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THE GENESIS OF *EDWARD SALTER AETATIS 6*

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Michael Rysbrack's painted terracotta bust of *Edward Salter aetatis 6* (Fig. 1) was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in February 1999 after two hundred and forty years in the possession of the sitter's family and descendants¹. The left- and right-hand sides of the integrally-modelled plinth are clearly signed by Rysbrack and inscribed with the sitter's name and age in 1748. Yet the existence of the bust was unknown outside the family until 1988, when the art-historical significance of *Edward Salter* was recognised for the first time, by the present writer. Fortunately, sufficient genealogical details were preserved in Edward Salter's bible and in Sir Ralph Bigland's pedigree of 1807² to make it possible to deliver his father and his maternal grandfather from obscurity and to reveal them as previously-unknown patrons of Rysbrack and John Wootton.

Edward's father was Thomas Salter, a clerk in the Lord Steward's office at St. James's Palace; he had been appointed in October 1737, just as Kent's newly-built library for Queen Caroline was being furnished with marble busts by Rysbrack of kings, queens and princes of England³. The Salter family lived directly opposite the palace in Cleveland Row. Edward's maternal grandfather, Roger Williams, ran a coffee house just around the corner at 86 St. James's Street, which was frequented by James Gibbs, Alexander Pope and John Gay (all of whom were portrayed by Rysbrack⁴). Roger Williams owned paintings by John Wootton and his long involvement with horseracing at Newmarket suggests that he knew the painter well. When Williams died in January 1747 he left all his pictures by Wootton to the 2nd Earl of Godolphin,

and the rest of his fortune to Thomas Salter, his son-in-law; to his own son, William, he left just one shilling. Just over a year later, Salter commissioned from Rysbrack a portrait of his own heir, his six-year-old son Edward. What prompted Thomas Salter to choose Rysbrack is not documented, but this article will demonstrate that Thomas Salter had connections with friends, associates and clients of Rysbrack (John Wootton, Francis Hayman and Sir Thomas Reade), each one of whom could have occasioned the commission of *Edward Salter aetatis 6* in 1748.

Thomas Salter (1713–1761) was christened in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, on 1 May 1713, the eldest child of Edward Salter and Ann Peach⁵. He was educated at Westminster School from 1720 until 1732, when he was elected Student of Christ Church, Oxford; he graduated in 1736⁶. On 14 October 1736, in St. George's Chapel at Hyde Park Corner, Thomas Salter married Ann Williams⁷, daughter of Roger Williams, a friend of his father's. She gave birth to nine children, but only Edward (portrayed by Rysbrack), Henrietta, Margaret Ann and Philippa seem to have survived childhood⁸. The newly-wed couple moved into a house in Cleveland Row, opposite St. James's Palace, where they lived until 1758⁹, by which time they also had lodgings at Hampton Court Palace¹⁰. Their house 'against St. James's Stables' was on the east corner with Russell Court and the third house from St. James's Street¹¹. Roger Williams's coffee house was the third house up from the corner with Cleveland Row (part of the highway running between Charing Cross and Hyde Park). The positions of their houses is shown most



Fig. 1. Michael Rysbrack, *Edward Salter aetatis 6*, 1748, painted terracotta. *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

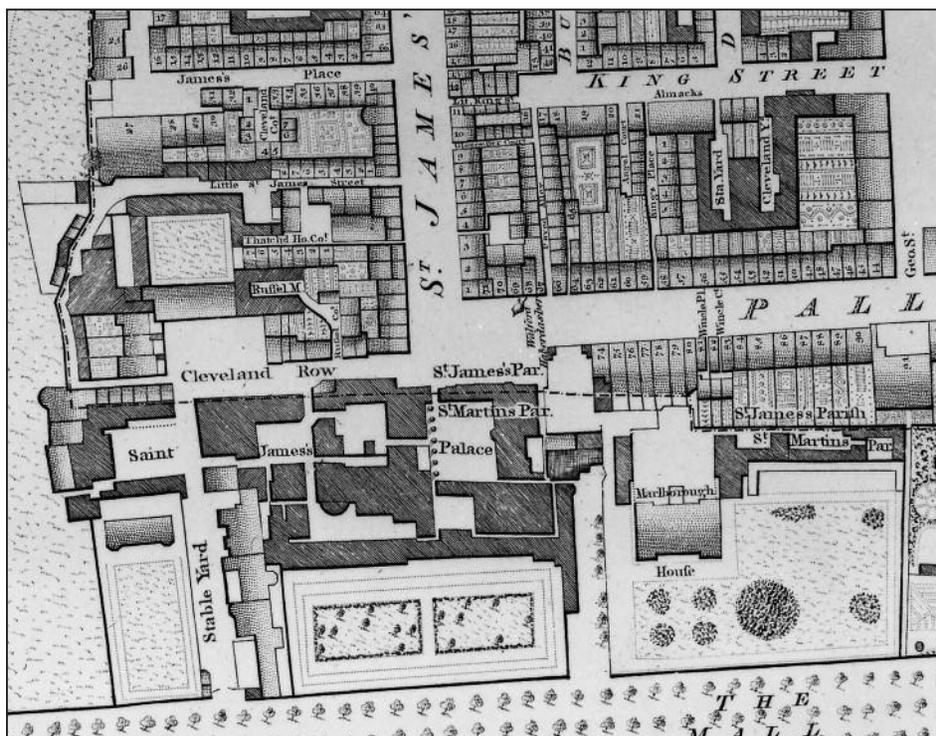


Fig. 2. Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts adjoining shewing every House*, sheet B3 (detail), published 2 January 1795.
By permission of The British Library (*Maps*, 183.E.1).

clearly on a map published by Richard Horwood in the 1790s (Fig. 2)¹².

Thomas Salter was appointed to the Royal Household at St. James's Palace in October 1737 as 'Clerk of the Green Cloth, in room of the late Mr. Morrison'¹³. Strictly speaking, he was one of four Under Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth working for the four Principal Clerks. He remained at this level until his death on 22 September 1761, by which time he was the most senior of the Under Clerks; obituaries refer to him as 'Senior Clerk to the Board of Green Cloth'¹⁴. The Board of Green Cloth was in charge of the domestic, financial and judicial administration of the Royal Household (as opposed to the court, which was run by the Lord Chamberlain)¹⁵.

Officers of the Board attended the king wherever he lodged and had offices in all the royal palaces¹⁶. The Board of Green Cloth – invariably spelt Greencloth in contemporary manuscripts – comprised the Lord Steward, Treasurer, Comptroller, Cofferer, Master (a sinecure), four Principal Clerks and four Clerks to these Clerks, also known as Under Clerks. The Cofferer and the four Principal Clerks, assisted by their Under Clerks, undertook the daily business of running and providing for the king's household¹⁷. The Principal Clerks were appointed by royal warrant, but the procedure for electing their Under Clerks is not recorded. It is clear, however, that all eight Clerks valued their appointments and that they held them for life. Three of the Principal Clerks appointed by

George II on 26 July 1727 – Sir Thomas Reade, Sir Thomas Wynne and Sir Thomas Hales – were still in office in 1748, when Thomas Salter's six-year-old son sat for Rysbrack, and the fourth Clerk, Walter Cary or Carey, had held his office since 1 April 1738 (when he replaced Robert Bristow)¹⁸; in the same period, six Cofferers were appointed¹⁹.

Thomas's father, Edward Salter, had worked in the Royal Household since 1708, but, as he died five years before Thomas joined the Board of Green Cloth, he cannot have had any direct influence over the appointment of his son. Edward Salter had been Clerk to the Clerk of the Spicery since 1708 and a Keeper of the Council Chamber since 1713, positions which he held until his death on 20 October 1732 – '20 Oct. Mr. *Edward Salter*, Chamber-keeper to the Privy Council, and Deputy Clerk of his Majesty's Spicery'²⁰. Such long-term service would have enabled him to establish many useful connections within the Royal Household and he may well have entrusted Roger Williams, one of his executors²¹, with the paternal role of securing for his son a position in the Royal Household²². Very little is known about Williams's own involvement with the Royal Household in the 1730s, however. He had served as one of the many Waiters to the Yeoman of the Guard since 1728²³ and he may have been providing wine for the king; unfortunately, the earliest evidence that he was 'Purveyor of Wines to his Majesty' dates from 1742 when *The Court and City Register* was first published²⁴. Whatever the particular circumstances of Thomas Salter's appointment, it is striking that he took up his position in the Board of Green Cloth at St. James's Palace exactly one year after his marriage to Ann Williams, Roger's daughter. The available evidence, scant as it is, suggests that Roger Williams was instrumental in securing for his twenty-four-year-old son-in-law a good living in the Royal Household, especially as he later marked his favour to Thomas Salter by making him his heir in place of his son.

Thomas Salter held other household positions concurrently and had family connections with others



Fig. 3. Michael Rysbrack, *Edward Salter aetatis 6*, 1748, painted terracotta. Sotheby's, London.

employed by the Royal Household. In 1746 he succeeded his ailing brother, Edward, as Deputy or Clerk to the Clerk of the Spicery²⁵, the position held many years earlier by their father. His sister's husband, Edward Lyde, was 'Purveyor of Mustard and Vinegar' and 'of Oil, Pickle etc.' from 1742 until 1757²⁶. Thomas served as Secretary to the 3rd Duke of Marlborough, during the Duke's tenure as Lord Steward (12 June 1749–9 January 1755)²⁷ and, probably in connection with this role, he was appointed Youngest Yeoman of the Accompting House on 22 February 1751²⁸; this was the accounting office of the Lord Steward's department which served the Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth. He resigned in 1756 to allow his teenage son, Edward – portrayed by Rysbrack in 1748 (Fig. 3) – to become Second Yeoman on 28 April 1756²⁹.

Less is known about Thomas Salter's other activities and he should not be confused with the Thomas Salter, brother of Sir John Salter, who was returned as a governor of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, London, on 1 April 1731³⁰. His family had ties with Lancaster and in 1732 he inherited from his father a house in Penny Street (one of Lancaster's main streets), which had been rented to John Coward, the city's Mayor in 1728³¹. As Lancaster traded with the West Indies in sugar, rum, tobacco, spices, cotton, mahogany, dyestuffs and citrus fruits³², the Salters may have been involved in importing some of these products and distributing them in London³³; by 1750 Lancaster was the fourth port for slaving voyages to west Africa. In London, towards the end of his life, he developed property at Westminster School. In 1755 Thomas Salter and William Markham, headmaster of the school during Edward Salter's time there, obtained a public act 'to build Houses and open a Square in and upon a certin Piece of Ground called *Dean's Yard Westminster*³⁴, i.e. to provide a school playground and to build a terrace of boarding-houses within the abbey's precinct³⁵; and they opened an account at Drummond's Bank to finance this project. Markham presented plans to the Chapter of Westminster Abbey on 28 May 1756, as a result of which the Chapter donated the Brewhouse and the Old Granary, both relics of the monastic farm. The Granary had served as the Scholar's Dormitory from 1540 until Lord Burlington designed the New Dormitory (1721–1730), but it was demolished and its stones were used to support the new terrace of houses on the south side of Dean's Yard, built in 1757–1759 and demolished in 1936–1939.

As mentioned in the introduction, Thomas Salter inherited his father-in-law's fortune upon Roger Williams's death in January 1747³⁶. Part of this inheritance was Williams's Coffee House³⁷ at 86 St. James's Street, one of three coffee houses in a row just around the corner from his own house in Cleveland Row. On the corner, at 88 St. James's Street, was Gaunt's Coffee House³⁸. One up, at number 87, was

St. James's Coffee House³⁹, a Whig haunt, and next door to it was Williams's at number 86. From the 1690s St. James's Street, 'a spacious Street, with very good Houses well inhabited by Gentry'⁴⁰, had been celebrated for its clubs, Turkish baths (*bagnios*)⁴¹, coffee and chocolate houses, and Roger Williams had established his business there by 1715⁴², as recorded in two letters. The earlier, dated April 1715, is from John Gay (1685–1732), poet and dramatist, to Pope's friend John Caryll – 'Mr Pope is going to Mr Jervase's where Mr Addison is sitting for his picture. In the meantime amidst clouds of tobacco at William's Coffee-house I write this letter. . . .'⁴³. The other, written by Thomas Salt [sic] to his father on 12 July 1715, describes the furore surrounding the arrest of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford – 'the Earl of Oxford was ordered into custody of the Black Rod . . . he came from Westminster to his house in St. James's with a mob that cried out that he was acquitted, Oxford, Ormonde, &c. St. James's Coffee-house, Williams's, and all places thereabouts were then full . . . and continued so till past two, when Mr. Parsons, of the Green Cloth, meeting me, told me the good news'⁴⁴.

On 24 July 1719 Roger Williams covenanted with the crown lessee, Henry Nelthorpe, to build a new house 'Two Storyes above the Ground Floor' on the site of 86 St. James's Street at a cost of £800⁴⁵. He had vacated the building by September 1725 and he does not seem to have moved back to the newly-built premises until 1733. During the building works, Williams moved the business to his home on the east side of Dover Street at the corner with Portugall Row (Piccadilly), where he had been living since 1700⁴⁶ – '*Dover-street*, the best of all for large Buildings, and hath the most finished and inhabited houses for Gentry, especially the West Side'⁴⁷. Two contemporary references locate the coffee house in Dover Street. The earlier of these is a letter dated 14 September 1725 from William Munday to Sir Spencer Compton, in which he remarks that 'A letter will come soonest to me at William's Coffee House in Dover Street'⁴⁸. Nearly three years later, on 7 June 1728, *The Daily*

Post offered a reward of two guineas to anyone handing in a silver watch by Hubert at ‘William’s Coffee-house in Dover street’⁴⁹. So it may have been at the Dover Street premises, rather than in St. James’s Street, that James Gibbs arranged to meet Alexander Pope in an undated letter written between 12 May 1725 and June 1726 – ‘M^r Rysbracks house is in the further end of Bond street Just cross Tyburn Rode in L^d Oxfords ground upon the right hand, going to his Chaple – but I will waite on you att Williames coffie house near St Jameses about five on Thursday’⁵⁰; incidentally, Roger Williams and his brother Henry, a butcher, both subscribed to Gibbs’s *A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, which was published in 1728. On 1 February 1729, John Warburton, antiquary and Somerset Herald, wrote to the 2nd Earl of Oxford (who had had a house in Dover Street since 1717⁵¹) – ‘I am waiting at Williams’s Coffee House for your answer’⁵². Roger Williams had left the Dover Street house by 13 April 1733⁵³ and was again running ‘Williams Coffee House in St. James’s Street’ by 4 September 1734⁵⁴. On 20 October 1736 he obtained from the crown a nineteen-year extension to a lease which was due to expire in 1766⁵⁵. He would leave this house to Thomas Salter, his sole executor, who inherited it upon Williams’s death in January 1747. By 20 April 1748 Thomas had sub-leased it to James Rowles⁵⁶, who had recently taken over the St. James’s Coffee House next door⁵⁷. Rowles ran Williams’s premises as Rowles Coffee House until 1768⁵⁸ when the Smyrna Coffee House moved into 86 St. James’s Street from 59 Pall Mall⁵⁹.

