



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Gordon Balderston, 'Rysbrack's busts of James Gibbs and Alexander Pope from Henrietta Street', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. XI, 2001, pp. 1–28

RYSBRACK'S BUSTS OF JAMES GIBBS AND ALEXANDER POPE FROM HENRIETTA STREET

GORDON BALDERSTON

In 1953 Rupert Gunnis published the fact that a marble bust of James Gibbs (1682–1754) by Michael Rysbrack (1694–1770) had been sold at Christie's in 1783¹. When idle curiosity prompted the present writer to look at the original auctioneer's book, he discovered that Rysbrack's marble bust of Alexander Pope (1688–1744) had been written in by hand as the following lot and that both busts belonged to Sir George Chalmers, an impecunious painter. Since Chalmers was the brother-in-law of the heir to Gibbs's home (Cosmo Alexander, a Scottish painter), it can now be established that Gibbs kept marble busts of himself and of Alexander Pope in his home at 5 Henrietta Street. This newly-discovered provenance and Pope's own words that his portrait had been made 'at the request of Mr. Gibbs the Architect' – hitherto much doubted – prove that Gibbs himself commissioned both busts from Rysbrack in the 1720s: proof that has been lacking hitherto. Gibbs emerges as one of Rysbrack's earliest and most devoted patrons.

The two busts are now housed in museums in London, more-or-less equidistant from their original home in Henrietta Street. *Alexander Pope* (Fig. 1) was purchased by the National Portrait Gallery in 1986 from the Athenæum Club and *James Gibbs* (Fig. 2) was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1988 from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. At the time, separate physical locations seemed appropriate for these busts, dated several years apart (Figs. 3 and 4) and long published as separate entities in Rysbrack's *œuvre*². Previously there was no evidence to connect them, and it has usually been assumed that *Pope* was made for the 2nd Earl of Oxford's library at Wimpole.

The purpose of this article is to present, for the first time, a coherent account of their common history up to 1783 and of their respective provenances thereafter.

Even though much of their story is well-documented, there are no first-hand accounts to explain what motivated Gibbs to commission a portrait of himself and another of Alexander Pope some years later – other than an intrinsic interest in portraiture. This is evident from a letter written by Adrian Drift, Matthew Prior's secretary and amanuensis³, to Edward, Lord Harley, on 14 December 1721 (two months after Prior's death). Drift relates that Gibbs had commissioned a (lead?) version of Antoine Coysevox's marble bust of Prior⁴ from Richard Dickenson of Hyde Park Corner⁵:

I also saw, My Lord, at Dickenson's a fine Copy of the Buste of M^r Prior, bespoke by M^r Gibbs, and done after his own Fancy, the head is the same, but the other part is less, and in lieu of the Cap, M^r Dickenson has put short hair a la romaine, which has this Effect as to show a greater likeness of M^r Prior's face, and is more in the manner of the Ancient Busto's⁶.

Gibbs was concerned to create a better likeness of the man he knew⁷ and to focus more attention on the sitter than on his attire⁸.

Rysbrack was introduced to Gibbs soon after October 1720⁹, and, although very little is known about their early collaboration, Gibbs clearly benefited from involving Rysbrack in his professional projects¹⁰. But he also commissioned works from Rysbrack on his own account and, despite Vertue's harsh assessment of their working relationship in 1723¹¹, Gibbs was one of Rysbrack's earliest and most devoted patrons. The early years of the 1720s saw Gibbs flourishing as an



Fig. 1. Michael Rysbrack, *Alexander Pope*, 1730, marble, *National Portrait Gallery, London*.
Christie's Images.



Fig. 2. Michael Rysbrack, *James Gibbs*, 1726, marble.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 3. Michael Rysbrack, *James Gibbs*, signature and date on back.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 4. Michael Rysbrack, *Alexander Pope*, monogram and date on back.
National Portrait Gallery, London.

architect and, as Friedman puts it, 'encouraged by this new prosperity and independence, he sat for at least three portraits by Rysbrack between 1723 and 1726'¹². Only two of these are known to exist today. Both are marble busts dated 1726. One, the main subject of this article, depicts Gibbs wearing a wig and his own clothes (even the stitching is reproduced);

the back is signed and dated IAC: GIBBS Arch: | M:¹ Ryfbrack fculp: | 1726. (Fig. 3). This is the bust that Gibbs left to Cosmo Alexander, the heir to his home, in 1754. The other is a strikingly different image of a successful man in his forties. It presents Gibbs with a bald head and with drapery wrapped around his shoulders, in the manner of ancient busts of Scipio

Africanus; the smooth, undulating surface of its reverse has a two-line inscription by Rysbrack reading IAC: GIBBS Arch: 1726 | M:¹ Ryfbrack 1726. This strong and lifelike portrait had been placed in the Radcliffe Camera, Oxford, by 9 May 1754, when it is mentioned in Gibbs's will as already *in situ* – 'they [Gibbs's books] may be placed next to my Bufto'¹³; it must have been built into its circular niche above a doorway at gallery level after the building's completion in 1747, given that the socle and inscribed plinth are cut into the moulded frame of the oculus¹⁴.

Both marble busts derive from a clay model of Gibbs bald-headed (Figs. 5 and 6), which George Vertue described in 1723 as 'extreamly like him' – it also served as the model for a marble bas-relief of Gibbs wearing a wig:

M^r. Jacomu or. James. Gibbs Architect born at Aberdeen. a^{no}. 1683. his head a Moddeld by M^r. Rysbrack extreamly like him a bald head. cutt in Marble from that another basso relievo. with a wigg on¹⁵.

Later on in 1723, in an otherwise undated passage, Vertue again compliments Rysbrack on the likeness of his clay portrait of Gibbs bald-headed:

amongst the Ingenious Artists now living I much admire M^r Rysbrack Statuary of Antwerp whose moddels in Clay are admirable. besides those done for Monuments. he has made from the life the portraits of several persons extreamly like. that of the Lord Notingham. S^r. T. Hewett. Surveyor. M^r Gibbs Architect. he who from the time of his first coming to England almost has much imployd him but always done it for his own advantage not for Encouragement. that the poor Man has oppend his mind to me & told me of his extravagant exactions on his labour that he coud not possibly live had not other busines come in to help him of more proffit. an instance of this is now in the Monument of M^r Prior which he is now about¹⁶.

However, Vertue's first specific reference to a marble version – it is not clear which one – dates from 1732, when he drew up a list of portraits done by Rysbrack since 'he first came to England' (in October 1720):

1732. . . . he was first employed by the late Ld Nottingham to model his picture from the life. which he did to a great degree of likeness. & in an excellent stile – From that time to this he had Modelld from the life many Nobleman Ladies & Learned men & others. a list of them as folows. I had from himself – and I have seen the Models when done.

Earl of Nottingham —	in Marble after it
M ^r . I. Gibbs arch. ^t	in Marble
a profil. di ^{to} . —————	— di ^{to} 17.

The date of 1726 on both marble busts of James Gibbs coincides with a visit to Rysbrack's house which Gibbs planned with Alexander Pope one Thursday evening in 1725 or 1726. Gibbs wrote to Pope to arrange meeting at Williams's Coffee House beforehand:

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.¹⁸

The letter is not dated, but it can be deduced from external evidence that it was written between May 1725¹⁹ and May 1726²⁰. Gibbs's words 'but I will waite on you att Williames coffie house' imply that he would accompany Pope to Rysbrack's house, and, although the specific purpose of their visit is not known²¹, it is tempting to suppose that, with the carving of his two marble portrait busts nearing completion (both are dated 1726), Gibbs had already thought of commissioning a bust of Pope from Rysbrack. An interval of several years between a clay model and a marble was not unusual, as in the case of *James Gibbs*.

Gibbs paid Rysbrack £10 on 13 November 1725 and £21 on 17 March 1726²². Although these amounts tally with Rysbrack's charges for making a clay bust and a marble version of it²³, there is no evidence other than the coincidence of dates to prove that these particular payments were for the clay model of *Alexander Pope* nor for work on the marble busts of James Gibbs. Nor, indeed, can it be assumed that the



Fig. 5. Michael Rysbrack, *James Gibbs 'a bald head'*, 1726, marble, Radcliffe Camera, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Photograph: Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.



Fig. 6. Michael Rysbrack, *James Gibbs 'with a wig on'*, 1726, marble.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 7. Michael Rysbrack, *Alexander Pope*, 1730, *National Portrait Gallery, London*. *Christie's Images*.

four instalments of £20 which Gibbs had paid Rysbrack in 1723 were connected with portraits of Gibbs²⁴, particularly as Gibbs occasionally paid Rysbrack on behalf of a third party²⁵.

Rysbrack's marble bust of Alexander Pope appears in Vertue's 1732 list of portraits by Rysbrack, seven lines down from the bust of Gibbs, as 'M^r. Alex Pope — a Marble'²⁶. Rather surprisingly, Vertue does not give any other account of the bust, even though it had attracted considerable attention in March 1729. The best evidence of its genesis is found in the writings of Pope himself and in the attacks on Pope published in newspapers at that time, as Wimsatt discovered²⁷. These primary sources reveal that Gibbs commissioned the portrait of Pope and that either the clay model for the intended marble or the marble itself was far enough advanced by Saturday,

29 March 1729 for *The Weekly Journal: or The British Gazetteer*, issued in London, to print on its front page a gibbing rhyme by Jonathan Smedley:

To Mr. REISBRANK on his Carving A. POPE's *Busto*.

Reisbrank, no longer let thy Art be shown
In forming Monsters from the *Parian* Stone;
Chuse for this Work a Stump of crooked Thorn,
Or Logg of Poyson-Tree, from *India* born,
There carve a *Pert*, but yet a *Rueful Face*,
Half Man, half Monkey, own'd by neither Race;
Be his Crown pick'd, to one Side reclin'd,
Be to his Neck his Buttocks closely join'd,
With Breast protuberant, and Belly thin,
Bones all distorted, shrivell'd be his Skin.

This his mishapen Form — But say, what Art
Can shape the monstrous Image of his Heart,
Compos'd of *Malice, Envy, Discontent*,
Like his Limbs *crooked*, like them *impotent* ?
But, *Reisbrank*, since by thee this can't be done,
Nor will these Passions live in Wood or Stone,
Thine be the Task to carve his *Carhass soul*,
The DUNCIAD only can describe his SOUL.²⁸

Four weeks later, on Friday, 25 April 1729, *Brice's Weekly Journal* published another attack on Pope:

No Creature thinks there's ought amiss
In his dear amiable Phiz.
The Owl, the Monkey, and the Ass
With Pleasure Eye the Looking-Glass.
P—e too with Visage still more foul
Must needs, forsooth, bespeak his Bust;
The Sculptor to the figure just!
When Sawney saw the hideous Sight
He cry'd, Thou Dog! Thou'st done't in spite;
Let O-x-n or Th-d buy't.²⁹

These verses make it clear that loathing of Pope the man and offence given by *The Dunciad* inspired them³⁰. Rysbrack's bust itself was an incidental, if potent, weapon of abuse. There is little in the finished bust (Fig. 7) to suggest 'his mishapen Form' or 'the hideous Sight' to which the lampooners allude³¹. Trading insults had been part of Pope's life for many years and he stored some of them in his own literary arsenal. A pertinent example is the description of Pope's deformity in John Dennis's

A true character of Mr. Pope and his writings of 1716, which Pope quotes thirteen years later in the 1729 editions of *The Dunciad*:

the mark of God and Nature upon him, to give us warning that we should hold no society with him, as a creature not of our original, nor of our species ... 'Tis certain his original is not from *Adam*, but from the Devil.³²

And it is probably in this context that 'the Busto's a damned head' should be understood in a quatrain which Pope sent to 'The Earl of Oxford in Doverstreet London' on 2 April 1729, a brisk retort to the lampoon published in *The Weekly Journal* on 29 March 1729³³.

