

Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Oxford University and the Pomfret Benefaction
of 1755: *Vertu* made Visible

by

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ABSTRACT

In 1755 Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Countess of Pomfret, donated a substantial collection of Greco-Roman statuary to the University of Oxford. Once part of a larger collection assembled under Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, the statues had descended to Jeffreys through the family of her husband, Thomas Fermor, having been purchased in 1691 for their country seat at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire. Oxford gratefully received this benefaction and it was publicly (and variously) commemorated.

Emphasis on ‘quality’ and reliance on ‘authority’ have previously obscured the importance of the Pomfret statuary, subsuming it within Arundel’s iconic connoisseurship. Interdisciplinary in approach, this dissertation employs new archival evidence to resituate the Pomfret marbles within larger historical and art-historical contexts and (citing contemporary images and texts) re-evaluates the collection’s cultural significance. Adopting the approach of Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood, my work augments new scholarship concerned with reassessing the character of the early modern art market and its associated collecting practices.

The primary concern in the dissertation is restoring the voice of Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, whose motives for the benefaction have previously been misrepresented. Her personal response to social and cultural conditions actuated both her obtaining the statues and her dispensing of them. A second concern is to contextualize Oxford’s status within the socio-political discourse of early Georgian England in order to demonstrate that the Pomfret collection was genuinely valuable to the University. The collection provided a collective symbol of *vertu* (which implied

commitment to correct moral behaviour and taste) for that embattled academic institution and identified Oxford as a location of national importance. The dissertation's structure is provided with a third consideration which ultimately incorporates the other two - the provenance of the statuary. While proceeding chronologically from Arundel's acquisition through Oxford's reception, the historical details are augmented with analyses of how the collection was promoted and perceived. By revealing how ideals and ideologies of *vertu* informed the collection, its donation, its publicists, and its audience, this dissertation addresses the wider significance of the Pomfret benefaction in early modern England.

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Format

General Notes

Throughout the text the following conventions have been employed:

1. “Oxford”, “Oxford University”, and “the University of Oxford” have all been used to refer to the institution of the University and its administration unless otherwise noted.

2. Original spellings and print designations have been retained wherever possible. I dislike regularized texts. I believe that they inhibit appreciation for the historical period.

3. The term *vertu* will be found in several different forms throughout the text (*virtue*, *virtu*, *vertù*, *vertue*, *vertu*) although I have adhered to the one spelling when in my own voice. Throughout the early modern world, the concept that exposure to “High Culture” (*vertù*) would create model citizens (*virtue*) with cultured taste (*vertu*) and public spirit (*virtu*) was a prevailing ideological model. I employ *vertu* because it is the form I consider the most anglicized and most comprehensive in meaning and applicability. It is italicized for emphasis.

4. I have chosen to refer to Henrietta Louisa by her own family name of Jeffreys, although she herself used the signature HLPomfret. I have several reasons for doing so. One is clarity, for Jeffreys’ thoughts and actions then become more distinguishable from Pomfret’s. Her family name also acts as a reminder of her right to her father’s estate which had great impact on her life. Additionally, the Jeffreys name serves to separate her from the “Lady Pomfret” who has come down through history and is little more than a caricature. It is not my intention to suggest that her title and role as Lord Pomfret’s wife were not important to her, but given her interest and pride in her own family history, and that even in the period women’s family names could be provided for emphasis (e.g. Lady Dorthea Savile, Countess of Burlington), I regard my usage as slightly anachronistic, but not inappropriate.

I have not been consistent in this application when referring to other women, since that could cause greater confusion and, for some of them, the issue of identity (as a historical construct) does not arise in the same way. For example, Lady Hartford often features more prominently in period histories than her Lord.

The Jeffreys Diaries

1. Several forms of Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys' autobiographical accounts survive as part of the Finch family archive deposited in the Leicestershire and Rutlandshire County Record Office. Citations from her diaries are taken from the six bound volumes of formal social diaries (LRO DG7/D1/1-6) unless otherwise noted.
2. For the formal diaries Jeffreys established a chart format and used it for all six volumes. The layout created six vertical columns across each two page spread and seven horizontal rows. The headings for the columns, left to right are: Situation [location], Incidents & Occurances [mostly correspondence, but sometimes political news, or continuation of text from facing page], Month, Week [day], Day [date], Year, Where & What Company [this details the activities of her day]. I have not indicated which section of the diary chart ("Occurrences" or "Where and What Company") extracted material fell under, unless the positioning has some specific relevance.
3. One of the fascinating features of Jeffreys' diaries is the juxtaposition of numerous types of commentary, often in a single entry (personal, familial, political, cultural, domestic, social, religious, intellectual, etc.). In this dissertation I have not often been able to convey this characteristic, but the reader should be aware that the material used here has been extracted from a multi-faceted work.
4. In this dissertation Jeffreys' diary entries are referred to by date; a breakdown of the dates covered by each volume of the diaries is given in the list of archival sources at the beginning of the bibliography.

Abbreviations

Standard multi-volume published sources are cited by volume number and page; specific dates will not be provided unless they clarify some point of chronology.

The frequently used abbreviations are listed here:

- Collecteana* *Reliquiae Hearnianae: The Remains of Thomas Hearne*, 3 volumes, edited by Philip Bliss, London: John Russell Smith, 1869.
- Corr.* *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the years 1738 and 1741*, 3 volumes, edited by W. M. Bingley, London: Richard Phillips, 1805.
- Diary* *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 volumes, annotated and edited by E.S. de Beer, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Easton* “A Description of Easton Neston.” Pp. 53-66 in *A Catalogue of the curious collection of Pictures of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham....[etc.]....*, anonymous author, London: W. Bathoe, 1758.
- Vertue* George Vertue’s “Notebooks”, transcripts issued by the Walpole Society in their annual volumes: 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30. Oxford: University Press, 1930-50.
- Yale* *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, 48 volumes, edited by W.S. Lewis, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-83.

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I am very appreciative of the staff members at all the libraries and research institutions that made this research possible, including the McPherson Library (especially the Inter-Library Loans office and the Microforms division) at the University of Victoria. Libraries, archives, and museums in England have been critically important to my work. Curators, archivists, librarians, keepers, and support staff have unfailingly been generous with access and assistance at the following institutions: the British Library; Prints & Drawings at the British Museum; the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art; the National Portrait Gallery; the Public Record Office at Kew; the Bodleian Library; the Ashmolean Museum; and the Warburg Institute. Special acknowledgment must be made of the staff at the Leicestershire and Rutlandshire County Record Office, who provided a great deal of assistance and really facilitated my research; I'm glad that the diaries are in such a great place to work.

This dissertation (and the travel it required) was fostered by several forms of financial support. This funding also permitted me to develop my research with both further study and the feedback I received at conferences. I am grateful for such assistance from the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, the Historians of British Art, the University of Victoria, the department of Graduate Studies, the Graduate Students' Society, and the department of History in Art.

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Dedication

And ere you begin a booke, forget not to reade the Epistle; for commonly they are best laboured and penned. For as in a garment, whatsoever the stuffe be, the owner (for the most part) affecteth a costly and extraordinarie facing; and in the house of a countrey Gentleman, the porch of a Citizen, the carued gate and painted postes carrie away the Glorie from the rest: So it is with our common Authiors, if they haue any wit at all, they set it like veluet before, though the backe, like a bankrupts doublet, be but of poldauie or buckram.

"The Dedicatory Epistle"

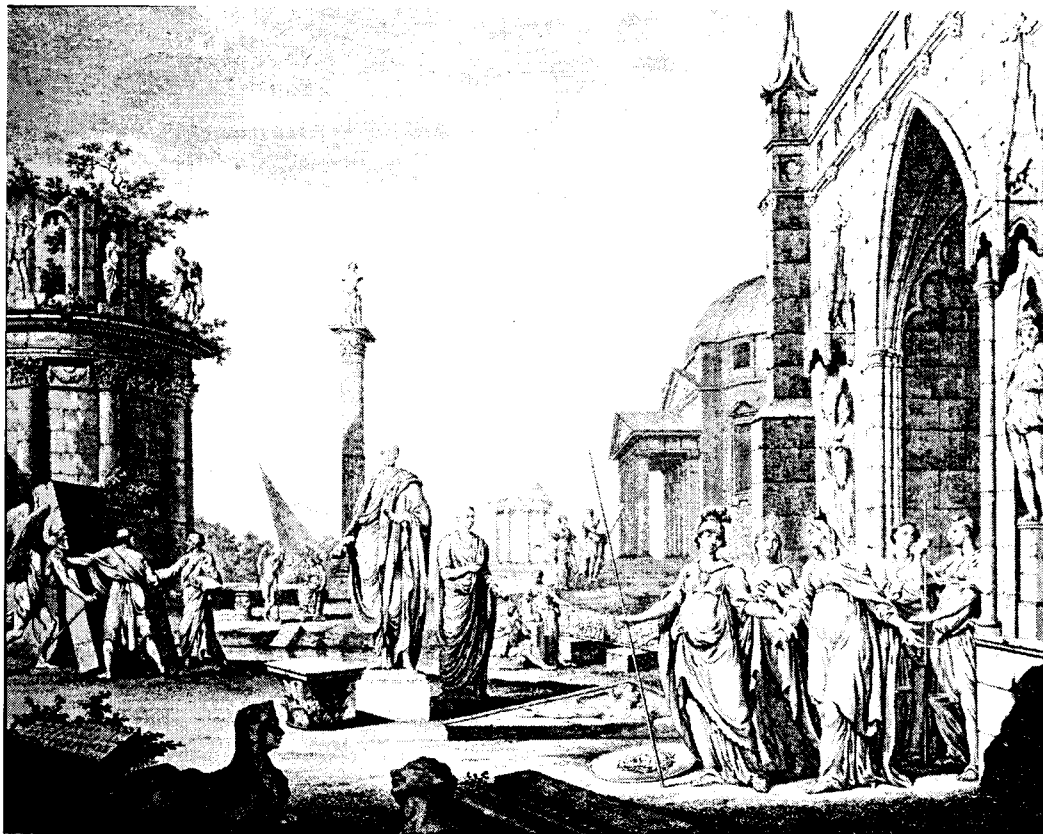
Henry Peacham

The Compleat Gentleman

1622

I would like to express my gratitude, respect, and admiration for Carol Gibson-Wood. My observation of her working methods and integrity inspired me to begin this degree programme; without her generous encouragement and exacting guidance it would not have been concluded.

This dissertation is dedicated to Carol.



Frontispiece: *Vertu* made visible.
Engraving by J. Green, after a drawing by S. Wale.
The *Oxford Almanack*, 1757.

Introduction

In late 1756, the University of Oxford issued its annual almanac for the coming year. Each *Oxford Almanack* was produced in poster format, with a large illustrative print above (or integrated with) a tabular calendar of important dates.¹ The image prepared for the 1757 edition (*frontispiece*) featured one of the finest compositions and one of the most complex iconographical programmes of all these prints. Ostensibly a commemoration of the Pomfret donation of 1755, this *Almanack* depicts allegorical beings interacting with real statues and reliefs in a *capriccio* setting.²

The design moves from a ruined amphitheatre on the left (its antiquity emphasized by the destructive figure of Time in front) to a substantial medieval building on the right (representing Oxford's history by means of the statues of King Alfred and an unidentifiable bishop sheltered in its walls). Along with the pyramid, "parthenon", rotunda and neo-classical "pantheon", these structures create a complete architectural lineage. In visual form they represent cultural authority cloistering a renewed classical world, in the "new" Oxford made possible by the generosity of Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Countess of Pomfret.

Jeffreys had given to the University a substantial number of classical statues. These antique marbles had come to England as acquisitions for the Arundel collection and were highly regarded as part of that assemblage (which has been identified as the first English art collection of note). Gifted to Oxford in 1755, the statues were at that time reunited with Arundel's classical inscriptions, brought earlier to the University by John Evelyn. Objects from both groups are included in the 1757 *Almanack* image.

¹ The standard monographs on the *Oxford Almanack* are Petter (1946) and Petter (1974).

² The iconography of this image is described more fully in Chapter 4.

Jeffreys' benefaction was commemorated by the University in a number of ways including a public celebration in 1756, an illustrated catalogue (published 1763), and the *Almanack* of 1765. The complicated nature of this publicity campaign is exemplified by the iconographical programme of the 1757 *Almanack* which, while celebrating Jeffreys' donation, also communicated another message. The print identified Oxford as a location of national importance, where *vertu* could be absorbed in a classical *milieu* and new meaning applied to the values of traditional scholarship.

The official *Explanation* published to accompany the 1757 *Almanack* indicates a specific agenda: "the University, attended by her three Faculties, is introduced from her Gothic Retirement by Minerva to the Knowledge of [the] Arts".³ In the 1757 *Almanack* emphasis is not on the intrinsic value of the statues. The print illuminates how the donation reflected the collective self-identity of the institution, addressing the relationship between education and *vertu*.

More than just having an appreciation for fine arts, as it is often defined, *vertu* encompasses and surpasses both "virtuous" and "cultured"; it is closer to having an affinity with the arts. In the eighteenth century art theory and criticism focussed on the didactic values of art.⁴ It was expected that a cultured individual would bring understanding and appreciation to the viewing of (good) art. The work(s) of art, as embodiments of *vertu*, would impart more of these same qualities and inspire an increased commitment to correct moral behaviour and taste. It was this affinity between connoisseur and fine art which was referred to as *vertu*. Repeated viewing would strengthen the communion, which could

³ The following quotations are from the official *Explanation*, given in transcript by Petter (1974: 68). All other interpretation is mine unless otherwise noted.

⁴ This dissertation is primarily concerned with visual arts, but the same concept was applied to other media, such as literature and music. For examples of art theory, the writings of Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1712) and Jonathan Richardson (1719) differ on numerous other points, but agree on this one, v. Gibson-Wood (2000: 144-45).

also be further developed and refined through study and connoisseurship.⁵

While relying on the culturally pervasive ideology of *vertu*, the designers of the 1757 *Almanack* also took care to indicate to their audience precisely how the collection would be integrated with academic studies: “The Design of the Plate is to exhibit the Connexion of the Studies of Antiquity, Sculpture, and Architecture, with what is usually called academical Learning”. The details represent these academic concerns. For example, one of the three vignettes depicts Sculpture discussing the relief of the Trojan War with the Spirit of Classical Learning.

The other episodes are more complicated. In one, Architecture and Geometry consult on a building proposed to house “these once more united Collections”. This scene does not simply show how the statues will be useful to the University. By referring to the reunion of the statues with the Arundel inscriptions, the print also portrays Oxford as the premier site for the preservation of knowledge. This concept is further emphasized by the juxtaposition of the ruined amphitheatre with the new Palladian structure on the right. The third group also does such double duty. At the extreme left of the print “Antiquity” is represented by the Spirit of Learning, who simultaneously prevents Time from destroying the marbles and draws History forward to learn from the Smyrnaean Decree. The inference is that by taking responsibility for the protection of the marbles Oxford justifies the University’s purpose as a guardian of culture.

The benefit of possessing the Pomfret marbles was a point on which Oxford scholars could unite regardless of political affiliation and, thus, the donation was celebrated by the institution as a whole. Oxford was under serious political pressure at the time and this point can hardly be overemphasized.

⁵ The link between *vertu* and social status is not always clarified, but it should be noted that even theorists who saw it as a natural trait of the upper classes believed *vertu* should be developed and/or that it could be lost in a dissipated lifestyle.

The 1757 *Almanack's* print has been variously described by historians, but not discussed thoroughly. Helen Petter interprets it as a safe image that contains “nothing political”, while Donna Kurtz (dis)regards it as a polite compliment in the form of a “classical fantasy”.⁶ Kerry Downes detected a personal reference in the *Almanack*, titling it “Lady Pomfret in an architectural Landscape accompanied by some of the marbles”, which demeans the image by implying that its primary message is subservient (and obsequious) acknowledgement of Jeffreys’ patronage.⁷ These interpretations are influenced by a misunderstanding of the importance of the benefaction. The misconception is based upon the critical accounts of the donation and the subsequent public ceremony in the correspondence of Horace Walpole.⁸

Although Walpole was a Cambridge Whig, his comments on the Pomfret benefaction are more reflective of his personal animosity towards Jeffreys and they have drawn the attention of scholars away from the larger significance of her gift. In this dissertation I reassess the importance of the 1755 donation, evaluating the collection’s value as a signifier of *vertu* in the first half of the eighteenth century in England. The history of the Pomfret collection of classical statues is analyzed, focussing on its transfer from Easton Neston to the University of Oxford.⁹

As suggested by the title, this dissertation focusses on three subjects: Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Oxford University, and the Pomfret benefaction of 1755. As background and context, some emphasis is also placed on the

⁶ Petter (1974: 14) and Kurtz (2001: 68).

⁷ Downes (1987: 67 n.48). Kurtz refers to the fact that Jeffreys used the statue of Minerva on her seal for the donation indenture to support this idea also (2001: 82). It is certainly possible, but the separation of the Pomfret name from this description in the *Explanation* argues that this was not the foremost point the administration wished to emphasize.

⁸ Particularly his letters to Mann (e.g. *Yale* 20.470-71, *Yale* 20.579) which have been read as precursors of later re-evaluations of the quality of the statues (*cf.* Michaelis 1882).

⁹ Previous scholarship on this part of the statuary’s provenance is limited to short references; the most extensive account is Haynes’ page-long summary (1975: 14-15).

reputation of the Arundel collection of classical statuary. The narrative of the sculpture's provenance incorporates the histories of Jeffreys and of Oxford. These topics intersect in the third discussion, which provides an analysis of the Pomfret donation.

The first concern in the dissertation is to establish the character of Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Countess of Pomfret. Jeffreys' activities and concerns intimate how women (even conservative individuals) might embrace or evade societal expectations of *vertu*. The account of Jeffreys' life reveals that her role in the Pomfret benefaction has previously been misrepresented. Social and cultural conditions were responsible both for her obtaining the statues and for her donating them. The Pomfret benefaction is a demonstrable example of Jeffreys' *vertu*.

A second concern is to contextualize events at Oxford University within the socio-political discourse of early Georgian England to show that the Pomfret collection was perceived as being useful to that academic institution and that the gratitude expressed by the University and its scholars was genuine. To recent historians the allegory of the 1757 *Almanack* print appears to provide a straightforward, self-congratulatory reference to Oxford's unassailable *vertu* as a preeminent university. But the contemporary context of the University, beleaguered by government hostility, is critical for understanding the value of the Pomfret donation.¹⁰ At the time, the acquisition was especially useful for distinguishing the physical environment of (Tory) Oxford, in comparison to (Whig) Cambridge. By this point in the eighteenth century, sending young gentlemen on a Grand Tour to complete their education was standard practice. Oxford could now represent itself as a complete package; there was no need for further polish upon leaving *this* institution.

¹⁰ As academic institutions (arts and humanities in particular) face similar attacks today, it is interesting to realize that this battle has been fought repeatedly and that the defence - the enrichment of human culture - is still valid.

The third concern, which serves as a sub-text for the entire dissertation, involves the philosophical concept of *vertu*. As an observable and comprehensible characteristic, *vertu* was here embodied in the statues themselves yet with the potential of being transmitted to meritorious spectators. By revealing how ideals and ideologies of *vertu* informed the benefaction and the actions of those it involved, I will address the larger significance of the Pomfret benefaction in eighteenth-century England.

In this dissertation I employ an interdisciplinary approach drawing upon many methodologies. I consider myself as primarily a social historian with a particular interest in material culture.¹¹ In this vein, I am a scholar in the Warburg tradition. My interest in classical heritage is part of what drew me to this school of thought, as Aby Warburg's notion of the "persistence of memory" resonates with my own experience. Simon Schama's *Landscape and Memory* (v. 1996), in dealing with the power of the past and its relevance in the present, provided a particularly admirable example of applied scholarship, as did Francis Haskell's *History and its Images* (v. 1995) in exploring how visual culture informs historical study.

I am not concerned with the intrinsic merits of the Pomfret sculpture, individually or as a collection, as judged by today's standards of connoisseurship. Issues of quality, origin, and aesthetics are considered only as they relate to the history of the collection, and are applied only to establish its importance in English culture.

The interdisciplinary approach required to address the function of art in its social context was championed by Ernst Gombrich, who saw it as appropriate to the complexity of human culture and history. There are multiple ways to construct this historical narrative; my interest therefore

¹¹ More rightly I should cite my interest in cultural history: "the history of all aspects of life" (Gombrich 1969: 25). But, ironically, the term is now more often understood as referring to the history of high culture. While social history, which was restricted to studies of "the transformations in the organization of society" when Gombrich was first writing (1969: 41), has been given the broader application.

lies in “patient” questioning and “detailed” observation.¹² My approach to posing the question often follows Michael Baxandall’s “patterns of intention”.¹³ For example, in extending his analogy, the Pomfret benefaction may be thought of as the “object” which solved the respective “problems” of Jeffreys and the University of Oxford based upon their different “circumstances”.

While working within this framework, I freely draw upon any mode of questioning which suits my purpose, and I am reluctant to restrict myself within the limits of more specific theoretical labels. My introduction to, training in, and appreciation for the Warburg tradition, which deliberately draws upon multiple methodologies, is due to the exemplary guidance and impeccable scholarship of Carol Gibson-Wood.

A particular text which has heavily influenced my perspective in this dissertation is Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny’s seminal work, *Taste and the Antique* (v. 1994). This study recognized that classical statuary (even Roman copies of Greek works, now regarded as derivative and lacking in quality) had a specific and important cultural function in later European culture (ultimately, to inspire *vertu*). Originals, casts, and copies all had the same purpose. As I have worked on this topic, other monographs have appeared which indicate the richness of this area of research.¹⁴

In the publicity surrounding Jeffreys’ donation, high culture and popular culture intersected in complicated ways, as newspapers, magazines, and prints were used to disseminate information about the benefaction. For background in print culture, I have relied heavily on Antony Griffiths’ *The Print in Stuart Britain* (1989), Tim Clayton’s *The English Print 1688-1802*

¹² These adjectives are Gombrich’s (1969: 38).

¹³ Baxandall (1985); also Wright (2003: 31-37) for application of this approach.

¹⁴ For example Donna Kurtz’s *The Reception of Classical Art in England* (2000). Modelled on Haskell and Penny, this valuable analysis yields numerous suggestions for further study. It must be used with caution, however, as it was not carefully edited.

(1997) and “Publishing Houses: Prints of Country Seats” (1998), Sheila O’Connell’s *The Popular Print in England* (1999) and Carol Gibson-Wood’s “Classification and Value in a Seventeenth-Century Museum” (1997). The latter’s recent illumination of the popular sector of the art market in early modern England has also been important,¹⁵ for drawing attention to the large and diverse audience seeking art and art-related information.¹⁶

As I formulated the initial goals for my research, questions of identity (particularly in terms of self-construction and social image drawing on classical traditions) directed my initial inquiries; Philip Ayres’ work on political identity, although art-historically problematic, provided a useful starting point for my research.¹⁷ Originally I intended to restrict my dissertation to such an analysis, considering how ownership and donation of the statue collection affected Jeffreys’ public image. Questions of identity are still central to my dissertation, but the scope of my work broadened to become more historically based. As a result, the donation of the statues has become a focus around which to discuss the concerns of Jeffreys, Oxford University and wider English culture.¹⁸

When I first consulted Jeffreys’ diaries in the Leicestershire Record Office, I discovered substantial documentation which provided an alternative view of her benefaction. This changed the direction of my

¹⁵ “Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century,” *Art Bulletin* 84.3 (2002): 491-500, widely considered a seminal work.

¹⁶ Other important works concerning art consumption include Lippincott (1983), Brewer and Porter (1994), and Bermingham and Brewer (1995).

¹⁷ For example, it is misleading to say William Stukeley made an “error” in accepting either incised eyes for the first century B.C. or the presence of multiple copies (1997: 135). Stukeley had no way of judging the first, and the English were quite accustomed to multiple copies in portraiture of their own. I would add, however, that I read this book when it was first issued and found it stimulating and illuminating. Returning to it during my final draft, I saw that my title inadvertently echoes one of Ayres’ chapter headings; it stands as a tribute.

¹⁸ While I did not begin my research with this format in mind, I have had a particular appreciation for such “micro-history” since reading *The King’s Bedpost* (Aston 1993).

work, as I felt it was imperative to present this information. I became convinced that the donation was heavily informed by Jeffreys' concerns and education; that Oxford became the final destination of the Arundel statues was due to her concern for preserving the collection intact and resulted from her self-developed interest in cultural issues. Thus, as context for my analyses of the donation and the later provenance of the collection, I have provided a great deal of personal information about Jeffreys. Much of this material is included in a biographical characterization at the beginning of the dissertation (Chpt.1), but supplementary references will appear throughout. My primary contribution to the scholarly field is, through my analysis of Jeffreys as a woman of *vertu*, to add her voice to the discourse concerning women's roles in the first half of eighteenth century England.

The structure of the rest of the dissertation is primarily chronological. The early provenance of the marbles is elaborated to explain their association with the Earl of Arundel and to elucidate the high level of public awareness about the collection in the early modern period (Chpt. 2). A summary of the dispersal of the statuary opens the next section, introducing a discussion of the collection taken to Easton Neston. It was these marbles that came into Jeffreys' possession and the circumstances which prompted her donation are outlined here (Chpt. 3). The narrative then shifts to illuminating both the socio-political context of Oxford University and the usefulness of the Pomfret benefaction (Chpt. 4). The subsequent relationship between Jeffreys and Oxford, including the circumstances of her death and her burial in the University church, ends the main part of the text (Chpt. 5). The core of the dissertation involves a thorough analysis of the commemoration of Jeffreys' gift, exploring various media, methods, agenda, and perceptions; this material is integrated into the latter two chapters. I conclude with a brief review of Jeffreys' subsequent loss of reputation and the later perception of her role in the provenance of the Arundel marbles, touching on issues of historical authority and personal voice.



Henrietta Louisa,

COUNTESS OF POMFRET.

Engraved from an original Picture in Crayons, by Caroline Watson.

Published Jan. 1-1805 by Richard Phillips, 6, New Bridge Street, London.

Figure 1.1: Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Countess of Pomfret.
Engraving by C. Watson after an original crayon portrait by A. Pond 1742.¹
In Bingley, *Correspondence*, 1805, vol. I, frontispiece.

¹ Attribution of this image is usually given to Caroline Watson (e.g. Houfe 1998: 33); the subtitle printed with the engraving is misleading. But, since Watson was born c.1760 and Jeffreys died in 1761, whatever Watson provided had to be based on another image. Based on an entry in Arthur Pond's journal (BL Add MS 23724, f.92b) and similarities to his other portraits (v. Lippincott 1983), I propose that the original crayon was his work.

1

Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys

The Countess has two thousand a year rent charge for jointure, five hundred as lady of the Bedchamber to the late Queen, and £14,000 in money, in her own power, just recovered by a lawsuit - what a fund for follies! (*Yale* 20.389-90).

Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys, Countess of Pomfret, is the woman that Walpole referred to in the letter quoted above; he was reporting the 1753 death of Lord Pomfret to Horace Mann, who resided in Florence. Jeffreys' financial situation sounds most enviable. No doubt Walpole himself was consumed with envy (what follies might he have committed with £14,000 in ready money?) - but he need not have been jealous.

Jeffreys' salary from the royal treasury was paid (when it was paid) at quarterly intervals in equal disbursements. Walpole may be correct about the amount; possibly such pensions were standardized, providing £125 every quarter. But the rent (Jeffreys' entitlement from her marriage settlement), was substantially less than Walpole estimated; the total figured at approximately £1300.² And the cash, the *real* money, the payment from the lawsuit, was not "in her own power" at all. Although Jeffreys had inherited the sum in 1709, it existed only on paper until 1761.³

² The money came from estates in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire with the former providing most of Jeffreys' income. Hard data for the Bedfordshire rents is lacking, but diary entries document rents from Northamptonshire, e.g.: "This Day received my great Rents from Northamptonshire 546: 9: 2" (April 8 1758); "Thomas Sheppard return'd this Day from Towcester where I had sent him to receive my Rents & he brought me 546: 9: 2 & a Letter from Mr Smart with the Half Year Accounts" (October 14 1758).

³ Jeffreys recorded: "at One my Lord Powis, his Lawyer, Mr Heaton, & my Lady Windsor's Agent's came & my Lord Granville came up Stairs, & Louisa present, I received 17061 : 12 : 10 3/4 & Executed a Deed of Discharge & Release" (January 14 1761). The total here represents both the initial sum and interest owing.

