
Antiquariorum sodali :

Probitate, morum suavitate et
Varii generis eruditione insigi ;
Avo venerando
Nepotes
H.M.P.C.
Obiit Trajecti ad Rhenum
XXV Februarii MDCCLXXXIX. Aet: LXXX.

The abbreviations read in translation:

D.O.M.: D[eo] O[ptimo] M[aximo] or To God, Best and Greatest.

Avo venerando Nepotes H.M.P.C.: H[oc] M[onumentum] P[oni] C[uravit], or He was respected by his grandchildren who caused this monument to be placed.

⁸² HUA.GC 750 nr 1390. On January 30th 1795 the rights of man and burgher were solemnly proclaimed in The Hague by the ‘Provisional Representatives of the People of Holland’. According to the new order the former regents and aristocrats were deprived of the privilege of sporting coats of arms on carriages and in churches (Schama, 1977, page 212). In February 1795 the Utrecht Dom church was raided by the mob led by the lawyer Jan Van Lidt de Jeude (1759-1807) and ‘cleaned of all aristocratic stains’, the tomb of countess Amalia Van Solms was plundered. See Graafhuis (1960), pages 58-62; De Bruin (1987), pages 292-293.

⁸³ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 9 March 1790.
“Daar is nog iets waar omtrent Uhwgb gedagten gaarne zoude weeten, U weet dat de Mevrouw weduwe een plan had om een soort van tombe te laten maaken ter gedagtenis aan Haar man, daar Zij is vertrokken zonder uitlaate daarvan weeder te spreken, in zijn leeven heb ik zijn Welgb wel horen spreken dat het beter waar inscriptien in een steen of muur dan wel die houte borden, dog heeft mij wegens geen ordres gelaaten, onder zijne papieren heb ik het neevens gaande gevonden, onderwijl heeft de timmerman Wilkes kort na de dood een wapenbord gemaakt en mij daarvan de rekening terwijl gebeurd en bevroagende f 32 die ik niet betaald heb, als hebbend daartoe geen ordre gegeven, zoo het mij toeschynd heeft dien baas bij gelegthyd van ‘t bestellen van de kist hooren spreken van een wapenbord en dat die daarop maar aan ‘t werk is gegaan zonder bepaalde ordre, omdat het in de familie gebruikelijk zij zoo een bord te doen ophangen, mevrouw had geen ordres tot dat bord gegeven zo mij gesezt heeft, en de burgemeester die omtrent de begraafenis door mevrouw de directie gelaaten was ignoreerd het ook, heb de goedhyd van mij te zeggen of U denkt dat ik het gemaakte wapenbord maar gebruiken zal en laten dat maar 8 quarten gehangen, of dunkt U tot het nevengeaande modelletje uitgaan, hetgeen nogal wat kosten zal?”.

Mrs. Lettice Loten is mentioned in the various editions of P. Boyle’s *The fashionable court guide, or town visiting directory*, as a “fashionable inhabitant” of the suburb of Westminster (1792, page 116; 1793, page 12; 1798, page 25; 1799, page 159).

⁸⁴ Kew Banks collection Volume I document 365. Lettice Cotes to Sir Joseph Banks. London New Burlington Street 27 December 1789. The reply by Banks is on the reverse side of Mrs Loten’s letter.

⁸⁵ The Danish Church was situated in Wellelose Square, the Swedish Church was in Prince’s Square. 19 May 1782 Dr Daniel Solander was interred in the crypt of the Swedish Church, five days after John Hunter’s autopsy of his body. See Duyker (1998), *Nature’s Argonaut, Daniel Solander 1733-1782*, page 269.

⁸⁶ Kew Banks collection Volume I document 365. Lettice Cotes to Sir Joseph Banks. London New Burlington Street 27 December 1789. The reply by Banks is on the reverse side of Mrs Loten’s letter.

⁸⁷ See P. Connell (2005), Death and the Author: Westminster Abbey and the Meaning of the Literary Monument. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, pages 557-585.

⁸⁸ Information Mr. Howard M. Nixon, former librarian of the Westminster Abbey 3 November, 1976.

⁸⁹ NHM.DTC. I. 150-151 and 151A. Letters Sir Joseph Banks to Bishop of Rochester, 8 July 1790 and Bishop of Rochester to Sir Joseph Banks, 12 July 1790. With regard to the proposed inscription Bishop Rochester said that he did not “see no manner of reason for the widow’s delicacy, tho’ be that as she pleases, I shall be glad to see what is finally intended before it is being engraved”. Unfortunately it is unknown what he referred to. The proposed inscription for the monument differed from the final inscription on the monument.

M[emoriae] S[acrvm]
Nobilissimi Amplissimo Viri

Johannis Gideonis Loten;
 Qui anno 1732 in Indiam profectus,
 Supremi Senatûs Batavae Praeses,
 Nec non Insularum Celebes, et Ceylani
 Gubernator Constitutus est.
 His, aliisq Muneribus
 Summâ cum integritate functis,
 Et, uxoris Anna Henrietta a Beaumont
 Morte deploratâ
 In Patriam rediit Ao 1758.
 Dehunc in Angliam
 Multiplicii Eruditione munitus transiens
 In Societate Regiâ Londoni
 Nec non Antiquariâ locum meruit.
 Ubi et 2 dis nuptiis duxit
 Letitiam Cotes, de Cotes, superstitem,
 Quae marito bene merenti
 Trajecti ad Rhenum mortus 25 Feb. 1759.
 Hac in Æde Sacrà
 M.P.C.

Dr John Thomas (1712-1793), Dean of Westminster (1768-1793) and Bishop of Rochester (1774-1793). See Brayley & Neale (1818 [1823]), volume I, pages 208-211.

⁹⁰ A watercolour of the monument is in Het Utrechts Archief (HUA.GC 750 nr 123-2). The monument is also depicted in plate XIV of Brayley & Neale (1823). *History of the Abbey Church of St. Peter Westminster*, volume II, page 283.

Mr. Howard M. Nixon, former Librarian of the Library of Westminster Abbey informed me 3 November, 1976, about the Loten monument in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Nixon described the arms on the monument as follows:

1. Or, a sprig springing from a bulb, or root, in the nombril point, and diverging in a two-fold branch towards the dexter and sinister chiefs. Prop. Loten;
2. 2. Sab. a saltire arg. Hoeufft;
3. Vert, two carpenters' adzes in saltire or. Deutz;
4. Sab. a fess or, Schade van Westrum;
5. Sab. six crosses patee or, three, two and one; on a chief gu. 3 pales arg. Selyns;
6. Vert, a swan naiant, in water, prop. Aerssen van Juchen;
7. Or, on a chief, crenille gu. two fleur de lis arg. Deuverden;
8. Quarterly, viz. 1 st and 4th arg. 3 marlets sab., 2nd and 3rd gu. a bend arg. an escutcheon of pretence az. charged with a fleur de lis or, Strick van Linschoten.

On the pillar right of Generosity are the arms of Schade Van Westrum, Hoeufft, Aerssen Van Juchen and Deutz, on her left the arms of Seleys, Strick Van Linschoten, Deuverden and Loten.

⁹¹ Brayley & Neale (1823), volume II, page 226.

⁹² The Latin inscription on the monument reads as follows:

Memoriae Sacrvm
 Illustrissimi optimiqve viri,
 JOANNIS GIDENIS LOTEN,
 Svpremi Senatus Indiae Orientalis Batavae,
 qvondam Consilarii Ordinarii
 non in Insvlis Celebe et Ceylona,
 svmmo Magistratv ornati,
 Societatis Regiae Londonensis
 et Antiqvariorvm Sodalis:
 qvem Pvblicas res procvranthem
 Patria sva,
 Civem experta est Integerrimvm.
 Qvem, privatvm, svmmo cvitv et observantia
 prosecvti svnt omnes, qvibvscvm vixit,
 qvibvsqve Cordi erant:
 Incorrvpta fides,
 Egregia animi aeqvitas et moderatio

Amabilis morvm svavitas,
 et exquisita, non vnivs generis, ervditio
 Ille anno 1732 in Indiam profectvs;
 24 Avg. 1733, vxorem dvxit Annam
 Henriettam a Beavmont, mortvam
 19 Avg. 1755; et in Evropam, anno 1758
 reversvs: secvndo matrimonio 4 Jvlii
 1765, in Anglia dvxit Laetitia
 Cotes de Cotes, in Agro
 Staffordiensi.
 Obijt Trajecti ad Rhenvm 25 Febr. 1789. Aet. 80.

⁹³ Dr. C. Dekker of the ‘Rijksarchief in de provincie Utrecht’ informed me about this grant as follows: There were two ways of making a valid testament in the province of Utrecht: the cumbersome Roman form before seven witnesses, which was probably seldom chosen, and the form of making the testament before the court. The objection to the latter was that one could only make provisions about the goods within the resort of the court of Utrecht. For the goods without this resort one had to make separate testamentary dispositions. To escape this problem one could make testamentary dispositions of the goods in the province of Utrecht before a notary and two witnesses, but therefore one needed an octroy of the court of Utrecht. The goods without the province of Utrecht could be disposed without such an octroy. Mr. W.B. Heins of the ‘Rijksarchief in de provincie Utrecht’, wrote me that the Court of Utrecht granted on September 21, 1758 to Joan Gideon Loten the octroy to dispose by testament his goods in the province of Utrecht (Rijksarchief Utrecht RA 231-5). The requests and decrees were lost.

⁹⁴ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179. The testament with twelve codicils in English is also found in the Utrecht Archives Grothe collection (HUA.GC 750 nr 1408). The English translation of the Dutch parts was done by Pieter Hendrik Hoogenbergh, who is mentioned as “Not: Publ:” in London. Two English copies of Loten’s codiciliar dispositions to the children of his brother Arnout Loten, Joan Gideon and Johanna Carolina Arnoudina (mentioned in the codicils as Arnoudina), of October 13, 1778 and October 9, 1780, are in the HUA.GC 750 nr 1406. Furthermore several codicils to Loten’s last will are in the Utrecht Notary Archive:

HUA.NA U256c19 nr 5: Notary C. De Wijs, Utrecht 2 February 1782

HUA.NA U255c8 nr 57: Notary W. Dop, Utrecht 27 January 1785

HUA.NA U255c8 nr 76: Notary W. Dop, Utrecht 6 July 1785

HUA.NA U255a9 nr 64: Notary W. Dop, Utrecht 16 February 1788

HUA.NA U256c25 nr 129: Notary C. De Wijs, Utrecht 25 November 1788

HUA.NA U256c26 nr 3: Notary C. De Wijs, Utrecht 12 January 1789

Ferguson (1908), page 248, discussed the document from his memory, because the notes he made “were impounded by a soulless official on the ground that they were “revenu”. Raat (1978) retraced several dispositions from Loten’s testament.

Last Will Joan Gideon Loten

<i>Parts of the testament</i>	<i>Dated</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Notary</i>	<i>English translation</i>
Act of Superscription	27-02-1767	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	25-03-1789
Act of Opening	4-03-1789	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	25-03-1789
Testament	17-02-1767	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	25-03-1789
Act of executorship	25-10-1769	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	18-03-1789
Codicil	9-09-1771	London	Jo: Cruttenden, Surgeons Hall	-
Codicil	13-10-1778	London	Batesman Robson	-
Codicil	9-10-1780	London	Pieter Hendrik Hoogenbergh	-
Codicil	16-10-1780	London	Pieter Hendrik Hoogenbergh	-
Codicil	2-02-1782	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	23-03-1789
Codicil	27-01-1785	Utrecht	Willem Dop	15-04-1789
Codicil	6-07-1785	Utrecht	Willem Dop	19-03-1789
Codicil	16-02-1788	Utrecht	Willem Dop	19-03-1789
Codicil	4-03-1788	Utrecht	Willem Dop	19-03-1789
Codicil	25-11-1788	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	19-03-1789
Codicil	12-01-1789	Utrecht	Cornelis De Wys	18-03-1789
Act of approval	30-05-1789	London	Sir William Wynand [?]	-

⁹⁵ The marriage contract was not retraced, but several details of this document are in the notary deed HUA.NA U256c26-70, notary C. De Wijs, 17 July 1789.

⁹⁶ Jan Kol was also appointed executor and guardian by notary act of 25 October 1769, notary C. De Wijs Utrecht HUA.NA U256c6 nr 168. In July 1793 Jan Kol made his son Everard Kol the executor of Loten's testament, see HUA.NA U236a17 nr 36, notary J. Klemme Utrecht, 13 July 1793.

⁹⁷ Because Loten was a Dutchman his acquaintances the Earl of Denbigh, Thomas Cotes and Sir Herbert Mackworth acted as his guarantes when the capital was invested in the Bank of England (Codicil 13 October 1778). In March 1805 Lettice Cotes still enjoyed an annuity of 3% out of Loten's capital of 12,000 pounds sterling (HUA.GC 750 nr 1410).

⁹⁸ HUA.NA U256c26-70, notary C. De Wijs, 17 July 1789..

⁹⁹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy inv. 476 and act of notary C. De Wijs January 6th 1791, HUA NA U256c28, act nr 4.

¹⁰⁰ The disposition of the silver plate by codicil 13 October 1778: "Pieces of set of plate: 1 silver cistern, 18 silver handle table knives, 18 silver table forks. 18 silver table spoons, 2 dozen silver handled desert knives, 2 dozen silver handled desert forks, 2 dozen silver spoons, 3 silver candle-sticks. 1 silver oil and vinegar stand, 3 silver tea boxes, 2 silver Waitors".

¹⁰¹ The disposition of the house *Cour de Loo* by codicil 9 October 1780.

¹⁰² According to the conditions in Loten's oodicil of October 9, 1780 they had to pay 7500 guilders in legacies. In his codicil of February 16, 1788 Loten revoked the bequest of 2000 guilders to his manservant Ernst Sellin Van Regenwalden, because he already gave him money during his life, so the legacies to be paid by Joan Gideon Loten and his sister became 5500 guilders:

- f 2000 to Sity, the Indian maid,
- f 2000 to Hendrik Terlingen, manservant,
- f 500 to Adriana Schouten, maid servant, formerly the maid of Loten's mother,
- f 100 to Maria Dool, maid servant,
- f 500 to deacons of Low Dutch Reformed Church in Utrecht,
- f 600 to Jan Kol.

According to a declaration signed by Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten and her husband Johannes Van Doelen (HUA.GC 750 nr 1253) this amount was advanced by them. On May 20, 1789 they received from Joan Gideon Loten 2,750 Dutch guilders.

¹⁰³ After Loten's decease Jan Kol paid 1,200 guilders from Loten's estate to Sitie, being an account in his hand of 1780. See Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 9 March 1790.

¹⁰⁴ Codicil 6 July 1785.

¹⁰⁵ Dispositions to Jan Kol: £100 (codicil 1778) and f 1100 (codicil July 1785).

¹⁰⁶ The coorespondence with the Court of Caterbury and the inventory of Loten's possessions in England was not retraced.

¹⁰⁷ HUA.NA U256c26-70, notary C. De Wijs, 17 July 1789.

¹⁰⁸ Specification of Loten's capital in England in 1789 as mentioned in notary deed HUA.NA U256c26-70, notary C. De Wijs, Utrecht 17 July 1789.

Specification	Capital	to	Comments
Cash in Utrecht	£ 400	Lettice Cotes	
Bank of England 4%, afterwards 3%	£ 10,000	Jan Kol for Loten's heirs	

Bank of England 3%	£ 10,000	Lettice Cotes	According to marriage contract
Bank of England 3½% afterwards 3%	£ 12,000	Lettice Cotes and after her death Loten's heirs	According to Codicil 13 Oct 1778
Walpole Clark & Comp 3%	£ 2,000	Jan Kol for settlement Loten's bequests	
Walpole, Clark & Comp 3%	£ 13,400	Jan Kol for J.C. Van Der Bruggen and A.H. Van Wilmsdorff	To be divided in two parts
Cash in London	£ 3,750	Jan Kol for Loten's heirs	
Total	£ 51,550		

¹⁰⁹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. 9 March 1790. According to this letter there was an inventory of Loten's possessions. This document is no longer available.

¹¹⁰ See also notary deed HUA.NA U256c26-70, notary C. De Wijs, 17 July 1789.

¹¹¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹¹² John Ellicott (1706-1772), English clockmaker, watchmaker to the King, Fellow of the Royal Society (admitted in 1738), of which he became a member of the Council for three years. He invented a compensating pendulum.

In October 1776 when he returned to London, Loten left his Ellicott 'table clock' with his brother in Utrecht (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404).

¹¹³ Thomas Mudge (1715-1794), "one of the most eminent watchmaker", according to G.H. Baillie, in *Watchmaker and clockmakers of the world* (1947, page 227). In 1776 Mudge was appointed watchmaker to the King. Mudge and his son Thomas had a dispute with the Board of Longitude and Sir Joseph Banks about a reward for a chronometer that Mudge submitted in 1776 to the Board of Longitude. The dispute was about the precision of the instrument. The Board had granted Mudge £ 500 to enable him to continue his efforts. In 1793 the House of Commons agreed to award Mr Mudge a further sum of £ 2500. In Banks opinion:

"It has generally been the fate of the House of Commons, owing to their Insufficiency as a Tribunal to judge of the comparative merit of scientific or mechanical improvements, to discourage the advancement of knowledge and check the spirit of emulation".

See Cameron, 1952, pages 235-238.

¹¹⁴ George Michael Moser (1706-1783), a Swiss-born gold-chaser, enamel painter and portrait painter (Benezit, 1966, volume 6, page 238). Moser was one of the founder member and first Keeper of the 1768 founded Royal Academy. He earned the wrath of Oliver Goldsmith by interrupting him, "when talking in company with fluent vivacity", as Boswell expressed it.

"[A] German [=Moser] who sat next him [=Goldsmith], and perceived Johnson rolling himself, as if about to speak, suddenly stopped him, saying, 'Stay, stay, Doctor Shonson is going to say something.' This was, no doubt, very provoking, especially to one so irritable as Goldsmith, who frequently mentioned it with strong expressions of indignation".

See Hill & Powell (1964), volume II, pages 257-258, Friday 7 May 1773.

¹¹⁵ Possibly the "golden watch chain" that Loten purchased from Mr Bellis 10 May 1764 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1385).

¹¹⁶ P. Wast and son in Amsterdam, a firm specialised in the branch of constructing barometers and thermometers (see also Raat, 1979, page 72). These instruments were already in 1763, before he made his grand tour, in Loten's possession.

¹¹⁷ The mathematical instruments were described by Raat (1978).

¹¹⁸ See also notary deed HUA.NA U256c26-70, notary C. De Wijs, 17 July 1789.

¹¹⁹ HUA.NA U256c26 nr 24. Cornelis De Wijs, 15 March 1789.

¹²⁰ HUA.NA U256c26 nr 37. Cornelis De Wijs, 22 April 1789.

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- ¹²¹ Het Utrechts Archief. Library 6629 nr 3766/858. See also chapter 6, Loten's book collection.
- ¹²² Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 6 October 1789.
- ¹²³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1426. A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht undated, between April and July 1756. Bonaventura ab Overbeke (1660-1706). *Les restes de l'ancienne Rome / recherches avec soin, mesures, dessinez sur les lieux, & gravez par feu Bonaventure d'Overbeke*. A Amsterdam, : de l'imprimerie de Jean Crellius, 1709.
- ¹²⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1757.
- ¹²⁵ Codicil 13 October 1778. The drawings and sketches of monuments are in HUA.GC 750 nr 156.
- ¹²⁶ Mr Jacob Anne Grothe (1815-1899) was the husband of Arnoudina Johanna Carolina Loten Van Doelen (1817-1875), granddaughter of Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten and Johannes Van Doelen.
- ¹²⁷ Many genealogical documents in the Grothe Archief of Het Utrechts Archief (HUA.GC 750) originally belonged to Joan Gideon Loten.
See Geritsen, J. & A.B.R. du Croo De Vries (1992). *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Grothe en aanverwante families 1583-1960*. Archief nummer 750, Gemeentelijke archiefdienst Utrecht.
- ¹²⁸ Bequeathed in Testament 17 December 1767 and Codicil 13 October 1778. The Album is in HUA.GC 750 nr 1488. *Album Amicorum Willem Schade van Westrum, 1601-1606*. The Italian Ugo Buoncompagni (1502-1585) was elected Pope in 1572 and took the name Gregorius XIII.
- ¹²⁹ Helmond Archief Van Der Bruggen Van Croy nr 64. J. Kol to J.C.G. Van Der Bruggen. Utrecht 6 October 1789.
- ¹³⁰ The author is grateful to Mrs L. Van Zalinge-Spooren, who unravelled the history of the dispersion of the Van Der Bruggen collection in the castle Croy (personal communication Helmond 3 May 2001). See also Van Zalinge-Spooren (1989), pages 5 and 11-14; G. Van Den Elsen (1898). *De Freule van Croy*. H.C. Van Der Aa & zonen, Oosterhout (second edition), 192 p.
- ¹³¹ Elsen (1898), pages 188-189.
- ¹³² The Van Der Bruggen Van Croy collection was inventarised by Van Zalinge-Spooren (1989). In 2007 the collection was transferred from Helmond to the Regionaal Historisch Centrum Eindhoven.
- ¹³³ A.J. Geuns in J. Van De Ven (1990). *Handschriften en handschriftfragmenten in het bezit van de Theologische Faculteit Tilburg*. Tilburg University Press. TFT-Studies 14, 221 p., pages xi-xiv.
- ¹³⁴ TUL. TF collectie Haaren nov. 54-55 and NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 1524. See also Stapel (1936), page 73 and Noorduyt (1983).
- ¹³⁵ Testament 17 December 1767, "as a small remembrance".
- ¹³⁶ HUA.Library 6629 nr 3766/858, page 5, number 85: "Kaarte van Zuider en Noorder Provincien van Macassar op Celebes". In the description of his bookcase in 1775 in London (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404), Loten also mentioned "maps of parts of Ceylon, 3 vol. M.S.S.", unfortunately the present whereabouts of these maps is unknown.
- ¹³⁷ The Atlas was placed in the library of the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague. In 1963 the Atlas was transferred to the Leiden University Library (BLP 3052A) and in 1983 placed in the department Westerse handschriften. It is a copy of the Atlas that came in possession of Bodel Nijenhuis in 1866 and at present in the Leiden University Library department Westerse handschriften (BLP 2038).
- ¹³⁸ There is confusing information about the auction of the two atlas volumes with charts. It is possible that they also came in auction in October or November 1841. In the *Navorscher* XVI (1866), page 68, one 'Laboranter' put the following questionnerie:
"South and North provinces of Macassar on Celebes Ao 1750. Under this title two books with maps were sold in the last part of the preceding year by the bookseller Van Dooren in the Hague, but in it were present only the

southern provinces, excellently drawn by J.M. Aubert 1752, those of the northern provinces were apparently cut out. Can any one inform me whether the missing charts can be found in a private collection?"

'Laboranter' was the pseudonym of the bibliographer P.A. Leupe. The seven charts of Celebes at present in the Leiden University Library. The charts of the southern provinces of Celebes are at present in the MIKO 4 collection of the National Archive (NA MIKO4. VEL).in the Hague. 'Laboranter' was the pseudonym of the bibliographer P.A. Leupe, who evidently found out that the six charts of Celebes were in the collection of the National Archive. They are described on pages 192 and 193 in P.A. Leupe (1867). *Inventaris der Verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijks-Archief*. Volume I. M. Nijhoff, Den Haag .

¹³⁹ The collection of charts of the island of Celebes in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Library of the University of Leiden (BLP 2038 and BLP 3052A). On the first map in these atlases, showing Java, Celebes and Amboina, is written in Dutch:

"These maps are collected and drawn according to the newest observations by order of the Councillor of the Netherlands India and Governor of Macassar Joan Gideon Loten by me Iean Michel Aubert bookkeeper in service of the Hon. Company and interpreter in the Malay language in the Year 1749'.

¹⁴⁰ In 1976 the late M.P.H. Roessingh (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague) drew my attention to an 18th century collection of drawings and watercolours from Sri Lanka and Indonesia that was kept in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet, department geographical prints, "topografie Indonesië". After inspection it was evident that the drawings and watercolours in this collection formerly belonged to Joan Gideon Loten. The annotations on the drawings were in his hand and several drawings bore his initials or name. Since 1976 the drawings were numbered and preserved in maps ordered by geographical location. Thus the collection cannot be studied in its original order. Diessen & Van Den Belt (1987) gave a description of six watercolours from Ceylon from this collection. In the 2002 catalogue of the Rijksmuseum exhibition *Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië 1600-1950* (Zandvliet, 2002) several drawings and maps from Celebes from the collection were published. De Silva & Beumer (1988) published several drawings and watercolours from Ceylon. Raat (2004) published details from the drawing of the stag hunt at Celebes.

¹⁴¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1240.

¹⁴² NL-HaNA.MIKO.4 inv W. The collection consists of coastal views of Java, maps and topographical drawings of Celebes, several maps and plans of places at Ceylon and Trincomalee, two charts of the coast of China by Alexander Dalrymple and a register of the collection by J.P.S. Favrod De Fellens. As a token of appreciation Favrod De Fellens received a ring with a monogram of King Willem I, value 300 guilders.

Balk, G.L., Hoste, F.E.Ch. & Zandvliet, K. (1993). *Inventaris van het archief van het Ministerie van Koloniën: Kaarten en Teekeningen, (1702) 1814-1963*. Nationaal Archief, Den Haag.

¹⁴³ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 215. A Corle, Korala, Koralaya is a division of a province (or Disawany) at Ceylon.

¹⁴⁴ For a description of the Dutch Tombo Registration see R.L. Brohier (1978), *Links between Sri Lanka and The Netherlands*, pages 133-141.

¹⁴⁵ Also mentioned in *Gentlemen's Magazine* 1810, page 672.

¹⁴⁶ Mulcahy (2006), page 60 and National Burial Index. According to Bloys Van Treslong Prins (1909), page 308 she died at Utrecht and was buried in the Jacobi Church. In her last will Lettice Cotes entered the following about her burial:

"Mrs Lettice Loten of New Burlington Street the County of Middlesex, widow being of sound & disposing mind memory and understanding & desire to be buried in the chappel of the parish church of Coleshill in Warwickshire near the remains of my honoured father late vicar of the said Parish".

¹⁴⁷ The National Archives, London, Prob 11/1513. Last will and codicil Lettice Loten, 12 August 1809.

¹⁴⁸ Wriothlesly Digby (1749-1827), son of Wriothlesly Digby and Mary Cotes, daughter of John Cotes of Woodcote.

¹⁴⁹ Reverend Henry Cotes, vicar of Bedlington, assisted Thomas Bewick (1753-1820), "with literary corrections" for the publication of the second volume of Bewick's *History of British Water Birds* (1804). From: 'Institutions for the Arts & Amusement: The Northumberland Institution', *Historical Account of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Including the Borough of Gateshead* (1827), pages 575-90.

¹⁵⁰ Rhoda Hallifax was the unmarried daughter of the Reverend Dr James Hallifax, vicar of Ewell in Surrey, the persecutor of Lettice Cotes' husband Joan Gideon Loten.

¹⁵¹ In the quote from the Last will the interpunction was added and the misspelling of the Dutch names was corrected.

¹⁵² Loten's collection of shells was mentioned one time in the Loten documents by Arnout Loten in a letter in which he wrote about an auction of Loten's furniture at Utrecht.

“P.S. Na mijn gedagten zou 't best zijn de verkoping der zeegewassen uit te stellen tot er tijd eens een gelegenheid voorkomt, waar bij meer diergelike liefhebberij geveijld word, vermits dezelve op een verkoping van Grove meubilen, als deze is, zeer weinig gelden zouden opbrengen”.

See HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 8 february 1763.

¹⁵³ Bezoar stone, which is a calcified concretion found in the stomachs of some animals, was prized for its supposed medicinal properties as well as being believed to act as an antidote to poison. The scarcity of bezoar stones by the 17th century led a group of Portuguese Jesuits working in Goa to come up with a man made version. These so called “Goa Stones” were a mixture of bezoar as well as other precious objects believed to have curative powers.

¹⁵⁴ Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten (1753-1823), Loten's niece, married in 1788 with Mr. Johannes Van Doelen (1752-1828). In view of the number of legacies she received from her uncle and aunt, she must have been a favourite niece. In 1789 she already inherited Loten's “silent clock” made by Ellicott.

¹⁵⁵ Henriette Adriana Van Den Heuvel (1769-1829) married in 1797 with Loten's nephew Joan Gideon Loten (1755-1809).

¹⁵⁶ Madame Barchman Wuytiers not identified; Mademoiselle Natewisch probably is Maria Justina Catharina Taets Van Amerongen (1781-1869), daughter of Gerard Arnout Taets Van Amerongen, Lord of Natewisch (1754-1823).

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

CHAPTER 9

THE LOTEN NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTION

Ecclesiastes IX 10 [Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.]

Colombo, 25 December 1754,

Joan Gideon Loten

1. LOTEN'S NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTION

The Loten documents in archives, libraries and museums do not supply information about an early attraction to natural history. There is no indication that as a young man in Utrecht he had any special interest in birds or plants. The earliest allusions to natural history date from the period he had left Utrecht for the East Indies. The references to Loten's natural history activities in the Dutch East Indies can only be found in his private papers. In his letters from the East Indies to his brother Arnout in Utrecht, he sometimes included short observations about plants. Loten occasionally also sent his brother seeds for his garden. However, he did not consider himself an amateur botanist like his brother and his wife Anna Henrietta. The letters and notebooks from Macassar indicate that he was more interested in astronomy and mathematics than he was in natural history. Loten's papers from Ceylon also do not contain much information relating to an active engagement in botany or zoology. He never mentioned an interest in birds, although assistant land surveyor Pieter Cornelis de Bevere made a collection of watercolours of birds for Loten. Nevertheless it is clear from the manuscripts found in the London Natural History Museum and in Haarlem's Teylers Museum that Loten was fascinated by the exotic nature he saw in Java, Celebes and Ceylon. His "hours in the woods" of Semarang were spent shooting or spotting birds and in Ceylon a copy of Robert Knox's *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, 'first aroused my curiosity and encouraged me to discover' the Paradise flycatcher, *Terpsiphone paradisi*.¹ Before 1759, Loten hardly had contacts with European experts of his time about natural history, but in Celebes and Ceylon he did exchange information about the tropical fauna with interested colleagues such as the Macassar surgeon Nicolaas Van Langenberg and Colombo's secretary Marcellus Bles. His interests in nature must have been known beyond the Dutch East Indies, because around 1757 Linnaeus wrote to him several times. Unfortunately the letters have been lost.

No references about Loten's natural history activities can be found in the official VOC correspondence. This is not surprising because the Company as an 'obstinate Maecenas' did not stimulate its servants to show an active interest in botany or zoology.² Only in a few cases in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were the Dutch Company and its servants involved in the systematic exploration of nature in the Asian territory. The botanical activities of Paul Hermann (1646-1695), Hendrik Adriaan Van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691), Wilhem Adriaen Van Der Stel (1664-1733) and George Everhard Rumphius (1628-1702) were usually private initiatives that were reluctantly supported or openly thwarted by the directors of the Company in Patria and Batavia.³ The search for medicinal plants had been encouraged by the VOC as a means to supply local medicines instead of dispatching these from the Republic to the East Indies. In countless places plants were sought, described, drawn and often dried and preserved in herbaria. The Company made no effort to publish the results of the research.⁴ The exploration of the fauna in the Dutch East Indies only really began in the nineteenth century, many years after captain Cook and captain Bougainville's pioneering voyages to the area in the 1760s.⁵ Nevertheless, servants of the Company were active as collectors, either out of personal interest or in order to be able to supply Europe's cabinets, gardens and menageries. The private natural history cabinets of the elite were stocked with animals, plants, conchs, shells and artefacts from exotic places.⁶ According to Leiden lecturer in natural history Johannes le Francq Van Berkhey, the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic had become, 'a storehouse of rarities, especially of exotic natural products'.⁷ The collections also appealed to travellers and natural philosophers.

LOTEN'S 'PAPER MUSEUM'

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, drawing was a common way for travellers and explorers to register their observations.⁸ The drawings were an easy means of retaining a visual recollection of a situation, a landscape, artefacts, animals and plants from distant destinations. Several of these collections were once part of the so-called 'Wunderkammer' or 'Kunstkammer' (Chamber of Wonders or Chambers of Art) which were encyclopaedic collections of objects and the predecessors to today's museums. Other pictorial collections had a predominantly instrumental function and were not destined to be end up in private cabinets or museums; the drawings were simply personal memoirs of the exotic nature people saw and evidence of the sheer diversity of divine Creation. Nevertheless many of these illustrations from the 'Book of Nature' have been preserved in museums, private collections and libraries as loose-leaves and bound albums

Loten's drawings and the notes that accompanied them were the result of an effort which will have begun without a preconceived programme. His drawings of fish and the coastal views that he completed in 1732 during his voyage on the *Beekevljet* to Batavia, were illustrations he made for his *Journal*. He did not make them with an eye to present an overview of the marine fauna or to contribute to an improvement in knowledge of unknown coasts. He probably drew them for his own amusement – as was the case some years afterwards at Semarang and Batavia when he made sketches of birds – and he did so without any intention of striving for comprehensiveness. In Macassar however, his pictorial activities became more systematic; he was probably influenced by Jean Michel Aubert, a Company bookkeeper who was not only a gifted artist but also an able surveyor. The set of hydrographical charts of Celebes which Aubert made towards the end of the 1740s under Loten's supervision, was clearly executed with a view to presenting a complete overview of the hydrography of the coasts of Celebes. During his last months as a Governor at Macassar, Loten and Aubert also compiled a manuscript with observations about the development of moths. The first part of this manuscript was written by Loten; Aubert completed the observations and added eight detailed drawings in watercolour to the manuscript. The drawings of the metamorphosis of the moths were in the tradition of the drawings made by Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717) and Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680). We do not know whether Loten or his artist Aubert was acquainted with their work at this time.⁹

Loten is best known for the collection of natural history drawings made in the period 1754-1757 in Colombo and Batavia. The majority of this collection, chiefly watercolours of birds, was made by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere at Colombo, an assistant surveyor of the Company. This set of drawings was probably prepared for Loten's private use and aimed at completing the representation of the avian fauna of Ceylon. In 1757 when De Bevere was in Batavia with Loten, he made an addition to the Ceylonese collection by drawing various animals and plants from Java and other islands in the Indian archipelago. The Loten documents give us no reason to believe that this collection was based on scientific principles as was the collection compiled by Banks and Solander during their voyage with Captain Cook (1768-1771).

In contrast to the mounted or bottled animals found in eighteenth-century cabinets, Loten's drawings represent living specimens and were usually combined with flowering plants, suggesting a Ceylonese or oriental setting. Most of his watercolours do not have a background; those that do usually show a flat red and green-coloured wasteland sometimes with a suggestion of blue-coloured river. Loten tells us that bird plates from George Edwards's *Natural History of birds* (1743-1751) were used as examples for his artist De Bevere.¹⁰ This is clear from the postures most of the birds take. Although the artist will have used dead animal specimen or their skins as models for his drawing, he will also have studied live models. Loten probably did not so much appreciate the artistic value of the drawings, but rather their exact "imitation of the surface of Nature".¹¹ Many birds were depicted in the traditional way, from the side perched on a branch or stump of a tree, but there are also drawings in which they are portrayed in flight or in a posture signifying that the animal was taken by surprise in its natural situation. The virtuosity of these drawings, the competent handling of the texture of the feathers, and their careful colouring show how talented the draughtsman was.

Loten's collection of watercolours from Ceylon and Java can be considered a 'paper museum', a "visual collection, whether sketched or engraved, loose-leaf or bound, with or without accompanying text, compiled by a collector or institution to represent a real collection of objects".¹² It seems the drawings were a substitute for the animals and plants that were difficult to transport to Patria. We have no reason to believe that while in Ceylon or Batavia Loten intended to use his collection and annotations for research purposes or for a future publication. Apparently, the drawings were his natural history cabinet, worth keeping in their own right. He carefully stored the collection in a copper box which protected the drawings against damage.¹³ Compared to the rich natural history collections in the cabinets of his contemporaries, however, Loten's collection of drawings was very modest in size. In Ceylon and several years later in London, Loten made notes about the animals which had been depicted; these were stored in the box with the watercolours. On the flyleaf of his loose-leaf bundle of notes Loten added the following comment: 'Notes that may eventually serve to order my collection of drawings (of nature) and writings. These are intended to shed some light on the natural history of the East Indies and especially of Java, Celebes and Ceylon'. The comment was dated 25 December 1754 and concluded with a reference to Ecclesiastes IX 10: Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.¹⁴

The watercolours were never bound; they remained as they were in the copper box in Loten's library. After his return to Europe the drawings thus obtained the status of a reference collection. It was probably

not earlier than upon his return from the East Indies that Loten realised that his collection was of interest to naturalists because of their scientific value and that they might serve as a means of introducing himself into their circles. In England the natural history drawings soon became well known among the naturalists of his time and they enhanced Loten's prestige. His watercolours and notes served as the basis for descriptions and plates of birds in several English natural history books.

Early zoological and botanical drawings are often essential to the identification of Linnaean and subsequent names, because of inadequate original description or absence of type specimens. The watercolours in the Loten collection are therefore of importance in settling problems relating to taxonomy or nomenclature. The drawings from Loten's collection served as basis for new species names and therefore have a taxonomical type status. Relatively few of his watercolours have ever been published, yet more than forty are actually iconotypes.¹⁵

Loten's natural history collection scarcely grew once he was in Europe. He did acquire several bird paintings by Aart Schouman and Pieter Matthijsz. Withoos (1654-1693) and also added several drawings of birds from the Sir Ashton Lever collection to his set, but such additions were incidental. These acquisitions were not part of a master plan by Loten to enlarge or complete his collection. Once he had returned to Europe, Loten sought only to expand his book collection, a collection which ultimately contained some of the most important contemporary Dutch and English illustrated books on natural history and travel of his time. The books supplemented his natural history collection as is shown by the notes in his hand on the drawings. Loten consulted Edwards' *Natural History of uncommon birds* (1743-1751) and *Gleanings of natural history* (1758-1764). There are also references to E. Albin's *A Natural History of Birds* (1738), G.E. Rumphius' *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* (1705) and *Herbarium Amboinense* (1741-1750). He also referred to Thomas Pennant's *Indian Zoology* (1769) and to Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology* (1776). Remarkably references in his hand to French natural history books are lacking.

HISTORY LOTEN'S NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTION

Loten kept his drawings and manuscripts in a copper box to which he referred in his testament in 1767: "[M]y collection of Birds Animals Herbs drawn with watercolours and whatever of that kind belongs to the natural history together with the large copper box wherein all or several thereof are contained I bequeath to the British Museum at London".¹⁶ During his first years in England he had already donated watercolours from his collection to the British Museum. This collection, consisting of twenty-one copies of his drawings, currently resides in the Sloane Collection of the Manuscript Department of the British Library.¹⁷ Apparently Loten changed his mind after his bequest, although he did not change his last will until 1778. In 1777, he added the following entry to his notebook: "[I]f the Report of the Celebrated Professor Linneus his Decease be true,¹⁸ the drawings of Birds animals &c. other subjects of natural history and papers belonging to Them shall not be sent to Sweden, but given to my Brother Mr. Arnout Loten, who is desired (helped by Mr. Juliaens at Utrecht) to communicate 'm to Doctor Houuttuyn at Amsterdam.¹⁹ [Loten later added: "the Society at Haarlem?"] in order that, if they can serve for that purpose, his Natural history, according to the Linnaean System, may be in some particular, augmented, chiefly with regard to non descript. London 31 Jannua: 1777 [signed] J.G. Loten, who requests also Mr. Juliaens to assist my Brother: these drawings are most in the flat large copper box left at Utrecht, leaving it in October 1776, and still there to this day".²⁰

Although he had frequent contacts with Dr Daniel Solander, who was at that time keeper of the British Museum, with the death of his acquaintances George Edwards and Matthieu Maty in the 1770s, his association with the Museum waned. The increasing irritation he felt as a Dutchman living in England may have induced him to bequeath the collection to the Holland Society of Sciences founded in 1752. On 13 October 1778 Loten added a codicil to his will. In it, he stipulated the following arrangement for his collection: "I give unto the learned Society of Sciences at Haarlem Holland the whole collection I made in the East Indies of drawings and sketches faithfully done and coloured after living subjects of Birds Beasts Insects and Plants with some observations and descriptions of several of the subjects hitherto not described and may therefore be of some utility to those who delight in this branch of study all or the greatest part of which collection is contained in my large brass flat box now in my own custody in England or whatsoever else the same collection or any part thereof shall happen to be at my decease and I do desire that the said collection so enclosed in the said copper flat box shall be also enclosed in a strong wooden outside case by my said executors to prevent the same from receiving any damage and in this manner and with the utmost care I desire my said executors to sent or cause to be sent the said Box and

collection to the Reverend and learned Mr. C. C.²¹ and Van Der Aa,²² secretary to the before mentioned learned Society, to be by him presented to the said Society, and in case of his death or I do desire my said brother together with my said friend and executor Mr. Kol to present the same to the said Society".²³ In 1780 and 1781 Loten sent his cousin Jean Deutz, a director of the Holland Society of Sciences, 18 watercolours from his collection. These were destined to become part of the Society's natural history cabinet.²⁴ The watercolours were placed in the Society's cabinet and several of these can now be found in the collection of the Teylers Museum, the museum located just opposite the Holland Society building.

After Loten's death in February 1789, the collection was transferred to the Holland Society of Sciences at Haarlem.²⁵ In the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* there was a reference to Loten's legacy to the Holland Society: 'Haarlem. List of gifts presented to the Holland Society of Sciences from 25th May 1789 until 21st May 1790 for the room of natural curiosities. A collection of about 130 very fine drawings of mostly East Indian and rare birds and also of some quadrupeds, fish, crabs, sea polyps, insects, and plants, by legacy of the late Mr. Joan Gideon Loten, in his lifetime former councillor of the Dutch East Indies and Governor of Ceylon'.²⁶ On November 3rd 1789, the directors asked Dr Martinus Van Marum, secretary of the Society, to examine the drawings in the large flat copper box. In the Society's meeting of 2 February 1790 he gave them his report: 'Mr. Van Marum has reported, conform the resolution of last November 3, that he has examined the box with drawings and prints which were bequeathed by will to the Society by the late Mr. Loten. He found several beautiful drawings in the box, they are much like the drawings the Society received from the same gentleman at an earlier date, and have been executed by an able hand by order of Mr. Loten while in the East Indies: - there are also some drawings of lesser importance, not worthy to be preserved with them: - Mr. Van Marum was of the opinion that the drawings cited first could be kept in the copper box in which they were received, together with the drawings that had been received at an earlier date and resembled these: - the box could be placed on an inexpensive trestle in one of the rooms where the birds are kept; it must be kept closed to protect the drawings from touch, - but the key must be kept in a drawer of the table in the meeting room of the trustees, so that one or more of the gentlemen directors or members who want to inspect them or show them can do so'.²⁷

The Society decided that Martinus Van Marum should be charged with carrying out the proposals cited above. They also asked him to get rid of the drawings that were of no use to the Society in the best possible way. Thus Van Marum deposited those drawings and prints of which he felt the society had no use into the collection of the Teylers Museum, an institution of which he was the director. This collection has been preserved there to this day.²⁸ Although Van Marum considered the drawings and prints deposited in Teylers Museum of lesser importance, there are still several important watercolours in the collection.²⁹ Many of them have been executed beautifully. Five have a type status. The collection consists of 36 watercolours and two uncoloured engravings made by George Edwards and engraver Peter Mazell.³⁰ The watercolour collection contains images of three plants, three fruits, 23 birds and nine other animals. Several of the watercolours are unfinished, while others may be considered to be preparatory studies. Most of the watercolours were executed by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere. The collection also contains a watercolour by Aart Schouman,³¹ and one by Peter Brown.³² Two drawings were executed by Loten himself. The collection furthermore contains a manuscript of 27 folio pages containing observations of butterflies by Jean Michiel Aubert and Loten. Eight sheets with watercolour illustrations of butterflies and caterpillars have been added to the manuscript

DISPERSAL NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTION

Van Marum put the majority of the collection from Loten's legacy into the copper box and it was then put into the natural history cabinet of the Holland Society. The collection probably remained there until 1866 when the cabinet was closed. In 1866, the cabinet's collection was sold to the 'Natura Artis Magistra' Society in Amsterdam.³³ The Loten collection, however, was probably disposed of by the Holland Society in different way.³⁴ In 1883, the collection suddenly appeared in the catalogue of the 'Bibliotheca Néerlandico-Indica', issued by bookseller Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague: "2299. Fauna of the Indian Archipelago and of the Island of Ceylon. Collection of drawings in colours, representing birds, mammifers, insects, etc., of the Indian Archipelago and Ceylon. 144 folio sheets in two portfolios. f 300 These drawings of a really extraordinary beauty from living animals by a Sicur De Bevere, who, it would appear, was in the service of Mr. J.G. Loten, who was in the service of the East India Company from 1731 to 1757, successively as Commissary at Bantam, Governor of Ceylon, etc., and who retired later to

Fulham in England. Mr. De Bevere executed his drawings from 1754 to 1781. The collection is divided as follows: Birds. 101 sheets; mammifers, 5 sheets; insects, 10 sheets; fishes, etc., 14 sheets; plants, 14 sheets".³⁵ In 1885, Mr. P.J. Van Houten, chairman of the council of the 'Koloniaal Museum' in Haarlem, bought the collection from Martinus Nijhoff.³⁶ Van Houten reported that the collection came from the "late art dealer A.G. De Visser". The collection was exhibited in the 'West Indian Room' of the 'Koloniaal Museum' in June 1905.³⁷ Following Van Houten's death in 1922, the Loten collection was sold to the British Museum (Natural History) in London in 1925 for 800 guilders. Since then, the watercolours have lodged in the general library of that institution (at present Natural History Museum).³⁸

The Loten collection of the London Natural History Museum consists of 154 drawings. Fifteen of the drawings are copies made in England after the originals made between 1754 and 1757 at Ceylon and Batavia. Five watercolours (NHM.LC.148-152) were obtained by Loten after his stay in the Dutch East Indies.³⁹ The watercolours have various annotations. Part of these are by Loten, as is indicated by his handwriting and other internal evidence. It is possible that a number of the pencil annotations were made with the assistance of or in cooperation with George Edwards. Loten consulted the sources in his possession like Edwards' *Natural History of birds* (1743-1751) and *Gleanings of natural history* (1758-1764). There are also references to E. Albin's *A Natural History of Birds* (1738), G.E. Rumphius' *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* (1705) and Rumphius' *Herbarium Amboinense* (1741-1750). Loten also referred to Thomas Pennant's *Indian Zoology* (1769) and to Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology* (1776). The references to G.L.L. de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (1770-1783) and to the Stockholm edition of Gmelin's 13th edition of Linnaeus' *Systema naturae* (1788/89) were probably made by a later owner of the watercolour collection. It seems possible that Martinus van Marum, the secretary of the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen in Haarlem, made these annotations shortly after the Maatschappij had received the collection (1790). The watercolours also have references to Legge's *History of the Birds of Ceylon* (1880). These annotations were probably made by P.J. van Houten, who bought the collection in 1885. Many watercolours are signed with pencil with a characteristic, sometime hardly visible "B", which is placed in the corner at the right hand side below the blue frame of the watercolours. Internal evidence suggests that this is the signature of the artist Pieter Cornelis de Bevere.

The collection consists of two portfolios containing a total of 152 watercolours, most of them with notes in Loten's handwriting on the verso side. The first portfolio contains 102 watercolours of birds. The second portfolio contains 4 watercolours of birds, 5 watercolours of mammals, 7 watercolours of fishes, 16 watercolours of plants and fruits, 3 drawings of octopods, 3 drawings of crabs, and 11 drawings of insects and butterflies. Pieter Cornelis De Bevere probably painted almost all of the watercolours, because most of them are signed with the initial "B". Besides these paintings there are also two watercolours of birds done by Pieter Withoos, one watercolour of the Black cockatoo by David Steuart Erskine, later the eleventh Earl of Buchan,⁴⁰ and one watercolour of a plant, done by Sydney Parkinson. In the collection are several copies of the watercolours, painted on paper with an English Waterman watermark. In addition to the watercolours, there are also about 60 pages of annotations in Loten's hand in the London Natural History Museum Loten collection. Most of the notes were written in the period between 1754 and 1762 in Ceylon and England. Practically all of the notes are short descriptions of the watercolours. There are also two lists of the collection of the pictures drawn and painted in Ceylon in another handwriting, probably that of De Bevere. The lists give the Sinhalese names of respectively 17 and 74 birds depicted.⁴¹

In May of 2000, the Teyler Museum received a collection of 12 eighteenth-century watercolours on loan.⁴² The watercolours were part of Dr Foppe Inne Brouwer's (1912-1991) legacy. Unfortunately, the collection's history is unknown. The watermarks on the paper are the same as on those found on the watercolours in the Loten collections found in the London and Teyler Museums, indicating that the paintings were produced at the same time and place. The watermarks also show that the paper came from mills belonging to the Dutch East India Company. The paper was probably cut into two parts, one part bearing the AVOC watermark, the other part bearing the SCK watermark and a French Lily. The paper of the watercolours in the Loten collection from London has not been cut and split; instead it is folded so that one half of the paper serves as a protective cover for the watercolour. All of the watercolours in the Brouwer collection are duplicates (with minor differences in numbers 13 and 6) of watercolours signed by De Bevere and found in the London and Haarlem Teyler Museum's Loten collections. Eleven watercolours show birds from Ceylon; one watercolour shows a plant from Ceylon.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOTEN COLLECTION

An inventory of Loten's set of natural history drawings has been made by entering the paintings from the four existing Loten collections into a table. The majority of the animals and plants depicted in the 225 drawings in the four Loten collections were based upon a specimen from Ceylon (178 drawings). 108 different animals and plants were depicted by Loten's artists at Colombo, most of these were birds. Thirty of the drawings depicting 25 different species were probably drawn by Loten (circa 1740) and De Bevere (1757) in Batavia. Loten's watercolours were based mainly upon birds kept in the cages of menageries whereas De Bevere also painted live birds that had been captured in the surroundings of Batavia. The remaining drawings show plants, fruits and animals such as the Buru Babyrusa.