Later that year, Pope states unequivocally that Rysbrack carved his bust in marble 'at the request of Mr. Gibbs the Architect' in an amplified second edition of *The Dunciad* issued in London on 24 November 1729 by Lawton Gilliver³⁴. The relevant passage is found in the *remarks* appended to line 134 in book two, together with a quatrain which either inspired or echoes the quatrain sent on 2 April 1729:

The good *Scriblerus* here, as on all occasions, eminently shows his Humanity. But it was far otherwise with the Gentlemen of the *Dunciad*, whose scurrilities were always Personal: They went so far as to libel an eminent Sculptor for making our author's *Busto* in marble, at the request of Mr. Gibbs the Architect; which Rhimes had the undeserv'd honour to be answer'd in an *Impromptu* by the Earl of B - .
Well Sir, suppose, the Busto's a damn'd head,
Suppose, that Pope's an Elf;
All he can say for't is, he neither made
The Busto nor Himself.³⁵

And by another Person of Quality,

Rysbrake, to make a Pope of stone,
Must labour hard and sore;
But it would cost him labour none,
To make a Stone of Moor.³⁶

Rysbrack had done enough work on *Alexander Pope* by 29 March 1729 to attract the attention of Pope's enemies. This may have been no more than the clay model which he would use to carve the marble version; but it is clear from Pope's own account, published in November 1729, that work on the marble was either well underway or already finished, even though the bust is dated 1730. The present writer is unable to explain why *Alexander Pope* is dated 1730 when the available evidence seems to suggest that the bust was finished late in 1729. Could 1730 signify the date of delivery to Gibbs (he first paid rates for living in Henrietta Street in 1730) rather than its year of completion?

Rysbrack's marble busts of James Gibbs and Alexander Pope were both in Gibbs's home in Henrietta Street when he died in August 1754. The house was on the north-eastern corner with Wimpole Street (Fig. 8); later numbered 5 Henrietta Street, it was demolished in the mid-nineteenth century³⁷ and The Royal Society of Medicine at 1 Wimpole Street now occupies the site. The lease between Gibbs and the Earl and Countess of Oxford is dated 23 April 1731 and Gibbs had to finish the house at his own expense by 25 March 1732; he seems to have moved in a few months later³⁸. This is the house in which Gibbs kept the busts for the last twenty-two years of his life.

Before moving into 5 Henrietta Street, Gibbs had several other homes and these are the addresses at which he is most likely to have kept *James Gibbs* (1726) and, latterly, *Alexander Pope* (1730). Between June 1720 and June 1726 Gibbs lived on the north side of Gerrard Street (later no. 18) in Soho³⁹ and it was from there that he addressed his letter to Pope about meeting at Williams's Coffee House before going on to visit Rysbrack. Gibbs paid rates for a house in Chapel Street in November 1726⁴⁰, living on the opposite side of the Oxford Chapel from Rysbrack (who had been in Vere Street since 1725⁴¹). By 26 October 1727 Gibbs had moved to Cavendish Square, paying rates on that date and still on

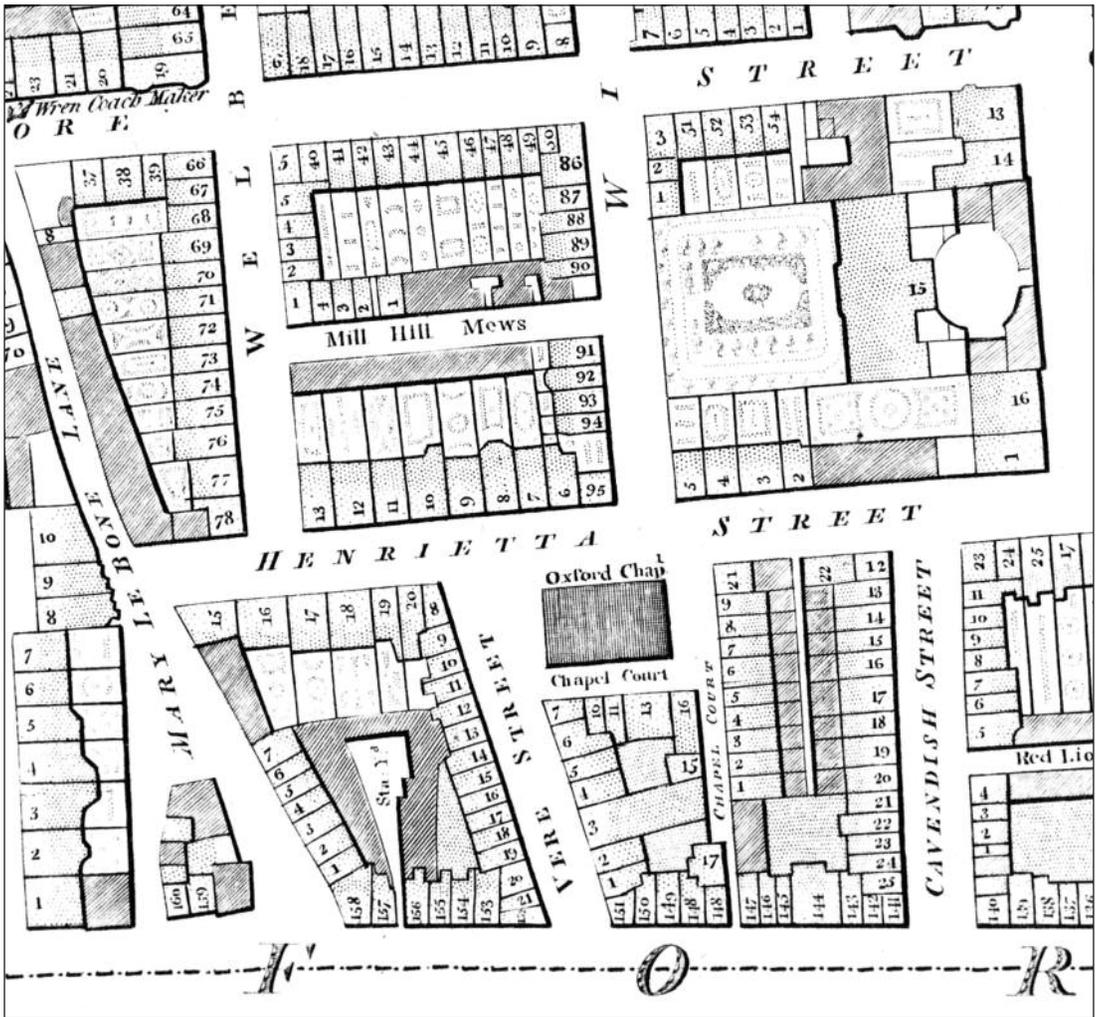


Fig. 8. Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts adjoining shewing every House*, sheet B2 (detail), published 22 June 1792. *The British Library, London (Maps, 183.e.1).*

31 August 1728⁴². Unfortunately, the loss of St. Marylebone rate books for 1729 makes it impossible to establish exactly when Gibbs moved out of Cavendish Square. But it was certainly before 6 May 1730 when he is first known to have paid rates for living in ‘Heneratia Street’⁴³ (probably not 5 Henrietta Street, as discussed below).

To this list of houses maintained by Gibbs in the 1720s must be added ‘the Author’s House in *Henrietta-Street Marybone*’ which Gibbs advertised, in a proposal dated 15 March 1727, as a place where proofs of *A Book of Architecture* could be seen⁴⁴. Even if this was just his business premises (as seems likely), it introduces another location at which Gibbs

could have kept the busts. And later that year, Gibbs signed head-leases dated 31 August, 1 and 2 September 1727 for three houses in a row on the north side of Henrietta Street⁴⁵; later numbered 9–11, they were demolished in 1956. Each was described as 'a double brick Mefse or Tenem^t now built or in building & Coach house & Stables [behind]' and all three had to be completed at Gibbs's own expense by 24 June 1728⁴⁶. Although one of these houses could, if already built ('now built'), be the same as 'the Author's House' advertised in March 1727, there is still insufficient evidence to identify the particular house in Henrietta Street on which Gibbs paid rates on 6 May 1730 (the first date on which the street is listed in rate books). In any event, 1730 is also the date inscribed on Rysbrack's bust of Pope and, coincidence or not, the finished portrait was ready for delivery at the same time as Gibbs was taking up permanent residence in Henrietta Street.

James Gibbs died on Monday, 5 August 1754 and a notice of his death appeared in *The Daily Advertiser* on 9 August⁴⁷. *The Scots Magazine* reported in 1760 that 'as he was a bachelor, and had but few relations, and was unknown even to these, he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, amounting to about 14 or 15,000 l. Sterling, to those he esteemed his friends'⁴⁸. Seven houses comprised the bulk of Gibbs's estate and he divided them between four of his friends. Cosmo Alexander inherited Gibbs's home at 5 Henrietta Street and he first paid rates for living there on 8 November 1754⁴⁹. Since the bequest included the contents, *James Gibbs and Alexander Pope* also passed into his possession:

my leasehold estate in houses being six in the parish of Saint Mary le Bon and one in Argyll ground in the parish of Saint James's Westminster ...

Item I give and bequeath to M^r. Cosmo Alexander painter my house I live in with all its furniture as it stands with pictures bustoes etc with its original lease and insurance from fire he paying the ground rent and King's Taxes.⁵⁰

Cosmo Alexander (1724–1772)⁵¹ was a Scottish painter with Jacobite sympathies (Fig. 9). He had sought refuge abroad after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, living in Rome from Easter 1747 until June 1751⁵². He had settled in London by 1752; in March 1756 he sold off some or all of the paintings he had inherited from Gibbs⁵³; and he emigrated to America in 1766. His sister, Isabella, married Sir George Chalmers (circa 1729–1791)⁵⁴, another Scottish painter, in Edinburgh on 4 June 1768⁵⁵. Cosmo Alexander had known Chalmers since the 1740s and Chalmers's own sojourn in Rome coincided with the last eighteen months of Alexander's stay there: on 16 February 1750, writing from Edinburgh, Isabella Lumisden sent her compliments to both of them in a letter to her brother in Rome⁵⁶.

Sir George Chalmers inherited Rysbrack's busts of Gibbs and Pope from Cosmo Alexander. On 7 November 1774 Chalmers in Edinburgh wrote to Sir William Chambers (1723–1796)⁵⁷ in London about 'a large Collection of Pictures that belonged to my Brother in Law M^r. Cosmus Alexander which I want to dispose of'⁵⁸. Addressing Chambers as 'Dear Cuz' and as 'a friend and one whom I know to be judge in these matters having confidence in your friendship', Chalmers described how difficult it was for him to make a living – 'the real want of money in this Country prevents business (in my way) from going on as otherwise it would'.