In addition to his coffee house, Roger Williams bequeathed to Thomas Salter ‘all the rest and residue of my Estate and ffortune at my death with all my Goods and Chattels whatsoever’, the sole exclusions being his collection of paintings by Wootton and just forty pounds a year payable to his unnamed wife during her lifetime; remarkably, he left just one shilling to his son, William⁶⁰. Although this was a substantial inheritance, it merely added to wealth

which Thomas had accumulated during the 1730s. His father had died in 1732, leaving Thomas well-off⁶¹, and he had benefited from the £10,000 dowry which Ann Williams had brought to him upon their marriage in 1736⁶². However, it does seem that the Williams legacy prompted Thomas Salter to commission from Rysbrack a portrait of his only son, especially as the loss of his father-in-law in January 1747 was compounded on 9 April 1748 by the death of his unmarried brother, Edward Salter of Hampton Wick⁶³. Edward’s sixth birthday may well have occasioned the sitting and, in view of this, it is particularly unfortunate that his date of birth cannot be fixed more accurately than sometime between 25 March and 25 May 1742⁶⁴. As Lippincott has remarked of Arthur Pond’s patrons, ‘over and over again, important family events – birth, coming of age, marriage, and inheritance – triggered an individual’s buying spree at the portrait painter’s’⁶⁵.

While no record appears to have survived to document the commission, Thomas Salter is known to have had connections with the painters Francis Hayman and John Wootton, both of whom knew Rysbrack, and he had long worked at St. James’s Palace with Sir Thomas Reade of Golden Square, London, and Shipton Court, Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire⁶⁶. Sir Thomas Reade had been appointed ‘Eldest Clerk of our Greencloth’ by George II on 26 July 1727⁶⁷ and he was thus one of the Clerks to whom Thomas Salter had been reporting as an Under Clerk since 1737. Reade’s importance in the present context is that he commissioned from Rysbrack a monument to Sir John Dutton⁶⁸ which still stands in the church at Shireborn (Fig. 4), the Dutton family seat in Gloucestershire (now called Sherborne); incidentally, in 1728 Sir John Dutton had sought designs for the house from William Kent, presumably of furniture and other work on the interior⁶⁹. Sir Thomas Reade had married Jane Mary Dutton, Sir John’s sister, on 29 October 1719 and he was entrusted with the erection of the funerary monument by the terms of

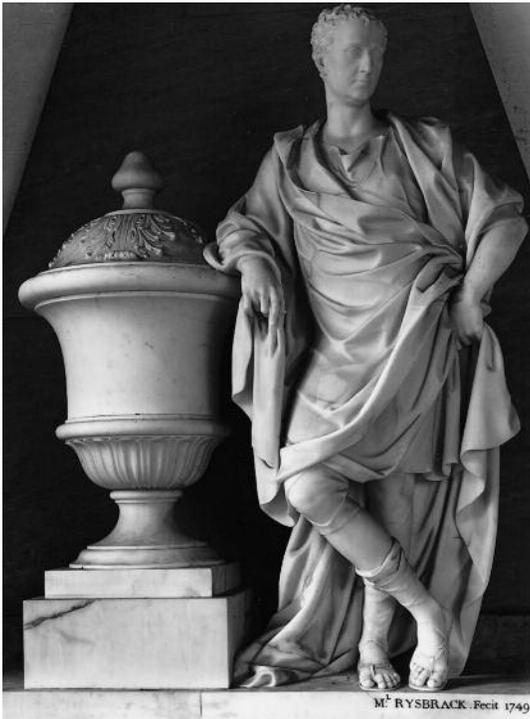


Fig. 4. Michael Rysbrack, *Monument to Sir John Dutton and his wives* (detail), 1749, marble, St. Mary Magdalen, Sherborne, Gloucestershire.
Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.



Fig. 5. Michael Rysbrack, *Jemima Dutton*, 1745, marble.
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.
Copyright: A.C.L., Brussels.

his brother-in-law's will dated 30 March 1742. The will stipulated that Sir John's executors and heirs were 'to finish and perfect the plantations I have begun at my new park and all the other works I intend there pursuant to a plan made by M^r. Charles Bridgeman⁷⁰ for that purpose' and 'that three hundred pounds be laid out and bestowed in the making of a monument within the space in the Church in Shireborn aforesaid which belongs to me for myself and my two wives, the form of which monum^t. and all things thereunto incident I wholly leave to the order and appointment of my said brother in law S^r. Thomas Reade . . .⁷¹. That Sir Thomas approached Rysbrack to realise this project is evident from the monument

itself, which is signed and dated 1749, and from 'a figure of Sir *John Dutton*, leaning on an urn', lot 70 in the sale of Rysbrack's models held by Mr. Langford and Son of Great Piazza, Covent Garden, London, on 24 January 1766⁷². Rysbrack also executed a bust in marble of Jemima Dutton, another of Sir John's sisters, which is signed and dated 'M^r.¹ Ryfbrack Fe:^t 1745'⁷³ (Fig. 5)⁷³. Although nothing is otherwise known about this latter commission, the date of 1745 suggests that Sir Thomas Reade may already have approached Rysbrack to make the monument to his brother-in-law. Sir Thomas's own will dated 21 September 1748⁷⁴ was witnessed by two of the Under Clerks, James Delaune and Philip Parsons⁷⁵ (a close friend of

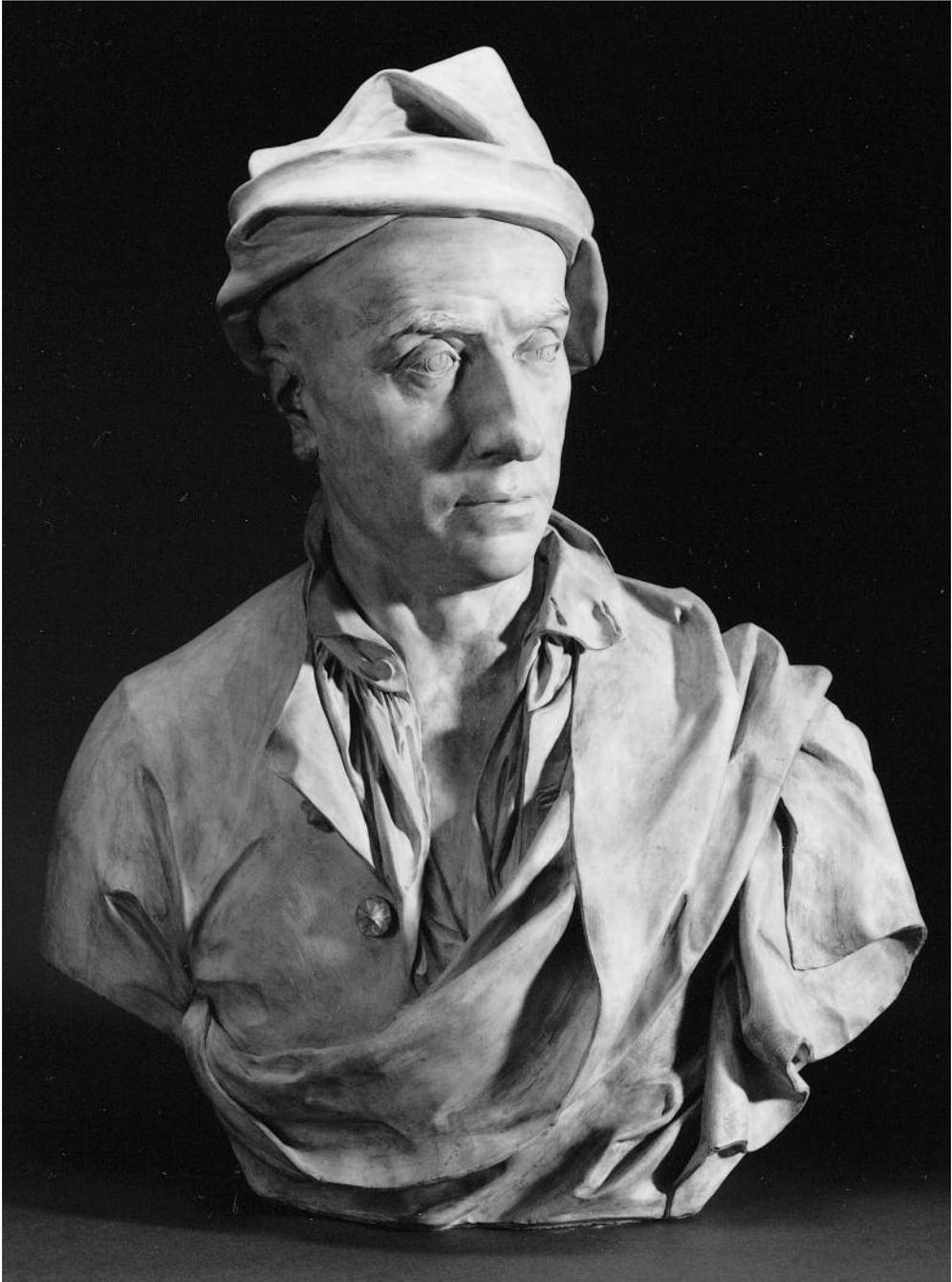


Fig. 6. Michael Rysbrack, *Self-portrait*, after March 1735, terracotta.
*Koning Boudewijnstichting Collection. Permanent loan Koninklijk Museum voor
Schone Kunsten Antwerpen. Photo: Paso Doble, France.*

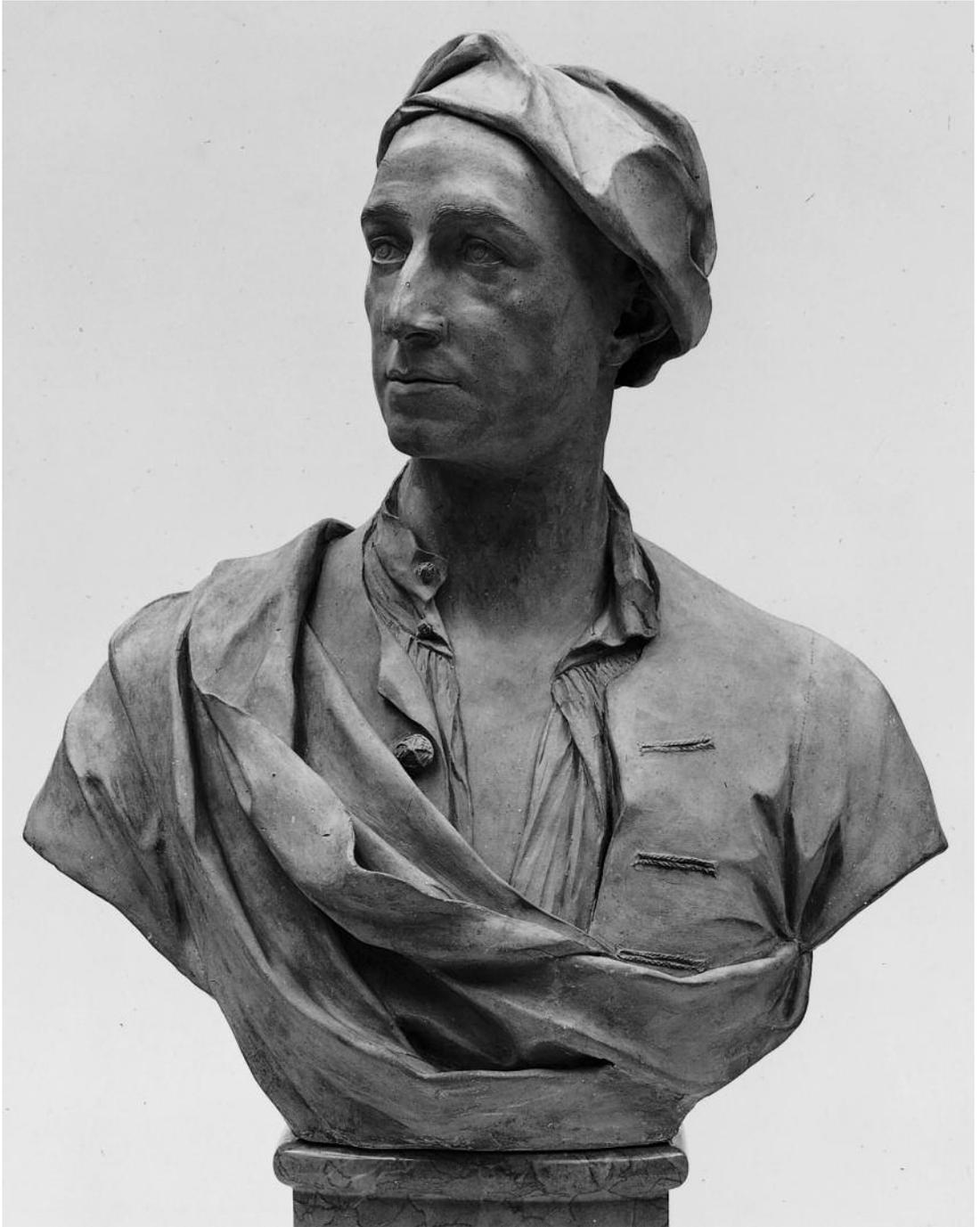


Fig. 7. Michael Rysbrack, *Peter Tillemans*, 1727, terracotta.
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, partial gift of Cyril Humphris.

