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WILLIAM THOMAS, STEWARD OF THE 'MARYBONE' ESTATE

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William Thomas was in charge of allocating building leases on the Harleys' Marylebone estate from 1721. He was also a man of letters who moved in the literary and artistic circles favoured by Edward, Lord Harley. Indeed, he sits between James Gibbs and Michael Dahl in Gawen Hamilton's *A conversation of virtuosis*, a group portrait raffled in April 1735 (detail, Fig. 1). Michael Rysbrack had modelled his portrait by 1732 (untraced). And Gibbs would appoint him an executor of his will in 1754, an acknowledgement of their long acquaintance. So well-regarded in his own day, William Thomas deserves to be better-known today. This article will augment and amplify the little-known life in *The dictionary of Welsh biography* and give a brief account of his brother Timothy, chaplain to Lord Harley.¹

William was the son of Thomas Thomas of Llandovery, Carmarthenshire.² He gives his age as eighty eight in a hand-written dedication dated 19 November 1764 in *The works of Geoffrey Chaucer*: so he was born between 19 November 1676 and 18 November 1678 (depending on whether 'An. æt. 88' means eighty-eight years old or in his eighty-eighth year).³ He died on 30 November 1764 and was buried in the parish church of St. Marylebone (destroyed): a memorial on the north wall of the nave also recorded his death 'aged 88 years'.⁴ His will, dated 11 April 1764, names his wife as Mary; his sisters as Ann and Margaret, the latter married to Rowland Morgan of Salop; his deceased brother as Timothy; and Charles Pryor of Lincoln's Inn as his cousin.⁵ Other kinsmen were David and G. Thomas, whose names appear as payees in a ledger of

William's account at Child's bank.⁶ William had an untouched credit balance of £1,050 at Hoare's from March 1758 and he withdrew £800 from Drummond's in September 1764 to close his account there.⁷

William and Timothy Thomas were both employed by the Harley family, a connection presumably due to the Harleys' seat at Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire:⁸ for the Harleys and their titles, see note 9.⁹ William had been employed by Robert Harley, Edward's father, since the 1690s.¹⁰ He describes himself as 'a (really) domestick clerk' in a letter dated 30 March 1708 to Edward Harley, who was then at Christ Church, Oxford.¹¹ William's duties were varied and included 'landing horses from Turkey', for which Robert Harley paid him on 3 October 1706.¹² His letters to members of the Harley family 1708–1721 reveal that William was interested in and well-informed about the activities of Parliament.¹³ (Robert Harley dominated the Country Tories 1701–1714, being, in effect, prime minister 1710–1714. Edward served as M.P. for New Radnor 1711–1715 and Cambridgeshire 1722–1724).¹⁴

Timothy Thomas (early 1690s–1751) was a friend of Edward Harley's and served as his chaplain. Little is known of his early life, other than that he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on 4 July 1712.¹⁵ He accompanied Lord Harley on a pilgrimage to Canterbury in August 1723 and on a two-month trip through England and Scotland in 1725.¹⁶ By 29 November 1726 he was vicar at Presteigne (Llanandras), a parish in the gift of Lord Harley, six-and-a-half miles south-west of Brampton Bryan;¹⁷ and he was officially presented to the rectory of Presteigne



Fig. 1. *A conversation of Virtuosis ...*, by Gawen Hamilton, raffled on 15 April 1735, detail. William Thomas in profile, Michael Dahl seated and James Gibbs standing. *National Portrait Gallery, London.*

on 20 February 1727.¹⁸ His will is dated 2 September 1750.¹⁹ He died on 28 April 1751 and an obituary was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.²⁰

Not surprisingly, William and Timothy got to know Edward Harley's friends and correspondents.²¹ They were also on intimate terms with the beneficiaries of his patronage, as will be discussed below. There are numerous references to the Thomas brothers in letters sent to Edward Harley by Dr. William Stratford, Harley's former tutor and one of eight canons of Christ Church, who had been chaplain to Robert Harley prior to 1703.²² William Thomas stayed with Dr. Stratford in 1717,²³ and he made two payments to him from his account at Child's bank shortly before Stratford's death on 7 May 1729.²⁴

Timothy became friends with Alexander Pope, who had been corresponding with Lord Harley since February 1722.²⁵ In a letter dated 22 January 1726, Pope writes to Harley:

Your Letter gave me a real pleasure in the news of the good health of all at Downhall [Harley's house in Essex] ... For my own part I declare, I lik'd my Lodging so well (both the Apartment above, & the closet below) that I am utterly against Gibbs, & all his Adherents for Demolition. The rooms when I look up to the Cieling, appear very lofty; & surely they are large enough, when both Lady Margaret has room to run about all the morning, in her chamber, & Mr Thomas to sport with Bridgman, in his [Charles Bridgman, landscape gardener]. I fear he will grow fat, now, for want of Exercise, unless he betakes himself to hard study and painful preaching; the latter wherof at least I advise him against, as to no purpose; and the former he stands in no need of. But, whether he studies or plays, I am much his Servant.²⁶

In letters received by Harley in April 1731 Pope again makes reference to Timothy: 'I hope you'll bring Mr Thomas when you come this way', and 'If you bring none but Mr Thomas, I dare show you many of my Papers'.²⁷ This 'Mr. Thomas' must be Timothy, given that he collaborated with Sneyd Davies on a Latin translation of Pope's *Essay on Man* (published in English in 1733).²⁸

William Thomas shared his brother's bibliophily, and had a particular interest in Welsh literature. He must have known Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), librarian to both Robert and Edward Harley, better than the few references in Wanley's letters and diary now suggest.²⁹ William sponsored Moses Williams's *Register of printed books composed in the Welsh language* which was published in London on 7 February 1717 (possibly old style for 1718): amongst the few other subscribers were Robert and Edward Harley.³⁰ As Thomas Hearne (1678–1735) of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, recounts, William was also involved in promoting Williams's *Proposals for printing by subscription a collection of writings in the Welsh tongue, to the beginning of the sixteenth century*, which are dated 31 July 1719:³¹

M^r. W^m Thomas hath certainly a great hand in Moses Williams's Design of publishing Welch Pieces, & is now [1 October 1719] dabbling in Oxford ab' it, pretending to mighty Skill in that and other Matters, & indeed, sets up for a Dictator, & would fain seem mighty cunning, but I find that he is much laugh'd at by such as know him thoroughly. He appears, however, to be a Friend to the Writer of these Matters, who is willing to think well of him.³²

It was perhaps in this connection that Humfrey Wanley had introduced William to his friend and patron Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, in March or April 1718.³³

The most colourful descriptions of William Thomas are by Thomas Hearne,³⁴ on whom William did not make a good first impression:

M^r. William Thomas, who belongs to the [1st] Earl of Oxford, is now [26 November 1717] in Town, & lodges at D^r. Stratford's of Christ-Church. He never had any Academical Education. Nor do I know what Post he is in. Some say he is my Lord's Gentleman. Others say he was once a sort of a Porter. He pretends to Learning, and to be particularly nice in the British Language.³⁵

Nor can they have spent much time bonding when, on 14 March 1718, Hearne appeared before the Vice

Chancellor's court in Oxford to face a libel charge 'with my stipulator, M.^r W^m Thomas', i.e. surety: he was fined £20.³⁶ Five months later, Timothy was his stipulator.³⁷ It was not until 5 October 1719 that Hearne could bring himself to like William Thomas:

M^r. William Thomas was with me for some time today, and, notwithstanding w^t is said above [Hearne's disparaging comments], I believe him to be an honest Gent. He hath good natural Parts, is very good natur'd, hath a good Insight into Books, & is learned beyond his Education, he having been bred as a servant in the Earl of Oxford's Family. So that w^t I writ before is to be look'd upon as y^e Effect of some People's Discourse, not as the Result of my own Judgm^t.³⁸

William collaborated with Timothy on the completion of two-volume editions of the life and works of Geoffrey Chaucer which were published by Bernard Lintot in 1721.³⁹ He left his own copy (probably inherited from Timothy)⁴⁰ to the trustees of the British Museum, together with a copy which Lord Harley had given him to annotate 'not long before his Death':⁴¹ both copies were received by the trustees on 1 December 1764 (the day after William's death), as an inscription in the latter records. Annotations and insertions in these four volumes (presumably for an intended revised edition) make it clear that the Thomas brothers *inter alios* took over from John Urry the task of getting the work published after the latter's death in 1715.⁴² Timothy wrote *The preface* and *Glossary*. William wrote *The life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 'Digested into this order, from various Collections of M.^r Dart, &c; by my Br. William Thomas', as Timothy noted in Lord Harley's copy.