Their friendship was probably of long standing, perhaps cemented during their respective stays in Rome in the early 1750s⁵⁹. It is also possible that they were related or that they believed themselves to be. An early biography of Chambers states that he was descended from Chalmers, Barons of Tartas in France⁶⁰. Whatever the particular circumstances of their relationship, the impecunious Sir George and Lady Chalmers relied upon the advice of Sir William Chambers whenever they needed to raise money by selling their inheritance. And, by the end of 1782, they had decided to sell the busts of Gibbs and Pope. Chalmers was then working in Portsmouth (where his cousin lived⁶¹) and his wife had moved from Hull

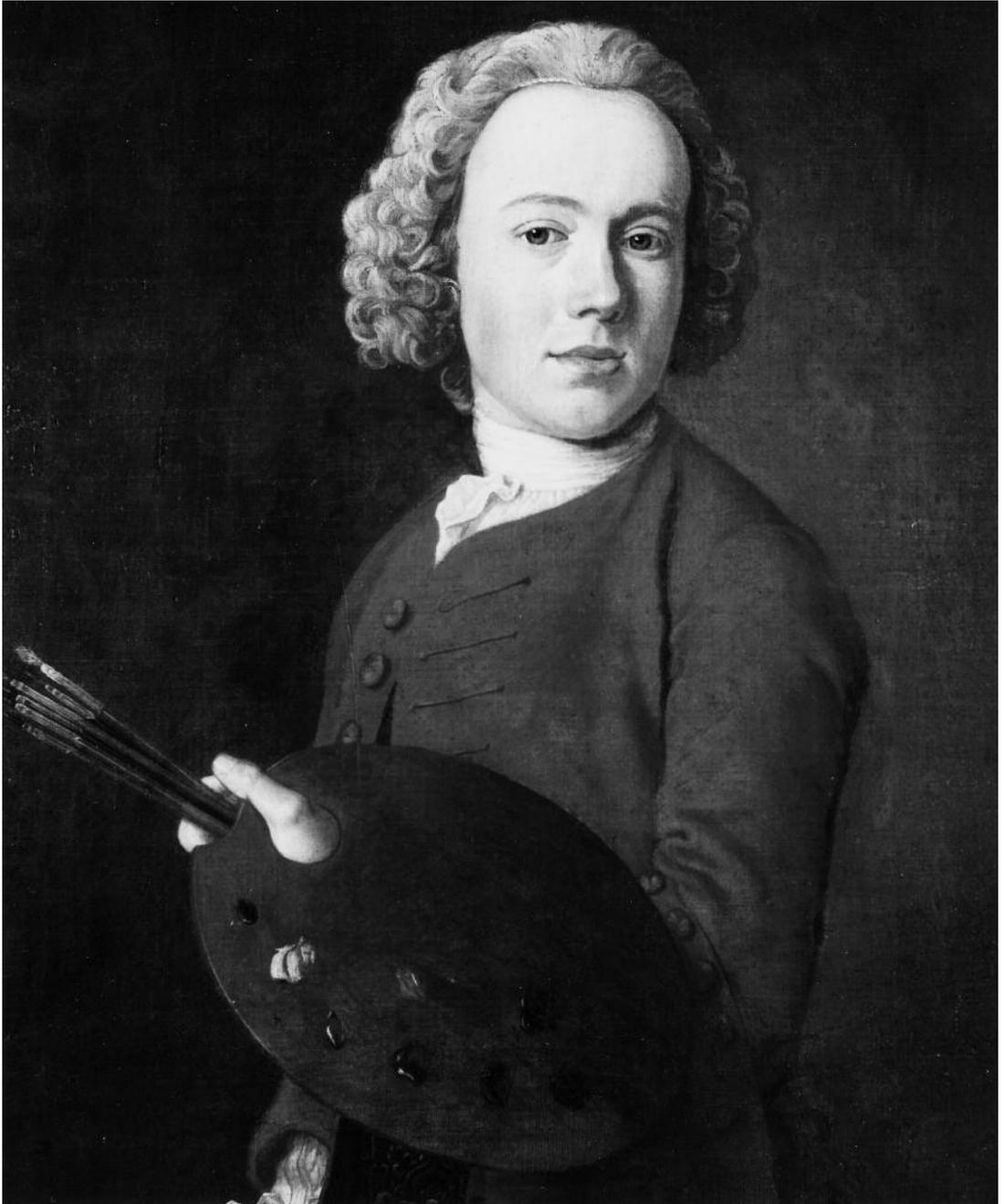


Fig. 9. Cosmo Alexander, *Self-portrait*, oil on canvas.
Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums.

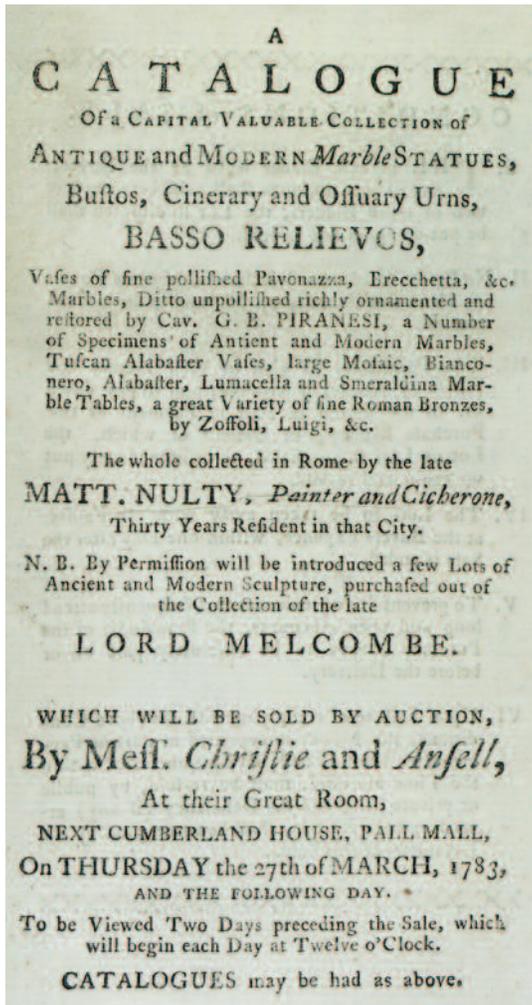


Fig. 10. Messrs. Christie and Ansell, 27–28 March 1783, title page of catalogue. *Christie's Images*.

to York – they were living apart in order to support themselves. On 5 January 1783 Lady Chalmers wrote to Chambers:

Dear Sir

I mentioned in my last that Sir George approved of your advice in sending the Busts & Bass-reliefs to Christie & Ansell, to be disposed of; accordingly they have been sent up to their care and Sir Geo: & self will be extremely obliged if you will take the trouble to see them, which we think will be an advantage to their sale on different accounts – as you may know some Noble men of your acquaintance who might make such a purchase, and at any rate your appearing as being interested in their sale will make the Mess^{rs}. Chri. & Ansell more attentive in disposing of them to advantage – ⁶².

Accordingly, on 28 March 1783, ‘A fine bust of Jac. Gibbs by Ryfbrack’ and ‘A D^o of M^r Pope’, the property of Sir George Chalmers, appeared as lots 88 and 89 in an auction held by Messrs. Christie and Ansell in London⁶³. His four reliefs were lots 90–93 (described as portraits in ‘Alto Relievo’), but they were sold as a single lot to Sir William Chambers for five guineas. Chambers himself owned lot 94, four busts of Caesars also said to be by Rysbrack⁶⁴. Six weeks later, Lady Chalmers had not heard the results of the sale and she wrote to Chambers on 11 May 1783 asking what had happened to their lots⁶⁵.

The catalogue has caused considerable confusion. The title page (Fig. 10) led to the incorrect assumption that most of the sculpture had been collected by Matthew Nulty in Rome⁶⁶ and that the few other lots had been bought from Lord Melcombe⁶⁷. Although Rupert Gunnis knew that *Gibbs* was lot 88 (he identified the vendor as Nulty), he did not realise that *Alexander Pope* had been included in the same sale⁶⁸. Marjorie Webb, William Wimsatt and Terry Friedman⁶⁹ did not question the accuracy of this information and so the common history of *Gibbs* and *Pope* remained unknown to them. An examination of the auctioneer’s book would have revealed that, as the result of a printing error which omitted lots 89–92, the entries for *Alexander Pope* and for three reliefs

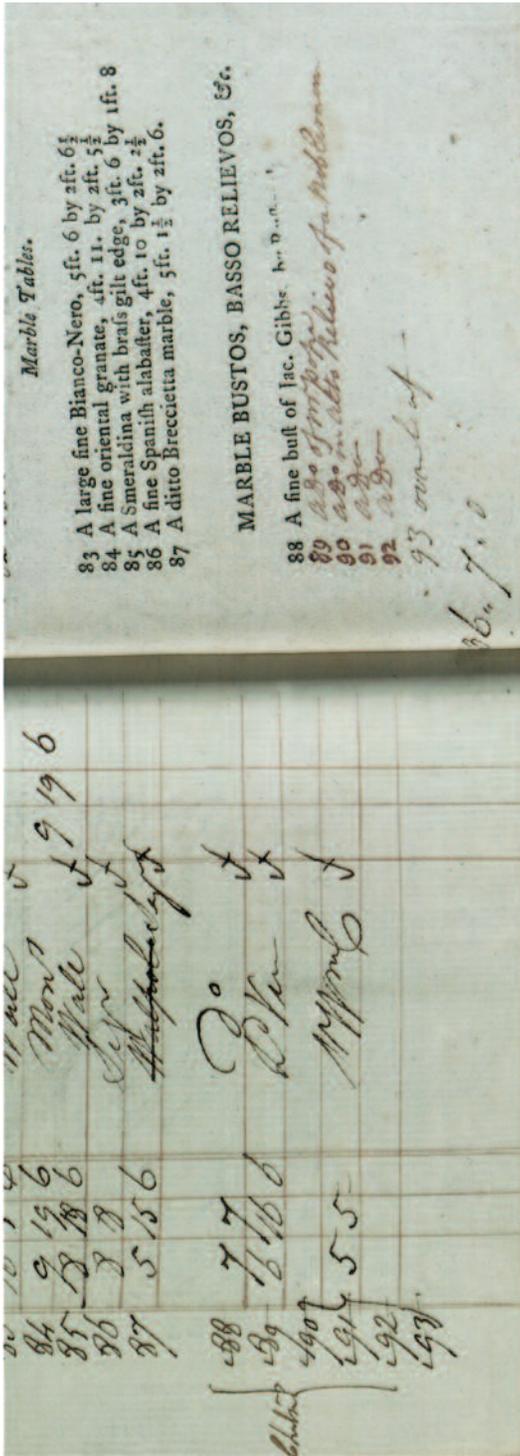


Fig. 11. Messrs. Christie and Ansell, 27-28 March 1783, second day's sale, entry for *Pope* written in at foot of page 11. *Christie's Images.*

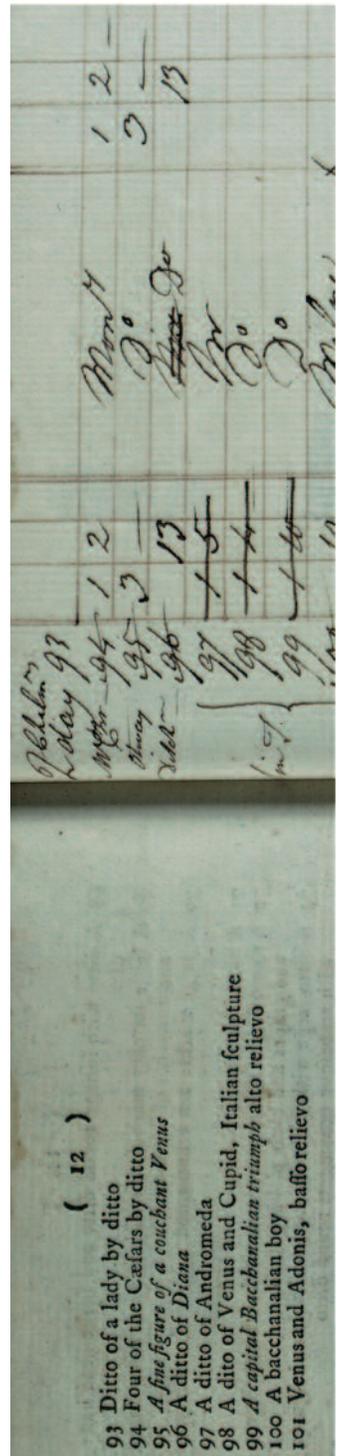


Fig. 12. Messrs. Christie and Ansell, 27-28 March 1783, second day's sale, page 12, 'Chalm^{ers}' clearly named as vendor of lot 93. *Christie's Images.*

had to be written in by hand and that the names of vendors were entered in the margins beside their lots (Figs. 11 and 12).