Thomas Salter). It may therefore have been due to Sir Thomas Reade that Salter chose Rysbrack to model the bust of his son in 1748.

Thomas Salter's circle of acquaintance was wider than members of the Royal Household. He moved in artistic circles as well and had connections with John Wootton and Francis Hayman, both of whom were well-acquainted with Rysbrack by the mid-1740s. Thomas Salter knew Wootton through his father-in-law (as indicated above and discussed in greater detail below). He also had connections with Francis Hayman and seems to have been socialising with the painter by 1746. A meeting between them is recorded in an undated letter from Hayman to his friend and patron Grosvenor Bedford, in which Hayman apologises for his unexpected absence – 'what else but sickness or death think you could have hindred my meeting Mr Parsons, Mr Salter, & you, last Wednesday night'⁷⁶. A watermark celebrating the battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746 establishes a *terminus post quem* for this letter and the presence of both Grosvenor Bedford and Philip Parsons corroborates the identification of 'Mr Salter' as Thomas Salter; he would leave ten guineas 'to my ffriend Grosvenor Bedford Esq'^r in his will dated 22 November 1758⁷⁷ and Philip Parsons was his fellow Under Clerk at the Board of Green Cloth⁷⁸ and godfather to his son Edward⁷⁹. One can only speculate whether Thomas Salter and/or Philip Parsons are depicted in Hayman's paintings *Grosvenor Bedford with his Family and Friends* and *The Artist and his Friends*⁸⁰.

The purpose of Hayman's intended meeting with Thomas Salter is not known, but it took place at a time when Hayman was being urged by Hogarth and Rysbrack to donate a painting to adorn the Court Room of the recently built Foundling Hospital. William Hogarth, a friend of Hayman's, was one of the many governors appointed by royal charter on 17 October 1739 and he had donated his own portrait of Captain Thomas Coram, the founder of the hospital, in May 1740 (well before the official opening on the evening of 25 March 1741)⁸¹. Rysbrack became a

governor on 27 March 1745⁸² and by October 1746 he had finished the marble relief of *Charity* which was subsequently placed over the fireplace in the Court Room⁸³. Hayman and fourteen other artists also agreed to donate works and they were duly elected governors on 11 December 1746 at a meeting attended by Rysbrack⁸⁴. Hayman's *The Finding of Moses in the Bulrushes*, signed and dated 1746, had been put up by 1 April 1747⁸⁵. This establishes that Hayman had met Rysbrack by December 1746 and it allows for the possibility that Hayman introduced Thomas Salter to Rysbrack.

Hayman would have seen a terracotta self-portrait by Rysbrack (Fig. 6) and a pendant bust of Peter Tillemans (Fig. 7) in the collection of Dr. Cox Macro⁸⁶ at Little Haugh Hall, Norton, Suffolk, when he was engaged to paint the ceiling above the staircase there in the late summer of 1743⁸⁷. Tillemans was a painter, originally from Antwerp (like Rysbrack), from whom Macro had commissioned at least twenty paintings and sixteen drawings over a period of twenty years; they became close friends and Tillemans died in Macro's house on 19 November 1734⁸⁸. His death seems to have prompted Dr. Macro to take delivery of a terracotta bust of the painter which Rysbrack had modelled in 1727 – it is signed and dated on the back *M^d Rysbrack f. 1727* (Fig. 8) – and also to commission from Rysbrack a self-portrait⁸⁹. George Vertue remarked of *Peter Tillemans* that 'the Model of his face by Rysbrack is very much like him. nothing more like unless his two daughters that he has left'⁹⁰. Rysbrack wrote to Macro on 4 March 1735 indicating that the bust of 'our Old Frind. M^r Thillemans' and its pedestal were ready to be sent, but that he had not yet started on his self-portrait, which Dr. Macro had commissioned in an earlier letter of 14 December 1734 (not extant, but referred to by Rysbrack)⁹¹. How long it took Rysbrack to complete his self-portrait, which is signed but not dated, remains unknown nor is its date of delivery recorded. In November 1745, however, Dr. Macro was still trying to decide upon the most



Fig. 8. Michael Rysbrack, *Peter Tillemans*, signature on back. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, partial gift of Cyril Humphris.

suitable inscriptions for these busts of ‘two artists without Co-rivals’ which Robert Potter was composing for him⁹². Hayman would have seen both busts in Little Haugh Hall when he visited the house in 1743–1744 and it is hard to imagine that Rysbrack’s self-portrait twinned with a portrait-from-life of his deceased friend did not make a strong impression on Hayman, himself a prolific portrait painter.

John Wootton was another painter through whom Thomas Salter may have established contact with Rysbrack. Salter would certainly have known the paintings by Wootton owned by Roger Williams (and Philip Parsons); and he, like Williams, probably knew Wootton in person. All that is known about ‘the picture over the parlour chimney painted by Mr. Wootton’ which Philip Parsons owned is that he bequeathed it to Thomas Salter on 5 August 1761⁹³ – by which time his sister, Philippa Parsons, had become Thomas Salter’s second wife⁹⁴. Roger Williams, on the other hand, had a collection of paintings by John Wootton. In his will dated 1 April 1740 (he died in January 1747), Roger Williams left ‘to my great Benefactor the Earl of Godolphin all my pictures painted by Mr. Wootton’⁹⁵. None can now be

identified, but it is likely that the pictures reflected their mutual interests in horses and their involvement with racing at Newmarket. Wootton had been specialising in painting horses from at least 1714 when Lord Harley (2nd Earl of Oxford from 21 May 1724) called him ‘Mr. Wootton y^e Horse painter’⁹⁶ and in 1728 George Vertue described how ‘his often visiting of Newmarket in the Seasons, produced him much employment in painting race horses’⁹⁷. Williams was ‘Clerk of the Races at *Newmarket*’ and, although the earliest reference to this is his obituary published in January 1747⁹⁸, it is evident from earlier sources that he had been active in racing circles for many years. In the 1720s Ali Mohamed, physician to the court in Tripoli, visited Williams’s Coffee House and recounted that horseracing was one of the topics frequently discussed there – ‘At those Coffee-Houses, near the Court, called *White’s*, *St. James’s*, *Williams’s*, the Conversation turns chiefly upon *Equipages*, *Essence*, *Horse-Matches*, *Tupees*, *Modes*, and *Mortgages* and *Maidenheads* . . .’⁹⁹. More significantly, Williams is named by John Cheny of Arundel in his racing calendar for 1727. Cheny was seeking to promote his new book, a record of racing results, by securing annual subscriptions of five shillings payable on delivery for seven years – ‘Subscriptions are taken by Mr. Roger Williams at his Coffee House in St. James’s street; by Mr. Feales, bookseller at Rowe’s Head in St. Clements Church-yard, in the Strand, London; by the said John Cheny as he travels to take his accounts and at Inns, Coffee Houses etc. in most of the Towns in England’¹⁰⁰. I am indebted to David Oldrey for the intriguing hypothesis that Williams acted as agent for Wootton, just as he did for Cheny, and that he used his coffee house to accept commissions for paintings, as well as entries for races.

In 1733 Williams inherited some of the finest stallions in the history of breeding from Edward (‘Neddy’) Coke, younger brother of Thomas Coke of Holkham¹⁰¹. Coke’s stud was at Longford Hall in Derbyshire, which he had inherited in 1727, and his stud book for 1732–1733 has survived¹⁰². His

celebrated mare Roxana won three races at Newmarket in 1727 and he is cited frequently as a sponsor of races and as a breeder of horses in John Cheny's racing calendars for the years 1727–1733¹⁰³. In his will dated 11 December 1732 (he died on 12 August 1733) Coke left his stallions to Roger Williams and his mares to the 2nd Earl of Godolphin, a leading breeder of thoroughbreds – 'Also I give to the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin all my running Horses and running Mares and Studd Mares And to Mr. Roger Williams all my Stallions'¹⁰⁴. It seems that one of these stallions was a famous progenitor of the Thoroughbred, which Coke commissioned Wootton to paint shortly after its arrival in England from France; the painting is signed and dated 1731¹⁰⁵. Coke's stallion would become known as the Godolphin Arabian, named after the 2nd Earl of Godolphin to whom Roger Williams presented or sold it; the Earl took the stallion to his stud at Gogmagog, his country seat near Babraham, south-east of Cambridge¹⁰⁶. The Earl's *Annual Record of Foals Born*, which covers the years 1732 to 1756, reveals that one of the mares he inherited from Edward Coke gave birth to a foal which Edward Salter, Thomas's brother, would buy as a four-year-old in 1739¹⁰⁷ and that the Earl was trading horses with Sir John Dutton of Shireborn¹⁰⁸, whose monument by Rysbrack has been discussed above. The close relationship between Roger Williams and the 2nd Earl of Godolphin continued long after Edward Coke's death, and, as indicated above, Williams bequeathed to the Earl his collection of paintings by Wootton.

The above suggests that Roger Williams had been acquainted with John Wootton since the 1720s and that he may even have received commissions for paintings by Wootton at his coffee house. Equally, Wootton must have been acquainted with Rysbrack long before Gawen Hamilton painted them both in a group portrait of thirteen Virtuosi which was raffled on 15 April 1735 'to promote the interest of Mr. Hamilton'¹⁰⁹. George Vertue described the painting as 'the peice of a Conversation of Virtuosis that

usually meet at the Kings Armes. New bond Street a noted tavern' and, in a sketch of the composition, he identified those present as Bernard Baron, Charles Bridgeman, Gawen Hamilton, Hans Hysing, Matthew Robinson, George Vertue, Michael Dahl, James Gibbs, Joseph Goupy (who bought the picture), William Kent, Michael Rysbrack, William Thomas and John Wootton¹¹⁰. The latter seven Virtuosi (including the sculptor himself) are known to have been sculpted by Rysbrack thanks to a list of his portrait busts compiled by Vertue¹¹¹ – all but *James Gibbs* and *Michael Rysbrack* are now missing.

Several of those present in Hamilton's portrait were 'Virtuosi of St. Luke', members of an exclusive dining club composed of 'Gentlemen. Painters. Sculptors. Architects & Lovers or proffesors of Art'¹¹². In view of this connection, it is interesting that one of the club's other activities was the raffling of pictures which it bought or commissioned¹¹³; it also advised 'Gentlemen Lovers of Art' about their collections¹¹⁴. John Wootton had been a member the Club of St. Luke since 1715 or 1716 and he served as Steward, the host of the annual dinner, in 1717¹¹⁵. Michael Rysbrack joined the club on 4 December 1734 and served as 'the last Steward' in 1735¹¹⁶. The club continued from 1689 a tradition established by Van Dyck and revived by Lely of holding annual feasts to celebrate St. Luke, 'the Titular Patron of this Clubb of Painters & Sculptors'¹¹⁷, although the feast was not always held on St. Luke's Day (18 October). A Steward was elected by seniority and in rotation to host the feasts¹¹⁸ and, according to an agreement made on 7 January 1713, he would provide 'French wine' while everyone else paid five shillings, i. e. one crown. The Steward was allowed to invite a guest and in 1730 George Vertue, a member by 1726, invited his friend William Thomas¹¹⁹, another of those present in Gawen Hamilton's group portrait. Other meetings were held in taverns throughout the year, the expenses of which were borne by the members collectively.

Wootton and Rysbrack were also members of the Rose and Crown Club, a larger and more loosely knit



Fig. 9. Michael Rysbrack, *John Barnerd*, 1744, marble. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

group of Virtuosi ('Rosa Coronians'), which ran for about forty years until closing in May 1745¹²⁰. George Vertue, secretary of the Rose and Crown Club (and a member of the Club of St. Luke), identified Wootton as one of the twelve members of 'a Club of Virtuosi. or a groupe of the Rosa Coronians . . . design'd & begun' by John Smibert in 1724¹²¹ and, in a list dated '1742/43', Vertue also named Rysbrack amongst fifty-seven members who had 'belonged or Frequentated that Club at times from the begining to the ending. all neer 40 years'¹²².

While it remains to be discovered exactly when Wootton and Rysbrack joined the Rose and Crown Club, they were both members of the Club of St. Luke by December 1734 and it is clear that they were socialising by the mid-1730s. They used to meet up with other Virtuosi at the King's Arms in New Bond Street and Wootton is shown leaning on Rysbrack's shoulder in the Gawen Hamilton group portrait raffled in April 1735. They also belonged to a group which had long enjoyed the patronage of Lord Harley (Earl of Oxford from 1724) and in 1737 Vertue was still able to report that 'my good Lord Oxford. has at heart the promoteing of several. M^r. Dhal [sic] for face painting. M^r. Wootton. M^r. Gibbs. M^r. Rysbrack for statuary. M^r. Zink enameller. Christian Seal engraver & M^r. Claus. since him. as to my self I have greatly shard his favour protection and honour done to the Art of Sculpture or Engraving'¹²³. Another patron they shared was the banker Henry Hoare¹²⁴ (cousin of Sir Edward Littleton¹²⁵, Rysbrack's late-in-life patron) and on 1 July 1747 Wootton witnessed the agreement between Rysbrack and Henry Hoare for the marble statue of *Hercules* still at Stourhead¹²⁶.