The money matters. From her childhood until her death, Jeffreys' life and character were shaped by financial circumstances which developed out of the obscurities of the initial inheritance, its embezzlement, and the resulting lawsuits. Furthermore, while we may speculate that financial security may not have undermined her commitment to *vertu*, the Pomfrets' restricted circumstances (discussed later in this chapter) actually contributed to Jeffreys' wider appreciation for the classical world and women's roles in intellectual matters. Paradoxically, if she had actually possessed the sum which Walpole reported, it is unlikely that she would have ever owned the Pomfret collection of statuary. Both directly and indirectly Jeffreys' finances affected the Pomfret benefaction.

To understand the personal motives which influenced Jeffreys' choices concerning the Arundel marbles, we must understand something of the woman herself. Previous scholarship offers very little real information about Jeffreys; the same negative anecdotes have been recycled repeatedly.⁴ Here I offer an abbreviated biography of Jeffreys, based upon her own words. Other sources are evaluated and carefully incorporated to provide a balanced characterization of this early modern woman and to illuminate her role in the provenance of the Arundel statues. I suggest that her unique situation motivated the the benefaction; in the hands of someone else, it is unlikely that the Pomfret collection of antique statuary would have been offered to Oxford.

In the construction of the biography, as in the rest of this dissertation, I rely heavily on those of Jeffreys' personal documents which are preserved in the Leicestershire Record Office, and primarily on her substantial social diaries (figure 1.2).⁵ But a brief discussion is necessary here to indicate

⁴ As I demonstrate in the Conclusion, Horace Walpole's distorted view of Jeffreys has been used almost exclusively.

⁵ LRO DG7/DG1-4; a list of her archival material, with brief description and dates covered, is provided at the beginning of the bibliography.

Week	Day	Year	Where & what Company	99'
Saturday	3	1756	I went to Church morning & evening Mr Cooke & Mr Dixon were here. I carry'd Mr Shelley to bed. the air smelt by me. I could not	
Sunday	4	1756	This morning Mr Shelley & I went to Church & received the Blessed Sacrament & in the afternoon to Proyer, after which Mr Lingdon, Mr Cooke Mr Chapman & Mr & Mr Dixon came here & we singe Louisiana. I send from London in my D'Arville's Coach & via Ketter	

Figure 1.2: Jeffreys' social diaries.
 Top two rows from a right-hand page showing headings and sample entries.
 LRO DG7/D1/ 4; July 1756.
 Clive Chandler photo. Used by permission.

how previous biographies and characterizations of Jeffreys have been based on a combination of references from Horace Walpole's *Correspondence* and selectively chosen passages from her writings. Use of the latter has almost exclusively relied on Jeffreys' correspondence with Frances Thynne, Lady Hartford, at least that corpus of material which was published by Bingley in 1805. This is a rich source, but it includes only a small part of a much more extensive archive.⁶

Simon Houfe has used the social diaries for the basis of his articles on Jeffreys. Otherwise I have only been able to locate a few brief extracts from them in the work of other scholars, who rarely consulted the diaries themselves, but simply requested selections which would provide evidence to support their preconceived ideas. For example, Brinsley Ford, having obtained xeroxed copies of some of the diaries, questioned the value of further information:

...It is more difficult for me to decide about Item 3 and I wonder if I might enquire further about this volume of letters. You say that the volume contains detailed descriptions of ? Lady Pomfret's Italian visit March - 21 July. I wonder whether the detailed descriptions refer to people or places? If the letters are gossip and mention the names of a lot of English people and what they were doing then I would be interested. If on the other hand, the writer is giving her impressions of the Tuscan scenery, the Roman monuments, Florentine churches, or the pictures in the Pitti Palace, they would not be of interest to me as these subjects are discussed in countless letters and journals.⁷

In terms of Ford's mandate, to provide a dictionary of English travellers in Italy, this approach is understandable. For Ford, Jeffreys was but one of thousands of Grand Tourists and one undistinguished by reputation. But it is obvious how Jeffreys' own concerns and interests can be misrepresented

⁶ Hughes (1940) seems to be the only scholar who has used the larger body of material, but her work on Hartford has not been properly used by those interested in Jeffreys.

⁷ This excerpt is from the carbon of a letter by Ford to Mr. Parker, LRO archivist (January 5 1967; Ford Archive, Pomfret folder 2). It is transcribed as it appears there.

by such selective use of her words.⁸

Since Jeffreys' character informs the Pomfret benefaction, however, her stated opinions are of utmost importance to my thesis. As demonstrated in the following section, Jeffreys' actions have not been understood because her words have been misinterpreted. I do admit to being selective myself; the diaries especially are a rich and fascinating source of material with broader applications for cultural studies of early modern England.⁹ To serve the purposes of this dissertation, I have concentrated on information that informs the Pomfret benefaction. For example, I suggest that her impressions of the classical monuments in Rome can be directly applied to her regard for those antiquities which decorated her garden. Yet I would argue that my depiction of Jeffreys is more complete than any other to date.

The remainder of this chapter is a very abbreviated biography of Jeffreys, which focusses on several themes: cultural concerns, financial circumstances, and personal relationships. The circumstance of the legal case referred to above directly informs each of four distinct eras in Jeffreys' life: her youth, her early marriage and years at court, her "retirement", and her widowhood. Each of these periods falls within specific dates so this framework provides useful structure for discussion of the more impalpable themes in the following biographical account.

There are very few sources of information about the first part of Jeffreys' life. One travel journal dates to the summer of 1736; her regular diaries survive only from 1738. For the first half of her life there is only a short, point-form autobiography which Jeffreys prepared, seemingly in a

⁸ A pencilled notation on the rough typescript of the Pomfret entry describes her writing as "dull"; no surprise when she's been edited in this way. Nor have her records regularly been consulted to verify other reports.

⁹ Other diaries from the period have been published, but few editions are comprehensive (*cf.* Greig 1926). I suggest that some of these sources would bear revisiting.

single sitting, not long after the travels documented in the 1736 journal.¹⁰ But this scanty record of her early years still greatly improves our knowledge concerning the events of Jeffreys' life, beginning with the very first entry. Until recently biographers usually cited Jeffreys' birth with no date and only an approximate year. But precision is now possible; she was born November 15 1698. It is not that the date itself is important, but the fact that the year is earlier than previous estimates affects our understanding of Jeffreys' contemporaries.¹¹

Born into the ranks of consequence and privilege, Jeffreys was granddaughter to both George Jeffreys, Baron of Wemm and Philip Herbert, 7th Earl of Pembroke. She was named Henrietta Louisa after Henrietta, Duchess of Portsmouth, and Louisa, Countess of Pembroke. The advantage of her status was no guarantee of security, however, and in her youth Jeffreys knew little stability or continuity. A younger brother born in 1700 lived only nine months; then, a year later, her father contracted a fatal fever. His death was of great consequence to Jeffreys for two primary reasons: she became sole heir to his estate and she was left with no immediate family except her mother.

It is difficult to assess Jeffreys' relationship with her mother because she says very little about her. She does report that shortly after her father died, "[Mother] carried me to Mass". The way the two thoughts are linked suggests that Charlotte Herbert had belonged to the established church only for the sake of her first marriage.¹² A year after joining the Catholic church, Jeffreys' mother made another decision, one that had a more

¹⁰ It is included in a commonplace book in the Finch archive, DG7/D4/ii. Her record provides a rough outline of her childhood and years at court. The following discussion, up to 1736, is based upon this account of her early life unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ Cf. 1700 (*Yale* 17.4 n.18); 1703 on the plinth supporting her portrait bust in the Ashmolean. Houfe (1998: 33) is the only source with an early date but, as a result of either a misreading or a typographical error, gives a date of 1692. The age difference between Jeffreys and Walpole is particularly significant given his characterization of her.

¹² Or, at least, that Jeffreys thought so.

serious and lasting impact on her daughter. In 1703, Charlotte married Thomas, Lord Windsor, leaving the house in Lisle-Street “where she had lived with my Father & where I was born & he died”.

At first Jeffreys lived with her mother and step-father in “Cheney-House in Chelsea”; the next year Lord Windsor took “Lindsey House at Chelsea”. Jeffreys records the names of (presumably) every house she lived in, and there were many over the course of her youth. While her precise opinion of it is impossible to determine, it is obvious that the peripatetic nature of her childhood was indelibly engraved in her memory.

There was an increasing sense of family, although Jeffreys seems never to have had good relations with either her mother or her step-father. Jeffreys’ notations record that over the next twelve years the Windsors provided her with six siblings. One of two brothers died young, but Jeffreys remained on close terms with the others, in particular her sister Ursula and brother Herbert, who were closest to her in age.¹³

But while giving Jeffreys some family, the elder Windsors deprived her in other ways. In 1709 an Act of Parliament was passed to determine the settlement of Lord Jeffreys’ estate (a government ruling was necessary for dissolving the Wemm barony). Part of the decision was in accordance with the Act of Distribution of Intestate Estates in that Jeffreys, as sole issue, was entitled to two-thirds of the estate left by her father. The other third belonged to the new Lady Windsor as part of the settlement for her first marriage. In the meantime, however, Charlotte Herbert had already signed over the entire estate to her second husband.¹⁴

¹³ As Mrs. Wadman and Lord Windsor, they feature prominently in Jeffreys diaries.

¹⁴ “John Ld Jeffreys died intestate without disposing of the 20000£ & without male issue Charlotte Ly Jeffreys possessed herself of all his estates and on or before her Marriage to Thomas Ld Windsor she conveyed all her Estates, Investments & all her interests in said 20,000 to said Lord Windsor and his Heirs and she is long since Dead” (BL Add MS 36183, f.180).

Jeffreys was raised believing that her father had died bankrupt and that Windsor's estate was meager.¹⁵ But her autobiographical account was prepared with full awareness of the 1709 Act, and this may have coloured her memory with some resentment, for her second reference to her step-father reads in full: "In 1704 my Ld Windsor took Lindsey House at Chelsea where his Mother Sisters & my Self were added to his own family paying for our boards". Her record emphasizes that Windsor, having just received £20,000 from his new wife, still required his mother and sisters, not to mention his step-daughter, to pay for their keep.

Jeffreys recorded very little else about her early days. Unfortunately, the lacuna includes her education. While some details can be inferred, it would be very interesting to know more precisely about her training, for she was considered an accomplished young woman during her time at court. While her somewhat pedantic nature seems to have annoyed those wits who preferred their conversation spiced with double entendres or outright vulgarity, there were plenty of people who sought her out for conversation and correspondence.

Her mother or someone from Windsor's family may have assisted in directing her, but Jeffreys gives the credit for her upbringing to Mary Burgis (formerly Mrs. Alderne), who later was retained as nurse and governess to Jeffreys' own children.¹⁶ This early training would have been

¹⁵ "[She] knew nothing of her right and Interest in any share of said 20000£ or to any share of her said Fathers personal Estate until she discovered same shortly before the death of said Thomas late Lord Windsor ... on the occasion of the marriage of his Son Dft Lord Windsor with Alice Clavering now Dft Lady Windsor intending to settle said Estates and premises in Glanmorgan on that Marriage and being sensible that the same was subject to Pcts. said demand in respect of their share of said £20000 and being advised that in order to settle same it would be necessary to have release from Pct. the Countess ... did apply to her for that purpose" (BL Add MS 36183, f.181).

¹⁶ "This day About one in the Afternoon died Mrs Burgis A Sincere Xtian born to a Gentlewoman's Fortune & Educated as such, her Name was Mary Alderne, having lost all her Estate, by the mismanagement of a Father in Law she at eighteen, went to Service, was my Mother's Woman & bred me up, she Married after I did, the Man that had bred up my Lord" (June 20 1757).

critical to her, for it is unlikely that Jeffreys had any wish to remain part of the Windsor household where she was essentially a paying guest. Being (apparently) without fortune, and lacking connections or influence, she had little to secure her future except her personal abilities and charms.¹⁷

Jeffreys' religion was another factor since, following the arrival of George I in 1714, a Catholic wife could be a serious liability to a man's career. Her mother's return to the Church of England in 1718, which permitted Jeffreys to do the same, probably came as a relief for more than religious reasons: "my Mother renounced the errors of the Church of Rome in the Parish Church of Buckland where I glad accompanied her have alway[s] gone unwillingly to Mass". Quite possibly Lady Windsor was motivated by concerns for the eligibility of her daughter. But it is unlikely that Jeffreys converted for the sake of expediency. She did seem to prefer the ceremony of High-Church ritual (which was also politically problematic, because it was considered "popish" by Low-Church standards), but her private writings indicate her distaste for Catholic dogma.

Jeffreys' wedding took place barely six months after her return to the established church. In her later diaries Jeffreys notes that the match was proposed by Anne, Countess of Strafford, a family friend who had stood godmother to Jeffreys' sister Catherine in 1715. Strafford's choice was the young Lord Lempster, who had just returned from his Grand Tour at the age of twenty-two. Of recently ennobled family and limited estate, he was an appropriate match for a young woman of good pedigree and little dowry. Fortunately, Strafford seems to have considered suitability of character and personality as well.¹⁸ The Windsors must have made some

¹⁷ These seem to have been considerable. Even accounting for idealizing in contemporary portraiture, Jeffreys' portraits by Dahl and Hudson are compelling. The references to her lack of appeal in Walpole's correspondence reflect the views of men twenty years younger.

¹⁸ Jeffreys remained appreciative: "This Day Died Anne Countess Dowager of Strafford Daughter of Sir Henry Johnson & Widow of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford & Kt of the Garter. She proposed the marriage between my Ld & me & was at it a generous good-natured Woman" (September 19 1754).

provision for Jeffreys marriage portion, for there are later references to the settlement, but the origin of the money is not clear.

Jeffreys' transition to married life seems to have been abrupt. There is no mention of any courtship in the autobiography, simply: "On the 14th of July 1720 being Thursday I was married to Thomas Farmor Ld Lempster; & the next day went with him to his House in Northamptonshire call'd Easton". It is hazardous to speculate about historical relationships, clouded as they are by latter-day expectations and etiquette, but by her own accounts, Jeffreys' marriage was a happy partnership. Jeffreys was very critical of unhappy marriages,¹⁹ and on the rare occasions when she described her own, it was with warmth and love. Any such declarations on her husband's part have not survived, but his business records reveal his concern and respect for her, which suggests strong personal feelings existed on his side as well. Whether their relationship was fueled with early attraction, or simply developed over the years, is a moot point.

With her marriage, another phase of Jeffreys' life began. The next eighteen years were busy and apparently happy. Jeffreys' married life would be encumbered by financial hardship, but there seem to have been few difficulties in the early years. After wintering at Easton their first year together, the Lempsters joined London society. The first entry of the autobiography from this phase of Jeffreys' life relates to their arrival in the capital: "On 15th 1721 of April we came to our House in Hanover-Square that my Ld bought of George Hamilton Esqr".²⁰ As they established themselves in court circles and various social groups, more documentation

¹⁹ More specifically, Jeffreys probably had a narrower view of what constituted an unhappy marriage than is usual today, but she did not countenance abusive relationships. Her continued support of Lady Lymington following the latter's escape, and subsequent divorce, from her husband is manifest in the diaries and provides a concrete example of Jeffreys' views on this matter (June 1747 through May 1750; DG7/D2/i and DG2/D3/iv). Others will be cited later in this chapter.

²⁰ It is telling that although the house was purchased by Lempster, Jeffreys unself-consciously refers to it as "ours".

for their activities is available from other sources.

In this phase too, most of the entries in Jeffreys' autobiographical account are concerned with childbearing, this time her own. Ten children were born within fourteen years.²¹ Birth date, christening date and godparents are recorded for each; for example: "On May 29th 1721 I was brought to bed of a Daughter Christian'd on the 3d of June, Sophia; Charlotte Ly Windsor, Sophia Ly Lempster & Thomas E of Pembroke answering for her". This type of information is useful not just for what directly relates to Jeffreys, but also for her social circles (The godparents to her second child, George, were the Prince and Princess of Wales). Jeffreys' early position in society is otherwise difficult to assess.

In the autobiography Jeffreys' few notations not related to childbirth are brief. For example, between birth records of the two eldest children is a single line: "In December this year my Ld was created Earl of Pomfret". This sentence is interesting for documenting the rise in the Pomfrets' status, but also for the offhand wording, similar to Jeffreys' later notations of their court positions: "On May 28th 1725 my Ld received the red Ribon & I was made Ly of the Bedchamber to the Ph: of Wales". This is particularly significant since one of Horace Walpole's later criticisms of Jeffreys (repeated by almost all subsequent accounts) was that she was obsessively concerned with precedence.²² There is no hint, in this account written not long before their acquaintance, of any such attitude. She does not even mention her new title, or any alteration to her position according to the rules of preferment.

²¹ The children were: Sophia (b. May 29 1721), George (b. June 25 1722), William (b. July 23 1723), Charlotte (b. February 16 1724), John (b. August 3 1726), Henrietta (b. September 21 1727), Juliana (b. May 21 1729), Louisa (b. September 23 1731), Anne (b. April 21 1733), Thomas (b. October 29 1734).

²² Walpole's comment in his correspondence and his own footnote to the passage follow here: "What pains my Lady Pomfret would take to prove¹⁹ that an abdicated King's wife did not take place of an English Countess"; "19. Lady Pomfret and Princess Craon did not visit at Florence upon a dispute of precedence (HW)" (*Yale* 20.132).

Thus, while Jeffreys' autobiography consists of brief notations, the evidence in these simple entries has broader implications. For example, when Louisa was born in 1731, the Duke of Richmond stood for her. This notation not only confirms the link between the families suggested in Hogarth's painting *A Scene from the Indian Emperor*, but also argues that the relationship between the Pomfrets and Richmonds was not a casual one.

Another godparent recorded by Jeffreys was Charlotte Clayton (later Lady Sundon), who attended the christening of Henrietta in 1727. This relationship too is documented in other sources; for example, some correspondence between the two women has survived.²³ The account that is cited most often, however, is an unsubstantiated anecdote in Horace Walpole's documents. He reports that Clayton was bribed by Pomfret to secure the preferment, when he was appointed Master of the Horse to Queen Caroline just after her coronation in October 1727:

I was saying to Lady Pomfret, 'to be sure [Lady Sundon] is dead very rich!' She replied with some warmth, 'she never took money.' When I came home, I mentioned this to Sir R[obert]. 'No,' said he, 'but she took jewels; Lord Pomfret's place of Master of the Horse to the Queen was bought of her for a pair of diamond ear-rings, of £1400 value.' One day that she wore them at a visit at old Marlbro's, as soon as she was gone, the Duchess said to Lady Mary Whortley, 'now can that woman have the impudence to go about in that bribe?' 'Madam,' said Lady Mary, 'how would you have people know where wine is to be sold, unless there is a sign hung out'.²⁴

²³ BL Add MS 20104, *passim*.

²⁴ (*Yale 17.277*; from a private letter to Mann written in 1742). Mary Wortley Montagu was not shy of recording her own *bon mots*, but even the most exhaustive work on her (Grundy 1999: 262) relies on Walpole in this instance. Walpole was less positive in a variant account included in his *Reminiscences* (along with his own footnote): "Lady Sundon had received a pair of diamond earrings as a bribe for procuring a considerable post in Queen Caroline's family for a certain Peer,* and decked with these jewels, paid a visit to the old Duchess, who as soon as She was gone, said 'what an impudent creature, to come hither with her bribe in her ear!' 'Madame, replied Lady Mary Wortley, who was present, how should people know where wine is sold, unless a bush is hung out?' *Said to have been the first Earl of Pomfret" (Walpole 1924: 91).

Thus is Jeffreys' defense of her friend reworked as prevarication. Certainly the story may be true. Pomfret was not part of Robert Walpole's political party,²⁵ so any post available to him would not have been due to recognition by the "prime" minister.²⁶ But internal evidence in the Sundon documents shows that Clayton had been acting as mentor and patron for the Pomfrets since well before the first surviving letter, written in July 1725. This relationship developed into a friendship which lasted many years; Jeffreys' daughter Sophia stayed with Clayton at least once, and Jeffreys went often to Sundon.²⁷ And Pomfret's post as Master of the Horse benefitted Clayton in turn. He provided carriage when requested and accepted her reference for one of his esquires.²⁸ While every form of gift carries some expectation, making presents to influential people was not at all unusual in the eighteenth century. It is, however, unlikely that the Pomfret exchequer could have borne the estimated £1400. Whether the earrings were their offering and whether they were actually intended as a bribe is impossible to determine.

With a large family to provide for, court responsibilities (purchased preferments aside), as well as the expectations of their rank, it is no wonder that the Pomfrets had financial difficulties.²⁹ It was not, of course,

²⁵ I have not determined Pomfret's affiliation. But whether leaning towards Tory or Whig, he was both moderate and opposed to Robert Walpole's administration.

²⁶ Robert Walpole's own use of preferment as "bribery" is well documented (Speck 1996: 17), as is his acceptance of expensive paintings from those who wished, or owed, favours (Moore 1996: 53-54). Horace Walpole is rather silent on these counts, which is indicative of the subjective nature of such labels.

²⁷ Sophia's visit is referred to in an undated letter (BL Add MS 20104, f.129b); some examples of Jeffreys' visits to Sundon: September 1728, August 1730, August 1731, August 1735 (BL Add MS 20104, f.160, f.170, f.172, f.178).

²⁸ Pomfret sends notice to Clayton that a coach will be available for Mrs. Titchbourne, January 14 1731 (BL Add MS 20104, f.125); Jeffreys reports the appointment of Mr. Temple as esquire in an undated letter to Clayton (BL Add MS 20104, f.131).

²⁹ In the autobiography, Jeffreys notes that Sophia was one of the bridesmaids at the wedding of the Prince of Wales in 1736; this probably required an expensive garment.

unusual for aristocrats (or anyone else) to be in debt, but the Pomfrets' position was exacerbated by conditions created in the previous generation. When his father died in 1711, Pomfret was too young to be charged with his full inheritance, so part of his trust was invested in another estate. But by the 1730s this Dorsetshire estate had become a liability rather than an asset. Pomfret's correspondence with his lawyer and trustee, James West, is very clear on this point.³⁰ The recognition, in 1736, of Lord Windsor's duplicity, would have added further frustration. Jeffreys became suspicious when he asked her to sign legal documents releasing her father's estate:

...having been kept entirely in Ignorance of any such right to a share of said money and being surprized at such application desired said Thomas Lord Windsor to explain said matter to her who thereupon told her that in Case there had been any clear surplus of her said late Fathers personal Estate of which said 20,000£ was part, two thirds thereof would have belonged to her, but alleged that in fact there was no such surplus and that the whole 20,000 had been applied in payment of her father's debts, but that nevertheless he could not well make Settlement of the Glamorganshire Estate on his Sons Marriage without such Release from her and that he only devised same as a matter of Form or to that effect but Pct refused to execute any such discharge without being further satisfied about said matter.³¹

The dry jargon of the legal summary does not disguise the shock and betrayal the Pomfrets experienced at this denouement. To make matters worse, they were not sure they would be able to prove a case. The difficulties in gathering documentation delayed the legal proceedings for many years. In fact, the case did not start until 1746.

³⁰ The problem appears to have been properties that had been leased for life, and were constantly in arrears with rent payments (BL Add MS 34741, f.10, f.14b). Lord Pomfret later commented: "the only thing which will make me happy. I mean getting a purchaser for that Estate. I owe all the troubles of my life to my having ever accepted it & I plainly see that in the long run, if I keep it, it will undoe me" (BL Add MS 34733, f.118).

³¹ BL Add MS 36183, ff.181-2.

Meanwhile, the death of Queen Caroline, in November 1737, involuntarily released both Pomfrets from their court positions with small chance of obtaining further remunerative posts. Their situation must have seemed dire, for they faced bankruptcy. Their predicament would have been made yet more difficult if, as later, the treasury was consistently in arrears with their salaries.³² It was not a propitious moment.

It was their increasing financial difficulties that prompted the Pomfrets to go abroad in 1738. While the three youngest children remained at Easton Neston under the care of Mrs. Burgis, the two middle daughters stayed with their grandmother, the Dowager Lady Lempster. Three of the eldest children (Sophia, Charlotte and George, Lord Lempster) accompanied their parents first to France and then to Italy. There they could live more cheaply, not simply because of differences in social obligations, but also because the pound was strong against European currencies.

Thus began the third phase of Jeffreys' life. That she herself perceived this as a new era is indicated by her initiation of a new method of self-documentation. On the very day of their departure, Jeffreys began the large format social diaries which she maintained until the end of her life.

The commencement of the diaries is important for two reasons. First, the regular entries provide more information about the second part of Jeffreys' life than is available for the earlier years, not just in detailing her activities but in reflecting her interests and opinions. Second, the diaries are remarkable for what they suggest about Jeffreys' approach to the trip itself - she viewed it as a great adventure, one which was to provide herself and her daughters with numerous educational experiences. The diaries serve not only to chronicle Jeffreys' physical journey, but also to record her intellectual and cultural passage as well.

Jeffreys' self-directed programme of study, her careful observation and

³² Pomfret mentions this several times in his letters to James West, for example in August 1740 (BL Add MS 34733, f.110).

analytical reflection, and her keen interest in discussing and debating cultural and intellectual topics are all documented in the precisely ruled volumes where she diligently recorded the chronicle of her new life. These activities and characteristics define Jeffreys as a woman operating within the discourse of the English Enlightenment. Although her learned qualifications seemed insufficient to Walpole, who had the advantage of a formal education, Jeffreys' efforts deserve praise and recognition. Her trip was not intended as a Grand Tour, but she formulated it as such. If she did not always achieve an effect of *vertu*, she was at least working seriously at self-development. Men who *were* supposed to be on a Grand Tour often forgot to aspire to its noble theory and engaged in less meritorious practices. Jeffreys does not emerge as the greatest mind of the eighteenth century, but neither do any of her critics. That she voluntarily chose to pursue a course of study and to develop a programme suitable for a woman's Grand Tour merits approbation. It also anticipates participation by the bluestocking generation in such intellectual and cultural pursuits.

In a recent book Brian Dolan assumes the middle of the eighteenth century as the starting point for a discussion of women's involvement in the Grand Tour. In the context of women's early involvement with continental travel he cites Lady Mary Coke's intellectual discussions in 1768 with Lady Charlotte Finch. He seems unaware that the latter had completed three years of intensive study in France and Italy (under the direction of her mother, the Countess of Pomfret) thirty years earlier.³³

While the Pomfrets were not actually travelling primarily as tourists, they did make every effort to take advantage of such opportunities, which included the castle at Dover and "the Prize Pictures at the Louvre" (August 10/21 1738). As soon as arrangements could be made, however, they settled

³³ Dolan (2000: 39). His statements on this theme, e.g.: "One solution arrived at by many women was to go abroad *to begin* their education" and "women began to think of travel as a virtue - as a stimulant to the mind and an avenue to intellectual 'improvement'" (2000: 22, 32), are here shown to apply earlier.

in a country house at Monts.³⁴ There the women began the other practice in their educational programme, a daily schedule of study: “return’d to my own [rooms] to write Work & read French” (August/September 24/4 1738).

After nine months in France, the Pomfrets decided to go to Italy. Life in France had not been as cheap as they had hoped. Lempster went as far as Lyon, where he was settled in the Academy to study political theory. At this time they discharged his tutor, John Nixon, who returned to England (where he was later given positions on the Pomfret estate),³⁵ and themselves headed for Italy.

En route, at Genoa, the Pomfrets encountered their second son William, whom they had not seen since he had entered “the Sea Service” three years earlier. Jeffreys recorded in her diary that she found him “changed much for the worse, both in Person & Behaviour” (May/June 31/11 1739). She soon changed her mind - possibly naval manners required getting used to, not to mention the shock of adjusting to the difference between the boy he had been and the youth he had become. William was serving under Sir Aubrey Beauclerke aboard the ship which took the Pomfrets to Leghorn. Upon arrival, there was some talk of William joining his family for a while, but this plan was soon abandoned.³⁶ The Pomfrets continued on to settle in Siena, where they spent the next five months. Jeffreys was often ill here and her diary entries are quite sporadic, though her correspondence does include an account of her visit to the cathedral and the country outings which she enjoyed through the warm months (*Corr.* I.117).

³⁴ Monts was within easy travel of their banker in Paris, reasonably comfortable, and allowed for a certain anonymity. An earlier attempt to rent a house at Sens had been foiled when their identity was leaked and local prices skyrocketed.