In 1767 and 1768, Sydney Parkinson (*ca* 1745-1771) copied a portion of Loten's drawings. It is not clear whether Thomas Pennant or Joseph Banks acted as his patron, but it is likelier that it was the latter employed the draughtsman. In 1769, Loten wrote to Pennant telling him that he believed, "Mr Banks has by Mr Parkinson's pencil taken copies of most all my collection".⁴³ In September 1771, Loten wrote to his brother about Sydney Parkinson, who had died earlier that year somewhere between Batavia and the Cape saying: "The late young Sidney Parkinson, [t]he able and precise artist and watercolour painter who, although a Quaker, was very kind and communicative and many times spent half a morning with me to show me the things he had drawn &c."⁴⁴ In 1766, Sydney Parkinson travelled from Edinburgh to Hammersmith, where he spent many of his days sketching plants at "The Vineyard", James Lee and Lewis Kennedy's nursery located at London road. Lee was author of *An Introduction to Botany* (1760), a popular book describing the Linnaean system of classification.⁴⁵ James Lee employed Parkinson as art tutor for his daughter Ann Lee

Thirty-nine copies of the watercolours that Parkinson made based upon examples from the Loten collection can currently be found in the Natural History Museum in London.⁴⁶ Four of the highly finished watercolours were executed on paper; the rest of the collection was painted on parchment, a durable and expensive material. The fact that vellum sheets were used suggests that the copies were not only considered to be suitable as study material, but also as objects to be preserved for posterity. The initial intention was probably that Parkinson copy Loten's entire collection, but the plan came to a standstill when he departed on the *Endeavour* with Banks and Parkinson's premature death in 1771 put a stop to the project altogether.

Another set of drawings by Parkinson which is related to the Loten collection can currently be found at the National Library of Australia at Canberra. It was a gift from the descendants of James Lee, one of Parkinson's earliest patrons. The set contains 7 drawings.⁴⁷ According to Alwyne Wheeler the birds portrayed by Parkinson in 1767 and 1768: "[A]re shown in conventional eighteenth-century postures usually perched on a bough or stump of tree. While they are attractive compositions, many of them lack that essential vitality seen in the living bird. It is clear from these drawings that the artist was either not familiar with even the common British species, or was dominated by the conventions of bird drawing at that period and as a result produced these rather naive compositions. An alternative explanation for their appearance may be that they were copies of previously published artwork, a possibility that needs investigation. Whatever the explanation they betray a certain lack of experience, in striking contrast to some of the later bird drawings made on the *Endeavour*".⁴⁸

Table: Inventory of the Loten Natural History collections in London (NHM.LC; BL.MS.SC) and Haarlem (TS.LC; TS.BC) and the copies of Loten's drawings by Sydney Parkinson (NHM.PC; NLA.PC).

SCIENTIFIC NAME	Location	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *	
		(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC	NLA.PC
		NHM.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 152 drawings	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 21 drawings	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 12 drawings	No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	No/signed/ unsigned (U) 7 drawings
<i>Circus melanoleucos</i>	Ceylon	1/B		5266.9/U		5/U	
<i>Accipiter badius badius</i>	Ceylon	2/B		5266.7/U			
<i>Bubo zeylonensis zeylonensis</i>	Ceylon	3/B					
<i>Otus bakkamoena bakkamoena</i>	Ceylon	4/U				6/P 1767	
<i>Psittacula eupatria eupatria</i>	Ceylon	5/B					
<i>Psittacula eupatria eupatria</i>	Ceylon	6/B					
<i>Psittacula cyanocephala cyanocephala</i>	Ceylon	7/B					
<i>Psittacula eupatria eupatria</i>	Ceylon	8/B					
<i>Psittacula eupatria eupatria</i>	Ceylon	9/B		5266.2/U			
<i>Psittacula alexandri alexandri</i>	Java	10/U				7/P 1767	
<i>Loriculus beryllinus</i>	Ceylon	11/B					
<i>Eclectus roratus roratus</i>	Ternate, Amboina	12/U		5266.1/U			
<i>Eclectus roratus roratus</i>	Banda	13/U					
<i>Eos bornea bornea</i>	Banda	14/U					
<i>Lorius garrulus flavopalliatus</i>	Ternate, Amboina	15/B					
<i>Lorius domicellus</i>	Banda	16/B					
<i>Lorius lory lory</i>	Ternate, Banda	17/U					
<i>Lorius lory lory</i>	Batavia	18/U					
<i>Chrysocolaptes lucidus stricklandi</i>	Ceylon	19/B		5266.3/U			
<i>Dinopium bengalensis psarodes</i>	Ceylon	20/U					
<i>Dinopium bengalensis psarodes</i>	Ceylon	21/B		5266.10/U	13/U		
<i>Picus miniaceus miniaceus</i>	Java	22/U				17/P 1767	R 4725/P
<i>Dendrocopos macei analis</i>	Java	23/U				16/U	
<i>Phaenicophaeus pyrrhocephalus</i>	Ceylon	24/U		5266.12/U		15/ P	
<i>Phaenicophaeus pyrrhocephalus</i>	Ceylon	25/Oosten					
<i>Endynamys scolopacea scolopacea</i>	Ceylon	26/B	21/U				

SCIENTIFIC NAME	Location	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *	
		(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC	NLA.PC
		NHM.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 152 drawings	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 21 drawings	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 12 drawings	No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	No/signed/ unsigned (U) 7 drawings
<i>Centropus sinensis paroti</i>	Ceylon	27/B				14/P 1767	R 4742/P
<i>Megalaima zeylanica zeylanica</i>	Ceylon	28/U		5266.20/U	14/U	13/P 1767	
<i>Megalaima rubricapilla rubricapilla</i>	Ceylon	29/B				12/P 1767	
<i>Harpactes fasciatus fasciatus</i>	Ceylon	30/B			8/U	11/P 1767	
<i>Pelargopsis capensis javanica</i>	Batavia	31/U					
<i>Ceryle rudis leucomelanura</i>	Ceylon	32/B					
<i>Halcyon smyrnensis fusca</i>	Ceylon	33/B		5266.4/U	3/U		
<i>Alcedo atthis taprobana</i>	Ceylon	34/B		5266.5/U			
<i>Alcedo atthis taprobana</i>	Ceylon	35/B					
<i>Ceyx erithaca erithaca</i>	Ceylon	36/B				18/P 1767	
<i>Merops orientalis orientalis</i>	Ceylon	37/B					
<i>Anthracoceros coronatus</i>	Ceylon	38/U				9/U	
<i>Anthracoceros coronatus</i>	Ceylon	39/B				8/U	
<i>Pericrocotus flammeus flammeus</i>	Ceylon	40/B					
<i>Pericrocotus cinnamomeus cinnamomeus</i>	Ceylon	41/B		5266.11/U	7/U	28/U	
<i>Terpsiphone paradisi ceylonensis</i>	Ceylon	41bis/U					
<i>Terpsiphone paradisi ceylonensis; Leptocoma zeylanica zeylanica</i>	Ceylon	42/U		5263.75/U	6/U		
<i>Terpsiphone paradisi paradisi</i>	Ceylon	43/U			5/U		
<i>Pycnotus cafer haemorrhousus</i>	Ceylon	44/U					
<i>Pycnotus aurigaster aurigaster</i>	Java	45/U				27/U	
<i>Dicrurus caeruleus insularis</i>	Ceylon	46/B					
<i>Dicrurus caeruleus insularis</i>	Ceylon	47/U; copy NHM.LC 46					
<i>Copsychus saularis ceylonensis</i>	Ceylon	48/B					
<i>Saxicoloides fulicata leucoptera</i>	Ceylon	49/U		5266.17/U			
<i>Saxicoloides fulicata leucoptera</i>		50/U; Copy NHM.LC 49					
<i>Pitta brachyura brachyura</i>	Ceylon	51/B		5266.6/U	1/U		

SCIENTIFIC NAME	Location	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *	
		(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC	NLA.PC
		NHM.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 152 drawings	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 21 drawings	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 12 drawings	No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	No/signed/ unsigned (U) 7 drawings
<i>Turdoides rufescens</i>	Ceylon	52/B		5266.8/U	10/U		
<i>Pycnotus zeylanicus</i>	Java	53/U				29/U	
<i>Upupa epops</i>	Ceylon	54/B					
<i>Upupa epops ceylonensis</i>	Ceylon	55/B					
<i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i>	Ceylon	56/U	34/U; copy NHM.LC 56				
<i>Cinnyris asatica asiatica;</i> <i>Diceum vincens</i>	Ceylon	57/B		5266.13/U			
<i>Aegithina tiphia multicolor</i>	Ceylon	58/B		5266.16/U		30/U	
<i>Pycnotus melanicterus melanicterus</i>	Ceylon	59/B		5266.14/U		31/P	
<i>Orthotomus sutorius sutorius</i>	Ceylon	60/U			15/ U		
<i>Turdoides rufescens;</i>	Ceylon	61/B			11/ U		
<i>Motacilla flava thunbergi</i>							
<i>Zosterops ceylonensis;</i>	Ceylon	62/B					
<i>Prinia hodgsonii pectoralis</i>							
<i>Orthotomus sutorius sutorius</i>	Ceylon	63/U				32/U	
Nest <i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i>	Ceylon	64/B					
<i>Terpsiphone paradisi ceylonensis;</i> <i>Prinia familiaris;</i> <i>Cinnyris lotenius lotenius;</i> <i>Aegithina tiphia multicolor</i>	Ceylon	65/B					
<i>Oriolus xanthornus ceylonensis</i>	Ceylon	66/B					
<i>Oriolus xanthornus ceylonensis</i>	Ceylon	67/B					
<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i>	Ceylon	68/B	16/ U; copy NHM.LC 68				R 4726/P
<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i>	Ceylon	69/B					
<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i>	Ceylon	70/B		5266.15/U			
<i>Gracula ptilogenys</i> or <i>Gracula indica</i>	Ceylon	71/B					
<i>Gracula indica</i>	Ceylon	72/B					
<i>Gracula religiosa religiosa</i>	Batavia	73/U					
<i>Cicinnurus regius regius</i>	Ceylon	74/B					

SCIENTIFIC NAME	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *		
	Location	NHMLC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 152 drawings	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 21 drawings	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 12 drawings	NHM.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	NLA.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 7 drawings
<i>Cicinnurus regius regius</i>	Ceylon	75/B					
<i>Padda oryzivora</i>	Java	76/U					
<i>Lonchura maja; Amandava amandava punicea</i>	Java	77/U					
<i>Ducula bicolor bicolor</i>	New Guinea	78/Brown?; Sonnerat					
<i>Treron pompadora pompadora</i>	Ceylon	79/B				26/P 1767	R 4723/U
<i>Ptilinopus melanospila melanauchen</i>	Java	80/U					
<i>Treron vernans vernans</i>	Java	81/U; Copy TS.LC 14	14/Loten				
<i>Chalcophaps indica robinsoni</i>	Ceylon	82/B					
<i>Columba torringtoni</i>	Ceylon	83/B		5266.18/U			
<i>Streptopelia chinensis ceylonensis</i>	Ceylon	84/B					
<i>Turnix suscitator leggei</i>	Ceylon	85/B		5266.19/U			
<i>Arborophila orientalis orientalis</i>	Java	86/U					
<i>Galloperdix bicalcarata</i>	Ceylon	87/B				25/P 1767	
<i>Pavo cristatus</i>	Ceylon	88/B					
<i>Porzana fusca zeylonica</i>	Ceylon	89/B	19/U				
<i>Rallus aquaticus indicus</i>	Ceylon	90/U					
<i>Rallina eurizonoides amauroptera</i>	Ceylon	91/B					
<i>Amaurornis phoenicurus phoenicurus</i>	Ceylon	92/U	20/U			24/P 1767	
<i>Porphyrio porphyrio poliocephalus</i>	Ceylon	93/U	18/U				
<i>Vanellus indicus lankae</i>	Ceylon	94/B					
<i>Sarkidiornis melanotos melanotos</i>	Ceylon	95/B					
<i>Anas poecilorhyncha poecilorhyncha</i>	Ceylon	96/U					
<i>Anas querquedula</i>	Ceylon	97/B					
<i>Dendrocygna javanica</i>	Ceylon	98/B					
<i>Nettapus coromandelianus coromandelianus</i>	Ceylon	99/B				20/P 1767; 21/P 1767	
<i>Anhinga melanogaster melanogaster</i>	Ceylon	100/U				22/P 1767	

SCIENTIFIC NAME	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *		
	Location	(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	NLA.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U)
		NHM.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U)		
		152 drawings	38 drawings	21 drawings	12 drawings	38 drawings	7 drawings
<i>Sula leucogaster plotus</i>	Ceylon	101/B					
<i>Ratufa macroura macroura</i>	Ceylon	102/B				4/U	
<i>Tragulus meminna</i>	Ceylon	103/B					
<i>Tragulus meminna</i>	Ceylon	104/B					
<i>Semnopithecus vetulus</i>	Ceylon	105/B	7/Loten			2/P 1767	
<i>Babyrousa babyrussa babyrussa</i>	Celebes	106/U					
<i>Thalassoma lunare</i>	Ceylon	107a/B				37/U	
<i>Diodon holocanthus</i>	Ceylon	107bis/U				36/U	
<i>Balistoides conspicillum</i>	Ceylon	108/B				34/U	
<i>Naso brachycentron</i>	Ceylon	109/U				35/U	
<i>Naso brachycentron</i>	Ceylon	110/U; copy NHM.LC 109					
<i>Stegostoma fasciatum</i>	Ceylon	111/B				33/U	
<i>Pterois miles</i>	Ceylon	112/B				38/U	
<i>Calappa philargius</i>	Ceylon	113/B					
<i>Ranina ranina</i>	Ceylon	114/B		2/U; copy NHM.LC 114			
<i>Charybdis natator</i>	Ceylon	115/U		1/B			
	Ceylon	116/B					
	Ceylon	117/B					
<i>Gongylus gongylodes</i>	Ceylon	118/B					
		119/B					
<i>Antheraea</i> sp	Ceylon	120/B					
<i>Antheraea</i> sp	Ceylon	121/B					
<i>Antheraea cingalesa</i>	Ceylon	122/B				39/U	
<i>Attacus atlas</i>	Ceylon	123/B					
<i>Attacus atlas</i>	Ceylon	124/B					
<i>Attacus atlas</i>	Ceylon	125/U					

SCIENTIFIC NAME	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *		
	Location	(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	NLA.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U)
		NHM.LC	TS.LC	BL.MS.SC	TS.BC		
		No/signed/ unsigned (U)	No/signed/ unsigned (U)	No/signed/ unsigned (U)	No/signed/ unsigned (U)	No/signed/ unsigned (U)	
		152 drawings	38 drawings	21 drawings	12 drawings	38 drawings	7 drawings
<i>Octopus</i> ssp	Ceylon	126/U; copy NHM.LC 127					
<i>Octopus</i> ssp	Ceylon	127/B					
<i>Octopus</i> ssp	Ceylon	128/U; copy TS.LC 3	3/B				
<i>Lagerstroemia speciosa</i>	Ceylon	129/B	9/B		16		
<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Ceylon	130/B					
<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Ceylon	131/U; copy NHM.LC 130					
<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Ceylon	132/U; copy lost watercolour					
		133/B					
<i>Dillenia serrata</i>	Ceylon	134/B					
<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Ceylon	135/U; copy NHM.LC 131					
<i>Dillenia serrata</i>	Ceylon	136/U; copy TS.LC 12	12/B				
<i>Dillenia serrata</i>	Ceylon	137/U; copy TS.LC 11	11/B				
<i>Anoetochilus reinwardtii</i>	Ceylon	138/B	10/B				
<i>Anoetochilus reinwardtii</i>	Ceylon	139/U; copy NHM.LC 138					
		140/U					
<i>Eleusine indica</i>	Ceylon	141/B					
<i>Phallus indusiatus</i>	Ceylon	142/B					
<i>Physalia pelagica</i>	Atlantic Ocean	143/U; copy TS.LC 4	4/Loten			40/U, 41/U	
<i>Attacus atlas</i>	Macassar	144/A?					
<i>Attacus atlas</i>	Macassar	145/A?					
<i>Nuphar luteum</i>	English	146/Brown?					
<i>Nymphaea alba</i>	English	147/Brown?					

SCIENTIFIC NAME	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *		
	Location	(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	NLA.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U)
		NHM.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U)	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U)		
		152 drawings	38 drawings	21 drawings	12 drawings	38 drawings	7 drawings
<i>Probosciger aterrimus</i>	Banda	148/Cardross; copy TS.LC 30	30				
<i>Erithacus rubecula</i>	Dutch	149/Withoos					
<i>Chloris chloris</i>	Dutch	150/Withoos					
<i>Bombycilla garrulus</i>	English	151/P					R 4734/P
<i>Alstroemeria pelegrina</i>	English	152/P					R 4741/P
<i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i>	Atlantic Ocean		5/Loten				
<i>Squalus acanthias</i>	Atlantic Ocean		6/Loten				
<i>Pissa manna</i>	Ceylon		8/U; Loten				
<i>Dillenia serrata</i>	Ceylon		13/B				
<i>Haliastur indus indus</i>	Ceylon		15/B				
<i>Buceros rhinoceros</i>	Sir Ashton Lever		17/Brown				
<i>Nycticorax nycticorax nycticorax</i>	Java		22/Loten				
<i>Mycteria leucocephalus</i>	Ceylon		23/U			23/P 1767	
<i>Goura cristata</i>	Banda		24/Loten				
<i>Paradisea apoda</i>	Banda		25/U; copy TS.LC 31				
<i>Lophura nycthemera</i>	China		26/Loten ?				
<i>Lophura nycthemera</i>	China		27/Loten ?				
<i>Lophura nycthemera</i>	China		28/Loten ?				
<i>Probosciger aterrimus</i>	Banda		29/Loten?				
<i>Probosciger aterrimus</i>	Banda		30/Loten?			10/P; tail added	
<i>Paradisea apoda</i>	Banda		31/B				
<i>Chrysolophus pictus</i>	Batavia		32/Loten?				
<i>Paradisea apoda</i>	Banda		33/U; copy NHM.PC 10				
<i>Emberiza schoeniclus</i>	Europe		35/Sch				
<i>Gavialis gangeticus</i>	India		36/Edwards				

SCIENTIFIC NAME	LOTEN COLLECTION *				PARKINSON COPIES *		
	Location	(Drawings with type status in bold characters)				NHM.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	NLA.PC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 7 drawings
		NHM.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 152 drawings	TS.LC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 38 drawings	BL.MS.SC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 21 drawings	TS.BC No/signed/ unsigned (U) 12 drawings		
<i>Orthotomus sutorius sutorius</i>	Ceylon		37/Mazell NHM.LC 63				
<i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i>	Ceylon				19/P 1767	R 4735/P	

* Abbreviations signatures: U: Unsigned; A: Jean Michel Aubert; B: Pieter Cornelis de Bevere; Sch: Aart Schouman; P: Sydney Parkinson; Brown: Peter Brown

2. LOTEN'S ARTISTS

JEAN MICHEL AUBERT

Joan Gideon Loten met Jean Michel Aubert (1717-1762), bookkeeper of the VOC, at Macassar. Aubert was an able draughtman and surveyor. During his tenure at Macassar and Ceylon, Loten cooperated with Aubert. Aubert made topographical drawings and produced charts of Celebes for him. According to Loten he was born in England, however, Jean Michel Aubert was baptised on October 28th 1717 in the 'Waalse Kerk' in the Hague.⁴⁹ He was one of Michel Aubert and Jeanne Masse's sons. According to a note in an unknown hand on the first page of an atlas with charts of the coast of Celebes in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection of the Leiden University Library, Johannes Michiel Aubert went to the Dutch Indies as a sailor aboard the ship *Coxhorn* on May 25th 1738. He arrived in Batavia on January 2nd 1739.⁵⁰ He landed at Macassar, on Celebes on the 15th of August 1739; he arrived there on the ship *Valkenisse*. The following is a record of the positions he fulfilled in service of the Company:

- 1744, assistant and 'Inlandsch schrijver' [clerk],
- 1745, interpreter in the Malay language,
- 1747, bookkeeper,
- 1753, junior merchant at Batavia,
- 1755, tax collector of the dominions at Colombo,
- 1757, merchant and Head of the Fort Calpetty on Ceylon,
- 1758, head of Calpetty,
- 1759, merchant,
- 1762, April 20th, Johannes Michiel Aubert died in Calpetty.

This record tells us that Aubert was in Batavia in 1753. However, the Rijks Prentenkabinet in Amsterdam contains a drawing of "Princen-Eyland" [Panaitan, off the westernmost cape of Java] in East India ink. A note by "J.G.L." [Joan Gideon Loten] tells us that it was drawn by "John Michel Aubert" during the voyage to 'Ceilon 1752'.⁵¹ Further particulars about Aubert can be found in the Teylers Museum's (Haarlem) Loten collection. On the manuscript in Aubert's handwriting containing notes and drawings about moths on Celebes, there is a biographical annotation by Joan Gideon Loten. It states: 'I saw the caterpillars and butterflies etc. belonging to this collection being drawn by Joh. Mich. Aubert, who, when I left Ceylon in 1757, was head of Calpetti. I met him at Adriaan Smout's house (outgoing governor of Macassar in 1744). I estimate that Aubert was about 24 or 25 years old then. He was born in England and said his father had been chaplain to the Earl or Marques of Kent, but [Aubert's father] had entered into service of the Dutch. I believe Aubert had already learned a little drawing and engraving as a boy in London. He was good-natured, a quick learner and took on a great deal of work. He married a half-blood [mixture] at Macassar by whom he had children in Ceylon. He said his father was a French "refugee" or had been fathered by one. He spoke English, French, Dutch, Portuguese (Indian), Malay and understood a lot of Chinese, Bongiense, and Macassar. Because he drew for me, had been Mr Smout's steward and he had been with me for a long time, Van Dorth, Camerling and other such malicious people hated him and tried to injure him. In Ceylon, Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen [Loten's son-in-law] hated him even more. Van Der Bruggen allowed armed inlanders to attack him outside Colombo, fearing that poor Aubert would discover what a soundrel he really was. He possessed an old seal bearing an image of three urchin-heads, just like the one the honoured gentleman, squire and great astronomer Alexander Aubert (still alive in 1779) had'.⁵² To these remarks Loten later added: 'I think this kind-hearted Aubert died in Ceylon between 1760 and 1765, but I believe a son of his still has a small if respectable position. Londoni in Anglica, January 31, 1779'. Aubert's son, Jan Frederik Aubert of Macassar, a bookkeeper, married Johanna Brinkman of Colombo in Colombo on July 15th 1764.⁵³ Loten received a message from him from Ceylon on July 29, 1785. This message with particularities about some of Colombo's inhabitants is now kept at the Dutch National Archive in the Hague.⁵⁴ In the description of Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont's funeral procession in 1755 the "Sabandhar Jan Michiel Aubert" is mentioned as bearer of the quarters.⁵⁵

PIETER CORNELIS DE BEVERE

Loten's present fame is based mainly upon his collection of watercolours painted by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere in Ceylon and Java. The collection is dispersed amongst the collections of the London Natural History Museum, The British Library and the Teylers Museum in Haarlem. Very little is known about the

artist Pieter Cornelis De Bevere (1722-*b* 1781).⁵⁶ Besides some notes in the Loten papers, a few particulars about him are available from the East India Company's archives of the Ceylon Government. Pieter Cornelis De Bevere was baptised in Colombo on September 20th 1722.⁵⁷ He was the son of David Willemz De Bevere, assistant in Civil Service of the Dutch East India Company, and Christina De Kelcq, the natural daughter of Willem De Kelcq, master sailmaker, and Anna Coere, probably of Portuguese descent. The following is a record of Pieter De Bevere's appointments in the Company's service:

- 1743, assistant land surveyor on 10 guilders per month,
- 1748, advanced to 16 guilders,
- 1754, advanced to 24 guilders,
- 1757, advanced to 30 guilders.

In 1908, R.G. Anthonisz, Ceylon government archivist at the beginning of the twentieth century, added the following comment to this record: "All these promotions were in the usual order except the last, in which he obtains the status and the salary corresponding to that of 'Boekhouder' [Bookkeeper] in the Civil Service before the expiration of his former bond, an indication, very probably, of the patronage [of Loten] he was under".⁵⁸ In 1757, De Bevere and Loten sailed together on the ship *Sloterdijk* from Colombo to Batavia. A drawing in pencil of "Princen-Eyland" [Panaitan, island off the westernmost cape of Java] made by De Bevere during the voyage can be found in the Rijks Prentenkabinet in Amsterdam.⁵⁹ In the Loten notebooks, there are several references to De Bevere and his drawing activities.⁶⁰ In the Dutch National Archives in the Hague, there is a drawing by De Bevere of the southern coast of India, Coromandel and Malabar; it demonstrates De Bevere's abilities as a land surveyor.⁶¹ De Bevere's drawings of various places in Ceylon are preserved in the Rijks Prentenkabinet's collection.⁶²

A note found in a sketchbook with studies in figure drawing based on designs by Old Dutch master, Abraham Bloemaert, belonging to "Pieter De Bevere" tells us that he still resided in Batavia on March 10th 1758. He did not therefore accompany Loten when he left Batavia to return to Holland in October of 1757.⁶³ Because all of the studies in this sketchbook are of the "human figure in its various parts and aspects", it has been suggested that De Bevere was also a portrait painter. In a letter written to Thomas Pennant in November 1767, Loten gave a short biographical sketch of De Bevere: "The young man who drew most part of the Birds, plants, some fishes & quadrupeds for me was a native of Colombo, his surname was De Beveren, his father was a bastard of a Major De Beveren (a Gentleman descended from a very honourable family) with an Indian woman. The young man was belonging to the Surveyor's office at Colombo & hath some notions of geometry & drawing, which I cultivated by giving him some good prints of landscapes & the prints of M^r Geo: Edwards & Catesby &c: to serve him for patterns in natural history, I guessed him in 1754 to have been of 23 or 24 years of age. I was also helped in the same branch by one Van Oosten ⁶⁴ a Dutch soldier from the Hague [Loten inserted: this Van Oosten having been in Holland apprentice to a fan-painter knew the preparation & use of watercolours, & could after some trials make very good copies after De Beveren]".⁶⁵

In 1799, J.C. Hollebeek, a resident at Galle at that time, bought the sketchbook. R.G. Anthonisz, the former Ceylon government archivist, tells us that the presence of the book in Ceylon seems "to be *primâ facie* proof of the fact that the artist had returned" to Ceylon and had "brought the book with him". A short note about De Bevere in the Loten papers in the Dutch National Archive in the Hague proves that Anthonisz's supposition was correct.⁶⁶ It is written on a loose sheet of paper and contains the following comment: "Ceylonese annotations by J.F. Aubert [son of J.M. Aubert] received July 29, 85". The following passage is in Loten's handwriting: "The artist De Bevere has abandoned himself at last to a debauched life and also died because of that, his mother who was married to one Gabriel Hofland Bookkeeper of the stockhouse is now a widow for a second time and still lives sound and well".⁶⁷ De Bevere must have died before 1781, because on one of the watercolours in the London Natural History Museum Loten collection there is a note, dated 1781, in which Loten speaks of the "late De Bevere." On the watercolour entitled *Harpactes fasciatus fasciatus* (Pennant), there is another note in Loten's handwriting about De Bevere: "De Bevere, the untaught Christian Cingalese - his father whom I have known was a natural son of the Major De Bevere (of the most noble and ancient family of De Bevere) by an Cingalese or black Portuguese woman - this son was married at Colombo with a similar brownish woman of whom this artist was a son - in 1755 the father seemed about 50 or 55 the mother 50 the son I guessed was circa 22 was on the surveyor office somewhat instructed in handling compasses and scales".⁶⁸ Anthonisz explains that Loten probably used the term "untaught" in the sense of "self-taught", and that in calling De Bevere a "Cingalese", he most likely meant a Ceylonese, in the sense of one born on the island. The comments about De Bevere's mother in the above-cited notes are somewhat confusing because Christina De Kelcq

probably died before January 15th 1736 when the artist's father, David Willemz De Bevere, was married for the second time in Colombo to Elisabeth Andriesen of Trincomalie. The couple had six daughters and one son.⁶⁹ Aubert and Loten probably wrote about her in their notes. Much more is known about Pieter Cornelis De Bevere's grandfather, Captain Willem Hendrik De Bevere of Oosterwijk.⁷⁰ In 1713, Captain De Bevere was Ambassador to the Candyan Court. He was very uncivil and rude to the King of Candy.⁷¹ In fact, his behaviour threatened the harmony that existed between the Company in Ceylon and the Court. After he returned from Candy, he was placed under arrest by the island's Dutch Government. He was stripped of his seat in the Council and of his command of the local army and sent to Batavia. In 1717 however, he was appointed permanent Captain of Castle Rotterdam in Batavia, a post which he held until his death in 1719. His natural son, David Willemz, who accompanied his father in 1708 from Batavia to Colombo, stayed in Colombo when his father was sent to Batavia in 1714. In 1755, in the description of the funeral procession for Anna Henrietta Van Beaumont, David Willem De Bevere was mentioned in the list of her relatives and friends; Anna Henrietta was Joan Gideon Loten's first wife.⁷²

3. LINNAEUS AND LOTEN

There is little information in the documents available to us to confirm that Loten shared his natural history observations with experts or amateurs in Europe while he lived in the East Indies. His contacts were restricted to local amateurs. Nevertheless during his residence at Colombo, Loten's interest in natural history became known in Patria, probably because his brother told his acquaintances that he received seeds of plants, conchs and shells from Ceylon. Loten's reputation as a naturalist also reached the famous Swedish Carolus Linnaeus, although it is not known whether this was through Academic channels or through Linnaeus' network of students and collectors.

On August 25th 1758, two months after his return from the Dutch East Indies, Loten wrote to Linnaeus from Amsterdam. In his letter, which he wrote in Dutch, he referred to letters that Linnaeus had written to him when he was in Ceylon: 'When I returned to my homeland I was pleased to learn that you had honoured me with several letters. Unfortunately, however, I did not receive them then because I had just embarked upon my journey'.⁷³ It is likely that Linnaeus wrote to Loten aiming to obtain plant and animal specimens from Ceylon. A Mrs Wilhelmij, that is Catharina Maria Beck, whom Loten had met at the Cape of Good Hope, carried the letter to Linnaeus. In the letter, Mrs Wilhelmij was introduced to him as someone with knowledge of African plants. Loten asked Linnaeus to give Mrs Wilhelmij his protection.⁷⁴ Loten gave no particularities about his natural history activities in the East Indies. A comment in Loten's account book tells us that Mrs Wilhelmy's husband sent Zebra skins to the Swedish King. It states that "six Sebras skins in 1758 by Wilhelmy [were] sent to his Swedish majesty (as a gift) all of a large size that cost m'a great deal of money, I think if I remember well 180 R[ixdollar]s ; never any answer received".⁷⁵

Information about Mrs Wilhelmij and her husband is scarce. In April of 1756 'Burgher Diederick Wilhelmij' asked the Governor of the Cape Rijk Tulbagh, and the Council at the Cape for permission to return to Patria aboard the ship *'t Casteel van Tilburg*, upon payment of costs of transport and living.⁷⁶ In Diederick Wilhelmij's request he mentioned as his reason for departing, 'affairs' requiring his presence. He also asked permission to leave his wife and child at the Cape.⁷⁷ He clearly intended to return. The Council granted him the permission he sought. However, he stayed in Europe and in February of 1758 Wilhelmij's wife, Catharina Maria Beck, sailed to Patria on the Return Fleet under Loten's command. Wilhelmij's son, Jacob Hendrik Wilhelmij, apparently remained at the Cape in the care of the Orphan Chamber and the family of Wilhelmij's first wife, Beatrix Cornelia Van Renen.⁷⁸ Wilhelmij's second wife, Catharina Maria Beck, joined her husband in Stockholm. In 1759, Wilhelmij borrowed 25,000 guilders from Loten; Loten's financial broker Frans Adam Carelson mediated.⁷⁹ In January of 1762, Carelson forwarded £2,000 to Mr Wilhelmij in Stockholm from Amsterdam, 'as a favour to help a friend who is therefore more than entitled and who has made use of my credit before, not because he is in financial difficulties, but because he is in less prosperous circumstances than I am'.⁸⁰

LOTEN AND HOUTTUYN'S *NATUURLYKE HISTORIE*

Loten apparently held Linnaeus' authority in high esteem.⁸¹ He even planned to bequeath his natural history watercolour collection to Linnaeus. However in 1777 Loten changed his mind, evidently because it was rumoured that Linnaeus was dying.⁸² Although there are several copies of Linnaeus' books in Loten's library,⁸³ he probably knew Linnaeus best from the *'Natural History according to the System of Linnaeus'*, by Dr

Martinus Houuttuyn.⁸⁴ This is a revised and enlarged Dutch version of the *Systema Naturae*. In 1777 Loten wrote that Houuttuyn's "book is mostly my company and is taken upon the whole the best, tho' it would be worth while to alter many things".⁸⁵ Since circa 1767 Loten had been in possession of Houuttuyn's *Natural History*.⁸⁶ He called the author "the indefatigable naturalist Dr Houuttuyn", and asked his friend Van Hardenbroek whether he knew him personally.⁸⁷ Van Hardenbroek's response is not known. Martinus Houuttuyn was a Mennonite who presented a medical thesis to Leiden University in 1749. He published extensively on zoological and medical topics. According to his biographers: "[I]t is far from unlikely that Martinus Houuttuyn was in his time the author displaying the broadest and most complete knowledge of natural history, second only to Linnaeus in ingenuity but far less restricted, or to Buffon in brilliancy, but far more complete as is shown, e.g., by his 37 volume 'Natuurlijke Historie' (1761-1785), unfortunately written in Dutch".⁸⁸

Despite his esteem for Linnaeus, Loten was critical of portions of Linnaeus's work. In 1777, he wrote to Van Hardenbroek about a description he had read in the first volume of Houuttuyn's *Natuurlyke Historie* (1761): "The laudable enthusiasm of Linnaeus hath been often too great. I am sure there are no Troglodyte or nagtmens [refers to Linnaeus' *Homo nocturnus*] on Java, as I am also sure there are no Orang Oetangs, who all come from Borneo. I could also not learn that there were any in other parts of the East Indies, tho' about Java & Celebes there are none, but many smaller or other sorts. There is one on Ceylon. I have had my self 2 or 3 a live, they resembled the figure against pag: 355, but by no means that against 337. Besides these 2 or 3, I have seen many others, all like that of 355. The tallest I ever saw, I dare say, had not the height of 3 Rhymland feet".⁸⁹ Here Loten referred to the Purple-faced Leaf Monkey, which he had seen at Ceylon. A watercolour of the monkey is in the London Natural History Museum Loten collection and has an annotation in Loten's handwriting: "This Monkey, which is drawn by De Bevere after the living animal somewhat less than its natural bigness, is commonly called Rollewaay. The Cingalays call it Wandoera".⁹⁰

Loten's critical comments about the Troglodyte and Orang Oetang referred to *Homo nocturnus* in Linnaeus' *Systema natura*, being chimpanzees, orang utans and other anthropoids reportedly sighted by early explorers in Asia and Africa. The various editions of the *Systema* give a confusing description of the *Homo nocturnus*. It was based upon an ancient description by Pliny and the 'orang-utan' as described by Jacob De Bondt.⁹¹ The figure published in Bontius *Historiae naturalis et medicae Indiae orientalis* (1658) however, was probably based on plates of hairy women found in the medical literature of that time. According to Linnaeus, the *Homo troglodytes* were to be found on Java and Amboina. Martinus Houuttuyn gave a more comprehensive description of the orang utan and chimpanzee wholly based on literature of the day: "His figure of the orang-utan is a slightly modified copy of Bontius's picture of the female specimen, with a more furry skin and a slightly different position of the left arm, with a hand holding a fig (?) leaf, to comply with his sense of decency".⁹² Thus, Loten was right to criticise the plates of the orang utan which he found in the *Natuurlyke Historie*. In December 1777, Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant saying: "I could never hear that any country produced the Orang-utan but Borneo".⁹³ He probably based his remark on a communication he received earlier that year about the fauna of Borneo from the chief of the settlement Tatas Willem Adriaan Palm: "Of Apes in sorts. WOUWOUWS and Orang Oetangs – as also an animal called Barouang (English pronon[ia]tion) Barooang or Baroowang), black of hair having the form of an European bear, tho' only the size of a large Braque (or stout pointer) I would almost say Talbot but I can not find this species unless in the chimerical animals of heraldry (this bear is also on Ceylon Mr. L[oten] hath seen & had them from both islands, tho' not very ferociory, a friend of L[oten] was nearly hugged to death by one that he had hit by a ball or small shot)".⁹⁴ Until 1776, when Petrus Camper made a description based on section of an orang utan from Borneo, reliable information about the anthropoids was scarcely available.⁹⁵

LOTEN'S BIRDS IN THE *SYSTEMA NATURAE* (1766)

In the 12th edition of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* (1766) Loten is named four times as the source of authority upon which Linnaeus based his descriptions of Ceylonese birds. In the description of *Certhia Lotenia*, a sunbird Linnaeus named after Joan Gideon Loten, he is mentioned: "J.G. Loten p.m. Gubernat. Zeylon qui hortum Botanicum primus in India condidit, et tot raris avibus me aliosque ditavit" [J.G. Loten formerly Governor of Ceylon who founded the first botanical garden in India and who also enriched me with uncommon birds]. There is nothing in the Loten manuscripts to confirm that Loten founded a botanical garden at Colombo or Macassar. The Batavia *Hortus* was founded circa 1757 by governor-

general Mossel, to supply herbs and plants for medical purposes. It had a short existence, because circa 1762 the Company lost its interest in the garden. The VOC botanical garden is usually associated with Christiaan Kleynhoff (*d.* 1777), since 1743 a regent of the hospital in Batavia. According to Linnaeus' notes, Kleynhoff was responsible for founding the first botanical garden outside Europe.⁹⁶ Linnaeus corresponded with both Kleynhoff and Loten and may have confused Loten with Kleynhoff. But it may be that Mossel appointed Loten during his stay in Batavia in 1757 as supervisor of the botanical garden, while Kleynhoff was responsible for its daily management. Loten had been president of the Batavia Hospital and was therefore acquainted with Kleynhoff.⁹⁷ A note (dated 1757) added to the last page of his 1732 *Journal*, refers to bread that Kleynhoff had baked using grains of corn which Loten took from Macassar to Batavia in 1750: 'I took a lot of corn with me to Batavia; Mr Kleynhof had bread made of it; it was like dark ... bread in which the bran is still present, unusually sweet, spicy, and tasty'.⁹⁸

"J.G. Loten" is also mentioned as the authority upon which Linnaeus based his descriptions of two other sunbird species from "Zeylona": *Certhia currucaria* and *Certhia zeylonica*. Unfortunately the birds or drawings that formed the basis of the species names were not retraced. There are also no letters in the Linnaeus or Loten collections which elucidate the nature of the contact the two men had about the specimen. In the Parkinson collection in the London Natural History Museum and the Canberra National Library of Australia, there are two watercolours of the Ceylon purplerumped sunbird that were evidently copied from a drawing in Loten's collection which has not survived. On the Canberra copy there is a note indicating that Loten sent a specimen to Linnaeus.⁹⁹ When one compares Linnaeus' descriptions of the Ceylonese sunbirds to the four species of Sri Lankan sunbirds, it is clear that Linnaeus did not have any detailed descriptions, specimen or watercolours of these birds at his disposal. None of the descriptions can be bear any resemblance to the males or females of the four species of sunbirds found in Sri Lanka. Nowadays only one of the three Linnaean names, *Certhia currucaria*, is considered to be a nomen nudum. The two other names, *Certhia zeylonica* and *Certhia Lotenia* were adopted by later authors and allocated to Sri Lankan sunbirds.

Another reference by Linnaeus to Loten can be found in the description of *Motacilla cinnamomea*. The bird was described in the 12th edition of the *Systema Naturae*.¹⁰⁰ That Joan Gideon Loten was the authority from which Linnaeus received specimens, watercolours or descriptions of this bird is widely accepted. However, there is much confusion about the species' nomenclature. In his *Index Ornithologicus* Latham (1790) says that Linnaeus's *Motacilla cinnamomea* is a variety of Forster's *Muscicapa flammea* (1781), but because the specimen to which Linnaeus was referring was not available, the name was dropped by later authors and the Linnaean name *peregrinus* was the name used to refer to the species. Since the 1960s, the species name *cinnamomeus* was revived on basis of page priority. In the Loten collection there is a watercolour of the species; it was described and depicted by Forster (1781) as a female Orange Minivet.¹⁰¹

References to Loten in Linnaeus 12 th edition <i>Systema Naturae</i> (1766)				
Name Linnaeus	Page	Present name	Scientific name	Reference Linnaeus to Loten
? <i>Certhia currucaria</i>	185	Purple Sunbird	<i>Cinnyris asiatica asiatica</i> (Latham, 1790)	Habitat in Zeylona. J.G. Loten, Gubernat Zeylonae
<i>Certhia zeylonica</i>	188	Ceylon Purplerumped Sunbird	<i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)	J.G. Loten. Zeylona
<i>Certhia Lotenia</i>	188	Ceylon Maroonbreasted Sunbird	<i>Cinnyris lotenia lotenia</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)	J.G. Loten p.m. Gubernat. Zeylon. qui hortum Botanicum primus in India condidit, et tot raris avibus me aliosque ditavit
<i>Motacilla cinnamomea</i>	335	Ceylon little Minivet	<i>Pericrocotus cinnamomeus cinnamomeus</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)	D. Lothen

4. LOTEN AND GEORGE EDWARDS

Soon after his introduction to the British Museum (30 August 1759) Loten encountered the ornithologist George Edwards (1694-1773). On September 20th 1759, Edwards made an engraving of the Southern Roller (*Coracias benghalensis indica* Linnaeus, 1766), a bird that “was brought from Ceylon by John Gideon Loten Esq” and presented to the British Museum.¹⁰² Edwards was known as the ‘father of British ornithology’. From 1733 on he was the Royal College of Physicians’ Bedell (or Beadle).¹⁰³ He obtained this office through Sir Hans Sloane, who at that time was President of the College and of the Royal Society. In 1757, Edwards was appointed Fellow of the Royal Society. Edwards spent 27 years working for the College as their custodian and administrator. In this role he was able to pursue his artistic activities in earnest and the physicians encouraged him to publish his drawings. These were published in two series: four volumes entitled *A natural History of uncommon Birds* (1743-1751) and three volumes entitled *Gleanings of natural History* (1758-1764). Edwards resigned from the College in 1760, but continued to serve unofficially for many years. In the first essay of the *Essays upon Natural History*, published in 1770 by J. Robson (London), Edwards announced that from 1769 one he would no longer publish any thing further in the area of natural history. He gave all the remaining copies of his books as well as the copper plates and letter-press to Robson. Robson obtained exclusive rights to all future publications by Edwards.¹⁰⁴ In the *Essays* the pious Edwards also said: “[M]y petition to God (if petitions to God are not presumptuous) is, that he would remove from me all desire of pursuing Natural History, or any other study, and inspire me with as much knowledge of his Divine Nature as my imperfect state is capable of”.¹⁰⁵ However, in January of 1771 Edwards sent a letter to the Royal Society describing a Secretary bird.¹⁰⁶ George Edwards died in Essex in June of 1773. In September of 1773 Loten informed his brother, that “during my absence in England the ornithologists have lost their father Geo Edwards old over eighty years”. In his notebook he wrote: “Mr. George Edwards, the famous natural historian & ornithologist ☉ [deceased] 20. junii 1773 at Plaissow in Essex as Mr. Robson the eminent Bookseller informed me”.¹⁰⁷

EDWARD’S NATURAL HISTORY BOOKS

George Edwards’ *Natural History of uncommon Birds* (1743-1751) and *Gleanings of Natural History* (1758-1764) consisted of 189 respectively 128 plates of illustrations of birds. Most of the birds depicted had not previously been described. The birds were allocated an English and French name. Edwards did not follow Linnaeus’ *Systema Naturae* by applying Latin binominals.¹⁰⁸ In the second and third volume of the *Gleanings*, Loten is mentioned in the List of Subscribers and in the third volume he is listed as subscribing to two copies. He gave one of these copies of the *Gleanings* to his brother Arnout. In May of 1763, Arnout looked forward to receiving ‘Mr Edwards Bird-descriptions’. Three weeks later, he received several instalments of the *Gleanings*: ‘Finally I received Mr Edwards’s Book. I think the birds are very beautifully drawn and painted. Surely your contributions are beautifully presented in the book. If the preceding volumes were as nice as this one, than I have to say that it is a very exquisite work indeed’.¹⁰⁹ Loten owned a complete set of Edwards’s ornithological works.¹¹⁰ He must have studied the plates in Edwards’s ornithological works with great interest. He made references to Edwards’ engravings on the watercolours in his own collection, proving that he possessed a reasonable knowledge of the different species found in the East Indies. Several annotations indicate that these were made by Loten after personal consultation with Edwards.

LOTEN’S BIRDS IN EDWARDS’ GLEANINGS

The third volume (1764) of Edwards’ *Gleanings of Natural History* contained nine references to Loten and to specimens that Loten brought with him to England in 1759. Edwards used these specimens for his plates and descriptions of the species. None bird specimens that Loten presented to the British Museum have survived. This is because they were not prepared properly and as a result of inadequate knowledge of preservation were allowed to decay.

References to Loten in George Edwards’ *Gleanings of Natural History* (1764)

Number Plate	Name by Edwards	Present name	Scientific name	Reference by George Edwards to Loten
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References to Loten in George Edwards' *Gleanings of Natural History* (1764)

Number Plate	Name by Edwards	Present name	Scientific name	Reference by George Edwards to Loten
316	Great black cockatoo	Palm cockatoo	<i>Probosciger aterrimus aterrimus</i> (Gmelin, 1788)	[Bird] was taken from a drawing done from the life, of its natural size, by order of John Gideon Loten Esq; late Governor of the Island of Ceylon, and other Dutch settlements in the East-Indies.
321	The Green Pye of the Isle of Ceylon	Bakbakiri or Bokmakierie	<i>Telophorus zeylonus zeylonus</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)	[Bird] was brought with many others, from the East-Indies, by John Gideon Loten, Esq; F.R.S. late Governor of Ceylon, &c. who presented them to the British Museum, where they now remain.
324	The Short-tailed Pye	Indian Pitta	<i>Pitta brachyura brachyura</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)	[Bird] was brought by Governor Loten from the Island of Ceylon, and is deposited in the British Museum.
325	Crested long-tailed Pye	The Ceylon Paradise Flycatcher	<i>Terpsiphone paradisi ceylonensis</i> (Zarudny & Härms, 1912)	[C]urious Bird [that] was brought from the island of Ceylon by my worthy friend John Gideon Loten, Esq;. and is now preserved in the British Museum.
326	Blue Jay from the East-Indies'	Southern Roller	<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i> Linnaeus, 1766 - Southern Roller	The subject from which I drew my figure was brought from Ceylon by John Gideon Loten, Esq;. and is now preserved in she British Museum.
338	The Great Crowned Indian Pigeon	Crowned Pigeon	<i>Goura cristata</i> (Pallas, 1764)	The original is one of those Governor Loten before-mentioned caused to be drawn from the life in India, and is now deposited, with many others brought from thence, in the British Museum.
345	The Hoopoe	Hoopoe	<i>Upupa epops ceylonensis</i> Reichenbach 1853	I have seen a very exact drawing of it, as to size, shape, and colour, done from the life in the east-Indies by the procurement of John Gideon Loten Esq; F.R.S. late Governor of the Island of Ceylon.
347 fig. 1	Red-breasted Green Creeper	Greater double-collared sunbird	<i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)	[Bird] was brought from the Cape of Good Hope by Governor Loten, and is now lodged in the British Museum.
354	Waxbill	Bird not identified	Bird not identified	The Wax-bill was brought from the East-Indies by John Gideon Loten, Esq; F.R.S. [...] is lodged in the British Museum.