All the available evidence points to Rysbrack as the sculptor with whom Thomas Salter had the closest connections in terms of his personal, professional and social relationships. He was not concerned that Rysbrack was no longer the most fashionable nor the most talented sculptor in London. Rysbrack had been unable to compete with the critical acclaim that

had attended Roubiliac's *Handel* (1738) and Peter Scheemaker's *Shakespeare* (1740, designed by William Kent) and by the early 1740s he was finding it difficult to win the most-important commissions¹²⁷. Vertue observed in 1743 that 'he feels the effect in the decline of Busines', adding that 'Rysbrake has long been at the top of fortunes wheel here'¹²⁸. Nonetheless, Rysbrack was always well-liked and he had loyal supporters; in the 1750s André Rouquet said of Rysbrack that he was 'an artist whom abilities and good manners have rendered worthy of respect'¹²⁹. In 1747 Robert Campbell singled out Rysbrack as an eminent statuary – 'The Statuary is a genteel and profitable Art, and is coming much in Repute in *England*. We have some tolerable Masters: Mr. *Rysbrack* may be said to be eminent in this Way; and we have some *English* Hands that come little short of the *Italians*, who were formerly more employed in our Shops than at present'¹³⁰. By 1749, however, the perspicacious George Vertue conceded that 'Mr. F. L. Rubilliac sculptor has shown the greatness of his Genius' and even his assessment of his old friend begins to reflect this – 'Mr. Michael Rysbrake . . . from Time to time gave & supported his reputation in Art as a most excellent Sculptor'¹³¹.

So, 'finding himself somewhat at leisure. busines not being so brisk (as had been with him for some years before)¹³², Rysbrack turned in 1743 to creating (for commercial reproduction) two-foot-high terracotta figures of *Rubens*, *Van Dyck* and *Duquesnoy* – *tours de force* demonstrating his mastery of terracotta – and, in 1744, to creating a *Hercules* of similar scale, which demonstrates his mastery of the 'ideal' male physique¹³³. But in 1744 he also produced a marble bust of John Barnerd (Fig. 9), a boy whom Vertue described as 'a Son of M^r. Bernard'¹³⁴, and about whom nothing else is known. Just a few years later, in 1748, Thomas Salter approached Rysbrack to model the terracotta bust of *Edward Salter aetatis 6*. The vigour of the modelling captures Rysbrack's engaging response to the boy and this intimate relationship between the subject, the sculptor and his working

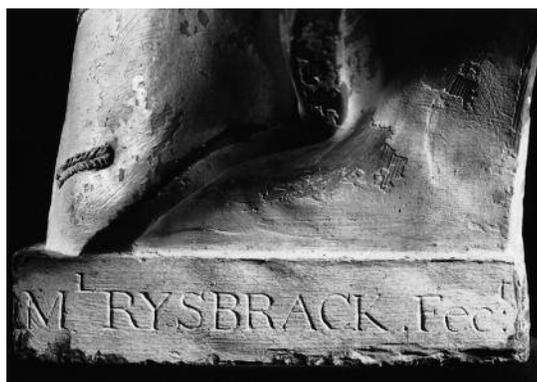


Fig. 10. Michael Rysbrack, *Edward Salter aetatis 6*, signature on side of plinth (viewer's right).
Sotheby's, London.



Fig. 11. Michael Rysbrack, *Edward Salter aetatis 6*, inscription and date on side of plinth (viewer's left).
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Fig. 12. Michael Rysbrack, *Edward Salter aetatis 6*, detail, rib-line of piece-mould just visible by his ear.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

material creates a portrait of unusual charm and candour. In keeping with the fashion of the day, Edward's wavy, collar-length hair is brushed upwards from his forehead to form a frame of curls around his face. His open jacket, buttoned-up waistcoat and frilly collar secured by a ribbon were the standard attire for the son of a well-to-do family in the 1740s. Francis Hayman's portraits of Charles Bedford (1743–1814) and of the Atkins brothers show boys with the same hairstyle and wearing the same clothing³⁵. Richard Graham, aged eight, in Hogarth's *The Graham Children* (dated 1742)³⁶ and Edward Walpole,

aged ten, in Stephen Slaughter's *The Children of Sir Edward Walpole* (dated 1747)³⁷, are similarly dressed and coifed.

Rysbrack signed one side of the integral plinth M^lRYSBRACK.Fec:^t (Fig. 10) and he gave the sitter's name and age, as well as the date of the sitting, on the opposite side (now slightly damaged) – EDWARD SALTER Æ[t]is 6 1748 (Fig. 11). A tiny rib-line running round the edge of Edward's face (Fig. 12) indicates that Rysbrack used piece-moulds to assemble the bust and he coated the finished portrait with a layer of cream-coloured paint resembling stone, composed



Fig. 13. Michael Rysbrack, *Edward Salter aetatis 6*, terracotta, striated finish of back. *Sotheby's, London.*



Fig. 14. Michael Rysbrack, *John Barnerd*, marble, inscriptions and finish of back. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

of lead white and yellow ochre pigments¹³⁸. The primary purpose of painting the surface, standard practice at the time, was to conceal cracks, discolouration and the need for repairs caused by firing the terracotta¹³⁹. *Edward Salter* is a rare example of a terracotta with most of its original surface still intact.

Edward Salter aetatis 6 is one of five portrait busts of children by Rysbrack. Reference has already been made to the marble bust of John Barnerd, inscribed *John Barnerd* and signed and dated *M.^l Ryfbrack Fe.^l 1744* (Fig. 14). The much earlier marble of Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley existed by 1727,

when it was engraved by George Vertue¹⁴⁰; *pace* Margaret Webb, it is neither signed, dated nor inscribed¹⁴¹. The dates of the marble *William des Bouverie*¹⁴² and of the posthumous terracotta *Thomas, Earl of Coventry Aetat Sua X*¹⁴³ are uncertain. In the context of the present article it is intriguing to note that Wootton had asked the latter's mother, Lady Ann Somerset, to be godmother to his children on three occasions between 1712 and 1721¹⁴⁴, and that Lord Harley (Lady Margaret's father) had agreed to be godfather to Wootton's son shortly before 19 March 1719¹⁴⁵.

Rysbrack gives a first-hand account of his

working-practice (in old age) in a series of letters to Sir Edward Littleton spanning 20 January 1756 to 16 December 1758, which, although later in date, give an insight into the probable progress of work on *Edward Salter*¹⁴⁶. Rysbrack would have modelled the portrait in the spring of 1748, after Edward had turned six and when the weather was getting warmer. Modelling the terracotta was relatively swift work; Rysbrack was able to finish busts of Milton, Locke and Newton between 20 January and 12 February 1756. The summer was used to dry out the terracotta and it would take several months before Rysbrack got the bust back from firing. For all the work involved, Rysbrack would have charged Thomas Salter about fifteen guineas. This can be deduced from the prices Rysbrack was charging for terracotta busts in the 1730s and 1750s. In March 1735 Rysbrack informed Dr. Macro that ‘my prise is always 12 ginnes’¹⁴⁷. In the late 1750s he charged Sir Edward Littleton sixteen guineas each for ‘*Your Honour’s Bust*’, ‘*Your Lady’s*’, *John Locke* and *John Milton* and twenty-five guineas each for ‘the most difficult’ busts of *Francis Bacon* and *Sir Walter Raleigh*¹⁴⁸. By comparison, Vertue recorded in 1743 that Rysbrack was charging at least thirty-five guineas for the process of carving a bust in marble – ‘as M^r Rysbrake for a Marble Bust moddel & carving his lowest price was 35 guineas. the other [Scheemakers] woud & dos do it for near ten guineas less ...’¹⁴⁹.

After months of waiting to receive the portrait of his son and heir, where would Thomas Salter have placed the bust in his home? One of the books he inherited from Roger Williams was the copy of *A book of architecture ...* by James Gibbs to which Williams had subscribed in 1728. ‘Fifteen Pedestals for Busto’s’ are illustrated on plate 150, but there is scant contemporary evidence that such pedestals were commonly used to display busts, not even in Gibbs’s own interiors. Busts were usually placed either on chimneypieces or on wall-brackets, although some were set in broken pediments above doorways; for example, Rysbrack’s *Queen Caroline* in

Charles Phillips’s *George II* (undated, 1740s)¹⁵⁰. Drawings of Queen Caroline’s library show busts set on wall-brackets between the door- and window-arches¹⁵¹ and Vertue records that marble busts of George II and Queen Caroline were placed on chimneypieces in the library on 4 October 1739¹⁵². Rysbrack’s bust of Newton is displayed in the centre of the mantelpiece in Hogarth’s *The Indian Emperor* (1732–1735)¹⁵³ and Hogarth’s *The Wollaston Family* (dated 1730) shows a contemporary portrait bust placed in a similar position¹⁵⁴. The placing of busts on wall-brackets was even more common. Rysbrack’s marble busts of John and Martha Cossins were originally set on wall-brackets in Redland Chapel, Bristol¹⁵⁵, and his *Newton* is again shown in Hogarth’s *Benjamin Hoadly*, this time on a wall-bracket¹⁵⁶. Rysbrack’s *Inigo Jones* rests on a bracket above the fireplace in the frontispiece of *The Chimneypiece Maker’s Daily Assistant*, which was published in 1766¹⁵⁷. Classical busts set on brackets half-way up the wall are found in *Mr and Mrs Bull* by Arthur Devis (dated 1747)¹⁵⁸ – in this case, flanking the chimneypiece – and this disposition of busts is repeated in the banqueting room of the Doncaster Mansion House (built 1745–48)¹⁵⁹. So, Thomas Salter is most likely to have set *Edward Salter* either on the mantelpiece or else on a wall-bracket in the reception room of his home in Cleveland Row.

Much of this article has been devoted to bringing to life Thomas Salter and Roger Williams, his father-in-law, and to presenting the disparate strands of information known about them. Yet, for all the available information, they might remain, for the modern reader, obscure members of ‘the middling sort’. It needs to be emphasised just how well-established they really were. The 2nd Earl of Godolphin, Roger Williams’s ‘great benefactor’, had married in 1698 the Duke of Marlborough’s eldest daughter, Henrietta, to whom the Marlborough title passed in 1722¹⁶⁰. He was Lord Privy Seal (May 1735–April 1740) when Thomas Salter was appointed to the Board of Green Cloth in October 1737, and he remained a member of

the Privy Council thereafter. Godolphin House, the Earl's London seat, was in Stable Yard on the west side of St. James's Palace¹⁶¹, only a short distance away from Williams's Coffee House. Upon Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough's death in 1733, it was their nephew, the 5th Earl of Sunderland, who became 3rd Duke of Marlborough¹⁶². Years later, Thomas Salter would work as the 3rd Duke's secretary during his tenure as Lord Steward (June 1749–January 1755). It was then that the Duke sat to Rysbrack for the marble bust which is now built into the wall of the Long Library (also called Great Gallery) at Blenheim Palace¹⁶³, a pendant to Rysbrack's much earlier bust of his father¹⁶⁴. The Duke was also a patron of John Wootton and, circa 1746, he commissioned a landscape and *Jonah and the Whale* as overmantels for the Long Library¹⁶⁵.

Roger Williams, a long-term resident of St. James's Street, probably secured for his newly-wed daughter the house in Cleveland Row into which she and Thomas Salter moved immediately after their marriage in October 1736. It was situated on the eastern corner with Russell Court, the third house along from St. James's Street, and faced onto the stables of St. James's Palace. At the rear, there may have been access to the back of 86 St. James's Street, Williams's Coffee House. An historical survey of the Salters' immediate neighbours 1737–1758 is outside the scope of this article, but it is pertinent to name the occupants of the neighbouring houses for the year to 20 April 1748¹⁶⁶, more or less the date at which Thomas Salter commissioned Edward's bust from Rysbrack. Moving westwards from the corner with St. James's Street, houses in Cleveland Row were occupied by Harriott Vernon; Lieutenant-General George Churchill¹⁶⁷; Ann Salter; General Henry Pulteney (brother of the Earl of Bath) and Margaret Pulteney (widow of Daniel Pulteney, the Earl of Bath's cousin)¹⁶⁸ – the Salters' house, but not Williams's Coffee House, was on the Pulteney estate, owned by the Earl of Bath¹⁶⁹; the Lord Chamberlain's office (1743–1761); Andrew Reiche, probably the

Hanoverian Chancellery¹⁷⁰. The presence of such powerful families and eminent offices of state in the neighbouring houses gives some idea of the social standing of the family into which Edward Salter was born in 1742.

This article has given an account of Roger Williams and Thomas Salter, two hitherto unknown patrons of Wootton and Rysbrack, and it has shown that their own kinship was similar to the close personal and professional relationship that existed between the painter and the sculptor. Thomas Salter knew friends, associates, patrons and clients of Rysbrack and particular mention has been made of his connections with Sir Thomas Reade and Francis Hayman. The impetus for such enquiry was the exciting discovery of *Edward Salter* in 1988 and the teasing traces of provenance still in family possession. It is both astounding and thrilling that a bust so clearly marked with Rysbrack's signature and with the sitter's identity should have escaped notice until 1988, even more so when the original surface applied by Rysbrack remained more-or-less intact beneath layers of overpaint. Thomas Salter, Edward's father, had been introduced to Wootton by Roger Williams and he also knew Reade and Hayman, all of whom had connections with Michael Rysbrack. Salter's choice of Rysbrack, a great sculptor then in the twilight of his career, to portray his son and heir is explicable in this context.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For informative responses to frequent enquiries, I am very grateful to Pamela Clark (Deputy Registrar, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle) and to A.D.G. Oldrey (Treasurer, National Horseracing Museum, Newmarket; Steward, Jockey Club).

APPENDIX

Wills in Family Records Centre, London.