After the publication of *Chaucer* in 1721 William Thomas had far less time to pursue his literary interests, as his business correspondence for these years confirms.⁴³ The reason is simple. On 11 February 1721 Lord Harley and the Lady Henrietta appointed him 'Steward of our Manor or reputed Manor of Marybone' and receiver of rents from their

London properties.⁴⁴ The allocation of building leases was left to William's discretion:

And We do hereby Authorize & Impower the s.^d William Thomas to Treat & Agree with such person & persons as he shall think convenient for Building Leases of such part & parts of our Ground at Marybone afores.^d as is now or shall be hereafter marked out for that purpose. . . .⁴⁵

He was still serving as 'Steward for the Mary Bone Estate' in 1741, after Lord Harley's death; and, according to Francis Sheppard, he continued to do so until 1746.⁴⁶ Curiously, very few transactions between them appear in William's account at Child's bank.⁴⁷

The Marybone estate (the parish was called St. Marylebone)⁴⁸ had come to Lord Harley through his marriage on 31 August 1713 to the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, a well-connected heiress. According to William Thomas's own history of the estate dated February 1738, planning began *circa* 1715:

In 1715 or thereabouts, there was a Project set on foot for building a Square and several Streets in Marybone-Fields, which were set out and Staked; but no further progress was made towards putting it in execution till 1717 or 1718, when the Square was enclosed with a Parapet Brickwall, & Wooden Palisadoes & Iron Gates, the charge of which amounted to £885 . . . Mr. Auditor Harley [Edward Harley's father] treated with Several persons of Quality & others for Building-Ground there⁴⁹

However, the Harleys had to wait until 18 February 1719 for royal assent to a private act of parliament which settled her father's contested will: she was granted the estates left to her by her father John Holles (1662–1711), 1st Duke of Newcastle of second creation, and estates which had belonged to her maternal grandfather Henry Cavendish (1631–1691), 2nd Duke of Newcastle of first creation.⁵⁰ This is why the building leases were all granted in their joint names: for example, James Gibbs's 1727 leases on houses in Henrietta Street refer to 'the s^d Earl by & with the Consent of the s^d Countess'.⁵¹ *A deed*

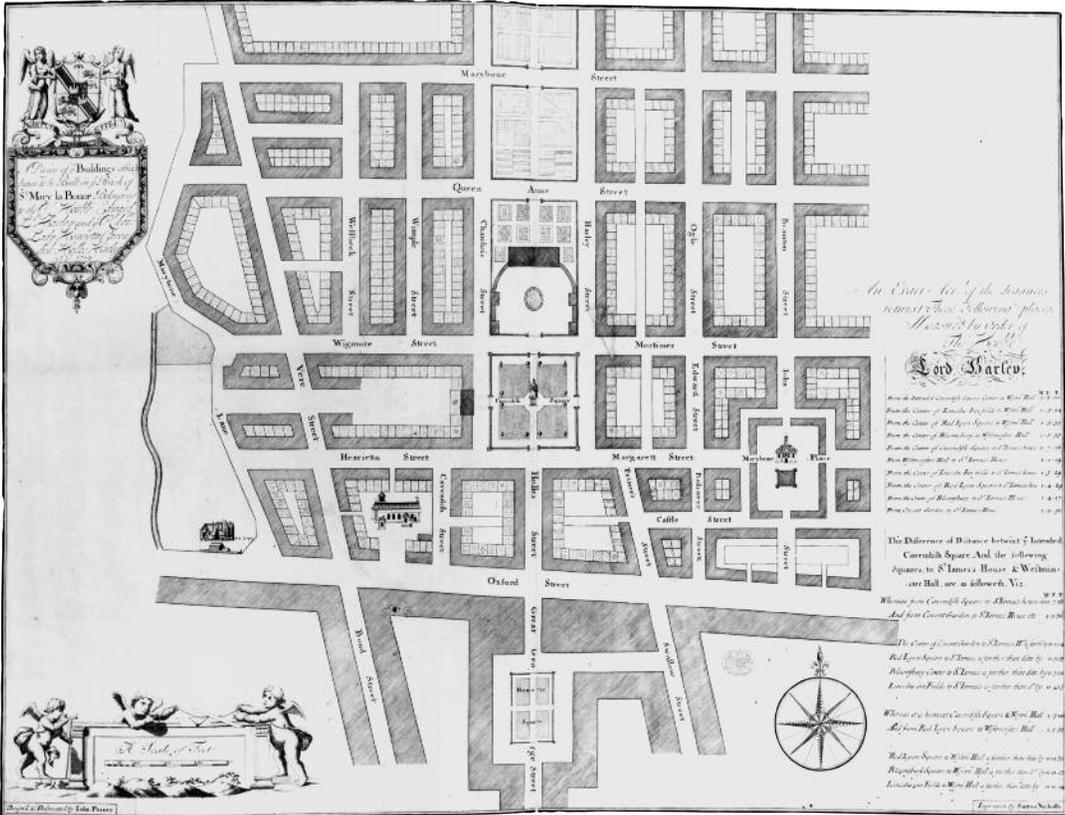


Fig. 2. John Prince, *A design of^{y^e} buildings already begun to be built, in^{y^e} parish of S.^t Mary La Bonne, 1719.* The British Library, London.

empowering Lord Harley, &c, to lett building leases of ground in Marybone followed on 10 June 1719,⁵² and development began.⁵³

The first steward for the Marybone estate was Francis Seale whom the Harleys had appointed to negotiate building leases on 15 April 1718, together with John Prince, surveyor of the estate.⁵⁴ The first recorded lease, dated 20 June 1718, was granted to the 3rd Earl of Carnarvon (the future Duke of Chandos) for a plot in Cavendish Square, but it was cancelled after the crash of the South Sea Company in September 1720.⁵⁵ The next recorded (and first legally sanctioned) lease, dated 13 June 1719, was for a

plot in Vere Street which Roger Anderson took on a 99-year term from 25 March 1719.⁵⁶ However, it is evident from John Prince's *A design of^{y^e} buildings already begun to be built, in^{y^e} parish of S.^t Mary La Bonne. . . 1719* (Fig. 2) that the layout and names of streets envisaged in 1719 were subsequently revised.⁵⁷ For example, Vere Street became Marybone Lane, and Wimpole and Welbeck Streets would continue across Wigmore Street to Henrietta Street, as shown on Richard Horwood's map of 1792 (Fig. 3). (The house numbers used throughout this article are those shown on Horwood's map: see appendix for some later renumbering.)

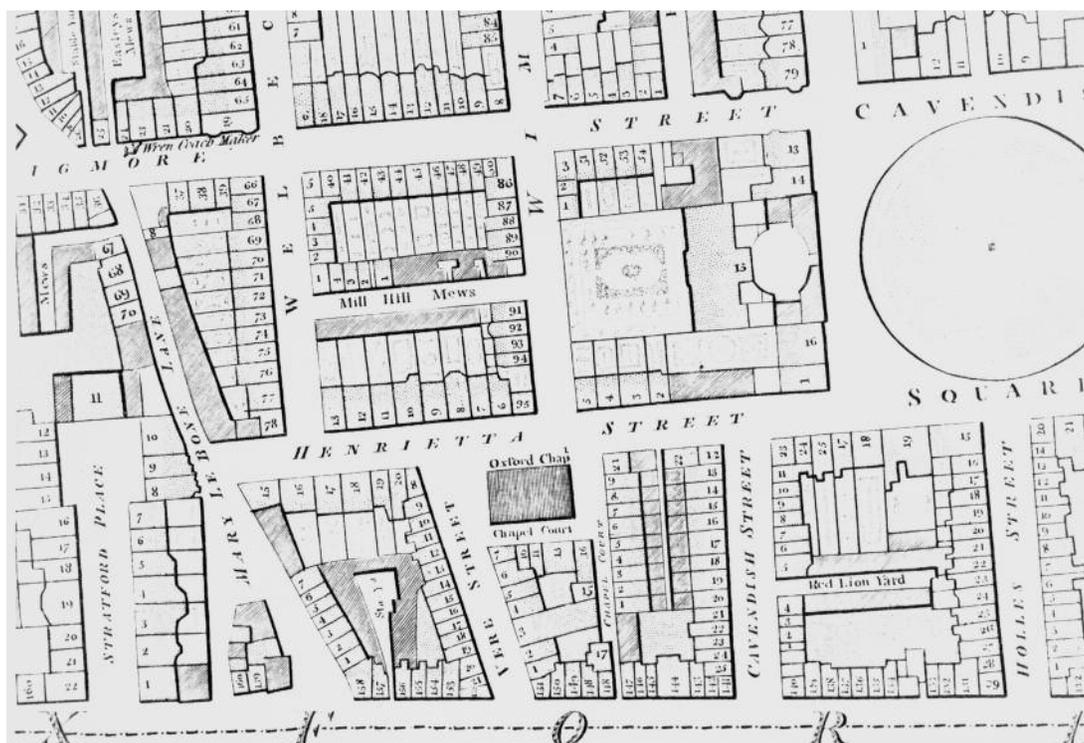


Fig. 3. Richard Horwood, *Plan of the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and parts adjoining shewing every house*, sheet B2 (detail), published 22 June 1792. *The British Library (Maps, 183.e.1), London.*

Building leases were preceded by articles of agreement in which grantees were given two years to complete the brick structure and roof of their houses. This is clear from William Thomas's own ledger of transcribed 'model' agreements and leases. Only after the roof had been tiled was a lease granted:

The said Earl & Countess their Heirs or Assigns shall & will when & so Soon as the s.^d Intended Masses or Tenem.^{ts} shall be Tyled in Grant unto the s.^d A.B his Ext.ors Adm.ors or Ass.^s One or more Ind.re or Ind.res of Lease with all the s.^d Earl's Com.on or Usual Covenants for Building of Houses in the Parish of Mary Le bone al.s Marybone. . . .⁵⁸

However, the phrase 'now built or in Building' was

standard in most leases and makes it impossible to be sure when a building was actually completed.