There are several remarks in the Loten documents relating to the species that George Edwards copied from Loten's watercolour collection. Loten briefly commented upon the South African Greater double-collared sunbird (Edwards's 'Red-breasted Green Creeper'): "At Cape of Good Hope ("cabo de bona speranza") an exceedingly beautiful species is found with a nice red breast with a gold margin, I brought with me a dried [skin] which has been painted by the artistic Mr. Edwards".¹¹¹ The Bakbakiri or Bokmakierie (Edwards's 'The Green Pye of the Isle of Ceylon'), was described by Edwards as being a species from Ceylon: "I was informed, that it was a Bird of Ceylon; and do not wonder to find many Birds called natives of the Cape of Good Hope, which I have received from the Indies properly so called; for it is likely the Dutch often bring Birds both living and dead to the Cape where ships of the other European nations touch and purchase them to bring to Europe, and suppose them to be natives of the place where they find them". In the Loten collection at the Natural History Museum there are several watercolours of the Ceylon Paradise Flycatcher. Edwards depicted the species in the *Gleanings* on plate 325. Loten made several comments about this species and always referred to Knox's *Historical Relation of Ceylon* (1688): "By reading Knox's description of the islands of Ceylon I was induced to track this beautiful bird, which

caused no trouble because it not only lives around Colombo but I even saw [the bird in white plumage] inside the castle of Colombo in the garden behind the Government".¹¹²

Edwards's plate 338 of the 'Crowned Pigeon' was based on one of the four live specimens of this species which Loten brought to Europe in 1758. He presented one to the Princess of Orange for her menagerie.¹¹³ Loten made a large watercolour of the bird at Semarang in October of 1740.¹¹⁴ Loten also commented on the Crowned Pigeon in one of his notebooks: 'Natural History of Birds: whether there is any difference in birds [between male and female specimen]. I am not sure about the beautiful wood pigeons, the ones call crown birds. If there is a difference it must be small. On the other hand, because I myself had so many, it surely would have caught my eye. Perhaps the Indians who sold me the birds, only catch the male specimen? Mr General Mossel stocked his forest at Wel te Vreeden (an hour from Batavia) with a large number of these. There must have been females among them. In 1757 I saw them there flying around and building nests in high topped trees; others were walking on the ground, sometimes they walked around each other and other times they took short hurried steps, then they would walk slowly and no longer running. When I left for the Netherlands His Excellency said that he had several eggs, but they did not hatch'.¹¹⁵ In 1780 Loten presented a copy of his watercolour to the Dutch Society of Sciences in Haarlem. In his letter to Jean Deutz, one of the Directors of the Society, Loten gave more particulars about the bird and his watercolour: 'The wood pigeon the largest of the genus, apart from the one called Crown-bird because of its large tuft. I made a drawing of a live one which I saw on the north-eastern coast of Java on 31 October 1740. I believe that it was a female and that the male of this species must have a tubercle at the base of its bill and a breast of a somewhat brighter burgundy colour. The natives on this coast call this beautiful bird Kadôwa (or Kadaúwa). In Ceylon we call this genus cinnamon pigeons because they are thought to eat the fruit of this tree thereby helping the trees to propagate. In Banda the same is said of Nutmeg pigeons for the same reason. I had a Nutmeg pigeon in a cage; it is possible to keep it alive for several days, but not long enough to bring them to Europe. They are usually as large as a medium-sized hen. Brisson gives a pretty good description of them in [vol.] 1 p. 148. t. 13 to which Linnaeus [vol.] 1 p. 283 n. 22 refers. The specimen that Sonnerat, *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée* p. 169 describes and depicts is I believe, the male and of a different species'.¹¹⁶

PALM COCKATOO

Some confusion exists about the nomenclature and location of George Edwards' 'Great black cockatoo' (plate 316) in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature.¹¹⁷ The plate was based upon a watercolour of the species found in Loten's collection: "[The plate] was taken from a drawing done from the life, of its natural size, by order of John Gideon Loten Esq.; late Governor of the Island of Ceylon, and other Dutch settlements in the East-Indies. I shall take this earliest opportunity gratefully to acknowledge the high obligations I owe to this worthy and curious Gentleman, as he hath contributed every thing in his power to assist me in the completion of his work, by furnishing me with many new and curious natural specimens in high preservation, as well as curious drawings of the nature [...] it had been figured from a drawing, because the bird was near to me, and the testimony of its authenticity most undoubted".

Two drawings of a Palm cockatoo in Loten's watercolour collection may have been the models for Edwards' plate 316.¹¹⁸ The birds in the original watercolours are drawn in profile and facing to the right. The body of the birds have a blue-grey colour; this contrasts strongly with their red cheeks. One watercolour is unfinished and shows the bird with the crest feathers bended backwards over the head. The bird's crest-feathers are sketched in pencil and are directed upwards and inclined just like in the outline sketch of the head on the same paper. An outlined sketch of the cockatoo in ink shows the head drawn in profile facing to the right with an opened beak and with the crest-feathers inclining upwards. The bird's cheeks and tongue are rose coloured. Loten's artist, probably Pieter Cornelis De Bevere, wrote a comment on the watercolour about the colouring and posture of the cockatoo: 'The long feathers on the head should be bluer. The head, body and the tail should be darker and shadowed with black'. The finished drawing shows the blue-grey cockatoo with the crest feathers bent backwards. The bird is perched on a tree with leaves; the cockatoo is in the same position as on the unfinished version. The outline sketch of the head of the bird in anger is omitted. Loten made an annotation in ink on the drawing: "The drawing of this Cacatoe is but a little less than its natural bigness, it is the only one that was ever brought at Batavia from the Southern Islands adjacent to Banda. In the sketch of this bird one may see its head and attitude when it was in anger. Taken from the life 1757". In the copy of John Latham's *A General Synopsis of birds* found in Leiden's *Naturalis* (this is evidently Loten's own copy), Loten has added a note to the description

of the Black Cockatoo in pencil: “Loten found this a live; and in full plumage at general Mossels seat about 3 miles from Batavia – where it was drawn under L’s inspection, this rare bird came from papoea or his neighbour”.¹¹⁹ This note suggests that the bird’s natural locality was the Aru Island region, an important centre for trade for the Dutch East Indies Company in the eighteenth century.¹²⁰

In the Preface to the third volume of the *Gleanings* (1764), Edwards give a description of his method for etching and engraving plates: “It often happens, that my figures on the copper-plates greatly differ from my original drawings, for sometimes the originals have not altogether pleased me as to their attitudes or actions: in such cases I have made three or four, sometimes six sketches or out-lines, and have deliberately considered them all, and then fixed upon that, which I judged most free and natural, to be engraved on my plate”.¹²¹ Thus, in terms of its stature and colour Edwards’ plate of the Palm cockatoo is not an exact copy of the two watercolours in the Teylers Museum’s Loten collection. Moreover, the bird is black and the crest feathers are inclined upwards like in the outline sketch of Loten’s unfinished watercolour. The difference in colour is rather astonishing because Edwards usually was very precise in colouring the plates in his books.¹²² Nothing has been found to indicate that he changed the blue-grey colour of the bird into black based on observations or annotations by Loten. Moreover, Edwards’ bird is depicted a little bit more from the back than on Loten’s original watercolour. On the plate there is an outline sketch of the bird’s bill. The feathers of the crest are inclined upwards. In Edwards’ etching the bird’s thighs have been drawn whereas these are absent in the Loten watercolours. The birds on the watercolours and on the etching are also not in reversed positions, indicating at least that Edwards did not base his copperplate directly on the watercolours. There is therefore some doubt as to whether the two watercolours were used as his models.

The similarity between the blue-grey colour of Loten’s Palm cockatoos and that in the beautiful ‘L’Ara gris a trompe’ (1801) in François Levaillant’s *Histoire naturelle des perroquets*, is remarkable. Today, Levaillant’s bird is considered to be the *griseus* (Bechstein) variety of the Palm cockatoo, with type locality Vogelkop, S.W. New Guinea, Salawati, Waigeo and Gemien. The bird was brought from Batavia to Cape Town where Levaillant saw them alive in 1784. Loten’s cockatoo may have been a grey variety. However, it is also likely that the bird was originally black and that it turned grey as a result of the food it was given during its captivity. Levaillant was critical about Edwards’s drawing of the Palm cockatoo: “[L]a figure qu’il [Edwards] en donne, planche 316, est défectueuse, quant à la forme de la huppe, dont les plumes sont mal à propos recourbées en faite; mais Edwards n’avoit pas vu l’oiseau en nature, et sa description n’a été faite que d’après un mauvais dessin qui lui fut envoyé de Ceylon, pays ou les artistes ne regardent pas de fort près au caractères génériques”.¹²³ Levaillant’s harsh comment against the supposed carelessness of Loten’s artist is unfounded. Practically all of the watercolours in the Loten collection have been scrupulously drawn, are detailed in form and perfect in their colour.

There is much confusion about the identity and binominal Latin name of the Palm cockatoo in eighteenth-century ornithological literature. Linnaeus referred to Edwards’ plate 316 as *Psittacus cristatus* (1766) and *Psittacus spectrum* (1776). However, both taxonomic names are invalid.¹²⁴ In 1781 Pennant gave the bird on Edwards’ plate 316 the trinomial name *Psittacus Niger crist.*¹²⁵ However, there is both a prior *Psittacus niger* and a prior *Psittacus cristatus* and therefore Pennant’s name can be justly ignored. In 1788, in the 13th edition of Linnaeus *Systema naturae*, Gmelin referred to Edwards’s plate and description as the *Psittacus aterrimus*. His reference was indirect and based on the Latham’s (1781) descriptions of the ‘Black cockatoo’ and Buffon’s (1783) ‘Kakatoës noir’, both of which were ultimately based on Edwards’ plate 316.¹²⁶ Curiously, Buffon said that the bird’s locality was “Ceylan”; he evidently based this on Latham who wrote the following about Edwards’ plate 316: “This was taken from a drawing done by order of Governor Loten at Ceylon”. Latham also confused the identity of the Palm cockatoo: “In Parkinson’s voyage are mentioned black Cockatoos of a large size having white spots between the beak and ear, as well as on each wing, and scarlet and orange-coloured feathers on their tails. These were met with on the coast of New Holland, in the South Seas”.¹²⁷ Several eighteenth-century authors therefore considered the ‘Banksian Cockatoo’ and Edwards’s ‘Great black cockatoo’ to be of the same species. Six years later however, Latham described the ‘Banksian Cockatoo’ as belonging to a separate species: “It most certainly differs from the Ceylonese Black Cockatoos but is probably the same with that mentioned by Mr. Parkinson in his voyage”.¹²⁸ Therefore Gmelin’s *Psittacus aterrimus* is the valid name for the species and based upon the bird depicted by George Edwards. Thus Loten’s watercolours of the Palm cockatoo have a type status.

5. PENNANT'S INDIAN ZOOLOGY

THOMAS PENNANT

Several years after Loten was introduced to the English naturalists of the British Museum and Royal Society he became acquainted with Thomas Pennant, a prolific author of books on natural history and antiquities of Wales, England and Scotland. His association with Pennant resulted in several publications in which Loten's collection and annotations were used. Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) came from a Welsh gentry's family with a small estate in Wiltshire. In 1724, Thomas's father David Pennant also inherited the neighbouring Downing estate from a cousin. This considerably augmented the family's fortune. Downing Hall where Thomas Pennant was born became his main residence. In 1744, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, later moving to Oriel College. Like many students from a wealthy background, he left Oxford without taking a degree, although in 1771 his work as a zoologist was recognised and he received an honorary degree. At the age of twelve, Pennant later recalled, he had been inspired with a passion for natural history, because he had been presented with Francis Willughby's *Ornithology*. A tour through Cornwall in the years 1746-1747 awakened in him an interest for minerals and fossils. Pennant used his geological knowledge to open a lead mine which helped to finance improvements at the Downing estate which he inherited in 1763.

In 1757, upon Carolus Linnaeus's proposal, he was elected a member of the Royal Swedish Society of Sciences. In 1766, he published the first part of his *British Zoology*, a work meritorious as a laborious compilation of animals. While working on it, Pennant visited the Continent and met Buffon, Voltaire, Haller and Pallas.¹²⁹ In 1767, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1771, his *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* was published; it was later expanded into a *History of Quadrupeds* (1780; 1793). Towards the end of 1771 he published *A Tour in Scotland in 1769*, which proved remarkably popular. It was followed in 1774 by an account of another journey to Scotland published in two volumes. In 1780, Loten wrote to his friend Van Hardenbroek about Pennant's 1769 *Tour in Scotland*: "I have some new miscellanea [of Mr Pennant], that are now publishing about some antiquities in Scotland & natural curiosities, some of 'm wonderfull & stupendous e.g. the Bellers of Buchan &c. I had in my head since a child and could never get information.¹³⁰ Nay my late friend the old worthy Earl of Buchan,¹³¹ else a curious gentleman, knew nothing of those marvellous rocks. Thus many years I thought 'm not to exist, but in the fancies of those, who can not content them selves with the numberless wonders that the incomprehensible AUTHOR of Nature has bestowed on every object of His Works".¹³² Dr Samuel Johnson appreciated Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*: "He's a whig, sir; a sad dog. But he's the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than any one else does".¹³³ Pennant published *Arctic Zoology* in the years 1784-1787. In 1790, his *Account of London* appeared; many editions of it were published. Three years later he published the autobiographical *Literary Life of the late T. Pennant*. The correspondence Pennant received from Gilbert White was the basis for White's book *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*. About Pennant Horace Walpole said: "He is a superficial man and knows little of history and antiquity; but he has a violent rage for being an author. He sets out with ornithology, and a little natural history, picks up his knowledge as he rides".¹³⁴

Loten's contacts with Thomas Pennant date from 1765 or 1766. The earliest evidence of contact between the two men is Pennant's reference to Loten in the first volume of his *British Zoology* (1766), dealing with swallows in Java: "Mr. Loten, late governor of Ceylon, assures us, that those [=swallows] of Java never remove. These excepted, every other known kind observe a periodical migration, or retreat. The Swallows of the cold Norway, and of North America, of the distant Kamtschatka, of the temperate parts of Europe, of Aleppo, and of the hot Jamaica, all agree in this one point".¹³⁵ The debate about avian migration received a great deal of attention from naturalists in British periodicals in the eighteenth century.¹³⁶ Loten's observation is part of that debate; however, his comment is disputable because the Java Barn Swallow, *Hirundo rustica*, is a migratory species, which breeds in North Asia. On the other hand the two other Hirundinidae, the Pacific Swallow, *H. tabitica*, and the Striated Swallow, *H. striolata*, are non-migratory and residents of Java.

From 1767 until 1783, Loten and Pennant exchanged letters, all of which deal with natural history. Loten's knowledge of the tropical fauna was adequate enough to be able to provide Pennant with the basic information he required to supplement his usually superficial descriptions of the depicted species. Loten also supplied Pennant with memoirs dealing with various animals. Some of these were written by former servants of the Dutch East Indies Company. Most letters and memoirs concerned the publication of Loten's watercolours in Pennant's *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771), *History of Quadrupeds* (1781; 1793), the

Indian Zoology (1769) and Peter Brown's *New illustrations of Zoology* (1776). Loten was clearly in regular contact with Pennant, who as a traditional English *virtuoso* aimed at a comprehensive representation of British and East-Indian fauna in his works. References to Loten are also to be found in the *British Zoology* and *Arctic Zoology*.¹³⁷ The last evidence of contact between Joan Gideon Loten and Thomas Pennant is a letter by Pennant dating February 1783.¹³⁸ This letter does not relate to the watercolours in the Loten collection. Instead, it is a request for maps of Spitsbergen. This request evidently had to do with Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* (1784-1787).

Loten also contributed to Pennant's last project, the *Outlines of the globe*, intended for publication as fourteen-volume set. However, Pennant died after only two volumes had been published. His son saw the third and fourth volumes through to publication, but they were published without the plates which appeared in the first two volumes. According to a reviewer *The view of Hindoostan – western Hindoostan*: “[D]etails the private communications of a learned naturalist, his particular friend, the late John Gideon Loten, Esq. who resided a considerable time in Ceylon, and filled various offices of importance, under the Batavian government”.¹³⁹ Besides a description of Celebes and various observations about birds of the East Indies, “Governor *Loten* gave a curious anecdote” to Pennant relating to the fate of the Rumphius drawings and descriptions of the shells and fishes of the island of Amboina: “There is reason to suppose that they were sent into the world in 1726, in a work published by *Francis Valentyn*, a Dutch clergyman who had resided in the *Molucca* and *Banda* islands. Baron *Imhoff*, governor general of the *Indies*, communicated to Mr. *Loten* his suspicions, that *Valentyn* got the materials out of the India house by means of his son-in-law, who was first clerk to the secretary of the company; these *Valentyn* basely applied to his own use, not daring to make the acknowledgement; certain it is, they never could be found, notwithstanding the most diligent search has been made after them”.¹⁴⁰

PENNANT'S ZOOLOGY OF SOME DISTANT COUNTRY

In 1766, Loten became involved in the publication of his watercolours in the *Indian Zoology*. This project, which concerned publishing the drawings in several instalments, was undertaken by Thomas Pennant with financial support coming from Loten and Joseph Banks. Fifteen plates were engraved by Peter Mazell and twelve of the species were published in 1769 with short descriptions and their Latin binominals. However, the joint enterprise to publish the watercolours in instalments failed. In 1781, the fifteen copperplates were published as *Indische Zoologie*, an enlarged and revised German/ Latin edition of the *Indian Zoology* by Johann Reinhold Forster.

After having completed the third volume of his *British Zoology* in 1766, Thomas Pennant was “desirous of forming zoology of some distant country”.¹⁴¹ His acquaintance with Joan Gideon Loten and his friend Joseph Banks helped him to fulfil his aim. Pennant's “zoology of some distant country” became an *Indian Zoology*. It was entirely based upon Joan Gideon Loten's watercolours and annotations. The work is considered to be the first attempt at a systematic study of the birds of Sri Lanka and Java. The decision to publish an *Indian Zoology* was made after Pennant's return from his Tour on the Continent in August 1765 and prior to Loten's departure to Holland in June of 1766. Pennant and Loten probably exchanged letters about the project while Loten resided at Utrecht. In November of 1766, after his return from New Foundland, Joseph Banks was involved in the project.¹⁴² Shortly after Loten's return to England on May 4th 1767, an agreement about the publication of the plates was reached. By that time several of the watercolours from Loten's collection had already been copied for Pennant. On May 11th 1767, Pennant wrote to Banks (London) from Chester: “I have nothing in particular to reply to y[ou]r favor; being confident you have the common cause too much at heart to neglect anything I must only beg you w[ou]ld send me 2 colored prints of the black & white hawk & the Ceylon squirrel by mr Petit Andreas who departs from London for Chester in ab[ou]t 10 days. I have now directed Mazell to leave you my 2 plates & doubt not his obedience”.¹⁴³ An annotation in Pennant's hand on the letter reads, “Gov[erno]r Loten is coming over & you shall have what copies you will of his drawings”. Three days later, Joseph Banks responded from his house in New Burlington Street: “The Squirrel is not yet Finishd or should have waited upon you at the same time I have however one peice of good news which is that our Friend Governor V [sic] Loten is Fixd in N Burlington Street so we shall with Ease get the Rest of his Drawings”.¹⁴⁴

In June 1767, Pennant wrote to Banks about the project from his estate in Downing: “Mr. Loten accedes to our Treaty of publishing prints of birds. I hope you will beat up for volunteers, & not impose the whole recruiting business on him who is Sincerely yours. T. Pennant”.¹⁴⁵ They decided that Pennant

should do the descriptive work for the *Indian Zoology*, and that “the expense of the plates be divided between Mr. Banks, now Sir Joseph Banks, *Baronet*; John Gideon Loten, Esq.; a governor in *Ceylon* and myself”.¹⁴⁶ One week later, Pennant wrote to Banks again; at that time Banks was preparing to visit Pennant: “I do not recollect that I have at present anything more, to trouble you about than to beg you w[oul]d bring with you two colored sets of our four plates, & six plain ones. I have wrote to Gov[ernor] Loten to claim his promise of drawings, and also to communicate to him our plan of etchings, & to hint how agreeable it w[oul]d be to me that he w[oul]d add himself to us. I refer him to you for an account of & specimens of the plates: lest you should be unacquainted with him, I inclose an introduction: Your artist [Sydney Parkinson] will be a good copyist: I shall esteem myself obliged to you for permitting him to do a few for me: Those I should prefer are the Rhinoceros bird the little green pigeon, the goose with the knob on its bill, and any three others you think of great beauty or new.¹⁴⁷ My dear fellow Laborer, avoid procrastination: we may lose our opportunity; Loten is old [57 years] his wife is young [34 years]; & the odds are against his life”.¹⁴⁸ At this time, Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771), who in 1768 would accompany Joseph Banks as his draughtsman on his voyage aboard the *Endeavour* (1768-1771), was evidently in the process of copying the watercolours from Loten’s collection. At least forty watercolours were copied onto vellum. The Parkinson copies are now held in the General Library of the Natural History Museum in London and at the National Library of Australia in Canberra.¹⁴⁹ In June of 1768, Pennant again referred to the preparation of his *Indian Zoology*. In a letter to Joseph Banks he refers to Loten’s watercolour of the Indian Darter or Snake-bird, plate XII in the *Indian Zoology*: “Mazel sent me this morning the Proof of the Anhinga, so now our twelve plates are done: I must beg you w[oul]d pay him y[ou]r quota for a Ream of Paper to print the plates off: I shall make my deposite, & write to the Governour for his”.¹⁵⁰

PETER MAZELL

Peter Mazell was a professional engraver and etcher employed by Thomas Pennant and John Walcott to do the illustrations in their natural history books.¹⁵¹ Mazell etched nearly six hundred plates while working in London from around 1761 to 1797. Some of Mazell’s prints were exhibited at the annual shows of the *Society of Artists of Great Britain* in London. He was described as a flower painter by profession; in 1797 two paintings of flowers by him were to be found at the *Royal Academy of Arts* exhibition.¹⁵² His engravings of landscapes distinguish themselves by their crispness and extreme neatness, characteristics that are also clear from his etchings of natural history subjects. In 1777 Mazell was one of the eleven artists, designers, and engravers of original prints who signed a *Petition to Parliament* for “making further Provision to secure the Property of Prints to the Inventors and Engravers”.¹⁵³

Loten was not satisfied with Mazell’s treatment of his watercolours. This is illustrated by his angry notes on several watercolours. On the drawing with the nest of the Ceylon Tailor bird he writes: “The dirty scoundrel was not contented with ruining one of these drawings of the same object but ruined them both ... By no means is this a reflexion on the late Mr. Sydney Parkinson, who kept every thing very clean ... this was the then bungling engraver Mazell”.¹⁵⁴ Mazell’s plate VIII in the *Indian Zoology* (1769) with the nest of the Ceylon Tailor bird was therefore based on the Parkinson copy of the Loten watercolour.¹⁵⁵ Loten’s notes on the watercolour of the collared Scops Owl or Indian Scops-owl have been scratched out, but are still partially legible: “Mazell ... [??]... treates to keep them clean and that I myself paid him good for engraving the plates what a difference of behaviour between the late worthy Mr. Geo. Edwards and such a scurrilous scrubby fellow”.¹⁵⁶ The plate was published as number III in Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* (1769). On the watercolour Red-faced Malkoha, Loten wrote, “made so dirty by the pityable Engraver Mazell”. The note that is not struck out reads “forgive & forget”.¹⁵⁷

In April of 1769, shortly before his journey to Colchester, Loten wrote to Pennant in Downing about the rough treatment his watercolours were being given by the engraver. The treatment of his watercolours was probably one of the main reasons that the joint enterprise between Pennant, Banks and Loten to publish the watercolours in several instalments failed: “It is so far from it, that I would not entrust You with any drawings of birds or fish or Animals, that I am very ready to do so provided You’ll be so good to put me in a proper way for it; But how is that possible when You are not here, or how can we entrust the engraver, colourer, painter &c: who all rowl ‘m up as close they can, wrinkle thumb & finger ‘m to rags, how to prevent this I do not know, for they all think those drawings only made to be subservient to them. If You know a method of leaving twelve of ‘m sealed up to a friend You please to direct me to, I expect a very speedy answer that it may not retard my journey and I’ll bring or send them [Footnote: I must beg You to chuse, for I am not able to decide which are non descripts or already described & part of my

books being packed & my own annotations I fear irretrievably lost I have no opportunity or time left for study. And as I never am a single day free from one or two accesses or returns of the spasmodic suffocations or Asthma I can lose no time but ought as soon I can get ready set out for the continent in several places of which I never felt any touch of this disorder.] This tedious narrative will I hope serve as apology for want of a regular correspondence: that You please to fix upon the next day to the place or friend indicated by You to be kept in a dry place (where about I beg You to write a line to Your correspondent) 'till Your arrival in London. I believe Mr. Banks has by Mr. Parkinson's pencil taken copies of most all my collection, if You have access to it, when You come to this metropolis, this could be of use, for I dare say his family would not refuse You should make the proper use of 'm'.¹⁵⁸ In the autumn of 1770 and early months of 1771 however, it is clear that Loten overcame his reservations to send his watercolours to Pennant. Loten sent portions of his collection to Pennant in September and December of 1770. He forwarded these with "some annotations" in a "tin box" to Pennant's brother-in-law Thomas Falconer in Chester.¹⁵⁹ In February of 1771, Peter Mazell was no longer engaged in engraving Loten's watercolours. He was replaced by Peter Brown. In September 1770, Loten said that he had not "the least scruple in trusting Mr. Brown with the drawing of the Ceylon peacock".¹⁶⁰

INDIAN ZOOLOGY (1769)

In 1769, the *Indian Zoology* was published in folio by Benjamin White, bookseller at Horace's Head, Fleet Street in London. It did not have a title page, indicating that the work was the first instalment in a larger series. The Preface was dated 10 May 1769. It contained twelve of the fifteen etchings made by Mazell (one mammal and eleven birds). The thirteen pages of text contained twelve descriptions in English and French; the names of the animals were given in English, French and in Latin, in binominal nomenclature. During May, June and July of 1769, White sold no less than seventy-eight sets of Pennant's *Indian zoology*.¹⁶¹ Nowadays, copies of this work are rare.¹⁶² When the original watercolours from Loten's collection and the Parkinson copies are compared with the plates in the *Indian Zoology*, it becomes clear that only part of the plates were etched and coloured from the original watercolours. Apparently some of the plates by Peter Mazell were etched and coloured from Parkinson's copies. On the whole, Mazell's plates are fair copies of the watercolours, whereas Parkinson's paintings are generally darker and have other backgrounds.

The text of the first edition of the *Indian Zoology* consists of short descriptions of the plates, to which observations based on Loten's annotations are added. The *Indian Zoology* was a feeble attempt to portray the birds of India. Little serious attention was paid to the avifauna of this subcontinent. The subject demanded a deeper knowledge than Pennant possessed and it deserved greater study than he was prepared to undertake. The text of the *Indian Zoology* included references to Ray's *Synopsis* (1693), Brisson's *Ornithologia* (1760), Buffon & Daubenton's *Planches enluminées* (1765-1786), Marcgravius's *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* (1648), Rumphius's *Herbarium Amboinense* (1741-1750) and to Linnaeus's *Flora Zeylanica* (1747). Although Pennant used the Latin binominals found in Linnaeus's *Systema*, four of his genera (*Otus*, *Gallinula*, *Anser* and *Anbinga*) are not mentioned in the 12th edition (1766) of this work. Pennant probably took these names from earlier authors like Gessner, Aldrovandus, Johnston and Ray. There is no indication that Pennant adopted the generic names *Anser*, *Anbinga* and *Gallinula* from Brisson, to whom these names are now attributed. The generic name *Otus* was not included in Brisson's *Ornithologia*. This name was introduced by Pennant in the modern nomenclature.

In 1774, C.G. Von Murr translated the text of the *Indian Zoology* into German and published it in the *Naturforscher* as *Beyträge zur Thiergeschichte von Ostindien aus Pennants Indian Zoologie ausgezogen von C.G.v. M.*¹⁶³ Pieter Boddaert published a Dutch translation of this text, to which he added some notes, in 1781.¹⁶⁴ Neither of the two translations were illustrated. A slip of paper, dated May 10, 1769 and glued to page 1 of the Copenhagen copy of the *Indian Zoology*, tells us that: "Twelve prints, with descriptions of the new and unengraved quadrupeds, birds, and fish, will be published at a time: the whole work to be concluded in six sets, of twelve plates each. At the end will be given a brief systematic view of the animals of the Indies, and its islands; with some attempts to clear up the accounts given by the ancients of the animals of India".¹⁶⁵ The last sentence of this message undoubtedly refers to Pennant's proposed account 'Of the Bird of Paradise: and the Phoenix', of which only the title is given at the bottom of the last page of Pennant's brochure. Pennant's intention to publish the *Indian Zoology* in six sets was also mentioned in a review of the *Indian Zoology* in the *Göttinger Anzeiger von gelehrten Sachen* of April 25, 1771 (49. Stück, page 424). The anonymous author of this review reported that "fünf andere Heften von eben der Art sollen

nach folgen” [five other sets in the same style will follow]. However in September of 1771, Pennant wrote the following to Linnaeus in Uppsala: “Last year I published my *Indian Zoology* in folio. It is as yet unfinished but will consist of about 24 fine plates illuminated with their history in English and French with a faunula Indica at the end”.¹⁶⁶ This passage tells us that in 1771 Pennant was less ambitious than he was in the first year his *Indian Zoology* was published. The *Indian Zoology* was never finished; in later years Pennant referred to it as “my-ill fated work unaccountably lost”.¹⁶⁷ In a letter written to Jean Deutz in Amsterdam in 1780, Loten said of Pennant’s *Indian Zoology*: ‘Inevitable obstacles prevented the honoured, untiring Gentleman’s enterprise from progressing; only a few of the twelve first subjects were printed and now cannot be obtained anywhere’.¹⁶⁸

FORSTER’S *INDISCHE ZOOLOGIE* (1781)

On December 17th 1777, Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant from London saying: “It is four or five years ago, if I remember well, You did me the pleasure by asking my leave to give the four copper-plates, of the published number of the *Indian Zoology* fallen to my share, to a clergyman, naming then, I think the Rev. Mr. J.R. Forster, who once before called at my house now about 7 or 8 years ago. By this You please to know I am not much acquainted with that very learned person. Therefore I take the liberty to request You will be so good to obtain, by Your friendly intercession, from him for my private use two good impressions of each of those four prints coloured after the original standard-pattern (if You have retained such a one of Your own, or left for his use). I shall not fail to repay promptly his disbursements of paper and the printing. For those that I have once seen to be sold at Mr. White’s seem not to be faithfully colored, of mine I have one ori[gina]l copy given to a Swedish Gentleman who visited me at Utrecht, another copy I left amongst my books (mostly at that place)”.¹⁶⁹ Loten was referring to naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798), who, with his son and naturalist Georg Forster (1754-1794), accompanied Captain Cook on the *Resolution* on his second voyage around the world (1772-1775). In 1769 Forster had already served Pennant by translating the *Indian Zoology* into Latin.¹⁷⁰ In September of 1779, Loten characterised Forster as “the accomplished & for us perhaps too enterprising Navigator Forster [was] on Nova Guinea and there already around Gilolo Halmahera Magindanao, Bonton, Saleyer, Maccassar &c., and well capable for such journeys and skillful and good in drawing”.¹⁷¹ He was apparently referring to Forster’s “clever, but litigious quarrelsome” character, which up to then had stained his reputation as a natural philosopher and explorer.¹⁷²

After 1776, Forster completed a thorough revision and expansion of Pennant’s *Indian Zoology*. Forster tells us that when Banks returned from his voyage around the world, he was sent the *Zoology* plates as well as Pennant’s notes enabling him to finish his version of the *Indian Zoology*. Forster probably had completed his thorough revision and expansion of Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* before he finally left London in July 1780.¹⁷³ In November of 1779 Pennant was still interested in the fate of his *Indian Zoology*: “My *Indian Zoology* is quite vanished I should be very happy to learn if Forster now told you of its disposition”.¹⁷⁴

Judging by the letter that Pennant wrote to Banks in February of 1780, Pennant still wanted to finish the *Indian Zoology*. It is remarkable that neither the watercolours from Loten’s collection, nor the Parkinson copies were mentioned. The passage on the *Indian Zoology* reads as follows: “The history of the *Indian Zoology* to the period I lost sight of it is this. I begged you & Mr. Loten to join with me in giving plates to Dr. Forster, which was done; & I hoped he w[oul]d finish it. I paid for my plates, & had a small dept due from the work besides, which I forgave. As I presume the plates &c are lost, I shall certainly abhor leaving any thing incomplete, so do the whole systematically like the Br[itish] *Zoology* in q[uar]to size: except I hear it is soon resumed. I do not mean to copy the folio plates, least that sh[oul]d hurt some possessor of them. Forster wrote me word about 3 years he had sold the plates”.¹⁷⁵ In August of 1781, Sir Joseph Banks received a letter from Johann Reinhold Forster in which he announced his revised and enlarged German/ Latin edition of the *Indian Zoology*, to be published in Halle: “Having disposed of my plates to the *Indian Zoology* to a bookseller, I now am printing in Latin & German a text, which is in part improved from Mr. Pennant’s text; & I have prefixed a Dissertation on the extent, climate, air, & general productions & situation of India, together with a sort Catalogue of Indian animals at the end - The whole will appear next Michaelmas. I shall take care to present you, Mr. Pennant & Mr. Loten with copies of the work. But I wish to be informed by you where the latter lives at present, that I may know where to direct it to”.¹⁷⁶ Banks received a copy of the *Indische Zoologie* from Forster at the end of 1781 as “a testimony [to] how much You on all occasions promoted Sciences in general & Natural History in particular [and] a mark that I shall never forget the favours received at Y[ou]r hands”.¹⁷⁷ On May 20th 1782, Joseph Banks

wrote to Forster from Soho Square to thank him, “for your present of your new publication of the Indian Zoology which I have placed in my library on the same shelf with the old one”.¹⁷⁸ Pennant also received Forster’s *Indische Zoologie*: “You will no doubt know again Your own handy work & the present You with Yr friends bestowed upon me. It is no more but common Justice, it should return to You in the present Condition, which was calculated chiefly for the Sale in Germany & foreign parts”.¹⁷⁹ Pennant thought Forster’s edition was “a very highly improved one”.¹⁸⁰ It is unknown whether Loten also got a copy of Forster’s version of the *Indian Zoology*. In 1789 it was not listed in the Auction catalogue of his Library.

J.J. Gebauer of Halle published Forster’s Latin-German folio edition of the *Indian Zoology* in 1781. The book had two title pages: one in German with the title *Indische Zoologie*, and one in Latin with the title *Zoologica Indicae Selecta*. The book was dedicated to Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. In the ‘Prefatio-Vorrede’, (dated Halle, October 12th 1781) Forster gave an account of the history of the work. He had been asked to make a French translation of the first edition of the *Indian Zoology*, but Pennant preferred a translation “das voller Fehler war” (full of mistakes), by a French language teacher.¹⁸¹ Forster wrote that the original watercolours of the *Indische Zoologie* were lost in a shipwreck. In November of 1775, several of Loten’s drawings and manuscripts were spoiled when they were transported in a packet-boat from Harwich to Helvoet.¹⁸² However, the watercolours upon which the *Indian Zoology* plates were based were not lost; they can be found in the Loten collections of the London Natural History and Haarlem Teylers Museums.

The *Indische Zoologie* contained the twelve original plates found in Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* as well as three additional etchings made by Mazell (The etchings depicted 5 birds and 2 fish). Pennant’s original descriptions did not fundamentally change in translation although Forster did add several references to contemporary and older literature. On the whole, the names in the *Indische Zoologie* were equivalents of the names found in the *Indian Zoology*. However, the spelling of some of the species names was altered. Forster also changed Pennant’s genera *Otus*, *Gallinula* and *Anser* into *Strix*, *Rallus* and *Anas*, all of which are Linnaean genera. An elaborate account ‘Von den Paradiesvögeln und den Phönix’ and an essay on the geography of India were added. A ‘Specimen Faunulae Indicae. Autore Thoma Pennant Armigero R.S.S.’ (pages 39-42) was also included in the *Indische Zoologie*. The names of the Mammalia in Pennant’s *Specimen faunulae Indicae*, were based upon the 12th edition of Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae* probably because Forster’s revised this list.

In 1791, Pennant published a second edition of his *Indian Zoology*. The edition was dated 1790, but the preface was dated Downing, March 1, 1791. Benjamin White published the book in London in quarto. The text was wholly in English with Latin binominal names for the animals. The seventeen plates (including the frontispiece) were engraved and copied from the plates in the first edition of the *Indian Zoology* and *Indische Zoologie* by Peter Mazell. The plates were reduced in size compared to the plates in the original editions. The colours of the edition consulted in the general library of the Natural History Museum are very poor. The twelve English descriptions found in the first edition were copied verbatim and the descriptions accompanying the three additional plates found in the *Indische Zoologie* were based on Forster’s text. The second edition also contained ‘An Essay on India its Boundaries, Climate, Soil and Sea’; it was a translation by Dr John Aiken of Johann Reinhold Forster’s Latin text. Aiken also translated Forster’s ‘On the Bird of Paradise, and the Phoenix’. The frontispiece of the *Indian Zoology* depicted a bird of paradise in flight; it may have been inspired by the essay on this bird found in the book. The second edition also contained an *Indian Faunula* a series of nominal lists composed by John Latham and Hugh Davies. Latham and Davies (1791) used the Linnaean system in their *Indian Faunula*.

BIRDS OF PARADISE

On page 13 of the 1769 edition of Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* an essay ‘On the bird of Paradise and the Phoenix’ is announced. Pennant may have planned to use his essay to accompany a plate of a bird of paradise. Pennant’s treatise was never published. Because all of the plates in the *Indian Zoology* were copied from the watercolours from Loten’s collection, it is very likely that the accompanying illustration would be De Bevere’s watercolour of *Paradisea apoda* from Aru, the only watercolour in Loten’s collection of a bird of paradise.¹⁸³ The bird in the De Bevere watercolour does not have a long tail. In 1767, the original watercolour was copied by Sydney Parkinson who gave the bird its tail. Loten wrote to Sir Joseph Banks about that watercolour in November of 1780.

“Honored Sir

The good luck happened to me to see, hopping in it's wicker cage, that Bird of Paradise, which most known, a live, and the property of a Friend, who granted me leave to take it's portrait; the specimen was upon the whole a beauty, but still more a curiosity, as I have certainty, that till then (ao. 1757) never any had been brought to us, its confinement, as above, & continued motions in it had soon rubbed of it's tail – I remember, Sir that when You honored me by having taken a neat copy of my original, which You did return in good condition, You have added a Tail (also if I remember well drawn after a good specimen in Your Museum) to Your exact copy – if You now would permit me to take a copy of Yours (or to add the Tail to mine) I shall be much obliged and have it done in my house, in my presence, and return the original of Your addition within a very few days, and not sullied nor wrinkled – I remain, tho' almost locked up by spasmodic bondage, at least in my mind, candide & confrater

Sir Your most obedient obliged servant J.G. Loten

New Burl. Str. Nov. 12, 1780

Lately there hath been at the Hague a Babi-Roessa a live & if I remember well also described by Mr. Vosmaar".¹⁸⁴

Loten soon received permission to copy Sydney Parkinson's copy of De Bevere's watercolour.¹⁸⁵ On March 21st 1781, Loten sent the copy of the Parkinson's painting Mr Jean Deutz (1743-1784) in Amsterdam. Deutz had been Director of the Dutch Society of Sciences in Haarlem since 1778. In his letter to Deutz, Loten described the watercolour: 'The bird of paradise as it was drawn by Monsieur De Bevere (a young man from native Ceylonese parents, who stayed with me and helped me considerably in making drawings) in 1757 carefully imitates the colours of a living and very active [specimen]. It had already rubbed off its tail and a great part of the two long tail feathers in a wicker cage (like those of magpies). However [the tail feathers were preserved]. Loten continued that the feathers were as beautiful and of the same size as depicted by Sydney Parkinson in his copy of Loten's watercolour of the incomplete bird of paradise. According to Loten Sir Joseph Banks allowed him "all the time I needed to make a composite drawing of these two at my home. I have forgotten to number the two drawings 1 & 2, but it will be easy for your Honour to recognise them and number them. I beg of you or Mr. Van Der Aa [secretary of the Dutch Society of Sciences] to do so that there will be no confusion. I hope in the future (if Heaven grants me a sufficient degree of health) to work with these. I repeat that both [drawings] No. 1 & 2 are enclosed in the roll. I saw the bird eat a banana and cooked rice. I do not know whether any specimen of this species has ever been observed in one of our Eastern Establishments, but it is said that they are native to New Guinea & the islands SE & SW of Banda; however, before I saw a live one with Mr General Mossel I had not met anyone who had seen anything but dead dried skins".¹⁸⁶

Table: Plates in *Indian Zoology* and *Indische Zoologie* and watercolours in the Loten collections. ¹

Plate	Name in <i>Indian Zoology</i> (1769; 1791) and <i>Indische Zoologie</i> (1781; 1795)	Watercolour In Loten collection and taxonomic status	Copies or related watercolours	Current scientific name
<i>Indian Zoology</i> (1769) and <i>Indische Zoologie</i> (1781; 1795)				
I	<i>Sciurus macrourus</i> Pennant, 1769	NHM.LC. 102, type status	NHM.PC. 4	<i>Ratufa macroura macroura</i> (Pennant 1769)
II	<i>Falco melanoleucos</i> Pennant, 1769; <i>Falco melanoleucus</i> Forster, 1781	NHM.LC. 1, type status	BL.MD.SC. 5266.9 NHM.PC. 5	<i>Circus melanoleucos</i> (Pennant 1769).
III	<i>Otus bakkamoena</i> Pennant, 1769; <i>Strix bakkamoena</i> Forster, 1781	NHM.LC. 4, type status	NHM.PC. 6	<i>Otus bakkamoena bakkamoena</i> Pennant 1769
IV; VI	<i>Picus miniaceus</i> Pennant, 1769; <i>Picus miniatus</i> Forster, 1781; <i>Picus miniatus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 22, type status	NHM.PC. 17 NLA.pic-an6123020; PIC R4725 LOC 3586	<i>Picus miniaceus miniaceus</i> Pennant 1769
V; IV	<i>Trogon fasciatus</i> Pennant, 1769;	NHM.LC. 30, type status	TS.BC. 8 NHM.PC. 10	<i>Harpactes fasciatus fasciatus</i> (Pennant 1769)
VI; V	<i>Cuculus pyrrhocephalus</i> Pennant, 1769 <i>Cuculus pyrrhocephalus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 24 and NHM.LC. 25 type status	BL.MD.SC. 5266, 12 NHM.PC. 14	<i>Phaenicophaeus pyrrhocephalus</i> (Pennant 1769)
VII; VIII	<i>Columba melanocephala</i> Pennant, 1769 <i>Columba melanocephala</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 80, type status		<i>Ptilinopus melanospila melanauchen</i> (Salvadori, 1875)
VIII; X	<i>Motacilla sutoria</i> Pennant, 1769 <i>Motacilla sutoria</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 63, type status	NHM.PC. 32	<i>Ortobotomus sutorius sutorius</i> (Pennant, 1769)
IX; XII	<i>Gallinula Phoenicurus</i> Pennant 1769 <i>Rallus phoenicurus</i> Forster, 1781 ; <i>Gallinula phoenicurus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 92 and TS.LC. 20, type status	NHM.PC. 24	<i>Amaurornis phoenicurus phoenicurus</i> (Pennant, 1769)
X; XI	<i>Tantalus leucocephalus</i> Pennant 1769 <i>Tantalus leucocephalus</i> Pennant 1791	TS.LC. 23, type status	NHM.PC. 23	<i>Mycteria leucocephalus</i> (Pennant 1769)
XI; XIII	<i>Anser melanotos</i> Pennant, 1769; <i>Anas melanotos</i> Forster, 1781; <i>Anser melanotos</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 95, type status		<i>Sarkidiornis melanotos melanotos</i> (Pennant 1769)
XII; XV	<i>Anhinga melanogaster</i> Pennant, 1769 <i>Anhinga melanogaster</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 100, type status	NHM.PC. 22	<i>Anhinga melanogaster melanogaster</i> Pennant, 1769
<i>Indian Zoology</i> (1791) and <i>Indische Zoologie</i> (1781; 1795)				
XIII fig I; XIV	<i>Anas poecilorhyncha</i> Forster, 1781; <i>Anas poecilorhynchus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 96, type status		<i>Anas poecilorhyncha poecilorhyncha</i> Forster, 1781

¹ In the second edition of the *Indian Zoology* (1791) the etchings have a different number compared to the *Indian Zoology* (1769) and *Indische Zoologie* (1781; 1795).

Plate	Name in <i>Indian Zoology</i> (1769; 1791) and <i>Indische Zoologie</i> (1781; 1795)	Watercolour In Loten collection and taxonomic status	Copies or related watercolours	Current scientific name
XIII fig II; XVI fig 1	<i>Squalus tigrinus</i> Forster, 1781; <i>Squalus tigrinus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 111	NHM.PC. 33	<i>Stegostoma fasciatum</i> (Hermann, 1783)
XIII fig III; XVI fig 2	<i>Labrus zeylanicus</i> Forster, 1781; <i>Labrus zeylanicus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 107	NHM.PC. 37	<i>Thalassoma lunare</i> (Linnaeus 1758)
XIV; VII	<i>Perdix bicalcarata</i> Forster, 1781; <i>Perdix bicalcaratus</i> Pennant, 1791	NHM.LC. 87, type status	NHM.PC. 25	<i>Galloperdix bicalcarata</i> (Forster, 1781)
XV fig 1; IX fig 1	<i>Muscicapa flammea</i> Forster, 1781 (male); <i>Muscicapa flammea</i> Pennant, 1791 (male)	NHM.LC. 40, type status		<i>Pericrocotus flammeus flammeus</i> (Forster, 1781)
XV fig 2; IX fig 2	<i>Muscicapa flammea</i> Forster, 1781 (female); <i>Muscicapa flammea</i> Pennant, 1791 (female)	NHM.LC. 41, Linnaeus possibly based his description on a copy of this watercolour	BL.MD.SC. 5266.11 NHM.PC. 28 TS BC.7	<i>Pericrocotus cinnamomeus cinnamomeus</i> (Linnaeus, 1766).

6. PENNANT'S *SYNOPSIS OF QUADRUPEDS* AND *HISTORY OF QUADRUPEDS*

SYNOPSIS OF QUADRUPEDS AND *HISTORY OF QUADRUPEDS*

Although Loten's watercolour collection is mainly of birds, the collection also includes various drawings of mammals. Several of these were described by Thomas Pennant in his *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771). In the extended version of the *Synopsis* published in 1782 as the *History of Quadrupeds*, Pennant also used information which Loten had supplied him in the form of memoirs and translations from Dutch natural history works. Part of the information originated from servants of the Dutch East Indies Company.

Thomas Pennant's *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* was published as a single octavo volume in Chester in 1771. Pennant originally intended the work for "private amusement" and as an index to Buffon and Daubenton's *Histoire naturelle des Quadrupeds* (1753-1769). The *Synopsis* contains 21 copper prints, most of them with two figures of animals made by Peter Mazell. Besides the plates, the book also contains many descriptions of quadrupeds. Three animals figured on the prints are based on watercolours in the Loten collection. In 1781, a second revised edition of the *Synopsis* in two quarto volumes was published in London by Benjamin White. The work had grown too voluminous to serve as a synopsis only. So the title was changed into *History of Quadrupeds*. The *History* contains more descriptions and plates than the *Synopsis* which has 52 copper prints, most of them with two figures of animals. Peter Mazell engraved the plates. Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), the German traveller and explorer whom Pennant met in the Hague in 1765, contributed greatly to the *History*, in particular by providing the results of his travels and explorations in Russia.¹⁸⁷ In 1793, a somewhat enlarged third edition of the *History* was published in two quarto volumes in London by Benjamin White. The third edition contains 111 copper prints by Mazell; most of the plates show only one animal. Some of the etchings are easily recognisable as reversed copies of Simon Fokke's etchings after watercolours made by Aart Schouman.¹⁸⁸ In 1799-1800 an annotated German edition by J.M. Bechstein appeared in Weimar with additions in 2 volumes quarto.