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| <p>1 Roger Williams (died January 1747),
Thomas Salter's father-in-law
PROB 11, microfilm 752, quire 27, p. 209 v.,
dated 1 April 1740</p> <p>2 Thomas Salter (1713–22 September 1761)
PROB 11, microfilm 870, quire 410, p. 333,
dated 22 November 1758</p> <p>3 Edward Salter (died 20 October 1732),
Thomas Salter's father
PROB 11, microfilm 654, quire 255, p. 146,
dated 2 October 1732</p> <p>4 Edward Salter (1714–9 April 1748),
Thomas Salter's brother
PROB 6, microfilm 124, p. 187, letter of
administration granted April 1749 to Thomas
Salter in lieu of Ann Salter, their mother</p> | <p>5 Edward Salter (1742–25 May 1812),
Thomas Salter's son
PROB 11, microfilm 1534, quire 297, pp. 303
v.-304 v., dated 16 December 1809</p> <p>6 Philip Parsons (died 11 February 1768),
Thomas Salter's friend and colleague
PROB 11, microfilm 936, quire 78, p. 282,
dated 5 August 1761</p> <p>7 Philippa Parsons, sister of Philip Parsons and
second wife of Thomas Salter (circa 1760)
PROB 11, microfilm 1058, quire 473, p. 343,
dated 6 August 1779</p> |
|--|--|

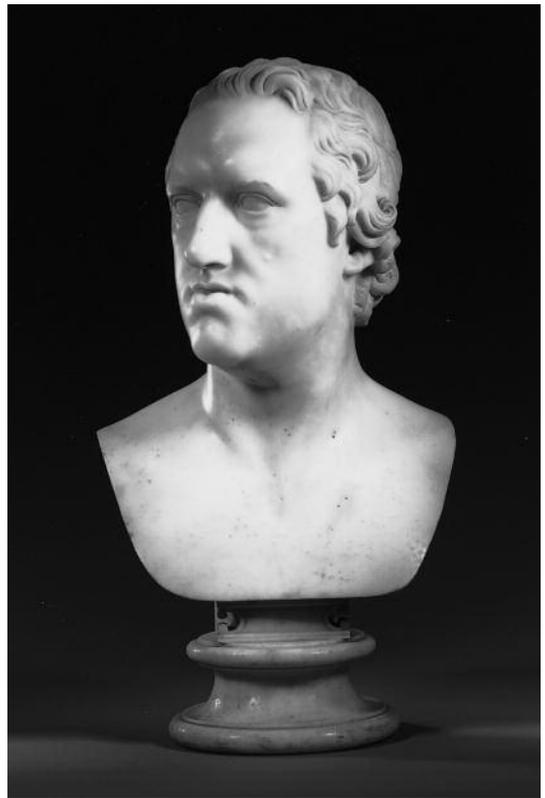


Fig. 15. Christopher Hewetson (attrib.), *Edward Salter in his thirties*, marble, probably executed in 1776 during Edward's second trip to Rome. *Private collection. Sotheby's, London.*

NOTES

- 1 Thomas Salter (1713–1761); Rev. Edward Salter (1742–1812), his son, who married Delitia Barton on 18 May 1778 in St. Peter’s, Stourton, Wiltshire; Margaret Anne Salter, Edward’s sister, who married Rev. Robert Bunce, curate of Hambleden, Buckinghamshire, on 29 October 1778 in St. George’s, Hanover Square, London; Mary Ann Bunce (1780–1855), their only child, who married on 29 January 1807 Richard Deane (1786–1868) of The How, Hambleden; Rev. Richard Wallace Deane (1820–1893), Col. Richard Woodforde Deane (1859–1906), Michael Wallace Blencowe Deane (1896–1974); Maj. John Deane (1929–27 April 1993), latter’s son, and his family. *Edward Salter* was sold at Sotheby’s, London, 8 July 1998, lot 95 (entry by G.D. Balderston), to Daniel Katz Ltd. for £281,000 gross, and it was subsequently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum (WA1999.22), with the assistance of the National Art Collections Fund, for £326,000.
- 2 London, College of Arms, Bigland pedigree MS., VIII, 444–445 [P.L. Gwynn-Jones and S. Tovey, ‘The Bigland Pedigree Index’, *The Publications of the Harleian Society* (hereafter *Harleian Society*), n.s., IX, 1990].
- 3 The library-cum-garden pavilion (demolished 1825) was built by William Kent on the west side of the palace overlooking Green Park and abutted a building on a site now known as Warwick House [F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London* . . . , London, XXX, 1960 (hereafter *S. of L.*), 505–506, figs. 81–82; H.M. Colvin et al, *The History of the King’s Works*, London, V, 1976 (hereafter *King’s Works*), 242–243, pl. 30]. ‘The Book of Works done at the Queen’s Library’ was ‘past’ by the Board on 25 October 1737 [Kew, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), WORK 4/7], a few months after William Kent was reappointed Deputy Surveyor on 6 July 1737. Following instructions issued on 11 January 1738, Isaac Ware, Secretary of the Board of Works, wrote to Rysbrack on 23 January 1738 ‘I am ordered by the Surveyor General and rest of the Commissioners of the Board of Works, to acquaint You that they will Allow you the Price you have Charged them for the Busto’s in the Queens Library, but expect you will send them to the Office (there to be Lodged) the Models of the faces you made for Working after.’ [PRO, WORK 1/2, Minutes etc., VII]. For the probable identities of these busts, see M.I. Webb, *Michael Rysbrack Sculptor*, London, 1954, 146; *Michael Rysbrack Sculptor 1694–1770*, exhib. cat. by Katharine Eustace et al, City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, 6 March–1 May 1982 (hereafter Eustace), no. 51, figs. 44–45 and 51; Katharine Eustace, ‘The Politics of the Past. Stowe and the Development of the Historical Portrait Bust’, *Apollo*, July 1998, 37–38, pls. 20–21 and 27–28.
- 4 G.D. Balderston, ‘At the request of Mr. Gibbs the architect: *James Gibbs* and *Alexander Pope* by Michael Rysbrack’, *Sculpture Journal*, V, March 2001, forthcoming; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 87 and 215, fig. 31.
- 5 Edward Salter and Ann Peach had married in St. Bene’t, Paul’s Wharf, London, on 6 May 1712 [*Harleian Society. Registers* . . . , XXXIX, 1910, 101]. All their children were christened in St. Martin-in-the-Fields: Edward, 25 May 1714; Ann, 20 December 1716; Sarah, 22 May 1718; William, 11 August 1720; Susanne, 22 November 1721; Elizabeth, 15 July 1723; George, 23 August 1724; Rebecca, 19 December 1725 [London, City of Westminster Archives Centre, Westminster City Archives (hereafter WCA), *St. Martin in the Fields, parish records*]. Only Thomas, Edward, Ann and Rebecca are named in their father’s will dated 2 October 1732 [appendix: 3].
- 6 *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (hereafter *Gent. Mag.*): for October 1736, VI, 620 (see note 62 below); G.F.R. Barker and A.H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminster*, London, 1928, 816; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses; the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715–1886* . . . , IV, London and Oxford, 1888 [facsimile, Nendeln, 1968], 1247. ‘Students’ were pupils awarded scholarships by Christ Church. They received stipends for life provided that they remained unmarried and became Deacons. Thomas Salter’s Studentship was voided upon his marriage in October 1736. I am grateful to Judith Curthoys, archivist at Christ Church, for this information.
- 7 *Harleian Society. Registers* . . . *St. George’s Chapel, May Fair*, XV, 1889, 12, in which they are described as ‘both of St. James’s, Westminster’. The name of her mother and the date of her parents’ marriage remain unknown.
- 8 The children are named in the wills of Thomas Salter [appendix: 2] and of Philippa Parsons, his second wife [appendix: 7]. Margaret Ann (born 23 October 1744) was baptised on 8 November 1744 in the Chapel Royal at St. James’s Palace, but the dates of birth of the other

- children remain unknown. I am grateful to David Baldwin, Sergeant of the Vestry, Chapel Royal, for this information and for checking the baptismal registers 1735–1755. For the Chapel Royal, see *The Genealogical Quarterly*, VI, 1936/37.
- 9 Ann Salter paid rates for the year to 5 April 1737 (accounts approved 30 December 1737) and, for the last time, for the year to 5 April 1758 [WCA, *St. James, Piccadilly, parish records. Rate books, Overseers of the Poor accounts*, 1736, microfilm D40, p. 17 left, and *ibid.*, *Poor rates*, 1758, microfilm D67, p. 41 (all rate books hereafter cited in abbreviated form as WCA, *St. James, Piccadilly, Overseers accounts*, 1736, D40, etc.]. By 22 November 1758, the date of Thomas Salter's will, they had moved to Clarges Street [appendix: 2].
- 10 Mentioned in Thomas Salter's will dated 22 November 1758, which also refers to Brabourne Rectory in Kent, 'held of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury' [appendix: 2]. He wished to be buried at Hampton Church, Middlesex. In April 1748 his bachelor brother was referred to as 'Edward Salter late of Hampton Wick' [appendix: 4].
- 11 A sketch map is amongst the *Survey of London* compiler's notes [London, National Monuments Record, *Survey of London*, notes for vols. XXIX and XXX, box 33, folder for Pulteney/Nelthorpe property at 86–88 St. James's Street; see also *S. of L., op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, 487–490, fig. 81 and pl. 245]. The Salters' house was one of four listed in Russell Court in 1734, but was usually described as being opposite the stables of St. James's Palace [WCA, *St. James, Piccadilly, Overseers accounts*, 1734, D39, and *ibid.*, 1736, D40].
- 12 London, British Library (hereafter BL), Maps [shelfmark 183.E.1]: R. Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts adjoining shewing every House*, sheet B3, 2 January 1795 (other sheets are dated 1792–1799).
- 13 *Gent. Mag.*, VII, October 1737, 638. William Morrison had died on 2 October 1737 [*idem*, 637]. For history of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, see A. Sullivan (ed.), *British literary magazines. The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698–1788*, Westport and London, 1983. Indexes were published by W.P.W. Phillimore in *British Record Society. Index Society*, XV, 1891 (biographies and obituaries 1731–1780) and E.A. Fry, *Index to Marriages from the Gentleman's Magazine*, Exeter, 1922.
- 14 *Gent. Mag.*, XXXI, September 1761, 430; *The London Magazine: Or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, for September, 1761*, 506 (hereafter *London Mag.*). For earlier volumes of the latter, see *The General Index to Twenty-Seven Volumes of The London Magazine; viz From 1732 to 1758 inclusive*, London, 1760.
- 15 For a lucid account of the 'household below stairs', see J.M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, Cambridge, 1967, chapters 3 and 5–6, and pp. 66–105, 132–216. Its structure was essentially the same under George II, but the Board of Green Cloth and many other offices were abolished in 1782 [*Stat. 22 Geo. III, c.82*; Sir E. Coke, *The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*, London, 1797, 131, cap. xix]. The hierarchy of the Royal Household is evident from J. Chamberlayne, *Magna Britanniae Notitia: or, the Present State of Great-Britain* (first published in 1669 as *Angliae Notitia ...* by E. Chamberlayne) and from *The Court and City Register*, published annually from 1742; it is often unclear whether the listings refer to the year of publication or to appointments made and positions held the previous year. For documents relating to the Board of Green Cloth held by PRO at Kew, see *Public Record Office. Lord Steward's Department: Comptroller of the Household: Accounts. LS1 – Introductory Note*, March 1994 (supplement to *Current guide* and filed with lists marked *LS OBS*) and M.S. Giuseppi, *A guide to the manuscripts preserved in the Public Record Office*, London, 1924, II, 135. The Royal Archives at Windsor Castle hold the Household Index, an invaluable list of known references to specific names (often several homonymous individuals).
- 16 On 3 July 1728 George II issued a warrant for 'a table to be kept by the Officers of our Board of Greencloth for the Entertainment of Persons of Quality, etc., during Our residence at Hampton Court or Windsor' [PRO, LS 13/262, p. 20]. For plans of Kensington Palace, St. James's Palace and Windsor Castle showing their Green Cloth Court, see *King's Works*, V, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 188, 241 and 319. On 21 June 1736 the Board of Works 'Signed a memorial to the Treasury (& Estimate) for Converting the Stables at St. James's into Offices for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: and raise an attick story over the Greencloth for his Mafesty's Serv:ts that were removed; for making of the Communication Gallery' [PRO, WORK 4/7].

- 17 Other duties of the board included registering those employees whose 'salaries and other allowances' were 'rateable' for land tax [PRO, WORK 1/2, p. 39 v., letter dated 15 March 1740].
- 18 PRO, LS 13/262, p. 10 (George II's warrant book for 'swearing and admitting' officers to the Royal Household 1727–1758: no mention of Under Clerks). The Principal Clerks appointed on 26 July 1727 were Thomas Hales (Eldest Clerk Comptroller of our Household), Robert Bristow (Youngest Clerk Comptroller of our Household), Sir Thomas Reade (Eldest Clerk of our Green Cloth) and Thomas Wynne (Youngest Clerk of our Green Cloth). They received £500 per annum and had official lodgings at Whitehall [PRO, WORK 1/2, pp. 46 and 50, dated 8 April 1741]. See also a leaflet-guide published by PRO entitled *Records Information no. 29. Royal Warrant Holders and Household Servants*, 1987.
- 19 PRO, LS 13/262. Henry, Earl of Lincoln (26 July 1727); Horatio Walpole (2 May 1730); Thomas Winnington (25 April 1741); Samuel, Lord Sandys (1 January 1743); Edmond Waller (22 December 1744); Henry, Earl of Lincoln (1 January 1747).
- 20 For the respective appointments, see Chamberlayne, *op. cit.* (at note 15), 1709, and PRO, LC 5/71, p. 89. For notice of Edward Salter's death, see *Gent. Mag.*, II, October 1732, 1031.
- 21 Edward Salter's other executors were William Heatherston of St. James's and Robert Burton, 'oylman', of St. Martin-in-the-Fields [appendix: 3]. For Burton's will, see London, Family Records Centre, PROB 11, microfilm 654, quire 255, p. 146 (all wills cited hereafter as FRC, PROB 11, mf. 654, q. 255, etc.).
- 22 Williams was one of the 'Overseers of the Poor of the Parish of St. James, Westminster' for the year 1734–1735 [WCA, *St. James, Piccadilly, Overseers accounts*, 1734, D39, p. 13, accounts approved 2 December 1735], one of several years in which 'Salter's children' are named at the back of the ledger under 'Paid to the Orphans'. Overseers had their own clubs [B. Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses . . . of the Seventeenth Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, London, 1963, 530 and 589; J. Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London . . . from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time*, London, 1872, 165–167].
- 23 Chamberlayne, *op. cit.* (at note 15), XXX, 1729, part II, iii, 189. The last year in which he served the Yeomen of the Guard was 1745.
- 24 *Court and City Register*, 1742–1747; *London Mag.*, January 1747, 53. Williams had described himself as 'Wine Merchant' in his will dated 1 April 1740 [appendix: 1].
- 25 *Court and City Register*, 1744–1761; *Gent. Mag.*, XVIII, April 1748, 187, notice of Edward Salter's death on 9 April 1748.
- 26 Anne Salter (1716–?) married Edward Lyde on 12 December 1743 in St. Martin-in-the-Fields [WCA, *St. Martin in the Fields, parish records*; Bigland, *op. cit.* (at note 2)]. Edward Lyde was appointed 'Purveyor of Oil, Pickle etc.' in April 1742 and reappointed as 'Purveyor of Mustard and Vinegar' in September 1745; he retired on 18 March 1757 to allow his homonymous son to take up this position [PRO, LS 13/263, pp. 87 and 96 v., and LS 13/264, p. 25 v., respectively; *Court and City Register*, 1742–1758].
- 27 *Gent. Mag.*, XIX, July 1749, 333. See also note 162 below.
- 28 PRO, LS 13/264, p. 7. *Court and City Register*, 1752–1757, records that he *received £73 per annum*. The order of seniority in the Accompting/Accounting/Counting House was Serjeant, Clerk, Yeoman, Groom and Messenger.
- 29 PRO, LS 13/264, p. 24. Edward Salter was reappointed Youngest Yeoman on 20 December 1760 [LS 13/266, pp. 2 and 49].
- 30 London, Guildhall Library, MS. 12806, X, 272 and 281; *ibid.*, MS. 12857 B (D. R. Young, *Index of the Names of the Governors of Christ's Hospital. Part 2. Elected 1700–1890*, 1978). On 21 June 1740, the 'wrong' Thomas Salter was appointed one of 'His Majesty's Commissioners of the Lieutenancy for the City of London' [*Court and City Register*, 2nd. ed., 1750 (sic), 193–194]; see also [anon.], *The Corporation of London . . .*, Oxford, 1950, 19–20 and 213–216, and G. Davis, 'Notes upon the History of the City Lieutenancy', *Transactions of the Guildhall Historical Association*, II, 1957, 46–50. His brother, Sir John Salter (ob. June 1744), was Alderman of Cornhill from 1730 and Lord Mayor of London 1739–1740 [A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, II, London, 1913, 126]. Sir John's will is dated 23 June 1736 [FRC, PROB 11, mf. 735, q. 201].
- 31 The house is mentioned in Edward Salter's will (2 October 1732) as occupied by John Coward [appendix 3] and in Thomas Salter's will (22 November 1758) as occupied by Dorothy Hall [appendix 2]. Thomas