³⁵ “My Lord Pomfret th[is] Day gave the two Livings of Coldhigham & Easton to Mr Nixon who came to ask them of Him” (January 23 1742).

³⁶ “Lord Aubrey Beauclerke came & told me he was just going to Sail for Gibraltar that he thought a War was breaking out & that t’wou’d not be for the advantage of my Son to take him with us to Sienna as we had intended for a few months, so I resolv’d to let him go with his Captain” (June/July 29/10 1739).

In October the Pomfrets received their first intimation that there was a purchaser interested in the Dorsetshire estate. This was both a relief and an anxiety. They were pleased at the possibility but wished for the matter to be settled as quickly as possible. It is clear from the records pertaining to the sale that the Pomfrets conferred together frequently in their financial planning. They discussed, in partnership, strategies for investing the potential surplus, where to lodge the annuities they were responsible for, and how best to provide for their children.³⁷

In December the Pomfrets moved to Florence. As the cold weather arrived and their few local friends left Siena for the season, the Pomfrets had been unpleasantly isolated in the community. It seems that the Sieneese, who were “vastly civil” upon first acquaintance, were so “ridiculously formal” that little further headway could be made.³⁸ Some English travellers passing through may have provided the impetus for the change. Jeffreys had written that they themselves did not intend to move until after Christmas. Yet Sir Roger Newdigate and Lord Quarendon visited them in Siena on December 15, and the Pomfrets arrived in Florence five days later. It is difficult not to assume one prompted the other.

Here they found things much more to their liking. Florence was the site of a British envoy, which attracted English visitors, so there was a large expatriate community. New to the post was Horace Mann, relative and (later) correspondent, of Horace Walpole. Walpole himself had recently arrived in Florence with Thomas Gray, and already resident there was his sister-in-law, Lady Walpole, who became quite friendly with Jeffreys. The

³⁷ Pomfret’s letter to West (October 7 1739) opens with expressions of his “infinite satisfaction” in the prospect, then states “both my wife & I are of the opinion that it would be for the advantage of our Children, that all the Debts carrying Interest should be discharged out of the purchase money, & the residue laied out in the manner you mention for their benefit, & we both join in making it our request that it may be so” (BL Add MS 34733, f.89).

³⁸ The former description comes from Jeffreys’ first letter from Siena (*Corr.* I.109); when she wrote the latter Jeffreys yet had no intention of quitting the city “I shall once more imitate the tortoise and wait in my house the return of spring” (*Corr.* I.145).

Florentines too, were welcoming. Signora Maria Vittoria Soares was a particular friend of Jeffreys' and also introduced her to Giovanni Uguccioni, who subsequently spent nearly every day with the Pomfrets.³⁹

The attractions of Florence included more than the people. The Pomfrets saw all the sights, even making visits to nearby attractions at Pisa and Lucca. The letters of both Pomfrets, however, indicate that finances were still a major consideration. Jeffreys wrote: "Sienna was dull, dear, and void of all conveniences. Here we have conversations, amusements of many kinds, and great plenty, without much expense" (*Corr.* I.175). In a similar vein is a passage from a letter by Pomfret: "We are now got to a place in every sense the reverse of Siena I mean Florence full of good conversation and magnificent objects and amusements. Neither is it a small addition to the pleasure one enjoys in them, that one may have them for nothing".⁴⁰

While enjoying the amusements, Jeffreys did not let them interfere with her other pursuits. Her weekly conversations, subsequently perceived as an obligation for her guests,⁴¹ were actually a concession on her part: "To provide against [being] inconvenience[d], and at the same time not incur the displeasure of my countryfolks, I shall be at home every Friday evening, and at no other time" (*Corr.* II.7). Meanwhile, Jeffreys not only continued her normal programme of studies, reading in English and French, but added Italian histories and language as well; she had been in Florence just over a week when she began the latter: "This Morning I began to learn Italian" (December/January 21/1 1739/40). Her reasons for learning Italian she articulated in a letter: "I will give you as good a description of this place and people as I can. And, to be the better enabled

³⁹ Mann suggested that Jeffreys feigned this friendship (*Yale* 17.129). Uguccioni's lifelong relationship with Jeffreys and her daughters is, however, documented in other sources.

⁴⁰ BL Add MS 34733, f.98.

⁴¹ V. Ingamells (1997: 781).

to undertake so fine a picture, I am, with great industry informing myself in the language and history of Tuscany” (April 3 1740). That her daughters were also involved in this programme of study is indicated by Walpole’s comments on Charlotte’s fluency in Tuscan Italian (*Yale* 30.15).

Not all the details of the girls’ education are known, but it was a substantial and regular programme.⁴² A list of books which Jeffreys set for her children survives from 1736. The nature of the volumes included there suggests that the girls read the same works that Jeffreys did. Some of the works she describes at this time are: *Don Sebastian* a play, *Madame de Sevingé’s Letters*, *Gemelli’s Travels*, *Spenser’s Canto*, *Bandello’s Novels*, and archival manuscripts of the Medici family.⁴³ Given what is known of Jeffreys’ and Charlotte’s later practices, certain of these would have been read aloud for subsequent discussion.

In order to practise their penmanship, Sophia and Charlotte also did written work, one form of which was to preserve Jeffreys’ correspondence by copying it into bound volumes.⁴⁴ This pedagogical practice had several purposes. Not only did it give the girls practice in writing, it also gave Jeffreys a full and convenient record of her correspondence.⁴⁵ And, in addition, it presented her daughters with real examples of intellectual and

⁴² Many years later when Charlotte’s son was on his own Grand Tour, he wrote to her of meeting Signore Ugucioni in Florence: “he shewed me the study where you used to read with Ly P: he said you used to be sometimes six hours without intermission reading & writing” (December 1772; DG7/Bundle 32).

⁴³ This is found in DG7/D4/ii, along with Jeffreys’ list of her own books. Her references to titles are often idiosyncratic.

⁴⁴ This is yet another point on which Walpole was scornful of Jeffreys, while at the same time most appreciative of her daughters’ abilities (*Yale* 19.390).

⁴⁵ The post was very unreliable and many people kept records of what they had written and when. If you are writing weekly, yet there may be a two month delivery period (and if half your letters go astray), it is just as well to have a transcript. Jeffreys also seems to have used her letters like a journal, as much for herself as for the edification of her reader.

diplomatic interaction.⁴⁶ For example, when corresponding with two other literary ladies, Jeffreys seems to have tailored her writing style to suit the expectations of the recipient. Her letters to Mary Whortley Montagu are much more stilted and less challenging than those to Frances Hartford. These letters, and others, were probably discussed together as well.

Within the limits of their budget, the Pomfrets also worked at enriching their experience of the continent with cultural activities. They attended musical and theatrical performances, analyzing the characteristics of each form. The girls were probably schooled in music; Jeffreys herself took up the Italian flute.⁴⁷ The fact that Jeffreys was also involved indicates that these accomplishments were not simply to “finish” the daughters.

As part of their education, Sophia and Charlotte frequently accompanied their parents on visits to various great houses and art collections. For example, In Paris they had been to see “the Prize Pictures at the Louvre” (August 10/21 1738) and from Florence the four made a trip to see Baron Stosch’s collection (March 1/12 1740). Other times Jeffreys went with Pomfret, as in July 1740 when they went to see the Gualthier collection. Very often she would go on her own; several such visits to Mariette’s print shop are noted throughout January 1739.

Jeffreys’ diaries are replete with records of such occasions and she often expresses her concern for the preservation of the collections. In describing the Medici collection, for example, she emphatically mentions its future. In the context of a general reference to the *palazzo*, she states: “[the rooms] are filled with different kinds of valuable curiosities, which have been collecting for near two hundred years; and whenever the poor electress dies, will, I do not doubt, in as many days be dispersed as many several

⁴⁶ It seems a very sensible practice for educating anyone in this period, when formal educational texts were limited. Only one volume of the transcript survives (LRO DG7/D5).

⁴⁷ “I paid Lodovico for teaching me on the Flute” (August/September 26/6 1740). The Italian flute, or *flageolet*, was similar to a recorder.

ways” (*Corr.* II.97). Jeffreys’ distress at the presumed future of the collection was not unique, but was shared by many of her contemporaries, including her husband; the Pomfrets were of one mind on this point.⁴⁸

The Pomfret exchequer would not permit any major art collecting of their own, but all three women worked on cabinets of coins and medals during their trip. These objects were not only portable, but many were inexpensive, which made them the ideal collectible. This activity did have a social facet; Jeffreys compared and discussed numismatics with Horace Walpole, for example (*Yale* 17.4, 17.4 n.19). But it was not a novel interest, at least not for Jeffreys. John Evelyn’s *Numismata* was in her personal library before 1736.

In his preface to that work, Evelyn had recommended medals for “lover[s] of Antiquities” who had not the opportunity or resources to collect “Marbles and Inscriptions”. Numismatics were not just for the impecunious, however, but served as “an useful and necessary Appendage to a *Library ... [as] Vocal Monuments of Antiquity*”.⁴⁹ Evelyn provided intellectual authority for this diversion, not just with his own name, but by listing other collectors; “*Camden, Selden, Sir John Marsham, Sir Simon D’Ewes ...* have derived [advantages] from the light which *Medals* have contributed to their Studies”.⁵⁰ The Pomfret women too saw this as a serious pursuit. Jeffreys had been included in George Vertue’s 1738 list of

⁴⁸ Pomfret wrote: “The Gallery of the Grand Duke which alone is entertainment for an whole life is constantly open, & when the weather does not allow one the use of the many beautifull Gardens & Villas with wch this place abounds one may be nobly entertained there. But at the same time it is impossible not to have some concern when one considers how soon in all probability this wonderfull collection of rarities will be dispers’d The present possessor having no other taste for them than the money they hope some day or other to raise by them” (BL Add MS 34733, f.98-99).

⁴⁹ Evelyn (1657: 1); Henry Peacham, in his second edition of *The Compleat Gentleman*, had described coins as particularly resonant historical documents: “the content a man has to see, and handle the very same individuall things which were in use so many ages agoe: for bookes and histories and the like are but copyes of Antiquity bee they never so truely descended unto us. But coynes are the very Antiquities themselves” (1634: 123).

⁵⁰ Evelyn (1697: 3).

principal collectors of English coins.⁵¹ While on the continent, she continued to develop her collection and her daughters also became serious collectors; not only were there specific examples that they sought, but they also learned how to make impressions and copies.⁵²

Although they enjoyed many aspects of life in Italy, the Pomfrets missed their family and their country; they were away from England for nearly three years. In the spring of 1741, with negotiations for the sale of the Dorsetshire estate well underway, returning home began to seem possible. While they waited for confirmation of the financial transaction, the Pomfrets made a brief visit to Rome. Their reasons for doing so must have been compelling, since it was an expensive trip and they did not have funds in hand yet. Also, it was a difficult journey; the Grand Tour may have been well established by this point, but tourist facilities were not.⁵³

The Pomfrets were in Rome four weeks (four very busy weeks). They were out every day viewing antiquities, churches, country *castellanos* and city villas; evenings were spent at conversations, dinners, and assemblies. But although the social interaction was important, most of the sight-seeing was done on their own. Jeffreys was indefatigable: there does not seem to be an attraction she missed, from the Campus Martius to the Pretender. When the three women went to St. Peter's Church, one daughter

⁵¹ *Vertue* VI.106. The other collectors were listed as: Lord Pembroke, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Oxford, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, Mrs. Bridgeman, Captain Tolson, Mr. Fairfax and Councillor West. When Mrs. Bridgeman died in 1742, she left a medal cabinet to Sophia.

⁵² Earlier during a short visit to Paris, "a man came this morning [to] show us how to take of medals in Plaister" (January 19/30 1739). Perhaps he was from the Academy of Medals in the Royal Palace. Jeffreys would have known about it from Evelyn's book.

⁵³ Preparing for the journey, Jeffreys wrote: "I propose staying a day at Sienna, to pay my compliments to my acquaintance there, and prepare for two other terrible days' journey; where, they say, I shall not be able to go to bed. This is not the first time I have endured that fatigue, as well as some others; but having lived now for fifteen months in the utmost tranquillity, and the full convenience of a large well-furnished house, it appears a little unpleasant to launch once more into dirt, noise, rough roads, and rougher lodgings" (*Corr.* II.277-78).

(undoubtedly Charlotte) accompanied her to the top of the church, but only Jeffreys followed the guide into the ball (April 6/17 1741). Her interest seems to have been primarily in art works and collections, however, as these elicited more comment in the diaries.

Jeffreys was not indiscriminately enthusiastic about all that she saw. The remains of the ancient fora struck her as rather disappointing: “there is very little so entire, as to give one any Idea of what it really was” (April 14/25 1741). Jeffreys was not a visionary thinker, but that does not make her comments invalid, or uninteresting. On the Capital, she made special note that the Albani collection had been given by the Pope “to the public”. In both her diary and her correspondence she lamented that the Farnese statues were “going fast to ruin” (*Corr.* III.53). It is clear from Jeffreys’ records that she had a great reverence for the past (even when it did not live up to her expectations), which included respect for context and conservation.

The Pomfrets intended to return quickly to England from Rome. They stayed in Venice only a few days. They were held up for some months in Brussels, however, due to difficulties in finalizing the Dorsetshire sale.⁵⁴ But by October the Pomfrets were settled in London and readjusting to London society. They did not return to Easton Neston until the next season,⁵⁵ but took out a seven year lease on a house in Upper Brooke Street. They made their “obedience” at court and began the social round. This last mostly consisted of visits with family and close friends, such as the Windsors, Lady Lempster and Lady Hartford.

The Pomfrets also attended the occasional grand event, for example, a masquerade celebrating the reunion of the King and the Prince of Wales.

⁵⁴ “As I have made it my firm resolution to breathe in no country where it is not in my power to be just and honest, I am determined not to set foot in England till this Estate is sold and all the Debts discharged and the moment that this is done I shall set out for it” (Pomfret to West, from Brussels August 10 1741; BL Add MS 34733, f.139).

⁵⁵ The children joined them in town.

Walpole pretended he was amazed by the Pomfrets' entrance: "But of all extravagant figures, commend to me our friend the Countess! She and my Lord trudged in like pilgrims, with vast staffs in their hands" (*Yale* 17.339). Mann responded that her costume was chosen "to convince people that she had travelled" (*Yale* 17.368). But although Walpole was probably being sarcastic in referring to them as "extravagant" in a room with "quantities of pretty Vandykes ... an assemblage of all ages and nations" (with himself dressed as an Indian Emperor), his resentment of Jeffreys obscures a significant point; the pilgrim costumes were inexpensive. In fact, the younger children used the same types of costumes at another such party.⁵⁶

Scholars have often argued that Walpole's spite against Jeffreys was motivated by his belief that she manipulated the relationship between her daughter Sophia and his friend, Henry Clinton, Lord Lincoln.⁵⁷ There is, however, no evidence that Sophia and Lincoln needed any such assistance, or that Walpole required a rationale.⁵⁸ All accounts indicate that Sophia and Charlotte had attracted a lot of attention on the continent, especially from the young English gentlemen. As a suitor, Lincoln seemed both worthy and serious. In fact he seemed ideal, possessing family, influence, and financial stability. Every reference to him records how attractive he was in both looks and manner.⁵⁹ Sophia was considered one of the beauties of her day, and Lincoln was clearly smitten.

⁵⁶ Compare the Pomfret costumes to the lengths other people might go to in dressing their children for one of these events: "I drest the Children for the Maskerade ... Miss Furness was the finest Drest in a Dress taken from a Picture of the first Countess of Denlish in her Wedding Cloaths, white trim'd with Gold & adorn'd with Diamonds from head to foot. Henrietta was a Huntress, Juliana a Spanish Lady, Louisa a Pilgrim, Anne a Flora & Thomas a Running Footman" (March 5 1743). At the event Walpole refers to, Sophia had dressed as a Spanish Lady and Charlotte as a Huntress.

⁵⁷ Some historians believe Walpole was in love with Sophia (Mahony 1873), some believe Charlotte (Paston 1901), and others believe Lincoln (Mowl 1996).

⁵⁸ This point is discussed more thoroughly in the Conclusion.

⁵⁹ Walpole's own comments are supplemented with several other reports (in *Yale* 17.210).

But what do Sophia's romantic entanglements have to do with the Pomfret benefaction? Over the course of this relationship it was brought home to the Pomfrets that although they were no longer in debt, their means were still modest and the future security of their children was at risk. It is worth summarizing how Lincoln's attachment developed and was broken off, in order to establish the validity of the Pomfrets' financial anxieties. Those worries were ultimately responsible for the Pomfret benefaction.

I can find in the sources no trace of conniving on the part of Lady Pomfret in staging or managing this affair.⁶⁰ Certainly both of Sophia's parents do appear to have been in favour of the match; Lincoln was frequently in their company. Conversely, it would have been easy for Lincoln to have avoided their company if he wished. Instead, he often invited them to be his guests. There is no record of what Sophia thought or felt, but she could not have been opposed to the idea, or her parents would not have encouraged it. Jeffreys' opinions on unhappy relationships are very clear.⁶¹

Shortly after he arrived back in England, Walpole informed Mann that Lincoln would not marry Sophia.⁶² But notations in Jeffreys' diaries show that Lincoln did continue to court Sophia in London. He visited their house frequently and brought his sister to meet the Pomfrets on December 23 1741; from that fact alone, it seems clear he still considered marriage. He features frequently in Jeffreys' diary entries over the next year.

But Sophia's dowry (or marriage portion) of three thousand pounds was not sufficient. Lincoln had acknowledged this earlier, writing to his uncle

⁶⁰ As Horace Mann states (*Yale* 17.80).

⁶¹ "This Day died Lady Dorthy Boyle ... unhappily sacrificed to the Brutality, & Ill Temper of a Man" (May 2 1742).

⁶² Passage in a letter dated December 17 1741, (*Yale* 17.248). He and Lincoln arrived back together although they had started their return journeys at different times.

(the Duke of Newcastle) from Rome. But possibly Lincoln hoped that the depth of his emotion would somehow overcome the obstacles, or perhaps he was just enjoying being “in love”; he appears to have been rather given to self-dramatization.⁶³

Despite the definite nature of his earlier pronouncement, Walpole’s letters continued to record Lincoln’s attachment to Sophia: “the Earl is not quite cured” (*Yale* 17.468) although he had not finally “declared off” until the fall of 1742 (*Yale* 18.103). Over the course of that year, many of the occasions on which Sophia and Lincoln had met involved small parties hosted by Lincoln or members of his circle. Thus, it seems fair to say that his intentions were not clear to Sophia or her family.⁶⁴ They were probably also unaware he was keeping several mistresses at the same time.⁶⁵

Was Jeffreys dashed by the failure of her “schemes” and plans, as Walpole suggests? Probably she was disappointed initially, but her wishes for her daughters involved their security and happiness.⁶⁶ Jeffreys was very

⁶³ “My Lord I own to you I love Lady Sophia more than words can express ... but I can most faithfully assure you nothing can ever be capable of making me forget what I owe to your Grace, or ever so much as to think of entering into the least engagement without your approbation ... I am most sincerely to be pitied, for the greater the sense I have of my Lady Sophia’s merit, consequently the loss of her, if it should happen, as I greatly fear [it] will, must make me the more miserable, for I do but too plainly see, my Lord, the many obstacles that must necessarily arise from such a proposal. I am but too well acquainted with the many incumbrances upon my estate, and that marrying without a fortune would be reckoned very imprudent, for you know my Lady Sophia has nothing which the world calls fortune, though more qualifications than one could ever expect to find in any one person” (BL Add MS 33065, f.406; in *Yale* 30.6-7 n.31).

⁶⁴ For example: “We went in Lord Portmore’s Coach with Ld Charles Hay to Lord Lincoln’s, the Terrass very fine. After Dinner we went to Mr Southcote’s with the same Company” (May 2 1742); “Dined with Lady Lucy Clinton the Company was Ly Townshend, Ly Lucy Clinton, Ly Sophia Farmer, Ly Charlotte Farmer & my self. Ld Lincoln, Ld Bury, Mr Pitt, & Mr H Walpole” (June 24 1742).

⁶⁵ Several relationships are referred to by Walpole (*Yale* 30.43ff).

⁶⁶ Jeffreys thus described the breaking of one engagement: “I do not know which most to admire; - the affection of the parent who resolved to lose a great sum of money rather than see a child not perfectly happy; or a young creature getting the better of her inclinations when her reason represented the ill consequences of pursuing them” (*Corr.* II.107).

careful about who she permitted her daughters to get involved with. Jeffreys is unlikely to have countenanced uniting her daughter with someone who was either so weak-minded or so devious as to not conduct himself according to the appropriate rules of courtship. But any description of her actual state of mind is based on speculation; there is no trace in Jeffreys' diaries of these circumstances.

At the end of 1743 Jeffreys' main diaries break off for nearly four years. Entries in small portable books fill in much of this period,⁶⁷ but there are no surviving records for the period between September 1743 and March 1744. In fact, there are no family documents for Sophia's courtship with John, Lord Carteret, until four weeks before her marriage. At that time one of the things Jeffreys did document was the marriage contract, from which we know that Sophia's portion amounted to five thousand pounds (April 13 1744), a sum substantially greater than the three thousand pounds which Pomfret had attempted to secure for her following the sale of the Dorsetshire estate.⁶⁸ But even five thousand pounds would not have attracted a man to whom the financial aspect truly mattered. It was fortunate that Carteret was a wealthy and well-established man, who did not necessarily require the same qualities in his new wife. In fact, there is some suggestion in the sources that this money actually came from Carteret. The sum of five thousand pounds was resettled with Pomfret not long after the birth of the Carterets' child, just before Sophia's death.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ LRO G7/D2/i and DG7/D2/ii.

⁶⁸ Draft of settlement (BL Add MS 34741, ff.66-67). Mary Whortley Montagu was mystified by Pomfret's ability to raise five thousand pounds (in Hughes 1940: 455-56). It should be noted that a marriage portion was a daughter's share in lieu of property (which was usually entailed on the male line) and was intended to give her some personal security.

⁶⁹ This is suggested by Pomfret's will which includes the following: "I give and devise unto the Right Honourable John Earl Granville the Sum of five thousand pounds which he has conveyed to or settled upon me my Executors Administrators and Assigns by deed poll bearing Date the fourth day of October One thousand Seven hundred and forty five subject to the Right and Interest which my Grand daughter Lady Sophia Carteret daughter of the said Earl of Granville hath therein" (PRO PROB 11/803/215).

The Dorsetshire sale had not done much more than offset the Pomfrets' debts. Upon their return to England a lawsuit had been initiated against Lord Windsor, but the process was extensive. In the meantime, there was not the money which would have ensured that the other daughters could marry well. Fortunately, all of the young women found a suitor willing (and able) to overlook their modest dowry for their substantial qualities. But following Lincoln's betrayal in 1742 this could not have been anticipated and the future must have looked bleak indeed.

The situation was different for the Fermor boys. By the terms of his father's will of 1738, Lempster was the primary heir to the estate; upon finishing his studies on the continent, he sought a position in the army.⁷⁰ Substantial networking was required at court and among other acquaintance to secure the post he wanted. In February 1742 Lempster was made an Ensign in the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards and just over a year later was promoted to Captain.⁷¹ He was first posted to Scotland and later to the continent; although he made several trips back to London, his path diverged from his family's. That he went in to the service is indicative of the Pomfrets' weak financial situation, since it was common for the heir to live on an allowance and become involved in court and government.⁷²

Similarly, the Pomfrets secured a ship for William, who returned to London to examine for the post of Lieutenant in 1742.⁷³ The Pomfrets not only used their influence to get him posted, but worked at raising his

⁷⁰ "My Lord Pomfret, by Lord Lempsters request in a Letter to Me from Turin desired an Ensign's Commission in the Guards for Him, which the King promised" (November 28 1741).

⁷¹ "Lord Lempster came here & brought his Commission of Captain sign'd the 30th of April last" (June 6 1743).

⁷² As Lincoln did, for example.

⁷³ "Billy was examin'd & past at the Navy Office for a Lieutenant. I wrote to Lady Archibald Hamilton for him & spoke to Mrs Boothby for Lord Baltimore's Interest. I went to Genl. Churchill's where I met Mrs Boothby" (August 3 1742). Horace Mann's belief that the Pomfrets were opposed to William's naval career is not borne out.

profile, introducing him at court and integrating him into society. William had inherited three thousand pounds from his godmother, and was entitled to a portion from his parents. With that legacy, and larger shares of profit as he rose in military rank, his prospects were comfortable.

The Pomfrets' plans for Tommy's future are not known. He too would have received an equal share from his parents' marriage portion, but what situation they intended for him is not known. After being given an educational grounding at home, Tommy was enrolled at Rugby in July 1743. He died there, that fall, at the age of nine.⁷⁴

In preparing their sons as best they could, the Pomfrets did not need to raise large sums as they did for their daughters. When William Finch (son of the Earl of Winchelsea) proposed himself for Charlotte in 1746, other complications became apparent. The Pomfrets' circumstances were similar, in many ways, to those of the Bennets in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*: a position to maintain, little money to do it with, and a large family of daughters to provide for. Mrs. Bennett is a laughable character, but her desperation to marry off her daughters must be considered in light of the knowledge that she will be ousted from her home, to live on a very restricted income, accompanied by five daughters with no expectations.⁷⁵ Mr. Bennett considers the situation would have been different if he had fathered an heir, for then the estate could have been resettled and the female dependents provided for. He is assuming that a son would have been accommodating.

To provide for Charlotte's portion the Pomfrets intended to release funds from the estate by buying out the mortgage of their London

⁷⁴ I have no details of Thomas' death, for there are several gaps in Jeffreys' diaries at this time and the genealogical documents lack the precise year, giving only November 21 174_. But it had to be later than July 8 1743, when she records "My Lord & I carried Tommy to Rugby School" (DG7/D1/2). I expect it was November of 1743, since she records receiving a letter from him in August of 1743 (DG7/D1/2) and there are no further references to him when diary DG7/D2/ii commences in March 1744.

⁷⁵ As happened to the Dashwoods in *Sense and Sensibility*.

property. Because of the entail, however, Lempster's assent was required. Although Lempster was the primary heir, his siblings were each entitled to their portion from the estate. But he refused to help. Perhaps his gambling debts influenced his cupidity (though it could have been the other way around), since he seems to have been perpetually short of cash. In 1750, Walpole informed Mann that Lempster had "lost £12,000 at hazard to an ensign of the Guards" and recalled similar debts from ten years earlier (*Yale* 20.209).⁷⁶ Lempster had also borrowed money from relatives on both sides of the family; money which then had to be repaid by his parents, for example: "We had a Letter from my Lady Lempster that said, she had supply'd Lord Lempster with sixty pounds on the pretence of his having kill'd a hired-Horse in Hunting" (October 29 1742).

Something else had to be arranged, and the diary entries record that Jeffreys took the initiative: "Lord Lempster came & rejected the City Lease, & all other terms of Agreement. I went to Mr Heaton to find another expedient for Charlotte's Fortune" (August 4 1746; DG7/D2/ii).⁷⁷ Having served as one of the trustees for Sophia's settlement,⁷⁸ Finch would have had some idea of Charlotte's expectations; he was also accommodating. The Pomfrets' lawyer Mr. Heaton, Finch's lawyer, Mr. Conyers, and Lord Granville worked out the final arrangement in a schedule of payments.⁷⁹ In the end, the portions for Henrietta, Juliana, and Anne were also paid at

⁷⁶ Here, as elsewhere, Walpole may be incorrect in the details, but that his comments about Lempster are essentially accurate is supported by the other evidence.

⁷⁷ There does not seem to have been anything illegal or unethical about what the Pomfrets were suggesting. The affairs were supervised by their lawyer, Mr. Heaton.

⁷⁸ John Conyers, Pomfret's nephew, was a trustee for Finch and Charlotte's settlement in August of 1746. He proposed himself for Henrietta in November of the same year; they were married the following January. Having observed the difficulties first hand did not deter him either.

⁷⁹ Lempster had brought his brother-in-law John Carteret (now Lord Granville) into the matter: "my Ld Granville came with a falatious proposal Ld Lempster had made him Mr Heaton came & convinced my Ld Granville of the truth & settled Matters another Way" (August 5 1746, DG7/D2/ii).

intervals (though with that many daughters, even installments could amount to a substantial financial burden). The Fermor women's "inclination for widowers"⁸⁰ (who had probably been more practical the first time), should be understood within this economic context.