In September 1771, Thomas Pennant presented Linnaeus with copies of his *Indian Zoology* (1769) and his *Synopsis* (1771): "Permit me to beg your acceptance of my Indian Zoology & my synopsis of Quadrupeds which shall be sent you very soon by his Excellency Baron Nolcken, to whom Doctor Solander will deliver them".¹⁸⁹ Dr Daniel Solander, Linnaeus's favourite pupil, would act as an intermediary by delivering the books to Gustaf Adam Baron von Nolcken, the Swedish Ambassador in London. The idea was that the ambassador would send the books to Linnaeus in Uppsala. On November 1771 Pennant wrote to Linnaeus: "I flatter myself that by this time you have received my synopsis of Quadrupeds; & Indian Zoology: and let me entreat you to give me your opinion: if favorable, how greatly shall I be encouraged to proceed in my labours".¹⁹⁰ However on August 12th 1772, Linnaeus complained to Pennant saying that he had not received the books. Apparently Solander or Nolcken had not delivered the books. Pennant replied to Linnaeus on October 14th 1772: "Nothing can equal my surprise as receiving your favor of the 12th August in which you inform me, you never got my Indian Zoology & Synopsis of quadrupeds. I declare upon my honor that I delivered them with my own hands to Doctor Solander in October 1771, & he assured me that he should send them to you by the Swedish ambassador that month. I am very sorry that you should even suspect that I am capable of breaking my word; especially to a friend who would do me so much honor by the acceptance of my words. I am at a loss to say why Doctor Solander has thus detained my presents from you: But shall enquire as soon as he is returned from a voyage he is engaged in to Iceland [...] Be so good as to inform me as soon as possible whether you have not in this interim received the above mentioned books, if not be assured that with the first ships I shall send you every book I have published among others my *Iter Scotum* in which is much natural history [...]".¹⁹¹ In the spring of 1773, after Solander's return from his nine-month expedition to Iceland with Banks, the problem surrounding Pennant's gifts seemed to have been resolved. On July 4th 1773, Pennant wrote to Linnaeus: "I merely rejoice that after to long a time my synopsis of quadrupeds and Indian Zoology reached you [...] I am very glad that you had something to approve in my synopsis: I knew your candor would excuse one difference in opinion in respect to system".¹⁹² In the *Synopsis* and the *History*, only the English names of the animals described were provided; there were no Latin binominal names like those found in the *Indian Zoology* (1769).¹⁹³ Pennant used John Ray's classification system (*Synopsis methodica Animalum Quadrupedum et Serpenti generis*, London, 1693), which he modified using Jacob T. Klein's *Quadrupedum dispositio brevisque historio naturalis* (Lipsiae 1751), Linnaeus *Systema Naturae* and his own ideas.¹⁹⁴

Pennant's did not agree with Linnaeus's system. This was discussed in the prefaces of the *History of Quadrupeds* (1781; 1793) and *Genera of Birds* (1773). Pennant's system resulted in a great many comments appearing in British periodicals and Pennant, having read the remarks of his peers, was under the impression that for a British naturalist national pride played a great role in the formation of their opinions.¹⁹⁵ Pennant modelled his own system on John Ray's classification scheme; to his mind, it was more natural than that of Linnaeus. Because Linnaeus's system changed with every edition of his *Systema Naturae*, Pennant felt that Linnaeus's classification of the quadrupeds was not as good a basis for the classification of the animals in his own *Synopsis* and *History*. He did, however, realise that these constant alterations were in part due to the new discoveries being made in zoology and in part due to Linnaeus' "sincere intention of giving his Systems additional improvements". Moreover, Pennant had signalled errors in Linnaeus's arrangement of the class of Mammalia (mammals). To start with, Pennant objected to Linnaeus' division of the order of Primates: "[B]ecause my vanity will not suffer me to rank mankind with Apes, Monkies, Maucaucos, and Bats, the companies Linnaeus has allotted us even in his last System [the 12th edition of the *Systema Naturae* (1766)]". Most species of the Linnaean genus *Vespertilio* are now part of the order of Chiroptera. The pectoral position of the mammary glands of the bats and Linnaeus idea that the flying lemur, *Galeopithecus*, was an intermediary between the half-ape and the bat, were the reasons why he reckoned the bats to the order Primates.¹⁹⁶

For much the same reason Pennant objected to Linnaeus second order Bruta: "The most intelligent of Quadrupeds, the half-reasoning Elephant, is made to associate with the most discordant and stupid of the creation, with Sloths, Ant-Eaters, and Armadillos, or with Manaties and Walruses inhabitants of another element". The rest of Pennant's criticism against Linnaeus' classification of the Mammalia is based upon morphological arguments. Linnaeus last order Cete, is rejected by Pennant: "[I]t must be confessed [the whales] have, in many respects, the structure of land animals; but their want of hair and feet, their fish-like form, and their constant residence in the water, are arguments for separation them from this class [Mammalia], and forming them into another, independent of the rest". Notwithstanding these objections Pennant praised Linnaeus highly for "other merits of his great and extraordinary person: his arrangements of fish and insects, and of shells, are original and excellent". Pennant did not mention Linnaeus's classification of the birds.

LOTEN'S MEMOIRS TO PENNANT

Loten supplied Pennant with information for the *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* and *History of Quadrupeds*, the later extended version. His contribution was explicitly mentioned by Pennant in the preface of the *History of Quadrupeds* (1793): "[I am] to John Gideon Loten, Esq.; late Governor in the Dutch settlements in India under the greatest obligation for a variety of remarks, relative to the Animals of the Islands. To alleviate the cares of government, he amused himself with cultivating our beloved studies and brought home a most numerous collection of drawings, as elegant as faithful. These have proved the basis of two works: Mr. Peter Brown etched chiefly the contents of his Illustration of Zoology from them; and the Indian Zoology lately republished with considerable improvements, derived its twelve plates from the same treasure". Although Pennant used Loten's information, in his descriptions he did not always refer to his source. In the description of the South America Agouti or "Javan cavy" however, Pennant did refer to Loten. He realised that the locality of *Mus leporinus* was incorrect and commented on the species: "Inhabits Surinam and the hotter parts of South America, where it is common food: the flesh is white, but dry. It is not found in Java or Sumatra, as Catesby asserts. Governor Loten assures me, that he made the most diligent enquiry after it in most parts of Java, but could never find the left traces of any such animal".¹⁹⁷

Loten not only furnished Pennant with his watercolours but also with written reports on animals in Holland and Asia. Loten's memoirs illustrate that while residing in the Dutch East Indies he had been a keen observer, noticing minute details of the animals. He supplied information to Pennant about the Mouse-deer, Purple faced Langur, Elephant, Anoa, Babyrusa, Beaver, Buffalo and Deer. He used his own notes and memory, but also the information from written Dutch sources like Nieuhoff, Valentijn, Houttuyn and Martinet. He further supplied him with information from servants of the VOC, such as Marcellus Bles, Nicolaas Langenbergh and Willem Adriaan Palm.

In September 1736, junior merchant Marcellus Bles from Tilburg, arrived in Batavia aboard the ship *Noordwaddinxveen*. He moved up in the ranks of the Company and was "secretary for twelve years to the Dutch government in Ceylon". In 1760, Bles returned to Patria aboard the ship *Overnes* and settled in the province of Brabant.¹⁹⁸ Bles was mentioned by Loten as, "Mr Marcellus Bles, baronet of Moergestel a very

able observer of the wondrous works of the Almighty".¹⁹⁹ In a letter Loten wrote to Pennant from Spa in July of 1769, he refers to Bles: "In the Mayery of Bois le Duc lives a Gentleman of my acquaintance who was a long time Secretary at Ceylon & was sent once or more, before my time, to the King of Candy, if I should see him, I hope to get several informations, tho' I was, when at Ceylon I enjoyed his company, sometimes of opinion that he now and then inclined, by his love of the amazing beauties of nature, to the wonderfull".²⁰⁰ One of Loten's notebooks Loten contains a biographical memoir of this former colleague: 'Marcellus Bles - Baron of Moergestel &c. born in 1715. To the East Indies in the distinguished quality of Junior merchant (in rank superior to all Vaendrighs). On Batavia in 1736, stayed there but 7 months, then I think to Malabar- Ceylon &c. From there again to Batavia, staying there, about, 7 months, like before in 1746. I think He was employed in the Comptoir der Generale Visite together with Mr. Geo Tammo Falck in 1736. Compelled by ship leakage to stay some months on Benkoeli [=Bencoolen] in 1746. There received well by Mr. Robert Lennox (known to me Jan Gideon Loten), but the means of life were so scarce there that he could not invite the 3 first officers of the Dutch ship together for dinner'.²⁰¹ In 1760, Marcellus Bles bought the seigneurie of Moergestel in Brabant, where he lived until his death in 1797.

Senior surgeon Nicolaas Langenberg [or Van Langenberg] from Braamschee near Osnabrück went to the Dutch East Indies in 1740. He arrived in July of 1741 at Batavia aboard the ship *Diemermeer*. The VOC files tell us he was registered as a 'derde meester', an assistant surgeon. Many years afterwards in London Loten wrote the following about him in his notebook: 'Van Langenberg was surgeon major in the battalion of Major Barnawall at Maccassar where he arrived around 1746; I guess he was then 30 years old. On July 28 1779 Mr. J.D. v. Clootwyk thought he had been born in Hannover although [I] am not sure of his birth name I believe it was Nicolaas'.²⁰² The conversation with his friend Van Clootwyk, former governor of Macassar, took place at Fulham. In another notebook under the heading "Friends", Loten again referred to the chat he had had with Clootwijk about Langenberg and entered several further particulars about him: '[H]e was well versed in Natural History. In 1746 I guessed he was 28 years old. When he came to me he was slender and in size not above 5' 2 and 3" or 4". He had a modest nature and was raised decently. If I ever, under God's protection, may come in Utrecht, I shall look after his letters, so that I record the name of this worthy person. He died I guess in 176... [=April 15th 1767]'.²⁰³

A third source of information for Loten was Willem Adriaan Palm. According to Loten in 1780 Palm was "Chief of the settlement Tatas (in English pronounced Tawtas)". In 1776, Palm wrote a letter to Loten in which he spoke of "subjects of natural history". In April 1780, Loten wrote to Pennant about Willem Palm: "Mr. P[alm] whom I saw a[nn]o 1759 at Utrecht being brought or introduced to me (by Mr. Hurgronje a learned Zeeland Gentl[ema]n) tho' then very young had a liberal education in the military line. I saw not long ago in the news papers that Palm was preferred to be Chief of Rembang on Java's N[orth] E[ast] coast, from whence I hope to receive something more interesting".²⁰⁴ In July of 1778, Palm took a tour along the South West coast of Borneo (Kalimantan) where he captured an orang-utan.²⁰⁵ In 1779, he became the resident of Rembang.²⁰⁶ In 1788 Palm was senior merchant and chief of Surakarta.

THE MOUSE-DEER

In his *An historical relation of Ceylon* (1681) Robert Knox gives a short description of deer on the island of Ceylon: "Deer are in great abundance in the Woods, and of several sorts, from the largeness of a Cow or Buffalo, to the smallness of a Hare. For here is a Creature in this Land no bigger, but in every part rightly resembleth a Deer. It is called Meminna, of colour gray with white spots, and good meat". In his description and plate of the 'Indian Musk' Pennant refers to Knox's Meminna. Pennant tells us that "[it] inhabits Ceylon and Java. A fine drawing of this animal was communicated to me by Mr. Loten, late governor in Ceylon".²⁰⁷ In a letter to Joseph Banks dated 1776, Loten mentions the "musk" from Java and Ceylon; he had not discovered a deer "of the Musk kind" at Celebes however. He continues: "Tho' I use the word Musk for that very small Cervula, I was never informed neither at Java (where I kept myself in a place or menagery, made for that special purpose many of them) or Ceilon, that the drug of that name was there extracted from them, but from the civet-cats kept for that purpose in wooden cages".²⁰⁸

In Ceylon, Loten's draughtsman Pieter Cornelis De Bevere made two watercolours of the species. Loten made an annotation on one of the watercolours: 'Stonebock, called Walmirja in Sinhalese and Knox called it Meminna, is 1.v. 7 d.9 in length; its weight is 5 pounds 2 ounces; it is a male. I also had many of them while on the east coast of Java but never longer than about three or four months, keeping them alive mostly on small Bidara apples. There are smaller ones in Colombo, drawn after the living species and feeding on Patatas leaves. Those brought to me on Java had fewer or none of those lighter spots, but its

shape was even more beautiful than the one from Ceylon. I have eaten them often; they were fried and brought to the table in a saucer. The taste is like that of a tender heather rabbit or a young pheasant. I was not able to discover them in Celebes but the Malayans on the western islands somewhat N.W. of Macassar showed me small antlers that they always carry with them as a curiosity which gives strength; they told me they were carried around now and then by the males'.²⁰⁹ The “musk” reported from Java is the ‘Lesser Malay Chevrotain’ or ‘Kanchil’, which was described by Pennant in the *History of Quadrupeds* as the ‘Guinea Musk’.²¹⁰

DEER

Although Loten was only quoted once in the descriptions of the “Deer” in the *Synopsis* and *History*, it is likely that he contributed more information about these subjects to Pennant’s books. A letter that he wrote to Joseph Banks in December 1776 and the memoir that he forwarded to Pennant in April 1781 about the deer at Ceylon, Java, Celebes and Borneo, give interesting insights into his knowledge of the subject. It also proves that he furnished Pennant with information about deer in the Dutch East Indies.²¹¹ Loten described five different kinds of deer from Ceylon, four of them can be identified as the Sambar, the Muntjac, the Chital and the Mouse deer. The identity of the fifth, called by Loten “red deer”, is uncertain. Loten observed three kinds of deer in Java and gave details of one species of deer from Celebes. A drawing from the Loten collection in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet [Print Room] shows a stag hunt in Celebes.²¹² It demonstrates his interest in deer and deer hunting.

In Pennant’s *Synopsis* (1771: 51) and *History* (1781: 105; 1793: I 117) the “spotted Axis” is described as being “common on the banks of the Ganges, and in the isle of Ceylon”. The deer he speaks of can be identified as the Chital, *Axis axis* (Erxleben 1777). Loten, who in his letter to Banks mentions a spotted deer from Ceylon, probably furnished Pennant with the animal’s locality “Ceylon”. Loten also reported a “speckled” deer from Java, but this was probably imported, because “One sees [them] ... only in paddocks or enclosed parks”. Pennant and Simon Peter Pallas had observed the “Axis or spotted deer with trifurcated horns” alive in the menagerie of the Prince of Orange in the Hague on July 30, 1765.²¹³ Pennant’s “Middle-sized Axis” (1781: 106; 1793: 118) is described as inhabiting “the dry hilly forests of Ceylon, Borneo, Celebes, and Java, in herds of hundreds. In Java and Celebes they grow very fat”. This “axis” can be identified with some probability as being the *Rusa timorensis* (Blainville 1822).²¹⁴ Loten describes this deer in a letter to Banks as “the red stag” and reported that the species was to be found in Java, “where one sees them often in great herds”. He also reports them from Celebes, “in a most incredible plenty & so thoroughly fat & well fed, even in the woods itself” and from Ceylon, without giving details. Loten also said that he had seen “a couple of white deer” while at Celebes. He observed “a white one” in Java and Ceylon. In *An historical relation of Ceylon* (1681: 21) Robert Knox reports having seen a “milk white” deer from Ceylon and describes how it was caught. These observations were also found in Pennant’s description, who said that they “sometimes varied to white [which is] ... reckoned a great variety.”

The identity of Pennant’s “Middle-sized Axis” from Ceylon however is uncertain. *Rusa timorensis* is not among the five species of deer from Ceylon.²¹⁵ Pennant’s description of them is too vague to be able to identify the animal. Loten’s letter to Banks does not help much. In the literature Pennant’s “Middle-sized Axis” is generally considered to be a variety of the Sambar, *Cervus unicolor*. This animal, however, is described by Pennant as being the “Great Axis” and by Loten as the “Eland (Elk)”. Pennant’s description of the “Great Axis” (1781: 106; 1793: I 118) is based on a pair of large horns he saw in the British Museum: “These probably came from Borneo or Ceylon. Mr. Loten having informed me of a species of stag in those islands as tall as a horse, and with horns three-forked. They are of a reddish-brown color. The Dutch call them Elanden, or Elks. In Borneo, they are found in low marshy places for which reason they are there called, in the Javan and Malayan language, Mejangan Banjoe, or water stags”. Here Pennant refers to a communication he received from Loten in April of 1781: “[A] letter sent me from Badjarmasing on Borneo by William Adrian Palm Chief of the settlement Tatas (in English pronounced Tawtas) dated Oct[ober] 26. 1776 out of which I could not divest my self from communicating the following to You [...]

« an uncommon multitude of Deer & of those two species viz

1. Menjangan Banjoe (or Waterdeer, because they dwell in low marshy lands these are of an uncommon large size) [Loten added on bottom of page: Note: Menjangan, Javan, & Malay Deer & Stag chiefly by the Javans, as the Malayos use more the word Roussa (English pronounc: Roossa) Banjoe Javan: Water]

2. Menjangen Djava (i.e. Java) because they are exactly like those on Java, these dwell in the mountains and even woody rising dry grounds. I myself have many times been with the Emperor (this title we may excuse in Mr Palm considering the size of the I.^d Borneo) & his grandees, & according to that islands custom on a naked horse either with the loop [inserted by Loten: this is sliding over a furcated pole or stick length of a lance], or dead lance assisted in hunting them (he means one with a sort of cronel or button).

Besides these two species we have here the keedang Steinbuck or Roebuck [inserted by Loten: being at Utrecht 1776 some friends sent me from Gelderland a roebuck, that was shot; we can buy them frequently at Utrecht from the poulterers (this is Mr Pennant's Roe 43 [reference to Pennant's *Synopsis* page 43] as I believe.) The Keedang is rather a finer animal its colour more bordering on the yellow for the lighter parts, & much darker on some parts of the back, furrows at the head legs &c & I believe more white under the belly the tail more plummy or bunchy its inside also white] – Water-Korbouwe, common Goats, Musk-kats (Zibet) Moessangs [inserted by Loten: I do not understand this, but I think it not unlikely he means the fierce wild oxen, as I was informed they are at least on Borneo's north coasts, but I thought they were called there Lissangs (thus this article Moessang doubtful.)]»²¹⁶

Loten also writes about the deer in Borneo in a letter to Banks dated 1776: “There is at Ceylon a very large stag, in all except it's size, intirely, as much I can recollect, like the red stag, improperly we call them Eland (Elk) tho' the horns are roll-round or of a cylinder form we esteem them a very bad eating coarse and thready. I brought two with me alive till in Amsterdam, & being carried to a garden out of town, I was told they were run away. These Elands, so called, inhabit also Borneo, from whence the Sultan of Bandsar sent me once a couple to Makassar upon Celebes, where tho' I have made many journeys into the country and woods I never have seen any other sort of deer than the red one”.²¹⁷ The Ceylon deer which Pennant and Loten described can be identified as the Sambar, *Cervus unicolor unicolor* Kerr 1792. The Bornean variety of this deer is the *Rusa equina brookei* (Hose 1893).²¹⁸

Pennant's called the “Hog-deer”, *Axis porcinus* (Zimmermann 1777), a “Porcine deer” (1771: 52; 1781: 107; 1793: I 119). His description is not based on Loten's information. Loten may have furnished Pennant with the animal's locality, which is “Borneo”, because he confused the “Hog-deer” with the Muntjac. Loten wrote to Banks about their resemblance: “That Pennant calls the Porcine is a good deal like the keedang [= muntjac] but I cannot remember anything remarkable, as to clumsiness of body, rather the contrary; at rathing time, tho' familiar & tamed, become very dangerous; if not strongly secured it always ends in being obliged to shoot them”.

Loten probably supplied Pennant with information about the “Muntjac”, *Muntiacus muntjac* (Zimmermann 1780). In his letter to Banks Loten described the species from Java and Ceylon as follows: “O]ne hath the Roebuck (by the natives called Kidang which agreable to the English pronunciation one should write Keedang) whom I never have seen fairly come out 'till in the fields, but always in very small families in deep forests & that in moutenous places- some months ago a Roebuck (dead) being sent me at Utrecht, I found this far inferior with regard to Beauty compared with the Keedang, and having not these singular pedestals of bone on the head where the horns begin nor that brown under the belly &- tail, besides that the Keedang is of a yellowish brown & on it's fore head & face back & shoulders so much I can recollect, regularly striped over with a dark chestnut, in the old ones almost bordering with a still more dark stripe in the midden, upon black. We use this Roebuck for a delicious food at Java and at Ceylon”. Pennant describes the “Muntjac” as a “Rib-faced deer” (1771: 52; 1781: 107; 1793: I 119), because of the “three longitudinal ribs extending from the horns to the eyes”, and he reports that they were: “In size somewhat less than the English roe-buck, but of the shape of the Porcine deer. They live only in families. Inhabit Java and Ceylon; where they are called in the Malaye tongue, Kidang, and by the Javans, Muntjak: are common, and esteemed for the delicacy of their flesh”. The description suggests that he received his information from Loten.

THE PURPLE FACED LANGUR

In *An historical relation of Ceylon* (1681) Robert Knox gives a charming description of the langurs found on Ceylon: “Monkeys. Of which there are abundance in the Woods and of divers sorts, some so large as our English Spaniel Dogs, and of a darkish gray colour, and black faces, with great white beards round from ear to ear, which makes them shew white like old men. There is another sort just of the same bigness, but differ in colour, being milk white both in body and face having great beards like the others; But both these

sorts do but little mischief, keeping in the Woods, eating only leaves and buds of Trees, but when they are caught they will eat any thing. This sort they call in their language, Wanderows". In the *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, Pennant describes Knox's monkeys as a variety of Lion-tailed monkey, *Macaca silenus* (Linnaeus 1758). Pennant published the description together with a copy of a watercolour from Loten's collection: "[The monkey] inhabits Ceylon. The figure taken from a drawing communicated to me by Mr. Loten, is probably the same with those called by Knox Wanderows".²¹⁹ Ten years later in his *History of Quadrupeds* (1781), Pennant wrote that "on reconsideration I placed this monkey no longer as a variety but as a distinct species" and described the species as Purple-faced Monkey.²²⁰ Peter Mazell's plate of the Purple-faced leaf Monkey in the *Synopsis* and *History* were copied from Parkinson's copy of De Bevere's watercolour, because the tail of the langur in the etching is in the same position as that of Parkinson's painting. The langur on Mazell's copper print has been reversed.²²¹

THE BURU BABYRUSA

Pennant's description and etching of the Babyrusa were based on a watercolour from Joan Gideon Loten's collection. Pennant names the species 'Indian Hog' (1771) and 'Baby-roussa Hog' (1781; 1793) and gives as its locality "Boero, a small island near Amboina: but neither on the continent of Asia, or Africa".²²² Part of his description was taken from Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1724-1726), "from a translation Mr. Loten was so obliging to communicate to me". Loten sent the Valentijn translation, together with a translation from Houttuyn's *Natuurlijke History* to Pennant in Downing in September of 1770: "I shall call to help the new natural history of Dr. Houttuyn and Valenyn to comply with Your desire on the subject of the Boar with two tusks upon the forehead".²²³ Then follows a translation in English of the text from Houttuyn. This was taken over by Pennant in the *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*. With regard to Valentyn's description Loten writes: "Valentyn says that they can be tamed & quotes a very few examples of it, but that it is difficult to use 'm to the food we give 'm, the drawing I have, of which You have a copy, is done after the living animal in the garden of the late Governor General Mossel at Batavia, where it was kept in a little paddock. Valentyn says there is abundance of 'm on Borneo (or Boero) as also on Cajelie (upon Celebes) as also on Manado & other places of Celebes, that the soldiers often catch them, they are also found on the Xoela-Islands & chiefly on Xoela Mangoly, that they swim very well &c. never flocking together with the wild boars, of which there is a great plenty in those quarters. The size of what I saw I can recollect was rather above the middle size of the tame hog. I find nowhere whether the sows have tusks. I am afraid You'll have a good deal of trouble to read these, I'm conscious I spell English worse than ever, if anything obscure, pray tell me, I 'll endeavour to explain it". In a postscript Loten wrote: "If I should on one or other unforeseen occurrence want the drawings I'll acquaint You in time with it. I think it will not be before April or May". The description of the Buru babyrusa found in the *Synopsis* and Pieter Cornelis De Bevere's watercolour of it are the first reliable accounts of the species in eighteenth-century natural history literature.²²⁴ Linnaeus's description of the Babyrusa in the 1758 tenth edition of the *Systema Naturae* was based upon Seba's poor description and plate of the animal in the first volume of the *Thesaurium* (1734).²²⁵

THE ELEPHANT

Loten supplied Pennant with "several curious particulars [...] respecting the elephant" which is only mentioned without further specifications in the *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771). In the later *History of Quadrupeds* (1781; 1793) these details were "taken from a memoir on the subject transmitted by Mr. Marcellus Bles and communicated to me by Governor Loten". Bles' memoir was not found among Pennant's manuscripts in Warwickshire. In Loten's notebook over the period 1773-1776 we do find a short reminder to speak with Bles: "[Speak] to Marcellus Bless L[ord] of Moergestel Near Bois le Duc, about the time of his return, [...] as also concerning some parts of na[tural] history of Ceijlon, the smaller species of Elephants he spoke once of to me, the several species of tigers, bears, peacocks".²²⁶ Loten may have met Bles, whom he knew from Ceylon, during his stay in Holland in 1775 or 1776. Bles' communication about the elephant must have been based on the two letters about the elephants at Ceylon that he wrote to George-Louis Leclerc Comte De Buffon. The first letter was written before 1776, the second letter was dated 25th January 1776. This information was included in its entirety by Buffon in the third (1776) and sixth (1782) Supplement to his *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière*.²²⁷ Bles may have referred Loten to Buffon's *Supplement* or have given him copies of his letters to Buffon instead of a written

memoir. In the *History of Quadrupeds*, Pennant also refers to the observations by Bles, but Pennant's references to Bles's communication are less detailed than the descriptions published by Buffon. In April 1781, Loten also sent an abstract from a memoir by Willem Adriaan Palm about the animals at Borneo to Pennant.

“ELEPHANTS – on BORNEO

« [I]n about the middle of this island is an inland-sea (lac or meir) separating Bandjarmasing from Borneo – in which empire (viz: Borneo) till this Lago (in Sea) many Elephants are found, whose tusks make there a principal branch of commerce, but in no other parts of this island those animals exist – and also no Rhinoceros, nor Tigers – but an uncommon multitude of Deer”.²²⁸

Pennant used the observation about the distribution of elephants at Borneo in a note in the *History of Quadrupeds*.²²⁹ Pennant mentions that the tusks were “a great article of commerce”. Besides arekanuts and cinnamon, elephants were important export products of the island during Loten's Governorship of Ceylon. The Company traded with Indian courts where the elephants were used for official manifestations, warfare or as pack animals. In Loten's *Memoir* to his successor in Ceylon (1757), he mentioned the trade in elephants which, during his administration of the island: “[They] bring them [elephants] in their ships from Perach (an island close to the Malayan coast, about 35 miles more to the north than Malacca), and from the coast of Queda, in the same stretch of Malayan coast but situated still more to the south than the coast of Terasserin. These elephants being much bigger at both places than those of this Island, are transported to the Coromandel and sold there very considerably to the detriment of our trade in this article”.²³⁰ In his memoir Loten suggested that the prices of the females be lowered and that the prices of the tusked animals and the big “alias” (the males without tusks of *Elephas maximus ceylanicus* Blainville) be fixed in order to revive the trade.

THE ANOA

In his *History*, Pennant added a very short note about the anoa as an appendix to his description of the Buffalo: “The Anoa is a very small species of a buffalo, of the size of a middling sheep”.²³¹ This remarkable ruminant “was first noticed by Governor Loten” in Celebes.²³² Pennant got his information about the anoa from Loten: “[The Anoa's] are taken with great difficulty; and even in confinement are so fierce, that Mr. Soten [sic!] lost in one night fourteen stags, which were kept in the same paddock, whose bellies they ripped up”. Besides Pennant's short remark, the anoa was not described in eighteenth-century natural history literature.²³³ Loten's information about the species was based on a letter, dated April 30th 1757, written by senior surgeon Nicolaas Langenberg from Macassar. Langenbergh described two kinds of anoa. The animals can be identified as the *Bubalus (Anoa) depressicornis* (Hamilton Smith). In addition to his description, Langenbergh also sent a drawing of a stuffed specimen of the anoa. This drawing has not been found in the Loten documents. The description was the first known one of its kind of the anoa:

‘I have investigated the animals the natives here call the Anoa and through an interpreter, I received the following account in response to my questions from the inhabitants of the mountain towns Leija and Mallawa, about five miles North-east from Maros where these animals live.’²³⁴

Two species were found, one species is the size of an ordinary male goat; it has black curly hair except on its belly where it is somewhat red yellowish. The head and mouth are like that of a cow. It has two straight horns on the forehead 7 or 8 duym in length directing almost horizontally from the head. The tail is somewhat longer than the upper part of the hind-legs and ends like a brush. The legs are like those of deer. Although this kind is only caught with difficulty because they are wild and shy, I was given a stuffed skin with a head and legs, but it was too damaged and in disarray to be able to make a sketch or drawing of it. The other kind is somewhat bigger; it is the colour of red paint, with a somewhat more pointed mouth and narrow lips. The hair was not curled; the tail was somewhat shorter. Because these animals could not be caught alive, a stuffed specimen of the latter was sent to me. I measured it and drew it to scale as can be seen in the accompanying figure which can be measured with a pair of compasses.

These animals shelter in the cliffs of scarcely penetrable mountains; they are seldom seen on grassy meadows, only incidentally on an early morning when they play with each other and after which they return to the woody mountains where they also remain during the night.

They commonly eat grass but most of all like the leaves of trees and shrubs which they succeed in obtaining by standing on their hind legs.

It is difficult to catch these animals; the natives say that when they are hunted [they] rather jump from the highest mountain or cliff than allow themselves be captured; however they are usually caught with the aid of dogs although they run fast.

The difference between the male and the female is that the first is usually are a bit bigger; their colour and horns are the same. They shriek like young buffalos although one seldom hears this unless the females are on heat.

The natives assure us that they have seen an Anoa fight a wild buffalo, and although the Anoa incurred several wounds on the belly by the horns [of the buffalo], it finished off the buffalo such that it felt to earth and carried off by men; the Anoa then ran away.

The Anoa only rear a single young animal annually, but a young Anoa has never been seen or found.

The meat of these animals is used for meals and is very tasty; its flavour is more delicate than that of deer and is good for ill and emaciated people.

The natives could not tell me how many years these animals will live or what age they reach'.²³⁵

THE BEAVER

Loten wrote an undated memoir of the beaver in Holland for Pennant. The information was not included in the *Synopsis of Quadrupeds*, but Pennant used it without referring to Loten in the two editions of the *History of Quadrupeds*. He also included a reference to a description of the species in Martinet's *Katechismus der Natuur* which Loten translated for him.²³⁶ Loten's undated memoir reads as follows:

“BEAVER

A°. 1742 Two old & six young ones were caught at Gorinchem in Holland –

1757 one was shot in the river Yssel (Isula fluv.) near the Houte Middagten in Gelderland

1770 was shot one from the head of a knotty willow-tree in a coppice at the river Maas (Mosa) near the Village Hedel (not far from Bolduc [=Bois le Duc]) where he had been seen now and then during a time of 6 or 7 years, spoiling a great deal of grain & young wood [inserted by Loten: some times a middling boat (schuit) could be filled by what this beaver had gathered or (accumulated)] Thus after having several times unsuccessfully fired at him, at last Captain De Roock spied him sleeping on the above knotty head of the willow (that issued above the water about a Dutch ell or 27 inches) The celebrated surgeon Van Der Haar at Bolduc found it's length (from it's yellow tusks till the end of the tail) 4 feet – its weight he found 40 pounds – had a great deal of fat under it's skin, & two purses of Castoreum, each the size of a fowl's egg – which being so fresh gave out a very strong smell – he took 'm out and weighed 4 ounces: in it's maw (stomach) were found NO fishbones, but a great quantity of willow's bark. The body was afterwards stuffed to be kept in the Prince of Orange's Museum".²³⁷

THE BISON

Loten also supplied Pennant with information about the Indian Buffalo:

“OX - BISON

Buffalos, wrote M^r Bles to J.G.L. [= Joan Gideon Loten] from Moergestel febr. 25. 1779,

« are found on Ceylon in plenty, as You know, but am of opinion that they were transferred thither from the continent of India. I do not believe that either wild Bulls or Cows are on Ceylon, but they are on the coasts of Mallabar & Cannara, on the latter place [inserted by Loten: wild bovine-kind abundant on Cannara & Mallabar] I saw them in whole flocks; it is a beautiful but terrible beast, when it is offended [Loten inserted: J.G.L. even on getting in their ways of passage thro' the woods of Java, where they are also of a larger size than the domestick oxen & also a finer creature the young calves were of a delicious short meat superior to any tame Veal, the full grown I found as M^r Bles did. These seem the same as those on Borneo where they are called Lissang, the Javans call them Bantings in pluriel, else banting.]; full grown, the meat is not well eatable by the coarse threadiness (excuse this word of composition to convey my ideas) I could only make use of the tongues, resemble much our tame cows, but much bigger of size, and above all the horns, who are very smooth and pointed (or sharp) – the Bison or gibbons bull is also on Ceylon, as I was assured – this must be the Gauvera which M^r Knox mentioned»".²³⁸

Pennant briefly referred to Loten's information (about the wild ox occurring in the mountains of Java) in the *History of Quadrupeds* saying that he based himself upon “the report of a worthy friend”.²³⁹

THE RHINOCEROS BIRD

Loten was fascinated by the Rhinoceros Bird. There are several references to the hornbills in his manuscripts and the two watercolours of the species he had were based upon a dead specimen from Ceylon. He also had a watercolour of the Rhinoceros hornbill based upon a specimen found in Sir Ashton Lever's collection.²⁴⁰ Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant about the hornbill:

“This else very exactly delineating author Nieuhoff also confounds the dubbeld bek and Yaar-vogel it is one & the same Bird the Buceros; unless he means that some have the upper mandibule or rather the horn or second bill [inserted: cornu recurvats] upon it bent backward & the other not, but only like a gibbons cartilaginous excrescence tho'I am not certain whether this difference & variety arises from species, age, or sexe [in the margin: a Gentl. Who had shot several themselves wrote to me he had always heard at Celebes, that they never come on the ground.

Some Dutch travellers call them Jager-vogels i.e. huntsmen of Jagers bird; this is wrong, for the Malayos call them Boerong (or Tauwn) or Burong Taouwn i.e. Yaar-vogel, from their opinion, that the notches of the mandibules mark the Years of their age. They seem to feed chiefly on fruits & never on other animals or birds. Are not frequently seen but in deep inland woods betwixt cavernous mountains or spelunks hovering about the very high tops of trees in small coveys of 4, 5, 7 or 8. planning, & screaming and croaking [in the margin: I shot also two or 3 on Celebes. The only time I met with them in my life. So they appear to be very rare”²⁴¹

Pennant referred to Loten's observations in the first volume of *The View of Hindoostan* (1798), but he did not mention his source:²⁴²

“Among grotesque birds may be reckoned the two species of *Buceros*, or horn bill; the Rhinoceros, Edw. 281, called from the singular recurvated accessory beak, by the *Dutch, Dubbeld Bek*; and the Wreathed, *Latham*, i. p. 358, called in *Ceylon*, the *Year Bird*, being supposed to have annually an addition of a wreath to its bill. They make a great noise when they fly, and have a sluggish flight, perch on the highest trees, feed on berries, and are reckoned very sweet food”.

7. PETER BROWN'S NEW ILLUSTRATIONS OF ZOOLOGY (1776)

PETER BROWN

Although publication of Loten's watercolours in the *Indian Zoology* series failed following its first instalment, Thomas Pennant looked for other ways of continuing his project. In December 1770, Loten and Pennant agreed that artist Peter Brown would engrave the drawings for a publication. Pennant made sure that Brown could copy animals from the Marmaduke Tunstall, James Lee, the British Museum and the Royal Society's collections. Joseph Banks did not participate in this enterprise. In 1776, Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology* was published. It contained thirteen plates based on the Loten collection.

Biographical information about natural history painter Peter Brown is scarce. We do not know when or where he was born. Thomas Pennant tells us that he was a Dane by birth and a “very neat limner”.²⁴³ However, in September of 1772 Loten refers to “one Brown, born in Norway but living in London”.²⁴⁴ Daines Barrington refers to “the ingenious painter” Peter Brown as a Norwegian, who “from the age of 6 to 17 attended school near Sheem”.²⁴⁵ The latter suggests that he was already in England as a boy and that he received his education at the parish of Sheem, in Stafford County near the boundary of Derbyshire. A recent biographical sketch tells us that Brown “flourished” in London from about 1760 to 1791.²⁴⁶ He was a member of the Society of Artists of Great-Britain²⁴⁷ and in the period from 1770 to 1791, he exhibited work at the Royal Academy.²⁴⁸ In the mid 1760s, Brown accepted a commission from conchologist and palaeontologist Emanuel Mendes Da Costa. Brown was to complete watercolour drawings of shells for Da Costa's work *Conchology, or Natural History of Shells* (1771).²⁴⁹ Peter Brown may have flourished as an artist, but he did not fare well personally. In 1776, the celebrated Selborne naturalist Gilbert White told his brother Reverend John White:²⁵⁰

“Brown I think is in gaol in St. George's Fields. [...], but artists never work more steadily than when under confinement” (January 1776).

“Poor Brown the artist! It is the fate of most ingenious foreigners; they have no manner of economy. Forster will soon be in the same condition; he and his son dress like noblemen, and give £60 per ann. for a house” (March 1776).

Thomas Pennant introduced Brown to Loten, possibly aiming to have him continue the engraving of Loten’s watercolour collection for the unfinished *Indian Zoology*: “When he was in u[ltimo]st necessity I encouraged him to undertake the work & recommended him to Mr. Loten & others who furnished him with drawings”.²⁵¹ Loten’s earliest reference to Peter Brown is from a letter to Thomas Pennant dated February 1771, in which he gives him permission to copy a watercolour of a Ceylon peacock from his collection.²⁵² In 1771 or 1772, Brown copied several landscapes from paintings by the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Herman Saftleven (1609-1685). In 1780, he also painted birds from the collection of Sir Ashton Lever for Loten.²⁵³ In 1777, Loten referred to Brown’s personal situation: “I have heard he is now in a good way (and not a little elated with it) by having been introduced to H.M., to draw some patterns, whose heart, he told to an acquaintance of mine he had much moved by telling he had eleven children alive and his wife going to lay in of the twelfth. This analogy created pity, which I hope may prove for his best, and HEAVEN forgive this fraud that I cannot call perfectly innocent, as, for what I know he has but one child. [...] He is indeed an excellent artist & had once the power of making me drop a tear &c &c: if not a dozen, seeing him then in so miserable a condition with regard to an intire palsy & every other calamity”.²⁵⁴ Pennant also mentioned improvements in Brown’s situation saying that Brown “afterwards got into good business & was patronised by the Queen”.²⁵⁵ In 1783, Peter Brown was appointed Botanical painter to the Prince of Wales. His botanical work can currently be found in several collections, including that of the botanical department of the Natural History Museum in London. He died in London in 1799.

NEW ILLUSTRATIONS OF ZOOLOGY

In 1767, Thomas Pennant started a project to publish the watercolours from Loten’s collection in a series called the *Indian Zoology*. This enterprise, in which both Loten and Joseph Banks participated, failed after the first twelve plates were published (1769). It is likely that the main reason the project failed is because of Joseph Banks’s absence. From 1768 until 1771 he was on the *Endeavour* exploring the South Seas. Another impediment to the continuation of the series was that Loten objected to engraver Peter Mazell who had spoiled several of his watercolours. Banks evidently solved this problem for the first issue of the *Indian Zoology* by making the copies his draughtsman Sydney Parkinson had made from Loten’s watercolours at the disposal of Peter Mazell. However, once Banks left London, the Parkinson copies were no longer available making continuation of the *Indian Zoology* impossible.

Nevertheless, in December of 1770, Loten and Thomas Pennant agreed to continue the project by allowing artist Peter Brown to engrave the watercolours from Loten’s collection.²⁵⁶ We do not know when and by whom it was decided that the publication – entitled *New Illustrations of Zoology* – would become Brown’s private enterprise. After his return to London, Joseph Banks was apparently no longer involved in the publication of the engravings. Peter Brown complained saying that “Mr Banks also discourages me very much, and do not seem my freind”.²⁵⁷ He told Pennant that Banks considered the Loten watercolours to be of low quality. Banks probably formed his opinion based on the bird drawings he saw during his voyage on the *Endeavour*. It seems that Banks had been transformed, from being a virtuoso *amateur of sciences* he became a *man of sciences* and no longer wished to be involved in the publication of plates of birds with simple descriptions. By then he and Solander were preparing a publication of the plants collected during Banks’s voyage round the world. Their study was of a more scientific nature than was the album of an amateur collector of exotic curiosities.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless the *New Illustrations* contains two plates taken from specimen brought by Banks from Australia and New Zealand.²⁵⁹

Loten’s notebooks contain several references to the progress of the *New Illustrations*: The first reads: “[November 20th 1773] Peter Brown for half the subscription to his intended work being a collection of Birds and Animals 1.6.3”. In the same notebook Loten also writes that he lent ten guineas to Peter Brown on March 24th 1775, an amount which Brown was to repay before June 1st 1775. The note has been erased and replaced by the remark, “these 109 s are paid”.²⁶⁰ There is also a memorandum for London bookseller and publisher Mr. Benjamin White, Gilbert White’s brother, and publisher of the *New Illustrations of Zoology*.²⁶¹ Loten wrote this memorandum in August 1775, because he planned to set out for Utrecht early in September. It was meant to remind White that he had already paid Peter Brown for his plates: “Memorandum if I set out for Utrecht for Mr. Benj. White 20 nov 1773 paid Mr. P. Brown half

the subscription of this future work & prints of birds &c. £ 1.6.3 [...] & to see that he gives a well coloured copy as his behaviour towards me hath been by far not as mine to him hath deserved, even not so much as barely civil".²⁶² In December 1777 Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant from London: "Could You also prevail on M^r Peter Brown to bring my subscription-copy, I'll pay him friendly the remainder without harping in the least on the string of his former conduct [...] I am informed, M^r. Tunstall got his copy and employs him still".²⁶³

BROWN'S CORRESPONDENCE ON *NEW ILLUSTRATIONS OF ZOOLOGY*

Two letters relating to the *New Illustrations of Zoology* and written by Peter Brown to Thomas Pennant have been preserved and can be found in the Warwickshire County Record Office. Both letters are cited below in their original poor spelling, indicating that the level of Brown's education in Sheen must have been limited. The first letter is undated, but was evidently written when Brown was working on the plates of the *New Illustrations of Zoology*.

"Sir

Your unbounded goodness fills me with the greatest gratitude. I hope god will reward you. After I had received the Prints I was desirous to know if M^r Robson would purchase they Plates, which he refused to do, his objection was, first, that M^r Pennant by an letter to him, had taken the work out of his hands by telling him that I had found freinds to carry me through it, This I must confess, yourself & M^r Tunstall has been my great benefactors and has been the means that I am so far as I am; secondly the description of they Birds do not please him, and thirdly he suspect that some of the Birds has been already figured and described. I am afraid he is my enemy Mr Banks also discourages me very much, and do not seem my freind, he told me my work consisted of little else then copies from Governor Lotens Drawings, which are horid bad, and drawing by a fellow (as he terms it:) that knew nothing of Natural History.²⁶⁴ Whoever it is my duty and byssniss to behave with the greatest civility. I which I could sell it derectly because I see it impossible for me to Pay for the letter press and the translation, but whenever I disposes of it I will secure 100 copies for meself, that I may be able to supply my subscribers, and I am afraid the longer I keep it the less chances I shall have. Permit me to sollicit your Friendly advice (:as I am at Present much distresed and surounded by Missfortunes:) what you think I might ask for it and let the Purchaser be at the expence of the translation and letter press. I send the remainder of my prints except one Plate which is an animal I have lately got, also three drawings of shells the Dutchess examined them with the shells and found them very correct, I have done one very fine drawing upon vellum of a very scarce shell which Her Grace admired much.²⁶⁵

I am with the greatest respect

S^r Your most obedient Humble Servant

Peter Brown

NB: the Tortoise is done but I have not got the Print from the printer, but beg you will be so kind to give me a description of it".²⁶⁶

The second letter, dated London, March 1773, refers to Pennants promise to write the descriptions of the birds in the *New Illustrations*:

"Sir

The repeated favours I receives from you lay's me under the deepest sence of gratitude, without Providence had appointed such a freind as yourself (:a work which I have pursued with industry labour and indeed with sorrow:) would at last perish to this ruin of me and my familie Your freindly caution, not to contract any debts with M^r Robson, I have not had anny assistance of anny kind whatsoever from Him, and I shall be very cautious in having anny connection with Him. All my Prints will soon be finished, and hopes the answer to advantage, and nothing remains now but your generous assistance in describing this work, to make it acceptable to the Public upon which my succes depends. Mr Yates has promised to describe the Insects and flyes for me, I send served together according to your arrangement those Birds I have finished and left a leaf between for the description, the are but slightly coloured, as I thought the would do as well as better to be described from since the colours are right. I should wish to have it out now the town is very full. M^r Hay the Printer Bookseller in the Strand whom I propose to print my letter press gives His compliments to you and presents you with pamphlets which He thinks will give you pleasure in reading. I am

S^r. your most obedient H^{le} Servant P: Brown".²⁶⁷

Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of zoology* was published in London by Benjamin White in 1776. The book contains 50 engravings with birds, mammals and insects; 54 birds are depicted on 42 engravings. Most of the accompanying descriptions are by Thomas Pennant. Besides the engravings from the Loten collection, Brown also copied animals from the collections of Marmaduke Tunstall, James Lee, the British Museum and the Royal Society.²⁶⁸ In the preface, Brown thoughtlessly implied that the Tunstall Museum's contribution to the compilation was of the greatest value to it, rather than Pennant's patronage. He compounded his error of judgement by speaking of "my great patron Marmaduke Tunstall".²⁶⁹ In the preface Peter Brown also referred to the assistance he had received from Johan Reinhold Forster.

The birds in the *New Illustrations of Zoology* are of great interest for their novelty rather than their artistic merit.²⁷⁰ Pennant's descriptions and the names of the species were in English and French; in contrast with the *Indian Zoology* no Latin binominals were used. Nevertheless several of the plates do have a taxonomic status. It is likely that the Latin binominals "of the quadrupeds and birds of the extensive region of India and its islands" which Thomas Pennant and Johann Reinhold Forster had compiled in the *Indische Zoologie* (1781) included many specimens depicted by Brown.²⁷¹ The names in the *Faunula Indica* which contains the text "Loten pict" or "Loten" refer to watercolours of birds found in the Loten collection. When one compares the Loten watercolours to the Latin binominals of the *Faunula Indica*, it appears that many of the birds depicted in them were published in the *New Illustrations of Zoology*. However, the Latin names found in this collection are taxonomically invalid because before allocating a name to them, Pennant did not refer to the accompanying plates found in Brown's *New Illustrations*. Therefore the Latin binominals of the species found in Gmelin's edition of the *Systema naturae* (1788-1789) should take priority.

Thirteen engravings found in the *New Illustrations of Zoology* show nineteen birds and one butterfly based on the Loten watercolours. Eighteen birds found in these plates are copied from watercolours De Bevere painted in Ceylon and Java, while one of the birds depicted is copied from a watercolour Loten himself painted in Java in 1737.²⁷² Brown refers to Loten in his preface: "Several plates are copied from the elegant Drawings, generously communicated to me by Gideon Loten Esq.; and originally finished under his own inspection from living subjects, during his residence in the Islands of Java and Ceylon, of the latter of which he has been Governor for a considerable time". In a footnote to the preface he states: "That a certificate in Mr. Loten's own hand-writing, declaring the Plates faithful copies of his valuable drawings, is in the hands of Benjamin White, Fleet-street, for the Inspection of such Persons who should like to be convinced of their Authenticity". Brown's figures are reasonable copies of Loten's watercolours, but the drawings show few attempts at foreshortening or movement. Several of the plates bear a date. The earliest date on a plate based on a watercolour from the Loten collection is November 3rd 1774. The latest date on the plates copied from Loten's watercolours is April 6th 1775. Eleven of the watercolours have a type status because their first description using Latin binominals was based upon a specimen found in these watercolours. The table below summarises the information about the watercolours in the Loten collections and the plates in Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology*.