- Salter bequeathed the house to his son, Edward. For John Coward, see *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town of Lancaster*, printed by C. Clark, Lancaster 1807, 107, and J.D. Marshall (ed.), *The autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster 1665–1752*, Manchester, 1967, 130.
- 32 I am grateful to Dr. Andrew J. White, Head of Lancaster City Museums, for this information [see also Clark, *op. cit.* (at note 31), and *idem*, 2nd ed., 1811] and for the reference to Stout in note 31 above.
- 33 Thomas Salter owned shares in the London Assurance and Royal Exchange Assurance, both companies which insured ships, goods and merchandise at or going to sea [J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark . . . In Two Volumes*, 2nd. and rev'd. ed., II, London, 1755, 509; *idem*, 363–364, for London merchants trading with 'English American plantations'].
- 34 *28 Geo. II, c.54*. Thomas Salter lent £1,000 'to Samuel Cox Esq. on some Houses and Grounds adjoining to the New Square intended to be built near Dean's Yard Westminster', which sum reverted to Margaret Ann Salter, his daughter [appendix: 2]. Edward Salter, his son, attended Westminster School from June 1752 until enrolling at Christ Church, Oxford, in June 1759 [Barker and Stenning, *op. cit.* (at note 6), 815; Foster, *op. cit.* (at note 6), 1246].
- 35 For William Markham (1719–1807), headmaster 1753–1764, see Leslie Stephen and Sydney Lee (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, London, since 1917 (reprint; hereafter *DNB*), XII, 1058. For the project, see J. Field, *The King's Nurseries. The Story of Westminster School*, Westminster, 1987, 33, 47, 53 and 141; L. E. Tanner, *Westminster School. A History*, London, 1934, 29; L. E. Tanner, *Westminster School. Its Buildings and their Associations*, London, 1923, 8 ff.; J. Welch, *A List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster . . .*, London, 1788, 6–10 (annotated copy at Westminster School).
- 36 Appendix: 1; *London Mag.*, January 1747, 53.
- 37 *S. of L., op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, 468–469 and 593, note 117; Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 659–660, no. 1552.
- 38 Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 225, no. 440.
- 39 *S. of L., op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, 469–470; Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 500–504, no. 1131; see also note 57 below. Established in 1705 by John Elliott (died 1722) and continued until 1746 by his widow (called Thomasin in *Survey of London* and Mary in rate books; perhaps his wife and daughter). It was taken over in 1747 by James Rowles, coffeeman and vintner [WCA, *St. George, Hanover Square, Overseers accounts*, 30 April 1747, D53, p. 43], perhaps the James Rowles, son of John and Hannah, who was christened in St. Martin-in-the-Fields on 19 June 1715.
- 40 J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster . . . Written at first in the Year MDXCVIII. By John Stow . . . Corrected, Improved, and very much Enlarged . . . By John Strype . . . In Six Books* [2 vols.], London, 1720, II, book vi, 78. For the Strype/Stow publications, see S. Rubinstein, *Historians of London . . .*, London, 1968, 26 ff.
- 41 *S. of L., op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, 459.
- 42 The 1708–1715 rate books for this part of St. James's Street no longer exist (due to poor storage 1939–1945), so it is not possible to say exactly when Roger Williams established his coffee house. However, only John Elliot, owner of St. James's Coffee House next door, is listed in the rate book for 1707 (accounts approved 11 July 1709) and Roger Williams appears for the first time in the rate book for 1716 (accounts approved 6 January 1717) [WCA, *St. James, Piccadilly, Overseers accounts*, 1707, D23, and *ibid.*, 1716, D24].
- 43 G. Sherburn (ed.), *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Oxford, 1956, I, 288. For Pope's visits to Charles Jervas in Cleveland Court, see Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope. A Life*, New Haven and London, 1985, 226–231 and 857–858. For Will's Coffee House, to which Gay refers in the same letter, see Timbs, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 315–322; WCA, MS. notebooks by D. Foster, *Inns, Taverns, Alehouses, Coffee Houses, etc. in and around London*, circa 1900, LXXIII, 27–57; Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 655–659, no. 1548 (throughout his book, Lillywhite fails to acknowledge his debt to Foster).
- 44 *Historical Manuscripts Commission . . . His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., at Welbeck Abbey*, V, Norwich, 1899, 512–513. A Thomas Salt, 'Purveyor of the King's Household', died on 19 March 1733 [*Gent. Mag.*, III, March 1733, 157] and a homonym was 'Surveyor of Petty Customs' in 1727 [BL, MS. index]. 'Mr. Parsons' is likely to be Edward Parsons, appointed Clerk of the Woodyard, Scullery and Pastry in 1714 [P.R.O., LS 13/12, p. 21; Beattie, *op. cit.* (at note 15), 75 note 3], either the father, uncle or brother of Philip Parsons, friend and colleague of Thomas Salter (sic).

- 45 London, National Monuments Record, *Survey of London*, notes for vols. XXIX and XXX, box 33, folder for Pulteney/Nelthorpe property at 86–88 St. James’s Street (details of leases and extensions granted to Roger Williams and subsequently to Thomas Salter); *S. of L.*, *op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, 468–469 and 487, fig. 81, and *idem*, XXIX–XXX. *Pocket Drawings*, C (1839 façade). For Sir Goddard Nelthorpe (ob. 22 January 1704) and his descendants, see G.E. C[okayne] (ed.), *Complete Baronetage* . . . , IV, Exeter, 1904, 29–30.
- 46 WCA, *St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Scavengers rates*, 1700, F3786, collected on 22 April 1700. Williams is not named in the rate book ‘for the High ways 1699’ [*ibid.*, 1699, F3779]. His house is the first listed in Dover Street [*ibid.*, *Poor rate*, 1733, C155, no. 476, p. 33] and comes immediately after Portugall Row, a stretch of Piccadilly running between Berkeley House and Burlington House [Strype, *op. cit.* (at note 40), II, book vi, map between pp. 80–81, there named Portugall Street; *S. of L.*, *op. cit.* (at note 3), XXIX, 251, and *ibid.*, XXX, pls. 2–3].
- 47 Strype, *op. cit.* (at note 40), II, book vi, 78.
- 48 *Historical Manuscripts Commission XIX. Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend*, London, 1887, 346 [cited in Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 748, no. 1982].
- 49 Cited in D. Foster, *op. cit.* (at note 43), VII, 278, under ‘Black Bear, Piccadilly’.
- 50 BL, Add. MS. 4809, fol. 207 v. [*The British Library. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1756–1782. Additional Manuscripts 4101–5017*, London, 1977, 222]; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 55; Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 43), II, 298; Balderston, *op. cit.* (at note 4).
- 51 WCA, *St. Margaret, Westminster, Overseers accounts*, 1717, F447, p. 119. Edward Harley’s wife, Henrietta, inherited the house from her mother, Margaret (née Cavendish), widow of John Holles (died 1711), 1st Duke of Newcastle of second creation. The Duchess, who died on 24 December 1716, had paid rates on the same house [*ibid.*, 1716, F446].
- 52 HMC . . . *Duke of Portland*, *op. cit.* (at note 44), VI, London, 1901, 23. John Warburton (1682–1759) dealt in manuscripts and had sold an important collection to Lord Harley in July 1720 [C.E. and R.C. Wright (eds.), *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726*, Oxford, 1966, 39 and 58–61; P.L. Heyworth (ed.), *Letters of Humfrey Wanley* . . . , Oxford, 1989, 373; *DNB*, LIX, 297–299].
- 53 WCA, *St. George, Hanover Square, Poor rate*, 1733, C155, no. 476, assessed 24 March 1733. The accounts were approved 13 April 1733, by which time ‘now Brett’ had been noted beside Roger Williams’s name.
- 54 Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 660, no. 1552, cites a chimney-sweep’s advertisement in *The Daily Journal* of that date.
- 55 See note 45 above.
- 56 WCA, *St. George, Hanover Square, Overseers accounts*, year to 30 April 1747, D53, and *ibid.*, year to 20 April 1748.
- 57 By 20 April 1748 James Rowles was paying rates for both premises, i.e. he was running coffee houses at numbers 86 and 87 St. James’s Street. For the confusing history of St. James’s Coffee House, see note 39 above; Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 500–504, no. 1131 (at no. 87); *ibid.*, 681, no. 1655 (run by Rowles at no. 87 till 1766); *ibid.*, 504–506, no. 1133 (later history at no. 88, previously Gaunt’s Coffee House, for which see *ibid.*, 225–226, no. 440); Timbs, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 310–315. Colonel George Augustus Elliott (1719–1791), son of the original owners, owed Thomas Salter £1,050 in 1758, a bond which Salter bequeathed to his daughter Philippa [appendix: 2].
- 58 Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 681, no. 1655 and pp. 502–503. Thomas Salter’s will dated 22 November 1758 refers to ‘a House on the West Side St. James’s Street now inhabited by Mr. James Rowles’, one moiety of which was inherited by his daughters, Henrietta and Margaret Ann [appendix: 2]. Edward Salter (1742–1812), their brother, still owned one third of a moiety in 1809 [appendix: 5].
- 59 Lillywhite, *op. cit.* (at note 22), 532–537, nos. 1222–1223.
- 60 Roger Williams’s will is dated 1 April 1740 and it was witnessed by James Johnson and Samuel Bincks [appendix: 1]. His will was proved 15 January 1747 and a notice of his death appeared in *London Mag.*, January 1747, 53. It is not known why he disinherited his wife and son.
- 61 Appendix: 3. Edward Salter’s death on 20 October 1732 was reported in *Gent. Mag.*, II, October 1732, 1031.
- 62 The marriage and her dowry were reported in *Gent. Mag.*, VI, October 1736, 620 – ‘Mr. Salter, Student of Christ Church, Oxon. – to Miss Williams, worth 10,000 l’. £10,000 was the going rate for buying a barony in the 1740s (see note 142 below).
- 63 *Gent. Mag.*, XVIII, April 1748, 187; see also note 10 above.