No original head lease has been found by the present writer, so it is particularly unfortunate that the lease owned by Sir John Summerson for Isaac Mansfield's house in Henrietta Street (later numbered 7) is now untraced. Summerson did publish a few of its covenants, however – 'iron palisades before the whole south front ... at a distance of five feet from the same'; oaken posts eight feet from the palisades and ten feet one from the other; footway to be paved with Purbeck stone, remainder to be paved with pebbles, flint and ragstone; and use of common sewer.⁵⁹

Although the original building leases for the

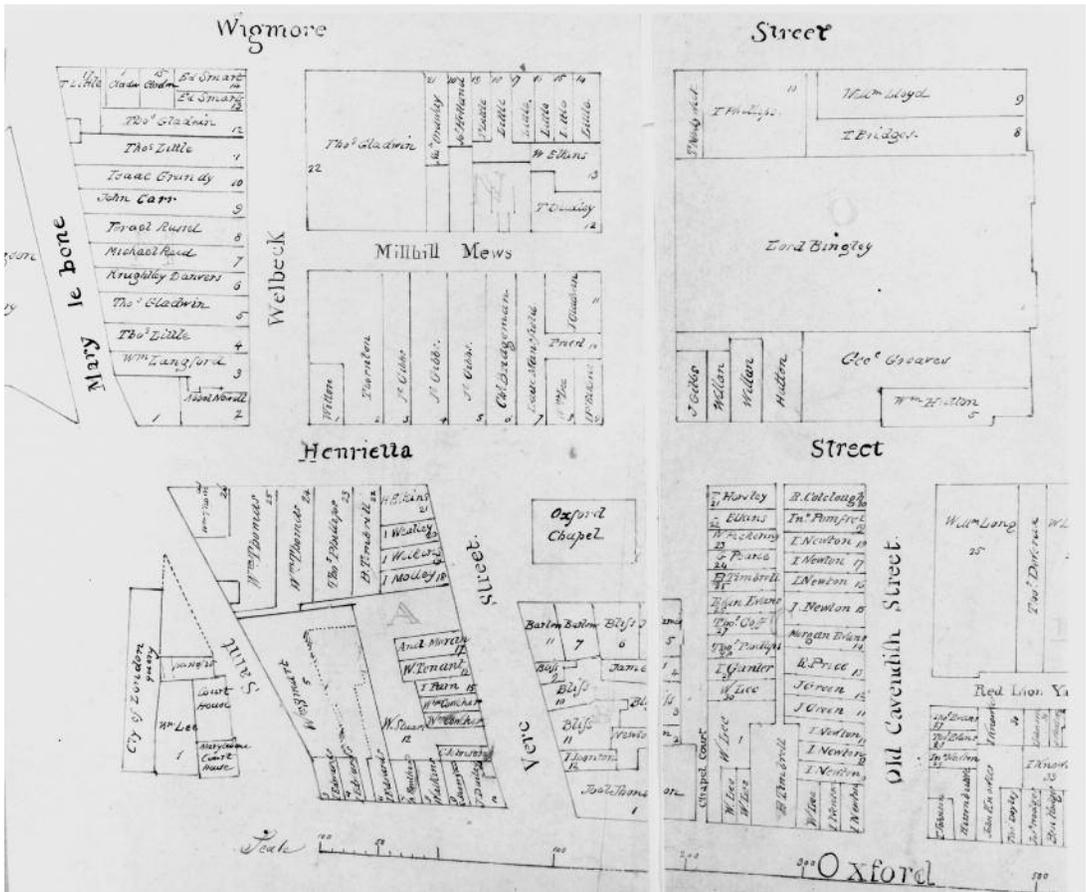


Fig. 4. A large plan of the Duke of Portland's estate as let to different tennants to build upon, surveyed by J. White. 1797, 1798 & 1799, detail. The numbers are not house numbers. The British Library, London.

Marybone estate are all missing, the terms, dates and rents agreed in them between 1718 and 1741 are preserved in another ledger used by William Thomas.⁶⁰ And his *Memorial for registering a building lease* dictated the form of wording used to transcribe abstracts (not the full texts) of original leases onto parchment memorials which were then transcribed into the ledgers now held by The Middlesex Deeds Registry at London Metropolitan Archives.⁶¹ Information in some of the registers indicates that there were earlier agreements between

parties of which no other record now exists.⁶² The leased parcels of land and the names of the original leaseholders are shown on a much later survey entitled *A large plan of the Duke of Portland's estate as to [sic] let to different tennants to build upon surveyed by J. White. 1797, 1798 & 1799* (Fig. 4).⁶³

William Thomas conducted his business from a newly-built house in Henrietta Street, which he was occupying by 18 May 1725.⁶⁴ The exact location cannot be ascertained with certainty, but, in all probability, his office was a house on the north-

western corner with Wimpole Street (95 Wimpole Street on Horwood's map, Fig. 3). This was the first house in Henrietta Street for which a lease exists, and the stipulated completion date was 24 June 1725 [see appendix for this and all subsequently-cited Henrietta Street leases]. The lease itself is dated 19 March 1725 and the 99-year term ran from 24 June 1724. The lessee was Henry Elkins, a bricklayer, who built (and leased) many houses on the Marybone estate: he also built the Marylebone (or Oxford) Chapel.⁶⁵ As noted above, the Harleys granted indentures of lease only when the brickwork and roof had been completed, and other work on finishing the exterior, such as railings and paving, was undertaken during the subsequent two years allowed for completion, all at the head lessee's expense. However, implicit in this latter completion date must also be the finishing of those interior elements which make a building habitable, namely windows, flooring and plastering. No other house in Henrietta Street is known to have been ready for habitation by May 1725. And on 6 May 1730, when rate collectors first included Henrietta Street on their rounds, William Thomas was the first person listed in 'Heneratia Street' immediately after the collector had finished in Wimpole Street (James Gibbs was the second).⁶⁶ The relatively small size of the house and of the plot itself further strengthen the supposition that William Thomas's estate office was this corner house.

Uncertainty arises from the existence of a contract dated 5 June 1723 in which William Thomas commissioned the above-mentioned Henry Elkins to build a *western* end-of-terrace house with a 25-foot façade on Henrietta Street 'according to a Design of the s^d. House made by James Gibbs Esq^r'.⁶⁷ The contract, dated 5 June 1723, stipulated completion of 'All the Brickwork of One House in Henrietta Street in Marybone & Vaults before the Front thereof under the s^d. Street' by September 'next ensuing' (presumably 1723) and a cost of 14 shillings per thousand bricks, adding that 'all the work to be

performed to the Satisfaction of the s^d. M.^r G. who is to determine all disputes that may arise ...'.

Measuring 25 by 36 feet, the house had a windowed basement with three floors above. Grey stock bricks were to be used for the front and back walls with red ones around the window-jambes (in keeping with the Marylebone/Oxford Chapel), while 'The Outside of y^e West Flank Wall [was] to be wrought fair with the best Coloured plaice Bricks'. It was perhaps in connection with work of this nature that William had paid Gibbs £195 on 18 August 1722⁶⁸ – and, several years later, William would subscribe to the publication of Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* ...⁶⁹

There is no other evidence that this four-storey house was built as specified in the detailed contract, and The Middlesex Deeds Registry does not hold a copy of the lease (although terms under twenty-two years did not have to be registered). It is probable that the original contract was cancelled or amended (precedents exist⁷⁰) and that a decision was taken to build an eastern end-of-terrace house first, *i.e.* 95 Wimpole Street (the house assumed above to have been William Thomas's office). Construction of a terrace on the north side of Henrietta Street began thereafter, starting at the western corner with Welbeck Street (Fig. 5): the deadline for its completion was 24 June 1728.⁷¹ For the record, the only houses in Henrietta Street with 25-foot façades stipulated in their leases were Charles Bridgeman's at No. 8, James Gibbs's at No. 11 and William Hulton's at No. 1 (fronting Cavendish Square).

Throughout the 1720s William's own home was in Durham Yard, just south of The Strand (between today's Charing Cross station and The Savoy). He bought or took over this house from Thomas Shippey in 1706 and he paid rates on it until 1730 (latterly '3 houses', probably in a row).⁷² That he continued to live there is clear from leases dated 12 and 22 May 1725 which refer to 'William Thomas of the Strand',⁷³ *i.e.* after 18 May when he is first recorded in Henrietta Street. His banks were nearby.⁷⁴ However, he began paying rates on a house



Fig. 5. *Henrietta Street in 1948, westwards from No. 8, by then renamed Henrietta Place.*
Reproduced by permission of English Heritage. NMR.

in Cavendish Square on 26 October 1727, paying on that day and still on 31 August 1728.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the loss of St. Marylebone rate books for 1729 makes it impossible to establish exactly when he stopped paying rates on the Cavendish Square house, but it was certainly before 6 May 1730, when he is first known to have paid rates for living in 'Heneratia Street':⁷⁶ Henrietta Street is not listed in rate books before this date. (The same dates apply to James Gibbs's occupation of a house in Cavendish Square from 1727 and his move to Henrietta Street in 1730: neither house was adjacent to William Thomas's and neither of them is recorded as a head lessee in Cavendish Square up to 1741.⁷⁷)

In the early 1730s William Thomas replaced his three houses in Durham Yard with three houses in a row on the south side of Henrietta Street at its western corner with Marybone Lane (as it is called in leases): the countryside to the west was still undeveloped. The leases for Nos.15–17 Henrietta Street, dated 4, 3 and 6 August 1733 respectively, describe the houses as 'lately built and finished upon the whole front' [see appendix]: the intricate details are hard to follow. No. 17 conformed to the size of the average plot on the north side of Henrietta Street, but it did not have a coach house and stables to the rear (as was usual on the north side between Wimpole and Welbeck Streets). Instead, the house

had rights to a horse pound, stable and coach yard on the western side of Marybone Lane, and access via a lane running behind Nos. 16 and 15. These latter houses were more elaborate. No. 15, the corner house, was flanked by three coach houses fronting Henrietta Street (one 'under the west part' and two 'under the East part of a large Room'), and rights to a walled garden opposite. Its stable yard, further down Marybone Lane, was enveloped by No. 16, which, in its turn, had two coach houses fronting Henrietta Street under the west side of the house.

By the mid-1730s William Thomas had proved himself as a bibliophile and as an effective agent for the Harleys. Now in his fifties, he was successful and well-established. And he continued to play an active role in the administration of the parish, as treasurer of the vestry funds 1733–1757 and as chairman of the Turnpike Trust from 1734: he had been appointed one of fifty-two trustees responsible for maintaining the road between St. Giles's pound and Kilburne bridge in the local Turnpike Act of 1721, as had James Gibbs.⁷⁸

It should come as no surprise that William Thomas was painted by Gawen Hamilton in a group portrait, raffled on 15 April 1735, which George Vertue described as 'the peice of a Conversation of Virtuosis that usually meet at the Kings Armes. New bond Street a noted tavern' (detail, Fig. 1).⁷⁹ Fortunately, Vertue also sketched the composition and annotated it with the names of those portrayed.⁸⁰ In addition to 'M.^r W.^m Thomas' and himself, Vertue identified Bernard Baron, Charles Bridgeman, Michael Dahl, James Gibbs, Joseph Goupy, Gawen Hamilton, Hans Hysing, William Kent, Matthew Robinson, Michael Rysbrack and John Wootton.