In 1749, Jeffreys returned to France for an extended period, accompanied by her daughter Juliana, her granddaughter Sophia, and her companion, Miss Mary Shelley. Their reasons for the trip are unknown, for there is another two year gap in the primary diary. In April Jeffreys had been busy consulting her lawyer, visiting her friends and watching fireworks; then, there are no records until October 8th, when the group left London.

Although William had died unexpectedly just shortly before her departure, it appears that the journey was already planned.⁸¹ Some sources suggest Jeffreys' poor health may have prompted a lengthy recuperative vacation. Or, it may have been similar to the first trip, as a cost-effective measure or educational Grand Tour. Horace Mann seems to have had word (or he assumed) she was intending to visit Florence several months earlier (*Yale* 20.70). There is no evidence of such plans in Jeffreys' itinerary. The women spent all their time in central France. After a few weeks in Paris, they went directly to Blois and remained there until their return. Jeffreys' records from this period are particularly interesting; she documented how she handled all the arrangements for the travel, as well as recording her cultural experiences.⁸²

⁸⁰ As articulated by Mahoney (II 1873: 303).

⁸¹ The *Daily Advertiser* reported Jeffreys had left London "for the south of France for the recovery of her Ladyship's health" (October 12 1749, in *Yale* 20.97). Initially, I thought William's death might have prompted her wish to get away, but if Mann's reports are based on more than surmise this could not be the case. I have been unable to find a precise date for William's death, but internal evidence in the diaries shows it must have been recent. Jeffreys ordered her mourning upon arriving in France.

⁸² LRO DG2/D3/iv contains her narrative description of the 1749 travels.

One reason for proposing an economic rationale for the journey is that when the women returned to London in 1751, Pomfret had recently been appointed Ranger of the Parks. His salary would no doubt have provided welcome relief. The post itself was probably due to Granville's influence. Contrary to popular opinion, Granville was on very close terms with the Pomfrets, even after Sophia's death. Jeffreys took responsibility for raising and educating his daughter, the younger Sophia. Her fourth daughter, Louisa, moved into Granville's household assuming a role similar to that of a personal assistant. But there may have been other considerations for the trip besides money. Ill-health and other losses meant that this was a difficult time for the Pomfrets. William's was the fourth family death in as many years. Jeffreys was probably emotionally exhausted.

Through these years Jeffreys was often apart from her husband. Pomfret and their daughter Anne both spent lengthy periods at Bath.⁸³ Jeffreys herself found it difficult to live in London, and had settled on Windsor Castle as her primary residence in 1745. The castle was not yet refurbished as a royal residence, but was divided into apartments which were the prerogative of those holding particular positions. Jeffreys sub-let a succession of these suites. She continued to retreat to Easton Neston, however, and establishing this residence does not denote any separation from her husband. They visited frequently, consulted together, and handled correspondence and other tasks for each other.

The Pomfrets also presented a united front against attack from Lord Lempster. On October 20 1751, Lord Pomfret was served with a subpoena, informing him that his son had filed a Bill in Chancery suing him for waste of the estate. Pomfret vigorously denied the charges, providing evidence of the property's healthy state. As understood by the defense, the accusation of wastage was "merely as a colour for the present Bill and as a

⁸³ Pomfret, Sophia and Anne all had weak constitutions. Both of the girls died relatively young compared to their sisters. Henrietta died in 1793 and the other three lived into the nineteenth century.

contrivance”.⁸⁴ Lempster’s true goal seems to have been to discover the details of his parents’ marriage contract, which he repeatedly requested. Even the Master in Chancery agreed that Lempster was attempting to establish the full extent of his expectations to use them as collateral.⁸⁵ This legal battle lasted well over a year.

It comes as no surprise, then, that the Pomfrets found their heir unsatisfactory, and worked to secure provisions for their other children. In the early 1750s, as Pomfret’s health deteriorated, he and Jeffreys undertook some final arrangements. At that time, Pomfret made extensive changes to his will which had implications for the future of the Arundel marbles (described further in Chapter 3). Briefly, Lempster’s inheritance was greatly reduced to include only the entailed estate and Jeffreys was charged with responsibility for all the personal property.

Seriously ill in 1752, Pomfret went for treatment at Bath. He was unable to obtain relief from his pain, however, and decided to return to London. Hearing of his father’s condition, Lempster made an insincere attempt at reconciliation. Jeffreys demanded that he prove himself first. After Lempster put his apology in writing, Jeffreys arranged that he should visit his father. She does not appear to have hindered their meeting, but she did orchestrate it carefully. Lempster was not permitted to see his father until

⁸⁴ This comment was added to the summary of the charge: “That Deft. hath of late years sufferd sd Capital Messuages & other Buildings afd to run to decay and same now are in a ruinous Condition for want of necessary Reparations and Deft. hath lately Cut down and disjoined of great Quantities of Oak Ash Elm & other Timber Trees Standing and growing upon sd Premeses and thereby raised large sums of money and committed great Wast insomuch that if Deft. is not speedily prevented said Capital Messuages and Buildings so settled as aft are in Danger of falling or running to decay and there will not be left Timber sufficient for the common and necessary Repairs of the Houses and Buildings on sd Estate” (BL Add MS 36183, f.398ff).

⁸⁵ That the defendants view is supported by the account of his lawyer: “Mr Heaton told me Mr Belcher had been with to inform him Lord Lempster had offer’d him to sell his reversion in my Ld’s Estate” (July 31 1752).

after his written statements had been delivered.⁸⁶ Despite Lempster's assurances, there were no further changes to Pomfret's will. Lempster's reformed character was not very convincing.⁸⁷

The Pomfrets then gave up their London house, taking residence together in Carshalton and resettling the city lease. The money in that transaction was applied against outstanding debts, such as Juliana's marriage portion.⁸⁸ The completion of that contract was Lord Pomfret's final act. On July 8 1753, Jeffreys wrote in her diary, "a little before two [in] the morning the Almighty call'd to Himself my dear & tenderly Lamented Husband".

Later chapters of this dissertation will deal thoroughly with key events from the final phase of Jeffreys' life, but a general description is provided here as background to that discussion. Following Pomfret's death, Jeffreys maintained their establishment in Carshalton for nearly a year. As executor, Jeffreys was in charge of carrying out Pomfret's will. Only when

⁸⁶ Lempster contacted his mother first, perhaps believing that her favour would be more easily attained, more likely because he was unaware of his father's whereabouts; but one can almost hear him swearing, when she holds her ground (it took him an hour to write his second letter !): "Lord Lempster came to the Door & sent up a Letter that he was there. I answer'd in Writing, that till he had submitted himself & gain'd my Lord[']s], Pardon, I cou'd not see him he wrote about an hour after that he was already resolv'd to desist from his Law suit & desired I wou'd write to my Lord to night to that purpose. I answered by Letter that I wou'd & advised him to write at the same time. I according wrote to my Lord sending him Lord Lempster's Letters, & Copy's of my Answers" (March 13 1752).

⁸⁷ A certain justification for the new arrangements came on February 24 1752, when Lempster made headlines by killing Captain Grey in a duel. Horace Mann's comments indicate how such behaviour affected the family: "I pity the Pomfrets extremely, though I see by the papers that the coroners have brought in the verdict manslaughter, which I suppose will save Lord Lempster" (*Yale* 20.309). Lempster escaped a murder charge based upon sympathetic eyewitness accounts; his title and the support of his brother-in-law the Earl of Granville probably did not hurt his cause either. The Pomfrets did continue to provide him with financial support. For example, Lord Pomfret paid his court costs: "Mr Brown came in the morning & my Lord desir'd he wou'd go to Lord Lempster & tell him he wou'd pay the Expenses of his Tryal" (April 4 1752). Lempster does not seem to have been appreciative: "my Lord received an insolent Letter from his Son" (May 23 1752). Although the Pomfrets continued to assist him ("I went to Mr Wright's the Bankers to pay in fifty pounds from my Lord for the use of Ld Lempster"; June 24 1752), he did not withdraw the lawsuit.

⁸⁸ "Mr Vigor came from London Dined here & brought my Lord's Bond paid in full & cancell'd by Mr Penn for the remaining part of Lady Juliana's Fortune" (July 7 1753).

his charges were completed did she give up the house and release the staff.⁸⁹ Jeffreys then returned to Windsor Castle, living there most of the rest of her life.

Jeffreys had already retreated from the social round to some extent. Most of her attention was, not surprisingly, on her family. Jeffreys and her daughters exchanged letters often; with Charlotte it was nearly every day. Jeffreys heard least often from Anne, who spent most of her time in Dublin after marrying in 1753 (letters arrived from Ireland once a week). Jeffreys also spent lengthy holidays in the country homes of her daughters' families at Chorley-wood, Copt-Hall and Kitcham.

The diaries from Jeffreys' last years show that she stayed busy and active in other ways as well. She toured numerous country houses. She maintained an extensive acquaintance through correspondence and visits. She continued with her studies, reading in English, French, Italian and Spanish (she began teaching herself the latter in 1758) and she supervised the education of her granddaughter Sophia. Jeffreys planned and oversaw the construction of a modest-sized Gothic-style house in Arlington Street. She invested in bonds and lotteries on behalf of her dependents. She attended few grand events, but one of them was the 1756 Publick Act, which commemorated her gift to Oxford of the Pomfret marbles.

Legal matters occupied a great deal of Jeffreys' time as well. Having failed in his suit against his father, Lempster brought a new charge against Jeffreys, arguing that the five thousand pounds referred to in her marriage settlement should be interpreted as a total to be divided among his siblings and not an amount that each was entitled to.⁹⁰ Jeffreys' lawsuit against the

⁸⁹ "Here we lived our happiest dais together, this Place he loved, & here we were last together: the Form of our Living still subsists & sacred to his Memory I yet preserve his Family entire. Here too I am as quiet, as my afflicted Heart will let me be ... I omit nothing, that I can do to accomplish the Will of Him, who has reposed the trust of all his Earthly Affairs with me" (from Carshalton, August 18 1753; DG7/ Bundle 30).

⁹⁰ Her answer to the charges and a summary of the Complainant's charges (the contemporary terminology is apt) are documented in PRO C11/2522/5.

Windsors, which had been decided in her favour in 1752, was not then successful in eliciting the money. The situation was further complicated by the death of her brother in January 1758 and the entire process had to be repeated again in a suit which named her sister-in-law as the sole defendant. The Jeffreys' inheritance was finally forthcoming in January of 1761, the same year in which Henrietta Louisa died; she herself did not profit much by it. Thus, Walpole's comments quoted at the beginning of this chapter are invalidated.

In her final months, needing to be closer to town, Jeffreys rented a house at Richmond. When she got weaker, she was moved into Henrietta's London house in Margaret Street. Jeffrey's own home, Arlington Street's "Pomfret-Castle", seems never to have been inhabited. Jeffreys often stated how satisfied she was with her daughters and how much their families meant to her. The care that she received from them is proof against Walpole's depiction of her as an unlovable nuisance. Even her sons-in-law expressed their concern and regard.⁹¹ Early in December of 1761, Jeffreys' illness turned critical. Informed that her only hope of recovery was treatment at Bath, she set out on her last journey. She got no further than Marlborough, where she passed away, surrounded by family and friends.

Perhaps due to her unsettled childhood, her duties in attendance at court, and the lengthy sojourns on the continent, Jeffreys, despite her enjoyment of travel, only ever felt at home in one place. This was not one of her own residences, but the Fermor country house in Northamptonshire. She often had to visit the county on business, but after the death of her husband, Jeffreys never returned to Easton Neston -- where her son George now lived, heir to the estate and title of Lord Pomfret. This fact too, was important for the last stage in the provenance of the Arundel marbles and their ultimate location at Oxford.

⁹¹ This included looking after her in her final illness and through the unusual circumstances arising after her death (described in Chapter 5).



THOMAS EARL OF ARUNDIEL.

*Seated in the Statue Gallery of Earl Arundel's House.
From the Original, painted by Vansemer,
in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.
Copied by R. T. Bone & Engraved by W. H. Worthington.*

Figure 2.1: Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, with statue gallery.
Engraving by W. H. Worthington; after a copy by R.T. Bone, after an original
painting now attributed to Daniel Mytens, c. 1618.
In Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* I, 1888, p. 292.

2 The Arundel Collection, 1612-1691

So was it then a praise-worthy custome observed among the Ancients, That they did shew themselves forward to consecrate the memories of such men as had deserved well of the world: and because they could not endure that vehement longing they had after the vertues of the deceased Worthies, they did at once seek to remedy their sorrow and to stirre up other noble spirits to the love of vertue (Junius 1638: II.viii.7).

In the art theories of the early modern period, true art was necessarily virtuous, and the virtuous were worthy subjects of art: a portrait of a connoisseur was thus doubly honourable. The print on the previous page is from a nineteenth-century publication in which the sitter was titled “the father of *vertu* in England”,¹ and is indicative of how successfully these theoretical ideals had been absorbed into English culture. The print is after a Daniel Mytens portrait of Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel (1590 - 1646), showing him in plain but expensive clothing, adorned with the honours of the Lesser George and the Order of the Garter; Arundel gestures towards his collection of classical statuary with a staff (presumed to suggest that of the Earl Marshal).² The passage quoted above was written by Arundel’s librarian (in a treatise dedicated to Charles I). The quotation, like the print, the original painting, and Arundel himself, represents the intersection of status, power, and connoisseurship which was an important feature of early modern English culture.

¹ This frequently quoted phrase (e.g. Hervey 1921: title) is usually attributed to Horace Walpole (one example is Christopher White 1995: 217). Included in *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, it is from one of Dallaway’s footnotes (e.g. 1888 I: 293 n.1); Aldrich *et al.* noted this, but regard its usage appropriate for Arundel’s contemporaries.

² Discussed further below. For more comprehensive background on Arundel’s life and art collecting, v. Walker (1705), Hervey (1921), and Howarth (1985).

Beginning in 1612, Arundel assembled a major collection of Greco-Roman sculpture. The print expresses the connection between Arundel and the moral values inherent in the classical statuary. He is depicted as a man of *vertu*. Ironically, Arundel was primarily interested in re-establishing his hereditary rights and was probably unaware that he would later be best known as the founder of a different type of dynasty - that of English connoisseurs. But it would not have displeased him.

Over the last twenty-five years interest in the Arundel collection has increased, resulting in a number of studies primarily concerning its acquisition history.³ A brief summary of the collection's formation is included in this chapter to establish how it was perceived by Arundel's contemporaries.⁴ Previously, however, little attention has been paid to the collection's dissolution, although the mechanics are thought to be well known. But objects from the collection (and the concept of the collection itself), while widely publicized and highly esteemed in Arundel's lifetime, continued to act as powerful signifiers long after his death and the dispersal of the art.⁵

Thus, some emphasis will be given to the later history of the collection, establishing the international reputation (and national pride) which these marbles commanded through the late Stuart period. The House of Orange

³ v. Haynes (1975) and Howarth (1985). The 1995 Getty acquisition of a van Dyck portrait of Arundel prompted further studies (Jaffé *et al.* 1996), Scott (2002) and Chaney (2003).

⁴ It is clear from the primary sources that Arundel's wife, Alatheia Talbot, played a significant part in acquisition and arrangement. But although Cust (II 1911-12: 97) and Howarth (1987) suggested her importance, other scholars have continued to display gendered bias; for example, Fletcher's work (1996: 67) in which Arundel's art purchases are described as "collecting", while Talbot's are "shopping". It is hoped that the subsequent studies by Howarth (1998) and by Chew (2000), will help redress the imbalance.

⁵ Part of why Talbot has been marginalized is that historians have relied upon accounts of individuals who had some vested interest in how they portrayed her. George Conn, Papal representative, could easily have exaggerated or invented her Catholic intrigues to inflate his own importance with the English court. For the Puritan William Prynne, this independent woman (one who acted in court masques) was simply a popish whore (v. Howarth 1985: 202, 209).

and the early Hanoverian eras are considered in Chapter 3. The association with the Arundel name was critically important for the way that Jeffreys considered the statuary, as well as for its relevance to Oxford University.⁶

Although later lauded as an innovator, Arundel himself would have been aware that he was part of a much larger movement. Theories concerning the gentlemanly worth to be found in the pursuits of art accumulation and art appreciation were already well established in England. From the sixteenth century on, collecting art became an acceptable pastime for members of the English aristocracy and *intelligentsia*, having developed from and along with the continental tradition of the princely collections.⁷ Ancestors of both Arundel and his wife (Alatheia Talbot; figure 2.2), had significant collections.⁸ But because both his grandfather and father had been convicted of supporting Mary of Scotland (and Catholicism) by Elizabeth I and their estates seized, Arundel did not inherit any of their property, including the art objects.⁹ Deprived of the greater part of his rightful property and rank, Arundel had to create his identity anew, and Talbot was his partner in all aspects of this self-fashioning. Like the refurbishment of his ancestors' tombs and the interest in Holbein, the Arundels' collecting activities have as much to do with their own pedigree and status as with reverence for history and art.

⁶ It would have been gratifying to find documentation that Talbot served as a role model for later women. But women's positive actions were not often included by the chroniclers of the day (i.e. considered part of the public, historical record). The possibility of an oral-history tradition is also unlikely, but it is established that Jeffreys did see some of the portraiture which shows Talbot in association with the collection.

⁷ For general background concerning the European tradition, v. Brown (1994); some sources for the early Stuart period in England are Strong (1986) and Chaney (2003).

⁸ The Lumley collection would have been Arundel's (he thought, but for the attainder of his paternal ancestors, mentioned below). Art collectors in Talbot's family include her god-mother, Elizabeth I, and her grandmother, Bess of Hardwick.

⁹ Arundel's interest in Holbein paintings and drawings is informed by his ancestors' patronage. Thus, the *idea* of a Holbein would have been more important than an autograph painting, which probably does much to explain why few of the Holbeins supposedly in the Arundels' collection can be traced (cf. Foister 1996).



THE COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL.

*Seated in the Picture Gallery of Old Arundel House
 From the Original Painting by Vanseme
 in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk
 Copied by W. H. Worsington & Engraved by W. H. Worsington*

Figure 2.2: Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel, with painting gallery.
 Engraving by W. H. Worsington; after a copy by R.T. Bone, after an original
 painting now attributed to Daniel Mytens, c. 1618.
 In Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England I*, 1888, p. 210.

Their interests in rescuing his past, reclaiming his titles and renovating their mansions (both structurally and with expensive artifacts) are all reflected in the Mytens portraits which depict them as *exempla* of aristocratic culture.¹⁰

The Arundels were part of an extensive network of *virtuosi*, some of whom were primarily scholars, for example Robert Cotton, John Selden, and William Camden. Associated with the court were other cultured nobility, often referred to as the Whitehall Group, including George Villiers (later Duke of Buckingham) and King Charles I.¹¹ Art patronage, collecting, and gifting served as means of negotiating court politics, in one-upmanship or seeking favour, as well as the more philosophical purposes of enriching scholarship or developing *vertu*.

But while the collecting efforts of Arundel and Talbot are now understood as part of a widespread interest in art and antiquities, in the early modern era the Arundels' collection was regarded as both innovative and matchless - and Arundel's alone. Besides the classical statuary, it included paintings and drawings (many Old Masters), manuscripts, books, antique books, botanicals, coins and gems. But, as is portrayed in Arundel portraiture (e.g. in the prints, figures 2.1 and 2.2), the paintings and statues were considered the most significant parts of the collection - and in the hierarchy of collecting, classical art was held in the highest esteem.¹² Reverence for classical antiquity did the most to display one's *vertu*.

¹⁰ Because this dissertation is primarily concerned with the reputation of the collection, Talbot's role will be excluded from much of the discussion, but an effort has been made to integrate her back in to the historical account.

¹¹ Again, women are often left out of the lists, but their activities can be detected; hopefully, the new work on Anne of Denmark (Barroll 2001) and Talbot will prompt further study.

¹² In practice, this meant statuary since ancient (high-art) paintings had not survived. Modern painting also had its own ranking system in which "history" paintings (depicting classical subjects or biblical themes) were elevated above other genres. For various reasons (partially to do with religious ideology) portraiture featured more prominently in the English art market than any other type of painting. To validate English art, theorists argued that portraiture served as a historical record of a person (*cf.* Junius, quoted above, and Richardson 1719 I: 45).

The Arundels made several extensive trips to the continent, which are regarded as seminal in the development of both their collection and the later practice of the Grand Tour. They did not simply travel around the countryside, but set themselves (and later their sons) to learning the language and the culture. It is argued that, feeling continually overlooked at court, Arundel turned to foreign travel, seeking a way to distinguish himself and his name.¹³ The 1612 tour was the most important for the purposes of this study because it was on that visit that the classical sculpture collection was begun. Among the Arundels' entourage were Inigo Jones and Thomas Coke. The former has had lasting fame, but Coke, who served as Talbot's *cicerone*, was a learned connoisseur as well. Writing to Talbot's sister, Lady Kent, he noted that the Arundels were in Italy: "seeking where real nobility flourishes together with polite *virtu*".¹⁴

Letters from the diplomats in Italy to the English court record that, in contravention of their travel licenses, the Arundels visited Rome in early 1613. Their host in that city was the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, himself famous for an extensive art collection which would be publicized in an illustrated catalogue, the *Galleria Giustiniani*, perhaps already in preparation. Giustiniani was well known as a connoisseur of classical antiquities and the Arundels would certainly have been aware of the prestige consequent upon his cultural endeavours. Probably in the hope of developing influence with this English Catholic peer, Giustiniani arranged for a permit allowing Arundel to excavate in the Forum at Rome. It has been suggested that Giustiniani "planted" the statues which Arundel found

¹³ The accession of James I had been joyfully contemplated by Arundel (then Lord Maltravers), since it was believed the king would reward those who had supported his mother, Mary Queen of Scotland. But although the Arundel title was restored, precedence and rank were not. Particularly galling was that the office of Earl Marshal continued to be withheld by James, which Arundel perceived as his by hereditary right.

¹⁴ "*e pero cercando dove cresca la vera nobilita insieme con tanto gentilissima virtu*" (H.M.C. 23, Cowper I.80; in Howarth 1985: 231 n.59). My thanks to Janis Elliot for assistance with this translation.

in order to ignite his interest.¹⁵ Given the competition among Italian nobility for such artifacts, a controlled situation seems most likely, but does not affect the impact the sculpture had on Arundel's reputation.

The Arundels shipped these antiquities back to their London house. They also transported modern sculpture in the antique style (the rightmost "senator" in the frontispiece is one of four works now attributed to the baroque sculptor Egido Moretti). Among the numerous contemporary references to classical statuary in the Arundel collection, there are none which mention that some of the statues were modern pieces *all'antica*. It is highly likely that most seventeenth-century viewers were unable to tell the difference, and much less likely that it even mattered.

Many of the statues in the Arundels' possession were fragmentary or damaged and, as was common in contemporary practice, restoration was carried out. The "Oxford bust" is just one example of an *improved* statue; it has been described as a seventeenth-century pastiche.¹⁶ Nevertheless, its importance to Arundel can be inferred from its frequent appearance in commissioned images.¹⁷ Several sources provide documentation for the reconstruction process, but a shipping inventory dating to March 1635 is particularly interesting; it names the sculptor who was in charge of obtaining the necessary spare parts. Roman authorities gave Francesco Diusarso (Francois Dieussart) permission to export "a group of Echo and Narcissus, two Sibyls, the head of a putto and an assortment of legs and arms intended for those statues at Arundel house in need of limbs".¹⁸ The numerous restorations carried out on the statues argue that Arundel was no

¹⁵ This suggestion was first made by Hess (1950).

¹⁶ Haynes (1975: 21), one of the few who gives an Arundelian date to the restorations.

¹⁷ It may be this bust which appears in the van Dyck portrait (described here on page 60). It was the only classical statue to be engraved by Arundel's team of engravers.

¹⁸ Translation as rendered by Howarth (1985: 163; he provides the Italian, 1985: 242).

different from his contemporaries in preferring anachronistic but intact statues to fragmentary originals. This evidence for the seventeenth-century restoration of the statues is important, since much of this work has been assumed to be the responsibility of the Pomfrets (v. Chapter 3).

In London, the statues were arranged in Arundel House on the Strand. Their arrangement is not certain, but the assumption that most were then displayed in the garden is brought into question by a letter written from Lord Sherburn to Dudley Carleton in July 1616.¹⁹ The letter documents that before leaving England to take up a diplomatic post in Spain, Lord Roos gifted his own classical statuary to Arundel, and “after all his paines and chardges bestowed in collecting and gathering together such antiquities of this kind as he could get in his travailes, he hath now in a humo^r (and I may say an ill one) given them all to my L. of Arundell, w^{ch} hath exceedingly beautified his Lordship’s Gallerie”.²⁰ It would be interesting to determine which statues these were, since Roos’ collection seems to have been considerable. The initiation of correspondence between Arundel and Roos around this time may have resulted from this generous donation. But Roos’ letters from Madrid are primarily concerned with establishing the esteem in which Spanish courtiers held England, for Roos was in Spain to facilitate negotiations for a marriage between the Infanta and Prince Charles - a Catholic bride for the Stuart prince. Had he attempted to buy Arundel’s interest with the statues?

If so, he failed due to Arundel’s advancement at home. In that same year Arundel was finally admitted to the Privy Council. And when Charles was created Prince of Wales in November, Arundel was appointed to act as Earl Marshal. This position Arundel believed was his by hereditary right

¹⁹ Hervey tentatively proposed that the statues were moved out of the house as newly acquired paintings required the space (1921: 257). Howarth, who has carried out the most extensive study of the Arundel collection, was able to determine the precise location of only a few of the classical marbles (1985: *passim*).

²⁰ Sainsbury (1859: 272-3); as quoted in Hervey (1921: 102).

and he had long been requesting its restoration. It was particularly important to him, since he saw it as linked to the dukedom of Norfolk which, reclaimed, would have made him the highest noble in England next the king and his son.²¹

Probably with the hope of further solidifying his political position, Arundel joined the Church of England by taking Communion in the King's Chapel on Christmas Day. The fact that his greatest rival, George Villiers, had just been created Earl of Buckingham may have been a factor too, as Arundel's Catholicism had hindered his political career. Arundel may have been devout, but he was not a martyr. He was busy trying to restore to his family what had been lost by those who had chosen otherwise.

In 1618, Buckingham was made marquis, and Arundel, who had been expecting the dukedom of Norfolk, was not granted further honours at this time. In 1623, Buckingham was created a Duke, thereby gaining precedence and political advantage over Arundel; King James did then offer the Norfolk title to Arundel but as a new creation, which would not include the authority of the historic version. Arundel refused what he felt was an empty honour. He wanted the status inherent in being the 5th Duke of Norfolk. Furthermore, although Arundel had already been permitted to serve as Earl Marshal in 1616, the actual confirmation of the appointment was delayed. John Williams, an associate of Buckingham's, having been appointed Lord Keeper, sought a share of the annuity and the powers which went with the Marshal's post and actively hindered Arundel's appointment: "The Lord Keeper stays the Earl of Arundel's patent from passing the Great Seal, But the Earl executes his office nevertheless, by virtue of the staff given him by the King, and makes no suit about the patent".²²

²¹ James's reluctance for this appointment is probably due to its impact on the status quo (v. Hervey 1921: 105). He also knew that if Arundel's ancestors had succeeded in placing his mother on England's throne, they would have had no need for him.

²² The comment is from a letter from "Locke" to Carleton (September 22 1621; Calendar of State Papers 1619-23, p. 291) in Hervey (1921: 193).

It could be argued that Arundel did make suit, but did it with art. The scale of his art collection was intended to present him as a Renaissance prince, one not just of *vertu*, but of great lineage. In this midst of this struggle for office, Arundel commissioned the famous grand-scale pendant portraits of himself and Talbot from the artist Daniel Mytens; the two paintings illustrated in the prints (figures 2.1 and 2.2), in which the aristocratic pair are shown against a backdrop of gentility and culture.²³ The Mytens portraits should be read in light of the political events, presenting Arundel, the perfect gentleman, who illustrates his claim to the Earl Marshal's post, with the staff already presented to him by the king. Arundel's "fortune", presented in Ben Jonson's masque *Metamorphosed Gipsies* as performed at Windsor in September 1621, is a literary form of the same image: "What a father you are and a nurse of the artes / By cherishing which, a way you haue found / How they, free to all, to one may be bound ... Yours shall be to make true gentry knowne ... To shewe and to open cleare vertue the way" (ll. 440-42, 46,49).