The Loten collection does not contain a watercolour of the plate of the 'Spotted Curucui', presently identified as the Emerald Cuckoo, *Chalcites maculatus* (Gmelin, 1788).²⁷³ According to the description, the plate of the species in the *New Illustrations of Zoology* was based on Loten's collection ("From Governor Loten"). The locality given for the bird is Ceylon. Brown's is the sole record of the occurrence of the Emerald Cuckoo in Ceylon.²⁷⁴ The bird occurs in the Himalayas up to 1,000 metres; it breeds in the area from southeastern Tibet to South Vietnam. In winter it wanders as far as Sumatra and Hainan. There are several watercolours with Cuculiformes from Ceylon in the Loten collection.²⁷⁵ If Peter Brown based his 'Spotted Curucui' on a drawing from Loten, then the watercolour of the Indian Koel is the one which roughly corresponds to the plate found in Brown's *New Illustrations*. George Edwards described the Indian Koel in 1747 as "The brown and spotted Indian Cuckow". Linnaeus supplied the Latin binominal name – *Cuculus scolopaceus* – for the species in 1758.²⁷⁶

Table: Plates in Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology* (1776) and watercolours in the Loten collections

Plate	Name in <i>Illustrations of Zoology</i>	Names in <i>Faunula Indica</i> and reference to Loten collection	Watercolour in Loten collection and taxonomic status	Copies or related watercolours in Loten collection	Current scientific name
III	Brown Hawk from Ceylon.	Possibly <i>Falco Fuscus</i> (Loten pict.)	NHM.LC. 2, type status	BL.MS.SC. 5266.7	<i>Accipter badius badius</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
IV	Great Ceylonese Eared Owl	<i>Strix zeylonensis</i> Gmelin, 1788	NHM.LC 3, type status		<i>Bubo zeylonensis zeylonensis</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
XIII fig. 2	The spotted Curucui Brown	Possibly <i>Cuculus Zeylanicus</i> (Loten pict.)	Possibly taken from NHM.LC 26, the Indian Koel, <i>Eudynamys scolopacea scolopacea</i> (Linnaeus, 1758)		<i>Chalcites maculatus</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
XIV fig. 1	Red-crowned Barbet	Possibly <i>Bucco viridis</i> "Loten pict"	NHM.LC 29, type status	NHM.PC 12	<i>Megalaima rubricapilla rubricapilla</i> (Gmelin, 1788).
XIV fig. 2	Olive-coloured warbler		NHM.LC 62 NHM.LC 65		<i>Zosterops ceylonensis</i> Holdsworth, 1872
XV fig. 1	The yellow-cheeked barbet	Possibly <i>Bucco nudatus</i> "Loten pict"	NHM.LC 28 and BL.MS.SC 5266: 20, type status	NHM.PC 13	<i>Megalaima zeylanica zeylanica</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
XV fig. 2	The Ceylon Black-cap	Possibly <i>Fringilla multicolor</i> Gmelin, 1788	NHM.LC 58 and BL.MS.SC 5266: 16, type status NHM.LC 65	NHM.PC 30	<i>Aegithina tiphia multicolor</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
XVII	Javan partridge	<i>Tetrao javanensis</i>	NHM.LC 86		<i>Arborophila orientalis orientalis</i> Horsfield, 1821
XVIII	Purple Pigeon		TS.LC 14	NHM.LC 81	<i>Treron vernans vernans</i> (Linnaeus, 1771)
XIX	The Pompadour Pigeon	Possibly <i>Columba Zeylanica</i> (Loten)	NHM.LC 79, type status	NHM.PC 26 NLA.pic-an6122949	<i>Treron pompadora pompadora</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
XX	The yellow-faced pigeon	Possibly <i>Columba Zeylanica</i> (Loten) <i>Columba Pompadora</i> Gmelin, 1789	NHM.LC 79, type status	NHM.PC 26 NLA.pic-an6122949	<i>Treron pompadora pompadora</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
XXII	The yellow crowned thrush	<i>Sturnus zeylanicus</i> Gmelin, 1789 <i>Turdus ochrocephalus</i> Gmelin 1789	NHM.LC 53, type status	NHM.PC 31	<i>Pycnotus zeylanicus</i> (Gmelin, 1789)
XXXI fig. 1	The yellow vented flycatcher		NHM.LC 45	NHM.PC 27	<i>Pycnotus aurigaster aurigaster</i> (Vieillot 1818)

Plate	Name in <i>Illustrations of Zoology</i>	Names in <i>Faunula Indica</i> and reference to Loten collection	Watercolour in Loten collection and taxonomic status	Copies or related watercolours in Loten collection	Current scientific name
XXXI fig. 2	Red vented warbler	<i>[Muscicapa] haemorrhousa</i> Gmelin 1789	NHM.LC 44, type status		<i>Pycnotus cafer haemorrhousus</i> (Gmelin, 1789)
XXXII fig. 1	The Yellow-breasted Flycatcher	<i>Muscicapa melanicteru</i> Gmelin, 1789	NHM.LC 59 and BL.MS.SC 5266: 14 type status	NHM.PC 31	<i>Pycnotus melanicterus melanicterus</i> (Gmelin, 1789)
XXXIII, fig. 1	The Pink-coloured warbler		NHM.LC 61 TS.BC 11		<i>Turdoides rufescens</i> Blyth, 1847
XXXIII, fig. 2	The green wagtail		NHM.LC 61 TS.BC 11		<i>Motacilla flava thunbergi</i> Billberg, 1828
XXXIII, fig. 3	The Ceylon Silk-worm		NHM.LC 122	NHM.PC 39	<i>Antheraea cingalesa</i> Moore, 1883
XXXVII	The Rail		TS.LC 20 and NHM.LC 91		<i>Rallina eurizonoides amauroptera</i> (Jerdon 1844)
XXXVIII	The Rail		NHM.LC 89; TS.LC 19		<i>Porzana fusca zeylonica</i> (Stuart Baker 1927)

¹ NHM.LMS page 39, note in Dutch by Joan Gideon Loten in London 1760s or 1770s:

“Door het leezen van Knox uytgegeven door R. hooke werd ik eerst nieuwsgierig gemaakt tot het opzoeken deze zeldzame vogels, doch in meenigte op Ceylon, Knox nazien en te opzigt der maat en gewigt noch een geschrift dat ik daarvan in Utrecht heb. De portugeezen noemen de witte passer die Leusse of neusdoek vogel, om dat vliegende zo een golvende beweeging heeft alsof men met een neusdoek speeld”.

² Roelof van Gelder (2004), ‘Jan Brandes: an outsider in the East’, in Bruijn & Rabe (2004), pages 79-88; Van Berkel (1998), pages 131-149.

³ See Heniger (1986), *Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein*; Wilson *et al.* (2002), *Codex Witsenii*; Beekman (1999), *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*; De Wit (1959a), *Georgius Everhardus Rumphius*. See also Sirks (1915) for short biographies of natural philosophers and scholars exploring Indian nature and an overview of scientific exploration of the Dutch East Indies in the eighteenth-century (pages 62-86). Florijn (1985) showed that the Company did not actively stimulated the foundation of a botanical garden for medical purposes in Batavia. It was founded in 1757, but was already abandoned circa five years afterwards.

⁴ Roelof van Gelder (2004), ‘Jan Brandes: an outsider in the East’, in Bruijn & Rabe (2004), pages 79-80.

⁵ See Smit (1978), pages 48-49.

⁶ For an inventory of the Dutch zoological cabinets and menageries see Engel (1939) and Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer (1986), *Hendrik Engel's Alphabetical list of Dutch zoological cabinets and menageries*.

⁷ Le Francq van Berkhey (1729-1812), quoted by Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer (1986), page iii. See also Roelof van Gelder (1998), pages 136-151 in Wettengl (1999), *Maria Sibylla Merian*.

⁸ Rob Visser (2004), ‘Jan Brandes, student of nature’, in Bruijn & Rabe (2004), pages 88-93.

⁹ NHM.LMS page 69. In 1780 Loten made a remark about the cashew tree on his drawing of The Ceylon Wood Pigeon (NHM.LC 83), which proves that at that time he knew about the work of Maria Sibylla Merian.

“The fruit of the Acajou [cashew tree] drawn by the otherwise so accurate Miss Merian was quite incorrectly drawn by her”.

¹⁰ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, November 9, 1767.

¹¹ Reference to *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1634*, page 14 quoted by Houghton (1942b) page 207.

¹² Debora J. Meijers (2005), page 22.

¹³ NHM.LMS page 69. In the Grothe collection of Het Utrechts Archief, HUA.GC 750 number 1385, the box is mentioned in a note dated 9 May 1763 in which Loten, who prepared his journey to France, inventoried his possessions that he send to Messr John and Herman Berens in Angelcourt, London:

“een platte kas waarin de koperen doos met de naar ‘t leeven getekende vogels, landschappen &c.: mitsgaders verscheydenen aangelegene papieren gemerkt I.G.L.”

¹⁴ Page 1 Loten Manuscript (NHM.LMS). The reference to *Ecclesiastes* reads in the King James version:

“Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest”.

¹⁵ Iconotype: Strictly, an illustration that formed the sole basis for a new species name, not necessarily with a verbal description unless the illustration remained unpublished. An illustration is based directly or at one or more removes on a specimen, but if this or another specimen was used by the author of a new name, then the illustration is not an iconotype but merely an extension of the description. Nevertheless, where type-specimens have not survived, then their illustration, whether published or not, has great importance. Although not in the strict sense semaphorants (i.e. name-bearers), such illustrations often provide more easily interpreted information than many an early verbal description. In this respect, an original drawing is usually superior to a published one, hence the continued value of early drawings to taxonomy.

See P.J.P. Whitehead (1978). The Forster collection of zoological drawings in the British Museum (Natural History). *Bull. Br. Mus. nat. Hist.* (hist. Ser.) 6 (2): 25-47.

¹⁶ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Testament 26 February 1767.

¹⁷ British Library Manuscript department Sloane Collection Natural History 5263 and 5266. The watercolours are badly damaged, because they were glued in the eighteenth-century on deep purple coloured sheets of a large folio.

¹⁸ Linnaeus died January 10, 1778. In the Linnaean correspondence there are no letters dealing with Loten's intention to bequeath his collection to Linnaeus.

¹⁹ The reference to 'Juliaans' is to L. Juliaans, apothecary in Utrecht. He had a well known cabinet of shells and insects. Juliaans is also mentioned among the friends and relations who attended Loten's burial in 1789. To his collection there are several references in 18th century natural history literature (Engel 1938: 284 ; Benthem Jutting 1938: 231; 237; Smit, Sanders & Van der Veer, 1986: 136).

The reference to 'Houttuyn' is to Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1795), physician in Alkmaar (Boezeman & Ligny, 2004). Author of the *Natuurlijke historie of uitvoerige beschrijving der dieren, planten en mineralen, volgens het samenstel van den heer Linneus* (1761-1785), 37 volumes. Houttuyn also made a part of the descriptions in Nozeman's *Nederlandsche vogelen* (1770-1829). There are no references to Loten or his collection in Houttuyn's numerous works.

²⁰ HUA.GC. 750 nr 1405. The reference to "the Society at Haarlem" is to the 'Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen', in this study mentioned as the 'Holland Society of Sciences'. This was the first Dutch society of sciences, it was founded in 1752 in Haarlem (Bierens De Haan 1952).

²¹ The reference to 'Mr. C.C.' is to Carolus (Charles Pierre) Chais (1710-1785), Swiss Protestant clergyman and author, pastor of the French church at the Hague, and member of the Holland Society of Sciences since 1753 (Bierens De Haan 1952: 184; 330; NNBW VII: 295; Smit, Sanders & van der Veer, 1986: 57). Some of his observations about the small pox were published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (58, [1768] 1769: 128-131). James Boswell met him in 1763 and 1764 when he studied in Utrecht (*Boswell in Holland 1763-1764*, edited by F.A. Pottle, Heinemann, Melbourne, London Toronto, 1952).

²² The reference to 'van der Aa' is to Christianus Carolus Henricus van der Aa (1718 -1793), secretary of the Holland Society of Sciences from its founding in 1752 till his death 1793. See Bierens De Haan (1952). See also NNBW I: 2

²³ The National Archives, London, Prob 11 / 1179 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1408. Codicil 13 October 1778.

²⁴ Loten's two donations of watercolours to the Hollandsche Maatschappij van Wetenschappen are specified in the following table. The current scientific name and the present location of the watercolours are also specified.

Description by Loten	NHM.LC	TS.LC	Current Scientific name
Donation 31 July 1780			
A. Bosch-duif	Nr. 78 (with note on Bosch-duif)	Nr. 24	<i>Ducula bicolor bicolor</i>
B. Purperige groene duif	Nr. 81	Nr. 14	<i>Treron vernans vernans</i>
C. Graauw-hoofd Pappegaay	Nr. 10		<i>Psittacula alexandri alexandri</i>
D. rood en groene gekuifde Specht	Nr. 22		<i>Picus miniaceus miniaceus</i>
E. en F. Sepia octopodia	Nr. 126, 127, 128	Nr. 3	<i>Octopus</i> ssp
G. Motacilla sutoria	Nr. 63	Nr. 37 (uncoloured engraving by Mazell from <i>Indian Zoology</i>) Fop I. Brouwer collection with <i>M. sutoria</i> (nr. 15).	<i>Ortobotomus sutorius sutorius</i>
H. Holothuria physalis	Nr. 143	Nr. 4	<i>Physalia pelagica</i>
Donation 21 March 1781			
Nr. 1, 2 Paradijsvogel		Nr. 31, 25, 33	<i>Paradisea apoda</i>
Nr. 3 groote bosch-duif	Nr. 83		<i>Columba torringtoni</i>
Nr. 4 Ceilonsche Meerkolf	Nr. 68	Nr. 16	<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i>
Nr. 5 Certhia Zeylonica	Nr. 56	Nr. 34	<i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i>

Nr. 6 Dillenia	Nr. 135		<i>Dillenia serrata</i>
Nr. 7 Appel	Nr. 136	Nr. 12	<i>Dillenia serrata</i>
Nr. 8 appel dwarsch regt doorgesneeden	Nr. 137	Nr. 11 and nr. 13	<i>Dillenia serrata</i>
Nr. 9 Nymphaea	Nr. 130 and 131		<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
Nr. 10 Folium peteolatum	Nr. 132		<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
Meerkolf onder 4 vogel op de rug gelegd	Nr. 69		<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i>

²⁵ In the Minutes of the Holland Society of Sciences, 4 August 1789, was entered that Mr. Jan Kol of Utrecht reported the Society of the legacy.

²⁶ *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* (1790), volume II: page 34.

²⁷ The entry in the minute book of the Holland Society reads in the original Dutch as follows:

“Voorts heeft de Heer van Marum gerapporteerd, dat conform de Resolutie van 3 November laatstleeden, de doos met tekeningen en prenten van Wijlen den Heer Loten aan deeze Maatsch. gelegateerd, had nagezien en bevonden dat daarin wel verscheiden zeer fraaye teekeningen waren, op ordre van den Heer Loten in Oost Ind. door eene kundige hand vervaardigkd, gelijkvormig aan die welken de Maatsch. voorm. van dierzelfen Heer bekomen had:- maar ook verscheide stukken van minder aan belang, en niet waardig om daarbij bewaard te worden:- dat hij, Heer van Marum van oordeel was, dat eerstgem. stukken in de koopere doos, waarin zij waren overgemaakt, bij de voorn. ontvangene, die daar aan gelijk vormig waren, zouden kunnen worden bewaard:- dat gem. doos op een zeker minst kostbaar schraagje in een der vertrekken, daar de Vogels staan, kan worden geplaatst, geslooten gehouden om niet aan de behandeling van elk bloot gesteld te zijn,- maar de sleutel daartoe gelegd in de lade van de tafel in de vergaderkamer ten einde een of meerder der H.H. Directeuren of Leden begerende de gem. teekeningen te bezien of te laten zien, daartoe gelegenheid zouden hebben, en is de Hr. van Marum voor genomen moeites en gedaan rapport bedankt en zijne propositie in eene solutie geconverteerd en Z. Ed. verzogt zoodanig een schraagje, minst kostbaar voor boven gem. doos te doen maaken en te zorgen, dat de sleutel van gem. doos in de laden van de tafel in de kamer der Maatsch. worde en blijve geplaatst- als mede zich van de overige prenten enz. die in gem. doos waren, en voor de Maatsch. van geen nut zijn, op de best mogelijke wijze voor de Maatsch. te ontdoen”.

²⁸ The watercolours were formerly stored as sheets in a portefeuille. The Teyler Museum Loten Collection was conserved in the period July 1988 until January 1989 by Monique Lieon. The first watercolour conserved was the painted stork (TS.LC 23) which was done by C. Baskcomb. The drawings were dry-cleaned with gum. Tears, and missing areas were repaired with Japanese paper. The sheets of the watercolours were formerly folded, evidently as a protection of the image areas. During conservation each sheet was unfolded and pressed open. The drawings were attached on one side to acid-free cartons. This makes it possible to study the backsides of the watercolours and view the watermarks. The drawings are presently housed stored flat in one cloth Solander box (83 x 64 cm). The box also contains the manuscripts with observations on butterflies and the accompanying drawing by Loten and Jean Michel Aubert, from Makassar 1750. The numbers of the drawings are in pencil on the cartons of each drawing.

²⁹ On the back of a watercolour in the Loten collection of Teyler’s Museum (TS.LC. 32) is written: “Uitgeschooten teekeningen en prenten van het Legaat van Looten” [Out-sorted drawings and prints from the Legacy of Looten] This indicates that the collection came from the Holland Society.

³⁰ George Edwards engraving of the ‘Narrow Beak’d Crocodile of the Ganges with an open belly’, *Gavialis gangeticus*, published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (49, 1756: 639-642). A copy of the plate was published by J. Robson in 1776 in *Some Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Edwards*. In the Library of Teylers Museum in Haarlem a copperprint of “The narrow Beak’d Crocodile of the Ganges with an open belly. Geo. Edwards Delin. et scalp. D 1756” is among the plates of the Loten collection (TS.LC 36). A note on the etching reads: “Described in the philosophical transactions of the Royal Society of London”.

TS.LC. 37: Peter Mazell’s engraving of *Motacilla sutoria* (*Orbotomus sutorius sutorius*), published in Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* and Forster’s *Indische Zoologie*, as plate VIII.

³¹ TS.LC. 35: Watercolour with two black headed canaries from the Cape of Good Hope, *Alario alario*, painted by Aart Schouman in 1763. On the backside of the watercolour is written in pencil: ”Kaapse Canari en ‘zuratje’mosje levensgroot. A.D. 1763.” In ink: “13 Caapsche Canari, en het zwarte suratsche Mosje, levensgroot geteekend door A. Schouman 1763. The cover in which the watercolour is kept has the annotation: “natural bigness and the largest that I saw at Macassar in the Island of Celebes”. The watercolour is mentioned by Loten in a description of his

dressing room in London, which he made in 1776 in Holland (HUA.GC. 510): “Dressing room amongst others but to write if settled for the following 2 landscapes & a .. piece small in stained watercolours by Schouman, 2 canary birds & a goldfinch, and one canary bird by the same together 5”.

³² TS.LC. 17: Watercolour of the Rhinoceros hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros*.

³³ Bierens De Haan (1952), page 266.

³⁴ In the concept of the minutes of the meeting of the Society ‘Natura Artis Magistra’ of November 12, 1866, which deal with the sale of the Haarlem natural history cabinet, the brass box with the Loten collection is not mentioned. We also did not find prints or drawings that could have been part of the collection in the ‘Artis’ library. Besides that, neither the minutes of the Holland Society, nor Bierens De Haan’s history of the cabinet of the Society (1941; 1952) gave a clue about the fate of the Loten collection after the cabinet was closed.

³⁵ Nijhoff, M. 1883. *Bibliotheca Neerlandico-Indica. Catalogue de livres et de quelques manuscrits concernant les Indes-Orientales Neerlandaises, l’Empire Indo-Britannique, l’Inde Française, les îles Philippines, la Chine, le Japon et l’Australie, en ordre systématique et avec quelques notes bibliographiques. En vente aux prix marqués chez Martinus Nijhoff a la Haye, Nobelstraat 18 la Haye*. See also Ferguson (1908), page 217.

³⁶ P. J van Houten in *Indische Mercur*, June 6, 1905, page 365.

³⁷ Between 1905 and 1908 P.J. van Houten wrote several articles about Loten and his collection (1905; 1906; 1906a; 1908). These were translated and augmented with notes and other additions by J. Ferguson in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1908), pages: 217-271.

³⁸ Sawyer (1971), page 155.

³⁹ The sheets of the watercolours in the Loten collection of the London Natural History Museum were formerly folded, evidently as a protection of the image areas. The Natural History Museum General Library Loten Collection was conserved in 1985 by Jane McAusland, conservator of art on paper. Each sheet was unfolded and pressed open. Non-image areas were surface cleaned. Tears and missing areas were repaired, and centre folds were reinforced, with Japanese paper. The drawings are housed in polyester sleeves and stored flat in two cloth solander boxes. Box 1 contains several pages with annotations and watercolours numbered by the Museum from 1 to 101. Box 2 contains the rest of the collection consisting of watercolours numbered 102 to 152. The numbers are on most watercolours in blue pencil and all are stamped with a number at the top of the right hand side of the sheet. All the watercolours have a stamp of the British Museum Natural History (BMNH) dated June 27, [19]25. The stamps are usually in the middle of a page on the backside of the watercolours. In several watercolours the ink of the stamps shines through the paper and is seen from the image side of the watercolour.

The numbers on the watercolour are in the handwriting of several persons. It seems probable that Pieter Cornelis de Bevere referred with pencil numbers to the Registers of birds which is kept with the collection in the Natural History Museum in London. The Register gives the Singalese names of the birds and supplies 74 numbers. These numbers, in the same handwriting as the Register, are usually in pencil below the blue frame of the watercolour. These numbers are often followed by the references to the 13th edition of the *Systema* and references to Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle*. Sometimes these annotations are written over the pencil numbering. Joan Gideon Loten also added numbers to the watercolours. These numbers refer to his short numbered descriptions in Dutch and in English that are now among the manuscripts of the London Natural History Museum Loten collection. These numbers are usually on the top of the first page of the sheet on the right hand side, most in pencil some of them also in ink.

⁴⁰ NHM.LC 149.

⁴¹ NHM.LMS pages 17, 18 the register gives the Sinhalese names of 74 species, mainly birds. The register number referred to a number in pencil on the bottom of the blue frame around the drawing, on the left side. A second list with Sinhalese names is in NHM.LMS page 39. This list mentions 17 species, also mostly birds.

⁴² Mr. Bert Sliggers, curator of the Teyler Stichting in Haarlem, kindly informed me in May 2000 that he had received on loan a collection of twelve eighteenth-century watercolours. The twelve watercolours have numbers in pencil in an unknown hand, written centrally on the downside of the drawing. Some watercolours have in pencil, in another unknown hand, on the top of the drawing on the right-hand side, a note “VOC”. The highest number is 15. This indicates that initially the collection probably consisted of at least fifteen watercolours. Numbers 3, 4, 9 and 12 are lacking. One watercolour has no number. The watercolours are damaged and water-stained. All watercolours,

except one, have mirror images of other watercolours in the collection on the backsides. One mirror image shows a butterfly that is not in the collection. In the table we present an inventory of the mirror images on the backsides of the watercolours. The table indicates that the watercolours have been saved in the following order: 8, 13, 7, 11, 6, 5, 1, 2, 15, 14. The place of watercolour number 10 and the watercolour of the plant in this order is not known. After the plant the watercolour of the butterfly was placed

Frontside of watercolour		Backside of watercolour	
Number	Image on the watercolour	Number	Mirror image of watercolour on the verso side of the folio
1	Indian Pitta	2	Ceylon White-breasted kingfisher
2	Ceylon White-breasted kingfisher	15	Ceylon Tailor Bird
3	Not in collection	-	-
4	Not in collection	-	-
5	Ceylon Paradise Flycatcher in white plumage	1	Indian Pitta
6	Browncapped Babbler and Ceylon wet Zone Blackheaded Babbler	5	Ceylon Paradise Flycatcher in white plumage
7	Ceylon Little Minivet	11	Pale Browncapped Babbler and Ceylon wet Zone Blackheaded Babbler
8	Ceylon Trogon	13	Ceylon Red-backed Woodpecker
9	Not in collection	-	-
10	Ceylon White-headed Babbler	-	No traces of mirror image
11	Pale Browncapped Babbler and Ceylon wet Zone Blackheaded Babbler	6	Browncapped Babbler and Ceylon wet Zone Blackheaded Babbler
12	Not in collection	-	-
13	Ceylon Red-backed Woodpecker	7	Ceylon Little Minivet
14	Brown-headed Barbet	?	Traces of watercolour
15	Ceylon Tailor Bird	14	Brown-headed Barbet
?	Plant	?	Butterfly

⁴³ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017 TP 289. J.G. Loten to T. Pennant. London 24 April 1769. The watercolours have an historical importance as having influenced Joseph Banks in his decision to take Parkinson in 1768 on Cook's first voyage to draw animals as well as plants.

⁴⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London September 1771. Many sketches and watercolours by Parkinson were published in Carr (1983).

⁴⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404 a note by Loten: "18 aug. 1776; if I live certainly to buy Lee's introduction to Botany, with 12 c. Plates at B. White's & T. Cadell's. Price 7s.6d. bound."

This referred to the third edition of James Lee's, *An Introduction to Botany, containing an explanation of the theory of that science, and an interpretation of its technical terms, extracted from the works of Linnaeus . With ... an appendix containing upwards of two thousand English names of plants.*

James Lee (1715-1795) was a nurseryman of Hammersmith and had Parkinson as art tutor to his daughter Ann Lee. Several plates in Peter Brown's *New illustrations of Zoology* (1776) were made after animals in the collection of James Lee. The NLA Parkinson collection from the Lee legacy comprises of paintings of two mammals, fifteen birds, and one beetle. Biographical details on the Scottish Quaker nurseryman and botanist James Lee of the Lee and Kennedy Vineyard Nursery garden at Hammersmith can be found in Blunt (1983).

⁴⁶ Almost certainly the Parkinson paintings were put in their current album in the late 1980s (personal communication Mrs. Ann Datta, Natural History Museum, London). This was the time when the most important national collections of the Natural History Museum were conserved, including the illustrations made by Sydney Parkinson on Captain Cook's first voyage round the world. Previously, the paintings were in a scruffy album, in which they were attached to the supports by glue applied to the corners and sides of the drawings. The conservator carefully separated the paintings from the previous support. Glue residue was removed from the corners and edges on the verso. The drawings were hinged into a new album along the left-hand edge only using Japanese tissue on the verso, to reveal the backs of the items. Small repairs were made to the drawings on paper using Japanese tissue. The supports, made of medium-heavy weight paper, were bound into a new album. The binding is half leather (a dark green goatskin) with marbled sides. There are 5 false raised bands on the spine. There is gold tooling on the spine and boards. The album has plain cloth jointed endpapers.

⁴⁷ In the following table the seven gouaches in the Canberra Parkinson collection (NLA.PC) are compared with drawings in the London Natural History Museum (NHM.LC and NHM.PC) and Haarlem Teylers Museum (TS.LC).

NHM.LC	TS.LC	NLA.PC	NHM.PC	Name	Current Latin name
22		R 4725	17	Banded Red Woodpecker	<i>Picus miniaceus miniaceus</i> Pennant 1769
27		R 4742	14	Southern Crow-Pheasant	<i>Centropus sinensis paroti</i> Stresemann, 1913
68	16	R 4726		Southern Roller	<i>Coracias benghalensis indica</i> Linnaeus, 1766
79		R 4723	26	Pompadour Pigeon	<i>Treron pompadora pompadora</i> (Gmelin, 1788)
151		R 4734		Waxwing	<i>Bombycilla garrulus</i> (Linnaeus, 1758)
152		R 4741		Alstroemeria	<i>Alstroemeria pelegrina</i>
		R 4735	19	The Purple-Rumped Sunbird	<i>Leptocoma zeylonica zeylonica</i> (Linnaeus, 1766)

⁴⁸ Wheeler (1983), pages 196-197.

⁴⁹ The author is indebted to Mr. H. Bordewijk of the Municipal Archives The Hague for this information from the Church Registers (Kerk. Reg. 309: 55). Further biographical data on Aubert by Van den Bosch (1898).

⁵⁰ According to DAS 3119.5 the ship *Coxboorn*, captain Jan Mijsters, arrived at Batavia 26 January 1739.

⁵¹ RP-T-00-..... Drawing on paper 42.5 x 20 cm in east india ink. Annotations on drawing: “Het Princen-Eyland. door John Michel Aubert voor my J.G.L. geschets op de reise na Ceilon 1752”.

⁵² Teyler Museum Haarlem, Library Loten collection. In the note Loten referred to Alexander Aubert (1730-1805): “a very wealthy merchant in the City of London, and an amateur astronomer of distinction, who had provided himself with no less than three well-equipped observatories” (Cameron 1952: 121). Alexander Aubert contested with Sir Joseph Banks for the Presidency of the Royal Society in 1778. See also DNB 11, page 243.

There is also a biographical note about Aubert in a letter that Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant in November 1767:

“At Maccassar I was helped in drawing landscapes, butterflies & their rupses or caterpillers & chrysalis; by one Jean Michel Aubert who was then a scrivener there and in the house of the Governor Smout my predecessor, he was a native of England, and I believe of London, of French parents (refugies), he told me his father to have been a clergyman & if I remember well chaplain to the Duke of Kent. He had got in London some knowledge of engraving & of course of drawing. He went with me from Maccassar to Batavia and from thence to Ceylon, when he died [scratched out by Loten: whilst I was in England], chief of Calpetty, which he was preferred to, during my stay at Ceylon; at being at Maccassar I could not dissuade him from marrying an Indian woman native of that place, this proved not advantageous to him in regard to greater preferment. He died a few years ago, whilst I was in England, at Ceylon – Mr. Aubert was so much employed in business of service that he was not able assisting me with drawing subjects of natural history since my arrival at Ceylon”.

See WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, November 9, 1767.

⁵³ De Vos (1905), page 166.

⁵⁴ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425, see also Veth (1860: 113); paper marked I.

⁵⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1378.

⁵⁶ Van Houten (1905) was the first who drew attention to De Bevere. The short biographical notes about Pieter Cornelis De Bevere in the NNBW, volume VIII; 91 were based on Van Houten's publications. De Bevere was erroneously mentioned Willem Hendrik De Bevere.

Captain W.V. Legge in the introduction to his *A History of the Birds of Ceylon* (1880), volume I, page viii, referred to “Gideon Loten” and his artist “Mr. Khuleelooddeen”. However, he mistook De Bevere for Edward Blyth's artist Khuleelooddeen at Calcutta who made circa 1852, 110 watercolours of Indian bird species that are at present preserved in the Zoological Library of the Natural History Museum in London. The drawings formerly belonged to the autograph material of Sir William Jardine (1800-1874). See C.E. Jackson & P. Davis (1999). *Sir William Jardine: A*

Life in Natural History. London & New York: Leicester University Press, page 198; see also Van Houten (1905), page 366 and Ferguson (1908), page 231.

⁵⁷ Anthonisz (1908), page 257.

⁵⁸ Anthonisz (1908), page 257.

⁵⁹ RPK-T-00-828. Pencil-drawing coloured light blue. 42,5 x 27 cm. On the drawing are the following notes:
“Princen-Eyland vertoond zig dus van de Z.W. door de Bevere voor mij J.G.L. geschetst komende van Ceilon 1757 op de reize van Colombo na Batavia in ‘t Schip Sloterdijk ao 1757 door de Bevere in mijn presentie”. [The ‘Princen-Eyland’ displays itself like this from the S.W. Sketched by de Bevere for me J.G.L. coming from Ceylon 1757 on the voyage from Colombo to Batavia in the Ship Sloterdijk ao 1757 by de Bevere in my presence].

⁶⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1398. Notebook with Ceylonese annotations:

“de volgende aantekeningen alle op Ceylon geschreeven” [the following notes are all written at Ceylon].

Because of the shorthand notation the text is not always comprehensible.

“1756

in Maert eenige besoignes met A[ssiten]t de Bev[ere] de Lan.m Mard.a & andere met U.w a Uytvl[ug]t of pas ter voltooying van de Vogels Capellen &c

Mey

Pega: de Bev[ere] op Θ en tusschene dagen wel beloven pas uytvlugt Colombo uyt zee & v[an] de gaalse kant Gale Jaffenap Mature trinkenomala “

In the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet there is a watercolour by De Bevere or Balthus van Lier representing Uytvlugt (RP-TP-00-3250).

⁶¹ The plan of South India is reproduced in Zandvliet (2002), page 237. The plan is in the Nationaal Archief The Hague, NL-HaNA.MIKO inv W. 37.

⁶² In the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet there are several drawings and watercolours made for Joan Gideon Loten by Balthus van Lier and Pieter Cornelis de Bevere.

RP-T-00-3250. Watercolour on paper 39.5 x 69 cm. Country seat of Governor of Ceylon Uytvlught. In the foreground a lively scene of figures, presumably high officials, wearing 18th century dress and accompanied by uniformed servants. Not signed, probably Balthus van Lier. See Diessen & Van den Belt (1987); Zandvliet (2002) page 236; De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 273.

RP-T-00-913. Watercolour on paper 39.5 x 69 cm. The ferry crossing at the Grand Pass post. In the foreground is the Company’s sloop making the crossing. Not signed, Balthus van Lier or Pieter Cornelis De Bevere, circa 1755. See Diessen & Van den Belt (1987); De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 269.

RP-T-00-3247. Watercolour on paper 39.5 x 69 cm. The country house of the Dutch Governors at Grandpass, near Colombo, Sri Lanka. Not signed, probably Balthus van Lier. See Diessen & Van den Belt (1987); De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 241.

RP-T-00-914. Watercolour on paper 39.5 x 69 cm. Watercolour of the fort Kalutara, forty kilometers south of Colombo, Sri Lanka. The view is across the river. Several boats with inlanders in the foreground. Not signed, probably Balthus van Lier around 1756. See Diessen & Van den Belt (1987); De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 213 upper figure.

RP-T-00-3248. Watercolour on paper 39.5 x 69 cm. Watercolour of the fort Kalutara, forty kilometers south of Colombo, Sri Lanka. The watercolour gives a landside view of the fort with the main entrance in the centre. Not signed, probably Balthus van Lier, around 1756. See Diessen & Van den Belt (1987); De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 213 lower figure.

RP-T-00-915. Pen and brush on paper 24 x 36.5 cm. The governor of Ceylon, Joan Gideon Loten, fishing in his yacht near Negombo. To the left fishing nets are being laid by several ‘dug outs’ which are being paddled. Behind this group is an outrigger canoe. Loten’s sloop is seen bearing a VOC flag, a tall mast and an ornate bow. In front to the right of Loten’s boat is a ‘padda-boat’ with its thatched roof. In pencil: “ons vissen in de rivier van Negombo”. Annotation in ink on separate paper: “J.G. Loten, and his Company &c. fishing in the River of Negombo in Ceylon, in or about the Year 1754, door de Bevere op de plaats zelve”. Signed: “B”. See De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 288.

RP-T-00-829. Pen and brush on paper 20.6 x 81.5 cm. Panoramic view of Galle extending north to east from the Haycock mountain to the outskirts of Unawatuna. Recto: GEZIGT van GALE Strekkende van de HOOYBERGH N: ten O: tot aan de hoek van OENEWATNE N:O:1/2 O:.. Verso: Colombo op Ceylon 1755 door de Bevere. Not signed, in pencil on verso Pieter Cornelis de Bevere del. See De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 170-171.

RP-T-00-830. Pen and brush on paper 20.0 x 29.3 cm. Panoramic view of Colombo's waterfront from the north-west. Beyond the shore the Governor's house is in prominent view. To the right of this is shown the western coastline with its fortifications Batenburg, Den Briel and the corner bastions of Enkhuizen and Klippenburg. On foreground East-India ship with all sails set with Dutch flag. On horizon right side a ship under sail. Recto: in pencil: "de Bevere". Verso in ink: "Colombo op Ceylon 1755". Not signed, by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere. See De Silva & Beumer (1988), page 233, upper figure.

⁶³ Anthonisz (1909), page 257. The reference to Bloemaert is to an edition of Abraham Bloemaert's *Oorspronkelyk en vermaard Konstryk Tekenboek... bestaande in 8 Boekdeelen* (Amsterdam), Nicolaus Visscher, (circa 1675)

⁶⁴ Pieter van Oosten. His name is on the watercolour of the Indian Koel *Eudynamys scolopacea scolopacea* (Linnaeus, 1758). NHM.LC 25. No further particulars could be found in the VOC-archives.

⁶⁵ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. London 9 November 1767.

⁶⁶ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 425, number 7. See also Veth (1860), page 113.

⁶⁷ The original Dutch of the passage reads as follows:

"De kunstenaar De Bevere heeft zich op het laatst tot een liederlijk leeven overgegeeven en is ook daarin overleeden, zijn moeder die getrouwd is geweest met zekere Gabriel Hofland Boekhouder van het materiaalhuis is nu voor de tweede reis weduwe en leeft nog gezond en wel".

⁶⁸ NHM.LC. 30. J.A. de Chalmot in his *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Allart, Amsterdam vol. III, 1798, pages 33-43) referred to the De Bevere-family as an old and distinguished family consisting of many important and able men. The family especially flourished in the province 'Zuidholland'. According to J. Kok in the *Vaderlandsch woordenboek* (Allart, Amsterdam vol. VI, 1787, page 528) the family is said to be descended from Diderik, younger brother of Lord Egbert van Amstel.

⁶⁹ According to De Vos (1902), page 46.

⁷⁰ Matthys Balen in his *Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht* (Symon onder de Linde, Dordrecht 1667: 951-978), gives a genealogical table of the De (or Van) Bevere (or Beveren) family. In this table the family descends from one Roelof van Bevere, knight, who lived around 1248. Many members of the family had important functions in Dordrecht and the republic of the United Provinces. Balen does not mention a Hendrik or Willem Hendrik De Bevere. It is possible that Willem Hendrik De Bevere was a son of Kornelis De Bevere (born about 1660), who at the time when Balen wrote his book (1667) still was unmarried.

Many particulars about him are given by Valentijn in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië* (1724-26). Van Houten (1905; 1906; 1906a; 1908), Ferguson (1906; 1908), Anthonisz (1908) and Pieris (1918) discussed Valentijn's material about De Bevere at Java and Ceylon.

⁷¹ According to Pieris (1918), page 53.

⁷² HUA.GC 750 nr 1378.

⁷³ Letter in the collection of the Linnean Society in London (volume IX, no 458/ 459). The letter was written in Dutch and reads in translation as follows:

'Well honoured and highly learned Sir,

Returned in my fatherland I learned with pleasure Your Honour had honoured me with several letters, however I regret to be so unlucky that I did not receive them, apparently because I was just on my journey back, therefore I make use of this opportunity that Mrs Wilhelmy comes over to Stockholm to ensure you of my reverence, and because it occurred to me to save her from an unpleasurable circumstance of an at every moment expected shipwreck and after that to enjoy the honour and pleasure of her goodness and intimate friendship, I take the liberty to recommend Her respectfully, especially in case she might fall into any adverse situation, in Your Honour's favourable protection in a country, in which she is absolutely a stranger and where it is not easy to find her friends and compatriots, because I am assured that Your Honour never will experience an ungrateful in this sweet woman. Her Honour is born at the Cape of Good Hope and of a respectable family née Catharina Maria Beck, she can possibly be of some help with regard to the Botany &c where she is with respect to the African plants &c not a complete stranger, Her Honour also has enough skill of the scanty abilities, that my hobby has acquired for the few things, with which I could have been of some service to Your Honour, and which I guess must have attracted me the honour of your Honour's Correspondence

I remain with feelings of true respect

Your Honour
Your Well Honoured very humble obedient servant
Joan Gideon Loten
Amsterdam
August 25, 1758
The High Well Born Gentleman Joan Gideon Loten
Councillor ordinary of the Dutch Indies and former Governor of Ceylon now in Utrecht’.

⁷⁴ In 1791 Mrs Wilhelmy still lived in Stockholm. She evidently re-married Mr Carter Tonton. In an inventory of Geertruyda Catharina Blanckenberg, dated 11 April 1791, Maria Catharina Beck, who married Mr Carter Tonten merchant at Stockholm, is mentioned. See Inventories of the Orphan Chamber Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa, MOOC8/19.77.

⁷⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Dr Erik Åhlander, Collection Manager – Fishes of the Swedish Museum of Natural History in Stockholm (Sweden) informed me (14 September 2007).

”There are no known acquisitions of zebra skins during the eighteenth-century (at least known to me) to the collection of the Royal Academy of Sciences - except for the juvenile quagga brought home by Anders Sparrman - nor to the Royal collection. The vertebrate part of the Royal Collection was transferred to the Academy of Sciences in 1801. These collections was fused with a private collection in 1819 to form the Swedish Museum of Natural History (Riksmuseum) and there is nothing in our collections, nor in the old catalogues, which seems to match any of these six skins”.

⁷⁶ Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository South Africa C 134, pp 207-223. Request 27 April 1756. Wilhelmy transferred by means of an assignate 1,200 guilders from the Cape to Patria. The assignate was reimbursed by the VOC chamber Amsterdam December 14th 1756. See NL-HaNA, VOC 1.04.02 nr 7050.

⁷⁷ In November 1756 Diederick Wilhelmi had a 2-years old son Jacob Hendrik Wilhelmi by Beatrix Cornelia van Renen, who evidently died some time before. See Inventories of the Orphan Chamber Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa MOOC8/7.48. Testator: Johanna Siekermans 9 November 1756.

⁷⁸ In an inventory of 24 July 1764 Jacob Henrik Wilhelmi is mentioned as one of the inheritors of his grandfather Jacob van Renen. See Inventories of the Orphan Chamber Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa MOOC8/11.45a.

⁷⁹ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 772. F.A. Carelson to J.G. Loten, Amsterdam 3 April 1759 and 11 September 1759.

⁸⁰ Helmond Archief Van der Bruggen van Croy nr 772. Annotation by Loten 12 January [1762], and Letters F.A. Carelson to J.G. Loten, Amsterdam 22 January 1762.

⁸¹ His admiration for Linnaeus illustrated in the poem that he copied in his Bell’s Common place book from the Morning Post of March 3, 1778 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1393):

“An ex tempore
On hearing of the Death of Linnaeus
By a Lady
Linnaeus, that Sun, which spread its splendid rays
From Pole-to Pole, and gain’d immortal praise,
Whose Soul still anxious to increase his store
Of wond’rous knowledge, and new worlds t’explore,
To higher regions, wings it rapid flight! -
But not to rob us of such glorious light,
And cause all Nature’s works to mourn below,
He ‘as plac’d his radiant crown on Banks’s brow!”

⁸² HUA.GC. 750 nr 1405. Linnaeus died January 10th 1778.

⁸³ According to the inventory of his book collection in London, made in 1775 (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404), Loten had the following books by Linnaeus in his library:

Amoenitates Academi, 1745 edition;
Genera Plantarum and *Species plantarum* in the 1753 edition;

Fauna Suecica, edition not specified;
Systema Naturae, 12th edition, 1766.

In the Auction catalogue of his library (Utrecht, 1789) the 1736 quarto edition of Linnaeus *Bibliotheca Botanica*, published in Amsterdam, is mentioned on page 14 number 11 and “Linnaeus Reizen door Zweeden enz. Dordr[echt] 1770 1ste deel” on page 30 number 440 (HUA Library 6629/ 3766/ 823).

⁸⁴ The reference to ‘Houttuyn’ is to Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1795), physician in Alkmaar (Boezeman & Ligny, 2004). Houttuyn was the author of the *Natuurlijke historie of uitvoerige beschrijving der dieren, planten en mineralen, volgens het samenstel van den heer Linneus* (1761-1785), 37 volumes. Houttuyn also made a part of the descriptions in Nozeman’s *Nederlandsche vogelen* (1770-1829).

⁸⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777.

⁸⁶ In July of 1767, Loten wrote to say that when he was in Holland he should buy, ‘the continuation of Houttuyn’s Natural History according to Linnaeus’s system; of which I already have 7 parts’. By 1767 ten volumes had been published by Houttuyn. Ten years later Loten wrote the following in his cashbook:

“NB NB NB

Nu 1777 21 aug. I have here in London the 10 volumes of Houttuyn’s uitgeleze verhandelingen & then 12 vol: of his works following Linnaei Systeme”.

Thus it is evident that Loten also owned the ten volumes of the *Uitgezogte Verhandelingen* [Loten wrote ‘uitgeleze verhandelingen’], published from 1757–1765 by Frans Houttuyn. This series contained translations and reviews of foreign scientific papers.

In 1773 Part I of the *Natuurlyke Historie*, consisting of 18 zoological volumes, was finished by Houttuyn. Part II and Part III of the *Natuurlyke Historie*, consisting of 14 botanical volumes and five mineralogical volumes, were published 1773-1783 and 1780-1785. According to the 1789 Auction catalogue of Loten’s library he possessed the complete set of zoological volumes in the octavo edition, “Linneus Natuurlijke Historie/1ste deel 18 stukken”.

See Boeseman & De Ligny (2004); HUA.GC 750 nrs 1385 and 1404; HUA Library 6629/ 3766/823, the reference is on page 23 of the catalogue under number 511.

⁸⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777.

⁸⁸ Boeseman & De Ligny (2004).

⁸⁹ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. Fulham 21 October 1777.

⁹⁰ NHM.LC 105, *Semnopithecus vetulus* (Erleben 1777). A copy in ink and pencil probably made by Loten in 1780 is in the Teyler Museum collection (TS.LC 7). Sydney Parkinson made a copy of this watercolour in 1767 (NHM.PC 2), this was copied by Peter Mazell and published in Thomas Pennant’s *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771), plate XIII, figure 1 (Lion-tailed Monkey) and *History of Quadrupeds* (1781), plate XXI, figure 1 (Purple faced Monkey).

⁹¹ Kwa (2007) reviewed Linnaeus’ description of the ‘Primates’ in the *Systema naturae* and the information available to him. Reliable descriptions and observations by experts were scarce and Linnaeus owned not all relevant books. Source Kwa (2007), pages 23-37.

⁹² Quoted from Boeseman & De Ligny (2004).

⁹³ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, December 17th 1777.

⁹⁴ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, December 17th 1777.

Willem Adriaan Palm’s communication referred to:

Wouwouw: possibly a reference to the Bornean Gibbon, *Hylobates muelleri*.

Orang Utan: *Pongo pymaeus*.

Barouang: possibly a reference to a species of langur and to the Purple-faced langur from Ceylon.

Braque: Shorthaired pointer.

Talbot: Extinct snow white hunting dog, used in heraldry to refer to a good mannered hunting dog.

Willem Adriaan Palm, chief of Tatas, Borneo, wrote on 26 October 1776 a memoir about the animals of Borneo for Loten. April 1780 Loten translated the memoir and sent it to Pennant.

See WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP37.

In July 1778 Palm made a tour along the South West coast of Borneo (Kalimantan). July 18, 1778 he made the following description of the Orang Oetang:

“Om acht uur passeerden wij Kuala Singa in het west-zuidwesten aan de rechterzijde, maar dicht bij Kuala Maduara zagen wij een ijselijk grote orang-oetang in het bos, in de top van de boom. We wilden hem vangen en deden alles wat we konden om hem levend te pakken te krijgen. Maar toen dit beest ons zag, brak hij takken van behoorlijke dikte van de bomen af en smet die naar ons toe. Wij waren een uur of zes bezig geweest en de avond begon reeds te vallen. Toe besloten wij hem dood te schieten. Dat lukt, hij viel dood neer.

Zijn lengte van de hiel tot de heup was eenentwintig duim, van de heup tot de schouder eenentwintig duim en van de schouder tot de kruin, tezamen negenveertig duim. Zijn omtrek bedroeg 49 ½ duim en boven de elleboog 15 ½ duim. We namen hem mee om hem bij aankomst in Pontianak in een vat arak te zetten”.

The Orang Utan was transported ‘in liquor’ to Batavia and forwarded from there by the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences to Arnout Vosmaer, director of the Natural History Cabinet of the Stadholder in The Hague.

See *Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 2 (1780), pages 119-120, 142 and 245-261; Visser (1975), pages 259-265; Roepen & van Gelder (2002), pages 157-158.

⁹⁵ Visser (1975), pages 258-265.

⁹⁶ Afzelius (1826) pages 220-230.

“Kleinhof, welcher auf Java den ersten botanischen Garten außerhalb Europa anlegte, und darin eine Menge Ostindischer Gewächse sehr fleißig cultivirte, schickte mir bei seiner Heimkunft nach Holland eine große Kiste voll davon”

Boelman (1936) in his history of the medicinal herb culture in the Dutch East Indies also did not mention a botanical garden founded by Loten. Boelman (pages 46-47) gave some particularities about Kleynhoff’s life, his garden and his contacts with N.J. Burman and Linnaeus. The genus *Kleinbovia* L. and other plants were named by Linnaeus in his honour (Linnaeus, 1763).

In the memoir of Joan Gideon Loten in the first volume of his *View of Hindoostan* (1798), page 225, Thomas Pennant mentioned that Loten was the founder of the botanical garden at Batavia. In the preface of the editor Lawrence Dundas Campbell in *The miscellaneous works of Hugh Boyd, the author of the letters of Junius. With an account of his life and writings, by Lawrence Dundas Campbell* (London: printed for T. Cadell, Junior, and W. Davies; by R. Noble, 1800), is said (volume II, page 28):

“Contiguous to Columbo there is a botanical garden, which was established several years ago, by the celebrated botanist JOHN GIDION LOTEN, of *Utrecht*”.

⁹⁷ See for the Batavia botanical garden and the role of Kleynhoff and Loten in its foundation Florijn (1985). Kleynhoff was appointed physician of the Batavia Hospital in 1758. See *Generale Missiven* XIII, 31 December 1757 and 31 December 1758, pages 108 and 336

⁹⁸ NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 Inventaris 425 (before 1888 09W), number 2.

In the margin of Loten’s copy of Cornelis Speelman’s report on Macassar, Loten remarked after Speelman’s description of the grains of corn at Celebes, called by the local population ‘Battan’:

“[H]iervan wat na Batavia hebbende a^o 1750 mede genomende, liet ter proeve er brood van bakken, dat ros ligt bruin van couleur, en weergaloos aangenaam van smaak was – de aijren staan op hooge steelen, bijna als suykkerriet, en zijn zig los spreidende, het graan veel grooter als gierst, en weder kleiner dan de ryst korl – zou’t niet het zelve zyn als Battari by Valentyn en Milie of Zorg-zaad by Dodoneus?”

NL-HaNA.VOC 1.11.01.01 inv. 1524, volume 2, page 615.

⁹⁹ NLA.PC R 4735, see also Wheeler (1983), page 232: “Car. A Linne”. The London copy (NHM.PC 19) only referred to “Linneus syst. nat”.

¹⁰⁰ Linnaeus *Systema naturae* (1766), page 335:

“M. cana, subtus coccinea, gula nigra, remigibus quatuor primis basis rubris. Habitat in Zeylona. D. Lothen. Simillima Erithaco. Corpus supra cannum. Gula nigra. Coccinea sunt Pectus, Abdomen, Uropygium. Remiges nigrae, exceptis quatuor primis basi rubris, unde macula alarum rubra, in altero sexu. Rectrices nigrae, sed quatuor intermediae latere oblique rufae”.

¹⁰¹ NHM.LC 41, *Pericrocotus cinnamomus cinnamomus* (Linnaeus, 1766); NHM.LC 40, *Pericrocotus flammeus flammeus* (Forster, 1781). The birds are portrayed in the *Indische Zoologie* on plate XV lower and upper figure.