William had long-standing connections with several of these *virtuosi*, particularly those patronised by Lord Harley and the Lady Henrietta.⁸¹ James Gibbs had designed a house for him in Henrietta Street in 1723,⁸² and would appoint him an executor of his will in 1754.⁸³ John Wootton had accompanied him on a visit to Lord Harley's house

in Dover Street on 25 March 1724, together with his brother Timothy.⁸⁴ Charles Bridgeman was 'sporting with' his brother at Down Hall in January 1726;⁸⁵ had received money from him in 1725 and 1726;⁸⁶ and had agreed a building lease with him on 19 December 1726 for 8 Henrietta Street. Vertue had invited him to the annual feast of the Club of St. Luke in 1730.⁸⁷ And Michael Rysbrack, who lived and worked in Vere Street, had modelled his portrait in clay by 1732 (untraced).⁸⁸

Gawen Hamilton did not portray William Thomas as a background figure, and today he deserves to be better known. His talents lay in serving others and in enabling them to fulfil their ambitions, as his dedication to the Harleys, the Marybone estate and the life and works of Chaucer attest. For this he was well-regarded by his contemporaries. While neither he nor his brother was gifted with creative skills to match those of his acquaintances whose works embody their lives for posterity, William Thomas should be remembered for having presided over the development of the Marybone estate and for being, in Dr. Stratford's words, 'the very best servant that ever I knew or heard of to any great man'.⁸⁹

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APPENDIX

HENRIETTA STREET: BUILDING
LEASES IN ORDER OF THEIR DATES

Henrietta Street was developed between 1723 and 1740 on land previously known as Millhill Field.⁹⁰ Construction of houses began shortly after the Marylebone (or Oxford) Chapel opened in 1724.⁹¹ Corner houses were built first, usually followed by adjacent houses: Bridgeman's at No. 8 is an exception. William Thomas's own account of the development of Henrietta Street appears in *A memorial touching the nature & condition of the estate of Marybone* which he wrote in 1738 [cited below as HDW 6/1]:

As the Market-house encouraged Building on the East end of the Estate, so did the Chapell at the West end; together with the expedition with which Messrs. Timbrell & Phillips proceeded to make good their Building Contract, assisted by the Artificers employ'd by them in Building the Chapell, whom they obliged to take part of their Ground. The Building on that side was likewise promoted by W.T.'s taking a piece of Ground at the extremity of Henrietta Street towards Marybone Lane, on the South side of it, which his Officious Zeal pushed him on to improve at a far greater expence than in prudence he ought to have engaged in, which lay Dead for many years and still turns to very little Account. However this induced Mr. Gibbs & others to build on the other side of that Street, which soon completed the West part of it.⁹²

In fact, the terrace on the north side of Henrietta Street between Wimpole and Welbeck Streets was finished by 24 June 1728 (Fig. 5); at least, that is the date of completion stipulated in the leases for Nos. 6–7, 9–11 and 13 (the other three having earlier completion dates).

Lessees agreeing 99-year terms paid one peppercorn as rent for the first two years. In the case of terms *under* 99 years, lessees paid annual rent from the start of the term in quarterly instalments. The commencement dates for rents are not given below, except when they differ from the usual

covenants. The leases were usually entered in the registers a few days after the 'to be registered' date, and are not given here. The existence of some *Articles of agreement for granting a building lease of ground* is recorded in *A register of sundry acts of parliament, grants, deeds, papers ... relating to the manor of Marybone* postdating 1830 [cited below as WCA, M: Acc 449/1]:⁹³ the dates of these agreements, when known, are given below. All old-style dates have been changed to new style.

Identifying 'the Author's House in *Henrietta-Street Marybone*' which Gibbs was occupying by 15 March 1727 remains problematic.⁹⁴

The house numbers used throughout this article are those which appear on Richard Horwood's map of 1792 (Fig. 3). However, Peter Potter's *Plan of the parish of St. Marylebone* of 1820–1821 makes it clear that certain houses and streets were renumbered between the 1790s and 1820 (when Potter began working on his map).⁹⁵ In Henrietta Street, No. 1 would change to 17 Cavendish Square; No. 22 would become No. 22a; and 95 Wimpole Street would become No. 98 (although it appears on a block plan of *circa* 1807 as No. 97⁹⁶). There is no 14 Henrietta Street on either map. 6–13 Henrietta Street were demolished January–April 1956, by which time the street had been renamed Henrietta Place.⁹⁷

The following abbreviations are used: BL for British Library; HDW for archives of Howard de Walden Estate, London; MDR for Middlesex Deeds Registry at London Metropolitan Archives; WCA for Westminster City Archives at City of Westminster Archives Centre.

No. 22 (and 12 Cavendish Street), south-west corner with and fronting Cavendish Street, Richard Colclough, victualler: 99 years from 29 September 1721, lease dated 1 February 1723, completion by 29 September 1723. 20 by 70 feet (Cavendish Street façade by length of plot). £5 annual rent. To be registered 2 February 1723 [MDR 1722/5/368; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 10].

The tripartite lease was granted to Colclough by Lord Harley and the Lady Henrietta with the agreement of Benjamin Timbrell and Thomas Phillips (to whom Colclough was letting the plot to the south). Horwood's map (Fig. 3) shows that the plot had been divided by the 1790s. By 1820 No. 22 had been renumbered as 22a.

'**One House in Henrietta Street** in Marybone ... The s.^d House to contain 25 Feet in Front from Middle to Middle of the party walls and 36 feet in depth', commissioned by William Thomas from Henry Elkins, bricklayer, contract dated 5 June 1723, completion by 1 September 1723. 25 by 36 feet, four floors. [BL, Add. MS 18238, fo. 40–41; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 27–28; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 33, 209 and 305; see also main text above].

Not known to have been built. John Summerson assumed that this was the contract for William Thomas's house at No. 15 [see below].

No. 21, south-east corner with Chapel Street, 'lett or agreed to be lett' to Benjamin Timbrell and Thomas Phillips, carpenters, according to a lease dated 13 February 1724 for adjacent plot to south [MDR 1724/2/27] (lease for No. 21 not found). However, BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 13, names the lessee as Thomas Horsley (under Chapel Street) and gives the following details: 99 years from 29 September 1721, lease dated 8 March 1725 [*sic*], 19 by 61 ft. 8 in., £3 8s annual rent due 29 September 1723. Articles of agreement, 20 August 1725 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, no. 452].

Although *A schedule of the counterparts of the leases of His Grace the Duke of Portland's estate in the parish of Marybone – A. D. 1783*, fo. 29 [London, Howard de Walden Estate Archive, HDW 3/1/1] repeats the details of Horsley's lease (under Henrietta Street), Thomas Horsley may have been a subsequent owner rather than the head lessee. The completion and registration dates remain unknown. This was the last house to be built in Chapel Street.

North-west corner with Wimpole Street (**95 Wimpole Street**), fronting Henrietta Street and Wimpole Street, Henry Elkins, bricklayer: 99 years from 24 June 1724, lease dated 19 March 1725, completion by 24 June 1725, 'one Double Brick Messuage or Tenement now built or in Building'. 23 by 60 feet (Henrietta Street façade by length of plot). £3 *p.a.*. To be registered 3 April 1725 [MDR 1725/1/60; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 13]. Articles of agreement, 6 June 1724 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, no. 381].

The first house in Henrietta Street to be leased [BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 13]. Renumbered as 98 Wimpole Street 1790s–1820.

No. 20 (and 8 Vere Street), south-west corner with Vere Street, fronting Henrietta Street and Vere Street, Henry Elkins: 99 years from 25 March 1725, lease dated 22 May 1725, completion by 25 March 1727, 'a brick Messuage or Messuages now built or in building on the fronts of the premisses'. Trapezoidal plot, 40 by 27 by 47 by 36 feet (north, east, south, west). £2 15s *p.a.*. To be registered 5 July 1725 [MDR 1725/3/193; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 14]. Articles of agreement, 3 March 1725 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, no. 417].

The house looked onto the portico of the Marylebone (or Oxford) Chapel, designed by James Gibbs and constructed 1721–1724.

No. 13, north-east corner with Welbeck Street, fronting Henrietta Street and Welbeck Street, William Wilton, plasterer: 99 years from 24 June 1726, lease dated 5 December 1726, completion by 24 June 1728. 30 by 50 ft. (Henrietta Street façade by length of plot). £3 *p.a.*. To be registered 26 January 1727 [MDR 1726/2/345; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 15; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 34–36].

No. 8, Charles Bridgeman, landscape gardener: 99 years from 29 September 1725, lease dated 19 December 1726, completion by 29 September 1727. 25 by 135 ft. . £5 *p.a.*. To be registered 18 July 1727

[MDR 1727/1/198; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 15; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 30–31 and 35].

The lease refers to a plot to the west 'Lett or to be lett unto James Gibbs Esq' and similarly to Elkins to the east (No. 7 was, in fact, granted to Mansfield). For payments to Bridgeman from William Thomas in 1725 and 1726, see note 86.

No. 12, William Thornton: 99 years from 25 December 1725, lease dated 28 January 1727, completion by 25 December 1727. 33 by 135 ft., plus 85 ft. lateral wall on Welbeck Street. £9 12s *p.a.*. To be registered 21 April 1727 [MDR 1727/2/84; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 15; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 34]. Two articles of agreement, 19 August 1725 and 20 November 1725 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, nos. 449 and 462].

The lease mentions Wilton at No. 13.

No. 9, James Gibbs: 97 years from 29 September 1726, lease dated 31 August 1727, completion by 24 June 1728. 33 by 135 feet. £2 10s *p.a.*. To be registered 25 October 1727 [MDR 1727/3/262; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 16; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 29, 31–32 and 36; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 209 and 305, fig. 231–233; Balderston 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 77), 10–11]. Articles of agreement, 9 October 1725 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, no. 457, refers to leases].