In terms of the overall purpose of the commission, the pendant is no less important: it depicts Talbot sitting in front of the Arundel painting gallery. The subjects of the various paintings in the gallery behind Talbot are not clear (neither the famous Arundel Holbeins nor Old Masters are recognizable) but it is likely that the *idea* of a painting collection is being alluded to, with the emphasis on a gallery of ancestral portraits: "[t]aken together, as they were meant to be, the portraits of the Earl and Countess symbolize the joint achievement which went to make up the collection".²⁴ More than that, they are supported by both cultural authority and historical

²³ They only differ by associating the two figures with distinct aspects of the Arundel collection. Much is made of the conjunction of Arundel with the classical statuary, believed to celebrate his connoisseurship and social standing (e.g. Thackray 1995: 208). Arundel's role in the Whitehall group was more dependent upon connoisseurship of paintings.

²⁴ Howarth (1985: 14), also Thackray (1995). The educational value of portraiture was one of the themes of *The Painting of the Ancients* (Greeks and Romans), written by the Arundels' librarian, Franciscus Junius. The treatise is quoted at the opening of this chapter.

authority.²⁵ It was a common belief that portraits provided role models; therefore, the noble and cultured Arundels are living proof of the worthiness of their ancestors commemorated in the gallery behind Talbot.

Scholars have argued over the accuracy of the Mytens portraits. Was the collection at Arundel House actually displayed as shown? A realistic landscape is provided (Arundel House did overlook the Thames), but the architecture is inaccurate. In addition, some sources describe full-length statuary and inscriptions only in the context of outdoor settings; one particular anecdote certainly suggests the garden contained most of the statues.²⁶ Sherburn's letter quoted earlier and John Evelyn's later account indicate that there were inscriptions in the Gallery. Possibly a few favoured works were displayed indoors and the remainder were arranged in the gardens, but specific information is scarce. While the setting is possibly idealized in the Mytens painting of Arundel, several of the statues it shows were actually in the collection. What can be determined from the painting then, is some idea of which statues were deemed most valuable. Some forms are rather generic, and there has been some manipulation of scale (probably for compositional reasons) but the Eros, Minerva, Spearbearer, Homerus, Venus (*à la Medici*), and Senator are easy to recognize.

The Mytens portraits provide just one example of how the Arundels employed paintings and print images to inform their public identity. Items from their collection were frequently included in their portraiture to allude to their status and high level of culture. Such references were also

²⁵ Lawrence Humphrey had stated sixty years earlier that children should “gaze upon the Images and titles of theyr auncestors; and not only read theyr vertues but learne to counterfayte them” (1563). In a sense, (post-Reformation) English portrait galleries replaced the (Catholic) saints as role models with the ancestors (Aston 1992: 201), a development which was likened to the Roman practice of displaying *imagines* in the home.

²⁶ “Sir Francis Bacon coming into the Earl of Arundel's Garden, where there were a great number of Ancient Statues of naked Men and Women, made a stand, and as astonish'd, cryed out, *The Resurrection*” (before 1626 when Bacon died; Tenison 1679: 57). But this does not require that all the statues were outside. The extended title of Selden's treatise states that inscriptions were “in his house and garden; *in aedibus euis hortisque*” (1628).

incorporated into the *Madagascar Portrait* by Van Dyck, which ostensibly commemorates Arundel's colonization project of 1639.²⁷ All variants show Arundel in full regalia, holding his staff of office in one hand while pointing with the other to Madagascar on the globe before him. Talbot, also wearing regalia, holds attributes of the geographical muse Urania. Talbot's profile is balanced by that of a classical bust representing their collection. In at least one version of the painting, another bust in the background can be identified as the bronze Homer now in the British Museum.

Since they were displayed in the home to impress the Arundels' peers and descendants, grand portraits like the Mytens and van Dyck examples would have had a limited audience. But there were plenty of models which indicated the potential benefits that could result from disseminating self-promotion through the use of prints, one such is the *Galleria Giustiniani*, already mentioned. David Howarth has established Arundel's awareness of "how Aldrovandi reached a wider audience... through the woodcuts with which he had advertised the more celebrated items of the collection".²⁸ Although Howarth notes that Arundel was inspired by the endurance of Aldrovandi's reputation (due to the continued circulation of illustrative prints), he suggests a concern for promoting the arts in England as Arundel's primary reason for following this example. Indeed, several artists were employed in preparing prints of items from Arundel's collection, including Raimondi, Hollar, Pordenone, van der Borcht, van Dalen and Lilly. Most of the images surviving are copies of paintings, although Howarth has presented the intriguing suggestion that Arundel

²⁷ At least three versions of this painting were made. The original van Dyck was retained by the family and is now at Arundel Castle. Two known copies (with variants) are at Knowle and in Vienna (v. Howarth 1985: 169).

²⁸ Howarth (1985: 40-41). But were the items publicized because they were celebrated, or celebrated because they were publicized?

intended to pair those images with the statues and inscriptions.²⁹ But Arundel's intention in raising the arts in England should not be misunderstood; later theories concerning the benefits of culture for the masses do not apply here. These prints were not intended for cheap distribution in England, but for international *virtuosi*.³⁰ Arundel was not interested in culture for the lower classes, but in promoting himself and his country among the European elite. While Arundel seems to have had a sincere appreciation for the arts, he was not blind to their more practical aspects either. One who loves art solely for the pleasure it gives does not erect a sign on their house which roughly translates: "Connoisseur... great antiquities here".³¹

That the Arundel collection did indeed have a reputation outside of England is attested in numerous sources. One letter, often quoted, might be slightly suspect since it was written to Arundel himself. Thus, the painter Rubens (the quoted speaker) knew his words would be repeated when he said: "Although I have refused to paint the portraits of many princes and gentlemen, (particularly here [at Antwerp], in the State of her Highness), yet I cannot refuse the Earl the honour he does me in commanding me,

²⁹ For the printmakers see several articles in Jaffé (1996). Howarth (1985: 181-2) notes that the first inscription [actually III] in the *Marmora Arundeliana* and the first elaborate print prepared by Hollar in 1637 both refer to events in the life of Seleucus and postulates that a new illustrated edition was in the works.

³⁰ V. Griffiths (1998: 89, 97-98) who argues convincingly against the idea of a catalogue.

³¹ Part of an inscription prepared by William Camden for the entablature of Arundel House on the Strand, which reads "*Thomas Howardus Comes Arundelia: Philippi F. Thomae Ducis Norf. summus N. venerandae Antiquitatis admirator hanc porticum antiquis quae Italiam collegit monumentis dicavit*" (BL Add MS 36294 fol. 65b; in Howarth 1985: 241 n.12). Camden's Latin translates: "Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel son of Philip grand-son of Thomas of the supreme Norfolk Duchy admirer of venerable Antiquity this portico speaks of the ancient monuments he collected from Italy". The references to his father and his grandfather also underscore Arundel's concern for re-establishing the glory of his lineage. The text was rendered in individual letters (each 4 feet high) affixed to the facade; other examples of houses which used this technique were Audley End and Suffolk house (*Diary* III.141).

holding him one of the four evangelists of our art”.³² But that Rubens did indeed admire the Arundel collection is clear from two other letters written by him to personal friends during his visit to England in 1629. The first, more general, makes note of “the incredible quantity of excellent pictures and of antique statues and inscriptions which are found in this Court”, the second specifically refers to Arundel House: “the Earl of Arundel possesses an infinity of antique statues, both Greek and Roman. These will be known to you, as they have been published by John Selden and commentated by him, with great learning”.³³ This last passage explicitly states that knowledge of the collection would have been common among scholars and collectors in Europe.

The inscriptions mentioned in Rubens’ letter have been important for the collection’s reputation. Because it was difficult to obtain antique works from Italy, Arundel had hired agents to look for antiquities in the eastern Mediterranean. A number of documents record this arrangement, including the following letter to Thomas Roe, ambassador in Turkey: “[Petty] hath written my worde of sixe antiquities in a wall, as allsoe a victory in another parte of a wall, w^{ch} I doe conjure y^r Lo^p by all loves, that y^u will helpe to procure for me presently: mony I know there will doe any thinge, and I am willinge to bestowe it. For antiquities I am confidente those partes are able to furnishe infinite more than will serve all England”.³⁴ Certainly there were enough for Arundel’s purpose.

The statues which came from this source were usually less revered in the early modern period since they did not always conform to the familiar types known from Italian collections. Ironically, it is these statues which

³² This wording is the translation of a letter in the Arundel archives made by Tierny (II 1834: 366); repeated in numerous other sources (e.g. Howarth 1985: 2).

³³ Rubens to P. Dupuy, August 8, 1629 and to De Peiresc, as translated in Hervey (1921: 283-4).

³⁴ May 1625, in Hervey (1921: 270).

are usually preferred by modern connoisseurs because many are actually Greek (even if Hellenistic in date), rather than Roman copies of Greek originals. The eastern Mediterranean also yielded large numbers of inscriptions. These were built into the walls of the Arundel House garden, where there was at least one colonnade which may have provided some shelter for the marbles.

Arundel's interest in inscriptions can be seen as a part of a general trend. For example, William Camden and Robert Cotton had excavated inscriptions from along Hadrian's Wall in 1600, later incorporating their finds into the walls of Cotton's summer house.³⁵ Although concern for such mundane artifacts was common among scholarly antiquaries, it is argued that it was unusual for an aristocrat; since this theory is always based on the same citation, however, the issue may bear further investigation.³⁶ But it is apparent that to the Arundels, or at least to the historians and antiquaries they supported, aesthetic qualities were not the only criteria for worth; the inscriptions were also valuable as texts, for what could be deduced from them, or even simply as venerable objects, just for their connotations (as was true for the statuary as well).³⁷ This academic interest in the Arundel collection during the seventeenth century is important for the way it informed the perceived value of the statues in the eighteenth century.

The Arundels did support scholarly and artistic interest in their collection (at least, that they deemed appropriate). That Arundel intended this form of patronage to be a mark of his house is explicit, even from the

³⁵ Howarth provides a good summary of these activities (1985: 127ff.)

³⁶ The Duke of Buckingham, in a letter to Roe, describes himself as "not so fond of antiquity to court it in a deformed or misshapen stone"; v. S. Richardson (1740: 534); Walpole (1888 I: 294); Hervey (1921: 270); Howarth (1985: 157).

³⁷ John Price (Joannes Priscius) published a treatise on Apuleius in 1635 which included several illustrations of Arundel statuary. Price was close friends with Arundel's agent William Petty; the latter seems to have been stationed at Arundel House between 1629 and 1633 (Howarth 1986: 132).

early days of the collection. In a will drafted in 1617 he expressed his wish that “all gentlemen of Vertue or Artistes w^{ch} are honest [men] may allways be used, wth curtesy & humanity when they shall come to see them before sonne of my House”.³⁸ The employment of painters and printmakers has already been noted; the Arundel collection also provided one focus of scholarly research in London. The Arundels did not create this movement of historical interest, but numerous anecdotes indicate their willingness to open their collection to scholars. The Arundels were well repaid for their support. The inscription created by Camden for Arundel House (above page 61) provided an impressive form of local publicity, but the numerous scholarly publications did the most to broadcast the Arundel name among the learned circles of Europe.

The arrival of the Greek inscriptions caused great excitement among European historians, and Robert Cotton ensured he was present to help with the unpacking. John Selden reports that upon seeing the marbles, Cotton rushed over and dragged him out of bed: “you have got to come translate these inscriptions!”. Selden assembled a team of colleagues (presumably waking them all up too) and they went to survey their source material in the Arundel garden - in the pre-dawn light of a January morning.³⁹ Selden’s *triumvirate* quickly prepared a catalogue with commentary on the inscriptions, the *Marmora Arundelliana*, which publicized the *vertu* of “that most Illustrious Earl of Arundel” throughout

³⁸ Arundel’s 1617 draft will, in Newman (1980: 695).

³⁹ “Cum primum inuiserat ea vir praestantissimus Robertus Cottonus, condus ille ac promus vetustatis longe locupletissimus, ad me aduolat, & impensius instat, ut man: proximo (nam proeuctior nox erat) ad Graeca illa arcana eruenda, me totum accingerem. Libentissime annuo. Sed ut expeditius res absolueretur, rogo ut in operae societatem adsciscerentur amici communes, eruditissimus Patricius Iunius, Bibliothecarius Regius, & multiiugae doctrinae studijque indefatigabilis vir Richardus Jamesius. Vrtique condicit ille. Illucescente die crastino, conuenimus triumui in hortis Arundellianis” Selden (1628: ‘Editionis’).

the Latin literate world.⁴⁰

The fame of the Arundel inscriptions soon spread beyond scholarly circles. Not only did the inscriptions provide documentation about the administration of Greek states, but also the first historical reports that could be cross-referenced between classical and biblical chronologies: Greco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian traditions could now be firmly linked.⁴¹ No wonder the publication was eagerly awaited, and avidly circulated across Europe.⁴² This support and patronage which Arundel gave to these scholars (many of whom were active members in the Society of Antiquaries) was well repaid. This was not the only instance in which the Howard family benefitted from scholarly publication.

Foreigners and expatriates often came to see the collection and then themselves furthered its reputation on the continent. Rubens' opinions were mentioned earlier. Another visitor was Joachim Sandrart, who wrote a lengthy description following his 1627 visit, beginning, "Foremost amongst the objects worthy to be seen, stood the beautiful garden of that most famous lover of art, the Earl of Arundel; resplendent with the finest ancient statues in marble, of Greek and Roman workmanship".⁴³ Papal representatives Gregorio Panzani and George Conn were invited to Arundel House and given personal tours led by the Earl or Countess. William of Orange and his court were based out of Arundel House in 1641.

But treatises and literary texts reached a much wider audience than paintings, private correspondence, or personal visits. One of the most

⁴⁰ "*Illustrissimi Comitum Arundelliarum*" (Selden 1628: 'Editionis').

⁴¹ Selden, who had his own collection of Greek marbles (origin unknown), set them up in the London house left him by Lady Kent, whom he is rumoured to have married; Lady Kent, sister of Alatheia Talbot, wrote books, and was fluent in Italian (v. Hervey 1921: 140). His marbles were given to Oxford in 1650 (v. Prideaux 1676).

⁴² Ussher to Selden (1627, in Howarth 1985: 92); Rubens to De Peiresc (in Hervey 1921: 294); Peacham (1634: 124-5).

⁴³ In Hervey (1921: 255-56).

widely read accounts referring to the Arundel collection was Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (an anglicized version of works like Baldassare Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*, and an early modern bestseller). Peacham's agenda was the promotion of *vertu* in England, and he perceived the Arundels as providing an appropriate *exemplum*. How better to illustrate the success of his methods? Although the Earl was already living up to Peacham's arguments, the fact that the author had served as tutor to the Arundels' youngest son would give his arguments weight. From its original publication in 1622 the book was dedicated "TO THE TRVLY NOBLE AND MOST HOPEFULL M^R. WILLIAMHOVVARD, third and youngest Sonne to the Right Honorable THOMAS Earle of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Marshall of England, &c".⁴⁴

Possibly that initial acquaintance developed Peacham's familiarity with the collection, leading him to add a new chapter, "of Antiquities", in the 1634 edition (rededicated, due to James Howard's death and a new title, "TO THE TRULY NOBLE and most hopefull Knight of the Honourable Order of the Bathe, WILLIAMHOVVARD, second sonne to the Right Honourable THOMAS Earle of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Marshall of ENGLAND, &c"). In the revised text, Peacham not only lauded Arundel's achievements directly, but also alluded to those he supported (such as Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana*). In Peacham's historical construction of English collecting, there are no earlier examples of classical connoisseurship. Arundel becomes the model for English connoisseurs and the mythology of the collection, and of the connoisseur, begins to take shape:

And here I cannot but with much reverence, mention the every way Right honourable *Thomas Howard* Lord high Marshall of

⁴⁴ William had been placed with the Bishop of Norwich and Peacham states that he first met the boy there (1622 dedication); cf. Hervey (1921: 170-71) argues for Peacham's presence in the Arundel's entourage in 1613-14 and Aldrich *et al.* (1991: xxi n.16) who state the dedication is unique to the second edition.

England, as great for his noble Patronage of Arts and ancient learning, as for his birth and place. To whose liberall charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greeke and Romane Statues with whose admired presence he began to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel-House about twentie yeers agoe, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into *England*.

Peacham also praises Charles I, noting that many of his statues were collected at Delos by Kenelm Digby. Buckingham's collection is referred to because some of his ancient busts and statues had previously belonged to Rubens. Other collectors, Roos for example, are not mentioned at all. And even though Charles and Buckingham are listed, Peacham's emphasis is on their modern sculpture, on works cast and created by Hubert le Sueur. Arundel is credited with innovation and the Arundel collection with pre-eminence.

Arundel had hoped that this collection would stay together, to provide an example of the activities of a "Compleat Gentleman". He specifically articulated his desire that the collection would act "to inflame the Heyres of my House wth the love of things vertuous & noble".⁴⁵ Continued possession of the collection would have had two effects: the Howards would be inspired to *vertu* and glorification of their lineage and interest in the collection would add further lustre to their reputation. Arundel had spent his lifetime recreating his family estate, and naturally he wished it to be preserved: "I do settle these things as Ayre [l]oomes not to be Aliened from Arundell House".⁴⁶ Unfortunately, events transpired otherwise. In 1642, Arundel and Talbot left their country, and the statues, and became permanently exiled on the continent.

⁴⁵ He included not just art, but his "robes of creation", "little Aggat George", and "Armors with all weapons, or any thing belonginge to Horse or foote" (in Newman 1980: 695).

⁴⁶ In Newman (1980: 695).

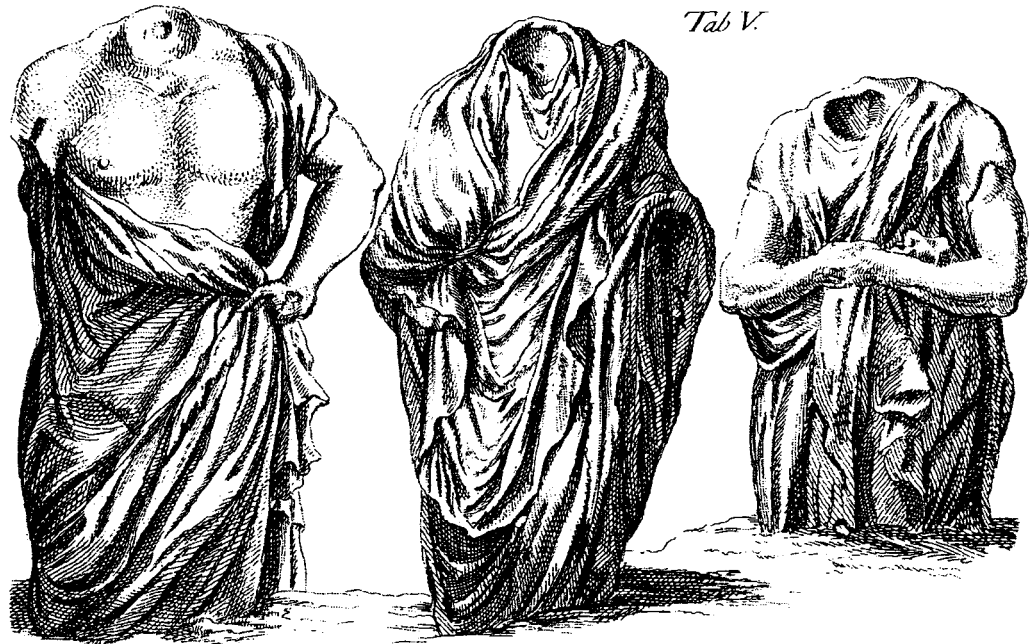


Figure 2.3. the Arundel "Homerus" (right).
Etchings by R. Rawlinson and T. Rawlinson.
In Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* V, 1719, tab. V.

Although Arundel's extravagance in wasting money on frivolous luxuries (like art) had fuelled Roundhead charges against him, it is difficult to determine precisely what direct impact the Civil War had on the collection. Classicizing works (except, perhaps, sensual Venuses) might yet be respectable to Puritans; Cromwell himself retained Mantegna's *Twelve Caesars* and several classical statues out of Charles I's collection.⁴⁷ Hostility was directed at history paintings with sexual or religious themes, but even so iconoclasm was rare outside of sacred environments. But there is evidence of damage at Arundel House. An anecdote records that the Parian marble was turned into a hearthstone, although it does not specify by whom. Comparing the statues shown in the Mytens painting with later depictions is also suggestive. The full length figure identified as Homer (on the right in Mytens's version of Arundel's gallery) is not included in later accounts or images of the collection. But a broken torso which does match this representation was discovered with some other fragmentary statues on the South Bank near Lambeth in the early eighteenth century (figure 2.3).⁴⁸

Because the Arundel properties were occupied but not sold, the bulk of the statuary collection remained together through the Interregnum. But the collection's retention was complicated by succession disputes within the Arundel family.⁴⁹ William Howard was the only son to survive his parents. He made claim to their estate but was challenged by his nephews, Henry's sons. A legal settlement in 1655 awarded Talbot's personal property to William and the primary estate according to primogeniture. Of Henry Howard's sons, however, the eldest (Thomas) although legally the heir, was considered incompetent. He became the 15th Earl of Arundel but was not permitted control of the property, which was handled by the second son,

⁴⁷ Haskell (1989: 227).

⁴⁸ Aubrey (1719 V: 282-285) includes eight pages of interleaved plates.

⁴⁹ A brief summary of the details is included in Cust (1911: 281-2).

Henry. This, too, is important for the history of the collection, because the complicated circumstances have not been adequately considered as a factor in the dispersal. Traditional accounts of the provenance from this point, can thus be summarized as follows: Henry Howard inherits the collection; he is not interested in culture, just money; the collection is divided and sold.⁵⁰

Yet it is worth taking a closer look at the events with particular attention to chronology; it is especially important since one of the stakeholders appears to have no direct connection to the family, or the collection. John Evelyn was not a disinterested spectator. Most accounts of the history of the Arundel marbles through the late seventeenth-century rely upon Evelyn's documents. What has not been adequately considered is that Evelyn, who had very specific ideas about the role and value of virtuosity in English society, looked to Arundel and his collection for cultural authority. While it is well known that Evelyn's diaries are really no such thing,⁵¹ scholars have not considered that his account of the Arundel statues is heavily informed by his moral and philosophical agenda. Additionally, even in his abbreviated *Kalendarium* entries, his reports impose a predetermined shape (as well as the knowledge of hindsight) upon the historical events. Evelyn understood events, and thus constructed them, within the shape of familiar narrative structures (that is, he wrote with an eye to hagiography and moral satire).⁵²

Arundel's support of the arts had been known to Evelyn from his youth, for the latter lived near the Arundel estate at Albury. During the Civil

⁵⁰ V. Haynes (1975: 12-13).

⁵¹ The surviving materials are blended compilations of original notes and several later commentaries. Evelyn's unpublished writings must be approached with more than usual caution (Scouter 1992).

⁵² So, for example, his account of hearing "the incomparable *Lubicer* on the Violin ... this prodigie appeared & then [all others] vanish'd, nor can I any longer question, the effects we read of in *Davids harp ... [&] in the Passions of Alexander*" (*Diary* III.167-68).

War, Evelyn also left England, to travel on the continent and study at Padua. While in Italy, he visited Arundel and was treated well by him; Evelyn remembered this time with fondness. He carefully preserved Arundel's directions to galleries and curiosities: "among the choicest of my Treasures".⁵³ When, shortly after the Restoration, Evelyn published *Sculptura*, he employed Arundel as an *exemplum* for his thesis. This treatise was not formulated simply as a history of printmaking and drawing, but as an extension of Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*. Both men proposed that artistic training was critical, not just for artists, but as part of a gentleman's education.⁵⁴

The real agenda of *Sculptura* is the raising of English culture (with the added authority of classical heritage) back to the greatness of the early Stuart court. Evelyn was very conscious of what he perceived as great cultural loss during the "recent troubles". But more than just a call for *virtuosi* who will adorn a great nation (as found in Peacham), Evelyn adds further criteria to argue for a proper academy, sanctioned and supported by the Crown. While writing this publication, Evelyn was using his influence for the creation of the Royal Society and his arguments are articulated in the treatise: "the greatest *Princes of Europe*, have erected *Academies*, furnished with all conveniences, for the exercise and improvement of the *Virtuosi*... appointed for them, Stately Appartiments even in their own Palaces....endowing them with *Charters, Enfranchisements*, and ample *Honoraries*".⁵⁵ When *Sculptura* was published in the spring of 1662, a petition was in the process of passing through

⁵³ This anecdote is included in the dedication of *The Idea of Painting* (1668: ii); it actually forms part of his argument.

⁵⁴ Walpole (1888 I: 295) wonders why Evelyn would repeat Arundel's comment that a man would not be honest unless he could draw. Walpole, although a connoisseur, does not seem to have had much artistic training; Evelyn is included in Vertue's list of engravers.

⁵⁵ Evelyn (1662: 113).

government; the resulting charter for the Royal Society was sealed by Charles II in August. Evelyn was in the happy position of being able to consider his treatise as cause of that effect.

As an English *virtuoso*, Evelyn believed himself an authority and example of correct taste and execution in all aspects of a well-mannered life. Not only was he representative of what was good about the pre-war generation, he was also very aware of how disconnected the younger generation was from its own past.⁵⁶ Evelyn was not unusual in that while promoting innovation and change, he was also uncomfortable with the differences it wrought in his society.⁵⁷ He was also concerned that the youth of the day should find appropriate leisure-time activities to enrich their own *vertu* and England's culture:

If a quarter of that which is thrown away upon *Cards, Dice, Dogs, Mistresses*, base and vitious *Gallantries*, and impertinent follies, were employ'd to the encouragement of arts, and promotion of science, how illustrious and magnificent would that age be; how glorious and infinitely happy? ... Pardon this indignation of Ours, O ye that love vertue and cultivate the sciences.⁵⁸

Evelyn, the model of *vertu*, articulates his didactic purpose for *Sculptura* as a manual for the less elevated; he will instruct his readers "how to direct their *choice* in collecting of what is curious, worthy their procuring, and as the *Italian* calls them, *di buon gusto*".⁵⁹ That Evelyn believed his publications influenced public opinion and inspired emulation is clear from

⁵⁶ A number of entries in the diaries refer to this fact; for example: "[my wife] had now ben neere 12 Yeares from her owne Country, that is since 5 yeares of age, at which time she went over" (*Diary* III.67).

⁵⁷ Evelyn's comments on contemporary practises which he believed signalled the degeneration of English culture can be found on nearly every page of his diary. Many of them indicate Evelyn was puritanical in outlook despite his adherence to the Anglican faith.

⁵⁸ Evelyn (1662: 32).

⁵⁹ Evelyn (1662: 102).

his own words.⁶⁰ That he needed appropriate models to direct his readership to, is also indicated.

While describing contemporary events, Evelyn modeled his rhetoric on the literary tropes of classical moralists. He acknowledges his use of these sources, but the extent to which his works and opinions are shaped by them is not always understood. He gave his argument more force by emphasizing how drastically it was needed. He mentions the accounts of Juvenal and Horace to indicate that if glorious Rome had required improvement, the situation in Restoration England was desperate: “even in the greatest height and perfection of the Sciences, the eloquent *Satyrist* could find just reason to deplore their decadence, and censure the vices of that age; what shall we say of ours, so miserably declining, and prodigiously degenerate? We want *Alexanders, Augustus’s*, such as *Francis the I, Cosimo di Medice, Charles the V...* those *Fathers*, and *Mecaenas’s* of the arts, who by their liberality and affection to Virtue, may stimulate, and provoke men to gallant exploits”⁶¹ -- earlier “Fathers” who had supported appropriate Academies included Charles I and Thomas, Earl of Arundel.⁶²

One example of how Evelyn invokes Arundel as an example may be found in his championing of Wenceslas Hollar. In *Sculptura*, Evelyn discusses Hollar at much greater length than any other artist. He ranks him second only to Rembrandt, citing his intellect and execution, both of which were influenced by Arundel’s collection: “a deserving person; whose indefatigable works in *Aqua Fortis* do infinitely recommend themselves by the excellent choyce which he hath made of the rare things furnish’d out of

⁶⁰ “[M]y Historie of *Chalcographie*, which set so many artists on Worke, that they soone arrived to that perfection it is since come” (*Diary* III.274).

⁶¹ Evelyn (1662: 31-32). Although too much emphasis on contemporary *vertu* would have undermined his argument.