Horace Walpole bought *James Gibbs* for seven guineas and placed it in the Star Chamber at Strawberry Hill shortly thereafter. It is described there in 1784 resting on a coin-cabinet, a pendant to a stone bust identified as Henry VII by Torrigiano⁷⁰ – ‘Another like cabinet, ... On it, a bust of Gibbs the architect in marble, by Rysbrack.’ *James Gibbs* remained in the Star Chamber until the spring of 1842 when the contents of Strawberry Hill were put up for sale⁷¹. Lot 99 on the seventeenth day of that marathon auction, ‘A noble marble bust of Gibbs, the architect, finely modelled and beautifully executed, on black marble pedestal, by Rysbrack’, was knocked down at seven guineas to ‘Forster’, a buyer of many other lots, who cannot yet be identified with any certainty. Forster’s range of interest at the sale was wide and he bought books, paintings, drawings, bronzes, china, coin-cabinets and household effects such as a cushion; two small oil paintings by Johann Heinrich Müntz of *Twickenham from Strawberry Hill* and *Richmond Hill from Twickenham* which he bought as lot 44 on the twenty-second day of the sale are now in the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, Connecticut⁷². How and when *James Gibbs* left Forster’s possession remains to be discovered and nothing more is heard of the bust until 1885, when it was presented to St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields by William Boore. The gift is commemorated by a brass plaque set into a black marble plinth on which the bust’s original black marble socle was placed and the inscription is now so worn from polishing that it is hard to read. The donor, William Boore, was active in London as a silversmith, jeweller and dealer in works of art⁷³. From 1868 he had found auctions a successful way of selling his stock, especially porcelain,⁷⁴ and it is not clear why, well before his death in 1902, he gave the bust to St. Martin’s. *James Gibbs* remained there until being sold to the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1988⁷⁵.

James Gibbs still stands on the tall, mottled-marble pedestal on which it stood in St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields (Fig. 13). Although the pedestal conforms to a design by Gibbs for ‘Fifteen Pedestals for Busto’s’ which were illustrated in *A Book of Architecture*⁷⁶, there is no evidence that it had anything to do with *James Gibbs* before 1885 – indeed, Malcolm Baker (Research Department, V&A) has told the present writer that he questions its 18th-century origin. Certainly, the carving is soft and there are differences in detail – the marble’s cubic base rather than the rectangle designed by Gibbs; a moulded section missing from where NISI DOMINUS⁷⁷ is now inscribed on the front face of the (inverted?) capital. Nor is there any record of a similar pedestal for *Alexander Pope*⁷⁸, which, if found, would prove the authenticity of the pedestal from St. Martin’s and demonstrate how Gibbs had originally intended to display his busts. Both busts do, however, retain their original black marble socles (Fig. 14).

The bust of Alexander Pope, owned by Chalmers and sold as lot 89 on 28 March 1783, was knocked down to Lord Vere for £6 16s 6d, the future 5th Duke of St. Albans⁷⁹. It has not been possible to discover how long it remained in the Duke’s possession nor to whom it may have been bequeathed⁸⁰; the description of ‘A Portrait of Pope; a Bas relief’ in the 2nd Earl of Bessborough’s posthumous sale is too vague and too ambiguous to be identified with any certainty as Rysbrack’s bust⁸¹. Wimsatt discovered that its subsequent owner was William Garrow, an eminent advocate, and that Garrow gave the bust to his friend and executor, Edward Badeley, a barrister and ecclesiastical lawyer, who bequeathed it to the Athenæum Club in London⁸². *Alexander Pope* graced the club’s Pall Mall premises until 1985 when it was consigned to Christie’s for sale at auction, eventually being sold by private treaty in 1986 to the National Portrait Gallery, London⁸³.

Why did Gibbs want a bust of Pope in his home? Regrettably, there are no first-hand accounts to help explain the circumstances of the commission. Their



Fig. 13. Pedestal from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, marble, date uncertain, conforming to design by Gibbs published in 1728. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

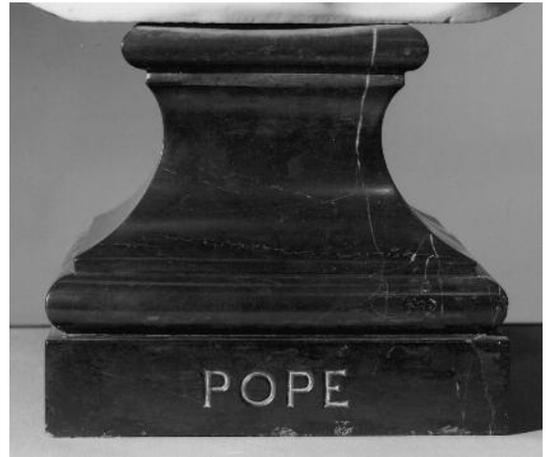


Fig. 14. Original black marble socle for *Pope*, 1730, with later inscription, design identical to socle for *Gibbs*, 1726. *National Portrait Gallery, London.*

surviving correspondence amounts to two letters from Gibbs to Pope which suggest nothing more than a fleeting, professional relationship⁸⁴ and there are only three passing references to Gibbs in Pope's works⁸⁵ – and none in the forty-page index to Maynard Mack's exhaustive biography of Pope. Gibbs is not otherwise known to have been an admirer of Pope nor a collector of his works. *Pope's Works. London 1717* is the only book by Pope listed in *A Catalogue of Mr. Gibbs's Books which he has given to the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford 1754*⁸⁶; but Gibbs's carefully-prepared list does not give any details of when and how this folio edition of *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope* entered his collection. Yet, for all these uncertainties, it can be demonstrated that Gibbs was a bibliophile by the 1720s. On 30 January



Fig. 15. Bernard Baron, *Iacobus Gibbs architectus 1736*, Gibbs's bookplate, 10 by 13 cm. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

1724 Humfrey Wanley, keeper of Lord Harley's library in Dover Street, noted in his diary that 'M^r Gibbes sent 9 Books, desiring to know if any of them are for my Lords turn'⁸⁷. Gibbs and Wanley were friends and Pope, who had given Lord Harley a Persian manuscript which Wanley received on 3 July 1723, was an occasional visitor⁸⁸. It would be reasonable to conclude from this that Gibbs's interest in books already extended to collecting them himself and that, as an architect, he had every intention of building a library in which to house them in his home. After all, throughout the 1720s he was engaged in accommodating Lord Harley's vast collection of books at Wimpole⁸⁹. And an engraving of the library which Gibbs completed in 1734 for Richard Mead at 49 Great Ormond Street, London, shows eight busts

standing above book shelves and a bas-relief portrait on the mantel shelf⁹⁰: perhaps the bas-relief of Gibbs recorded by Vertue in 1723 stood in such a position and this may also be why Bernard Baron's bookplate for Gibbs uses a circular relief format to portray the architect in 1736⁹¹ (Fig. 15). Nevertheless, it is impossible to say whether Gibbs chose a bust of Pope to place in his own library out of admiration for the poet or whether he wanted the bust in his home as a memento of a friend.

Gibbs and Pope certainly knew each other by 1 May 1720, when Gibbs was working on alterations to the villa in Twickenham which Pope had leased late in 1718⁹². And several years later, in 1725 or 1726, they met in St. James's at Williams's Coffee House before going on to visit Rysbrack. These are their only

recorded meetings, but there must have been others occasioned either by friendship or by mutual acquaintances and patrons. The most significant of these in the present context was Edward, Lord Harley (1689–1741) – 2nd Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer from 21 May 1724 –, one of the great collectors and patrons of the age, a passion which exhausted his wife's fortune⁹³. Gibbs had been introduced to Lord Harley by 4 February 1714 (not 1713, as usually stated) – the date on Gibbs's earliest-known plan of Wimpole⁹⁴ – and Pope's correspondence with him spans 6 February 1722 to 25 December 1739, eighteen months before the Earl's death⁹⁵. Indeed, it has usually been assumed that Rysbrack's bust of *Alexander Pope* was commissioned for the new library at Wimpole designed by Gibbs and nearing completion on 1 October 1730 when Pope wrote to the Earl 'I rejoice at the finishing your New Room, the Palace of Learning. I wish my Head had as good right to be with the Authors there, as my Heart has to be with the Master ...'⁹⁶; this 'head', however, was a painting and not Rysbrack's bust of Pope⁹⁷.

While their circles of patronage overlapped, so did their personal circumstances. Gibbs and Pope were both Roman Catholics, as was Rysbrack⁹⁸ (all three were bachelors), at a time when such professions of faith were likely to incur suspicions of Jacobitism and hence of treason. Neither was willing to jeopardise his career for the sake of religious beliefs or political persuasions – 'auri sacra fames wou'd not allow him to profess openly what he believed', as Father Alexander Grant observed of Gibbs rather dourly in August 1754⁹⁹. Pope's position is best expressed in a letter he wrote on 20 November 1717 to Francis Atterbury¹⁰⁰ (when Atterbury was tried for Jacobitism in May 1723, Pope remained loyal to his friend):

I'll tell you my politick and religious sentiments in a few words. In my politicks, I think no further than how to preserve the peace of my life, in any government under which I live; nor in my religion, than to preserve the peace of my conscience in any Church with which I communicate. I hope all churches and all governments are so far of God, as they are rightly

understood, and rightly administred: and where they are, or may be wrong, I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them; which whenever he does, it must be by greater instruments than I am. I am not a Papist, for I renounce the temporal invasions of Papal power, and detest their arrogated authority over Princes, and States. I am a Catholick, in the strictest sense of the word. If I was born under an absolute Prince, I would be a quiet subject; but I thank God I was not. I have a due sense of the excellence of the British constitution.¹⁰¹

In the absence of first-hand accounts by Pope and Gibbs there is a risk of misstating or overstating the case – even if their respective patrons, the Earls of Burlington and of Oxford, were covert Jacobites, as has recently been proposed¹⁰². Nonetheless, it is striking that Gibbs bequeathed the bulk of his estate to impecunious Jacobite supporters and that he formally acknowledged his gratitude to the 11th Earl of Mar, commander-in-chief of Jacobite forces in 1715¹⁰³, in his will, more than twenty years after the Earl's death – 'I give and bequeath to the Right Honourable the Lord Erskine in gratitude for favours received from his father the late Earl of Mar ...' £1,000 and three houses at 9–11 Henrietta Street *inter alia*¹⁰⁴. The fourth house in Henrietta Street went to Cosmo Alexander, who was painting the Old Pretender's family as late as 1752¹⁰⁵; the fact that John Alexander¹⁰⁶, his father, had worked for the Earl of Mar shows how interwoven these relationships were.