- 64 The date of Edward's birth is not known, but a memorial tablet signed by Kellow of Winchester in Winchester Cathedral states that he died aged seventy on 23 May 1812 [given as 25 May 1812 in *Gent. Mag.*, LXXXII, i, June 1812, 598]. This suggests that he was born between 25 March (the first day of 1742 in the 'old style' calendar) and 23/25 May 1742. Rysbrack's inscription stating that Edward was six-years-old in 1748 is consistent with this assumption, as is his already being seventeen when he enrolled at Christ Church, Oxford, on 19 June 1759 [Barker and Stenning, *op. cit.* (at note 6), 815; Foster, *op. cit.* (at note 6), 1246]. For further biographical details of Edward Salter, see Sotheby's, London, 8 July 1998, lot 95, and John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800 ...*, New Haven and London, 1997, 403 and 773 (George Pitt of Stratfield Saye was godfather to Edward Salter's son, George Robert, who died as a baby in 1782). For Kellow, see Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1851*, rev. ed., London, 1968, 224.
- 65 Louise Lippincott, *Selling art in Georgian London. The rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven and London, 1983, 64.
- 66 G.E. C[okayne] (ed.), *Complete Baronetage ...*, III, Exeter, 1903, 173; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses; the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714 ...*, III, Oxford and London, 1892 [facsimile, Nendeln, 1968], 1241. For Rysbrack's monument (1760) to collateral descendants, erected by Mary Reade to commemorate her parents (Sir James and Love Reade), grandparents and siblings, see John Physick, *Victoria and Albert Museum. Designs for English Sculpture 1680–1860*, London, 1969, 105–107. The two branches were descended from Sir Thomas Reade (ob. 1650) [*Complete Baronetage*, II, 1902, 164–165].
- 67 PRO, LS 13/262, p. 10; see note 18 above.
- 68 Sir John Dutton (December 1683–1 February 1743) [*Complete Baronetage*, IV, 1904, 104].
- 69 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1660–1840*, 3rd edition, New Haven and London, 1995, 583–584. In 1723 Sir John Dutton had paid Vassalli for fourteen (plaster?) busts [Gunnis, *op. cit.* (at note 64), 408]. For Shireborn, see R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, London, 1768, 339; C.R. Elrington (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Gloucestershire*, VI, Oxford, 1965, 121–123, and *ibid.*, X, 1972, 209 (Dutton estate at Moreton Valence).
- 70 Charles Bridgeman, Master Gardener to the King from 18 October 1726 until his death on 19 July 1738 [Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, London, 1977, 34–5, 41, 151–55.
- 71 FRC, PROB 11, mf. 727, q. 227, pp. 316–319. In his will, Sir John Dutton calls himself 'Doctor of Physick' and he names his other estates. His first wife was Mary Cullen of Upton, Warwickshire. He then married Mary Keck of Great Tew, Oxfordshire, on 1 June 1728, who died in childbirth the following year.
- 72 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 171–172; Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain: 1530–1830*, rev. ed. by John Physick, London, 1988, 229, fig. 163.
- 73 M. Devigne, 'Notes on various works of art ... 1', *Burlington Magazine*, XXIX, February 1924, 23–24, pl. C; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 172. *Jemima Dutton* was acquired in 1895 by the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, (inv. 3304) from the dealer Léon Gauchez in Paris; it is 60 cm. high, excluding the grey marble socle. I am grateful to Dr. Helena Bussers for this information. *Jemima* was unmarried on 30 March 1742 (date of Sir John's will: see note 71 above), but Sir Thomas Reade referred to her in his will dated 21 September 1748 as 'Mrs. *Jemima Dutton*' (see note 74 below). A similar marble bust by Rysbrack, also signed and dated 1745, was sold by Sotheby's New York, 1 June 1991, lot 196 (*Jane Mary Reade née Dutton?*).
- 74 FRC, PROB 11, mf. 798, q. 286, p. 116. He died aged 69 on 25 September 1752.
- 75 *Court and City Register*, 1749, 91. The fourth Under Clerk in 1748 was John Skinner.
- 76 Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman*, New Haven and London, 1987, 92–93.
- 77 Appendix: 2. For Grosvenor Bedford (1708–1771), see Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), cat. no. 4.
- 78 *Court and City Register*, 1742–1767.
- 79 Appendix: 6.
- 80 Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), cat. nos. 4 and 19 respectively. For Hayman's self-portrait with Grosvenor Bedford, see *ibid.*, cat. no. 16.
- 81 R.H. Nichols and F.A. Wray, *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, Oxford, 1935, 49. For Hogarth's friendship with Hayman, see Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), 2–4.
- 82 Nichols and Wray, *op. cit.* (at note 81), 357.
- 83 'Vertue Note Books. III', *Walpole Society*, XXII, 1934 (hereafter Vertue III), 132; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 131–135; Benedict Nicolson, *The Treasures of the*

- Foundling Hospital*, Oxford, 1972, 17–18 and 88. ‘Over the Chimney is placed a very curious Bass-relief, carved by Mr. *Rysbrack*, and presented by him, representing Children employed in Navigation and Husbandry, being the Employment to which the Children of this Hospital are destined’ [Strype, *op. cit.* (at note 33), 1754, I, 267]. For the presentation model, see Margaret Whinney, *Victoria and Albert Museum. English Sculpture 1720–1830*, London, 1971, no. 7.
- 84 Nichols and Wray, *op. cit.* (at note 81), 251 and 359.
- 85 Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), 53–55 and 119–122, cat. no. 46.
- 86 Cox Macro (1683–2 February 1767) [Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, London and New York, 1996, XX, 33, entry by Hugh Belsey; Robert Raines, ‘An Art Collector of Many Parts’, *Country Life*, CLIX, June 24, 1976, 1692–94; *DNB*, XII, 727–728; J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century . . . IX*, London, 1915, 359]. Macro’s inventory of 1766 is BL, Add. MS. 25473, fol. 29. According to Brian Allen, the ‘Mr. Macro’ referred-to in Rysbrack’s letters of the 1750s to Sir Edward Littleton (1727–1800) is Edward Macro (died 1766), his son, rather than Cox Macro himself (as is usually assumed) [Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), cat. no. 22; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 195, 198 and 205].
- 87 Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), 51–53 and 175, no. 84; Norman Scarfe, ‘Little Haugh Hall’, *Country Life*, CXXXIII, June 5, 1958, 1238–41. Norton is about six miles east of Bury St. Edmunds and twenty miles east of Newmarket.
- 88 Peter Tillemans (Antwerp, circa 1684–Norton, 1734) [Robert Raines, ‘Peter Tillemans, Life and Work, with a List of Representative Paintings’, *Walpole Society*, XLVII, 1980, 21–59; *Dictionary of Art*, *op. cit.* (at note 86), XXX, London, 1996, 890, entry by Stephen Deuchar]. Tillemans was Steward of the Club of St. Luke in 1725 [BL, Add. MS. 39167 B], for which see main text hereafter.
- 89 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 56–57; Raines, *op. cit.* (at note 86), 1692, figs. 1–2; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, MS., 4 March 1978 letter from Robert Raines to Malcolm Cormack, curator of paintings; Raines, *op. cit.* (at note 88), 42, pl. 9a. *Tillemans* was purchased by Cyril Humphris at William Doyle Galleries, New York, on 4 February 1976 [I am grateful to Olga Raggio, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for this information] and it is now in Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, partial gift of Cyril Humphris (B1977.14.35). *Rysbrack* was purchased by Charles Van Herck (1884–1995) from the Kreglinger auction at Kasteel Den Brandt, Wilrijk-Antwerp. Acquired by Koning Boudewijnstichting in 1997, it is now on permanent loan to Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp [*Terracotta’s uit de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw. De verzameling Van Herck*, exhib. cat., *loc. cit.*, March–June 2000, 84–85 and 169 (also published in English): I am grateful to Dr. Dorine Cardyn-Oomen for this information]. My thanks also to Timothy Goodhue, Registrar at Yale Center . . . , for his assistance.
- 90 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 73.
- 91 BL, Add. MS. 32556, f. 214; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 181–182; Scarfe, *op. cit.* (at note 87), 1240. Rysbrack charged 10 guineas for his own bust, less than his usual price of 12 guineas.
- 92 BL, Add. MS. 32557, ff. 100–101, letter dated 14 November 1745 to Macro from Robert Potter (1721–1804), curate of Reymerston, Norfolk [*DNB*, XVI, 219–220]. Two of the couplets proposed by Potter were
- ‘What Death could ravish, friendly Rysbrack gives;
And Tillemans in spite of Nature lives.
Or this.
The painter dy’d: His Rysbrack drop’d a Tear;
Yet live thy Form, He said, and fix’d it here.’
- 93 Appendix: 6. Philip Parsons died on 11 February 1768 [*Gent. Mag.*, XXXVIII, February 1768, 94]. However, Thomas Salter died on 22 September 1761 (note 14 above).
- 94 His first wife, Ann, née Williams, died after 22 November 1758, and by 5 August 1761 Thomas Salter had taken as his second wife Philippa Parsons, sister of Philip Parsons, as may be ascertained from the wills of the latter three [respectively, appendix: 2, 7 and 6].
- 95 Appendix: 1.
- 96 Entry in Lord Harley’s memo book for 1714 dated 26 October, quoted in R.W. Goulding, *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to his Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G. at Welbeck Abbey, 17 Hill Street, London and Langwell House*, rev. ed. by C.K. Adams, 1936, 493; Arline Meyer, ‘Wootton at Wimpole’, *Apollo*, CXXXII, September 1985, 212. By 1721 Wootton had painted thirty-one pictures for Lord Harley [Arline Meyer, *The Landscape Paintings of John Wootton (1682–1764): Painter of the Augustan Age*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1982, 19–21 (hereafter Meyer 1982; facsimile

- in London, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art]). See also G.E. Kendall, 'Notes on the Life of John Wootton', *Walpole Society*, XXI, 1933, 23–42; Arline Meyer, *John Wootton 1682–1764. Landscape and Sporting Art in Early Georgian England*, exhib. cat., Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, Greater London Council, 4 July–30 September 1984 (hereafter Meyer 1984); Judy Egerton, *Sport in Art and Books. The Paul Mellon Collection. British Sporting and Animal Paintings 1655–1867*, London, 1978, 10–29; *Dictionary of Art*, *op. cit.* (at note 86), XXXIII, 375–377, entry by Stephen Deuchar. Wootton, 'Landscape Painter', sold his paintings at Mr. Langford's house, Great Piazza, Covent Garden, London, 12–13 March 1761. Wootton's will is dated 27 April 1761 [FRC, PROB 11, mf. 904, q. 45].
- 97 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 34.
- 98 *London Mag.*, January 1747, 53, notice of his death. Bigland, *op. cit.* (at note 2), VIII, 444, calls Williams 'Clerk of the Course at Newmarket'. For the clerk's duties, see J.P. Hore, *History of Newmarket and Annals of the Turf*, 1886, I, 248–249; *ibid.*, II, 227; *ibid.*, III, 331. Williams bequeathed his gold stop watch to Francis Pitt of Newmarket.
- 99 Ali Mohamed Hadgi, *A Brief and Merry History of Great Britain . . .*, no date, 22; quoted incompletely by W. Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1925, 311. Ali Mohamed's account was translated from the Arabic by Anthony Hilliar in or before 1730, when an edition was printed in Dublin, but the exact date of his visit is not known. *Hadji* denotes a pilgrim to Mecca.
- 100 J. Cheny, *An Historical List of All Horse-Matches Run . . .*, 1727, 142. A.D.G. Oldrey kindly transcribed the text from one of the rare copies known to him. Cheny's placing of Williams's Coffee House in St. James's Street in 1727 is inconsistent with other accounts. For Feale, see H.R. Plomer et al, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775*, Oxford, 1932, 90.
- 101 For 'Neddy' Coke (1702–1733), see *Norfolk and the Grand Tour*, exhib. cat. by A.W. Moore, Norwich Castle Museum, October–November 1985, 39; Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 64), 223. His sister married Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, another horse-breeder, and his brother Robert was Vice-Chamberlain.
- 102 J. Tilley, *The Old Halls, Manors, and Families of Derbyshire*, II, 1893, 95. Coke's stud-book for 1732–1733 was transcribed by C.M. Prior, *The Royal Studs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries . . .*, London, 1935, 137–138.
- 103 Cheny, *op. cit.* (at note 100), 1727–1733, and Prior, *op. cit.* (at note 102), 130–133. Cheny's lists were published annually from 1727 until 1750. Roger Williams is not named as a sponsor by Cheny. There is no evidence that he was related to Richard, Robert and Edward Williams of Wales who are cited frequently as sponsors by Cheny and in other racing calendars up to 1763. See also C.M. Prior, *The History of the Racing Calendar and Stud-Book*, London, 1926.
- 104 FRC, PROB 11, mf. 657, q. 92, pp. 348–349; FRC, PROB 11, mf. 661, q. 279, p. 360, original will dated 11 December 1732 [cited by Prior, *op. cit.* (at note 102), 133]. A notice of Coke's death appeared in *Gent. Mag.*, III, August 1733, 438.
- 105 Wootton's painting passed from the Godolphin line to the 4th Duke of Leeds and eventually to Lady Wentworth (née Judith Blunt) of Crabbet Park [Lady Wentworth, *Thoroughbred Racing Stock and its Ancestors . . .*, London, 1938, 217–224, pl. 130; *ibid.*, 2nd. ed., London, 1960, 183–191, pl. 13. I am grateful to Susan Morris for this reference]. The present owners acquired the picture from her godson's son. Another version was sold at Christie's, London, 18 June 1976, lot 36 [*Annual Exhibition of Sporting Paintings*, exhib. cat., Richard Green, London, 1976].
- 106 J.B. Burke, *A Visitation of the Seats and Arms of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain*, 2nd series, London, 1855, II, 137. For the Earl's stud book and the Godolphin Arabian (1724–1753), see Prior, *op. cit.* (at note 102), 127–179.
- 107 Prior, *op. cit.* (at note 102), 139 and 144. The foal was born on 7 May 1735 to Silverlocks, a mare previously owned by Edward Coke and sired by Whitefoot, one of the Earl of Godolphin's stallions.
- 108 Prior, *op. cit.* (at note 102), 144–152. Trades between the Earl of Godolphin and Sir John Dutton are first recorded in 1735. Sir John died in February 1743, but James Lenox Naper, his Irish heir, continued trading with the Earl until 1748.
- 109 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 58–61; Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), no. 1 – with earlier literature, not repeated here; Willis, *op. cit.* (at note 70), 38–39; *Manners and Morals. Hogarth and British Painting 1700–1760*, exhib. cat. by Elizabeth Einberg, Tate Gallery, London, 15 October 1987–3 January 1988, no. 65.