Bridgeman's lease dated 19 December 1726 for No. 8 [see above] refers to a plot to the west 'Lett or to be lett unto James Gibbs Esq'.

No. 10, James Gibbs: 97 years from 29 September 1726, lease dated 1 September 1727, completion by 24 June 1728. 33 by 135 feet. £2 10s *p.a.*. To be registered 25 October 1727 [MDR 1727/3/263; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 16; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 29, 32 and 36; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 209 and 305, fig. 231–233; Balderston 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 77), 10–11]. Articles of agreement, 9 October 1725 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, no. 457, refers to leases].

No. 11, James Gibbs, architect: 99 years from 29 September 1725, lease dated 2 September 1727,

completion by 24 June 1728. 25 by 135 feet. £2 *p.a.*. To be registered 25 October 1727 [MDR 1727/3/264; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 16; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 29, 32–34 and 36; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 209 and 305, fig. 231–233; Balderston 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 77), 10–11]. Articles of agreement, 9 October 1725 [WCA, M: Acc 449/1, no. 457, refers to leases].

The parlour is now in gallery 54 of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (W.5–1960) [<http://images.vam.ac.uk>, 'parlour from 11 Henrietta Street' by Tessa Murdoch]. The chimneypiece and overmantel conform to a design included in Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* ..., 1728, xxi and pl. 91.

No. 6, Walter Lee, mason: 97 years from 24 June 1726, lease dated 3 October 1727, completion by 24 June 1728. 23 ft. 6 in. by 60 ft. . £1 10s *p.a.*. To be registered 25 October 1727 [MDR 1727/3/267; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 16; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 30].

No. 7, Isaac Mansfield, plasterer: 97 years from 24 June 1726, lease dated 3 October 1727, completion by 24 June 1728. 24 by 135 ft. . £5 *p.a.*. To be registered 25 October 1727 [MDR 1727/3/268; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 16; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 30 and 35].

According to Bridgeman's lease dated 19 December 1726 [see No. 8 above], this plot to the east of No. 8 was originally 'Lett or to be lett' to Henry Elkins. Sir John Summerson owned the original lease (now untraced). Isaac Mansfield senior and junior both subscribed to James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* ..., 1728, xxvii.

No. 2, James Gundy: 97 years from 25 March 1728, lease dated 12 February 1729, completion by 25 March 1729. 41 by 75 ft. . £2 10s *p.a.*. To be registered 5 March 1729 [MDR 1728/6/403, as I. Gundy; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 17, as James Gundy].

Gundy's plot is marked incorrectly as 'Hutton' (*cf.* No. 1 below) on White's map (Fig. 4).

No. 1, north-east corner with and fronting Cavendish Square, William Hulton of Chester: 97 years from 25 March 1726, lease dated 4 June 1730, 'lately built and finished'. 25 by 125 ft. (Cavendish Square façade by length of plot). £6 *p.a.*. To be registered 3 July 1730 [MDR 1730/2/138; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 18].

Address renamed 17 Cavendish Square 1790s–1820.

No. 18, Thomas Phillips, carpenter: 95 years from 25 March 1730, lease dated 10 December 1730, completion by 25 March 1732. 34 by 95 sloping to 100 ft. . Unusually, peppercorn as first two years' rent, then 16s *p.a.*. To be registered 25 February 1731 [MDR 1730/4/361; BL, Add. MS fo. 18].

Built on ground let to William Thomas by the Harleys [HDW 6/1, fo. 17 v.].

No. 19, Benjamin Timbrell, carpenter: 95 years from 25 March 1730, lease dated 10 December 1730, completion by 25 March 1732. 22 by 93 sloping to 95 ft. . Unusually, peppercorn as first two years' rent, then 8s *p.a.*. To be registered 22 February 1731 [MDR 1730/3/378; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 18].

Built on ground let to William Thomas by the Harleys [HDW 6/1, fo. 17 v.]. Timbrell's trade is given in MDR 1724/2/27.

No. 5, James Gibbs's home from 1732: 94 years from 25 March 1731, lease dated 23 April 1731, completion by 25 March 1732. 26 by 62 ft. . £6 *p.a.*. To be registered 28 May 1731 [MDR 1731/2/49; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 18; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 29; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 207; Balderston 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 77), 9].

No. 4, William Wilton: 94 years from 25 March 1731, lease dated 23 April 1731, completion by 25 March 1732. 18 by 62 ft. . £1 *p.a.*. To be registered 28 May 1731 [MDR 1731/2/50; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 18].

No. 3, William Wilton: 92 years from 25 March 1733, lease dated 15 June 1733, completion by 25 March 1734. 26 by 71 ft. . 10s *p.a.*. To be registered 23 July 1733 (entered 14 August 1733) [MDR 1733/2/477; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 19].

The plot is referred to in Gundy's 1729 lease [No. 2 above] as 'Ground lett or agreed to be lett unto Thomas Milner Esquire and now in the possession of the said James Gundy' and in Wilton's 1731 lease [No. 4 above] as let to Thomas Milner.

No. 16, William Thomas: 97 years from 25 March 1733, lease dated 3 August 1733, 'one brick Messuage or Tenem^t. lately built and finished upon the whole front'. Plot measuring 41 by 109 by 33 ft. (north, east, south); its western sides circumscribed the 41 by 30 ft. walls (east, south) of No. 15, and the 19 by 18 by 10 ft. perimeter (north, east, south) of Thomas's stable yard, leaving two sections fronting south-west onto Marybone Lane of 52 ft. and 8 ft. wide; two coach houses, each 7 ft. 6 in. wide by 17 ft. deep and 10 ft. high, were built on Henrietta Street under the west side of the house, whose façade can thus be calculated as 26 ft. wide. £2 *p.a.*. To be registered 30 August 1733; entered 1 September 1733 [MDR 1733/3/79; HDW 6/1, fo. 17 v. and 18; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 19].

The lease allowed Thomas to build over the stable yard belonging to No. 15 [see below]. Thomas's lease for No. 15 gives the length of the stable's northern side as 21 ft., not as the 19 ft. given in this lease. The lease was later amended to run 85 years from 25 March 1745 [HDW T7/30 (terms of contract); HDW P5A/76 and P6/02–08 (ground plans); HDW 3/3].

No. 15, south-west corner of Henrietta Street with Marylebone Lane, William Thomas: 97 years from 25 March 1733, lease dated 4 August 1733, also 'lately built and finished'. Plot measuring 51 by 41 by 30 by 50 ft. (north, east, south, north-west), with a separate, already-built stable and yard to the south [see No. 16 above]. The house had 'one large Vault under the said building opening into Marybone [Lane] and Extending in length from West ffifty ffeet or thereab^{ts}. and in breadth ffifteen ffeet or thereab^{ts}.' and three coach houses, each 7 ft. 6 in. wide by 17 ft. deep and 10 ft. high, fronting onto Henrietta Street,

one 'under the west part' and two 'under the East part of a large Room'. £1 *p.a.*. To be registered 30 August 1733; entered 1 September 1733 [MDR 1733/3/80; HDW 6/1, fo. 17 v. and 18; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 19; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 27–28].

The lease included rights to a walled garden, 58 by 44 by 40 by 48 ft. (north, east, south, north-west), on the opposite side of Henrietta Street to the west of Newell's plot at 78 Welbeck Street [see below], i.e. on the north-west corner with Marybone Lane. The lease was later amended to run 85 years from 25 March 1745 [HDW T6A/75; HDW P5A/50; HDW 3/3].

John Summerson believed this to be the house which William Thomas commissioned from Henry Elkins in 1723 [see above and main text]. However, there is no known evidence that No. 15 ever had a 25-foot façade on Henrietta Street.

No. 17, William Thomas: 97 years from 25 March 1733, lease dated 6 August 1733, also 'lately built and finished'. 34 by 100 by 114 ft. (N, E, W); the plot's southern extent was 115 ft. *in toto*, i.e. it ran 25 ft. eastwards (from Marybone Lane ?), then, after 'a break of six ffeet of Assize [*sic*] or thereab^{ts}. running North', it continued eastwards for another 90 ft., abutting Brig.-Gen. William Stuart's ground to the south (shown incorrectly on White's map, Fig. 4). £1 10s *p.a.*. To be registered 30 August 1733; entered 1 September 1733 [MDR 1733/3/81; HDW 6/1, fo. 17 v. and 18; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 19].

The lease allowed Thomas rights, *inter alia*, to a horse pound, stable and coach house built on the west side of Marybone Lane. The lease was later amended to run 85 years from 25 March 1745 [HDW T7/30; HDW P5A/76 and P6/02–08; HDW 3/3].

North-west corner with and fronting Welbeck Street (78 Welbeck Street), Abbott Newell, yeoman: 84 years from 24 June 1736, lease dated 8 May 1736, messuage 'now built'. 32 ft. 6 in. (Welbeck Street façade) by 55 ft. (length of plot on Henrietta Street);

irregularly-shaped border with William Langford's plot to north; 44 ft. border with William Thomas's garden to west. 4s *p.a.*. To be registered 19 August 1736 [MDR 1736/3/143; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 21; Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 29].

Newell's ground is mentioned in Thomas's 1733 lease for No. 15 above.

Nos. 23–25, south-east corner with Cavendish Street, lease for two plots and ten messuages granted to William Long by the trustees of the 2nd Earl and Countess of Oxford [Lord and Lady Harley]: 79 years from 25 March 1739, lease dated 27 July 1739, completion by 24 June 1740. Plot fronting Henrietta Street (Nos. 23–24), 73 by 155 ft.; adjacent plot to east fronting Cavendish Square (No. 25), 36 by 155 ft. . £21 *p.a.*. To be registered 30 July 1739 [MDR 1739/2/482; BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 22].