⁶² The Museum Minervae was often attributed to Charles I, who had signed the permit (v. Walpole 1888 I: 282). Junius described Arundel House as an Academy (1638: III.ii.12).

the *Arundelian collection* ... of Mr Hollars works we may justly pronounce, there is not a more useful, and instructive Collection to be made".⁶³ Thus, directly and indirectly the Arundel collection is cited for authority.

Most of Hollar's etchings and engravings of Arundel's collection depicted paintings and drawings, but Evelyn linked Hollar's "collection" of prints to the "Arundelian collection" of classical sculpture by describing both assemblages as necessary aspects of a proper academy. Following a passage in which he lists "excellent Masters" of the arts who "perish'd in obscurity" because they lacked encouragement, Evelyn returned to his argument about the need for a training facility. He says, in the greatest academies "had they books of *Drawings* of all the old, and Renowned *Masters, Rounds, Busts, Relievos* and entire Figures, cast off from the best of the Antique *Statues* and Monuments, *Greek and Roman* ... There were likewise divers rare and excellent *Statues*".⁶⁴ Evelyn thus presents Hollar's work as both an example of the art which would be inspired by such an academy and as an instructive collection itself. Without the support and encouragement of the patron, however, it would never have been created. It should be pointed out that Evelyn was a patron of Hollar's himself and had already commissioned frontispieces for several of his books from that engraver.⁶⁵ So while it is Arundel who is named as the cultured *virtuoso*, Evelyn is also pointing at himself. Therefore, Evelyn had a great deal at stake in promoting the preservation of Arundel's collection.

Furthermore, he perceived it as the responsibility of the powerful to establish and support any institutions or practices which would be beneficial to the good of the nation - *noblesse oblige*. And it was the

⁶³ Evelyn (1662: 81-82).

⁶⁴ Evelyn (1662: 116-117).

⁶⁵ Kolb (1994).

responsibility of men of *vertu*, to direct the way: “greate persons, & such as are in place to doe greate & noble things, whateuer their other defects may be, are to be panegyryzed into the culture of those vertues, without which ’tis to be suppos’d they neuer arriv’d to a power of being able to encourage them”.⁶⁶

Given the agenda hidden in the treatises and diaries, Evelyn’s accounts concerning the Arundel collection should be treated with more care: he describes the collection as *endangered* so that it must be *saved*.⁶⁷ Evelyn has made himself the authority, and he often pays no heed to individual preference or circumstance. Through the end of the Cromwellian period, Henry Howard lived at Arundel’s Albury estate. Even once the London property had been released to the family, Howard did not immediately return to Arundel House on the Strand.⁶⁸ Parts of the structure, including in the main house, were let in a number of individual suites in order to raise revenue.⁶⁹ Evelyn’s comment that Howard “filled the house with painters, panderers and missess” should not be taken as necessarily indicative of Howard’s choice of personal lifestyle (he was the landlord).⁷⁰ And when reading Evelyn’s description of the neglected state of the marbles (quoted below), it must be remembered that there is no evidence

⁶⁶ Letter to Pepys, August 12 1689, referring to a dedication in 1661 to Clarendon (in Aldrich *et al.* 1991: 315 n.2), but expressing his general opinion.

⁶⁷ Evelyn uses the potential loss of items to explain his support for dispersing the collection; but caution is necessary. The “embezzlement” he refers to in the case of the library is more concerned with books being lent or given to Catholic priests (*Diary* IV.145).

⁶⁸ Evelyn records a visit to Albury in 1653 and one to Arundel House in 1657. Howard is specifically mentioned at Albury, but was not present in London (*Diary* III.88, 189).

⁶⁹ Arundel “House” comprised a collection of individual buildings (v. etchings by Hollar, in Howarth 1985: 12-13).

⁷⁰ The quote is provided in Haynes (1975: 11). Howard did have at least one mistress, as he confessed to Evelyn in 1671; it seems to be partially on behalf of Howard’s wife that Evelyn is so critical, even though she had died in 1662 (*Diary* III.593). Otherwise there is little concrete evidence with which to judge the validity of Evelyn’s characterization.

he had seen it in Arundel's time, and that "scattered up & downe about the Gardens & other places" was how they were originally displayed.

Howard's reputation suffers from Evelyn's comparison of him to his other family members. Howard adhered to the wrong religion, unlike his son Thomas, who is "a worthy & virtuous gent ... no bigoted *Papist*" (*Diary* IV.142). Also dear to Evelyn were Howard's wife and father-in-law, "who whilst they lived, preserv'd this Gentleman by their example & advice, from those many extravagances that impair'd both his fortune & reputation".⁷¹ Ironically, the "impaired fortune" had descended to Howard, along with the marbles, from "his illustrious Grandfather the magnificent Earle of Arundel ... my noble friend" (*Diary* III.495). Arundel had left a personal debt of nearly £200,000.⁷² Howard was carrying a huge compounding debt, the payment of which was made worse by devaluation of property over the course of the Interregnum. And although he was *de facto* the head of the family, his brother still held the title; the property was as yet in trust.⁷³

Howard's intended plans for Arundel House included new structures for rental properties and a new, but less consequential, town house.⁷⁴ In his more practical design there was no accommodation made for an Italian garden and the original structures were all to be cleared away. As part of the preparation for this construction, something had to be done with the surviving marbles. There is no evidence that Howard intended to sell the

⁷¹ This passage supposedly dates to 1671 (*Diary* III.593). As in n.68 above, Lady Howard had died in 1662; her father (Sir Samuel Tuke) died in 1674.

⁷² Primarily owing to one of Charles I's capricious levies, which not only fined Arundel but retracted the lands granted him by James I which would have been used to pay off the debt. Talbot was very clear on this point (e.g. writing to Lord Andover in 1648, in Hervey 1921: 470ff.).

⁷³ It was nearly twenty years before Howard had the actual authority to dispose of any of the estate. Whether he should be lauded or criticized for his generosity is a matter of debate.

⁷⁴ This happened to many palatial London properties in this period: Exeter House, Hatton House, Arundel House (v. *Diary* III.203 n.3, 231, 235).

statuary. But with less wall space and garden space available, the question of what to do with the inscriptions must have come up. Evelyn proposed donating them to Oxford, and it is not really surprising his initial hints were accepted: “it was upon my *First and Sole Suggestion* (for *Instigation*, the *Generosity* of your *Nature* needs not) that *You* were pleas’d to enrich that renowned *Seat* of the *Muses*, with a *greater Gift*, than all the *World* can present it”.⁷⁵ As was the case with Jeffreys’ situation nearly ninety years later, a benefaction suited everyone. Oxford received the marbles, while Howard and Evelyn shared the glory.

Howard’s perceived lack of interest in the classical marbles, as leading to this donation, is usually discussed with reference to a long passage in Evelyn’s diary.⁷⁶ But this recollection, prepared for a private volume, is more concerned with Evelyn himself:

To London: & with Mr. *Hen: Howard of Norfolk*: of whom I obtained the gift of his Arundelian Marbles, Those celebrated & famous Inscriptions Greeke & Latine, with so much cost & Industrie gathered from *Greece*, by his illustrious Grandfather the magnificent *Earle of Arundel*, Thomas E. Marishall of *England*, my noble friend whilst he lived: These precious Monuments, when I saw miserably neglected, & scattred up & downe about the Gardens and other places of Arundell-house, and how exceedingly the corrosive aire of *London* impaired them, I procured him to bestow on the *Universite of Oxford*; This he was pleased to grant me, & now gave me the Key of the Gallery, with leave to marke all those stones, Urnes, Altars &c; & whatever I found had Inscriptions on them that were not Status: This I did, & getting them removed and piled together, with those which were incrustrated in the Garden walles, I sent immediately letters to the *Vice-Chancellor* what I had procured & that if they esteemed it a service to the University (of which I had been a member) they should take orders for their transportation (September 19 1667; *Diary* III.495-96).

⁷⁵ Evelyn (1668: ii-iii).

⁷⁶ For example, v. Haynes (1975: 12).

The passage does much to illuminate Evelyn's environmental concerns, his scholarly pursuits, his regard for Arundel, and, of course, his *vertu*. He also took care to record that these points were apprehended by others, as they acknowledged his initiative. Immediately upon receiving notice of the gift, representatives of the university came to tender their thanks to Evelyn and Howard. Early in October, arrangements having been made for the transport of the marbles, Evelyn received a decree from Convocation with compliments on his achievement. Evelyn transcribed several of the notices in full in the diary (*Diary* III.499ff.).

Having been removed from the garden walls at Arundel house, the inscriptions were set into the enclosure walls of the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford (Evelyn did not object to the marbles being outside, but to the London pollution). An accompanying inscription was prepared for a marble tablet celebrating the gift. The inscription on the stele begins with a list of Howard's titles, most of them projected (that is, the ones he would have once his brother died). This emphasis on his expectations was to evoke Howard's descent from Arundel, with whom the dedication is actually concerned. The panegyric concludes by stating that the marbles are famous because of Howard's grandfather: "Thomas Earl of Arundel and Supreme Marshall of England, greatest patron of the liberal arts; who, at vast expense and with great care, liberated them from Ottoman barbarianism and brought them long since to his ancestral palace in London".⁷⁷

Oxford administrators had originally intended that Evelyn would be named on the memorial as well. Evelyn refused the compliment of being

⁷⁷ Full text of the inscription can be found in Prideaux (the original is all in capital letters; 1676: vi): *Aeternae Memoriae excellentissimi Domini Domini Henrici Howard de Castle-Reising Fratris et Haeredis Thomae Howard Ducis Norfolciae a Prosapia Regia Primi Angliae Ducis Comitum Arundeliane et Primi Comitum Angliae Arundelinae et Primi Comitum Angliae Comitum Surreiae ... ob marmora haec Arundelianorum nomine per totum orbem celeberrima avi sui Thomae Arundeliae comitis supremi angliae ma rescaili summique artium liber alium patroni symptibus et solitudine ingetibus ab ottomanica barbarie vindicata et in palatium gentilitium Londini pridem traducta ab ipso dein - donata gratabunda posuit Universitas Oxoniensis*".



Figure 2.4: Greek funerary relief.
Engraving by M. Burghers.
In Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, 1676, p. 145.

acknowledged in this fashion, describing it as “vainglorious” and “too invidious”.⁷⁸ In that same year, however, academic honours were not only bestowed upon Howard for the donation, but also upon Evelyn as the intermediary; the latter was granted an honorary doctorate at a special Convocation following the *Encaenia* of 1669 (*Diary* III.535-36). Further irony is that Evelyn had already publicized his role by referring to it in the dedication of *An Idea of Painting*, which undoubtedly reached a wider audience than the stele did.

Evelyn’s were not the only books to make reference to the marbles through the later part of the seventeenth century. Oxford further celebrated the donation with the preparation of a new transcript of the marbles, taking advantage of improved typeset and the addition of numerous engravings (figure 2.4). Although intended to supersede the earlier work, the *Marmora Oxoniensia* frequently invokes previous scholarship on the inscriptions, such as Selden’s *Marmora Arundeliana*. The new catalogue was underway by 1668 (Evelyn mentions it in *An Idea of Painting*), although it was not finally printed until 1676, at which time the author brought presentation copies and more compliments to Evelyn and Howard. One interesting feature of this treatise is a Latin poem, nearly 200 lines long, eulogizing the heir of Arundel. Such forms of celebration set a precedent and were repeated upon Jeffreys’ benefaction in 1755, when the statuary was reunited with the Arundel inscriptions.

The reasons for Howard’s donation are not truly known. It may be that he was willing to donate the inscriptions because he saw no potential financial worth in them. As Evelyn’s account indicates, he would not give the statuary away; such as are now at Oxford arrived by a different route.⁷⁹ In keeping with his philosophy of *vertu*, Evelyn himself had plans for the

⁷⁸ The documents are transcribed in Maittaire (1732).

⁷⁹ Cf. Thackray: “the largest portion of the sculptures were given to Oxford University by [Arundel’s] grandson and are now in the Ashmolean Museum” (1995: 208).

statues which he articulated at length in the dedication of *An Idea of Painting*, published about six months after the inscriptions were given to Oxford. Unfortunately, this idea was never acted upon, which may also account for some of Evelyn's disapproval of Howard. Invoking not only Howard's *vertu* but also the claims other *virtuosi* might have on an important collection, Evelyn expresses a concept of national or cultural ownership of art. Evelyn's proposal infers that Howard is actually obligated to publish an illustrated catalogue:

... one *particular* more; and *that* is, that you would one day, cause the *choicest* of your *Statues*, *Basse relievos*, and other noble *pieces* of *Sculpture*, standing in [your] *Galleries* at *Arundel- House*, to be exquisitely *design'd* by some *sure hand*, and *engraven* in *Copper*, as the late *Justiniano* set forth those of *Rome*, and since him (and several others) *Monsieur de Lion-Court* by the *Draughts* of *Perier*; as formerly that incomparable *Historical-Columnne* of the *Emperor Trajan*, was cut by *Villamena* with the *Notes* of divers *Learned* men upon them: Because by this means, the *World* might be inform'd in whose *Possession* those *Rarities* are; and that it would so much contribute to the *Glory* of the *Country*, their *Illustrious Owner*, and his *Family*; as it has formerly, and yet does, to those noble *Italians*, and great *Persons* beyond the *Alps*, who have not been able to produce such a *Collection* as *You* are furnish'd with, but who are honor'd and celebrated for it, all the *World* over, by this *virtuous*, and yet no very *expensive* *Stratagem*.

It was a nice touch invoking as a model Giustiniani, who had been one of Arundel's inspirations for his collecting practices in the first place. What Howard thought is unknown. His continued friendship with Evelyn, after being presented with such clear orders (referring at the same time to his precarious financial state), suggests that whatever his other faults, he could be both easygoing and forgiving!

With Howard's death, the possession of the statues by Arundel's family came to an end. His heir (also Henry Howard) parted with the remainder

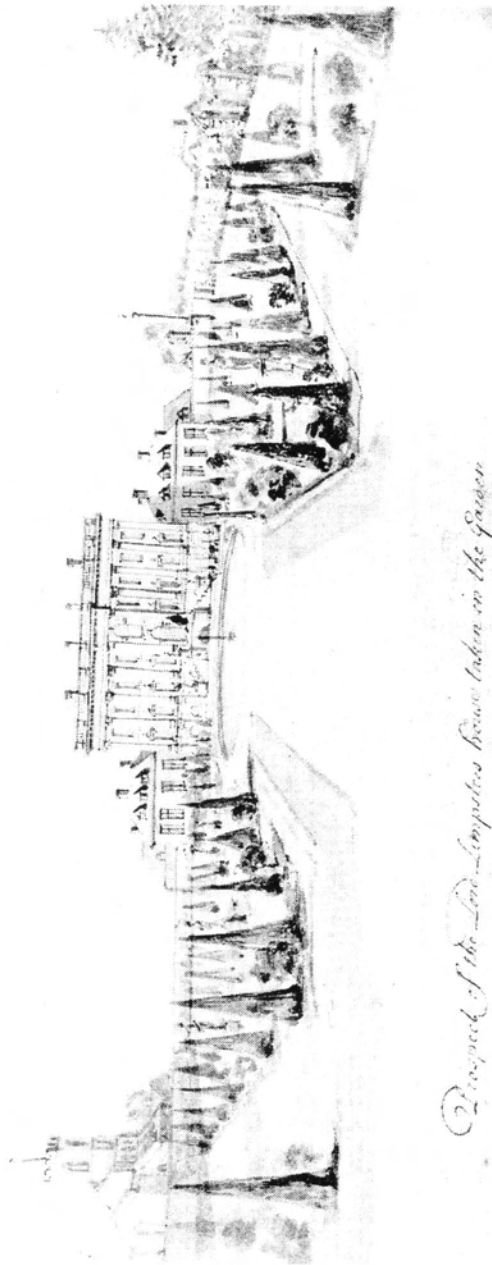
between 1689 and 1691.⁸⁰ Again there is no reason to assume the younger Howard did not value the statues; serious financial difficulties are indicated. During this period he also sold the Albury property, one of the best estates in his holdings, and began auctioning off the Arundel paintings. Post-1688 was a difficult period for the Catholic, pro-Stuart English.

The details of the statues' dispersal will be discussed as part of the next chapter, but a final point to consider here is the continued association of the Arundel name with the (now non-existent) collection. Many of the printed books and treatises cited in this chapter continued to circulate in the eighteenth century; a number of them were even reissued. References to the Arundel collection appeared frequently in new publications as well, e.g.: Edward Walker's *Life of Arundel*, William Stukeley's *Itinerum Curiosum*, and Samuel Richardson's *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*. As a result, Jeffreys, Pomfret, and other owners of ex-Arundelian statuary were very aware of the important heritage of their possessions. Some of them carried out Evelyn's orders and produced images of the sculpture; others supported scholarly research or artistic study from their collections. All of them included the Arundel pedigree in references to the marbles.

Later generations of Howards sought to regain or rebuild the collection, and their subsequent patronage of scholarship on the original collection has been considerable. Although Arundel's collection was not retained by his family, it did yet "inflamm[e]" his descendants with a love of *vertu* and it continued to reflect glory on the family name. These concepts, which so deeply concerned the Earl that he commissioned the Mytens portraits to personify them, were absorbed into English culture through these visual images and equivalent texts, like Evelyn's *Sculptura*: "such marks of their admired Virtue, as did eternize their merits to after Ages".⁸¹

⁸⁰ Haynes notes that the elder Howard sold some statues to the Earl of Pembroke (1975: 14). This sale seems to have been later, overseen by the younger Henry Howard.

⁸¹ Evelyn (1662: 115).



View of the East Facade from taken in the garden

Figure 3.1: Easton Neston, east facade with garden and statuary.
Drawing attributed to P. Tillemans, c. July 30 1719.
By permission of The British Library (BL Add 32467, f.92).

3

Easton Neston and the Pomfret Predicament

Henry Howard, 17th Earl of Arundel, was also 6th Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, and heavily in debt. The ancestral titles and positions had been restored to the family, but the art collection was now lost. With the exception of a core of family mementos and portraits (such as the Mytens pendants), the remaining works of art were sold piece-meal starting in 1689. While the Arundel inscriptions were “safe”, fixed into the walls at Oxford, the remaining marbles were dispersed in a number of different ways.

The remainder of this dissertation is primarily concerned with the statues taken to Easton Neston, where they adorned both the house and the garden (figure 3.1). But before concentrating on those statues and their wider importance, some further context will be established by considering the subsequent history of other Arundel marbles: those which went to Wilton and Cupid’s Gardens and those which passed to Dr. Richard Mead and the Earl of Burlington. Each part of the original collection often reflected upon the whole. Re-sale, rediscovery and publication of Arundel statuary maintained that name’s prominence in the minds of English *virtuosi*.

The most highly publicized of the sub-collections was sold to Thomas Herbert (later the 8th Earl of Pembroke), for his house at Wilton. It has been presumed that these were all busts, since they are recorded as coming from inside the house and the Wilton collection contains a large number of classical portrait busts.¹ But since precise placement of the marbles during Arundel’s day is unknown and there is the further possibility of the art being redistributed while the property was being rented and renovated, this point may bear further investigation.

¹ Haynes (1975: 13).

What is well documented, however, is the level of publicity the Wilton marbles have received. Although they were well known, however, these works have not been emphatically associated with the Arundel name, because the Pembroke family has its own strong tradition of *vertu*. In the early modern period, Wilton became one of the most famous houses in England. Associations with Philip Sidney, Inigo Jones, William Shakespeare and Stonehenge contributed to this fame, but its art collection was also considered among the five most important in the country.² Another factor contributing to Wilton's high profile was the publication of numerous prints and catalogues describing the cultural holdings. Over the course of the Georgian period, there were at least five different catalogues, issued in multiple editions, which featured this collection alone.³ Wilton was also referred to and pictured in countless other catalogues and treatises. For example, the elevations of Wilton included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717 vol.II) show how the architecture incorporated the art.

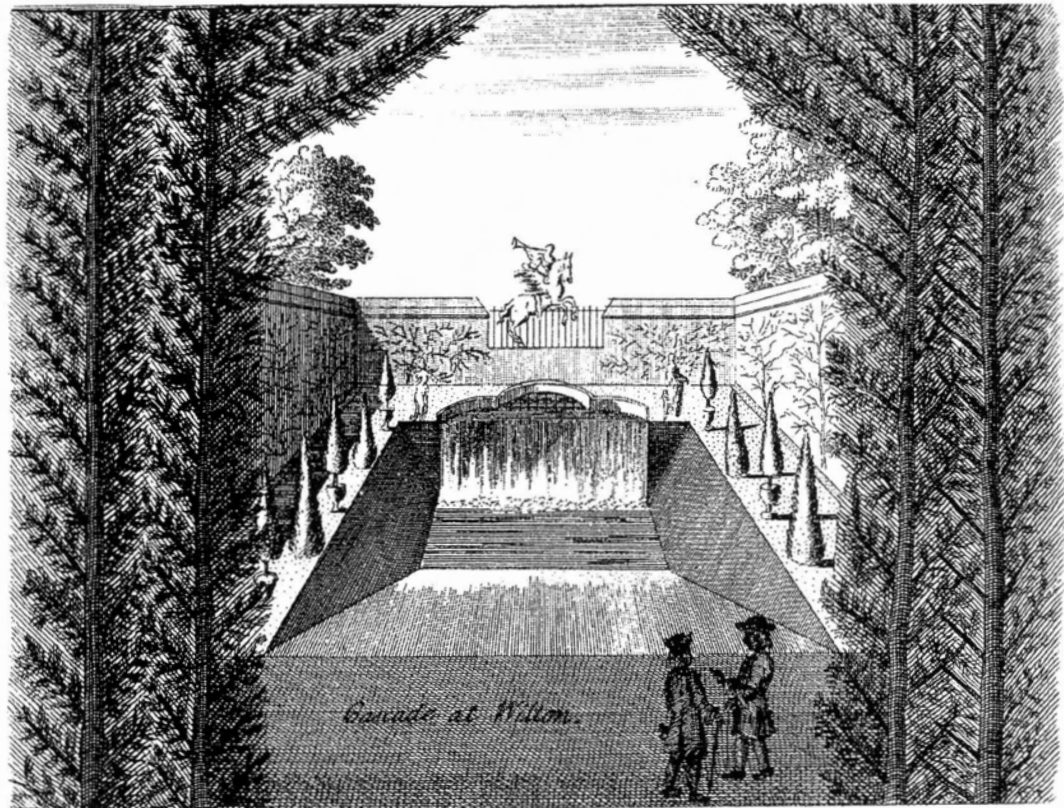
The collection was also documented by William Stukeley, who provided a lengthy list of the antiquities in his "Iter Septimum Antonini Aug VII" of 1723 (there mentioning Arundel only in connection with a pair of Roman porphyry columns).⁴ Stukeley intended his text to include several engravings of the classical statuary as visual evidence for his claim that Wilton was "the School of Athens ... [a] glorious Musaeum".⁵ None of the object studies made this first edition (v. figure 3.5), but the book did include a view of the garden with some of the antique statuary displayed (figure 3.2).

² For the importance of Wilton, v. Clayton (1998: 49-50).

³ Creed (1731), Gambarini (1731), Cowdry (1751), Kennedy (1764) and (1768); There was an existing tradition as well, De Caux had published *Wilton Gardens* c. 1644 (Clayton 1998: 44). The Wilton catalogues were among the earliest private guidebooks published.

⁴ Stukeley (1726: 176-205). The date for volume I of *Itinerarium Curiosum* is sometimes given as 1724. This collection includes material from 1723-24. The book was in press for two years and the preface added in 1726 before it was bound and released.

⁵ Stukeley (1726: 65, 185).



Dedicated to the Right Honorable the Lady Hartford.

Figure 3.2: The Cascade at Wilton with classical statuary.
Unsigned engraving by J. Vandergucht, after a drawing by W. Stukeley.
In Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* 1726, tab. I.

Stukeley also drew attention to the lineage of English connoisseurship, specifically referring to Pembroke's collection of antiquities: "You, my lord, by treading in the steps of the great Arundel, have brought old arts, Greece and Rome, nay Apollo and all his Muses, to Great Britain: Wilton is become tramontane Italy".⁶ Stukeley's work would have been familiar to the Pomfrets,⁷ and Jeffreys in particular was conscious of the reputation accorded to Herbert *vertu*. The 8th Earl of Pembroke was her cousin, the 7th Earl her grandfather.

Other Arundelian statues which received some publicity were those discovered in Cupid's Gardens and included in John Aubrey's *The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, the five-volume county documentary mentioned previously in association with the Arundel "Homerus" (figure 2.3). While Aubrey had prepared an initial report on Surrey in 1672, the section concerning the Arundel marbles is attributed to Richard Rawlinson, who supervised publication of the survey in 1718.⁸

Rawlinson's three-page account is a little confused, but the visual evidence supports the general history which he relates; classical statues in the park at Cupid's Gardens near Bank Side were once "Part of the Collection brought from Italy by the famous Earl of Arundel". The faulty part of the narrative is in the next sentence, where Rawlinson theorizes a reason for the new location of the marbles. The statues had been badly damaged, and Rawlinson postulates that if they had not they might have been presented to Oxford University, "to which that Lord was a generous Benefactor, as may appear by consulting Dr. *Prideaux's* Account of the MARMORAARUNDELLIANA, preserved in the Picture Gallery of the Bodleian Library". Rawlinson conflates history, giving the credit for

⁶ Stukeley (1726: i, 135); Ayres (1997: 134) overlooks the Arundel reference here.

⁷ Through the Hartfords and Winchelseas, if not directly. Her diary entries from the late 1750s record Jeffreys and Stukeley corresponding and discussing books (DG7/D1/6).

⁸ Aubrey died in 1697; Rawlinson's account (1719 V: 282-85) includes a date of 1712.

acquisition *and* benefaction to the 14th Earl of Arundel.⁹

Rawlinson indicates his familiarity with the Easton Neston collection, which he promotes as being much higher in quality than the Cupid's Gardens fragments. He may have been relying on hearsay in this case as well, but it is clear that he prefers inscriptions to fragments, and statues to both. Not valuable enough for Oxford, "much less were they worthy to appear among the beautiful Statues of the Lord Lempster at Easton in Northamptonshire". The Cupid's Gardens statues were not inconsequential, however, and Rawlinson regrets that they had not been preserved elsewhere "when Arundell House was turned into a Street", rather than moved to their present location, "exposed to the open Air, and Folly of Passers by ... where they [have] received very ill Usage from the Ignorance and Stupidity of those who knew not their Value". Plates were prepared to record them, ravaged as they were, lest they disappear entirely (figure 3.3).

Without this documentation these statue fragments could suggest large numbers of English classical collections. For it is Rawlinson's work that provides an explanation for antiquities now dispersed in several locations, including pieces in the Ashmolean and the British Museum which arrived via Henley-on-Thames and Beaconsfield.¹⁰ Rawlinson's account in *Surrey* was, like Stukeley's records and Aubrey's, part of the antiquarian movement. The Society of Antiquaries was in the process of being (re)established at the time Rawlinson was writing.¹¹ While some of their concerns have been derided, antiquarian studies laid the groundwork which allowed scientific approaches to history, art history and archaeology to develop and are particularly valuable for modern interdisciplinary work.

⁹ Poor Henry Howard! Few people (even among the interested groups) seem to read the full text of the dedications. This point does matter because it is another example of how assumptions have helped to create the Arundel "myth".

¹⁰ For a construction of this later history, v. Haynes (1975: 16-17).

¹¹ It was officially organized in 1717. For background v. Evans (1956), Parry (1995), Harmsen (2000).

Rawlinson was not insensitive to the weaknesses in his study. He was, however, conscious of the value of all documentation, especially when there was so little to work with: “I would have been glad to have been able to be more Particular in my Account of these Statues; but Time and other Accidents having deprived us of what should serve for that Purpose, I must only make some few probable Conjectures, and leave the rest to my Reader’s Penetration”. It had been less than thirty years since the marbles had been moved from Arundel House. Knowledge is a vulnerable resource.

One point on which Rawlinson is definite, is that sharing information is everyone’s responsibility. He reports that one reason he cannot provide “particulars” is the uncooperative nature of the Cupid’s Gardens’ landlord, who, while hinting that he knew more, “said he understood not that he should get any Thing, so he would not lose his Breath for nothing”. Rawlinson’s description of the “Folly and Timorousness, and Avarice ... [of] this empty Fellow” would presumably have provided a strong, negative example for readers who aspired to *vertu*.