- 110 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 71–72.
- 111 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 56–57; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 56–61. Vertue identified sixty-seven portraits (several of the same sitter) ‘modelld from the life’ by Rysbrack, even though some were posthumous or historical. Although Vertue’s introductory paragraph gives the date as 1732, the terracotta ‘M. Rysbrake himself’ was not commissioned until December 1734 and the marble bust of ‘a Son of M^r. Bernard.’ is dated 1744 [note 134 below]; this may be why they appear at the end of the list in a concluding section entitled ‘From the life.’ Surprisingly, Vertue did not sit for Rysbrack (for bust by Siste dating from 1750, see Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 143 and 154).
- 112 BL, Add. MS. 39167 B, p. 75. George Vertue (member 1726; steward 1730) wrote many of the minutes, rules and notes relating to the ‘Virtuosi of St. Luke’ and, in most instances, he calls it a club [Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 73 and 120]. ‘Society’, introduced by Whitley, is not used here [W.T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700–1799*, London and Boston, 1928, I, 74 ff. and II, 241–244].
- 113 This was a tradition of the Club going back to 5 March 1697, when it was decided at a meeting in the Rose Tavern that each member should contribute five guineas [BL, Add. MS. 39167 B, p. 78].
- 114 Vertue recounts that Thomas Walker ‘Commis. and Receiver of the Rents of the Crown Lands . . . has many well chosen pictures. such as was recommended to him. by the Virtuosi Club called Vandyckes Club – or Clubb of St. Luke. they annually having an entertainment on that feast day’ [‘Vertue Note Books. V’, *Walpole Society*, XXVI, 1938, 43]. Thomas Walker had been Steward of the Club in 1711 and he was a frequenter of Newmarket [BL, Add. MS. 39167 B, pp. 75 v., 83 and 85 v.].
- 115 BL, Add. MS. 39167 B, pp. 81 and 75 v. . The date of Wootton’s joining the Club – 17 followed by 5 over 16 – could mean either 1715/16 ‘old style’, i.e. 1 January to 24 March 1716; May 1716; or, perhaps less likely, 16 May 1717.
- 116 BL, Add. MS. 39167 B, pp. 85 and 76.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 84 v. . Vertue had been elected a member by 1726 [*ibid.*, 84] and served as Steward in 1730 [*ibid.*, 75 v.]. For William Thomas, see Balderston, *op. cit.* (at note 4).
- 120 ‘Vertue Note Books. VI’, *Walpole Society*, XXX, 1955, 31–35 and 137. The Club of St. Luke had met at the Rose Tavern on 5 March 1698 [BL, Add. MS. 39167 B, p. 78] and in March 1714 they agreed to meet at ‘the Rose Tavern in Covent Garden’. It seems that their meetings in the Rose Tavern attracted others who would form the Rose and Crown Club (named after the location and the Virtuosi of St. Luke’s tradition of paying one crown for an annual feast).
- 121 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 14, 24 and 69; H. Wilder Foote, *John Smibert, Painter . . .*, Cambridge, 1950, 20–24; R.H. Saunders, *John Smibert Colonial America’s First Portrait Painter*, New Haven and London, 1995, 44.
- 122 Vertue VI, *op. cit.* (at note 120), 34–35. This ‘old style’ date denotes 1 January–24 March 1743.
- 123 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 79. For Thornhill’s pen and wash drawing of Dahl, Gibbs, Thornhill, Wootton and Humphrey Wanley (Harley’s librarian), see Brian Allen, ‘Thornhill at Wimpole’, *Apollo*, September 1985, 204, fig. 1.
- 124 Meyer 1982, *op. cit.* (at note 96), 37, 88 and 119–120.
- 125 J.B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland*, London, 1844, 2nd edition; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), passim; Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), cat. no. 22. Littleton’s homonymous uncle (died 6 January 1742) had married Mary Hoare, aunt of Henry Hoare (1705–1785). Mary was the sister of Henry Hoare (1677–1725) and they were the progeny of Sir Henry Hoare (1648–1718).
- 126 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 122. For the terracotta model of 1744, see Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), no. 72.
- 127 M. Liversidge, ‘Rysbrack’s Reputation and Critical Fortunes’ in Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 46–47.
- 128 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 115–116.
- 129 André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, 1754, 63. Rouquet’s original text, dated 1754, was in French. A facsimile of the contemporary English translation, with an introduction by R.W. Lightbown, was published in 1970.
- 130 Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman. Being a Compendious view of All the Trades, Professions, Arts . . .*, London, 1747 [facsimile, 1969], 140.
- 131 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 145–146.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 121, dated February/March 1744.
- 133 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 109–110 and 121–122; Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), nos. 57, 58 and 72.
- 134 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 57. The bust was

- acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New (1976.330; 43.5 cm. high: purchase, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, The Moses Lazarus Collection, gift of the Misses Sarah and Josephine Lazarus, bequest of Kate Read Blacque in memory of her husband, Valentine Alexander Blacque, bequest of Mary Clark Thompson and bequest of Barbara S. Adler, by exchange, 1976) [*Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 32–33].
- 135 Respectively Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), 92–93, cat. no. 12, col. pl. II (p. 8), and pp. 29–30 and 171, fig. 10.
- 136 Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, II, Newark (NJ), 1991, 178–179; Einberg, *op. cit.* (at note 109), 141, no. 120.
- 137 *Rococo Art and Design in Hogarth's England*, exhib. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum, London, May–September 1984, 226–227, N14.
- 138 London, UCL Painting Analysis Ltd., January 1998, report X115. Before 1998, *Edward Salter* was covered with later layers of paint. Between August 1989 and December 1990, John Larson (then V&A, London) removed a top layer of chocolate-brown paint (Sotheby's, London, neg. nos. X4316–4320) [John Larson, 'Techniques de la Sculpture en Terre Cuite au XVIIIe Siècle', *Louvre Conférences et Colloques. Clodion et la Sculpture Française de la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle. Actes du Colloque Organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service Culturel les 20 et 21 Mars 1992*, 1993, 494, fig. 3]. A layer of 'Adam' greyish-blue overpaint was exposed and *Edward Salter* was exhibited in this state at V&A (British Primary Gallery) December 1990–November 1997 (V&A, neg. nos. JA803–806). Carol Galvin, Charwelton (Northants.), revealed the original creamy painted surface applied by Rysbrack in March–April 1998 (condition report, January 1998; photographed in 1998, prior to retouching, by Stephen White, Stoke Bruene, Northants.).
- 139 For Rysbrack's use of stone colours to paint terracottas at Stourhead and elsewhere, see M. Greenacre, 'A Technical Examination of Terracottas by Michael Rysbrack' in Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 56; *op. cit.*, nos. 81–83; John Larson, 'The Treatment and Examination of Painted Surfaces on Eighteenth-Century Terracotta Sculptures', *Cleaning, Retouching and Coatings. Technology and Practice for Easel Paintings and Polychrome Sculpture. Preprints of the Contributions to the Brussels Congress, 3–7 September 1990*, ed. by J. S. Mills and P. Smith, International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1990, 29–30, figs. 6–7 (*Archdeacon John Palmer* [Christie's, London, 6 December 1988, lot 128]). For the disturbing effect of 'glossy' finishes, see Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 197 and 200, letters dated 5 July 1757 and 6 May 1758. For pigments, see R.D. Harley, *Artists Pigments c.1600–1835. A Study in English Documentary Sources. Second Edition*, 1982; also Campbell, *op. cit.* (at note 130), 105 – 'Mr. Kateing, at the *White-Hart* in Long-Acre. This Gentleman deals in all Colours for the House Painter; but his chief Business consists in furnishing the Liberal Painters with their fine Colours'.
- 140 Balderston, *op. cit.* (at note 4).
- 141 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 43, 52–53 and 217, fig. 35; illustrated opposite p. 332 in A.S. Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners. Volume One: 1539–1755*, London, 1938.
- 142 William des Bouverie (26 February 1725–28 January 1776), 2nd Viscount Folkestone (1761), Earl of Radnor and Baron Pleydell Bouverie of Coleshill (1765). His father, Jacob des Bouverie (1694–1761; 'des' dropped after 22 April 1737), acquired the title Baron Bouverie for £10,000 on 21 November 1736 [G.E. C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage* . . . , rev. ed. by Vicary Gibbs et al, V, 1926, 542, note g], becoming Viscount Folkestone and Baron Longford on 29 June 1747. The date on which Lord Bouverie paid Rysbrack £266 15s. for 'a chimneypiece and Billy's bust' is unknown [*British Portraits*, exhib. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1956–1957, I, 182–183, no. 592, and *idem*, II, pl. 18]. An entry in the Baron's account book for December 1739 records that he paid Rysbrack £200; the entry was annotated after 29 June 1747 to read 'The three busts of Jacob, Viscount Folkestone, his eldest son as a boy and Hitch Young are by Rysbrack' [Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 148 and 177].
- 143 Thomas, 3rd Earl of Coventry of second creation (7 April 1702–28 January 1712), died in his tenth year [*Complete Peerage*, *op. cit.* (at note 142), III, 472]. L. Cust, 'A Terra-Cotta Bust of Thomas Earl of Coventry by John Michael Rysbrack', *Burlington Magazine*, XIII, September 1908, 362; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 173; Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), no. 61, illus. .
- 144 Meyer 1984, *op. cit.* (at note 96), no page nos.; *Dictionary of Art*, *op. cit.* (at note 96). Lady Ann Somerset (1673–1763), daughter of 1st Duke of Beaufort, had married Thomas, 2nd Earl of Coventry, on 4 May 1691. After his death in 1710, she resided at

- Badminton with the Dukes of Beaufort, her nephew and great-nephews, all of whom she outlived [*Complete Peerage*, *op. cit.* (at note 142), II, 51–55] – Henry (1684–1714), 2nd Duke; his son Henry, 3rd Duke (1707–1745); Charles Noel (1709–1756), 4th Duke, the latter’s younger brother. For Rysbrack’s busts of and monuments to these Dukes, see Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 120 and nos. 62–71. In 1749 Wootton painted a portrait of Lord Henry Somerset (16 October 1744–1803), son of 4th Duke of Beaufort [*British Portraits*, *op. cit.* (at note 142), I, 69, no. 184].
- 145 Letter from Wootton to Anne, Countess of Coventry, 19 March 1719 [Meyer 1982, *op. cit.* (at note 96), 240–241].
- 146 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 194–202 (referred to in main text hereafter by date).
- 147 Letter dated 4 March 1735 from Rysbrack to Macro [BL, Add. MS. 32556, f. 214; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 181–182].
- 148 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 195, 197 and 200–201. Rysbrack wanted between 25 and 30 guineas for each of his three terracotta busts ‘by’ Bernini and Algardi [*op. cit.*, 199], two of which he had bought for much less at Jonathan Richardson’s posthumous sale held by Mr. Cock, Covent Garden, London, on 22 January 1747 – ‘a model of Pope Innocent X. head, by Bernini’ (lot 63, £4 14s 6d) and ‘a model of an Ecclesiastick’s head, by Algardi’ (lot 64, 7 guineas).
- 149 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 116. For other payments to Rysbrack for marble busts, see Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 103 and 156.
- 150 *Rococo*, *op. cit.* (at note 137), 39, B12.
- 151 *King’s Works*, V, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 242–243 and pl. 30.
- 152 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 95; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 154–156, figs. 74 and 76; F. Scholten, *Rijksmuseum. Portrait sculptures*, Amsterdam 1995, no. 35; see also note 3 above. The King had sat for Rysbrack at Kensington Palace between April and September 1738, while the image of the Queen was a flattering posthumous portrait [Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 83), 84].
- 153 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 82; M. Webster, *Hogarth*, 1979, 84.
- 154 *Rococo*, *op. cit.* (at note 137), 37, B7.
- 155 Eustace, *op. cit.* (at note 3), cat. no. 24a.
- 156 Webster, *op. cit.* (at note 153), 100. For Benjamin Hoadly (1706–1757), physician and playwright, see Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), cat. no. 39, pp. 77 (note 60) and 172 (no. 28); *ibid.*, cat. no. 17, for his brother John (1711–1776), churchman, poet and dramatist.
- 157 *Rococo*, *op. cit.* (at note 137), 207, M24.
- 158 *Rococo*, *op. cit.* (at note 137), 59, D21; Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, London, 1993, 120, no. 146; E.G. D’Oench, *The Conversation Piece: Arthur Devis and his Contemporaries*, New Haven and London, 1980, no. 19.
- 159 *Rococo*, *op. cit.* (at note 137), 199, M2; Allen, *op. cit.* (at note 76), cat. no. 89.
- 160 For Francis Godolphin (1678–1766), 2nd Earl of Godolphin (1712), see *Complete Peerage*, *op. cit.* (at note 142), V, 748–749 (*ibid.*, VIII, 497–498, for his wife) and *DNB*, VIII, 39–40. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (Henrietta’s mother), commissioned from Rysbrack busts of Sidney, 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645–1712), and of John, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722) [Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 96, 216 and 220].
- 161 *S. of L.*, *op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, pl. 5; Ralph Hyde, *The A to Z of Georgian London*, London Topographical Society, CXXVI, 1982, pl. 10. Godolphin House was demolished in 1825 and the site is now occupied by Lancaster House.
- 162 Charles Spencer (1706–1758) was the son of Charles Spencer (1674–1722), 3rd Earl of Sunderland, and of his second wife, Lady Anne Churchill, second daughter of 1st Duke of Marlborough. On the death of his brother Robert on 15 September 1729, Charles Spencer became 5th Earl of Sunderland. He married Elizabeth Trevor in 1732 and they lived at Althorp (and on Piccadilly in London), only moving to Blenheim after the death of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, in October 1744. See *Complete Peerage*, *op. cit.* (at note 142), VIII, 499–500 and *DNB*, XVIII, 757–760.
- 163 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 220; Gunnis, *op. cit.* (at note 64), 336. It is assumed here that the date of 1750, given by Gunnis, is correct.
- 164 Rysbrack’s 3rd *Earl of Sunderland* is dated 1722 [Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 50–51].
- 165 Meyer 1982, *op. cit.* (at note 96), 110–111. I am grateful to Paul Duffie, chief administrator at Blenheim Palace, for identifying the subjects. The 3rd Duke of Marlborough had been patronising Wootton since the 1730s [Meyer 1984, *op. cit.* (at note 96), 40–41, cat. no. 12].
- 166 WCA, *St. James, Piccadilly, Overseers accounts*, 1748, D54, p. 42. For adjoining houses and neighbours, see *S. of L.*, *op. cit.* (at note 3), XXX, 488–489, fig. 81.

- 167 *Gent. Mag.*, XXIII, May 1753, 248; *op. cit.*, August 1753, 393.
- 168 For William Pulteney (1684–1764), created Earl of Bath in 1742, and his brother Henry, see J.B. Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant... Peerages of the British Empire*, London, 1883 [reprinted Baltimore, 1978], 446, and *DNB*, XVI, 471 and 477; for Daniel Pulteney (ob. 1731), see also *DNB*, XVI, 467–468. Rysbrack's monument to Daniel Pulteney in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey was designed by Giacomo Leoni and is documented in 1733 [Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 131, 153 and 223].
- 169 See notes 11 and 45 above.
- 170 Baron Ernest Hattorf of Hanover was there in 1736 [*King's Works*, V, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 239].