NOTES

- 1 John E. Lloyd and Robert T. Jenkins (eds.), *The dictionary of Welsh biography down to 1940*, Oxford, 1959, 970, entry by William L. Davies; *ibid.*, 967–968, for Timothy.
- 2 His father is named in the matriculation record for Timothy Thomas, his brother, at the University of Oxford in 1712 [Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses. The members of the university of Oxford, 1500–1714* ..., Oxford and London, 1892 (facsimile, Nendeln, 1968), IV, 1474]. I am grateful to Simon Bailey, Oxford University Archives, for double-checking this in the original register.
- 3 London, The British Library (hereafter BL), shelf-mark 831.L.4. Peter L. Heyworth (ed.), *Letters of Humfrey Wanley* ..., Oxford, 1989, 383, note 3, states that he was born in 1676.
- 4 Thomas Smith, *A topographical and historical account of the parish of St. Mary-le-bone*, 1833, 68. I am grateful to Richard Bowden for this reference.
- 5 London, Family Records Centre (hereafter FRC) PROB 11, microfilm 904, quire 487, fo. 343A–343B v. . Smith, *op. cit.* (at note 4), 68, records the deaths and ages of Thomas's wife and sisters. For a marriage settlement drawn up between W. T.

- (William Thomas?) and E. B., daughter of J. B., see BL, Add. MS 18238, fo. 54 v.-56 v. .
- 6 G. Thomas, June 1722 (£10) [CH/194/14, fo. 136]. David Thomas, August 1729 (£50), December 1730 (£10) [CH/194/15, fo. 121-122]. Payments to Timothy, July 1722 (£20), May 1729 (£6 17s 1d) [CH/194/14, fo. 136; CH/194/15, fo. 121]. Seven payments to Ann, June 1719-December 1730 [CH/194/13, fo. 363; CH/194/14, fo. 196; CH/194/15, fo. 122]. Other entries for William Thomas appear in ledgers at Child's bank held by The Royal Bank of Scotland Group Archives, London (hereafter RBSGA), CH/194/13, fo. 267 and 363; CH/194/14, fo. 197. Entries span September 1716-March 1731 (credits and debits each run chronologically but, albeit on facing pages, cover different accounting periods).
 - 7 London, Hoare's Bank, archives, 55, fo. 209; RBSGA, DR/427/49, fo. 860. His account at Hoare's was opened in 1706 and his account ledgers span 13 December 1707-23 March 1758: only the last ledger names payers and payees [London, Hoare's Bank, archives, 8/171 & 404 (1707); 13/419 (1711); 16/425 (1713-1714); 19/21 (1716); 24/301 (1722); 33/196 (1733); 55/209 (28 July 1755-23 March 1758)]. His account at Drummond's spans July 1757-September 1764 [RBSGA, DR/427/36, fo. 445 (1757); DR/427/41, fo. 673 (1760); DR/427/45, fo. 521 (1762); DR/427/47, fo. 810 (1763)]. In a Child's ledger [RBSGA, CH/194/13, fo. 267, under credits spanning September 1716-March 1718, there is a payment from 'Hoare', either Henry (1677-1725) or Benjamin (1693-1750), partners at Hoare's from 1702 and 1718 respectively.
 - 8 *The national gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1868; *Littlebury's Directory and gazetteer of Herefordshire*, 2nd ed., 1876-1877; www.genuki.org.uk/big (search on England, Herefordshire, Town and parishes). See also maps of Herefordshire by Robert Morden (1690), Simpson (1746) and Taylor (1754). I am grateful to Jane Cox, Hereford Library, for these references. In 1127 the Brampton family had settled on land which had belonged to the Mortimers, hence the Harley title Earl Mortimer. Robert Harley was buried at Brampton Bryan.
 - 9 Robert Harley (1661-1724) was created Baron Harley of Wigmore and 1st Earl of Oxford of second creation and Earl Mortimer on 23 May 1711 by Queen Anne. He died on 21 May 1724 (according to Thomas Hearne, he died on 20 May [Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne, VIII, ed. by Oxford Historical Society, 1907, 215, 22 May 1724, assuming that editors have correctly understood letters quoted]). Edward Harley (1689-1741), his son, was entitled Lord Harley from 1711 and would inherit his father's titles in 1724: he had married the Lady Henrietta Cavendishe Holles on 31 August 1713 in the drawing room at Wimpole. He will be referred to throughout this article as Edward Harley or as Lord Harley. For a little-known biography of Harley family, see Lloyd and Jenkins, *op. cit.* (at note 1), 1127-1128. For Harley family tree, see Clyve Jones, 'The Harley family and the Harley papers', *British Library Journal*, XV, 2, autumn 1989, 126. For creation of earldom after de Vere line became extinct in 1703, see G. E. C[okayne], *The complete peerage*, rev. ed. by H. A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White and Lord Howard de Walden, London, 1945, X, 261-262 (Robert on *ibid.*, 263-266; Edward on *ibid.*, 266-268).
 - 10 *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fourteenth report, appendix, part II. Report on the manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey. Vol. III*, London, 1894, 610, letter dated 6 November 1699 sent to William Thomas. HMC reports will be cited hereafter in abbreviated form following usage in www.hmc.gov.uk/pubs/rep&cal.htm, i.e. HMC. 14th report, appendix II, Portland III for volume cited here.
 - 11 HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland IV, London, 1897, 483. Edward Harley matriculated at Christ Church on 30 October 1707; awarded M.A. on 2 January 1712 [Foster, *op. cit.* (at note 2), 1891, II, 651].
 - 12 Charles M. Prior, *Early records of the thoroughbred horse*, London 1924, 137. Edward Harley wrote to him on 29 November 1713 about landing other horses [*ibid.*, 138].
 - 13 HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland IV, 478-484, 487 and 519-521, letters to Edward Harley dated 1708 and 1709; *ibid.*, Portland V, Norwich, 1899, 386, letter to Thomas Harley dated 1714; *ibid.*, Portland V, 617-618, letters to Robert Harley dated March 1721.
 - 14 Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley and D. W. Hayton, *The history of Parliament. The House of Commons 1690-1715*, Cambridge, 2002, 240-244 (Edward) and 244-280 (Robert); Romney

- Sedgwick, *ibid.*, 1715–1754, London, 1970, 110–111 (Edward), entry by E. Cruickshanks.
- 15 Foster, *op. cit.* (at note 2), 1474, gives his age as eighteen upon matriculation on 4 July 1712, but a transcription of his memorial tablet at Presteigne states that he died aged 59 on 27 April 1751 after twenty-five years as rector [BL, shelf-mark 643.m.4, bound into volume one of William Thomas's working copy of *The works of Geoffrey Chaucer*]. For other biographical details, see Lloyd and Jenkins, *op. cit.* (at note 1), 967–968, entry by William L. Davies; *Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne*, I–XI, 1885–1921 (hereafter *Hearne I–XI*); Wanley/Heyworth, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 456 and note 4, 29 October 1723 letter to Edward Harley.
- 16 Respectively BL, Add. MS 70435, fols. 1–15, Monday, 26–Wednesday, 28 August 1723 (Canterbury), and BL, Add. MS 70435, fols. 21–307, 10 April–10 June 1725 [latter reprinted in *HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland VI*, London, 1901, 81–147]. See also James Lees-Milne, *Earls of creation. Five great patrons of eighteenth-century art*, 1962, 206–209.
- 17 A transcribed church record dated 29 November 1726 refers to Timothy Thomas both as vicar and as rector at Presteigne – although the insertion of rector in the text immediately after vicar could be a later amendment [BL, Add. MS 18238, fo. 58]. Presumably the elderly incumbent, Samuel Sanford, was unable to fulfil his duties as rector. For Presteigne, see references cited at note 8 above and Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Wales* . . . , 4th ed., 1849.
- 18 Arthur T. Bannister, *Diocese of Hereford. Institutions, etc. (A. D. 1539–1900)*, Cantilupe Society, Hereford, 1923, 72: held until his death, by which time the vicarage and rectory are both noted in *ibid.*, 88. The living at Presteigne had been declined by Dr. William Stratford of Christ Church, Oxford [*Hearne IX*, ed. by Herbert E. Salter, 1914, 236, 12 December 1726].
- 19 FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 788, quire 191, fo. 316 v.–318.
- 20 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXI, May 1751, 236.
- 21 *HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland IV; ibid., Portland V; ibid., Portland VI*, see index (confusingly, this index to *Portland III–VI* rennumbers them as volumes 1–4).
- 22 *HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland VII*, London, 1901, see index to this volume of letters from Dr. Stratford to Edward Harley. There are references to William from 17 July 1710 and to Timothy from 6 November 1719 [*ibid.*, 4 and 263 respectively].
- 23 *Hearne VI*, ed. by Oxford Historical Society, 1902, 106–7, 13 November 1717.
- 24 Payments to Dr. Stratford from William Thomas on 12 April 1728 and 13 March 1729 [RBSGA, CH/194/15, fo. 121].
- 25 Pope's correspondence with Edward Harley spans 6 February 1722 to 25 December 1739, eighteen months before Harley's death [George W. Sherburn (ed.), *The correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Oxford, 1956, II, 101; IV, 211; V, 40–41]. Under the guise of Scriblerus, Pope had been writing to Robert Harley since 20 March 1714 [*ibid.*, I, 216]: Pope first wrote to him in person on 21 October 1721 [*ibid.*, II, 90].
- 26 *Ibid.*, II, 364. In 1719 Lord Harley had given Mathew Prior £4,000 to purchase an estate in Essex, on which Prior commissioned Gibbs to rebuild Down Hall. The estate reverted to Harley upon Prior's death in 1721. Work on the house and grounds continued until 1726 [Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 299–300 and index on 355]. For Charles Bridgeman, see note 86 below.
- 27 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 25), III, 187 and 193, received on 3 and 27 April 1731.
- 28 Lloyd and Jenkins, *op. cit.* (at note 1), 968. For the text in English, see John Butt (gen. ed.), *The Twickenham edition of the poems of Alexander Pope. Volume III i. An essay on man*, ed. by Maynard Mack, London and New Haven, 1950.
- 29 Cyril E. and Ruth C. Wright (eds.), *The diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726*, London, 1966, lxxv and index on 463; Wanley/Heyworth, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 383, 12 April 1718 to Arthur Charlett; *Hearne VII*, ed. by Oxford Historical Society, 1906, 53, 5 October 1719. For Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), see 'Vertue Note Books. Index to volumes I–V', *Walpole Society*, 1947, 282, and *ibid.*, VI, *Walpole Society*, 1955, 266; Lees-Milne, *op. cit.* (at note 16), 176–180; Wright and Wright, *op. cit.*, vii–lxxiv and 464–465.
- 30 Moses Williams, *Cofrestr o'r holl lyfrau printiedig gan mwyaf a gyfansoddyd yn y iaith gymrâeg*, London, 1717 or 1718 [BL, shelf-mark 872.L.37]. Another of the few subscribers was Alban Thomas, keeper of The Royal Society's library, Crane Court,