¹⁰² Edwards (1764), *Gleanings of Natural History*, page 247, plate 326, ‘Blue Jay from the East-Indies’.

¹⁰³ See Stuart Mason (1992).

¹⁰⁴ Several of the original watercolours of the birds in Edwards's *Natural History* and *Gleanings* are at present in the British Library Sloane collection Natural History 5263 and 5266.

¹⁰⁵ Horace Walpole wrote upon the appearance of the second volume (1760) of Edwards' *Gleanings of natural history* and the dedication of this book to the Earl of Bute and the dedication of the fourth volume (1751) of Edwards' *Natural history of Uncommon Birds* "to GOD".

"I was much diverted t'other morning with another volume on birds by Edwards, who has published four or five. The poor man who is grown very old and devout, begs God to take from him the love of natural philosophy; and having observed some heterodox proceedings among bantam cocks, he proposes that all schools of boys and girls should be promiscuous, lest, if separated, they should learn wayward passions. But what struck me most were his dedications; the last was to God; this to Lord Bute; as if he was determined to make his fortune in one world or t'other".

See Lewis (1941), *Letters Horace Walpole to Montague*, in a letter to Montagu dated January 14, 1760 .

The preface of the *Natural History* of birds (1751) reads:

"To GOD, the ONE Eternal! the Incomprehensible! the Omnipresent! Omnificient, and Almighty CREATOR of all Things that exist! from Orbs immensurable great, to the minutest Points of Matter, this ATOM is Dedicated and Devoted, with all possible Gratitude, Humiliation, Worship, and the highest Adoration both of Body and Mind, *By His most resigned, Low, and humble Creature, GEORGE EDWARDS*".

¹⁰⁶ The letter and plate were published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, volume 61, pages 55-56.

¹⁰⁷ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428, Letter London September 20th, 1773. The annotation is in HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

¹⁰⁸ In 1776 *A catalogue of the birds, beasts, fishes, insects - contained in. Edwards's Natural History, written by Linnaeus*, was published by J. Robson, bookseller in London. The *Catalogue* is a nominal list with Latin binominals according to Linnaeus' *Systema Naturae*, with references to the plates published in George Edwards' *Natural History* and *Gleanings*. Several of the names in the *Catalogue* are misspellings of established names, while some of the names have priority over well established names of some of the most familiar birds. Between 1776 and 1949 Linnaeus' *Catalogue* was not cited in zoological literature. The *Catalogue* had thus been forgotten for a period of 173 years. To avoid a nomenclatorial confusion the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature suppressed) "all new names or new spellings for previously published names proposed by Linnaeus in the pamphlet entitled 'A catalogue of the birds, beast's, fishes, insects contained in Edwards's Natural History' ".

Opinion 412 of the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature October 18, 1955, published in 1956 in the *Opinions and declarations rendered by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature* 13 (13), pages 203-232.

¹⁰⁹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1430. Concept letter A. Loten to J.G. Loten. Utrecht 3 May 1763 and Utrecht 24 May 1763. Although the third volume of the *Gleanings* bears the publication date 1764, parts of this volume were already distributed among subscribers in 1763. According to David Hume to Jean Bernard Le Blanc 15 June 1764:

"The Price of *Edwards* is stated to me at six Guineas with seven Shillings for Box, Package, Freight & Carriage from London. I think it dear, but it seems to be well ornamented".

See *The letters of David Hume* (1932). volume 1, page 445.

¹¹⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 26.

¹¹¹ NHM.LMS page 68.

¹¹² NHM Loten manuscript page 61.

¹¹³ In 1772 Johann Reinhold Forster in his translation of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's *A voyage round the world* referred to Loten's "*crowned bird* in the Moluccas", apparently based on George Edwards text in the *Gleanings*. See: *A voyage round the world. Performed by order of His Most Christian Majesty, in the years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769. By Lewis de Bougainville, ... Translated from the French by John Reinhold Forster*; London: printed for J. Nourse; and T. Davies, 1772, page 327.

¹¹⁴ Watercolour of the Western Crowned Pigeon, *Goura cristata* (Pallas, 1764), TS.LC number 24, unsigned but according to the annotation made by Loten in 1740.

¹¹⁵ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393.

¹¹⁶ Loten manuscript in London Natural History Museum, NHM.LMS page 27 in Dutch copy of a letter of J.G. Loten to Mr. Jean Deutz in Amsterdam. London 31 July 1780.

¹¹⁷ Mathew (1916), pages 77-94; Mees (1957), pages 217-222.

¹¹⁸ Watercolours of the Palm cockatoo, *Probosciger aterrimus aterrimus* (Gmelin) in the Loten collection of Teylers Museum Haarlem: TS.LC 29 (unfinished) and TS.LC 30 (finished). A copy of one of these watercolours, made by David Steuart Erskine, afterwards 11th Earl of Buchan, is in the Natural History Museum Loten collection (NHM.LC 148).

¹¹⁹ John Latham's *A General Synopsis of birds*, volume 1, page 260 (1781). The cockatoos on the watercolours in the Loten collection measure for the wing 260 mm, and for the upper mandible 40 mm.

¹²⁰ Mathew (1916) and Mees (1957) discussed the nomenclature and type locality of the palm cockatoo. They considered Edwards' plate 316 as the iconotype of *Probosciger aterrimus aterrimus* (Gmelin). Mees specified the locality of the bird as Aroe Islands and Misool; which roughly agrees with Loten's note about the distribution of the bird: "this rare bird came from papoea or his neighbourhood".

¹²¹ See also Edwards (1770), pages 158-172.

¹²² Bridson (1976), pages 478 and 486; Anker (1938), page 14. See also Edwards, 1747: II, xvii-xix.

¹²³ François Levaillant, *Histoire naturelle des perroquets*, volume I (1801), pages 32-34, plates 11, 12, 13. Nowadays the blue-grey birds are considered as the *griseus* (Bechstein) variety of *Probosciger aterrimus*, with type locality Vogelkop, S.W. New Guinea, Salawati, Waigeo and Gemien (Mees 1957, page 221).

¹²⁴ In the 12th edition of the *Systema Naturae* (1766, page 144) Linnaeus added to his description of *Psittacus cristatus*, that can be identified as a white cockatoo belonging to the genus *Cacatua*, the following remark: "confer album minorem. Edw. t. 317 & nigrum Edw. t. 316." In his Catalogue of the plates in Edwards' *Natural History* and *Gleaning*, Linnaeus referred with the name *Psittacus spectrum* (1776: 13) to Edwards' plates 315 and 316. These Linnean names however, have no nomenclatorial validity for the birds on Edwards' plates 315, 316 and 317. Plate 315, the 'Little dusky Parrot', can be identified as *Picinus fuscus* (Müller) from Surinam, while the bird on plate 317, the 'Lesser white cockatoo' can be identified as *Cacatua sulphurea sulphurea* (Gmelin) from Celebes, Sunda Islands and the islands in the Flores and Java Seas.

¹²⁵ Thomas Pennant *Specimen Faunulae Indicae* (page 40) in Johann Reinhold Forster's *Indische Zoologie* (1781). See also Mathew (1916), page 82.

¹²⁶ Gmelin (1788) first volume 13th edition *Systema Naturae*, page 330. John Latham first volume *General Synopsis of Birds* (1781), page 260 and Buffon 7th volume of the *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux* (1783), page 79.

¹²⁷ Latham (1781) referred to the first edition of Sydney Parkinson's posthumous *A journal of a voyage to the South Seas, in his Majesty's Ship The Endeavour: faithfully transcribed from the papers of the late S. Parkinson, Draughtsman to Sir Joseph Banks in his Expedition with Dr. Solander round the world* (C. Dilly, London 1773: 144). We consulted the second edition, published by Dilly in 1784. In Dr. J. Hawkesworth *An Account of the voyages undertaken ... for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore. Byron, Capt. Wallis, Capt. Carteret, and Capt. Cook* (London 1773) the Banksean black cockatoo is described in volume II, page 18.

¹²⁸ John Latham, first Supplement to the *General Synopsis of birds* (1787), page 63 and plate CIX. In Latham's Index (1790) volume I, page 107 the 'Banksian cockatoo' is named *Psittacus Banksii*, the modern name is *Calyptorhynchus magnificus magnificus* (Shaw), with type locality New South Wales.

¹²⁹ Published by Sir Gavin De Beer in 1948 as *Pennant's tour on the Continent*. Ray Society.

¹³⁰ The reference is to The Bullers of Buchan, pages 119 and 120 in Thomas Pennant (1771), *A tour in Scotland MDCCCLXIX*, Chester: Printed by John Monk.

"The famous Bullers of Buchan lie about a mile north of Bowness are a vast hollow in a rock, projectig into the sea, open at top, with a communication to the sea through a noble natural arch, thro' which boats can pass, and lie secure in this natural harbor. There is a path round the top, but in some parts too narrow to walk on with satisfaction, as the depth is about thirty fathom, with water on both sides, being bounded on the north and south by small creeks

Near this is a great insulated rock, divided by a narrow and very deep chasm from the land. This rock is pierced through midway between the water and the top, and in great storms the waves rush through it with vast noise and impetuosity”.

Professor C.W.J. Withers, School of GeoSciences, University of Edinburgh, who wrote the introduction to the 1998 reprint of Pennant’s 1774 *Tour in Scotland and the Hebrides*, and his colleague Diarmid Finnegan, identified the location from the *Gazetteer for Scotland* as the Bullers of Buchan. This is a small settlement situated 2 miles (3 km) north east of Cruden Bay in Aberdeenshire. The Bullers of Buchan takes its name from the famous coastal granite cliff feature nearby. Here the sea rushes through a natural archway into a cavern with a vertical opening 30 m high known as The Pot.

In 1773 James Boswell and Samuel Johnson also visited the Bullers of Buchan:

“We walked round this monstrous cauldron. In some places the rock is very narrow, and on each side you have a sea deep enough for a man-of-war to ride in, so that it is somewhat horrid to move along. However, there is earth and grass upon the rock, and a kind of road marked out by the print of feet, so that one makes it out very pretty easily. It was rather alarming to see Mr. Johnson poking his way. He insisted to take a boat and sail into the Pot. We did so”.

See Hill and Powell’s *Boswell’s Life of Johnson*, volume V; F.A. Pottle & C.H. Bennett (1963). *Boswell’s Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson 1773*. Heinemann, Melbourne, London, Toronto.

¹³¹ The reference to the Earl of Buchan is to Henry David Erskine, 10th Earl of Buchan (1710-1767).

¹³² HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. van Hardenbroek. London 4 April 1780.

Loten was in possession of three publications in octavo by Pennant on Scotland “111 a Tour in Scotland, Lond. 1782 e.b.”, “112 The Additions to the quarto Edition of the Tour in Scotland, Lond. 1774 avec fig. e. b.” and “113 a Tour in Scotland, 1769. Chest. 1771 e.b. avec fig.” (HUA Library 6629/3766/823, page 17).

¹³³ Pennant’s *Tour in Scotland* was the cause of a violent dispute between Dr Samuel Johnson and Bishop Percy, who had disparaged the traveller’s accuracy. “A carrier,” the bishop said, “who goes along the side of Loch Lomond would describe it better” (Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, 12 April 1778). Johnson defended Pennant: “He’s a whig, sir; a sad dog. But he’s the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than any one else does.” And when in Scotland in 1773 (*Boswell’s Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 17 Sept. 1773), Johnson declared that Pennant had “greater variety of inquiry than almost any man”. The book is illustrated by a series of remarkable plates, and the work was subsequently translated into German and French.

See Hill & L.F. Powell (1964), *Boswell’s Life of Johnson*, volume III pages 128, 271-278; volume V pages 221-222.

¹³⁴ The appraisal of the *Indian Zoology* and the quote from Walpole are from Jackson (1985).

¹³⁵ Pennant, *British Zoology* (edition 1768), volume 2, page 248-249; edition 1776, volume 1 pages 342-343. Also in George Edwards in his *Essay Of Birds of Passage, &c.* (1770), which was an updated version of a part of his 1743 Preface (pages xi-xiii) to the *Natural History of Birds*.

¹³⁶ Baesel (1974), pages 417-433.

¹³⁷ In the first volume of the *British Zoology* (1768 edition), pages 211-212, Pennant acknowledged Loten’s information about poultry in the East Indies: “that in their wild condition their plumage is black and yellow, and their combs and wattles purple and yellow”.

Pennant referred in the *Arctic Zoology* (1785), volume 2, page 278, “Lest Spotted Woodpecker”, to the Loten watercolour of the Fulvous-breasted Woodpecker, *Dendrocopos macei analis* (Bonaparte, 1850), at present in the collection of the Loten collection of the London Natural History Museum (NHMLC 23):

“It also bears the heats of the torrid zone; for I discovered it among the drawings in the collection of Governor Loten, made in the island of Ceylon”.

¹³⁸ Municipal Archive Helmond GADH invent 87 Van der Brugghen 768, letter of Thomas Pennant sealed with black sealing-wax. A note in Loten’s hand: “my last of 30 oct. 81 answer of yr favor of 14th oct.” Another note in Loten’s handwriting reads: “About Ev. Kol to thank for the Lamb”. The letter reads:

“To John Gideon Loten esqr in Utrecht Holland
Dear Sir

Among the various blessing of Peru let me not reckon among the smaller than of having my friends restored to me. I not entertain hopes of seeing Mr & Mrs Loten in London this spring, for I & family purpose to visit the capital next month. Permit me with the usual freedom to make use of your service in providing for me the best map you can of Spitzbergen & the arctic regions I am told that there is an excellent one of the firm done in [verso] Holland. I shall be much obliged to you sending it to me at Mr Smiley’s Booksellers strand: these I beg

you wd address yr letter for I do not yet know in what street I shall take a house & shall be very happy to hear of welfare. I am with our best compliments, Dear Sir,
Yr obliged &
faithful humble servant
Tho. Pennant
Downing Febr. 14th 1783”

¹³⁹ According to the 1798 issue of the *The British Critic, a new Review*, volume XII, page 148 (London, printed for P. and C. Rivington, no. 68, St. Paul’s church-yard).

¹⁴⁰ Thomas Pennant, *The view of Hindoostan* (1800), volume 4, page 172. This referred to François Valentyn’s “Verhandeling der Zee-Horenkens en Schelpen, ofte Dubbletten van Amboina” [Discourse concerning Sea-Whelks and Shells or Doublets from Amboina], in *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1726), volume 3, part 2 pages 517-586. Van Imhoff also accused Valentijn of inaccuracy and prejudice against the Company, without identifying these specifically. See also Beekman (1999), page xci; Arasaratnam (1978), page 43 and 54.

¹⁴¹ Jardine (1845), page 12.

¹⁴² Lysagh (1971).

¹⁴³ NHM.DTC. I. 6-7; RBG.Kew.BC. I. 5. (Dawson 1958: 661). Letter of Thomas Pennant to Joseph Banks, dated Chester May 11, 1767. The prints probably were Peter Mazell’s etchings of Loten’s watercolours of *Circus melanoleucos* (Pennant) (NHM.LC. 1) and *Ratufa macroura macroura* (Pennant) (NHM.LC. 102). The etchings were published in 1769 as plate II and plate I in Pennant’s *Indian Zoology*. The two Loten watercolours have a type status.

¹⁴⁴ Letter dated May 14, 1767 in Lysagh (1971), page 240.

¹⁴⁵ NHM.DTC. I. 9. (Dawson 1958, page 661). Letter of Thomas Pennant to Joseph Banks, dated Downing June 19, 1767.

¹⁴⁶ Preface second English edition *Indian Zoology* (Pennant, 1791), page i.

¹⁴⁷ The two watercolours of the rhinoceros bird *Anthracoceros coronatus convexus*, made by P.C. De Bevere are now in London, NHM.LC 38 and 39. The two copies by Sydney Parkinson are also in the Natural History Museum in London, NHM.PC 7 and 8. They were not published in Pennant’s *Indian Zoology*.

The original watercolour of the male of Black-naped Fruit-Dove *Ptilinopus melanospila melanauchen* (Salvadori, 1875) by P.C. De Bevere is in the Natural History Museum in London, NHM.LC. 80 (type status). This bird was depicted on plate VII of Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* and named *Columba melanocephala*

The ‘goose with the knob on its bill’ is a reference to Loten’s watercolour of the Ceylonese White breasted waterhen, *Amaurornis phoenicurus phoenicurus* (Pennant, 1769), by P.C. De Bevere is in the Natural History Museum in London, NHM.LC. 92 (type status). The bird is depicted on plate XI in the *Indian Zoology*, and named by Pennant *Anser melanotos*

¹⁴⁸ NHM.DTC. I. 10. (Dawson 1958, page 661). Letter of Thomas Pennant to Joseph Banks, dated June 27, 1767. See Cameron (1952) page 5 for Banks’ tour in 1767.

¹⁴⁹ See Sawyer (1971), page 79. The Parkinson watercolours are included in Dr. Dryander’s Catalogue of the Banks’ library (Dryander, 1797, volume II, page 31).

¹⁵⁰ NHM.DTC I: 26, T. Pennant to J. Banks, Downing June 7th 1768. Lysagh (1971) wrongly supposed that this letter referred to a darter that was published by Margrave in 1648. The original watercolour of the Indian darter, *Anbinga melanogaster melanogaster* Pennant, 1769, is in the London Loten collection, NHM.LC. 100 (type status). The Parkinson copy of this watercolour is also kept in the Library of that Museum, NHM.PC 22.

¹⁵¹ Jackson (1985; 1999).

¹⁵² A. Graves (1905), *The Royal Academy of Arts, a complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*. Henry Graves & Co; George Bell and sons, London, volume 5, page 220.

¹⁵³ The artists who signed the Petition were *William Woollet, Francis Bartolozzi, Thomas Watson, John Boydell, Peter Mazell, Thomas Major, William Wynne Ryland, P. C. Canot, Francis Vivares, Paul Sandby, and William Byrne*. The Petition was presented to Parliament on February 17, 1777.

¹⁵⁴ Nest with young of the Ceylon Taylor bird, *Ortobotomus sutorius sutorius* (Pennant, 1769), NHM.LC 63. See also Van Houten (1905), page 35 and Ferguson (1908), pages 228-9.

¹⁵⁵ Nest with young of *Ortobotomus sutorius sutorius* (Pennant, 1769), NHM.PC 32.

¹⁵⁶ The collared Scops Owl or Indian Scops-owl, *Otus bakamoena bakamoena* Pennant 1769, NHM.LC 4 (type status).

¹⁵⁷ NHM.LC 24, Red-faced Malkoha, *Phaenicophaeus pyrrhocephalus* (Pennant 1769). The watercolour has type status.

¹⁵⁸ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, April 24, 1769.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Falconer (1738-1792), classical scholar and barrister. Falconer was the brother of Thomas Pennant's first wife Elisabeth Falconer (d. 1764).

¹⁶⁰ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letters Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, September 16th and December 10th 1770, February 8, 1771. The reference to the watercolour of the Peacock is to De Bevere's watercolour of the male of the Indian peafowl, *Pavo cristatus* Linnaeus, 1758, in the London Natural History Museum (NHM.LC 88). An engraving of this watercolour was not published by Pennant or Brown.

¹⁶¹ Noblett (1982), page 63.

¹⁶² The existence of Pennant's *Indian Zoology* of 1769 was practically unknown to ornithologists of the nineteenth century. Hume (1878: 506) could not get hold of Pennant's work. Newton (1879: 414) found a copy of the *Indian Zoology* from the Banksean Library in the British Museum. He gave a list of the species figured and described in the work with the Latin names given them by Pennant. But according to Allen (1908, page 111)

“.. little use appears to have been made of this information by subsequent writers.”

Legge (1880) in his *Birds of Ceylon* only included references to Forster's *Indische Zoologie* and gives no references to Pennant's *Indian Zoology*.

Newton (1879), Allen (1908), Zimmer (1926), Anker (1938) and Nissen (1953) described copies of the *Indian Zoology*. For our study we consulted the copy of the General library of the Natural History Museum in London, in which plate VII was wanting, and Linnaeus' own copy, in the library of the Linnean Society in London. Sherborne wrote a note about this copy on December 15, 1920, that is glued in the book:

“only one other copy known to me (Linnaeus own) which also wants T.P. (and pl. 13) - so pl. 13 probably never appeared. Bought of Tom Iredale, who acquired it from the Wilfred Lanson Library where it had to all appearance laid unopened for 150 years.”

¹⁶³ Murr (1774), pages 264-276. The *Indian Zoology* was already earlier mentioned in the *Göttinger Anzeiger von Gelehrten Sachen* 49 Stück 25 April 1771 page 424 as:

“London. Alhier hat T. Pennant noch A. 1769 herausgegeben Indian Zoology. Es sind zwölf bemahlte Kupferslatten, worauf Ceylanische Thiere nach des gewesenen Statthalters daselbst J.G. Lotens Zeichnungen gestochen sind, und fünf andere Hefte von eben der Art sollen nachfolgen. Hr. P. gedenkt der mehrern Vorsorgen, die in diesen mit gewalthätigen Insekten ausgefühlten warmen Ländern die Schwächern Thiere nehmen, die Gefahr von ihren Jungen abzuhalten. Ein Vögelchen weiß sogar ein todttes Blatt an ein lebendiges anzunähen, und zwischen beyden sein Nest zu machen, das bloß am Blatte hängt”.

¹⁶⁴ Murr (1781).

¹⁶⁵ Anker (1938), page 179.

¹⁶⁶ Linnean Society Linnaeus Correspondence XI. 454-455. Letter of Thomas Pennant to Linnaeus, dated London September 23, 1773. Internal evidence makes it probable that the letter was written September 23rd 1771.

¹⁶⁷ Pennant, T. (1781). *History of Quadrupeds*. Benjamin White, London. Second revised edition of *Synopsis of quadrupeds*.

¹⁶⁸ NHM.LMS, page 29. Letter of J.G. Loten to Mr. Jean Deutz in Amsterdam. The letter is dated London July 31st 1780.

¹⁶⁹ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant December 17th 1777. The reference to the Swedish gentleman is possibly to Jan Jacob de Geer (1714-1781), Lord of Wijnestein and Oudegein at Jutphaas, or to his brother the Swedish entomologist Charles de Geer of Finsprong (1720-1778), who grew up in Utrecht but returned to Sweden as a young man.

¹⁷⁰ Hoare (1976).

¹⁷¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Annotation about Mad dogs 21 September 1779.

¹⁷² Michael E. Hoare (1976), *The tactless philosopher* gave a balanced presentation of Johann Reinhold Forster's character, effectively opposing the view that Forster was a man of debts, drudgery and hack work, striving to feed a numerous family, plagiarising where he could not persuade or press information from people.

¹⁷³ Hoare (1976), pages 201-202.

¹⁷⁴ Letter to Joseph Bank written from Downing November 12th 1779, Banks collection State Library New South Wales.

¹⁷⁵ NHM.DTC. 1. 285; RBG.Kew.BC. 1. 85 , (Dawson 1958: 662). Letter of Pennant to Banks, dated Downing February 6th 1780.

¹⁷⁶ NHM.DTC. II. 20-21 (Dawson 1958: 339). Letter of J.R. Forster to Banks, dated Halle August 4th 1781.

¹⁷⁷ Forster to Banks, Halle, 22 November 1781, National Library Australia Canberra. See Hoare (1976), page 231.

¹⁷⁸ Letter in the Banks collection State Library New South Wales, dated May 20th 1782.

¹⁷⁹ Forster to Pennant, Halle, 22 November 1781. See Hoare (1976), page 230.

¹⁸⁰ Preface of the English second edition of the *Indian Zoology* (1790).

¹⁸¹ In 1772 Forster and Pennant corresponded on the French translation, which was given by Forster in the hands of Daines Barrington (Gascoigne, 1994)

¹⁸² About the drawing of stag hunting on Celebes there is Loten's remark: "this fine drawing - also spoiled by the ship-wreck of novr. 1775" (HUA.GC 750 nr 1404). This refers to the Bartolozzi copy of Loten's drawing of a Celebes staghunt RP-T.3252.

Anker's remark, based on his knowledge of the existence of the Loten collection in the Natural History Museum, that Forster's statement about the shipwreck "seems to have been made chiefly with a view to increasing the demand for his Indische Zoologie" (Anker 1938: 25), is therefore only partly correct.

¹⁸³ TS.LC. 31: Watercolour of *Paradisea apoda* without the long breast feathers. On the watercolour is written by Loten:

"this bird of Paradise was the first one which was ever brought a live to Batavia from the Southern Islands adjacent to Banda ... this lost its beautiful tail in its cage. all its shapes and attitudes were the same as those of a mag-pye the drawing taken from the life in its natural bigness 1757."

TS.LC. 25 is a brighter copy of this watercolour. This copy was made during Loten's residence in England because the watermark of the paper, "J. Whatman", is English.

¹⁸⁴ RBG.KEW.BC. I. 98; Dawson 1958: 555. In the Loten collection of the Natural History Museum London there is a watercolour van the Buru Babyrousa, *Babyrousa babyrussa babyrussa* (Linnaeus, 1758): NHM.LC. 106. Pennant used Loten's watercolour and information on this animal in his *Synopsis* and *History of Quadrupeds* (1771; 1781;1793).

¹⁸⁵ Parkinson's watercolour of the bird of paradise with tail (NHM.PC 10) based on the original watercolours by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere.

¹⁸⁶ The Dutch passage from Loten's letter to mr. Jean Deutz (NHMLMS page 73) is included in the description of watercolour TS.LC. 31. The copy of Parkinson's drawing of the bird of paradise with tail is in the Loten collection of Teylers Museum in Haarlem (TS.LC. 33). The colours of the nape and crown are the same as on De Bevere's original

watercolour. The artist who made the copy is unknown. It seems not improbable that Peter Brown made the copy for Loten.

¹⁸⁷ De Beer (1948), page 16; Pennant (1793), pages I, ix.

¹⁸⁸ Tuijn & Feen (1969), page 69. Fokke's etchings first appeared in A. Vosmaer's description of the animals kept in the Menagerie of Prince William V of Orange near the Hague (Vosmaer 1804).

¹⁸⁹ Linnean Society Linnaeus Correspondence XI 454-455. Thomas Pennant to Linnaeus, dated London September 23rd 1773. The letter was probably written two years earlier, just after the return, of Banks and Solander from their voyage around the world (July 1771).

“Dear Sir Permit me after so long an interception [Pennant's last letter to Linnaeus before 1771 in the Linnean correspondence of the Linnean Society in London is dated, Downing October 26, 1763] of our correspondence to begin it by congratulating you & the world of naturalists on the venture of our worthy friends Mr. Banks & Dr. Solander, who have procured immortality for themselves, & knowledge unspeakable to us who devote ourselves to the study of nature ..”

About his *Indian Zoology*, published in 1769, Pennant wrote in his letter that it was published “last year”.

¹⁹⁰ Linnean Society Linnaeus Correspondence XI 432. Thomas Pennant to Linnaeus, dated Downing November 17th 1771.

¹⁹¹ Linnean Society Linnaeus Correspondence XI 433. Thomas Pennant to Linnaeus, dated Downing October 14th 1772.

¹⁹² Linnean Society Linnaeus Correspondence XI 446-447. Thomas Pennant to Linnaeus, dated Downing July 4th 1773.

¹⁹³ Erxleben (1777), Zimmerman (1777), Gmelin (1788) and others therefore provide many of the Latin binominals of the animals described in the *Synopsis* and *History*.

¹⁹⁴ Lönnberg (1909), page 32.

¹⁹⁵ Baesel (1974), page 453-457.

¹⁹⁶ Lönnberg (1909), page 25.

¹⁹⁷ Pennant's *History of Quadrupeds* (1781: 366; 1793: II 95-6). The description was based on Marc Catesby's *Lepus javensis* in the *Natural History of Carolina Florida and the Bahama Islands* (1754: 18, plate 18). Catesby gave as locality of the animals, “They are natives of Java and Sumatra”. Linnaeus (1758) referred to Catesby's description and gave it the name *Mus leporinus*. The present name *Dasyprocta leporina leporina* (Linnaeus, 1758). A.M. Husson (1978: 457-463) in *The Mammals of Suriname* gives a detailed description of the Agouti and discusses the early references to the species.

¹⁹⁸ According to Sasse van Ysselst (1908, page 66) and De Vos (1902, page 106) Marcellis (or Marcellus) Bles was born in Tilburg on June 9, 1715. He married at Colombo December 8, 1747 Anna Maria De Caauw of Colombo (baptised there November 1732-died before September 26, 1779). The couple had 6 children; 2 sons and 4 daughters, all born at Colombo. Bles was a merchant at Colombo and was secretary of the political council when Loten was Governor of Ceylon. On June 21, 1760 he bought the manor (“heerlijkheid”) Moergestel in Brabant. Bles died in Moergestel on November 3, 1797.

A recent source for Marcellus Bles is J. Boeren & L. De Brouwer (2001). Tilburg in de koloniën, de koloniën in Tilburg, De relatie van de gebroeders Bles met Indië en Suriname. *Tilburg, tijdschrift voor geschiedenis, monumenten en cultuur* XIX, pages 3-18. His VOC career is described and details are presented of his income during the Indian period and on his life as ‘Heer van Moergestel’.

¹⁹⁹ Annotation on the watercolour of the ‘Moeroette’ (NHMLC 129).

²⁰⁰ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. Spaa, July 24th 1769.

²⁰¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Undated annotation. The reference is to Robert Lennox from 1736 until 1746 deputy governor of the English East India Company at Bencoolen.

²⁰² HUA.GC 750 nr 1393. Undated annotation.

²⁰³ HUA.GC 750 nr 153.

²⁰⁴ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP37. J.G. Loten to Th. Pennant. London 1 April 1780.

²⁰⁵ July 18th 1778 Palm made the following description of the Oran Utan.

“Om acht uur passeerden wij Kuala Singa in het west-zuidwesten aan de rechterzijde, maar dicht bij Kuala Maduara zagen wij een ijselijk grote orang-oetang in het bos, in de top van de boom. We wilden hem vangen en deden alles wat we konden om hem levend te pakken te krijgen. Maar toen dit beest ons zag, brak hij takken van behoorlijke dikte van de bomen af en smeed die naar ons toe. Wij waren een uur of zes bezig geweest en de avond begon reeds te vallen. Toe besloten wij hem dood te schieten. Dat lukt, hij viel dood neer.

Zijn lengte van de hiel tot de heup was eenentwintig duim, van de heup tot de schouder eenentwintig duim en van de schouder tot de kruin, tezamen negenveertig duim. Zijn omtrek bedroeg 49 ½ duim en boven de elleboog 15 ½ duim. We namen hem mee om hem bij aankomst in Pontianak in een vat arak te zetten.”

See V. Roepen & R. van Gelder (2002). *In dienst van de Compagnie. Leven bij de VOC in honderd getuigenissen (1602-1799)*. Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, Amsterdam, pages 157-158.

²⁰⁶ See NL-HaNA. 1.04.02 nr 7586 bta pp. 41-116 and NL-HaNA. 1.04.02 8440 jnk pp. 230-232.

²⁰⁷ There are two watercolours of the Indian Chevrotain or Mouse-deer *Tragulus meminna* (Erxleben, 1777), NHM.LC 103 and 104. Indian Musk in Thomas Pennant, *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771), page 591, Pl- IX (2). Mazell's etchings in Pennant's *Synopsis* and *History* are reversed copies of the watercolour of *Tragulus meminna*, NHM.LC. 104. Pennant did not give the species a Latin binominal name, this was done by Erxleben (1777). He based his description on Knox (1681) and on Pennant (1771). Therefore the present watercolour has no type status.

²⁰⁸ RBG.Kew.BC. 1.62 and NHM.DTC 1-135-137. (Dawson 1958: 555). Letter of Loten to Joseph Banks, dated London December 14th 1776.

²⁰⁹ NHM.LC 103: Watercolour by P.C. De Bevere of *Tragulus meminna* (Erxleben, 1777), Indian Chevrotain or Mouse-deer

²¹⁰ The Lesser Malay Chevrotain or 'Kanchil, *Tragulus javanicus* Osbeck 1792, was described by Pennant in the *History of Quadrupeds* as the 'Guinea Musk' (1781: 115).

²¹¹ RBG.Kew.BC. 1.62 and NHM.DTC 1-135-137. (Dawson 1958: 555). Letter of Loten to Joseph Banks, dated London December 14, 1776; WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP37, memoir by J.G. Loten to Thomas Pennant, London April 1781.

²¹² In the UMA.GC. 510, there is a note dated april 18. 1775 reading: “Bartholozzi fine drawing of stag hunting on Celebes (done after my bad tho' accurate sketches).” ‘Bartholozzi’ is without any doubt the Italian artist Francesco Bartolozzi. Evidently he made a drawing of the stag hunting on Celebes after an east-india ink drawing in the Loten collection. In the latter part of his life he was in Portugal. The original drawing from Loten's collection is now in the Rijks Prentenkabinet in Amsterdam. This drawing (RPK.LC. 14: 44 x 64,5 cm.) is unsigned but probably made by Aubert. To the above quoted note Loten later added: “this fine drawing - also spoiled by the ship-wreck of novr. 1775”.

²¹³ De Beer (1948), page 162.

²¹⁴ See van Bemmél (1949), page 226.

²¹⁵ Hill (1939), pages 170-171.

²¹⁶ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, April 1781.

²¹⁷ RBG.Kew.BC. 1.62 and NHM.DTC 1-135-137. (Dawson 1958: 555). Letter of Loten to Joseph Banks, dated London December 14, 1776.

²¹⁸ Van Bemmél (1949), page 221. Fitzinger (1874) applied the name *Pennantii* Gray 1843 to the Bornean race.

²¹⁹ Lion-tailed Monkey in Thomas Pennant, *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* (1771), page 109 (var.β), pl. XIII, fig. 1. *History of Quadrupeds* (1781) pl. XXI, fig. 1 Purple faced Monkey.

²²⁰ The Purple-faced Leaf Monkey, *Semnopithecus vetulus* (Erxleben 1777). The watercolour by P.C. De Bevere NHMLC.105. The present watercolour has no type status, because Erxleben (1777)'s Latin binominal description of the species was not based on Pennant (1771)'s description and plate.

²²¹ In 1767 Sydney Parkinson made a copy of De Bevere's watercolour, NHM.PC 2. A copy of the watercolour in ink and pencil by an unknown artist was made on English paper, TS.LC 7.

²²² The watercolour by P.C. De Bevere of the Buru Babirusa. *Babyrousa babyrussa babyrussa* (Linnaeus, 1758), NHMLC 105. Indian Hog Pennant, 1771: 73, pl. XI, fig. 1. Baby-roussa Hog Pennant, 1781: 134, pl. XIV, fig. 1; 1793: I 148, pl. XXVIII.

²²³ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant, London, September 16th 1770. The letter also included a translation from Martinus Houuttuyn's *Natuurlyke history .. volgens samenstel van ..Linnaeus*, Volume 2 (1761), chapter XVIII *Sus*.

“Boar with two tusks upon the forehead –

it is with more reason called the horned hog or boar than Boar Hart or Boar-Stag or Hart Boar, as one should call it, if the Indian name Baby roussa was literally translated; for it has not the least resemblance of a stag, tho' there is no difference enough from the boar of hog to separate it from that Genus; therefore the Indian name Baby roussa signifies no more than a Boar or Hog that has something of the Stag.

According to Valentyn (who describes it also) is it nowhere found than on the Island Bouro (to the West of Amboina), on the East coast of Celebes & there about where a great plenty of 'm must be, as Seba writes to have seen more than fifty of their heads brought to Holland for curiosity's sake. The color of this animal is somewhat like that of the tame Hog [inserted by Loten: I think it somewhat more of a pale bleak or foul sky-blue; forgive the expression], the body big & fat; the head long & narrow with a pointy snout apt to dig in the ground. The ears stand upright small & pointy; the eyes small. The upper jaw has two tusks, or two curbed teeth standing thus, that the points reach till the little nose-bones under the eyes, chiefly, when they grow old, which causes them great pain. Those teeth approach with their roots very near the eye holes. The teeth of the under jaw are long too, curbed & placed in the forepart, the feet are like those of the European hogs, with split hoofs; the legs long & thin, the tail large, curled & ends in a tassel.

Some did maintain the tusks were horns, but their substance shews that they are nothing else but teeth. Opinions differ more concerning the use of 'm. it appears to me (it is D^r. Houuttuyn who speaks here) unlikely they are given to them only for ornaments sake, nor do I believe they have 'm in order to hang themselves at night on the branches of trees, that they may sleep safe of the tiger & other rapacious animals: but rather they use 'm in self defence; & perhaps to tear the fruits of some trees: whilst it hath other teeth for biting & chawing.

The Indian reckon the meat of this horned hog the best of venison, & superior in taste to that of the common wild Boar. The body is covered with hair, very soft upon the touch, short & like wool of lambs; on the back it is bristly & hard. I find not annotated, what use is made of it.

Thus far extracted from D^r. Houuttuyn's Natural History according to the System of D^r. Linnaeus”.

²²⁴ According to a personal communication from Dr. Alistair A. Macdonald (Edinburgh) the current information is, that the first Babyrussa to reach Europe alive were the animals which went to Paris in 1830. He referred to J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville (1830), *Le voyage de l'Astrolabe. Histoire du voyage*. Volume 5 pp. 639 (J. Tastu, Paris):

“Pendant le temps que nous demeurames encore devant Manado, le gouverneur ne negligea rien pour nous procurer ce que les environs pouvaient offrir en objets d'histoire naturelle, comme mammiferes, reptiles et poissons tant d' eau douce que de mer. Il donna a l'expedition deux tres-beaux babiroussas vivans male et femelle, et un troisieme que nous empaillames apres l'avoir mange. La chair de cet animal est la meme que celle du cochon de ces pays”.

²²⁵ Linnaeus in the *Systema Naturae* (1758; 1766) gave as locality “Borneo”, which is an error for Seba's “Buru”. Erxleben (1777) gave the locality “Buero, non in Celebes”, while Gmelin (1788) gave Java, Celebes and Buru As the range of the Babirusa. Deninger in his study about the Babirusa (1909), considered the Babyrussa at Celebes and Buru as different species. According to this author all the eighteenth-century description of the Babirusa were based on the Buru species. Laurie & Hill (1954) treat Deninger's two species as subspecies.

²²⁶ HUA.GC 750 inv. 1404.

²²⁷ The remarks on elephants at Ceylon by Marcellus Bles are on pages 295 and 296 of the third supplement and on pages 24-29 of the sixth supplement of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*. J. Emerson Tennent in his *Sketches of natural History of Ceylon* (1861) referred to the remarks of Bles to Buffon on pages 113 and 215. The reference to Marcellus Bles is also in the English translations of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*: Volume VI of *Natural history, general and particular, by the*

Count De Buffon, translated into English. Illustrated with above 260 copper-plates, and occasional notes and observations by the translator. Edinburgh : printed for William Creech, 1780, pages 90-91; Volume VI of *Natural history, general and particular, by the Count De Buffon, translated into English. Illustrated with above 300 copper-plates, and occasional notes and observations.* By William Smellie, ... London : printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1785, page 90-91; Volume VII of *Barr's Buffon. Buffon's Natural history, containing a theory of the earth, a general history of man, of the brute creation, and of vegetables, minerals, &c. From the French. With notes by the translator.* London : printed by J. S. Barr, 1792, pages 320-321.

²²⁸ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP37. Memoir by J.G. Loten to Th Pennant. London 1 April 1780.

²²⁹ *History of Quadrupeds* (1781), volume 1, page 154. Pennant referred to Bles.

²³⁰ Loten's memoir was published by Reimers (1935).

²³¹ The anoa, *Bubalus (Anoa) depressicornis* (Hamilton Smith) was described by Pennant (1781: 27; 1793: I 30). There was no plate of the species.

²³² Gray (1852) and Smith (1827: V 355).

²³³ Gmelin (1788) did not include a reference to Pennant's anoa in his *Systema Naturae* edition. Zimmerman (1777, pages 549 and 679) mentioned the anoa as "minima species bovini", while Boddaert in his *Elenchus animalium* (1785, page 154) referred to the anoa as "species haud fatis cognitae". The first scientific description was not published before 1827 when Hamilton Smith described the *Antilope (Anoa) depressicornis* in Griffith's *Animal Kingdom* (1827, volume V, page 355). Lydekker (1898, pages 131-136) gave a description of the anoa:

"In young animals the skin of the body covered thickly with somewhat woolly hair, which becomes gradually more and more sparse with advancing age, until in old individuals it is almost completely bare In young animals the general colour of the hair yellowish-brown; in adults the colour varying from dark brown to blackish, often with white spots in front of lateral hoofs, on the throat, the hinder parts of the neck".

²³⁴ Maros 5 miles NNE from Macassar (see also Valentyn volume III (2), page 130). In the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet collection there are two east india drawings of the waterfall near Maros from Loten's collection. One is probably by Loten himself (RPK.TP 00 3229; 20 x 15,5 cm), the other drawing is probably by J.M. Aubert (RPK.TP 00 3230; 36,5 x 44 cm).

²³⁵ NL-HaNA 1.11.01.01 Inventaris 425.

²³⁶ Thomas Pennant, *History of Quadrupeds* (1781), volume 2, pages 383-384; *History of Quadrupeds* (1793), volume 2, pages 114-115 and Martinet, 'Katechism of Nature' (volume II, page 143).

²³⁷ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP55

²³⁸ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP55

²³⁹ Thomas Pennant (1781), *History of Quadrupeds*, volume 1, page 16.

²⁴⁰ The Indian Pied Hornbill, *Antracoceros coronatus* (Boddaert, 1783). NHMLC nr 38 and 39. Loten also had a watercolour of the Rhinoceros Hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros* Linnaeus, 1758 which was copied from a specimen in the collection of Sir Ashton Lever by Peter Brown (TS.LC. 17).

²⁴¹ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP55

²⁴² Thomas Pennant (1798), *The View of Hindoostan*, volume 1, page 204.

²⁴³ Pennant (1798), *The view of Hindoostan*. London, volume 1, page 250; Jackson (1999), page 176.

²⁴⁴ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 186/2 and HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Spa 4 September 1772.

²⁴⁵ See: *The annual register, or a view of the history, politics, and literature, for the year 1781*, page 66: Discussion of James Cornish, 'Of the torpidity of swallows and martins' (*Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 65, 1775, pp. 343-352) in Daines Barrington's *Miscellanies* (1781).

²⁴⁶ Jackson (1999), page 176 and Jackson (1985), pages 110-111. See also E. Bénézit (1976), *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*. Volume 2, page 340. The author is grateful to Mrs Carol Gokce, former librarian Natural History Museum London, for this information.

²⁴⁷ In 1766 Peter Brown of Peter-Street, Bloomsbury, contributed two watercolours of a Goldfinch to the exhibition of the Society of Artists of Great-Britain (SAGB), from 1765 because of its Royal Charter also known as the Incorporated Society of Artists. In 1768 Peter Brown, at Witherspoon's, Little Castle-Street, Oxford-Market, contributed two flowerpieces to the yearly SAGB exhibition. See *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c. exhibited by the Society of Artists of Great-Britain, at the great room, Spring-Garden, Charing-Cross, April the twenty-first, 1766*; and *A catalogue of the pictures, sculptures, designs in architecture, models, drawings, prints, &c. exhibited at the great room in Spring-Garden, Charing-Cross, April the twenty-eighth, 1768, by the Society of Artists of Great-Britain, incorporated by His Majesty's royal charter. The ninth year of exhibiting*.

²⁴⁸ A. Graves (1905), *The Royal Academy of Arts, a complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*. Henry Graves & Co; George Bell and sons, London, volume 1, pages 311-312. Peter Brown initially contributed to the RA exhibition 'An old head from the life'(1770), 'A sunset with mares and foals'(1771), 'The Holy family'(1772). His contributions in the following year were 'Two tigers' and 'The globe or pelican fish' (1773). In 1774 he contributed 'A parakeet; a drawing from nature' and in 1775 'The little owl', 'The scarlet lory' and 'The locust', possibly these drawings were connected with the *New Illustrations of Zoology* that was issued in 1776. In 1779 a 'View of a lane near Hertford' and a ditto near Norwood were contributed. In 1780 'A paroquet', possibly copied from a specimen in the collection of Sir Ashton Lever. In 1781, 1783, 1785, 1786, 1787 and 1791 he contributed 'Flower pieces' to the exhibition.

²⁴⁹ The plates that were engraved for this work however failed to capture the delicate beauty that Brown managed to create. Brown's drawings are enhanced by the translucence of the vellum on which they have been painted. The collection consists of 17 original watercolours painted on vellum. The collection was purchased by the London Natural History Museum in 1925.

See Whitehead, P.J.P. (1977) Emanuel Mendes da Costa (1717-91) and the Conchology, or natural history of shells. *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History) Historical Series*, Vol.6 (1) pp 1-24.

²⁵⁰ Quoted from Gilbert White's *Life and Letters* by Jackson (1999), page 176 and Jackson (1985), page 110. The reference to Forster is to Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg who accompanied Captain Cook as naturalists on his second voyage around the world (1772-1775).

²⁵¹ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 186/2: Undated annotation by the Countess of Denbigh on a letter of Peter Brown to Thomas Pennant, London, March 1773. The annotation referred to a note by Thomas Pennant written in 1776 or later in a copy of Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology*. Peter Brown also made two engravings for Pennant's *British Zoology*.

²⁵² WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letters Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. London December 10 1770 and February 8, 1771. The reference is to the De Bevere watercolour of the male of the The Indian Peafowl, *Pavo cristatus* Linnaeus, 1758, at present in the London Natural History Museum (NHM.LC 88). The peafowl was not reproduced in the *New Illustrations of Zoology*. Peter Brown's copy of the watercolour was not retraced.

December 10th 1770 Loten wrote to Thomas Pennant:

"I hope sending from hence within 9 or 10 days [watercolours]... but not the peacock, being so large for the tin-box. I think the Ceylon Peacock is like 'm in Europe, or rather exactly the same, their long necks being of a beautiful blue with some greenish gloss or lustre over them, whereas the peacocks of Java have mostly or rather all a green colour with a shining lustre as if intermixed with gold, Celebes has no peacocks, being it often tried to have 'm hatched there, for they had eggs enough, but 'till my time never succeeded, even not being kept like a domestick bird, neither at Java nor Ceilon I've seen white peacocks, I've heard they were at Ceilon, but I am greatly in doubt".

On February 8th 1771 Loten wrote to Pennant:

"I will not have the least scruple in trusting Mr. Brown with the drawing of the Ceylon peacock; tho' it was done after live the bird had lost some feathers of the tail, for I have seen wild ones in the woods having their tails quite compleat and even much fuller than any in the menageries".

The letters demonstrate that Peter Brown became involved in engraving the Loten watercolours before Joseph Banks' return in London (July 12th 1771).

²⁵³ In 1780 Peter Brown painted for Loten a watercolour of the Rhinoceros hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros* (Linnaeus, 1758) from the cabinet of Sir Ashton Lever. The painting is now in the collection of Teyler's Museum in Haarlem (TS.LC. 17). On August 7th 1780 Brown also made a copy of "the black cheeked parriquet from Borneo in Sir

Ashton Lever's Museum". This bird was according to Loten similar with the "Parrakeet from the mountainous parts of the Island Java. I shot this about half way the Gov[ernor] Gen[er]al Seat 1757 It remained many days a live being carried with me to Batavia". This bird can be identified as the Red-breasted Parakeet, *Psittacula alexandri* (Linnaeus, 1758). In the Loten collection of the London Natural History Museum there is a watercolour of the bird by Pieter Cornelis De Bevere (NHM.LC.10). The copy of the parrot from Sir Ashton Lever's collection by Peter Brown was not retraced.

²⁵⁴ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. Fulham 17 December 1777.

²⁵⁵ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 186/2. Brown also contributed plates to Thomas Pennant's *British Zoology* and *Arctic Zoology*.

²⁵⁶ In his *Literary Life* (1793) Thomas Pennant remarked about Peter Brown and the *New Illustrations of Zoology*:
"At my recommendation Mr Loten lent to him the greatest part of the drawings to be engraven, being of birds painted in India. I patronised Brown, drew up the greatest part of the descriptions for him, but had not the least concern in the preface".

²⁵⁷ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 186/1: Undated letter Peter Brown to Thomas Pennant.

²⁵⁸ For the *Florilegium* seven hundred and forty three botanical line engravings were prepared, but not published by Banks. The first edition of the engravings in thirty -five parts by Alecto Historical Editions, in association with the British Museum (Natural History) appeared between 1980 and 1990. The illustrations recorded the plants collected by Sir Joseph Banks and Dr Daniel Carl Solander in Madeira, Brazil, Tierra del Fuego, the Society Islands, New Zealand, Australia and Java on Captain James Cook's first voyage round the world, 1768-1771.

²⁵⁹ Peter Brown's plate VII, the 'Blue-bellied parrot', present name the Rainbow lorikeet, *Trichoglossus haematodus moluccanus* (Gmelin 1788). The bird belonged to Tupia, a native of Otaheite, who died at Batavia, on his way to England. The Lorikeet was brought to England by Joseph Banks and then given to Marmaduke Tunstall, in whose possession it was when Peter Brown painted it in 1774.
Peter Brown's engraving of a Poa or Tui (*Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae*), plate ..., 'The New Zealand Creeper', was the first published illustration of a New Zealand bird. The engraving was based on a stuffed specimen collected on James Cook's first voyage to New Zealand.

²⁶⁰ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404.