Rawlinson’s own determination to be comprehensive explains why the material is so unwieldy and unstructured. With all the fields of study so new, it was very difficult to determine exactly which information might turn out to be valuable. It seemed best to include everything. Thus, Rawlinson refers to a notice in Thomas Hearne’s *Collectanea* reporting a rumour that some of the Arundel statues were “hid under Ground in the Time of *Oates*’s Popish Plot, in the Court-Yard of TART-HALL”. While the transmission of this information is unreliable, the account itself deserves more attention. Tart-Hall had belonged to Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel, and descended to her son William, who was accused and beheaded on Oates’ testimony. Surviving inventories do not confirm or deny the presence of statuary, for they only document the interiors of the house.¹²

The history of the one classical piece securely linked with Tart-Hall also

¹² For the inventories, v. Cust and Cox (II 1911-12); for Tart-Hall, v. Haynes (1975: 11).

reflects eighteenth-century familiarity with Arundel's collection. It is a bronze bust, then believed to represent Homer. The contents of Tart-Hall were eventually sold at the Stafford estate sale in 1720, where the bust was purchased by Dr. Richard Mead (another antiquary) for whom it was an important signifier. A doctor concerned with raising the status of his profession, Mead promoted his identity as a cultured man and connoisseur. Arundel's Homer appears rather prominently in a 1740 portrait of Mead.¹³ Jonathan Richardson made several drawings of it in the 1730s and so did George Vertue, who may have intended to produce an engraving of it.¹⁴

Marbles and statue fragments had intermittently appeared during construction on Arundel House grounds.¹⁵ One, a Hellenistic funerary relief (believed to show a wedding) recovered in 1712, served a dual purpose for its new owner. Acquired by Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, it was initially kept at his London house.¹⁶ As an object it connected Burlington not just with Arundel, but with Inigo Jones (known to share the latter Earl's interest in classical arts). The relief also provided an in-joke for Burlington and *his* architect croney William Kent (references to imagery associated with the previous pair can be found in their collaborations).

Additionally, the relief had meaning for Burlington and his artistic wife, Dorothy Savile.¹⁷ In the early 1730s Savile acted on Burlington's behalf, after he exiled himself from court. At that time a new setting was devised for the relief and it was placed on the base of an obelisk facing the

¹³ By Allan Ramsay (NPG 15). For the provenance of the bust, v. Haynes (1975: 11).

¹⁴ One of Richardson's drawings passed through Sotheby's (November 19 1970, lot 136).

¹⁵ Fragments have resurfaced as recently as the 1970s, v. Howarth (1985: 156).

¹⁶ Harris (1994: 195).

¹⁷ Burlington was dubbed "the Apollo of arts" (v. Walpole 1888 III: 56). Lady Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington, was nicknamed "Pallas" in their circle (De Novelis 1999: 17). Savile was well known to Jeffrey. Both women served in the court of Queen Caroline.

Burlington Lane entrance in their country house gardens at Chiswick. With its “happy married couple” visible even through the gate, the relief would both proclaim that the property was held by a pair of cultured connoisseurs and function as a visible statement of their united interests.

Many visitors toured Chiswick, or passed by the gate while travelling between London and Richmond, Kew, or Twickenham. Many more people would have been familiar with the relief from a series of prints depicting Chiswick prepared in the mid-1730s.¹⁸ In one image, two gentlemen hold an animated (by eighteenth-century standards) conversation about the obelisk sculpture; they would undoubtedly have commented on its similarity to numerous reliefs from the Arundel collection which had been illustrated in Prideaux’s *Marmora Oxoniensia* (cf. figure 2.4).

Clearly, the Arundel sculpture would still have been well known to a substantial segment of English society. The portion of the Arundel statuary collection which was most highly regarded in the eighteenth century, however, is the least respected in the twenty-first. Ironically, many works which once provided cultural authority for their upper-class owners now require provenance from a famous connoisseur to bolster their status. Although an important collection in the early modern period, the sculpture at Easton Neston has subsequently suffered from not being associated with any great “firsts”. Modern treatments are preferentially focussed on the Arundel collection as a whole.

Yet it was a considerable portion of the Arundel statuary that was purchased *en bloc* by Sir William Fermor in 1691. It is reported that he paid £300 for the lot, although that amount has not been verified. Numbers vary in the sources, but it was an impressive acquisition for a member of the gentry: at least thirty statues, close to fifty busts, and over one hundred reliefs and fragments. Except for the inscriptions, comprehensive

¹⁸ An extensive set of views of Chiswick was prepared by several artists. The prints were issued singly (e.g. Harris 1994: 223, for a close-up of the obelisk) and in multi-view (plus map) souvenir formats (e.g. Arnold 1998: 7).

information about the Arundel marbles did not have wide circulation in the print culture of the day. But, as a relative of Christopher Wren and an acquaintance of Evelyn, Fermor was presumably familiar with Arundel House, at least by report. Perhaps Fermor's knowledge of the marbles (as necessary for the purchase), and his introduction to their owner, had been provided by Wren and/or Evelyn. The greater part of the (limited) information which does survive about this transaction was recorded, in brief and after the fact, by Evelyn (*Diary* V.44-45).

Fermor's reasons for purchasing the marbles appear straightforward. He moved the statues to his country house at Easton Neston, which around that time was being reconstructed to reflect his changing status (which was upwardly mobile). The ancestral house had been removed to make way for a noble pile, designed by Wren and Nicholas Hawksmoor. Not long afterwards Fermor married Sophia Osbourne, daughter of the Duke of Leeds, and then was ennobled as Lord Lempster (or Leominster) in 1692.¹⁹ Clearly the Glorious Revolution, at least in its first flush, wrought positive change in Lempster's situation and the transfer of the sculpture can be seen to allude to the changes in the socio-political circumstances. Statuary which had signified aristocratic pre-eminence for Arundel could now symbolize the rise of the gentry for Lempster. But they still represented *vertu*.

One aspect of the marble collection that might have dissuaded other potential purchasers was the very size of the statues, which would have caused difficulties in transport and display. Lord Lempster must have been convinced that these pieces would add grandeur to his new country home and reflect his exalted status. The trouble and expense of transporting the collection from London to Northamptonshire was considerable. The question of why the statues did not remain in London is an interesting one, but beyond consideration here. It is true that the country house was

¹⁹ The title, the marriage (Thomas Osborne had promoted King William's intervention), and the financial ability to commission and purchase grand art are suggestive of Lempster's religious and political (but not necessarily party) allegiance. For the era, v. Claydon (1996).

literally and metaphorically one's "seat of power", but particularly important works of art were often kept at the city home, where they could be displayed to a wider audience. Yet for the sixty-four years that they decorated Easton Neston, these Arundel marbles stood as signifiers of the cultured level of Fermor gentility.²⁰

The way that the statues were displayed at Easton is a matter of some dispute. Much of that debate concerns attribution of the architecture and does not inform the discussion here. The final arrangement of the sculpture has been assumed to be well documented, but its chronology is a matter of some discussion. It has been postulated that Lempster had some kind of programme in mind for the ultimate display of the statues, for he wrote to Dr. Covell (Master of Christ's College Cambridge), early in 1708: "I am now setting up all my marbles in the manner I intend to leave them in".²¹

The diary of Sir Justinian Isham contains a brief description of Easton (dated August 20 1708) which, although somewhat vague, suggests that the positioning of the statues had been finalized by then:

Went to Easton ...The hall is large and lofty being 40 ft high with several antique statues, busts, &c. about it, the staircase is paved as well as the hall with good stone, hath handsome iron rails with several antiques in niches and the wall is to be painted. From the gallery one hath a through vисто; some of the apartments are furnished with grand tapestry, pictures &c, and the gardens are very well especially the parterre before the house where is a fountain and antique statues²²

There was simply not room inside the house, grand as it seems, to display all the statues even if they were all worthy of such attention.²³ The "best"

²⁰ For the importance of the English "show home", v. Ousby (1990: 61ff.)

²¹ In Downes (1987: 50).

²² In Downes (1987: 63).

²³ Easton Neston was celebrated in the eighteenth century for its good design; many rooms appeared large, although the house itself was relatively small (Bailey 2001: 50).

statues (and most fitting, in both senses of the word) were the ones placed in the niches, which Isham saw in the grand hall and along the main staircase. The larger, more fragmentary, or less important, were set in the garden (as is shown in figure 3.1 above). Contemporary garden design was similar to that of Arundel's day, and the statues were as "useful" decorating the gardens as they would have been inside the house.²⁴

Isham's account of the house is also valuable for the evidence concerning the date of the paintings in the Easton Neston staircase, which themselves inform the history of the statuary. In August 1708, the murals had not been started, but the inference is that the arrangements had been made. The painter was to be James Thornhill, then still in the early stages of his career. Fermor might have known Thornhill through his architect, Nicholas Hawksmoor, or he may have been referred by another patron. One of Thornhill's earliest independent commissions was at Addiscombe House near Croydon (c. 1705-6).²⁵ It may have been the owners of that house who recommended Thornhill to Lempster; Addiscombe was the property of Evelyn's daughter and son-in-law.

Certainly there are similarities between the projects at the two houses; both were for classical murals on a grand staircase. But there are also some differences. The Easton Neston murals have a clearly defined narrative programme, which may have enhanced the statues in some way.²⁶ This suggestion is based on the reports that Thornhill employed many of the Easton Neston sculptures as models for his mural images. The result was carefully described by a later observer: "one may see by the altars, habits, postures and turns of the figures, that Sir James thought he had a good

²⁴ The plates in Kip and Knyff (1724) illustrate numerous examples of seats, contemporary with Easton Neston, with formal gardens integrating statuary.

²⁵ A recent assessment of Thornhill's work for the Drapers at Addiscombe House is in Gibson-Wood (2003: 247).

²⁶ Though the subject of them is debated. They are alternately referred to as the life of Cyrus (Lees-Milne 1986: 147) and the sacrifice of Diocletian (*Easton* 59).

school to study in, and improve himself; for you may see the very same antique altars in the gardens, and the Roman dresses of the Scipio's, and the genteel turns of those fine Grecian women expressed in his paintings on the walls" (*Easton* 59).²⁷ Thornhill was at Easton for the express purpose of executing the staircase murals; any preparation of studies in this *ad hoc* academy must have been approved by the patron.

Additionally, Thornhill prepared three "Northamptonshire" pictures (probably at the time, although they may have been worked up later from sketches); these too became part of the Fermor family collection. One painting depicted Holmby Castle, a local site/sight of historic significance.²⁸ The subjects of the other two were marbles from the Arundel collection: "The Egyptian Marble Column at Easton in Northamptonshire and its Companion"²⁹ (the column is also clearly visible in Tillemans' gardenscape, figure 3.1). Commissioned or simply purchased, the existence of these paintings in the Fermor collection reflects the patron's desire to own images of his other cultural possessions; symbols of signifiers, or the other way around, the depth of layers is extremely interesting.

This group of three paintings also demonstrates a combination of medieval and classical imagery, in what was then a modern building, providing an interesting example of period "taste". Details of how they were displayed are unknown for Lempster's day, but this point will be returned to again below. The paintings remained in the family collection until 1754 when they were sold by auction. In the sale catalogue the painter is styled "*Sir* JA. THORNHILL", the several types of emphasis reflecting the current status of the artist. But when he was at Easton Neston, Thornhill

²⁷ Internal evidence suggests an actual date of around 1730 for this account.

²⁸ Charles I had been imprisoned at Holmby following the battle at nearby Nasby (Stukeley 1726: 37-8).

²⁹ Prestage (1754: 3). I have only been able to trace a single copy of this sale catalogue (in the Bodleian: Mus.Bibl.Ill 40 20(4); ESTC t197032). I would like to express my thanks to Richard Rammage, who transcribed a copy of this delicate object for me.

was just beginning his career. It was probably the subject, rather than the artist, which gave these paintings their initial value.

The wall paintings were completed, or nearly so, at the time of Lempster's death in December of 1711.³⁰ The heir to the estate, Thomas Fermor, was then barely fourteen years old and still at school. Presumably he returned for the burial, but he did not remain at Easton Neston at this time. It is also known that the trust from his inheritance was "invested wisely" (that is, tied-up in an estate in Dorsetshire, where it was subject to several annuities). It is unlikely there were spare funds with which Thomas Fermor could have undertaken or approved any further improvements to his newly inherited estate at this time.³¹ Nor did Fermor immediately return to Easton Neston at the end of his university schooling. Upon receiving his M.A. at Oxford in 1717, young Fermor set out on his Grand Tour. As mentioned in Chapter 1, he did not return to England until the middle of 1719.³² The chronology of his movements is important as indicating more precisely the dates which changes were made to the Pomfret statues and their arrangement.

During his Grand Tour, Fermor was introduced to William Kent and probably Lord Burlington, who was also in Italy at this time (the two peers were exact contemporaries). The significance of this meeting for the Arundel marbles will be returned to below. The identity of Fermor's bear-leader may also be considered important, for he was under the supervision of Martin Benson, a recusant priest and very active antiquary. Thomas Hearne's comments on Benson provide useful insights into this period of Fermor's life. In his *Collectanea*, Hearne included some limited evidence

³⁰ Heward and Taylor (1996: 199) include a late date of 1718 among their suggestions, but that will not work for the reasons outlined.

³¹ Thomas Fermor inherited his father's title, as well as his lands. I refer to him by name rather than title for reasons of clarity; the 2nd Lord Lempster would soon be the 1st Earl of Pomfret and his own son, George, the 3rd Lord Lempster.

³² He was still in Padua as of March 27 1719 (Ingamells 1997: 571).

for William Fermor's interest in cultural matters (or at least, in what Hearne condoned). Speculating about a classical statue from the Arundel collection, he added: "lord Lempster was very curious in such things, and indeed knew how both to value and preserve them".³³ On the other hand, Hearne was very critical of Thomas Fermor's Grand Tour, of which he had expected to be approving. But his criterion was less cultural education than religious affiliation.

Hearne recorded meeting with Benson late in 1721. He describes Benson as having "spoiled his lordship", apparently referring to the fact that after several months in Rome (home of the mother church?), the young man returned less religious than when he left:

indeed Mr. Benson's chief design of travelling (besides lucre) seems to have been as a spy, and to find out faults. He spoke last night with the utmost disrespect of the pope, and the whole college of cardinals, and called all the antiquaries of Rome asses, and the cardinals either fools or blockheads. Nay, he would hardly allow that there was a learned man in all Italy or France, except Bianchini and Montfaucon.

While Benson's opinion of the Pope is not really at issue here, the passage provides some interesting insight into Fermor's education. Thomas Fermor's trustees were Benson and (later) James West. Hearne's comments sufficiently indicate Benson's interests. West was a Fellow of both the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society, as well as President of the latter. Additionally, West was one of Hearne's most valued correspondents and his antiquarian interests are well documented. Thomas Fermor definitely had connections to learned circles similar to those of his father, not just for negotiating within the court and government, but also for moving among the *virtuosi*.

The network of antiquaries was widely spread, intricate, and highly individualized. All across England people were engaged in activities that

³³ July 30 1712 (*Collectanea* III.262). The context specifies William Fermor.

fall under the label of “antiquarian interest” (they corresponded, visited, held meetings, and shared research ideas and sources), none of which necessarily had to fall under the aegis of any learned institution. Every person had a unique set of compulsions. Theodore Harmsen’s recent work on Hearne provides a careful analysis of how his beliefs and status as a non-juror informed his antiquarian pursuits. Yet Hearne’s friends and contacts included representatives of every possible combination of social, religious, political, philosophical, and economic classification. As Harmsen points out, there are no formulae.³⁴ Although there were “stereotypes”, there was no “typical” antiquary. It is true that there were antiquaries still within the Royal Society and that a separate Society of Antiquaries was developing. But random citations indicate something of a national phenomenon, recording considerable research outside the institutions, a great deal of which never registered in official documents.

The characteristics which informed antiquarianism, the general interest in exhaustive documentation, in critical analyses, in “scientific” experimentation, and in cultural history, have specific relevance for the Easton Neston marbles. In studies of the Arundel collection, there has been little interest about this part of its provenance. As a result, the general implication is that the marbles which William Fermor bought passed out of cultural knowledge, until they returned to civilization at Oxford in 1755. Although Walpole visited the seat in 1736, over-reliance on him as a source creates the illusion that he is the only one who did.³⁵ But general awareness of, and specific concerns for, the Easton Neston sculpture can be traced in earlier eighteenth-century literature. These records are distinct from

³⁴ Hearne himself, while loosely affiliated with Oxford University, was not a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries or the Royal Society. His *Collectanea* is a good source for the networking aspect and references to more isolated researchers and female antiquaries (v. Harmsen 2000: 202). Antiquarianism could certainly be found beyond England’s borders, but consideration of other cultures is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

³⁵ George Vertue’s visit(s), are generally considered professional in nature.

references to Arundel's collections (although there is some intersection); that is, there are accounts which deal only with the Easton Neston statuary, as well as some which include it in discussions of the larger assemblage.

Documentation of the Easton Neston collection can be found primarily in the antiquarian literature, or more specifically, publications *now* considered strictly within that particular framework. The division between art and history was then indistinct. For example, the records in George Vertue's "Notebooks", while fundamentally concerned with painting and sculpture, reflect a wider range of interests. They register his thoughts on the sculpture at Easton Neston, along with jottings about church monuments, antique numismatics, and English history. The overwhelming amount of detail, including remarks on every possible feature of visual culture, is used now primarily by art historians.

It is appreciated that Vertue's work was heavily influenced by the antiquarian tradition; he was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and "the antiquarian world had singular obligations to him".³⁶ What is not emphasized enough is that although extracts from the larger body now fill six large volumes, Vertue's rough, mainly point-form, notes represent a pre-selected corpus. His agenda was perceived as being a precisely defined topic. Yet, in modern parlance, the "Notebooks" have interdisciplinary application and deserve a wider audience.

Similarly, the documentary works of antiquaries such as Rawlinson, Hearne, and Stukeley have been infrequently consulted by historians of the visual arts, and then most often to establish some detail of provenance.³⁷ They are of great value to this study, however, not just for including details about the collection, but for providing some measure of the awareness of the Easton Neston collection beyond the compass of the

³⁶ Walpole (1888 I: ix).

³⁷ Architectural (art) historians have made more use of such resources, and the essays in the following works provide good examples: Arnold (1988), Arnold and Bending (2003).

philosophical connoisseur. The particular point of interest here is that the information contained in their publications had a pre-existing, diverse, and extensive readership.³⁸

It is difficult, however, to pinpoint this antiquarian material in the chronological record. Because many of the publications were produced over long periods of time, there are limits to how precisely they may be applied. With further research into this field, more specificity may be possible, but for now only general comments may be offered. The problem is, specifically, that there are several key moments in the history of the Easton Neston collection, but few of the antiquarian sources can be securely dated within that framework.

For example, Thomas Hearne wrote an antiquarian account of Oxfordshire in 1708, in which he referred to the statuary. Dating well before the death of William Fermor, the relevant material it contains should be applicable to his period. Hearne did not publish the final form of his treatise, however, until 1725, by which time Thomas Fermor and Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys were in residency at Easton Neston. The study was made during one era and circulated during another, so it has different implications for each moment. This is also true for the other three main sources referred to in this dissertation: William Stukeley's "Itinerum Oxoniense II", John Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, and Richard Rawlinson's account in Aubrey's *Surrey*.

The details of Rawlinson's account have already been given earlier in the chapter and need not be repeated here, except to address this issue of publication: every reader who was informed of the surprising finds at Cupid's Gardens, and was shocked at the ravaged appearance of the marbles found there, was also made aware, not just of the existence of the Easton Neston collection, but of its exalted pedigree and deserving quality.

³⁸ Hearne's *Collectanea* and Jeffrey's diaries are just two examples in which considerable circulation of books and treatises is well documented, so actual print-runs do not accurately reflect the extent of a publication's readership.

The Lord Lempster identified during the preparation of the text was not the same Lord Lempster who benefitted from its publication. But because the collection was primarily associated with the house, this was not a major factor. This conflation does raise several issues concerning responsibility and identity, however, which have ramifications for the Easton Neston statuary.

In 1708, about the time that Lempster was finalizing his statuary display and the Thornhill murals were underway, Thomas Hearne wrote *An Account of some Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford*.³⁹ Constructed in epistolary style and private in voice, Hearne's document provides, over forty-six pages, an account of the curious things which he and the letter's "recipient" have viewed during their respective short journeys.⁴⁰ The epistle format allows Hearne to bind together his research on diverse works united only by geography and to incorporate different treatments of the material: short notations, longer discussions and simple lists.

Rather than the personal reminiscence which he styles it, Hearne's treatise has a particular didactic agenda. While the *Account* provides Hearne with the opportunity to refute common misapprehensions and criticize other scholarship, more relevant to the argument here are the directives it contains for the readership. In the *Account*, Hearne ignores the geographical limitations of his expressed title in order to comment specifically on the Easton Neston sculpture. In the *Account*, when Hearne's correspondent arrives in Oxford, he first goes to look at the Arundel inscriptions. Visiting the Portrait Gallery in the Bodleian immediately afterwards (figure 3.4), the *virtuoso* "descanted with much Sagacity upon the

³⁹ The full title is *A Letter containing an Account of some Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford; with a List of the several Pictures in the School Galleries Adjoyning to the Bodlejan Library*.

⁴⁰ This is not actually an "itinerary" like Stukeløy's accounts, but Hearne's response to the observations of his correspondent. Hearne outlined a very complicated evolution of this work; some parts of it had been published previously (1725: 3-9).

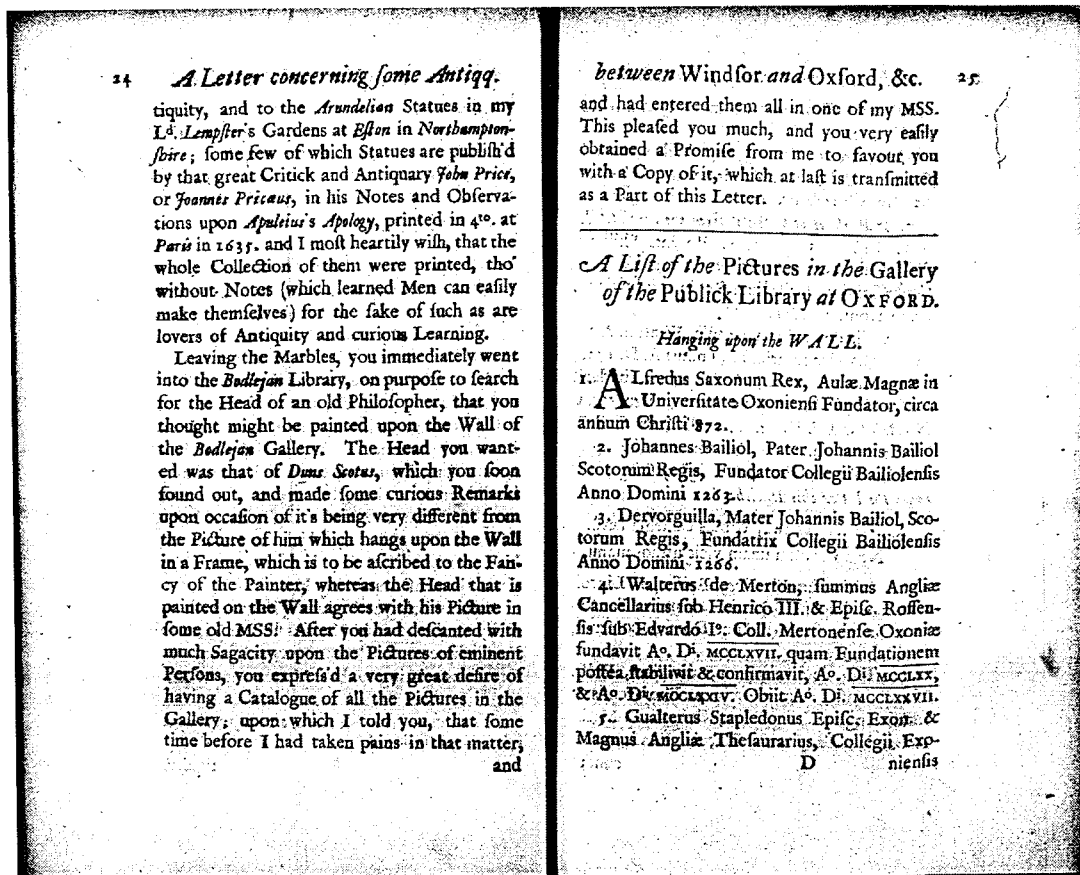


Figure 3.4: Discourse on prints, catalogues and Fermor statuary. In Hearne, *An Account of some Antiquities*, 1725, p. 24-25.

Pictures of eminent Persons".⁴¹ Hearne's point here is not the elevation of his friend as a learned person but to draw attention to that which the truly cultured person desires,⁴² namely, a catalogue of the collection. Hearne admits that he has himself prepared such a document and promises to deliver a copy. This exchange immediately precedes Hearne's picture catalogue (which although he called it "low", actually constitutes half of the *Account*).⁴³ The discourse serves not only to justify Hearne's publication, but to act as a counterpoint, drawing the reader back to the top of the page. There, the Arundel inscriptions had been invoked simply to preface Hearne's demand for similar documentation of the Easton Neston collection (figure 3.4). The relevant paragraph is worth quoting at length:

And now being arrived at *Oxford*, you went directly to the *Arundel* Marbles in the Theater Yard, where you made many very pertinent Observations relating to those Monuments of Antiquity, and to the *Arundelian* Statues in my L^d. *Lempster's* Gardens at *Eston* in *Northamptonshire*; some few of which Statues are publish'd by that great Critick and Antiquary *John Price*, or *Joannes Pricaeus*, in his Notes and Observations upon *Apuleius' Apology*, printed in 4^{to}. at *Paris* in 1635. and I most heartily wish, that the whole Collection of them were printed, tho' without Notes (which learned Men can easily make themselves) for the sake of such as are lovers of Antiquity and curious Learning.

Hearne's comments are not likely to have been a solicitation for employment. He states that only plates are required and he was not much of a draughtsman. Undoubtedly he intended that there would ultimately be a

⁴¹ Hearne (1725: 24).

⁴² It is established that Hearne identified *vertu* in antiquarianism: "I told the master [of University College], that the dean was a truly learned man, and that he must therefore be a lover of antiquity, learning being nothing else but antiquity. *He was only for polite learning*, says the master. Why, said I, that is antiquity" (*Collectanea* II.46).

⁴³ "I judged it proper to leave out the List of the Pictures, being apprehensive, that it might be look'd upon as somewhat too low for the Work" (Hearne 1725: 4).

commentary provided; but if by him, it would have to be the output of an independent (though academically affiliated) scholar and not subject to the potential demands of a patron. News of Hearne's proposal would have circulated, either in the original publications or by word-of-mouth⁴⁴

A catalogue would presumably have suited Lempster, because it would have increased awareness of his *vertu*. It is possible, though presently undocumented, that publication of the sculpture was being considered before his death, which would account for Hearne's approval of Lempster as a learned and responsible antiquity owner. What format such a catalogue would have followed is another question. A 1712 note in Hearne's *Collectanea* demonstrates that the antiquary's concern was historical, not art-historical. Hearne proposed a county project, in the manner of Aubrey's, as an appropriate venue for cataloguing the Easton Neston marbles; he states: "Tis pity [the statues] are not made publick by some of our virtuosi. A proper place for them might be found in Mr. Morton's *History of Northamptonshire*, now printing at London, and 'twould be one of the most exquisite performances (provided it were done with care) in his whole book". Hearne later condemns Morton's work on this very omission, remarking that it is "a very injudicious mean work ... very little is said of these monuments".⁴⁵ Whether Lempster's death, which occurred while Morton's manuscript was being prepared, had any influence on the resulting text cannot be determined at present, but the timing is certainly suggestive.

Evidently, in 1712 when Hearne was speculating about potential

⁴⁴ Thomas Fermor would certainly have heard about it from James West. Hearne mentioned the idea to West at least once: "And methinks societies should engage in some great works, either never yet printed, or, if printed, are become either almost or quite as rare as MSS ... Neither would the Arundelian statues, in my Lord Lempster's gardens, be improper for them, especially if they would undertake to illustrate them with other pieces of antiquity. For to print them alone without improvement, might be more fit for a single person than a body of men" (letter dated February 18 1724, in *Collectanea* II.220).