For all the coetaneous sources that can still be traced, there are no first-hand accounts to explain what motivated Gibbs to commission busts of himself and another of Alexander Pope some years later (Figs. 16 and 17). By 1723 Gibbs's career was flourishing and he had just turned forty. These professional and personal factors, combined with his close association with the most gifted sculptor in London, probably account for the clay bust, the marble bas-relief and the two marble busts of himself which Gibbs had commissioned from Rysbrack by 1726 (the year in which St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was consecrated¹⁰⁷). As for the bust of Pope, it seems likely that Gibbs commissioned it as a contemporary



Fig. 16. Michael Rysbrack, *James Gibbs*, 1726, marble, finish of back, *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*



Fig. 17. Michael Rysbrack, *Alexander Pope*, 1730, marble, finish of back, *National Portrait Gallery, London. Christie's Images.*

feature for display in his library: it is aggravating that so little is known about his relationship with Pope.

This article has shown that Cosmo Alexander inherited *James Gibbs* and *Alexander Pope* from Gibbs in 1754 and that the busts remained together until being sold by Sir George Chalmers in 1783. Their common history establishes that Gibbs commissioned them on his own account from Rysbrack and that he kept them in his home at 5 Henrietta Street until his death. Gibbs had an intrinsic interest in portraiture and he was quick to appreciate Rysbrack's talents as a portrait sculptor. Gibbs emerges as one of Rysbrack's earliest and most devoted patrons.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sir Howard Colvin, St. John's College, Oxford; James Mitchell, Frick Art Reference Library, New York; Michael Powell, Chetham's Library, Manchester; Jacob Simon, National Portrait Gallery, London; Adrian Steel, London Metropolitan Archives; Colin Thom, Survey of London; Marjorie Trusted, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Philip Ward-Jackson, Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London (for photography in Radcliffe Camera); Philip Winterbotham, The Royal Bank of Scotland Archives, London.

NOTES

- 1 Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British sculptors*, London, 1953, 335.
- 2 In addition to monographs cited at note 69 below, see Margaret Whinney, *The Pelican history of art. Sculpture in Britain: 1530–1830*, rev. ed. by John Physick, London, 1988, 168, figs. 112 (*Gibbs*) and 113 (*Pope*); *Eighteenth century portraits busts*, exhib. cat., Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London, June–September 1959, nos. 28 (*Gibbs*) and 29, illus. (*Pope*). Other references to *James Gibbs*: Malcolm Baker, *Figured in marble. The making and viewing of eighteenth-century sculpture*, London, 2000, 98–101, pl. 77; *Michael Rysbrack sculptor 1694–1770*, exhib. cat. by Katharine Eustace et al, City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, 6 March–1 May 1982, 74, no. 10 (with literature and exhibitions, not repeated here); Arthur Oswald, 'James Gibbs and his portraits', *Country Life Annual*, 1963, 12–13, fig. 1. Other references to *Alexander Pope*: John Kerslake, *National Portrait Gallery. Early Georgian portraits*, London, 1977, 2 vols., 221, pls. 641–642; *Portraits of Alexander Pope*, exhib. handlist, National Portrait Gallery, London, 20 March–30 April 1961 [NPG archives]; *British portraits*, exhib. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, winter 1956–1957, 181, no. 584, entry by Rupert Gunnis (photo: Courtauld Institute, neg. no. B57/105); *Commemorative catalogue of the exhibition of British art, Royal Academy of Arts, London, January–March 1934*, London, 1935, no. 1190, pl. ccxvi; *Exhibition of British art c. 1000–1860*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 6 January–10 March 1934, no. 149.
- 3 For Adrian Drift, see H. Bunker Wright & Monroe K. Spears (eds.), *The literary works of Matthew Prior*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1971, intro. pp. xxx–xxxv.
- 4 'The bust in Marble of M^r Prior done at Paris 1714' is bracketed against 'Coyzeveaux' in *Inventory of Mr. Prior's Pictures* (together with marble reliefs of the Virgin Mary and 'Marius le Jeun the Roman') [London, British Library (hereafter BL), Add. Ms. 70362, fol. 17; H. Bunker Wright and Henry C. Montgomery, 'The art collection of a virtuoso in eighteenth-century England', *Art Bulletin*, XXVII, September 1945, 199, items 17, 20 and 21; François Souchal, *French sculptors of the 17th and 18th centuries. The reign of Louis XIV. A–F*, Oxford, 1977, 209, no. 73; Terry F. Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 100 and 314].
- 5 For Richard Dickenson 'at high-Park Corner' [BL, Add. Ms. 70362, fol. 161 v.], see Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British sculptors 1660–1851*, rev. ed., London, 1968, 130, and *ibid.*, rev. ed. by Ingrid Roscoe, forthcoming (2005). Additionally, in the *Disbursements Since M^r Prior's Decease. September the 18th 1721* an entry dated 22 December 1721 reads 'To Mr Dickenson for 3 Copies of the Busto of Flora cast in hard Mettal [i.e. lead] bespoke by M^r Prior in his Lifetime for Presents to M^r Gibbs, M^r Bridgman, & M^r Dhael £15' [BL, Add. Ms. 70362, fol. 80v] – although Dahl told Drift that his (Dahl's) bust was intended for John Wootton [BL, Add. Ms. 70362, fol. 165, 16 December 1721 letter from Drift to Harley]. For the marble bust of Flora, bequeathed by Prior to Lord Harley, see BL, Add. Ms. 70362, fol. 6; Earl of Oxford's sale, Mr. Cock, Covent Garden, London, 8–13 March 1742, fourth day (11 March), p. 12, lot 26, and frontispiece (as 'by Girardon', but possibly a lead or plaster replica); Wright and Montgomery, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 200, item 36, fig. 1.
- 6 BL, Add. Ms. 70362, fol. 164 [formerly Portland Papers Loan 29/317; cited in Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 101, and note 43 on p. 340]. This may be 'M^r Prior. a bust' which Vertue saw in the library at Wimpole during a visit begun on 12 September 1724 ['Vertue note books. VI', *Walpole Society*, XXX, 1955, 17] and which later appeared at the Earl of Oxford's sale on 11 March 1742 as lot 28 (see note 5 above). Incidentally, Sir Godfrey Kneller had portrayed Prior with short hair (dated 1700; Trinity College, Cambridge) [John Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English baroque portrait*, Oxford, 1983, 42 ff. & 124, no. 590, pls. 33 & 34b].
- 7 Gibbs had been building Down Hall for Prior [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 141–144, 300, and pls. 149–150; George W. Sherburn (ed.), *The correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Oxford, 1956, II, 364, 369 and 371].
- 8 Pope was concerned, some years later, with 'a further chance of likeness' of his deceased friend James Craggs [Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), II, 242–243]. For monument to Craggs, see note 21 below.

- 9 'Octobr. 1720 [new line] came into England. Michael Rysbracht. *Sculptor* Statuary ... he was recommended to M^r Gibbs. Architect' [BL, Add. Ms. 21111, fol. 60 v.; 'Vertue note books. I', *Walpole Society*, XVIII, 1930, 76].
- 10 Terry F. Friedman, 'Rysbrack and Gibbs', in *Michael Rysbrack sculptor, op. cit.* (at note 2), 16–18.
- 11 BL, Add. Ms. 23076, fol. 14 v.; 'Vertue note books. III', *Walpole Society*, XXII, 1934, 17. An extract is quoted in main text below (at note 16).
- 12 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 1984, 15.
- 13 London, Family Records Centre (hereafter FRC), PROB 11, microfilm 810, quire 228, p. 213; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 20 (see also 15 and note 59 on p. 334). Measurements: bust alone, 21½ in. high; on grey marble socle with white inclusions, 6½ in. high. Original polished surface of marble now lost due to overcleaning. Socle stands on white marble plinth inscribed IACOBUS GIBBS A.M.&R.S.S. | HUIUS ÆDIFICII ARCHITECTUS and filled with black mastic [Baker, *op. cit.* (at note 2), 100–101, pl. 78].
- 14 Plate XI of James Gibbs, *Bibliotheca Radcliviana: or, a short description of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford ...*, London, 1747, includes a thumbnail sketch of an unidentified bust in the opposite oculus, i.e. to the viewer's left of *Dr. Radcliffe*, which has housed since 1789 Rysbrack's terracotta bust of Francis (or William) Smith – signed and dated on reverse Mich: Ryfbrack 1741, 23¾ in. high – [Marjorie I. Webb, *Michael Rysbrack sculptor*, London, 1954, 180, fig. 89; Sotheby's, London, 7 July 1988, lot 278, entry on marble by Gordon D. Balderston; Baker, *op. cit.* (at note 2), 101–102, pl. 79]. No account of the sketched bust is given by Gibbs [Gibbs, *op. cit.*, 10], but it is definitely not the bald-headed bust of Gibbs, *pace* Mrs. Lane Poole [Rachael E. Poole, *Catalogue of portraits in the possession of the university, colleges, city, and county of Oxford. Vol. I ...*, Oxford, 1912, 226, no. 685, pl. xxxv]. Nonetheless, the sketch indicates that the placing of a bust in the oculus was accepted by Gibbs as part of the original design of the library. For the history of the project, see Stanley G. Gillam, 'The building accounts of the Radcliffe Camera', *Oxford Historical Society*, n.s., XIII, 1958; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 240–252 and 320 (for views of interior, see pls. 1 and 272).
- 15 BL, Add. Ms. 23076, fol. 12 v.; Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 11), 13. Vertue inserted 'Jacomo or. James' and 'Architect born at Aberdeen a^{no}. 1683' above the first line, which initially read 'M^r. Gibbs his head a Moddeld'. The quoted passage appears on a double-column page, dated 1723 in the margin and beginning 'Names of Living painters of Note in London & their pictures by whom painted'.
- 16 BL, Add. Ms. 23076, fol. 14 v.; Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 11), 17. Rysbrack's monument to Matthew Prior was finished just in time to be illustrated (without accompanying text, unusually) in John Dart's *Westmonasterium ... a survey of the church and cloysters, taken in the year 1723*, which postdates 24 May 1723 [*idem*, n.d., II, pl. p. 61 (sic)]; see also Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 100 and 314.
- 17 BL, Add. Ms. 23076, fol. 36; Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 11), 56. At the end of Vertue's 1732 list, the five portraits listed under the heading 'From the life', written-in at the foot of the page, and the busts of Dr. Bernard and the Earl of Winchelsea, continued at the top of the following page, are later additions by Vertue. It is certain that the entry for the latter two busts postdates 19 August 1744 (when William Bernard was consecrated Bishop of Raphoe), because Vertue wrote '1744 ——— Earl of Winchelsea' on the line immediately below 'modeled. from – D^r Bernard Bp Rapho' [BL, Add. Ms. 23076, fol. 36 v.]. But it is not clear whether this means that the Earl's bust itself was carved in 1744 or simply that Vertue added these portraits to his list in 1744. For busts added after 1732, see Sotheby's, London, 22 April 1986, lot 72, and Gordon D. Balderston, 'The genesis of *Edward Salter aetatis 6*', *Georgian Group Journal*, X, 2000, 178, 184–185, 188, 190 and 192, note 114 on p. 202, and figs. 6, 9 and 14.
- 18 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 14), 55; Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), II, 298. For the location of Williams's Coffee House at that date, see Balderston, *op. cit.* (at note 17), 179. Roger Williams and his brother Henry, a butcher, are listed in 1728 as subscribers to Gibbs's *A book of architecture* [*idem*, 28].
- 19 Rysbrack moved into his new house in Vere Street 'by the Oxford Chapel' before 26 August 1725 when 'Mr Rasebrooke' first paid the poor rate; but he is not named in the previous rate book dated 12 May