²⁶¹ Biographical details on Benjamin White (1725-1794) and his relationship with Thomas Pennant and his brother Gilbert White are presented by Noblett (1982) and Cornelius (1994).

²⁶² HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. The remark in the cash-book is crossed out. In the annotation Loten also referred to his subscription to Curtis' *Flora Londonensi*. In 1794 B. and J. White still sold the *The New Illustrations of Zoology* for "three guineas half bound".

²⁶³ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant. Fulham 17 December 1777.

²⁶⁴ Gascoigne (1994, page 68) remarked that as Banks's public and scientific stature grew he became more insistent on the need to distinguish between collecting for its own sake in the manner of the traditional virtuoso and collecting which was properly informed by scientific principles. This can be a reason that he changed his opinion about the quality of Loten's collection after the *Endeavour* voyage.

²⁶⁵ In the Pennant Archive in the WCRO.FNPA there are several references to Pennant's contacts with Magareth Bentinck, Duchess of Portland (1715-1785). WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP53 contains notes by Pennant about her fondness for a shell, which is also referred to in *British Zoology* vol IV page 72. CR 2017/TP149 contains correspondence 1778 from William Hudson (1730-ca 1793), sub-librarian at the British Museum, and Magareth Bentinck, Duchess of Portland about a shell given by Pennant to the Duchess which Hudson claimed he had only lent to Pennant.

²⁶⁶ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 186/1: Letter Peter Brown to Thomas Pennant. The reference to the Tortoise is to *New Illustrations of Zoology*, plate XLVIII, figure III, The mediterranean Tortoise, *Caretta caretta* (Linnaeus 1758).

²⁶⁷ WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP 186/2: Letter Peter Brown to Thomas Pennant.

²⁶⁸ Boyd & Jessop (1998) gave information on the life and work of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790), a naturalist and collector who was active in London during the 1760s and early 1770s. In 1776 at the age of 33 Tunstall retired to a country estate at Wycliffe on the south bank of the Tee. He built an extensive Library and a Museum that was particularly notable for its systematic collection of British birds. In a letter to Thomas Pennant, February 8, 1771 from London (WCRO.FNPA CR 2017/TP289: Letter Joan Gideon Loten to Thomas Pennant February 8, 1771) Loten wrote:

“by the above reasons [Loten mentioned his “very suffocating spasmodic complaint”] I have deferred paying a visit to Mr. Tunstall which I certainly do not intend to neglect”.

²⁶⁹ Jackson (1985), page 110-111.

²⁷⁰ Jackson (1985), page 111. Captain Legge wrote about the plates in Brown’s *New Illustrations*: “Some of the drawings are fairly accurate; but others are grotesque and unnatural, showing the poor state of perfection to which the illustration of books up to that time had been brought”. See Legge (1880), volume I, page viii.

²⁷¹ Thomas Pennant, *Indian Zoology* (1790), page ii. The *Faunula Indica* was included in Forster’s *Indische Zoologie* (1781; 1795). The second edition of Thomas Pennant’s *Indian Zoology* (1790) included an *Indian Faunula* with English names, in which the bird part was compiled by John Latham (pages 67-86).

²⁷² The pink-necked green pigeon, *Treron vernans vernans* (Linnaeus, 1771), watercolour made by Loten in 1737 (TS.LC 14).

²⁷³ *New Illustrations of Zoology*, Plate XIII figure 2, the ‘Spotted Curucui’.

²⁷⁴ According to Whistler (1944), page 214 and later authors.

²⁷⁵ *Centropus sinensis*, the Southern Crow-Pheasant (NHM.LC 27), *Eudynamis scolopacea*, the Indian Koel (NHM.LC 26; TS.LC 22), *Harpactes fasciatus*, The Ceylon Trogon (NHM.LC 30), and *Phaenicophaeus pyrrhocephalus*, the Red-faced Malkoha (NHM.LC 24 and 25). The last two species were described and depicted as plates V and VI in the *Indian Zoology* (1769). The Indian Koel was already described by George Edwards in 1747 as ‘brown and spotted Indian Cuckow’ (plate 59). In the 10th edition of the *Systema naturae* (1758) Linnaeus based his *Cuculus scolopaceus* on Edwards’s plate and description.

²⁷⁶ Plate 59 in Edwards (1747). Edwards took his drawing from a specimen from Bengal in the collection of Mr Dandridge. Linnaeus, *Systema naturae*, 10th edition (1758), page 111 (Benghala = Malabar).

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

FINAL ASSESSMENT

Joan Gideon Loten's life was shaped by the social position his parents held in early eighteenth-century Utrecht. Although he was aware of his distinguished family background, he wished to rise above his father's unassuming position in Utrecht's social hierarchy. In the age within which Loten lived, the opportunities for upward mobility for a person not belonging to the inner circle of the local patricians of the Dutch Republic were small regardless of how ambitious, talented and enterprising a person was. Due to the support his relatives in Amsterdam gave him, Loten was given an opportunity. A career in the Dutch East Indies enabled him to aspire to and improve his social status by acquiring a fortune; it also enabled him to satisfy his wish for adventure. Thus, when the opportunity arose, he broke off his studies at Utrecht University and opted for a career in Asia. Patronage and his own personal qualities secured him a promising start in the ranks of the Dutch East Indies Company.

Asia proved to be successful for Loten. He started out in Batavia in 1732 as a junior merchant; twenty five years later he was councillor ordinary of the Dutch East Indies and a former governor and director of Macassar and Ceylon. His contacts and relationships with influential Dutch families had apparently contributed to his successful career, as did his marriage to Anna Henrietta van Beaumont who was well-connected and related to various senior servants of the Company at Batavia. Loten left Batavia as admiral of the Return Fleet in 1757. He had been a capable administrator. The documents demonstrate how he exercised his authority. Throughout his career in Asia, Loten carefully prepared the actions he took and explicitly justified his policies and decisions to the Supreme Government in Batavia. His administration was primarily based upon loyalty to the Company and its servants. He was acutely aware of the Company's historical and legal position in Asia. As a representative of the VOC, his actions reflected the treaties the company had signed with local or regional rulers. He was usually respectful of the native population and did not exercise immoderate forms of supremacy. There is nothing to indicate that he pursued personal wealth by means considered improper or ruthless by his contemporaries. Even so, he returned to Patria a rich man with an estimated fortune of about 700,000 guilders (circa £ 70,700 in eighteenth-century currency). Part of this East Indian fortune came from private trading and emoluments resulting from his office as governor of Ceylon. However, he inherited the majority of his Indian capital from Nathanael Steinmetz, a former governor and director of Amboina. Although he was successful in the East Indies, in later years he became embittered against the Company and the way the Court of directors in Amsterdam and the Supreme Government at Batavia treated its former servants.

The Loten documents show us that he was an intelligent individual, well-read in history and genealogy, but that he was also a natural philosopher seriously interested in knowing more about the natural sciences of his day. In the East Indies Loten was drawn to the natural tropical environment in which he lived. In 1757, he returned to Europe with a collection of watercolours of plants and animals, particularly of birds. Besides his activities as an administrator and naturalist, he had also been committed to astronomy. Throughout his life this was his favourite pastime. Loten considered astronomy to be the 'Queen of sciences'.¹ While living in Asia, he received astronomical and mathematical instruments from his family and friends. He also ordered expensive books and equipment from Isaac Tirion in Amsterdam; these he used in Maccassar and Colombo. Nonetheless, Loten never published a book or paper with his own observations and discoveries. His empirical activities were restricted to observations done out of a natural curiosity and for his own pleasure. He simply registered natural phenomena over a long period of time without formulating a definition of the problem in advance. His inquiries were devoid of Baconian goals such as ultimate benefit and use.²

His personal life in the Dutch East Indies was full of sorrow and ended in tragedy. His wife Anna Henrietta van Beaumont was ailing and two of their children died in infancy. In 1755 when Loten was at the climax of his Asian career, his wife died, an experience which caused him great sorrow. Then, a year later, just a month and a half after her heart-rending departure from Colombo, his only daughter Anna Deliana died in Batavia. In 1758 Loten returned to Holland with Anna Deliana's two young children, whom he tenderly loved, and their father Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen, whose greed and miserliness he abhorred.³ It is remarkable that in later years Loten lacked the authority he required to guide and correct his grandchildren and that he even considered himself socially inferior to them.

Although the epitaph on his monument in Westminster Abbey in London asserts that 'in serving his country through public works he was a distinguished citizen of the highest rank', this was not the position

that Loten had attained upon returning to the Dutch Republic. For twenty five years in Asia he had enjoyed the freedom that health and increasing authority had given him. Once he had returned to the Republic however, he noticed that the status he had obtained while in the East Indies did not give him access to Utrecht's elite. He simply could not get accustomed to the restrictions on his autonomy which social convention imposed. Moreover, his acquaintances and relatives did not leave him alone, often intruding upon him uninvited. He felt like an outsider, excluded from the circles of the aristocratic and patrician class and estranged from his orthodox and narrow-minded Utrecht Calvinistic relatives. It seems he was also unable to pursue his interests in natural sciences with his acquaintances for they disapproved of his studies. In his own words this meant: 'I am not allowed to amuse myself very quietly with the phenomena of Heaven and Earth'.⁴ He did, however, pass the time with his younger brother Arnout, nine years his junior, pursuing interests such as mathematics and astronomy.

It is obvious that social boundaries were impossible to cross particularly for someone like Loten with an impetuous character and far too pronounced social ambitions. Although he was a man of wealth and culture and related to prominent people with influential positions on the board of the VOC and in the city councils of Utrecht and Amsterdam, this did not help him to obtain a solid status among Utrecht's patricians and aristocratic families. This must therefore have led him to decide to travel to England scarcely nine months after his return to Patria.

Loten lived in London with several interruptions for twenty two years. The city's amusements and cosmopolitan intellectual atmosphere gave him a feeling of freedom which he did not experience in the provincial Dutch Republic. From the documents that have been preserved, it is clear that Loten spent at least the first ten years of his residence in England trying to adopt the fashion and manners of an English gentleman who does not have to trouble himself with earning a living. Loten's pursuits bear evidence of the eighteenth-century natural association between the study of antiquities and natural history. His tastes and interests became those of an eighteenth-century English *virtuoso* who had the time and leisure to advance his own knowledge. Although much of the publicity about *virtuosi* found in British seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature is unfavourable, the significance of this phenomenon as a cultural type had not faded by the early eighteenth century. Contemporary literature about *virtuosi* ridiculed dilettantes or quacks but not serious amateurs of natural philosophy. The latter represented eighteenth-century social and cultural values that were still very much alive in the environment in which Loten and his acquaintances lived.⁵

In Utrecht however, Loten's status as an Anglo-Dutch *virtuoso* did not help him to obtain the social distinction he aimed for. The established patrician and noble families of Utrecht did not welcome Loten as one of their own. His study of genealogy and heraldry and his great interest in his own pedigree had but one objective: to show that his ancestors were related to the Dutch Republic's first families and that he was consequently connected to the nobility. His over emphatic way of expressing this probably set him apart. The upper classes adhered to strict behavioural codes in which such matters were handled with more subtlety. It therefore seems probable that it was not only Loten's social origin which excluded him from the socially elite, but also his tastes, behaviour and habits.

Loten travelled frequently during the 1760s. In 1763 and 1764, he made his belated Grand Tour, visiting, inspecting and recording historical sites in France, Switzerland and the Austrian Netherlands. Embarking upon such activities was in the tradition of the English *virtuoso* as was Loten's *Journal* which reflected the interests of the *virtuoso*. The descriptive narrative of his journey reads like a catalogue of monuments, churches, libraries and art collections. It is striking however, that during his Tour he did not try to visit any of the French naturalists. This contrasted greatly with the activities he undertook to become part of England's learned society. While in Paris, he did not pay any visits to the Royal astronomers, even though he owned and admired their works. His visit to the Paris Observatory was more like a recreational outing and he was even snubbed while visiting the Royal Library. Loten's remarkable reticence was quite the antithesis of most of his contemporary British genteel travellers on the Continent.

After he returned to London from his Tour on the Continent, Loten once again considered marriage. Initially, it was his poor health which kept him from seeking marital union. However, he must have realised that he needed an intimate relationship with a woman and that a wife would be a support to him in his old age. He probably also assumed that marrying someone from the circles of the landed gentry would simplify his acceptance into British society. Thus, in 1765 he married Lettice Cotes whose family was of Anglo-Irish peerage and had belonged to the British landed gentry for many generations.

In the 1760s, Loten took an active part in the activities of London's natural philosophers; he also participated in the social amusements of the British elite. The Loten documents give us a glimpse of

eighteenth-century British natural philosophers at work and insights into the way in which wealthy amateur scientists and patrons were involved in their activities. Learning about and studying the 'workings of nature' was a form of amusement for genteel society in London and the Royal Society embodied this. Soon after Loten arrived in London, his natural history collection attracted the attention of gentlemen associated with the British Museum and they introduced him to the Royal Society. His natural history collection added to his status as an amateur 'naturalist' even though his 'paper museum' of bird drawings had actually been created for its own sake and not with any preconceived scientific ideas. Even so, the descriptive and documentary character of the collection was in keeping with contemporary state-of-the-art ornithology as a scientific discipline.⁶ Loten's role in the knowledge of 'the workings of nature' has been confined to that of the *initiator* of a paper collection of East Indian animals and plants and that of a *communicator* of his own body of knowledge of exotic nature to the naturalists of his time. His activities as a collector were those of a *virtuoso* in the sense that his interest in natural phenomena was based purely upon a fascination with exotic nature and its unique and rare components. In Loten's case, his studies of nature led him to a deeper awareness of God's role in Creation and were "always with lucent innocence infinitely more directed to heighten true religious principles [...] than to eradicate them".⁷

Unlike the collection of naturalia and artefacts brought together by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander during the *Endeavour* voyage, Loten's natural history collection was not based on scientific principles.⁸ He was not a professional 'man of sciences' like Banks or like London foreign naturalists Matthieu Maty, Daniel Solander, Johann Reinhold Forster and his son George, who looked to natural history collections as a means of providing a coherent and systematic description of basic scientific principles. Nor did Loten aspire to be a man of sciences; it did not fit the role he sought in London society. As an amateur naturalist he probably felt more solidarity with ornithologist George Edwards, naturalist and antiquarian Thomas Pennant and collector Sir Ashton Lever. Unlike Lever, Loten did not seek to collect curios and oddities of natural history as comprehensively as possible.⁹ Loten's position as an amateur natural philosopher in London was not the object of ridicule. Instead, he was treated with respect, because his knowledge and authority were not exclusively based upon his natural history collection. As a man of wealth and leisure, he devoted a lot of time to the study of mathematics, astronomy, natural history, antiquity, history, genealogy, heraldry and painting and by doing so became something of an authority for his contemporaries. Loten never published a book or paper with his observations and discoveries. His empirical activities were restricted to astronomical, meteorological, entomological and ornithological observations and stemmed from his own, natural curiosity. He carried them out for his own pleasure. His many contacts in London's learned society are proof of this. Loten's studies had no utilitarian or political purpose nor did he undertake them for professional or commercial gain. His knowledge of these areas impressed his London acquaintances and they guaranteed his reputation as a serious, intelligent man. By engaging in experimental philosophy he turned himself into a gentleman and this in turn facilitated his acceptance into the circles of London's society. Loten thereby became part of the world of gentlemanly scientific and historical activity. This is reflected in his membership of both the Royal Society and the London Society of Antiquaries, the places where eighteenth-century *virtuosi* and natural philosophers met.

The scientific instruments which he bought from the leading workshops in Amsterdam and London were not only acquired as objects of admiration. Loten was well instructed in their use and well aware of their application. He genuinely intended to make use of his telescopes and quadrants as he did with his microscopes, mathematical tools, thermometers and barometers. To his own regret however, he lacked the energy and strength he required to do so. There is no evidence for assuming that Loten acquired his scientific instruments only to demonstrate his interest in these areas or as a means of showing off, as was often the case with collectors among the Dutch elite in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁰ In contrast to the many talented dilettantes who did not share Loten's wealth and position, he did not use his instruments as a means of climbing the social ladder although they will have confirmed his status as a *virtuoso* in England. In the Dutch Republic, however, it is unlikely that the instruments helped to improve his social standing among his orthodox acquaintances.

Loten's focus on England's polite and learned society is noteworthy. A similar focus by him on the Dutch Republic's learned societies can not be found in the documents. There is nothing to indicate that he was regularly in touch with Dutch collectors, amateur natural philosophers or naturalists, even though the documents do tell us that he was acquainted with several of them in Utrecht. It seems odd that while residing in Holland he did not hold scientific positions similar to those he held in London. He apparently preferred the amiability he found amongst Britain's polite and learned society and especially that which he found amongst his friends and acquaintances of the Royal Society and the London Antiquaries. This

evidently differed from the companionship he found amongst *amateurs of science* in the Dutch Republic.¹¹ However, his reluctance to associate with the Dutch dilettantes was not just due to his innate shyness or deteriorating health, but may well have been because by nature – and because of his social aspirations – he himself was not the kind of companion who easily fit in with the bourgeois circles found in the numerous local reading and scientific societies that had emerged in the Dutch Republic in the final decades of the eighteenth century. For these societies, the study and practice of natural philosophy was akin to the consumption of ‘liquor and spices’.¹² While Loten strived to be accepted by the elite, he was disappointed to discover that in the Dutch Republic his status as a gentleman *amateur of science* was not valued as it was in England. The boards of the major Dutch learned societies were exclusive and were structured hierarchically according to one’s social status. Moreover, the boards were not meeting places for polite and learned society. Loten did not feel that he was recognised by the regents and aristocrats as a peer. He was never elected to the position of director of the Holland Society of Sciences in Haarlem even though he had bestowed several of his drawings to the cabinet of this major Dutch scientific Society.

Loten clearly felt more at home in England. Upward social mobility based upon merit and patronage was possible in England, at least more so than in the Dutch Republic. This system served as the cornerstone of the major scientific institutions, which could with support by the British government also promote useful knowledge.¹³ Moreover, London had by then become a secular society; the church was a less powerful factor there than it still was in the Dutch Republic. Loten also found England socially more interesting than Holland; in the circles within which he moved, he found congenial people belonging to the gentry, a class he aspired to. He felt more at ease in these circles than he did amongst the patronising Dutch regents, aristocrats and dilettantes of Holland’s bourgeois societies. In England he was esteemed for his merits and reputation rather than his pedigree.

Loten’s asthma soon made it impossible for him to attend the meetings of the Royal Society and the London Antiquaries. His respiratory problems began with an incidental tightness of his chest, but in time developed into a suffocating affliction. From 1765 on he used opium as a palliative, later referring to it as a ‘Heavenly Medicine’.¹⁴ He was well aware of the drug’s side effects and therefore scrupulously registered each daily dosage of laudanum he took. His health became an increasingly restrictive and ordering principle of his life. It enhanced his need to be on his own and made him believe that he was being used by others more cunning than himself. He sometimes reminds us of the coughing and panting lexicographer Doctor Samuel Johnson. However, while Loten’s ordeals were often accompanied by bouts of mental depression, he was spared the insanity, feelings of guilt and religious doubt which became part of the learned Doctor’s melancholy. Asthma prevented Loten from pursuing a more active role in the natural philosophy studies of his era. He thus became an isolated observer who followed the developments in natural philosophy and the innovation of scientific instruments by reading the *Philosophical Transactions*. His days were spent studying natural sciences, history and genealogy and incidentally visiting bookshops and the workshops of instrument makers. In his study attic, he also discussed the merits of natural philosophy with his well-informed acquaintances.

Loten represented the ideas of the eighteenth-century Dutch and English Enlightenment. For him, reason was the primary source and basis for authority. As an *amateur natural philosopher* with apparent sympathies for the Wolffian physico-theological vision of nature, he stands in the Dutch eighteenth-century tradition of the Enlightenment. With approval he remarked in 1780, “«hoc in mundo omnium possibili cum optimo», [because in the world everything is possible with optimism] as my much honoured humane philosopher Wolff taught me by his immortal books”.¹⁵ According to Loten, “admitting our reason in our faith [...] I think it the most reconcilable to my mind & also the most comfortable”.¹⁶

Although his early efforts to integrate into English society suggest an inclination towards the British way of life, Loten ultimately remained a Dutchman in his tastes and sympathies. This became increasingly prominent during his stay in England. In the 1770s, his feelings towards his British acquaintances, and towards British society in general, changed. He increasingly felt he was outsider amongst his wife’s relatives. After the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in December of 1780, he even felt like a misplaced person in a hostile London. In October 1781, he returned to Utrecht. In the following years the Patriotic revolt must have reminded him of the Gordon riots he had witnessed in London in July of 1780. Unlike his brother Arnout, Orangist burgomaster of Utrecht, he did not play a role in the Patriot upheaval. Loten’s last years in Utrecht are scarcely documented, but the available information suggests that they were overshadowed by problems relating to his granddaughter and her family, caused by the bankruptcy of her gambling husband. The available information also indicates that he spent a great deal of time in his study, amidst his books and genealogical manuscripts, reading British newspapers. Right up to the end,

Loten continued to be visited by his friends and family. Several remarks in his last notebook show us that in the final stages of his life he was engaged in pious reflection.

Loten had an impulsive nature and this became increasingly noticeable as the years passed. He was keenly aware of his own social position and he was easily annoyed by those who did not show him sufficient respect. The animosities between him and the VOC's servants give us an insight into this feature of Loten's character. If he felt misused, he became incensed and his response could be unreasonable. The documents suggest that these conflicts were usually not the result of some misplaced arrogance but rather the consequence of an often astonishing level of credulity, which was also very much part of Loten's nature. He wrote many petty complaints about the shortcomings of his acquaintances and relatives in his notebooks. His grumbling appears to have been jotted down on paper without any restraint. Later, most of these notes were scratched out by him and sometimes remarks were added indicating that he realised that he had been too rash in his assessments. Loten's detailed descriptions of his asthma and his opium medications – which greatly limited his mobility – furnish a probable explanation for his grumbling.

Within the framework of his class and time, Loten decisively chose his own way of life. In doing so, he repeatedly disregarded the feelings of his wife, parents and family and at times he was distinctly disagreeable. The petty conflicts with his second wife in London and the annoyances he felt at the behaviour of his grandchildren show his later disappointments. Such conflicts unmistakably belong to the realm of human tragedy which afflicts every generation. Nevertheless, Loten was basically “a man of the strictest honour, integrity, liberality, simplicity, and gentleness of manners”,¹⁷ an ordinary person, whose acts and opinions “were carried out with the utmost care and diligence” and who lived by the principles of “genuine faith, surpassing calmness of spirit, temperate pleasing manners, and deep but wide learning”.¹⁸ Even so, neither his manner nor his authority nor his wealth would ever free him from the limitations imposed upon him by birth and this notion embittered Loten to the end of his days.

Four years after his death Loten was immortalised in Westminster Abbey. According to Oliver Goldsmith the Abbey was a “place of sepulture for the philosophers, heroes, and kings of England”.¹⁹ Here an impressive monument reminds us of the *virtuoso* Dutch governor of Ceylon, Fellow of the Royal Society and the London Society of Antiquaries. Clearly death had finally brought him the affirmation of his distinguished status as an equal to the elite.

NOTES EPILOGUE

¹ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 20 September 1774.

² Francis Bacon aphorism 95 *Novum Organum* Book 1 (1620):

The men of experiment are like the ant, they only collect and use; the reasoners resemble spiders, who make cobwebs out of their own substance. But the bee makes the middle course, it gathers its material from the flowers of the garden and field, but transforms and digests it by a power of its own.

³ HUA.GC 750 nr 1422. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. Colombo 25 January 1757.

⁴ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 15 february 1775.

⁵ McCue (1971) showed that for almost a century the *virtuoso* in literature formed the link between the scientist and the man of letters, supplying the former with publicity and the latter with subject-matter.

⁶ See Introduction and Chapter I in: P.L. Farber (1982), *Discovering Birds*.

⁷ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 1 October 1774.

⁸ For a discussion of the Banks collection see Gascoigne (1994), page 68.

⁹ The quotations are from Samuel Johnson's description of the 'zealous virtuoso': *The Rambler* no 83, January 1, 1751.

¹⁰ See Zuidervaart (2007), page 309-312.

¹¹ See Mijnhardt (1987) for an analysis of the differences in the evolution of eighteenth-century sociability in England and the Dutch Republic.

¹² Wagenaar (1739) quoted in Zuidervaart (2007), page 290.

¹³ Gascoigne (1998), pages 16-30.

¹⁴ HUA.GC 750 nr 1428. J.G. Loten to A. Loten. London 30 June 1775.

¹⁵ HUA.HC 643-1 nr 558. J.G. Loten to G.J. Van Hardenbroek. London 4 April 1780.

¹⁶ HUA.GC 750 nr 1404. Annotation 10 April 1775.

¹⁷ Thomas Pennant (1798). *The view of Hindoostan*, volume I, page 250.

¹⁸ Epitaph on the Loten Monument in Westminster Abbey, London.

¹⁹ Oliver Goldsmith (1762), *The citizen of the world; or letters from a Chinese philosopher, residing in London, to his friends in the east*. London, volume 1, letter XIII, page 41.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

ANNEXE

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GENEALOGY LOTEN

LOTEN PEDIGREE ¹

I **N.N. Loten**, born at Aardenburg 1493 married 1520 **N.N.** Receiver of taxes at Aardenburg.

Child:

1. **Nicolaas Loten** see [II](#)

II **Nicolaas Loten**, born at Aardenburg 1523 married **N.N.** Mayor of Aardenburg, afterwards living in Bellem near Ghent.

Children:

1. **Jacob Loten** see [III-a](#)
2. **Cornelis Loten** lived at Bruges.
3. **Didrick Loten** see [III-b](#)

III-a **Jacob Loten**, died at Honschoten married **N.N.**. Merchant in seeds at Honschoten.

Childr:

1. **Nicolaas Loten** see [IV-a](#)

III-b **Didrick or Dirk Loten** (Honschoten 1545-Leiden 1623) married first 1605 **N.N. van Assenburgh**; married second at Calais 1605 **Josijna Walewijns Christiaans daughter**. Dirk was a Mennist, he escaped from Honschoten to Bruges, afterwards to Aardenburg where he was mayor and beerbrewer. Later he escaped through Aix la Chapelle to Leiden, where he arrived circa 1572. He left each of his children more than a ton in gold, which he earned as a merchant at Leiden.

Children first marriage:

1. **Marten or Maarten Loten or Looten** see [IV-d](#)
2. **Jan Loten** see [IV-b](#)
3. **Carel or Charles Loten** see [IV-c](#)
4. **Cornelia or Neelken Loten** (Bruges 1572-Leiden 1635) married at Leiden 1598 **Michiel Gerard** (Leiden 1575-Leiden 1649). They had seven sons.
5. **Margaretha Loten** (*d.* Amsterdam 1611) married at Amsterdam 1603 **Klaas de Veer** (Amsterdam 1583-Amsterdam 1646).
6. **Nicolaas Loten** (*d.* Rouaan). He had a daughter **Abigael Loten** (*d.* 1662)
7. **Dirck Loten**.
8. **Sara Loten** married **Arend van der Meersch**.

IV-a **Nicolaas Loten**, married **N.N.**

Child:

1. **Jan Looten** (1618-London 1681). Painter in London (1661-1681).

IV-b **Jan Loten** married **Susanna van Harinckshoek**. He was a merchant at Paris.

Children:

1. **Dirk Loten**
2. **Hester Loten** who married **N. Liebergen**.

IV-c **Carel or Charles Loten** (Bruges 1584-Country seat Valckenburgh near Heemstede 1652) married first at Norwich (Engeland) 1610 **Maria de Hem** (*b.* Norwich 1585) daughter van **Tobias de Hem** and **Jane** or **Tanneke de Horn**; married second 1613 **Johanna Valckenburg**, widow **Jan Francken**; married third 1648 **Maria van der Corput** (Dordrecht 1603-Country seat Valckenburgh 1671) widow of **Abraham van der Meer**. In 1608 citizen of Amsterdam.

Children first marriage:

1. **Sara Loten** (Amsterdam 1608-Leiden 1669) married at Amsterdam 1627 **Professor Abraham van der Heidand (Heydanus)** (Frankenthal 1597-Leiden 1678). They had nine children.
2. **Joan Loten** see [V-a](#)

IV-d **Marten or Maarte Loten or Looten** (*b.* Bruges 1586) married 1617 **Caecilia Lups**. Marten Loten was a Mennist like his father.

Children:

1. **Marten Loten** see [V-b](#)
2. **Govert Loten** see [V-c](#)

¹ See also HUA GC 750 nr 109: A genealogy of the Loten family with annotations by Joan Gideon Loten.

V-a **Joan Loten** (Amsterdam 1612-Amsterdam 1676) married first at Amsterdam 1635 **Elisabeth Hellincx** (1612-1635) daughter van **Jan Hellincx** and **Geertruid Hudde**; married second 1642 **Apollonia Selijns** (Amsterdam 1625-Amsterdam 1670).

Children first marriage:

1. **Maria Loten** (1634-1635).

Children second marriage:

1. **Carel Loten** (Amsterdam 1643-Utrecht 1691). Captain of the militia of the Dutch States and of the King of Denmark. Member of waterboard Leerdam and baronie of Acquoij 1687.

2. **Guilielmus Loten** see [VI-a](#)

3. **Mr. Joan Loten, Lord of Luchtenberg** see [VI-b](#)

4. **Abraham Loten** see [VI-c](#)

5. **Isaac Loten** (Amsterdam 1650-Groningen 1713).

6. **Maria Loten** see [VI-d](#)

7. **Susanna Loten** (Amsterdam 1655-Amsterdam 1705) married at Amsterdam 1681 **Mr. Pieter Hulft** (Amsterdam 1643-Amsterdam 1694); married second at Amsterdam 1699 **Professor Dr Jacob Trigland** (Haarlem 1652-Leiden 1705).

8. **Jacob Loten** see [VI-e](#)

9. **Constancia Loten** (Amsterdam 1663-1710) married at Sloten 1681 **Mr. Cornelis Hop** (Amsterdam 1658-Amsterdam 1716).

10. **Tobias Loten** (Country seat Vredenburg in Beemster polder 1664-Amsterdam 1735). Captain civil militia at Amsterdam.

V-b **Marten Loten or Looten** (Amsterdam 1626-Amsterdam 1686) married 1652 **Christiana Rutgers** (*b.* 1627). Mennonite and physician at Amsterdam. Rembrandt painted his portrait (1632), now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Children:

1. **Susanna Loten.**

2. **Christiana Loten** (*b.* Amsterdam 1654).

V-c **Govert Loten** (Amsterdam 1628-Amsterdam 1678) married 1657 **Anneke Rutgers** (Amsterdam 1636-Amsterdam 1707). Govert Loten lived since 1640 at his newly built mansion “Roosenburgh” in the since 1630 drained Diemermeer.²

Children:

1. **Cecilia Loten.**

2. **David Loten.**

3. **Susanna Loten.**

4. **Anna Loten.**

5. **Jacob Loten** see [VI-f](#)

6. **Govert Loten or Looten** (Amsterdam 1670-1728). He was the owner of two Johannes Vermeer paintings: *The Geographer* (1668-69), now in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main and *The Astronomer* (1668), now in the Louvre collection in Paris.

VI-a **Guilielmus Loten** (Amsterdam 1644-Beemster 1712) married at Amsterdam 1669 **Constantia Gerard** (Amsterdam 1646-Purmerend 1727).

Children:

1. **Apolonius Loten** (Amsterdam 1670-Amsterdam 1676).

2. **Constantia Maria Loten** (1673-Amsterdam 1674).

3. **Constantia Johanna Loten** (1675-Amsterdam 1676).

4. **Cornelia Constantia Loten** (1677-Amsterdam 1683).

5. **Johanna Apolonia Loten** (1679-Amsterdam 1756) married at Amsterdam 1714 **Jan Carel Six** (Amsterdam 1678-Amsterdam 1754).

6. **Constantia Cornelia Loten** (Amsterdam 1683-Haarlem 1759) married 1714 **Mr. Matthijs van Hartogsveld** (Amsterdam 1673-Amsterdam 1724).

VI-b **Mr. Joan Loten, Lord of Luchtenberg** (Amsterdam 1646-Utrecht 1724) married at De Bilt 1678 **Constantia Hoeufft** (1648-Wijk bij Duurstede 1733) daughter van **Johan Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Peureuse and Choisival** (1601-1677) and **Isabella Deutz** (1615-1672). Several times Mayor of Wijk bij Duurstede. See also Hoeufft Pedigree [III-b](#).

Children:

1. **Mr. Joan Carel Loten** see [VII-a](#)

2. **Joseph Loten, Lord of Bunnik, Vechten, Wittevrouwen and Abstede** see [VII-b](#)

² See also *Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant Algemeen Handelsblad* zondag 28 mei 1893, “Roosenburgh” (HUA GC 750 nr 105).

3. **Isabella Catharina Loten** (Amsterdam 1682-Amsterdam 1688).
 4. **Constantia Apollonia Loten** (Amsterdam 1683-Amsterdam 1687).
 5. **Abraham Loten** (*b.* Amsterdam 1686).
 6. **Mr. Aernout Loten** (Amsterdam 1687-1719). Tekenaar van het Statenzegel at Utrecht, rentmeester van het convent Maria Magdalena, Juli 1716. Ontvanger van tol at Wijk bij Duurstede.
 7. **Constantia Maria Loten** (Amsterdam 1689-Buren 1768) married 1735 **Mr. Jan Gerard de Wijs** (Utrecht 1705-Buren 1775).
- VI-c **Abraham Loten** (Amsterdam 1647 – 1727) married at Ylpendam 1691 **Anna Velters** (*d.*1715).
Children:
1. **Unnamed Loten** dead at birth (1692).
 2. **Anna Apolonia Loten** (1694-Amsterdam 1755) married **Francois van Harencapsel, Lord of Beverwijk, Wijk op Zee en Wijk aan Duin** (1685-1756), City Councillor at Amsterdam.
 3. **Helena Constantia Loten** (Amsterdam 1696-Purmerend 1759) married 1722 **Gerard Constantijn van Ruytenberg** (Amsterdam 1695-Purmerend 1726); married second at Purmerend 1729 **Dr Philippus Boon** (Purmerend 1689-Purmerend 1738).
- VI-d **Maria Loten** (Amsterdam 1652-Amstelveen 1700) married at Amstelveen 1677 **Mr. Herman Rendorp** (Amsterdam 1647-Amsterdam 1724).
Child:
1. **Apollonia Rendorp** (1682-1757) married **Balthasar Boreel** (1673-1744), Director of the Dutch East Indies Company.
- VI-e **Jacob Loten** (Amsterdam 1658-Amsterdam 1734) married at Sloten 1681 **Duijffe van den Poll** (Amsterdam 1663-Amsterdam 1678). City Councillor at Amsterdam.
Children:
1. **Apollonia Loten** (Amsterdam 1683-Amsterdam 1761).
 2. **Breghje Loten** (Amsterdam 1685-Amsterdam 1685).
 3. **Harmijntje Loten** (1685-1685).
 4. **Breghje Loten** (Amsterdam 1692-Amsterdam 1760) married 1717 **Mr. Dirck Alewijn** (Amsterdam 1682-Amsterdam 1742).
- VI-f **Jacob Loten** (Amsterdam 1668-Amsterdam 1727) married at Amsterdam 1708 **Elisabeth van Lennep** (Amsterdam 1679-Amsterdam 1718).
- VII-a **Mr. Joan Carel Loten** (Amsterdam 1679-Utrecht 1763) married at Blauwkapel 1710 **Arnoldina Maria Aerssen van Juchen** (Utrecht 1685-Groenekan in Maartensdijk 1775) daughter of **Mr. Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen** and **Aemilia Schade van Westrum** (See Juchen Pedigree [III.11](#) and Schade Pedigree [III.8](#)).
Children:
1. **Joan Gideon Loten** see [VIII-a](#)
 2. **Cornelis Joseph Loten** (Maartensdijk 1714-Utrecht 1720).
 3. **Mr. Arnout Loten** see [VIII-b](#)
- VII-b **Joseph Loten, Lord of Bunnik, Vechten, Wittevrouwen and Abstede** (Amsterdam 1680-Utrecht 1730) married first at Bengal 1713 **Alberta Pierraerd** (*d.* Bengal 1716); married second at Batavia 1720 **Abigal Tant** (died between Batavia and Cape of Good Hope 1721); married third at Castle Linschoten 1723 **Christiana Clara Strick van Linschoten** (1688-Utrecht 1780) daughter of **Adriaan Strick van Linschoten** (1650-1724) and **Cecilia van Gerven** (*b.* 1666).
Children third marriage:
1. **Adriaan Loten** (Utrecht 1724-Utrecht 1724).
 2. **Constantia Johanna Loten, Lady of Bunnik and Vechten** (Utrecht 1725-Utrecht 1762) married at Utrecht 1742 **Francois Doublet, Lord of Groeneveld, Mijnsheerenland and Moerkerken** (Delft 1715-Madrid 1769). The sister of Francois Doublet, **Mary Doublet** (1721-1801) or **Lady Holderness**, married 1742 **Robert Darcy, fourth Earl of Holderness** (1718-1778), Minister plenipotentiarius at The Hague (1749-1751) and Secretary of State in the British Cabinet (1751-1761). Francois Doublet was Elected Delegate of Utrecht in the States General at The Hague (1747-1751) and Envoy at Sweden (1760-1762) and Madrid (1762-1769).
- VIII-a **Joan Gideon Loten** (Maartensdijk 1710-Utrecht 1789) married first at Batavia 1733 **Anna Henrietta van Beaumont** (Cape of Good Hope 1716-Colombo 1755) daughter of **Cornelis van Beaumont** and **Deliana Blesius**; married second at Banstead 1765 **Lettice or Laetitia Cotes** (1733-London 1810) daughter of **Reverend Digby Cotes M.A.** (1683-1744) and **Elisabeth Daur** (1697-1733). See also Van Beaumont Pedigree [IV.3](#).
Children first marriage:
1. **Charlotte Eleonora Loten** (Semarang 1734-Semarang 1735).
 2. **Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia Loten** see [IX-a](#)
 3. **Unnamed child, died shortly after birth** (Macassar 1746).

VIII-b **Mr. Arnout Loten** (Maartensdijk 1719-Utrecht 1801) married at Utrecht 1749 **Lucretia Christina Scheffer** (1726-Utrecht 1792). Several times Alderman and Mayor of Utrecht.

Children:

1. **Johanna Carolina Loten** (Utrecht 1750-1750).
2. **Wilhelmina Henrietta Loten** (Utrecht 1751-Utrecht 1751).
3. **Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten** see [IX-b](#)
4. **Wilhelmina Henrietta Loten** (Utrecht 1754-Utrecht 1756).
5. **Mr. Joan Gideon Loten** see [IX-c](#)

IX-a **Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia Loten** (Semarang 1736-Colombo 1756) married at Batavia 1752 **Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen** (Bergen op Zoom 1717-Utrecht 1770) son of **Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen** and **Antonia Anna de Casembroot**, weduwnaar van **Christina Engelina Rebbens** (See also Van Der Bruggen Pedigree [III-a](#)).

Children:

1. **Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen** see [X-a](#)
2. **Albert Anthonie Cornelis Van Der Bruggen** (Colombo 1754-Colombo 1755).
3. **Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen** see [X-b](#)

IX-b **Johanna Carolina Arnoudina Loten** (Utrecht 1753-Utrecht 1823) married at Utrecht 1788 **Mr. Johannes van Doelen** (Utrecht 1752-Utrecht 1828).

Children:

1. **Martinetta Elisabeth van Doelen** (1789 – 1814) married 1813 **Mr Benjamin Johan Cornelis Hoogendijk van Domselaar** (*b.* 1792).
2. **Arnout Christiaan van Doelen** (1791-1792).
3. **Mr Arnoud Christiaan van Loten van Doelen** see [X-c](#)

IX-c **Mr. Joan Gideon Loten** (Utrecht 1755-Utrecht 1809) married at Utrecht 1797 **Henriette Adriana van den Heuvel** (Utrecht 1769-Bonn) 1829, she remarried **Jean Pierre Samuel Favrod de Fellens**.

X-a **Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen** (Colombo 1753-Castle Croy at Stiphout 1828) married at Utrecht 1782 **Margaretha Geertruida Falck** (Utrecht 1762-Castle Croy at Stiphout 1843) daughter of **George Tammo Falck** (1714-1793) and **Theodora Adriana Criellaart** (*b.* Negapatnam 1732- *d.* Utrecht).

Children:

1. **Mr Joan Gideon Willem Karel Van Der Bruggen** see [XI-a](#)
2. **George Tammo Theodorus Adriaan Van Der Bruggen** (Utrecht 1784-Castle Croy at Stiphout 1864). Lieutenant-colonel Dutch Infantry 1839.
3. **Jeanne Caroline Constance Wilhelmine Van Der Bruggen** (Utrecht 1795-Castle Croy at Stiphout 1873).
4. **Louis Charles Auguste Van Der Bruggen** (Utrecht 1797-Utrecht 1820).

X-b **Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen** (Colombo 1755-Utrecht 1835) married at Utrecht 1772 **Willem Anna von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Voorburg 1749-in England before 1830) son of **Joost Lodewijk (von Proebentow) von Wilmsdorff** (1703-1757) and **Antoinette Ernestine Jacot (van Axele)** (1709-1791).

Children:

1. **Jan Gideon Lodewijk Ernst von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff Richards of Rathaspick** see [XI-b](#)
2. **Elisabeth Jacoba von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Bois le Duc 1778- Bois le Duc 1778).
3. **Henriette Wilhelmina Jacoba Antonia von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Bois le Duc 1778 – 1835) married at Valleyres sur Rances, Switzerland 1796 **Jean Louis Victor Samuel Thomasset** (Orbe 1766-in Russia 1812). Lived in 1835 at Lynington near Isle of Wight England.
4. **Wilhelmina Anna von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Bois le Duc 1781-Utrecht 1829).
5. **Jeanne Françoise von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Bois le Duc 1783-Middelburg 1845) married at Utrecht 1809 **Hendrik Willem Lantsheer** (Middelburg 1773-Amsterdam 1836).
6. **Jan Carel Willem von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Bois le Duc 1785-1789).
7. **Gerharda Henrietta Wilhelmina Anna von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (Castle Nemelaer, Haren 1786-Utrecht 1859).

X-c **Mr Arnoud Christiaan van Loten van Doelen** (1794-1817) married 1816 **Cornelia Maria Agatha Antonia van der Muelen** (*b.* 1793).

Child:

1. **Jacoba Carolina van Loten van Doelen** (1817-1875) married 1843 **Mr Jacob Anne Grothe** (1815-1899).

XI-a **Mr Joan Gideon Willem Karel Van Der Bruggen** (Utrecht 1783-Utrecht 1826) married at Utrecht 1805 **Arnoudine Berendine Wilhelmine van Westrenen** (Utrecht 1787-The Hague 1857).

Children:

1. **Caroline Charlotte Guillaumine Van Der Bruggen** (1806-1844).
2. **Cornelie Eugenie Augustine Van Der Bruggen** (Kleve 1809-Croy 1872).

3. **Mr Carel Theodoor Van Der Brugghen** (Utrecht 1812-Amsterdam 1878). Jur doctor Utrecht 1836; Judge at Loenen 1843-1863; author under pseudonym Scribax.

XI-b **Jan Gideon Lodewijk Ernst von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff Richards of Rathaspick** (Bois le Duc 1775-Wexford, Ireland 1834) married 1802 **Martha Richards** (*d.* 1855). General in British Service ?

Children:

1. **Henrietta Elisabeth von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff**.
2. **Anne von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (*d.*1844).
3. **Thomas William Frederick von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff Richards of Rathaspick** (*d.* Rathaspick 1862).
4. **Elisabeth von Proebentow van Wilmsdorff** (*d.* Wexford, Ireland 1898).

HOEUFFT PEDIGREE ³

I **Diederick Hoeufft** (*b.* Aix la Chapelle 1571) married 1596 **Anne Luls** (London 1578-Dordrecht 1657).

At least ten children among whom:

1. **Johannes Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse** see [II-a](#)
2. **Mr Diederick Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse** see [II-b](#)

II-a **Johannes Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse** (*b.* 1601) married **Isabelle Deutz** (1615-1672) daughter of **Jean or Hans Deutz** (1581-1638) and **Elisabeth Coijmans** (1596-1653) . See Deutz Pedigree II-a.

Children:

1. **Elisabeth Hoeufft**.
2. **Arnoud Hoeufft** (*d.* 1674). Overseer of Hagestein.
3. **Anna Maria Hoeufft** see [III-a](#)
4. **Isabelle Louise Hoeufft** (1648-1707) married 1683 **Jhr Henrick van Utenhove, Lord of Amelisweert and Monnikenland** (1630-1715).
5. **Constantia Hoeufft** see [III-b](#)
6. **Gideon Hoeufft** see [III-c](#)

II-b **Mr Diederick Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse** (1610-1688) married 1641 **Maria de Witt**, sister of Johan and Cornelis de Witt, assassinated 1672 by the The Hague mob.

Children:

1. **Anna Catharina Hoeufft**.
2. **Joseph Hoeufft** (*d.* 1684).
3. **Sara Hoeufft** (*d.* 1705).
4. **Diederick Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse en van Reygersfort** see [III-d](#)
5. **Johan Jeromimo Hoeufft** see [III-e](#)

III-a **Anna Maria Hoeufft** (1646-1715) married **Johan Boudaen Courten** (1634-1716).

Children:

1. **Hieronimus Jozeph Boudaen** (1679-1737) married **Cornelia Boddaert** (1692-1765). From this marriage a daughter **Anna Sara Boudaen** (1718-1792) who married **Jacob van Citters** (1708-1792).
1. **Gideon Boudaen**.
2. **Abraham Boudaen** married first 1717 **Jacoba Maria Sandra** (1693-1723); married second 1724 **Cornelia Mechelina Hurgonje** (*d.* 1754).
3. **Anna Maria Boudaen**, married **Carel Godin**, greffier States of Walcheren (Zeeland).

III-b **Constantia Hoeufft** (1648-Wijk bij Duurstede 1733) married De Bilt 1678 **Mr. Joan Loten, Lord of Luchtenberg** (Amsterdam 1646-Utrecht 1724) son of **Joan Loten** and **Apollonia Selijns**. See Loten Pedigree VI-b.

III-c **Gideon Hoeufft** (1672-The Hague 1710) married first 1683 **Sara Sannius** (*d.* Middelburg 1686); married second 1693 **Catharina Copal** (1644-Utrecht 1723). Canon of the Peter church Utrecht; Delegate in States of Utrecht.

III-d **Diederick Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse and Reygersfort** (Dordrecht 1648-Utrecht 1719) married 1680 **Isabella Agneta Deutz** (Amsterdam 1658-Amsterdam 1694) daughter of **Jean Deutz** and **Geertruid Bicker**. Councillor and Secretary to the King of France. See Deutz Pedigree [III-b](#)

Children:

1. **Isabella Agneta Hoeufft van Fontaine-Pereuse** (Amsterdam 1683-1725) married Zuilen 1704 **Reinout Gerard van Tuyl van Serooskerke, Lord of Zuilen and Westbroek** (1677-1729).

³ See also HUA GC 750 nr 47 and 50: Genealogical information of the Hoeufft family with annotations by Joan Gideon Loten.

2. **Anna Jacoba Hoeffft van Fontaine-Pereuse** see [IV](#)
3. **Agneta Catharina Hoeffft van Fontaine-Pereuse** (1689-1758). Her portret by Philip van Dijk in collection Mauritshuis, The Hague.

III-e **Johan Jeromimo Hoeffft** (1651-Paris 1699) married 1692 **Maria Malapert** (*d.* Jutphaas 1707). Canon Dom church, Utrecht.

IV **Anna Jacoba Hoeffft van Fontaine-Pereuse** (1688-1752) married 1718 **Jean Anthony d'Averhoul, Lord of Guincourt** (*d.* 1735).

Children:

1. **Isabella Agneta d'Averhoul** (*b.* 1719).
2. **Anna Magdalena d'Averhoul** (*b.* 1720).
3. **Jean d'Averhoul, Lord of Guincourt** (1721-1772) married **Gerhardina Valcke**. The eldest son **Jean Antoine** (1756-1792) had a prominent role as a patriot in Utrecht in 1785-1787. In 1792 he was president of the French parliament, the Assemblée Législative. The younger son **Pompejus d'Averhoul** died in 1780 at sea.
4. **Diderik Jacob d'Averhoul** (*b* and *d.* 1722)
5. **Josina Benjamina d'Averhoul** (*b.* 1724)
6. **Maria Catherina d'Averhoul** (1727-Utrecht 1808) married 1754 **Joost Taets van Amerongen, Lord of Natewisch** (1726-Utrecht 1791). Their son **Jan Anthony** (1769-1828) married 1791 **Louisa Reiniera van Tuyll van Serooskerken**, a daughter of **Frederik Christiaan Hendrik van Tuyll van Serooskerken** (1742-1805) and **Jacqueline Proebentow von Wilmsdorf** (1745-1811), sister of **Willem Anna van Wilmsdorff** (see Loten Pedigree X b). **Frederik Christiaan Hendrik** was the eldest son of Loten's friend general **Jan Maximilian van Tuyll van Serooskerken** (1710-1762), brother of the father of the author **Belle van Zuylen**.
7. **Charlotte Susanna d'Averhoul** (*b.* 1728).