- Fleet Street. For Moses Williams (1685–1742), see Lloyd and Jenkins, *op. cit.* (at note 1), 1060.
- 31 BL, shelf-mark, 872.L.37.
- 32 *Hearne VII*, 1906, 52.
- 33 'Mr Will Thomas is extremely thankful for the many & great Favours you was pleased to shew him at Oxford: and will for ever be ready to shew his Gratitude for the same' [Wanley/Heyworth, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 383, 12 April 1718 letter to Arthur Charlett].
- 34 *Hearne V*, ed. by David W. Rannie, 1901; *Hearne VI–VIII*, ed. by Oxford Historical Society, 1902, 1906 and 1907; *Hearne X–XI*, ed. by Herbert E. Salter, 1915 and 1921. See also *HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland V*, 523, letter dated 23 December 1716 from Hearne to Lord Harley saying that William Thomas had delivered his letter and five guineas. For Hearne, historical antiquary, see *Dictionary of national biography*, IX, 335–338, and *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, 2004.
- 35 *Hearne VI*, 1902, 110.
- 36 *Hearne VI*, 347. Cf. Wanley/Heyworth, *op. cit.* (at note 3), 384, letter dated 12 April 1718.
- 37 *Hearne VI*, 386, 8 August 1718.
- 38 *Hearne VII*, 53.
- 39 *The works of Geoffrey Chaucer, compared with the former editions, and many valuable mss. . . .; by John Urry, Student of Christ-Church, Oxon. Deceased: together with a glossary, by a Student of the same college. . . .*, London, 1721. For its genesis, see *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1911–1915*, 1925 (reprinted 1969, Oxford), 87–89, nos. 38178–38181; Sarah A. Kelen, 'Cultural capital: selling Chaucer's Works, building Christ Church, Oxford', *The Chaucer Review* . . ., XXXVI, 2, 2001, 149–157.
- 40 BL, shelf-mark 643.M.4, two volumes copiously annotated by William and Timothy Thomas. They comprise the life and complete works of Chaucer and are bound differently from Lord Harley's set (in which vol. II is *The Canterbury tales* only – is a third volume missing?). Vol. I contains original subscription agreement dated 26 August 1715 between Lintot and William Brome, John Urry's executor, as well as *Proposals* dated 30 June 1716 (being the prologues to *The Canterbury tales*).
- 41 BL, shelf-mark 831.L.4–5, vol. I (*Life, preface and glossary*); vol. II (*Canterbury tales* only). *The preface* annotated '(by Timothy Thomas, then Student of Christchurch, Oxon.): his manuscript draft is BL, Harleian MS 6895 [*A catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts, in The British Museum*, III, London, 1808, 446]. *Glossary* by Timothy Thomas noted on title page.
- 42 Urry's death on 17 March 1715 annotated by Timothy Thomas on title page of Harley's edition [BL, shelf-mark 831.L.4–5].
- 43 William Thomas's surviving business correspondence 1715–1742 is in Manuscripts and Special Collections, Hallward Library, University of Nottingham [<http://mss.library.nottingham.ac.uk:6334/dynaweb/family/london/>], e.g. Pl C 1/, 2/, 28/, 62/; Pl E 10/, Pl F 3/. For Harley archives, see Richard J. Olney, 'The Portland papers', *Archives*, XIX, 82, October 1989, 84–7; Jones, *op. cit.* (at note 9); Julia Foster and Janet Sheppard, *British archives* . . ., 4th ed., Basingstoke, 2001, nos. 39, 846, 945, 946 and 1187, and www.hmc.gov.uk/nra/nra2.htm.
- 44 'We do hereby Constitute and Appoint William Thomas of the pish of St. Martins in the Fields in the County of Middx Esqr. (During our Will and Pleasure) Steward of our Manor or reputed Manor of Marybone in the said County, and also Receiver of all our Rents now due or ~ to become due unto Us from our Estate in Marybone afores.d and in the pish of S.t James Clerkenwell, and also in and about Dover Street in the s.d pish of S.t Martins in the Fields in the County afores.d . . .' [BL, Add. MS 18239, fo. 4, appointment dated 11 February 1720 (old style for 1721)].
- 45 *Idem*.
- 46 Respectively *The account of Robert Harley Esq:r and James West Esq:r the two surviving trustees* . . ., BL, Add. MS 18248, fo. 7 v, and Francis H. W. Sheppard, *Local government in St. Marylebone 1688–1835. A study of the vestry and the Turnpike Trust*, 1958, 18 (for other references to William Thomas, see index). Lord Harley died on 16 June 1741 in his house in Dover Street.
- 47 Edward Harley received £171 3s from William Thomas on 30 March 1726 [RBSGA, CH/194/14, fo. 197], and further payments on 19 August 1727, 29 February 1728 and 14 March 1728 [*ibid.*, CH/194/15, fo. 121]. However, Harley paid William Thomas £125 on 25 January 1729 and £150 on 22 February 1729 [*idem*].
- 48 A lease dated 1 March 1723 refers to 'the parish of St. Mary le bone alias Marybone' [MDR 1724/4/50 (for MDR, see note 51 below); BL, Add. MS 18238, fo. 30]. 'Some indeed out of a wrong notion of the

- addition being French have written it St. Mary La Bonne. But the ordinary way of writing it is St. Mary Le Bone, corruptly for Le Borne, from its situation. This is confirmed by several records, where it is written Maryborne as well as Marybone.⁴⁹ [*Hearne XI*, 319, letter dated 24 March 1734, quoting from William Thomas's letter of 21 March 1734].
- 49 William Thomas, *A memorial touching the nature & condition of the estate of Marybone ...*, 1738, fo. 5 [London, Howard de Walden Estate, archives, HDW 6/1] (memorial cited hereafter as HDW 6/1). The title page states that William prepared the history of the estate for John Verney, one of the Harleys' trustees, and that he presented it to Verney on 11 February 1737 (old style for 1738). I am grateful to Richard Bowden for showing me the manuscript which he will publish in *London Topographical Record*, 2006.
- 50 London, House of Lords Record Office, Original Act, 5 Geo. I, no. 11 [*Journals of the House of Lords*, XXI, 75; cf. <http://mss.library.nottingham.ac.uk:6334/dynaweb/family/london>, Pl F 3/2/17]. The other parties were 1) Thomas Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle of third creation, and Henry Pelham, his brother; 2) the Vanes.
- 51 London Metropolitan Archives, The Middlesex Deeds Registry, 1727, vol. 3, lease nos. 262–264 (hereafter MDR 1727/3/262 etc.)
- 52 BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 25, entry dated 10 June 1719 in Marybone-estate ledger; HDW 6/1, *op. cit.* (at note 49), fo. 5. This deed is called *Indentures of lease and release empowering Lord Harley to grant building leases of ground in Marybone* and dated 9–10 June 1719 in *A register of sundry acts of parliament, grants, deeds, papers ... relating to the manor of Marybone*, a list postdating 1830 of 650 documents relating to the Marybone estate 1468–1733 [London, City of Westminster Archives Centre, Westminster City Archives (hereafter WCA), M: Acc 449/1 (Howard de Walden [formerly Portland] Estate Archives), nos. 195–196] (register cited hereafter as WCA, M: Acc 449/1).
- 53 For the development of the estate, see *HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland V*, 594, 597–599 and 617; WCA, M: Acc 449/1, *op. cit.* (at note 52); John Summerson, 'Henrietta Place, Marylebone, and its associations with James Gibbs', *London Topographical Record*, XXI, 1958 [London Topographical Society, no. 91], 26–27; Sheppard, *op. cit.* (at note 46), 17; Ann Saunders, *Regent's Park. A study of the development of the area from 1086 to the present day*, London, 1969, 41–42; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 205–209, 305–307 and 310; Richard Bowden, 'Building, books, debts and drink: new light on Lord Harley and his Marylebone estate', *Westminster History Review*, III, 1999, pp. 33–8; Richard Bowden, 'Oxford Street two hundred years ago: the Portland estate block plans c.1805–1870', *London Topographical Record*, XXVIII, 2001, 79–89. For Marybone-estate ledgers, some in William Thomas's own hand, see BL, Add. MSS. 18238–18247.
- 54 BL, Add MS 18239, fo. 2.
- 55 BL, Add MS 18240, fo. 7, 99 years from 25 March 1718; cancelled (date not recorded), *idem*, fo. 27 v.; HDW 6/1, *op. cit.* (at note 49), fo. 7. New agreements were made in 1724. James Brydges (1674–1744) had been created Viscount Wilton and 3rd Earl of Carnarvon on 19 October 1714, and would be created Marquis of Carnarvon and 1st Duke of Chandos on 29 April 1719.
- 56 BL, Add MS 18240, fo. 7: disputed, and revised 23 July 1726.
- 57 BL, Maps, K.Top.21.7; Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), fig. 230 on p. 205. Morden and Lea's *Plan of the City of London in 1732* reproduces Prince's design of 1719. For St. Mary la Bonne, see note 48 above.
- 58 BL, Add. MS 18238, fo. 30: fo. 30–32 (articles of agreement); fo. 32v–33v (building articles to an under-tenant).
- 59 Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 35.
- 60 *Marybone: a register of modern building leases; begun 1721, & continued to 1738* [*sic*] contains details abstracted from leases dated 20 June 1718–10 February 1741 [BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 7–23, with index on fo. 2–4 v.]. WCA, M: Acc 449/1, *op. cit.* (at note 52), records many of these indentures as well as other leases, articles of agreement etc. .
- 61 BL, Add. MS 18238, fo. 34–34 v.
- 62 *E.g.* MDR 1727/1/198 and MDR 1726/2/345, Nos. 8 and 13 Henrietta Street (Charles Bridgeman and William Wilton) respectively.
- 63 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, p. 99]. The plan is 130 cm. square. The Crace collection map appears to be a contemporary