- 1725, a *terminus post quem* [London, City of Westminster Archives Centre, Westminster City Archives: St. Marylebone, parish records, rate books, poor rates (hereafter WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book etc.), 12 May and 26 August 1725, pp. 332 and 346; Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 14), 55 and 189]. Rysbrack lived there all his life, although his name does not appear in rate books every year thereafter. His workshop was nearby, perhaps in 'Oxford Chapel Court', a lane between Vere Street and Old Cavendish Street, where the 'carvers' Samuel Chaplin and his son John (Rysbrack's godson) lived [FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 954, quire 28, p. 244 (Rysbrack's will, dated 5 March 1768); Webb, *op. cit.*, 189–190].
- 20 Pope used the back of this letter for translating lines 180–204 from book twenty-two of Homer's *Odyssey*, which was published in June 1726, the latest possible dating for Gibbs's letter [Reginald H. Griffith, *Alexander Pope. A bibliography. Volume 1, part 1. Pope's own writings, 1709–1734*, Austin, 1922, 131, no. 170]. For a transcription, see John Butt (gen. ed.), *The Twickenham edition of the poems of Alexander Pope. Volume X. The Odyssey of Homer. Books XIII–XXIV*, ed. by Maynard Mack, London and New Haven, 1967, 296–297. I am very grateful to Hilton Kelliher, The British Library (Manuscripts), London, for his invaluable assistance with the chronology of Pope's translation written on the backs of old letters.
- 21 John Physick proposed that Pope was considering Rysbrack to take over from Guelfi for the monument to James Craggs [J. Physick, *Victoria and Albert Museum. Designs for English sculpture 1680–1860*, London, 1969, 69]. For the Craggs project, see Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 102 and 313; Cristiano Giometti, 'Giovanni Battista Guelfi: new discoveries', *Sculpture Journal*, III, 1999, 29–30, fig. 1.
- 22 London, The Royal Bank of Scotland, Archives, Drummond's customer account ledgers (hereafter Drummond's), DR/427/5, fol. 70 (November 1725), and DR/427/6, fol. 35 (March 1726).
- 23 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 14), 103–104 and 181–182.
- 24 £20 instalments were paid on 28 September, 17 October, 16 November and 7 December 1723 [Drummond's, DR/427/3, fol. 306] from the account which Gibbs had opened on 10 September 1723 with a balance of £1,055 11s. 4d. . Friedman makes this assumption [*op. cit.* (at note 4), 15]. Payments due upon the completion of Prior's monument in Westminster Abbey would be another possibility (see note 16 above).
- 25 On 4 January 1727, Sir Thomas Hanmer used Gibbs to settle his £20 account with Rysbrack for carving on two chimneypieces at 52 Grosvenor Street – 'To Mich: Rysbrack by the hand of Mr Gibbes for carving in my two large Chimneypieces' [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 305].
- 26 BL, Add. Ms. 23076, fol. 36; Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 11), 56.
- 27 William K. Wimsatt, *The portraits of Alexander Pope*, New Haven and London, 1965, 101.
- 28 BL, Burney collection.
- 29 BL, Burney collection. Printed in Exeter. The references in the last line are to John Oldmixon and Lewis Theobald.
- 30 *The Dunciad. An heroic poem. – In three books*, on which Pope had been working since the autumn of 1725, first appeared in print on 18 May 1728 [Griffith, *op. cit.* (at note 20), 152, no. 198]. For early stages of writing, see Robert K. Root, *The Dunciad variorum With the prolegomena of Scriblerus by Alexander Pope. Reproduced in facsimile from the first issue of the original edition of 1729*, Princeton, 1929, p. 5 of introduction. For a confusing transcription incorporating variants from editions of various dates, see John Butt (gen. ed.), *The Twickenham edition of the poems of Alexander Pope. Volume V. The Dunciad*, 3rd ed. by James Sutherland, London and New Haven, 1963; *idem*, 4–7, for account of editions used.
- 31 References to the deforming effects of Pott's disease, a tuberculosis of the bone, which Pope had contracted in infancy [Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope. A life*, New Haven and London, 1985, 153–158 and 847].
- 32 Pope/Root, *op. cit.* (at note 30), book II, p. 34 [March 1729 edition, for which see Griffith, *op. cit.* (at note 20), 165–166, no. 211 (for variant copies, *idem*, 167–174, nos. 212–222); Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), III, 25–26] and Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad ... The second edition, with some additional notes*, London, 1729, pp. 104–105 [November 1729 edition, for which see note 34 below]. Both editions have as appendix II 'A List of Books, Papers and Verses, in which our Author was abused ...'.

- 33 'Tis granted Sir; the Busto's a damn'd head | Pope is a little Elf | All he can say for't, is, He neither made | The Busto, nor himself.' [Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), III, 100 and note 5]. Pope had been corresponding with 2nd Earl of Oxford (then Edward, Lord Harley) since 6 February 1722 [*ibid.*, II, 101].
- 34 Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad. With notes variorum, and the prolegomena of Scriblerus. The second edition, with some additional notes*, London, 1729 [Griffith, *op. cit.* (at note 20), 175, no. 224; for variant copies, *idem.*, 176–177, nos. 225–227].
- 35 For this quatrain on its own, see John Butt (gen. ed.), *The Twickenham edition of the poems of Alexander Pope. Volume VI. Minor poems*, rev. ed. by Norman Ault and John Butt, London and New Haven, 1964, 302 and 305, no. VI.
- 36 Pope, *op. cit.* (at note 34), pp. 105–106; Pope/Sutherland, *op. cit.* (at note 30), 116. 'Moor' refers to James Moore-Smythe.
- 37 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 16, and note 70 on p. 334. For numbered houses, see *The A to Z of Regency London*, Lympne Castle (Kent), 1985, pl. 12, which reproduces the third edition of Richard Horwood's *A map of the cities of London and Westminster of 1799* produced by William Faden in 1813.
- 38 London Metropolitan Archives, Middlesex Deeds Registry, 1731, vol. 2, lease no. 49 (hereafter MDR, and references given as 1731/2/49 etc.); BL, Add. Ms. 18240, fol. 18. The indenture was 'required to be registered' on 28 May 1731, but it was not physically entered in the register until 1 June 1731. The 94-year term ran from 25 March 1731; annual rent of £6 started then too. The leased parcel of land, 26 by 62 feet, included 'a double Brick Mefsuage now built or in building' with a 26-foot-wide façade on Henrietta Street. From the position of Gibbs's name in the St. Marylebone poor rate books for 7 June and November 1732 (admittedly, an unreliable measure), it looks as though Gibbs moved in between these dates.
- 39 WCA, St. Anne, Soho, scavenger rate book for Lady Day 1720–Lady Day 1721 [microfilm A1148], approved 24 June 1720. Gibbs's name is crossed out and replaced by John Wightwick in *ibid.*, 1726 [microfilm A1161], signed by collectors 23 June 1726 and approved 29 June 1726, and *ibid.*, paving rate book, 1726 [microfilm A1240], for year to Christmas 1726, collectors appointed 3 April 1726, signed 18 July 1726 and approved 13 August 1726. For 18 Gerrard Street, see Francis H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *The survey of London. Volume XXXIV. The parish of St. Anne Soho*, London, 1966, 392.
- 40 WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book dated 15 November 1726 (grouped with 1730 rate books).
- 41 See note 19 above.
- 42 WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book dated 26 October 1727, p. 416, and *ibid.*, church rate book dated 31 August 1728, p. 459. An insurance policy referred to this house in 1750 as 'the 3d house West from Prince's Street' [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 207, and note 15 on p. 345].
- 43 WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book dated 6 May 1730 (Henrietta Street is not listed in rate books before this date). William Thomas, James Gibbs, Lady Cotesworth, Walter Chitwind, ? Fry Esq., Roger Milart and Mrs. Gillman are the seven ratepayers named (in this order).
- 44 Manchester, Chetham's Library, Halliwell-Phillipps collection, no. 867; transcribed by Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 258–259, and note 6 on p. 347. For *A book of architecture*, see Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British architectural books and writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge, 1990, 212, nos. 257–258; *idem.*, pp. 208–212, for Gibbs [I am grateful to David Alexander, York, for this reference]. Gibbs paid George Vertue £25 6s. on 16 February 1728 for some of these plates [Drummond's, DR/427/8, fol. 28]. *A short account of Mr James Gibbs architect and of several things he built in England &c. after his return from Italy* gives the date of *A book of architecture* incorrectly as 1726 – 'printed for the author at his House in Henrietta Street near Cavendish Sq^e, anno 1726' [London, Soane Museum, shelfmark AL 39a].
- 45 From east to west, i.e. 9–11 Henrietta Street – (No. 9) MDR 1727/3/262, order of lease dated 31 August 1727, 97-years from 29 September 1726, £2 10s. annual rent due from 29 September 1726, completion by 24 June 1728 at Gibbs's own expense, plot measuring 33 by 135 feet. (No. 10) MDR 1727/3/263, lease dated 1 September 1727, identical terms with 'usual covenants' (completion date not otherwise stipulated), plot measuring 33 by 135 feet. (No. 11) MDR 1727/3/264, lease dated 2 September 1727, 99-years from 29 September 1725, £2 annual rent due from 29 September 1727, 'other usual covenants', plot measuring 25 by 135 feet. All three