DEUTZ PEDIGREE ⁴

I **Jean or Hans Deutz** (Cologne 1581-Amsterdam 1638) married 1614 **Elisabeth Coijmans** (Amsterdam 1596-Amsterdam 1653).

Children:

1. **Isabelle Deutz** see [II-a](#)
2. **Jean Deutz** see [II-b](#)
3. **Jeronimus Deutz** (1622-1681).
4. **Joseph Deutz** (1624-1684).
5. **Balthasar Deutz** (1626-1661).
6. **Agneta Deutz** (1633-1692).
7. **Gideon Deutz** (1635-1670).

II-a **Isabelle Deutz** (1615-1672) married **Johannes Hoeffft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse** (*b.* 1601) son of **Diederik Hoeffft** and **Anne Luls**. See Hoeffft Pedigree [II a](#)

II-b **Jean Deutz** (1618-1673) married Amsterdam 1654 **Geertruid Bicker** (1634-Castle Assumburg 1702).

Children:

1. **Jean Deutz** see [III-a](#)
2. **Agneta Deutz** (Amsterdam 1657-Amsterdam 1678) married Amsterdam 1675 **Cornelis de Graeff** (Amsterdam 1650-1678).
3. **Isabella Agneta Deutz** see [III-b](#)

III-a **Jean Deutz** (1655-1719) married **Maria Boreel** (1669-Amsterdam 1733) daughter of **Jacob Boreel** and **Isabella Coymans**. Merchant and banker. Maria Boreel sister of Loten's benefactor **Balthasar Boreel**. See Loten Pedigree VI-d.1

Children:

1. **Mr Jean Deutz van Assendelft** see [IV-a](#)
2. **Jacob Deutz** (1695-1761).
3. **Willem Gideon Deutz** (1697-1757). Banker. He was Mayor of Amsterdam in 1748, 1752, 1753, 1755 and 1757. Accompanied Loten in December 1731 in Company's yacht on his departure to Batavia.
4. **Gerard Deutz** see [IV-b](#)
5. **Andries Adolph Deutz** (1702-1739).

⁴ See also HUA GC 750 nr 56: A genealogy of the Deutz family with annotations by Joan Gideon Loten.

6. **Isabella Maria Deutz** (1708-1736) accompanied Loten in December 1731 on yacht of the Company on his departure to Batavia together with her brother Willem Gideon.
 7. **Gideon Salomon Deutz** (1710-1784).
- III-b **Isabella Agneta Deutz** (Amsterdam 1658-Amsterdam 1694) married 1680 **Diederick Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse en van Reygersfort** (Dordrecht 1648-Utrecht 1719) son of **Mr Diederick Hoeufft, Lord of Fontaine-Pereuse** and **Maria de Witt**. See Hoeufft pedigree [III-d](#).
- IV-a **Mr Jean Deutz van Assendelft** (1693-1761) married **Cornelia Bors van Waveren** (1697-1763). Councillor, Alderman and Mayor of Haarlem.
Child:
1. **Jean Deutz van Assendelft** (1725-1755) married at Amsterdam 1752 **Sara Jacoba Clifford** (1734-1787).
 2. **Cornelis Deutz van Assendelft** (1730-1788) married at Amsterdam 1756 **Maria Deutz** (1731-1784). Councillor at Amsterdam.
- IV-b **Gerard Deutz** (1699-1759) married at Amsterdam 1739 **Hester Aagje van den Bempden** (1705-1768).
Child:
1. **Mr Jean Deutz** (1743-1784). In 1778 director of the Holland Society of Sciences at Haarlem.

SCHADE PEDIGREE ⁵

- I **Johan Schade** (*d.* 1614) married **Catharina Deijs**.
Child:
1. **Willem Schade van Westrum** see [II](#)
- II **Willem Schade van Westrum** (1604-1651) married first 1608 **Johanna de Fresne** (*d.* 1613); married second 1613 **Aemilia van Kinschot** (1593-1658) daughter of **Jasper van Kinschot** and **Josina Pijll**.
Child second marriage:
1. **Gaspar Schade, Lord of Tull en Twaal** see [III](#)
- III **Gaspar Schade, Lord of Tull en Twaal** (1623-1692) married 1648 **Cornelia Strick van Linschoten** (1628-1703) daughter of **Johan Strick van Linschoten** (1583-1648) and **Beatrix Gibels** (*d.* 1655). Elected Councillor in the States of Utrecht; Dean of the chapter Oudmunster; President Provincial Court at Utrecht; Elected Councillor and Delegate in the States General on behalf of Utrecht.
Children:
1. **Agnes Schade van Westrum** see [IV-c](#)
 2. **Susanne Schade van Westrum** see [IV-b](#)
 3. **Beatrix Schade van Westrum**, married **Willem van Persyn** (*d.* 1733).
 4. **Cornelia Amelie Schade van Westrum**.
 5. **Johanna Maria Schade van Westrum**.
 6. **Anthonia Schade Lady of Tull en Twaal** see [IV-a](#)
 7. **Josina Schade van Westrum** (*d.* 1771).
 8. **Aemilia Schade van Westrum** see Van Juchen pedigree [III](#) and Loten Pedigree [VII-a](#).
 9. **Johan Schade** (1652-1682). Ensign in the Company of Lieutenant-Colonel Booth.
 10. **Willem Schade** (1653-1699). Steward of the Abbey of Oostbroek; Councillor and Alderman of Utrecht; Attorney-general of the Court of the Province of Utrecht.
 11. **Gaspar Cornelis Schade van Westrum** (1657-1701). Cannon of the St Marie church at Utrecht; Councillor of the Zeeland Admiralty; Member of the waterboard Lekkendijk Bovendams.
- IV-a **Anthonia Schade Lady of Tull en Twaal** (*d.* 1736) married first **Mattheus van Luchtenburch** (*d.* 1701); married second 1706 **Pieter Haack de Jong** (1664-1721) son of **Jan de Jong** and **Sara Haack**. Pieter Haack de Jong was the widower of **Anna Maria van Weede tot Dijkveld en Ratelis** (1665-1703); they had seven children among whom **Isabella de Jong** (1694-1769), since 1718 **Lady Denbigh**, and **Maria Catharina** (1695-1779), since 1730 **Lady Blandford**.
Children first marriage:
1. **Johan van Luchtenburch**.
 2. **Elisabeth van Luchtenburch**.
 3. **Adelpha Jacoba van Luchtenburch** see [V-a](#)

⁵ See also HUA GC 750 nr 120 and 121: A genealogy of the Schade family with annotations by Joan Gideon and Arnout Loten.

IV-b **Susanne Schade van Westrum** married first 1694 **Johan Frederick Abbema** (*d.* 1700) son of **Sybrand Frederick Abbema** and **Catharina Burgers**; married second 1710 **Johan Masch**.

Children first marriage:

1. **Sybrand Andries Abbema** (*d.* 1739). Councillor extraordinary of the Supreme Government at Batavia.
2. **Jacoba Agnes Abbema** (*d.* 1759).
3. **Catharina Aemilia Abbema** (1694-Utrecht 1771) married 1720 the lawyer at the Court of Holland **Mr. Gasper van Kinschot** (The Hague 1679-The Hague 1726). He was a son of **Anthony Gunther van Kinschot** (1638-1700), Greffier of the Court of Holland (1675-1700), and **Alida Pauw van Nieuwerkerk** (Amsterdam 1649-Delft 1738).

Child second marriage:

1. **Sophie Johanna Valentina Masch** (*d.* 1747).

IV-c **Agnes Schade van Westrum** married **Jacob Noiro**t (1670-1746), who later married **Sibilla Gercama**.

Children:

1. **Catharina Susanna Noiro**t.
2. **Jacoba Adriana Noiro**t see [V-b](#)

V-a **Adelpha Jacoba van Luchtenburch** married **Eustachius baron van Bronckhorst**.

Children:

1. **Matthys baron van Bronckhorst**. Member of the Nimwegen Knighthood.
2. **Jasper Cornelis baron van Bronckhorst**.

V-b **Jacoba Adriana Noiro**t (*d.* 1725) married 1724 **Willem Hendrik Count of Nassau**.

Child:

1. **Elisabeth Agnes Jacoba Countess of Nassau** (*b.*1725) married **Alexander Sweerder Ryx** (*d.* 1775).

VAN JUCHEN PEDIGREE ⁶

I **Martin van Juchen** (*d.* Rijnsburg 1673) married **NN de Regniere** (*d.* Wesel 1671) daughter of **Jacques de Regniere** en **Agnes de Tamise**. Colonel and commander of Wesel.

Child:

1. **Martin Arnout Aerssen van Juchen** see [II](#)

II **Martin Arnout Aerssen van Juchen** (1625-Aurich 1645) married **Susanna Duverden of Deuverden** (*d.* Wesel 1668) daughter of **Cornelis Duverden of Deuverden** (1543-Amersfoort 1611) and **Johanna de Voirde** (*d.* Amersfoort 1631). Captain in the Army of the States General.

Child:

1. **Mr. Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen** see [III](#)

III **Mr. Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen** (*d.* 1705) married 1668 **Aemilia Schade van Westrum** (1649-1689) daughter of **Gaspar Schade**, Lord of **Tull en Twaal** and **Cornelia Strick van Linschoten**. Councillor of the Amsterdam Admiralty, director Dutch West Indies Company, Chief Officer Wijk bij Duurstede, Canon St Pieter church Utrecht. See also Schade pedigree [III](#).

Children:

1. **Susanna Angnes Aerssen van Juchen** (1669-1735).
2. **Gaspar Martinus Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1670).
3. **Maria Aerssen van Juchen** (1671-1681).
4. **Cornelia Maria Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1672).
5. **Helena Aerssen van Juchen** (1674-Wijk bij Duurstede 1736) married Blauwkapel 1709 **Cornelis Janssen van Sandick** (Wijk bij Duurstede 1655-Wijk bij Duurstede 1740).
6. **Cornelia Louisa Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1675).
7. **Martinus Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1677-?? Dutch East Indies).
8. **Maria Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1681).
9. **Johan Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1683).
10. **Alida Theodora Aerssen van Juchen** see [IV](#)
11. **Arnoldina Maria Aerssen van Juchen** See Loten Pedigree [VIIIa](#).
12. **Gaspar Cornelis Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1687).
13. **Anthony Aerssen van Juchen** (*b.* 1688).

IV **Alida Theodora (also Aldora or Alidoortje) Aerssen van Juchen** (1684-Wijk bij Duurstede 1746) married **Otto Jacobus Severijn** (*d.* Curacao 1719). Severijn was commissary of the slave trade at Curacao.

⁶ See also HUA GC 750 nrs 96 and 115: A genealogy of the Juchen family with annotations by Joan Gideon Loten.

Children:

1. **Jasper Cornelis Severijn** lived in 1751 in Curacao.
2. **Otto Martinus Severijn** see [V-a](#)
3. **Sibilla Helena Severijn** see [V-b](#)
4. **Jacob Joan Severijn** (Wijk bij Duurstede 1714-Amsterdam 1775).
5. **Aemilia Severijn** see [V-c](#)

V-a **Otto Martinus Severijn** (*d.* 1778) extramarital relationship with **Geertruy Maria Blankenberg**.

Child:

1. **Cornelia Otto Severijn**, child legitimated by Severijn

V-b **Sibilla Helena Severijn** (1708-1764) married **Ysbrand George Bruyn** (1710-1745).

Children:

1. **Otto Jacobus Bruyn**.
2. **George Bruyn** see [VI-a](#)

V-c **Aemilia Severijn** (1718-1747) married **Dirk Bruyn Georgesz**.

Children:

1. **Anne Bruyn** married **Goswinus Cazius**.
2. **Alida Theodora Bruyn**.
3. **George Bruyn** see [VI-b](#)
4. **David van Mollem Bruyn**.

VI-a **George Bruyn** (*b.* 1740) married **Levina Severijn**.

Child:

1. **Sibilla Helena Bruyn**.

VI-b **George Bruyn** married **Sjoerdje Acronius** (1729-Wyck by Duurstede 1775).

VAN BEAUMONT PEDIGREE

I **Simon van Beaumont** (1574-1654) married **Emerentiana de Regniere** (1588-1667).

Child:

1. **Johan van Beaumont** see [II](#)

II **Johan van Beaumont** (1609 – 1695) married **Maria de Witte** (1616-1670).

Children:

1. **Simon van Beaumont** (*b.* 1638).
2. **Cornelis van Beaumont** see [III](#)

III **Cornelis van Beaumont** (1644-Breda 1700) married 1685 **Catharina Becker** (*b.* Amsterdam 1657). The brother of Catharina Becker was **Henrik Becker** (1661-1722), Governor of Ceylon (1707-1716) and Councillor extraordinary of the Dutch East Indies.

Children:

1. **Francois van Beaumont** (*b.* 1690).
2. **Cornelis van Beaumont** see [IV](#)
3. **Arnout van Beaumont** (*b.* 1690). Captain in the Dutch States army.

IV **Cornelis van Beaumont** (Breda 1690-Batavia 1724) married 1711 **Deliana Blesius** (Cape of Good Hope 1693-Batavia 1736) daughter of **Johan Blesius** and **Christiana Diemer**; Deliana Blesius married second 1728 at the Cape **Leonard Weyer**, waterfiscal at Batavia. Cornelis van Beaumont in 1709 Junior merchant VOC at Colombo; 1713 Fiscal at the Cape of Good Hope until 1724. The sister of Deliana Blesius was **Gijsbertha Johanna Blesius** (1683-Delft 1766), who married first **Isaac Augustinus Rumpf** (The Hague 1683-Colombo 1723) Governor of Ceylon (1716-1723) and married second in 1726 **Everhart Kraayvanger** or **Craeyvanger** (Macassar 1692-Delft 1752), attorney-general at Batavia, Commander of the Return Fleet 1727, also known as a minor poet.

Children:

1. **Anna Henrietta van Beaumont** (Cape of Good Hope 1711-Cape of Good Hope 1713).
2. **Catharina Balthazarina van Beaumont** (Cape of Good Hope 1714-Malacca 1738) married Malacca 1736 **Richard Steenis** (*d.* Malacca 1736); married second at Malacca 1736 **Johan de Roth** (Grave 1704-Batavia 1776). See Van Der Bruggen Pedigree [III-b](#)
3. **Anna Henrietta van Beaumont** see Loten Pedigree [VIII-a](#)
4. **Christiana Jacoba van Beaumont** (*b.* Cape of Good Hope 1718) married junior merchant **W. de Maille Arnoutz**

5. **Mr Cornelis Johan van Beaumont** see [V](#)
6. **Elisabeth Arnoudina van Beaumont** (Cape of Good Hope 1721-Leiden 1759) married **Johannes Bergen van der Grijp** (1713-Leiden 1784).
7. **Deliana Isabella van Beaumont** (Cape of Good Hope 1722) married merchant **Cornelis Volbergen**.

V **Mr Cornelis Johan van Beaumont** (Cape of Good Hope 1720-1791) married 1749 **Eva** or **Esther van Bijkershoek** (*d.* 1761), daughter of **Cornelis van Bijkershoek** (1673-1743), lawyer at The Hague, Councillor and later President of the High Court of Holland and Zeeland. Mr Conelis Johan was Commissary-General of the Admiralty at Amsterdam. Director Amsterdam Chamber VOC (1766-1791).

Children:

1. **Everhard Gysbert van Beaumont**.
2. **Sara Cornelia van Beaumont**.

VAN DER BRUGGHEN PEDIGREE

I **Diederick Van Der Bruggen** married **Adriana Margaretha van Wasserfoort**.

Children:

1. **Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen** see [II](#)
2. **Otto Zigismund Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* Wesel 1691). Ensign in regiment Count Van Opdam.
3. **Johan Lodewijk Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* Wesel 1693-Grave 1693).
4. **Johanna Catharina Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* De Haart in Meesem near Bockholt 1695).
5. **Angenis Louisa Van Der Bruggen** (De Haart in Meesem near Bockholt 1697-Huijze Balcken 1773).
6. **Jan Dirk Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* Utrecht 1700). Died as a Captain in VOC service at the Malabar coast.

II **Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* Nijmegen 1690 – 1743) married at Bergen op Zoom 1714 **Anthonia Anna de Casembroot** (The Hague 1694 -Delft 1783). Ensign in service of the States General 1714; Captain in service of VOC 1722; Alderman at Batavia.

Children:

1. **Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen** see [III-a](#)
2. **Elisabeth Johanna Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* 1724).
3. **Pieter Cornelis Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* 1725-Batavia 1741).
4. **Suzanna Anthonia Van Der Bruggen** see [III-b](#)
5. **Jacob Anthony Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* 1729).

III-a **Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen** (Bergen op Zoom 1717-Utrecht 1770) married first Dutch East Indies 1742 **Christina Engelina Rebbens** (Batavia 1726-on roadstead of Japara 1751); Married second Batavia 1752 **Arnoldina Deliana Cornelia Loten** (Semarang 1736-Colombo 1756) daughter of **Joan Gideon Loten** and **Anna Henrietta van Beaumont**. See Loten Pedigree [VIII-a](#).

Children first marriage:

1. **Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen** see [IV-a](#)
2. **Adriana Alida Van Der Bruggen** (*b.* Batavia 1744-Batavia 1744).
3. **Jan Anthony Van Der Bruggen** see [IV-b](#)

Children second marriage:

1. **Joan Carel Gideon Van Der Bruggen** see Loten Pedigree [X-a](#)
2. **Albert Anthonie Cornelis Van Der Bruggen** (Colombo 1754-Colombo 1755).
3. **Anna Henrietta Van Der Bruggen** see Loten Pedigree [X-b](#)

III-b **Suzanna Anthonia Van Der Bruggen** (Batavia 1729-Batavia 1763) married first 1749 **Rijklof Anthony van der Goens van Rees**; married second Batavia 1749 **Johan de Roth** (Grave 1704-Batavia 1776), widower of **Catharina Balthazarina van Beaumont** (see Van Beaumont Pedigree [IV.2](#)).

Child second marriage:

1. **Jacob Anthony de Roth** see [IV-c](#)
2. **Maria Jacoba (Joana) de Roth** (*b. ca.* 1747-Batavia 1790), ‘domestic native’, adoption Batavia 6 August 1749. She married **Gabriel Jans**.

Extramartial children **Johan de Roth**

1. **Catharina de Roth** (daughter of released serf) (*b. ca.* 1735), baptised Malacca 15 October 1743, married Malacca 1751 **Joost Koek**, assistant VOC, son of **Josua Koek** and **Maria Meecke**.
2. **Johanna Maria de Roth** (daughter of **Fanula of Mandaro**) (*b.* Malacca 1735/1736-Malacca before 1760), married Malacca 1751 **Gustaaf Dieterich (Dideriks)**, bookkeeper, Secretary of Justice Malacca (*d.* Malacca 1779).

IV-a **Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen** (Batavia 1743-1778) married at The Hague 1764 **Johanna Catharina Dierquens** or **Dierkens** (1746-1785). She was daughter of **Mr Joan Pieter Dierquens** (1710-1780) burgomaster of The Hague and Colonel of the 'shooters' [civil militia] and **Elisabeth Agneta Fagel** (1709-1768), daughter of the wealthy councillor **Mr Cornelis Gerrit Fagel** (1663-1746). Jacob Willem Van Der Bruggen was Secretary of The Hague.

Children:

1. **Mr Dirk Willem Van Der Bruggen** (The Hague 1768-Lienden 1850).
2. **Anthonia Elisabeth Van Der Bruggen** (The Hague 1769-The Hague 1769).
3. **Henrietta Catharina Van Der Bruggen** (The Hague 1771-The Hague 1771).
4. **Unnamed Van Der Bruggen**, dead at birth (The Hague 1772).
5. **Mr Johan Diederick Van Der Bruggen** see V-a
6. **Maria Wilhelmina Christina Elisabeth Van Der Bruggen** (The Hague 1775-Nijmegen 1846)

IV-b **Jan Anthony Van Der Bruggen** (Rembang 1747-Nimwegen 1817) married first at The Hague 1770 **Marie Fortunée le Boullanger** (Nimwegen 1749-Nimwegen 1776); married second 1797 **Anna Geertrui Roeljée** (1762-Vierlingsbeek 1804). Colonel in Dutch Cavalry.

Child first marriage:

1. **Charles Frederic Auguste Van Der Bruggen** see V-b

IV-c **Mr Jacob Anthony de Roth** (Soeratte 1753-Baarn 1801) married at Eemnes, huize Groeneveld 1780 **Adriana Hasselaar** (Cheribon 1759-Amsterdam 1823). Alderman at Amsterdam 1787, Member City Council Amsterdam 1795-1797. She was the daughter of **Pieter Cornelis Hasselaar** (1720-1795) and **Geertruida Margaretha Mossel** (1742-1768).

V-a **Mr Johan Diederick Van Der Bruggen** (The Hague 1774-Nimwegen 1851) married **Maria Elisabeth Geertruida de Beijer** (*b.* Nimwegen 1778). Receiver of taxes.

Child:

1. **Mr Justinus Jacob Leonard Van Der Bruggen** (Nimwegen 1804-Ubbergen 1863) married at Dieden 1834 **Lady Anna Singendonck**. Lawyer and judge at Nimwegen. Minister of Justice in Dutch Cabinet Van Der Bruggen 1856-1858.

V-b **Charles Frederic Auguste Van Der Bruggen** (Nimwegen 1776-1820) married at Nimwegen 1801 **Jacoba Sophia Adriana Bogaert** (Rotterdam 1776-Nimwegen 1817). Officer in Dutch Cavalry. City Councillor of Nimwegen.

THE LIFE OF GOVERNOR JOAN GIDEON LOTEN (1710-1789)

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A DUTCH VIRTUOSO

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

BL.MS.SC	British Library, Manuscript Department, London, Sloane Collection
BWN	Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden.
DAS	Dutch Asiatic shipping in the 17 th and 18 th century
DNB	Dictionary National Biography
HMA.BC	Helmond Municipal Archive, Van Der Bruggen Van Croy collection. Since 2007 deposited in the Regionaal Historisch Centrum Eindhoven
HUA.GC	Het Utrechts Archief, Grothe Collection
HUA.HC	Het Utrechts Archief, Hardenbroek Collection
HUA.NA	Het Utrechts Archief, Notarieel Archief
NHM.LC	Natural History Museum, London, Loten Collection
NHM.LMS	Natural History Museum, London, Loten Manuscript
NHM.PC	Natural History Museum, London, Parkinson Collection
NHM.DTC	Natural History Museum, London, Dawson Turner Collection
NLA.PC	National Library Australia, Canberra, Parkinson Collection
NNBW	Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek
NL-HaNA	Nationaal Archief, The Hague (formerly ARA, Algemeen Rijksarchief)
RBG.KEW.BC	Royal Botanical Garden Kew, Banks Correspondence
RP-TP	Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Topographical Prints
TS.BC	Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Brouwer Collection
TS.LC	Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Loten Collection
TUL.TF-Hs	Tilburg University Library, Theologische faculteit, handschriften collectie Haeren
WCRO.FNPA	Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick, Feilding of Newnham Paddox Archives
WNT	Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal

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- Het Utrechts Archief (HUA), Utrecht
Grothe Collection (HUA.GC inv. 750). See Gerritsen & Du Croo de Vries (1992).
Hardenbroek Collection (HUA.HC inv. 643-1)
Huis Amerongen
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- Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
Bijzondere collecties, correspondence Rijklof Michiel van Goens
- Leyden University Library, Leiden
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- Natural History Museum, London
Loten Collection (NHM.LC and NHM.LMS);
Parkinson Collection (NHM.PC);
Dawson Turner Collection (NHM.DTC);
- National Library Australia, Canberra
Parkinson Collection
- Nationaal Archief, The Hague (NL-HaNA), formerly ARA, Algemeen Rijksarchief.
VOC archief (NL-HaNA.VOC)
MIKO, collectie Loten (NL-HaNA.MIKO)
Collectie Boreel (NL-HaNA.Boreel).
- Royal Botanical Garden Kew
Banks Correspondence
- Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

Topographical Prints (RP-TP)
 State Library of New South Wales
 Banks papers in the Dixson collection
 Teylers Museum, Haarlem
 Loten Collection in general library (TS.LC and TS.BC)
 Tilburg University Library, Theologische faculteit, Tilburg
 Handschriften collectie Haeren (TUL.TF-Hs). See Van der Ven (1990).
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CURRICULUM VITAE

Alexander J.P. Raat (* 's-Gravenhage 1949) studied biology at the University of Leiden (1967-1974). After graduation as a plant physiologist he did research in the Leiden Natural History Museum – *Naturalis* – on 18th- and 19th-century naturalists in Asia and Africa (1975-1978). During 27 years (1978-2005) he worked as a fish biologist for the Organisatie ter Verbetering van de Binnenvisserij (OVB) [Organisation for the Improvement of Inland Fisheries], the last five years as its director. He was chairman of the commission 'Protection of the aquatic resource' of the European Inland Fisheries Advisory Commission of the FAO in Rome. He published about fish biology and history of biology. His publications include a monograph of the northern pike, *Synopsis on northern pike (Esox lucius)* (FAO Rome 1987), and books about fish migration, *Vispassages en vistrappen in Nederland* (Nieuwegein 1992) and welfare of fish, *Welzijn van Vissen* (Nieuwegein 1999) and *Handling of Fishes in Fisheries and Aquaculture* (FAO Rome 2008). He contributed to the 2004 exhibition *Fish: still lifes by Dutch and Flemish masters, 1550-1700* in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht.

SAMENVATTING

Alexander J.P. Raat
The Life of Governor Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789)
A Personal History of a Dutch *Virtuoso*
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Biografie van Joan Gideon Loten

Dit is de levensgeschiedenis van Joan Gideon Loten (1710-1789), gouverneur van Ceylon, ‘natuuronderzoeker’ en Nederlands *virtuoso*. Zijn collectie aquarellen van de Aziatische fauna en flora is een waardevolle 18e-eeuwse schat van de natuurlijke historie van Sri Lanka en Indonesië. De primaire focus van de biografie is Loten zelf; zijn eigen documenten vormen de basis waarop het verhaal van zijn leven is gebouwd. Zijn notities en brieven geven de lezer inzicht in het dagelijks leven in het vroeg-18e-eeuwse provinciale Utrecht, het exotische Nederlands Oost-Indië van het midden en het kosmopolitische Londen van het laatste deel van de eeuw. Veel van de documenten beschrijven in detail Loten’s gedachten over zijn privéleven en professionele carrière.

De biografie is een genre dat bij Nederlandse historici en recensenten niet populair is. In hun opvatting is de levenshistorie van een persoon een voetnoot bij de geschiedenis van de mens; de studie van de historie moet gericht zijn op ideeën, processen en trends binnen vroegere samenlevingen. Ongetwijfeld leidt een dergelijke abstractie van de historische werkelijkheid tot begrip van maatschappelijke veranderingen, maar het plaatst het individu buiten de geschiedenis en vervangt deze door een generalisatie; de concrete persoon wordt gereduceerd tot een abstract begrip gebaseerd op een geselecteerde set van gemeenschappelijke kenmerken. Geschiedenis van de mens is echter de geschiedenis van individuen. Persoonlijke documenten geven informatie en details over concrete ervaringen en gebeurtenissen in het leven van individuen. Een biograaf kan met gebruikmaking van deze documenten inzicht geven in het verloop van het leven en de daarmee samenhangende belevingen en gedragingen. Worden ego-documenten gepresenteerd in chronologie dan geeft dat niet alleen de continuïteit maar ook de discontinuïteit weer van voorvallen in het onvoorspelbare leven van een individu.

In de autobiografie wordt het persoonlijke leven met behulp van ego-documenten beschreven, met het doel zin te geven en samenhang te suggereren. De autobiograaf schrijft voor een groot publiek hoe hij denkt over zijn eigen verleden en veronderstelt vaak een vooropgezet programma voor zijn acties: een ‘illusie van retrospectief determinisme’. Loten’s persoonlijke documenten die in deze biografie zijn gebruikt, waren door hem echter niet bedoeld voor een groot publiek of voor toekomstige generaties, maar voor hemzelf of voor vertrouwde vrienden en familieleden. Het zijn doorgaans geen autobiografische beschouwingen over het verloop van zijn leven, maar eerder zelfreflecties over gebeurtenissen die hem direct aangaan.

Het is onmogelijk om Loten’s verbeelding van zijn omgeving en zijn eigen rol daarbinnen, gelijk te stellen met die van zijn biograaf en diens publiek. Een interpretatie van de acties van een historische figuur is immers gefundeerd op verspreide en onvolledige informatie en op concepten van het verleden die zijn gebaseerd op de huidige ideeën van de tijd en omgeving waarin die persoon leefde. Dit leidt tot wisselende percepties van de betekenis van ego-documenten. De vele citaten in deze biografie laten Loten zien vanuit zijn eigen perspectief en geven een indruk van zijn werkelijkheidsbeleving. Deze is niet altijd de waarheid van de feitelijke situatie, maar is ten minste de waarheid van zijn momentane verbeelding.

Levensgeschiedenis van Joan Gideon Loten

Jugend (1710-1732)

Het leven van Joan Gideon Loten beslaat het grootste deel van de achttiende eeuw. Hij werd geboren in Maartensdijk op 16 mei 1710, zoon van Joan Carel Loten (1679-1763) en Arnoldina Maria van Aerssen Juchen (1685-1775). De familie was afkomstig uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Verscheidene familieleden en voorouders hadden prominente posities in de Nederlandse Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) en de

West-Indische Compagnie (WIC). De eerste twintig jaar van zijn leven bracht hij door in relatieve welstand, hoewel de familie afhankelijk was van het bescheiden inkomen uit het ambt van zijn vader als secretaris van de ‘Leckendijck benedendams’, het waterschap verantwoordelijk voor het onderhoud van de dijken van de Neder-Rijn stroomafwaarts van Wijk bij Duurstede. In 1720 werd Loten ingeschreven bij de Utrechtse Hieronymus School. In 1726 studeerde hij aan de Utrechtse Universiteit. De stad Utrecht verschafte weinig mogelijkheden voor een jongeman in zijn positie. In het tijdperk waarin Loten leefde, waren de mogelijkheden voor opwaartse mobiliteit klein voor iemand die niet behoorde tot de kring van de plaatselijke regenten, ongeacht hoe ambitieus, getalenteerd en ondernemend de persoon ook was. Waarschijnlijk daarom koos Loten voor een loopbaan bij de VOC. Begin 1729 beëindigde hij zijn studie aan de Universiteit zonder een wetenschappelijke graad te hebben behaald en werd klerk bij de VOC-kamer Amsterdam. In 1731 regelden zijn familieleden een plaats als onderkoopman bij de VOC voor hun jonge ‘neef’. Begin januari 1732 vertrok hij met het schip *Beekvliet* naar Batavia (Jakarta).

Nederlands Oost-Indië (1732-1758)

In vijfentwintig jaar doorliep Loten een succesvolle loopbaan binnen de gelederen van de Compagnie. Hij woonde en werkte in Java, Celebes (Sulawesi) en Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Zijn familie en vrienden in Indië en Patria speelden een belangrijke rol bij het bevorderen van zijn carrière. Hij was fiscaal in Semarang (1733-1739), eerste administrateur van Java’s Oostkust (1739-1741), eerste administrateur van Onrust en De Kuijper (1741-1744), gouverneur en directeur van Makassar (1744-1750), commissaris van Bantam (1752) en gouverneur en directeur van Ceylon (1752-1757). In 1749 werd hij benoemd tot Raad extraordinair en in 1755 tot Raad ordinair van Indië. Hierdoor verkreeg hij een zetel in het hoogste gezagorgaan van de Compagnie in Batavia. Loten was een loyale dienaar van de Compagnie. Hij was zich bewust van de historische en juridische positie van de Compagnie in Azië en respecteerde de verdragen die de VOC had gesloten met lokale of regionale heersers. Voor de inheemse bevolking toonde hij belangstelling en respect dat tot uiting kwam in een bescheiden vertoon van overwicht. In 1758 keerde hij met het schip *Vrouwe Petronella Maria* terug in Patria als Admiraal van de Retourvloot met een geschat vermogen van circa 700.000 gulden. Er zijn geen aanwijzingen dat hij in Oost-Indië persoonlijke rijkdom heeft nagestreefd met middelen die door zijn tijdgenoten als onjuist of meedogenloos werden beschouwd. Zijn Oost-Indische fortuin, waaronder tien aandelen in de Amphioen Sociëteit, was voornamelijk gevormd door een erfenis van Nathanael Steinmetz (overleden 1753), voormalig gouverneur en directeur van Ambon. Het verschafte Loten financiële onafhankelijkheid gedurende de rest van zijn leven.

Londen en Utrecht (1758-1789)

Binnen een jaar na zijn terugkeer in de Republiek reisde Loten naar Londen. Het contrast tussen de kosmopolitische, intellectuele sfeer van de mondaine Engelse metropool en het sociale klimaat van Utrecht, leidde tot zijn besluit in Londen te blijven. Londen was in het midden van de 18e eeuw uitgegroeid tot een seculiere samenleving, de kerk was een minder machtige factor dan in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden. In Utrecht voelde Loten zich buitengesloten door de aristocratische en patricische elite en ook voelde hij zich niet meer thuis in zijn orthodoxe calvinistische familie. Hij kon niet wennen aan de beperkingen van zijn autonomie die de sociale conventie hem oplegde. Zijn Utrechtse familie en kennissen keurden zijn natuurfilosofische belangstelling af. Loten beklagde zich: ‘Ik mag mezelf niet rustig amuseren met de verschijnselen van Hemel en Aarde’. Loten vond het sociaal klimaat in Londen interessanter dan dat in Nederland; hij voelde zich meer op zijn gemak bij de heren van het Brits Museum en de Royal Society dan bij de standbewuste Nederlandse regenten en aristocraten in Holland. In Engeland werd hij gewaardeerd voor zijn verdiensten en niet beoordeeld op zijn herkomst. De eerste tien jaar van Loten’s verblijf in Engeland worden gekenmerkt door zijn pogingen om op een Engelse gentleman te lijken. Zijn smaak en interesses werden die van de 18e-eeuwse Engelse *virtuoso*.

Na een Tour van tien maanden door Frankrijk, Zwitserland, en de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden (1763-1764), kocht hij een huis in een exclusieve wijk van Londen: New Burlington Street nummer 8. Toch wordt vanaf circa 1770 een groeiende afkeer van het leven in Engeland evident. Tijdens de 22 jaar in Engeland verslechterde Loten’s gezondheid, meer en meer was hij aan huis gebonden. Uiteindelijk werd hij slechts bezocht door een kleine kring van kennissen. Zijn belangrijkste bezigheden waren het schrijven van brieven aan zijn vrienden en familie in Utrecht, het lezen van boeken en het bestuderen van de genealogie en heraldiek van Nederlandse families. Veel van zijn genealogische en heraldische aantekeningen

werden gemaakt om vast te stellen dat zijn voorvaderen vooraanstaande personen waren, verwant aan vooraanstaande families van de Republiek. De nadruk waarmee deze bevindingen door hem werden uitgedragen, plaatste Loten in een aparte positie; acceptatie door de elite vroeg meer subtiliteit van handelen. Loten voldeed echter niet aan deze gedragscode; zijn smaak, gedrag en natuurfilosofische belangstelling werden door de Utrechtse elite niet gewaardeerd. Maar ook in Engeland was hij als buitenlander uiteindelijk een buitenstaander, iets wat hij zich meer en meer realiseerde.

In september 1781, bijna een jaar na het uitbreken van de Vierde Engels-Nederlandse Oorlog, keerde hij terug naar Utrecht. Tot zijn overlijden in februari 1789, leefde Loten met zijn vrouw en personeelsleden in zijn huis *Cour de Loo* aan de Nieuwegracht (tegenwoordig Drift 27). Hij was getuige van de Patriotse opstand (1781-1787) waarbij zijn broer Arnout Loten (1719-1801) was betrokken als een van de prominente Utrechtse orangistische regenten.

Huwelijk

In 1733 trouwt Loten in Batavia met Anna Henrietta van Beaumont (1716-1755), wier familie was gerelateerd aan vooraanstaande families in Batavia. Loten was duidelijk zeer op zijn vrouw gesteld. Anna Henrietta stierf in 1755 in Colombo. De 22-jarige huwelijksrelatie werd gekenmerkt door vele tegenslagen, zoals Anna Henrietta's zwakke gezondheid en de dood van twee van hun drie kinderen. Hun dochter Anna Deliana (1736-1756) trouwde in 1752 met opperkoopman Dirk Willem van der Bruggen (1717-1770). Loten beschouwde zijn schoonzoon als 'de grootste vrek die ooit op aarde heeft gelopen'; hij onderhield een vijandige relatie met Van der Bruggen tot diens dood in 1770. Het plotselinge overlijden in 1756 van zijn dochter Anna Deliana bracht Loten tot zijn besluit terug te keren naar Patria. In 1758 repatrieerde hij met Van der Bruggen en zijn kinderen, Joan Carel Gideon (1753-1828) en Anna Henrietta (1755-1835). In latere jaren miste Loten het gezag zijn twee kleinkinderen te sturen en te corrigeren; hij beschouwde zelfs zichzelf als sociaal minderwaardig.

In 1765 huwde Loten voor de tweede keer. Zijn echtgenote was Laetitia (Lettice) Cotes (1733-1810). De familie Cotes had wortels in de Brits-Ierse adel en behoorde gedurende vele generaties tot de Engelse landadel. Het huwelijk bleef kinderloos. De documenten suggereren dat de twee partners elkaar regelmatig irriteerden. Dit hield bij Loten vaak verband met zijn astmatische klachten en zijn ergernis over de hautaine houding van de familieleden van zijn vrouw en zijn Engels kennissen tegenover Nederlanders.

Sterrenkunde

Loten beschouwde astronomie als de 'Koningin der Wetenschappen'. In zijn jeugd werd hij onderwezen door Petrus van Musschenbroeck (1692-1761), hoogleraar in de filosofie en wiskunde aan de Universiteit van Utrecht (1725-1741). In Ceylon en Makassar paste Loten zijn kennis van de astronomie toe in het berekenen van maan- en zonsverduisteringen. Hij kreeg astronomische en mathematische instrumenten van zijn familie en vrienden. Vanuit Colombo bestelde hij dure boeken en instrumenten bij Isaac Tirion in Amsterdam. In Indië werd hij een bewonderaar van de filosoof en wiskundige Christian Friedrich Wolff (1679-1754). Later in zijn leven toonde hij zich aanhanger van Wolff's rationele natuurlijke theologie, waarbij het bewijs van het bestaan van een God wordt gevonden zonder gebruik te maken van een bijzondere of bovennatuurlijke openbaring. In Engeland kocht Loten astronomische en wiskundige instrumenten uit de ateliers van Peter Dollond (1731-1820), George Adams (1704-1773), Edward Nairne (1726-1806) en John Bird (1709-1776). Vanwege zijn astmatische klachten maakte hij echter nauwelijks gebruik van de instrumenten. Wel stimuleerde hij zijn broer in Utrecht om de instrumenten te gebruiken.

'Dutch virtuoso'

Loten was goed thuis in de zoölogische, astronomische, genealogische en medische literatuur van zijn tijd. Hij was serieus geïnteresseerd in de natuurwetenschappen. Zijn interesses tonen het 18e-eeuwse verband tussen de studies van oudheden en de natuurlijke historie. Het bestuderen van de 'werking van de natuur' was voor de Engelse elite een vorm van vermaak voor 'gentlemen of leisure' – *virtuosi*. In Loten's tijd werd dit belichaamd door de Royal Society. In Engeland was opwaartse sociale mobiliteit op basis van verdienste beter mogelijk dan in de Nederlandse Republiek. Het was daarom een omgeving waaraan Loten de eerste 10 jaar van zijn verblijf in Engeland de voorkeur gaf. Hij werd door zijn Engelse tijdgenoten gerespecteerd om zijn kennis en zijn natuurhistorische collectie. Zijn belangstelling voor de natuur was vooral

gericht op de exotische natuur met haar unieke en zeldzame verschijnselen. Zijn activiteiten als verzamelaar waren die van een *virtuoos*. Bij Loten leidde de studie van de natuur tot een dieper bewustzijn van de rol van God in de schepping. Zijn interesse was ‘altijd louter onschuldig en oneindig veel meer gericht op het vergroten van ware religieuze beginselen dan om deze te bestrijden’.

In Engeland bracht zijn verzameling hem in contact met natuuronderzoekers en verzamelaars George Edwards (1694-1773), Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), Dr Daniel Solander (1733-1782), Joseph Banks (1743-1820), Hon. Daines Barrington (1727-1800) en Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788). Hij schonk verschillende voorwerpen uit zijn verzameling aan het Brits Museum. In 1760 leidde dit tot zijn verkiezing tot Fellow van de Royal Society (FRS). In 1761 werd hij ook gekozen tot Fellow van de Society of Antiquaries van Londen (FSA). Zijn interesse in scheepsbouw, stuurmanskunst en hydrografie bracht hem in contact met Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), de latere hydrograaf van het Engelse Oost-Indische Compagnie en de Britse Admiraliteit. Loten beschouwde Dalrymple als ‘misschien, of zeer waarschijnlijk de enige vriend (in de volle zin van het woord) die ik had in Groot-Brittannië’. Dalrymple gebruikte Loten’s informatie in zijn hydrografische kaarten.

Loten bracht tijdens zijn leven een indrukwekkende collectie boeken bijeen, die zijn brede interesse in geschiedenis, genealogie, biografie, natuurlijke historie, sterrenkunde, wiskunde, wetenschappelijke instrumenten en medicijnen illustreert. Na zijn overlijden werden zijn boeken verkocht in een openbare veiling. Zijn manuscripten en tekeningen werden geërfd door zijn broer en andere familieleden. Een groot deel van zijn bezittingen is tegenwoordig in musea, bibliotheken en archieven in Nederland en Engeland.

Gezondheid

Tijdens zijn jeugd en verblijf in Nederlands Oost-Indië genoot Loten een relatief goede gezondheid. Bij zijn terugkeer naar Europa kreeg hij echter gezondheidsklachten. Zijn astma begon met incidenteel een gevoel van beklemming op zijn borst, maar ontwikkelde zich in later jaren tot een toestand van bijna dagelijks lijden. Vanaf 1765 gebruikte hij opium in de vorm van Sydenham’s laudanum of het Baumé’s distillaat van opium korrels, om de ademhalingsproblemen te bestrijden. De opiaten waren voor hem een ‘Hemels Medicijn’. Door de astma was het niet langer mogelijk de vergaderingen van de Royal Society en de London Antiquaries bij te wonen. Loten was zich terdege bewust van de negatieve bijeffecten van opiumgebruik, hij was terughoudend bij de medicatie en registreerde dagelijks nauwgezet de dosering. Zijn gezondheid beperkte in toenemende mate zijn vrijheid van beweging. Het versterkte zijn behoefte om op zichzelf te zijn en het maakte hem wantrouwend. Loten’s beproevingen leidden vaak tot melancholie. Door zijn astma werd Loten niet zozeer een beoefenaar als wel een waarnemer van de ontwikkelingen in de wetenschappen. Zijn belangstelling voor de innovatie van wetenschappelijke instrumenten bleef aanwezig. Regelmatig bezocht hij nog de ateliers van instrumentmakers en ook in de Londense boekwinkels was hij wel te vinden. Zijn dagen bracht hij echter meestal door in zijn studeerkamer.

Karakter

Het leven van Joan Gideon Loten werd bepaald door de sociale positie van zijn ouders in het vroeg 18e-eeuwse Utrecht. Hij was zich bewust van zijn familiegeschiedenis en zijn afstamming van Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden. Hij ambieerde een hogere status dan de bescheiden positie van zijn vader in de sociale hiërarchie van Utrecht.

Loten was loyaal naar zijn vrienden, een zorgzame echtgenoot en een liefhebbende vader voor zijn dochter. Met ironie kon hij zijn omgeving bekijken. Wel was Loten impulsief van aard, iets wat meer naar voren kwam met de toename van jaren. Hij was zich scherp bewust van zijn eigen maatschappelijke positie en hij werd snel geprikkeld door mensen die hem onvoldoende respect toonden. Zijn conflicten met VOC dienaren in Ceylon geven ons een inzicht in deze karaktertrek van Loten. Als hij zich misbruikt voelde werd hij woedend en zijn reactie kon onredelijk zijn. De documenten suggereren dat deze conflicten meestal niet het resultaat waren van arrogantie, maar veeleer van een vaak verbazingwekkend gevoel van slachtoffer te zijn. Zo schreef hij in zijn aantekenboekjes kleinzielige klachten over de tekortkomingen van andere mensen. Zijn gemopper werd zonder terughoudendheid aan het papier toevertrouwd. De meeste van deze aantekeningen werden echter na enige tijd doorgestreept, soms met opmerkingen die aangeven dat hij beseftte dat hij te snel in zijn oordeel was geweest. Loten koos zijn eigen manier van leven, daarbij ging hij herhaaldelijk voorbij aan de gevoelens van zijn vrouw, ouders en familie en soms was hij duidelijk

onaangenaam. De conflicten met zijn tweede vrouw in Londen en de ergernissen die hij voelde over het gedrag van zijn kleinkinderen tonen zijn teleurstellingen.

Gedurende vijfentwintig jaar in Azië had hij genoten van de vrijheid die zijn gezondheid en het aanzien van zijn functie hem boden. Terug in de Republiek ervoer hij dat zijn Oost-Indische status hem geen toegang gaf tot de elite. Hij kon niet wennen aan de beperking van zijn autonomie, die werd veroorzaakt door de sociale conventies van zijn omgeving en door zijn toenemende invaliditeit. Zowel in Engeland als in Nederland voelde hij zich een buitenstaander, niet volledig geaccepteerd door de kringen waarin hij zich bewoog. Hij werd een teleurgestelde oude man, gehard door de tegenslagen in zijn persoonlijke leven. Voor zijn goede vriend, de Nederlandse staatsman Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek (1720-1788) en zijn broer de Utrechtse burgemeester Arnout Loten, was hij echter een trouwe en hartelijke metgezel en een humoristische en goed geïnformeerde correspondent.

Op 25 februari 1789 overleed Loten in Utrecht in zijn huis *Cour de Loo*. Hij werd begraven in de familiecrypte op het koor van de Utrechtse Jacobi Kerk. In 1795 werd een monument voor hem geplaatst in de Londense Westminster Abbey. Drie jaar later werden Loten's kwaliteiten door Thomas Pennant getypeerd als: 'een strict eergevoel, integriteit, vrijgevigheid, eenvoud en grote wellevendheid. Al de tijd dat ik hem kende, leed hij vaak onder de zwaarste krampen in zijn borst die het hem maanden onmogelijk maakten om in bed te liggen. Over deze omstandigheden vertel ik alleen maar om aan zijn deugden toe te voegen die van ongeveinsde vroomheid en voorbeeldige berusting in de zwaarste ellende?'

Loten's natuurhistorische collectie

In Indië was Loten een ijverige en actieve bestuurder, die zijn beleid en handelingen verantwoordde in grondig gedocumenteerde rapporten aan de Hoge Regering in Batavia. Hij klaagde vaak over het gebrek aan vrije tijd voor de studie van de sterrenkunde en de natuurlijke historie. Niettemin maakten boekhouder Jean Michel Aubert (1717-1762) en klerk en landmeter Pieter Cornelis de Bevere (1722-vóór 1781) onder Loten's toezicht tekeningen en aquarellen van vogels, vissen, insecten, zoogdieren en planten, in Celebes, Ceylon en Java. Een deel van de collectie werd in 1767 en 1768 in Londen gekopieerd door Sydney Parkinson (ca 1745-1771). Parkinson was tekenaar van Joseph Banks, tijdens de ontdekkingsreis rond de wereld aan boord van de *Endeavour* (1768-1771). Aubert en De Bevere maakten ook kaarten en topografische tekeningen.

In de twaalfde editie van de *Systema naturae* (1766) noemde Carolus Linnaeus de Ceylonese zonnevogel, *Certhia Lotenia*, naar Loten. Bij de publicatie van zijn natuurhistorische aquarellen werkte Loten met verschillende auteurs samen, waarbij hij hen ook zijn aantekeningen ter beschikking stelde. Loten's aquarellen zijn gereproduceerd in George Edwards *Gleanings of Natural History* (1764), Thomas Pennant's *Indian Zoology* (1769, 1791), *Synopsis* en *History of Quadrupeds* (1771; 1781, 1793), Johann Reinhold Forster's *Indische Zoologie* (1781; 1795) en Peter Brown's *New Illustrations van Zoology* (1776). De vogels op meer dan veertig aquarellen hebben een taxonomische type-status.

In het laatste hoofdstuk van deze biografie is de verspreidingsgeschiedenis van Loten's 215 natuurhistorische aquarellen gereconstrueerd. Loten's verzameling is samengebracht in een inventaris die de huidige samenstelling van de Loten-collecties in Engeland en Nederland beschrijft. De opbouw van Loten's collectie en zijn beschrijving ervan in notities en correspondentie toont Loten in zijn rol van amateur 'natuuronderzoeker'. De documenten maken zijn interesse in zoölogie en botanie duidelijk, maar laten ook zien dat de exotische natuur vooral een beroep op hem deed als verzamelaar. Er zijn geen aanwijzingen dat zijn collectie bijeen werd gebracht om de verschillen en overeenkomsten in de natuur te begrijpen. Dat was wel het geval bij de beschrijving van de verzameling die zijn kennissen Joseph Banks en Daniel Solander tijdens hun reis met de *Endeavour* bijeen brachten. Loten heeft zijn collectie verzameld vooral voor zijn eigen plezier en op grond van zijn persoonlijke belangstelling.