- tracing of the original, now incomplete and without a title, in Howard de Walden Estate Archive, London (on loan to WCA). I am grateful to Richard Bowden for showing me the original. For John White, see Saunders, *op. cit.* (at note 53), *passim*; Bowden 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 79–89.
- 64 MDR 1725/4/409, a lease dated 18 May 1725.
- 65 The first lease granted to Elkins on the Marybone estate was for a house in Chapell Court to the south and east of the Marylebone (or Oxford) Chapel: 97 years from 29 September 1723, lease dated 13 February 1724, £3 12s rent due from 29 September 1723 [BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 12]. Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 306–307, records Elkins as bricklayer for the Chapel, for which see note 91 below.
- 66 WCA, St. Marylebone, parish records, poor rate book dated 6 May 1730. The last two names in Wimpole Street are Mrs. Elkins and Thomas Gladwin, followed in Henrietta Street by William Thomas, James Gibbs, Lady Cotesworth, Walter Chitwind, ? Fry Esq., Roger Milart and Mr. Gillman (in this order).
- 67 BL, Add. MS 18238, fols. 40–41.
- 68 RBSGA, CH/194/14, fol. 136, preceded on same line by 'Gregory 32'. For Gibbs and William Thomas, see also Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 19, 22, 33 and 306.
- 69 Gibbs was seeking subscriptions in a proposal dated 15 March 1727 [Manchester, Chetham's Library, Halliwell-Phillipps collection, no. 867; transcribed by Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 258–259, and note 6 on p. 347]. For *A book of architecture*, published in 1728, see Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British architectural books and writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge, 1990, 212, nos. 257–258; *ibid.*, pp. 208–212, for Gibbs.
- 70 BL, Add. MS 18240, fo. 27.
- 71 24 June 1728 is the date of completion stipulated for all-but-three houses in this terrace, including the western corner with Welbeck Street (William Wilton at No. 13): only the leases for 95 Wimpole Street (Elkins), 8 Henrietta Street (Bridgeman) and No. 12 (Thornton) had earlier completion dates [see appendix].
- 72 WCA, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, parish records, rate books, vol. 1283 (microfilm 1667), poor rate, assessed 31 May and 30 December 1706, p. 23, *i.e.* for half year from Lady Day (25 March) and quarter from Michaelmas (29 September). In 1730 Thomas Grimes's name appears in the margin beside the entry for William Thomas [*ibid.*, vol. F476 (microfilm 1573), poor rate, assessed 16 April and 1 October 1730, p. 58] and Thomas Grains is again named in the Overseers of the Poor rate book for the year 1730 (old style, *i.e.* 25 March 1730–24 March 1731) [*ibid.*, vol. F476 (microfilm 1572), p. 65]. However, because the parish's practice at this date was to use one rate book to record the two half-yearly payments due on Lady Day and Michaelmas, it is impossible to tell whether Grimes took over from Thomas before April 1730 or before October 1730. For Durham Yard in the Strand ward of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields parish, see Ralph Hyde, *The A–Z of Georgian London* [London Topographical Society, no. 126], 1982, pl. 11, Bb.
- 73 MDR 1725/4/183, a lease dated 12 May 1725; MDR 1725/3/193, a lease dated 22 May 1725.
- 74 Hoare's has always been at 37 Fleet Street. Likewise Child's at 1 Fleet Street, the boundary of the City and Westminster. Drummond's was started by Andrew Drummond 1712–1716 on the east side of what was then called Charing Cross, *i.e.* east side of Whitehall towards corner with Northumberland Avenue, virtually opposite the present-day Drummond's at 49 Charing Cross. I am grateful to Philip Winterbottom for this information.
- 75 WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book dated 26 October 1727, p. 416, and *ibid.*, church rate book dated 31 August 1728, p. 459. Many houses in Cavendish Square are marked as 'empty' in 1727.
- 76 WCA, St. Marylebone, poor rate book dated 6 May 1730; see note 66 above for rate-payers.
- 77 BL, Add. MS 18240, fols. 7–23 (see note 60 above); Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 207; Gordon Balderston, 'Rysbrack's busts of James Gibbs and Alexander Pope from Henrietta Street', *Georgian Group Journal*, XI, 2001, 9–11. Although Thomas and Gibbs are not recorded as head lessees in Cavendish Square up to 10 February 1741, it is possible that they bought houses from head lessees.
- 78 Sheppard, *op. cit.* (at note 46), 18 and 56. In 1748 he was appointed Surveyor of the Highways [*idem*]. I am grateful to Richard Bowden for this reference. HDW 6/1, *op. cit.* (at note 49), fo. 18–18 v., refers to the 'Turnpike Act 1720–21' and to the stretch of road.
- 79 London, National Portrait Gallery, inv. no. 1384 ['Vertue note books. III', *Walpole Society*, XXII, 1934, 71–72; John Kerslake, *Early Georgian portraits*, 1977, 340–342, pl. 95]; Gordon

- Balderston, 'The genesis of *Edward Salter aetatis 6'*, *Georgian Group Journal*, X, 2000, note 109; David Saywell & Jacob Simon, *Complete illustrated catalogue. National Portrait Gallery, London*, 2004, 712]. For Goupy, who bought the painting, see Jacob Simon, 'New light on Joseph Goupy (1689–1769)', *Apollo*, CXXXIX, 384, February 1994, 15–18.
- 80 BL, Add. MS 23076, fol. 43 v. (page originally numbered 69 by Vertue).
- 81 For the Harleys as patrons, see Lees-Milne, *op. cit.* (at note 16), 173–218; Gordon Balderston, 'Young Lady Margaret Harley by Michael Rysbrack', *Sculpture Journal*, VII, 2002, 26–29.
- 82 BL, Add. MS 18238, fols. 40–41.
- 83 FRC, PROB 11, microfilm 810, quire 228, fol. 213, dated 9 May 1754 and proved 16 August 1754.
- 84 Wanley/Wright, *op. cit.* (at note 29), 284: for other references to William and Timothy Thomas, see index on 463.
- 85 Pope/Sherburn, *op. cit.* (at note 25), II, 364.
- 86 Thomas paid Bridgeman 13 guineas on 24 December 1725 [RBSGA, CH/194/14, fo. 136]; £100 on 8 March 1726; £60 and £50 on 6 and 28 May 1726 respectively [CH/194/14, fo. 197, latter three debits]. For Bridgeman, Master Gardener to the King from 18 October 1726 until his death on 19 July 1738, see *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, XIV, publ. by K.G. Saur, Munich and Leipzig, 1996, 204–205, entry by Cornelia Jöchner; *The dictionary of art*, ed. by Jane Turner, 1996, IV, 805–806, entry by David Rodgers; *ibid.*, www.groveart.com. Incidentally, rate books show that Michael Rysbrack's neighbour in Vere Street from the mid-1720s was 'Mrs Bridgman', not necessarily a relative: she or a homonym is described in a list of subscribers to Gibbs's *A book of architecture . . .*, 1728, xxvi, as 'Mrs. Bridgeman of Hanover Square'.
- 87 BL, Add. MS 39167 B, fol. 84 v; Balderston 2000, *op. cit.* (at note 79), 186 and note 119.
- 88 Vertue III, *op. cit.* (at note 76), 57. For Rysbrack in Vere Street, see Balderston 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 77), note 19 on p. 21.
- 89 HMC. 15th report, appendix IV, Portland VII, 196, letter dated 27 July 1714 from Dr. William Stratford to Edward, Lord Harley.
- 90 Mill-Hill Field is shown on Henry Pratt's *A survey of Marybone and Barrow Hills in the county of Mid'sex* of 1708 [HDW 4/1].
- 91 Friedman, *op. cit.* (at note 26), 306–307 (contract dated 8 August 1721). *Idem* for the Court House (1729–33) and the Market House (1726–1737). The foundation for the Chapel was laid on 31 August 1721 and it opened for divine service on 25 March 1724; the foundation for the Market House was laid in 1720, but it opened on 22 December 1732 [HDW 6/1, *op. cit.* (at note 49), fo. 13 and 14 respectively].
- 92 HDW 6/1, *op. cit.* (at note 49), fo. 18.
- 93 WCA, M: Acc 449/1, *op. cit.* (at note 52).
- 94 Balderston 2001, *op. cit.* (at note 77), 9–11.
- 95 Peter Potter, *Plan of the parish of Saint Mary le Bone . . .*, ed. by Richard Bowden, Westminster City Libraries/The St. Marylebone Society, 1979, facsimile of 1832 edition. I am grateful to Richard Bowden for telling me about the renumbering.
- 96 WCA, accession no. 2273/1 [Howard de Walden (formerly Portland) Estate plans, on permanent loan], block plan N. The houses comprising Henrietta Street are shown on block plans A–D and M–O which are variously dated *circa* 1805 (A, C, M), *circa* 1807 (B, D, N) and *circa* 1809 (O).
- 97 Summerson, *op. cit.* (at note 53), 26.

BIOGRAPHY

Gordon Balderston works as a specialist in European sculpture in London's commercial art world.