- leases were to be registered on 25 October 1727; the 31-August lease was entered that day, but the latter two were not entered until 26 October. Details are also recorded in BL, Add. Ms. 18240, fol. 15. See also *A Large Plan of the Duke of Portland's Estate as Let to Different Tennants to Build upon Surveyed by J. White. 1797, 1798 & 1799* [BL, Crace collection, maps, portfolio XIV, no. 19; John G. Crace, *A catalogue of maps, plans, and views of London, Westminster & Southwark, collected and arranged by Frederick Crace*, London, 1878, 99]; this 130-cm.-square plan appears to be a contemporary tracing of the original, now incomplete and without a title, in Howard de Walden Estate Archive, London (in due course, City of Westminster Archives Centre), which Richard Bowden kindly showed me.
- 46 In fact, all houses on the north side of Henrietta Street between Wimpole and Welbeck Street had to be finished by 24 June 1728 at the latest [running westwards from Wimpole Street – MDR, 1725/1/60; MDR 1727/3/267; MDR 1727/3/268; MDR 1727/1/198; Gibbs's three houses at nos. 9–11 (see note 45 above); MDR 1727/2/84; MDR 1726/2/345]: lessees were usually given two years to complete their houses. Summerson was correct to say that Gibbs had subleased one of these three houses to Lady Bingley by 1731 [John Summerson, 'Henrietta Place, Marylebone, and its associations with James Gibbs', *London Topographical Record*, XXI, 1958, 31–33]; she first paid rates in 1731 and she was still a tenant in 1754 when Gibbs made his will. Corroborating evidence is lacking for Summerson's assertion that Gibbs's other tenants were Lord Gainsborough and William Bromley: they first paid rates for living in Henrietta Street on 7 June 1732 and on 9 May 1733 respectively, but the order of names entered in St. Marylebone rate books is too unreliable to conclude from this alone that they were occupying Gibbs's houses.
- 47 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 11), 162. For other obituaries, see William Musgrave, 'Obituary prior to 1800 ... Vol. III', *The Publications of the Harleian Society. Volume XLVI*, London, 1900, 26; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), note 88 on p. 335.
- 48 Quoted from a letter by 'Palladio', dated August 1760 and written in Aberdeen, which was published in *The Scots Magazine. September 1760*, XXII, 476. For other reports of legacies, see Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), note 87 on p. 335.
- 49 WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book dated 8 November 1754, p. 43.
- 50 FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 810, quire 228, pp. 212–213, dated 9 May 1754 and proved 16 August 1754; Bryan Little, *The life and work of James Gibbs 1682–1754*, London, 1955, 158–160; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 18–20; Wimsatt, *op. cit.* (at note 27), 105–106, note 15. The other houses (tenants' names given here in brackets) were bequeathed to: Lord Erskine, three in Marylebone (William Cambell, Sir Roger Burgoyne Bart., Lady Bingley); John Ker, wine-merchant, one in Marylebone (Lady Graham) and one 'in Argyll ground' (Francis Fauquier, for whom see *DNB*, VI, 1113); Robert Pringle of Clifton, one in Cavendish Square (Mrs. Aston). Ker, Pringle and William Thomas were his executors. For Gibbs's house in Cavendish Square, see Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 205–207; for Argyll Street, see *idem*, 207 and 304 (Gibbs had dedicated *A book of architecture ...* to John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, in 1728). William Cambell, though named as a tenant by Gibbs, is crossed out and replaced by William Henry Barnerd in a poor rate book dated 1 May 1752 [WCA, St. Marylebone, *loc. cit.*, 43], and Barnerd was still paying rates in 1754.
- 51 K.G. Saur (publ.), *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, II, Munich and Leipzig, 1992, 283–284, definitive account by Gavin L.M. Goodfellow; Peter J.M. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish art & architecture*, Woodbridge, 1994, 40; James Holloway, *Patrons and painters: art in Scotland 1650–1760*, Edinburgh, 1989, 101–104 and 140–141.
- 52 John Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy 1701–1800 compiled from the Brinsley Ford archive ...*, New Haven and London, 1997, 12.
- 53 *A catalogue of the genuine and curious collection of pictures, by several eminent masters, of that ingenious architect James Gibbs; deceased; with some few pictures lately consign'd from abroad ...*, Mr. Langford, Great Piazza, Covent Garden, London, 25–26 March 1756; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 23, and note 14 on pp. 335–336.
- 54 *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, op. cit.* (at note 51), XVIII, 1998, 104, entry by Kristiane Frank; McEwan, *op. cit.* (at note 51), 123; Ellis Waterhouse, *The dictionary of British 18th century painters in oils and crayons*, Woodbridge, 1981, 75; George E.

- Cokayne (ed.), *Complete Baronetage III. 1649–1664*, Exeter, 1903, 349, and *ibid.*, *Index ... with an appendix*, 1909, 69; *The dictionary of national biography*, London, since 1917 [reprinted: edited by Leslie Stephen 1885–90, by Sydney Lee 1891–1912, and jointly 1890–91] (hereafter *DNB*), III, 1354. Chalmers assumed the title Baron of Cults in 1764.
- 55 *The Scots Magazine. May, 1768*, XXX, 278. Lady Chalmers died in London on 16 April 1784.
- 56 Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 12 and 192–193. For Andrew Lumisden (1720–1801), under-secretary to the Pretender 1751–1764, see *idem*, 616–617.
- 57 John Harris and Michael Snodin, *Sir William Chambers, architect to George III*, New Haven and London, 1996; Jane Turner (ed.), *The dictionary of art*, London and New York, 1996, VI, 410–413, entry by John Harris; Howard M. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1660–1840*, 3rd ed., New Haven and London, 1995, 236–242; H.M. Colvin (gen. ed.), *The history of the King's Works. Volume VI. 1782–1851*, by Joseph Mordaunt Crook and Michael H. Port, London, 1973, 27–47.
- 58 London, Royal Institute of British Architects, British Architectural Library, Manuscripts and Archives Collection (hereafter RIBA), CHA.2/64 (reference both to letters and to abstracts boxed separately, as per handlist). My knowledge of the Chalmers/Chambers correspondence is due to James Holloway, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, to whom I am exceedingly grateful. Jane Collings, RIBA's archivist, has kindly given permission to quote from the letters.
- 59 Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 192–195.
- 60 *The general biographical dictionary ...*, rev. ed. by Alexander Chalmers, 1813, VII, 94 (no references in earlier editions); *DNB*, IV, 26. However, the Scottish family which had settled in Tartas in the 15th century called itself de Chambre and were Barons d'Urgons by the late 17th century [de la Chenaye-Desbois and Bodier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse ...*, 3rd ed., V, Paris 1864, 75–79]. For résumé of genealogical source material, see John Harris et al, *Sir William Chambers, Knight of the Polar Star*, London, 1970, 3, note 1.
- 61 Robert Chalmers (1749–1807), a captain in the navy [*Complete Baronetage*, III, *op. cit.* (at note 54), 349].
- 62 RIBA, CHA.2/99.
- 63 Messrs. Christie and Ansell, Pall Mall, London, Thursday and Friday, 27–28 March 1783, second day's sale, p. 11.
- 64 An antique bust, lot 62 in the first day's sale (27 March 1783), was described as 'restored by Rysbrack'.
- 65 RIBA, CHA.2/100. The letter also contains a reference to 'your and Sir George's mutual acquaintance Abbé Grant' visiting Britain, for whom see Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 420–422.
- 66 Matthew Nulty (*circa* 1716–1778), who resided in Rome from 1752 until his death [Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 717–718].
- 67 George Bubb-Dodington (1691–28 July 1762), created Baron of Melcombe-Regis in Dorset on 6 April 1761 [C. Hornsby, 'Antiquarian extravagance in Hammersmith', *Apollo*, December 1991, 410–414]. An entry in his diary for 27 June 1752 records that 'Mr. Verschaffelts dined here, and I paid him 100l. in part, for his statue.' [Henry P. Wyndham, *The diary of the late George Bubb Dodington, Baron of Melcombe Regis: from March 8, 1748–49, to February 6, 1761. ...*, London, 1784, 146].
- 68 Gunnis, *op. cit.* (at note 1), 335.
- 69 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 14), 53 and 216, pl. 10 (*Gibbs*); *idem*, 77–78 and 223, pl. 12 (*Pope*). Wimsatt, *op. cit.* (at note 27), 97–106. Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 15, 23 and 90, note 61 on p. 334, note 16 on p. 336, pl. 10 (*Pope*) and frontispiece (*Gibbs*). For more recent surveys and up-to-date bibliographies, see *Dictionary of art, op. cit.* (at note 57), XII, 593–595 (Roger White on Gibbs); *ibid.*, XXV, 233–235 (Michael Symes on Pope); *ibid.*, XXVII, 466–469 (Katharine Eustace on Rysbrack); Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 398–399 (Gibbs).
- 70 *A description of the villa of Mr. Horace Walpole ... at Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex*, Strawberry Hill, 1784, p. 42.
- 71 *Strawberry Hill, the renowned seat of Horace Walpole. Mr. George Robins is honoured by having been selected by the Earl of Waldegrave, to sell by public competition, the valuable contents of Strawberry Hill ... Monday, the 25th day of April, 1842, and twenty-three following days (Sundays excepted), ...*, seventeenth day's sale, 13 May 1842, p. 177, lot 99. The third edition of the catalogue includes an appendix entitled *Aedes Strawberrianæ. Names of purchasers and the prices ...*

- 72 Acquired in April 1953 (I am grateful to Joan Sussler, Lewis Walpole Library, for this information). Forster's other purchases were on days 1–5, 10–13, 15–20, 22 and 24 of Strawberry Hill sale.
- 73 John Culme, *The directory of gold & silversmiths, jewellers and allied traders 1838–1914*, Woodbridge, 1987, I, 52.
- 74 Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques ... 1861–1900*, The Hague, 1964.
- 75 A.6-1988: acquired with the help of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the National Art-Collections Fund (Eugene Cremetti Fund). Measurements: bust alone, 20 in. high; on original black marble socle, 6 in. high (7½ in. square, around base). The original inscription and signature on the back of the bust have been transcribed onto the socle, probably at the same time as NISI DOMINUS was inscribed on the pedestal – IAC GIBBS Arch.¹ (front) and Ryfbrack fculp^r. (viewer's-left side). For references to sale, see Whinney/Physick, *op. cit.* (at note 2), 450, note 19; *The V&A Album*, autumn 1988, 127; *Christie's International Magazine*, September/October 1988, 17, ill.; *Christie's Review of the Season*, London, 1988, 10 and ill. on p. 13; *National Art-Collections Fund. Review 1989*, London, 1989, 164–165; Christie's, *Sales to the nation 1957–1990*, London, 1991, xv.
- 76 James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, London, 1728, pl. 150 (bottom row, second from left) [cited in Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), note 61 on p. 334]. Measurements of V&A pedestal: 52½ in. high to top of 13½-in.-square capital; additionally, Gibbs rests on 1-in.-high, integrally carved platform, 8½ in. square.
- 77 Nisi Dominus are the opening words of psalm 126 – Unless the Lord has built the house, its builders have laboured in vain – and the motto of the Compton and Hartbury families [Elizabeth Knowles (ed.), *The Oxford dictionary of quotations*, 5th ed., Oxford, 1999, 113, no. 24; Rosemary Pinches (ed.), *Elvin's handbook of mottoes*, London 1971, 131].
- 78 *Alexander Pope* was exhibited in 1934 on a pedestal, 46 in. high and 14 in. square [*Exhibition of British art, op. cit.* (at note 2), no. 149]. According to John Stoy, secretary of the Athenæum Club, London, that pedestal cannot now be identified nor is there any pedestal on the club's premises which matches the design of the pedestal from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.
- 79 Aubrey Beauclerk (1740–1802), Baron Vere of Hanworth (1781) and 5th Duke of St. Albans (1787) [G.E.C. (George Cokayne), *The complete peerage*, rev. ed. by Geoffrey H. White, XI, London, 1949, 290–291, and *ibid.*, XII, part 2, London, 1959, 257; Donald Adamson and Peter Beauclerk-Dewar, *The house of Nell Gwyn. The fortunes of the Beauclerk family 1670–1974*, London, 1974, 87–94; Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 64].
- 80 *Pope* was not in the following auctions in London of the Duke's property: 8–9 June 1798, Harry Phillips [David Pearson, *Provenance research in book history. A handbook*, London, 1994, 151]; 27–29 April 1801 and 27 March 1802, both Christie's. Nor is it mentioned in the Duke's will [FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 1372, quire 233, pp. 66–70]. I am grateful to Julia Armstrong-Totten, Provenance Index, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, and to Robert Wenley for helping locate the 1798 auctioneer's catalogue in the library of The Wallace Collection, London.
- 81 *A catalogue of the well known valuable and truly capital collection of pictures ... Bronzes of the first class, &c. &c. formed by the late Earl of Bessborough, deceased*, Mr. Christie, London, 5–7 February 1801, first day's sale, p. 4, lot 24, sold to Sullivan £4 14s. 6d. . In 1763 Aubrey Beauclerk, the future 5th Duke of St. Albans, had married Lady Catherine Ponsonby (ob. 1789), daughter of the 2nd Earl of Bessborough (ob. 1793); for the Earl, see G.E.C. (George Cokayne), *The complete peerage*, II, rev. ed. by Vicary Gibbs, London, 1912, 171, and *ibid.*, ... *Addenda & corrigenda*, XIV, rev. ed. by Peter W. Hammond, Stroud, 1998, 91. I am grateful to Peter Beauclerk-Dewar, London, for pointing out this connection.
- 82 Wimsatt, *op. cit.* (at note 27), 105. For William Garrow (1760–1840), see *DNB*, VII, 907–908; FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 1937, quire 840, pp. 317–324 v. . For Edward Lowth Badeley (1803–1868), see *DNB*, I, 856–857, and Frederic Boase, *Modern English biography ...*, I, Truro, 1892, 121.
- 83 NPG 5854: acquired through the National Heritage Memorial Fund [Christie's, *Sales to the nation 1957–1990*, London 1991, xii]. *Pope* was withdrawn as lot 210 from auction of European sculpture, Christie's, London, 13 December 1985 (Christie's Images Ltd., A.C. Cooper neg. nos. 64080–64083). Measurements: bust alone, 19¼ in. high; on original

- black marble socle, 6½ in. high (7½ in. square, around base).
- 84 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), II, 4 and 298.
- 85 Pope mentions Gibbs on three occasions – in *The Dunciad*, as discussed in main text above; in a letter dated 22 January 1726 to the Earl of Oxford, ‘I am utterly against Gibbs, & all his Adherents for Demolition’ [Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), II, 364], a reference to Down Hall (see note 7 above); and in *A master key to Popery or a true and perfect key to Pope’s epistle to the Earl of Burlington*, written in early 1732, ‘Tis certain Sh – d is this Nobleman’s Builder [Shepherd and 1st Duke of Chandos], but why should he [Pope] satyriize Sh – d? Sh – d is none of his *Friends*. I am persuaded that by Sh – d he means *Gibs* with whom he is acquainted’ [John Butt, ‘A master key to Popery’ in *Pope and his contemporaries. Essays presented to George Sherburn*, ed. by James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa, Oxford, 1949, 50; J. Butt (gen. ed.), *The Twickenham edition of the poems of Alexander Pope. Volume III, ii. Epistles to several persons (moral essays)*, 2nd ed. by Frederick W. Bateson, London and New Haven, 1961, 183 (cf. *idem*, 138, line 20, note); Rosemary Cowler (ed.), *The prose works of Alexander Pope. Vol. II: the major works, 1725–1744*, Oxford and Hamden (Conn.), 1986, 415]. I am grateful to Dr. Mervyn Jannetta, London, for the latter two references and for his helpful comments about Pope. The present writer does not agree with Friedman that these lines from *A master key* express Pope’s dissatisfaction with Rysbrack’s bust [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 23 and note 17 on p. 336]. For Edward Shepherd (ob. 1747), see Colvin 1995, *op. cit.* (at note 57), 864.
- 86 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. misc. c. 28, fol. 4. Gibbs also owned a quarto edition of ‘Gay’s Poems in 2 Vol. London 1720’ and, under the heading of ‘Octavos and Duodecimos’, ‘Swift’s Works in 8 Vol. Dub. 1735’ [*idem*, fols. 5 and 6 respectively]. Gibbs’s book collection had been placed in the library by 22 January 1755 [Gillam, *op. cit.* (at note 14), 112–113]. See Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 327–330, for Gibbs’s fine-art library.
- 87 C.E. and Ruth C. Wright (eds.), *The diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726*, London, 1966, 271 [cited in Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 23, and note 11 on p. 335]. For Gibbs’s design of a monument to Wanley, see Friedman, *op. cit.*, 326. Lord Harley’s library of manuscripts was installed in the garden house of his Dover-Street residence sometime after 13 August 1717 [Wanley/Wright, *op. cit.*, xxvii].
- 88 Wanley/Wright, *op. cit.* (at note 87), 261 (Gibbs’s visit on 18 October 1723 re. St. Luke’s day dinner celebrations), 247 and 418 (Persian manuscript). On 4 August 1725 Wanley noted in his diary ‘Mr. Pope came, & I shewed him but few things, it being late’ [*idem*, 366].
- 89 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 117 and 295, pl. 115; David Souden et al, *The National Trust. Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire*, London, 1991, 10–15 and 62. From 21 May 1724 Edward, Lord Harley, was entitled 2nd Earl of Oxford (see note 93 below).
- 90 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 210 and 305, pl. 237. Matthew Maty’s engraving of Dr. Mead’s library was published in 1755.
- 91 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 15, pl. 4; Kerslake, *op. cit.* (at note 2), pl. 264 (under no. 504); Audrey Spencer Arellanes, *Bookplates. A selective annotated bibliography ...*, Detroit, 1971, nos. 31 and 2422. 1736 is ambiguous: it denotes either the date of the bookplate or else a year in the life of Gibbs which it commemorates. For Baron (1696–1762), a friend of Gibbs’s, see *Dictionary of art, op. cit.* (at note 57), III, 259, entry by Elizabeth Miller. The bookplate illustrated here is from Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini, *Funerale celebrato nella chiesa di Santo Antonio della nazione portoghese in Roma per la morte del re di Portogallo don Pietro secondo*, Rome, 1707, one of the books bequeathed by Gibbs to the Radcliffe Camera in 1754 (Radcl. b. 27, bookplate): see notes 13 and 86 above. I am grateful to Steven Tomlinson, Bodleian Library, Oxford, for providing the title and for measuring the bookplate.
- 92 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), II, 4, note 2, & p. 44; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 139–149 and 317, pl. 148; Mack, *op. cit.* (at note 31), 336 and 875.
- 93 *DNB*, VIII, 1278–1280; G.E.C. (George Cokayne), *The complete peerage*, X, rev. ed. by H. A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White and Lord Howard de Walden, London, 1945, 266–268; Clyde Jones, ‘The Harley family and the Harley papers’, *British Library Journal*, XV, no. 2, autumn 1989, 123–133; *Dictionary of art, op. cit.* (at note 57), XIV, 178, entry by Charles Saumarez Smith, with other literature not repeated here.
- 94 London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, vol. 111/33; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), pl. 109. Although the

- tiny old-style year is hard to read, both Susan Palmer (archivist, Soane Museum) and Gordon Balderston believe that it should be read as 1713/14. Friedman and others have given the year as 1712/13 and stated incorrectly that a second (undated) plan of Wimpole in Soane Museum is also dated 4 February 1712/13 [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 23, 113 and 295]. Lord Harley married Lady Henrietta Cavendishe Holles on 31 August 1713 at Wimpole, an estate which her father (ob. 1711) had bought in 1710 [Arthur S. Turberville, *A history of Welbeck Abbey and its owners. Volume one: 1539-1755*, London, 1938, 300; Souden, *op. cit.* (at note 89), 9-18].
- 95 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), II, 101, and *ibid.*, IV, 211.
- 96 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), III, 136; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 117 and 295.
- 97 'Vertue note books. IV', *Walpole Society*, XXIV, 1936, 56; Vertue I, *op. cit.* (at note 9), 137 (no location given).
- 98 Webb, *op. cit.* (at note 14), 15 and 48-49. Gibbs had trained briefly as a priest in Rome, 1703-1704 [Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 398].
- 99 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 12, and note 46 on p. 334.
- 100 For Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, see *DNB*, I, 705-710. For his trial, banishment and friendship with Pope, see Mack, *op. cit.* (at note 31), 394-402 and 884-886.
- 101 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), I, 454 [quoted in Mack, *op. cit.* (at note 31), 339]. For Pope's Catholicism, the Jacobite movement and anti-Catholic feeling, see Mack, *op. cit.*, 37-44, 61-65, 88-89, 258-266, 285 and 336-339 (notes on 827 ff.).
- 102 First proposed by Jane Clark in 'The mysterious Mr Buck. Patronage and politics, 1688-1745', *Apollo*, May 1989, 317-322 and 371, and subsequently by her and others in collections of essays [*Lord Burlington: architecture, art and life*, ed. by Toby Barnard and Jane Clark, London, 1995; *Lord Burlington - the man and his politics. Questions of loyalty*, ed. by Edward Corp, Lampeter, 1998]. I am grateful to Jeremy Howard, University of Buckingham, for alerting me to this proposition, and to Charles Avery, Beckenham, for providing the references. Pope's move to Chiswick in 1715 had been inspired in part by the prospect of residing 'under the wing of my Lord Burlington' [Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 7), I, 339; Mack, *op. cit.* (at note 31), 88, 285-289 and 869]. Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, had approached Gibbs in 1715 to remodel his Stuart mansion on Piccadilly [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 201 and 305, pl. 225].
- 103 For John Erskine, 11th Earl of Mar (1675-1732), see Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 638-639; Colvin 1995, *op. cit.* (at note 57), 347-350; *DNB*, VI, 844-849. For the Earl's patronage of Gibbs, see Little, *op. cit.* (at note 50), 42-44, and Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 8-13, 201 and 307.
- 104 FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 810, quire 228, pp. 212-213, dated 9 May 1754; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 18. An entry dated 28 September 1754 in the account of the executors of James Gibbs reads 'To Cash paid J. Erskine's bill - 1000' [Drummond's, DR/427/33, fol. 417]. The executors also had an account at Hoare's Bank, London, which Gibbs had opened in 1752.
- 105 Alexander's portraits of James Stuart, his deceased wife and two sons (Old Pretender dated 1749; Edward dated 1752; Henry dated illegibly) from the Threipland collection were sold by Christie's, Glasgow, at Fingask Castle, 26 April 1993, lots 249-252; his sons reappeared at Christie's, London, 12 November 1999, lots 13 and 14. Kindly communicated by Robin Nicholson, Drambuie, Edinburgh, and Alastair Laing, The National Trust, London.
- 106 For John Alexander (1686-circa 1766), see Ingamells, *op. cit.* (at note 52), 13.
- 107 20 October 1726 [Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 311].