⁴⁵ *Collectanea* I.262.

publications, specific details of the collection at Easton Neston were not readily available, even to an interested antiquary (albeit one who preferred armchair travel to firsthand observation). In the same passage as he mentions Morton's research, Hearne also records an anecdote about one of the statues. He has just mentioned the inscriptions and then expresses regret that the whereabouts of one particular statue are unknown to him: "[Henry Howard] likewise promised Mr. E[velyn] to send to the same place [i.e. Oxford] the colossian Minerva, but death prevented. Perhaps it fell afterwards into the hands of the lord viscount Lemster".⁴⁶

These passages from the *Account* and *Collectanea* are significant for the history of the Arundel marbles. Hearne provides rare evidence that prints were known to have been made of the statues during Arundel's lifetime. And although Price's metaphysical treatise appears to have been as rare in Hearne's day as it is now, for the purposes of this argument, the reference to the existence of the prints is as significant as the book itself. But although awareness of the statues is manifest, substantial documentation is sparse (at least before 1725). A second important point is the antiquarian character of the *Account*, in which Hearne demanded reference material about the Easton Neston statues. While Evelyn had made a similar command in 1668, his translations of art theoretical texts have subsequently placed him within the "high-culture" of connoisseurship. Hearne, obsessed with the minutiae of history, has since been perceived as uncritical, mundane and "low-culture".⁴⁷ He himself would have staunchly denied that characterization. Like Evelyn, he had lofty goals: the search for the past was to elevate, to glorify the nation, improve society, and promote cultured taste. They had different criteria, but their ideologies were the same. Each was a man of *vertu*.

⁴⁶ *Collectanea* I.262. This possibility is not documented by Evelyn, but it provides a nice foreshadowing. This statue was one of the main features of the Pomfret benefaction.

⁴⁷ E.g. Warton (1762: 21-22). For a discussion of the "high" and "low" labels, v. Bending (2003).

The historiography explains why the Easton Neston collection appears “invisible” in the historical record. Much of the literature in which it is mentioned has not been considered as valid art-historical source material. But since “quality” (or connoisseurship) is not at issue here, emphasis on the antiquarian movement is not misplaced. Between the years that Hearne wrote an *Account* and expressed his hopes for Morton’s *Northamptonshire*, a description of the Easton Neston marbles was prepared as part of the “Iter Oxoniense” by William Stukeley.⁴⁸ This work too was delayed in publishing, only appearing in 1726 as part of the collected *Itinerarium Curiosum*, mentioned above in conjunction with Pembroke’s statuary at Wilton.

Stukeley’s report was prepared, on his own admission, during one of his early trips: “this small account of the first pleasurable journey I can reckon to myself ... were it not juvenile, it would not be genuine”.⁴⁹ This was not a solo trek, but made in company, an important aspect of Stukeley’s work. He perceived travel and conversation in conjunction (essentially, observation and discourse) as the most effective way to advance learning (unlike Hearne who was almost exclusively text-based). Stukeley’s path took him and his companions through the shires of Northampton and Oxford. The subsequent record is not a methodical, scholarly study like Plot’s *Oxfordshire*, which is divided into thematic chapters: “Of Earths”, “Of Arts”, “Of Brutes”. Stukeley appears to have recorded everything as he saw it. Although criticized for emphasizing country houses, Stukeley’s descriptions include references to barrows, eclipses, Roman roads, medieval antiquities, local soils, contemporary architecture, garden autonomata, and meadow-flowers. It is less “scientific” but no less empirical than Plot’s work.

⁴⁸ There seems to be some confusion about Stukeley’s dates. Piggot dates this “Iter” to 1710, based on Stukeley’s notebook (1985: 37). The date Stukeley appends to the end of that chapter is 1712. The earlier is more likely, but the dates are not confirmed.

⁴⁹ Stukeley (1726: 34-35).

It is presumably the statuary that took him to Easton, and indeed his interest is patent. While diminished by comparison to his account of Wilton (prepared years later and under the patronage of Lord Pembroke), a substantial amount of the “*Iter Oxoniense*” is dedicated to recounting the appearance and location of the Easton Neston sculpture. Stukeley’s summary of Easton Neston runs to more than two pages, approximately as much as is allotted to all of Oxford in the same chapter. One sentence describes the house, one sentence remarks on some of the paintings, and the rest is dedicated to the statuary: “the glory of this seat, is the vast number of Roman and Greek marbles, statues, busto’s, bas reliefs, &c. part of the most noble collection of the great earl of Arundel”.⁵⁰ Since Stukeley had very catholic tastes, the enthusiasm that drove him to take note of every marble fragment in the grounds suggests that he perceived this as an important collection.

Stukeley’s exuberance was one of his defining characteristics, yet here it seems of significant note. And it becomes intensified in the text when Stukeley reaches a particular statue: the senator identified as Cicero sends him into raptures. Overwhelmed as we are with visual media in our modern world, it is difficult for us to assess the impact of images like this one. Even allowing for individual variation, it seems likely that any young man with a formal education (i.e. trained in Latin literature, rhetoric and history) would have been impressed. Cicero was one of the greatest cultural heroes of the early modern age, and this statue was believed to be a true portrait. It seems obvious that Stukeley wanted to share this experience and hoped that his account would itself be inspirational:

that celebrated statue of Cicero intire, with his sudarium in his right, and a scroll in his left hand; the sight of the eyes is cut hollow. I could not possibly excuse myself half a quarter of an hour’s serious view of this masterpiece, frequently going round it: where so much seeming simplicity of the carver, has

⁵⁰ Stukeley (1726: 38).

called forth all the fire of that divine genius that could make statues hear, as this artist has made them speak, and left an eternal moment of contention between him and the great orator: it grieved me to think it should stand a day longer in the open air.⁵¹

This last remark is a criticism which Stukeley repeats several times: “My lord has it in his thoughts to build a large room, or gallery to receive this invaluable treasure; at present they are for the most part exposed to the weather in the garden”. If “my lord” had *not* thought of it yet, the idea was being presented; if he had, he was being reminded. Less obviously than Rawlinson, Stukeley also seems to be motivated by the need to make records before the material is lost (as it will be if that gallery is not built). His description of Easton Neston is primarily an inventory. For example, in one small nook of the garden he notes: “on the ground, an old headless statue: upon the basement, a tomb of a boy wrought in channel-work, his busto in basso upon it: over the windows a small statue; a woman with child in her arms; a tomb; another capital from the temple of Apollo at Delos; a Greek mask”.

In preparing the *Iterarum Curiosum* for the press, Stukeley articulated his didactic purpose for his text: “our converse and our journeying sometimes together, to visit the remains of venerable antiquity ... gave me the love and incitement to such pursuits... my own pleasures might not be altogether unuseful ... [as] It is to be wished this branch of learning should revive among us, ... so that either in discoursing on it, or journeying, we might find some entertainment worthy of men of letters”.⁵² Stukeley deliberately communicated his enthusiasm and enjoyment to encourage a wide audience. His use of visual material is considered below.

⁵¹ Stukeley (1726: 39).

⁵² Stukeley (1726: 35). Samuel Johnson articulated the concept more clearly: “The use of travelling is to regulate imagination by reality, and instead of thinking how things may be, to see them as they are” (in Ousby 1990: 9).

Stukeley did not publish this account until 1724. Just before it went to press he visited Oxford, where he called upon Thomas Hearne. Although the latter had desired a description of Easton Neston, he was not favourably impressed by Stukeley or his work. Hearne expresses himself rather vigorously in opposition to this “mighty conceited man”, one of his mildest comments is: “he addicts himself to fancy altogether, what he does must have no regard among judicious and truly ingenious men”.⁵³

Hearne’s primary criticism is that Stukeley is not academic enough, that his inclusion of all cultural periods is too superficial and popularizing. That was Stukeley’s express intention, of which Hearne was well aware: to reach a wide audience, seduce them with the dazzling use of illustrations (the book included “one hundred folio prints in copper”, figure 3.5), and inspire them to undertake their own journeys of the body and mind. Hearne’s invective is revealing on several levels. While dreaming of a utopia in which the past would be revered (and its correct morals and mores reinstated), Hearne preferred to keep historical studies within the jurisdiction of an elect few. Hearne’s own conceit is indicated by his response to some of Stukeley’s theories which contradict his own observations. A further irritation was that, as with some other books Hearne hated, Stukeley’s was a “table-book” and likely to be a best-seller.

A final point about Hearne’s report is his opinion of Stukeley’s images: “’tis observed by all that I have talked with, that what he does hath no manner of likeness to the originals. He goes all by fancy. Hence his cut of Waltham cross is not one bit like it, whereas that done by my late learned friend, John Bridges, esq. is exact”. Clearly members of Hearne’s circle were familiar with Stukeley’s prints before the book was even published. But it should be noted that Hearne was not reacting to the actual work because he never saw it. Partly the hostility is due to the function of the images as illustrations rather than delineations (which also provides some

⁵³ The following quotations are from *Collectanea* II.206-7.

75. 2^d

MARCUS MODIUS MEDICUS. *See Marmor.*

Apud Illustrissimum Comitem Penbrokiae, In Villa Carvilliana.

Stukeley del.

G. Gucht scul.

Figure 3.5: Roman bust at Wilton.
Engraving by G. Gucht, after a drawing by W. Stukeley, c.1723.
In Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* II, 1775, plate 103.

intimation of the diversity in contemporary visual documentation). But Hearne is also jealously guarding the memory of his friend John Bridges, who had undertaken to document the county of Northampton with his own lavishly illustrated text in 1719.⁵⁴

Papers for Bridges' *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* provide the last record of the Easton Neston marble collection before Thomas Fermor returned from the Grand Tour to take up his place in society and residence at his country seat. Bridges' process of documentation has been well studied in Tony Brown and Glenn Foard's 1994 book, *The Making of a County History*, and their analyses have exposed the logistical problems associated with these publications. Even within a small county the time spent travelling was significant. The organization required to gather and collate information from manifold sources is truly staggering.

As an off-shoot of Bridges' efforts, there are three forms of records surviving from his project which inform the history of the Easton Neston sculpture. There is (most obviously) the text which, with an entire county to describe, was kept rather brief. The seat of Easton Neston is "richly adorned with antique statues, and with other valuable pieces of antique sculpture, a collection of vast value, being all the more ornamental part of the *Marmora Arundeliana*". The other two forms of documentation are, however, quite important.

The first is the extensive file of drawings which Bridges commissioned from several artists. These were intended to illustrate the publication. Although they were not included in the book, the portfolio has survived. The images were all prepared in the summer months of the years 1719-21, so they provide a precise record of Northampton within a narrow period.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Early modern moralists often decry English lack of interest in England, but there does not seem to be much basis in fact for that characterization. When the various cultural and natural histories are considered, the resulting impression is that the countryside was bustling with studious observers carefully making notes in their commonplace books.

⁵⁵ Bailey (1996: ix).

The second set of records is the archive of Bridges' supporting paperwork, the letters and messages which include references to the project and its execution. Because Bridges' work was not published until 1791, any impact it had on the Pomfrets seems necessarily minimal. Bridges' documents include, however, the only first-hand and reliable information for the 1720s restoration of the Easton Neston statues. When Bridges first visited Easton in July 1719 he spoke with the family parson. Having asked about the statuary, Bridges was told that the collection included many fragmentary statues "for want of a Man of skill they could not tell how to put 'em together".⁵⁶ This report and observation argues against any extensive interventions during William Fermor's time.

Bridges added to his notes that he told his draughtsman not to draw the fragments. The artist, on a tight time schedule, is unlikely to have made extra drawings. These Easton Neston drawings (now in the British Library) are not signed, but they have been securely attributed to Peter Tillemans.⁵⁷ Known to be one of the few artists Bridges employed, Tillemans' work recording the sculpture at Easton Neston in July 1719 is documented by Thomas Hearne, who thus provides a firm date for the drawings.⁵⁸

When Bridges returned to Easton in July 1721 he found "an Italian employed by the present Lord L in making perfect the statues maimed".⁵⁹ The artist was Giovanni Batiste Guelfi, reviled in the history of the Arundel marbles because he "ruined the greater number of those he was permitted to touch".⁶⁰ It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt a comprehensive

⁵⁶ In Downes (1987: 64).

⁵⁷ Bailey (1996). The drawings are BL Add MS 32467, ff.19-64 and 92-94.

⁵⁸ Hearne reference in Brown and Foard (1994: 36). The statues in the house were measured in 1721 but the drawings seem to belong to the earlier date (Bailey 1994: 52).

⁵⁹ In Bailey (2001: 54). Guelfi's presence in England is often ascribed to the patronage of Burlington (e.g. Dallaway 1800: 236). They may have all met in Italy in 1718-19.

⁶⁰ Dallaway (1800: 237), Michaelis (1882: 539), Haynes (1975: 14-16).

analysis of the reconstruction issue, but I would argue that Guelfi's part in the restoration of the Arundel marbles has been greatly overestimated. The colossal Minerva is just one example which Tillemans recorded as already intact.⁶¹

Given the foregoing discussion concerning the publicity in the preparation of texts and images, the (possibly inconvenient) activity with artists and authors visiting, and the demands for particular actions, as with Hearne and Stukeley, the question then is, what did it mean to the Pomfrets to own such a collection? With the foreknowledge of the benefaction in mind, it can be asked: was possessing it a negative experience and if so, why were these collections so coveted? on the other hand, if it were positive, then why relinquish it? What was the Pomfrets' relationship with the Arundelian marbles? There are few direct references to the Pomfrets' sensitivities as far as the Arundel marbles are concerned. But a few conjectural remarks can be made. The evidence strongly suggests that the Pomfrets were greatly concerned for the preservation of the collection and that they felt great pride in ownership.

Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, although different arrangements were tried, was not finally published until 1791. Although there would have been discussion of its contents among those who handled the manuscript, it is not certain if the Pomfrets were involved. On the other hand, Stukeley's *Itinerarum* and Hearne's *Account* were published in 1724 and 1725 respectively, one calling for shelter and the other for illustration. Were the Pomfrets even aware of these demands? How did they respond?

In one of her letters from Italy, Jeffreys included a poem for Hartford to read. Written in December 1740, it is quite a personal, autobiographical account. While the poem is of wider interest, there are a few lines that reflect on Easton Neston:

⁶¹ Dallaway views the colossal Minerva as "so restored by Guelfi" (1800: 246). Michaelis utterly condemned Guelfi's work on Dallaway's authority simply identifies the Minerva as a Roman copy (1882: 545-46).

The seat where long our family has liv'd,
 And which so lately a new form receiv'd: --
 Enrich'd by nature, and by art improv'd,
 Possess'd with honour and with reason lov'd (Corr. II.206)

It seems clear that respect for the family possessions was felt by Jeffreys at least. But in fact, there is evidence that the Pomfrets worked hard at serving their collection. Unfortunately, it is their very concern for which they have since been criticized.

Since Tillemans had prepared a fairly substantial portfolio of drawings, the Pomfrets probably expected those to appear at some point; it is due to the complex nature of Bridges' legacy that they never did. The Pomfrets did encourage George Vertue to make drawings from the collection when he visited Easton Neston in 1734 (*Vertue* IV.40); they may have intended to have prints prepared from those, as they did for some of the paintings. Although Vertue's direction went elsewhere, there is documentation in Jeffreys' diaries for their continued interaction. There is reason to suspect that the idea of making prints after the statues came up several times.

One print did appear in John Nixon's earliest study on the collection *Marmor Estonianum seu Dissertatio de Sella Marmorea Votiva Estoniae in Agro Northamtoniensi conservata*, published in 1744. This book has several aspects relevant to the marbles. Not only does it indicate the Pomfrets' promotion of research on the collection, but the print that appeared in the frontispiece was at least a gesture towards illustrating the sculpture. The print illustrates the gryphon throne, chosen because its badly weathered inscription was in danger of being lost. The book's dedication to Pomfret suggests that he paid the production costs. Nixon's phrasing, with *conservata* in the title, argues that he was emphasizing the care the statues received; Selden's treatise on the Arundel marbles, by contrast, used the term *deposita*.

When Evelyn had complained about the exposure the marbles were suffering, he had been worried specifically about London pollution. When

the inscriptions went to Oxford, many of them were kept outside, which caused no outcry. Tourists were familiar with the Italian gardens on the continent, in which statuary was displayed in various outdoor settings. And the practice of collecting antiquities was less than a century old. There had not yet been time for weathering, which is more drastic in northern climates, to make itself obvious.

It seems likely that the restoration work which the Pomfrets had Guelfi carry out was partly a matter of consolidating the fragments. Broken and weathered pieces are more susceptible to further damage. In the early modern period restoration was part of a conservation programme. When they made their complaints, scholars in that period were not deriding the work itself, just the sculptor. This is an important point since later sources often consider the 1720s restorations proof of Pomfret indifference to the statues.⁶² In fact, Guelfi seems to have had little impact on the collection.

To protect the statues from further weathering, the Pomfrets moved them into a greenhouse, a large covered building which they had specially made for the purpose. Comparison of the various descriptions of the estate suggests that the greenhouse was constructed around 1727. The statues were then relocated, a huge task in itself. The fact that removing the sculpture from the garden disrupted the carefully organized display (created by Pomfret's father) has not previously been considered by scholars. For the Pomfrets, preservation of the collection appears to have ranked higher than personal convenience and enjoyment.

Nor have commentators looked beyond Horace Walpole's description: "in an old greenhouse is a wonderful fine statue of Tully, haranguing a numerous assembly of decayed emperors, vestal virgins with new noses, Colossuses, Venuses, headless carcasses, and carcassless heads, pieces of tombs, and hieroglyphs"(Yale 9.5). But the pertinent section of an

⁶² "He adorned the whole [of Easton Neston] with part of the Arundel marbles which he had purchased, and which his son had actually the temerity to attempt to restore ..."
(Fermor, William; *Dictionary of National Biography* 6.1235).

anonymous account of Easton Neston confutes the impression of disarray evoked by Walpole's passage which was, after all, composed for effect.⁶³ Additionally, Walpole's inference in this passage that the Easton Neston statues are all rubbish, has obscured the central issue. Even incomplete and fragmentary pieces were considered worthy of protection by the Pomfrets. After Jeffreys visited the Farnese palace, she described the sculpture collection there to Hartford, making special reference to their condition: "They lie neglected, and are going fast to ruin" (*Corr.* III.53). Jeffreys' comments on such endangered Italian collections were not hypocritical, for the Pomfrets had done what they could. This fact alone should exonerate them from the worst of the charges against them, the ability to judge quality is quite a separate issue.⁶⁴

While there is no firm evidence for active support of published images of the collection, it is clear that the Pomfrets did support the dissemination of information in informal ways. By the time they had returned from Italy in 1741, there were considerable numbers of people visiting the estate. Many were going to Stowe (as Jeffreys did herself on more than one occasion), which itself was part of the increasing participation in country house visiting (encouraged by such factors as the rise of landscape gardening and the development of catalogues and guidebooks).⁶⁵

The theoretical ideal of quiet solitude in the country is not borne out by Jeffreys' diaries; people came to Easton Neston very frequently. Jeffreys' numbers cannot, however, be used as an accurate gauge of the number of visitors to the house. They must be on the low side, for they only include

⁶³ Cf. the Easton account which describes each statue in order: "As soon as you go into this place, on the right hand next the door is a statue of Flora ... Next to Flora stands Minerva" (*Easton* 57-58).

⁶⁴ "The portion [of Arundel marbles] which Lord Lempster had bought and taken to Easton Neston was here visited by a melancholy fate ... It could not easily have been entrusted to more unfortunate hands ... No wonder if the traces of such gross negligence are but too manifest at the present day" (Michaelis 1882: 39-40).

⁶⁵ For general background on country house visiting, v. Ousby (1990).

records from periods when she was in residence and of visitors with whom she actually met with.⁶⁶ But the records of social interaction at the country house are substantial, so it is clear that large numbers of people were familiar with the collection.

Those who never made it to Northampton but visited the Pomfrets in London could be shown the Thornhill paintings. The only Thornhill in the Easton Neston collection (besides the staircase murals) was the *Ruins of Holmby*, which hung in the upstairs drawing room (*Easton* 64). The two paintings which depict the classical statuary are not mentioned in that account; like many other works documented in the Pomfret sale catalogue, they would have been kept in the London residence.⁶⁷ Their presence would have reminded visitors that the Pomfrets owned an important sculpture collection, one documented by Sir James Thornhill. In the ordinary course of events, the statues would have remained in the family, continuing to glorify this family that traced its lineage back, on both sides, to King Edward IV.⁶⁸ Circumstances dictated otherwise and the Arundel sculpture was relinquished; yet that too was an act of *vertu*.

Because of the importance of the collection it has been assumed that upon Pomfret's death in 1753, the statuary initially descended to his primary heir, George, Lord Lempster. Jeffreys' first obtaining the collection and then giving it away are usually attributed to her cupidity and her stupidity. Archival evidence, however, makes clear that the circumstances were actually very different. This section details the

⁶⁶ My partial transcripts from the diaries suggest that 60-70 groups of visitors per season through the 1740s is a very conservative estimate.

⁶⁷ (Prestage 1754). The 1758 account (*Easton*) is is comprehensive and the possibility of the Thornhills (and dozens of other paintings) being overlooked is slight.

⁶⁸ This was the result of a genealogical study done by Jeffreys (copy in the Lewis Walpole Library, Quarto 498 P77 ms). Walpole was scathing about Jeffreys' pedigree (*Yale* 20.180-81), but we see that her interests were not very different from his; it is just that instead of preparing an illuminated manuscript he painted his pedigree on his library ceiling (v. Iddon 1996: 31). This is another example that indicates Walpole's biases.

mechanisms by which Jeffreys became the owner of the statues and discusses her concerns for the future of the collection. Although the negotiations for the transfer of the marbles to Oxford have been recounted previously,⁶⁹ new evidence from Jeffreys' diaries demands that the events be re-evaluated.

The seminal question concerning the benefaction is this: if the statuary was so highly regarded by, and so important to, the Pomfrets, why did it not stay at Easton Neston? The short answer is that it was intended to. This point is conspicuous in an early draft will of Pomfret's, in which he bequeaths his entire estate according to the traditional practice of primogeniture: "I give and bequest all that My Capital Mansion House at Easton with all and Every Its appurtenances & all the Household Furniture therein and all My Statues Pictures and Books unto my Eldest son George Lord Lempster when He shall attain his age of Twenty one years".⁷⁰

The remainder of this draft testament considers the other eventualities, at least those which Pomfret and his lawyer found conceivable. If George was to predecease his father, the estate would devolve first to William and then Thomas. Should all the sons die, the estate would be bequeathed to Pomfret's younger brother William, who was then charged with supporting the Pomfret daughters. If the entire male line predeceased Pomfret, the estate then devolved onto his "Right Heirs" (grandsons, male cousins, etc.).⁷¹ Jeffreys was named as sole executor, and she was to receive "all the plates & Jewells ... together with all [the] Furniture"; the latter, however, was restricted to what was in the London house. Neither she, nor any other female, was to alienate the significant family heritage embodied in the cultural unity of the country seat collection.

This draft will dates to July 1738, and was made just before the

⁶⁹ Ovenell (1986) and Kurtz (2001).

⁷⁰ BL Add MS 34738, f.148.

⁷¹ PRO PROB 11/803/215.

Pomfrets moved to the continent, knowing they would be abroad for at least several years.⁷² As outlined in Chapter 1, by the time Pomfret made his final will (January 23 1752), family circumstances were so changed as to require completely different arrangements. One hazard, at least, had not been considered when preparing the 1738 draft. The possibility that all the males would predecease Pomfret had been envisioned; that one male might live and refuse to discharge his obligations had not.

By 1750 Lempster was the only other surviving male of the near family. Since he was already the primary heir under the laws of primogeniture, the loss of all other “Heir-Males” should not have affected the will. But Lempster had proved himself unreliable. After suffering his debts, scandals, threats, and legal suits, the Pomfrets made other arrangements for their possessions. When Pomfret died in July 1753, Lempster inherited a comparatively empty house in Easton Neston.

Jeffreys’ hand was shaking when she wrote the diary entry recording her husband’s death. Her sorrow was private, but her letters to her daughters indicate the depth of her grief. Lempster too was shaking, but his feelings were quite different. Spite seems to have been his primary emotion and he was not reticent about displaying unseemly emotion. Horace Walpole recorded Lempster’s public reaction to his father’s death: “He has not put on mourning, but robes; that is in the middle of this very hot summer, he has produced himself in a suit of crimson velvet, that he may be sure of not being mistaken for being in weepers” (*Yale* 20.390).⁷³

Lempster’s outrageous behaviour was probably motivated by the directions in his father’s will (on this occasion anyway). Previously, he may not have entertained any form of disinheritance as a real possibility. A

⁷² The precise date of the will draft is blank, but since the Pomfrets left London on July 8 (DG7/D1/1), it must have been one of the final arrangements he made before leaving.

⁷³ While Walpole is possibly exaggerating here, as usual, given Lempster’s reaction following his mother’s death (described later) this performance is not out of character.

large part of English society would have considered the disposition of Pomfret's will as problematic. Such majority views are reflected in Horace Walpole's account, which has (since its publication) been accepted as an accurate synopsis of Pomfret's bequest: "Lord Pomfret is dead, not a thousand pound in debt ... the new Earl has about 2,400 a year in present, but deep debts ... and the whole personal estate [is left] between the two unmarried daughters, so the seat must be stripped" (*Yale* 20.389-90).

Walpole's gossipy update concludes with a consideration of some of the pictures he would like to purchase from the estate and an evaluation of the statues. His personal interest in the art undoubtedly informed his remarks.

Walpole's synopsis of the will is correct in its essentials, but when preparing his correspondence for eventual publication, Walpole added a footnote concerning the statues: "Henrietta Louisa Dowager Countess of Pomfret, having quarrelled with her eldest son, who was ruined and forced to sell the furniture of his seat at Easton Neston, bought his statues" (*Yale* 20.470n.16). Thus, Jeffreys is portrayed as a vulture, or harpy, taking advantage of her son's impoverished state to rid him of his prized possessions.

Walpole's wording even insinuates that Lempster's ruin was *due* to the quarrel.⁷⁴ And the combination of the footnote with his previous statement, that the estate had to be ransacked to provide for the daughters, has greatly skewed later understanding of the bequest. The construction of Walpole's account prompts the inference that Lempster sold off the disposable goods in order to help provide for his sisters, since his debts prohibited him from simply reaching into his pocket in order to assist them. In fact, the history of the Pomfrets' relationship with Lempster shows that the situation was quite different, and this strongly affects the traditional provenance of the Pomfret marbles.

⁷⁴ Downes' interpretation is slightly more generous, proposing that Jeffreys bought the statues to pay for Lempster's debts (1987: 63).

It was because Lempster could not be trusted to fulfill his duty to his sisters, that the personal property, including the statues, was bequeathed to Louisa and Anne. Pomfret's will, as proven in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, makes clear the purpose behind this new division of property:

And I do hereby give devise and bequeath all my Statues pictures and household furniture of all Kinds whatsoever and whensoever And also all my plate and Jewells And all the Rest Residue and Remainder ... unto my said dear Wife Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret ... In Trust for and to collect sell and dispose of the same and every part Hereof And out of the product of the same to give Mourning to such persons as she shall think reasonable and then to lay out and vest the Remainder of such product in or upon some Government Funds or other good Security carrying Interest for the Use and Benefit of my said dear daughters Louisa and Ann.

These were among the responsibilities which Jeffreys was referring to when she wrote: "I omit nothing, that I can do to accomplish the Will of Him, who has reposed the trust of all his Earthly Affairs with me".⁷⁵

In order to provide capital for the trust, all the goods included in the bequest were sold by auction.⁷⁶ Jeffreys' diary records her prudence and vigilance in overseeing this procedure. Despite her great care in doing this, the legality of this step was questioned and Jeffreys needed to confirm her authorization: "I wrote to Mr Heaton & sent him a Copy of My Lord's [will] & an account of the Auction he return'd answer, that having sold the Personal Estate by Auction was right and fit" (December 22 1753).

Surviving documents indicate that at least two auctions were held, brokered by one Mr. Prestage. The first auction featured the household furnishings and took place on location at Easton Neston.⁷⁷ It was held soon

⁷⁵ Letter to Charlotte Finch (August 18 1753; DG7/Bundle 30).

⁷⁶ It should be noted that this did not actually include *everything*. The Fermor family portraits, and representative images from the Jeffreys family, remained at Easton Neston. Objects of *vertu* could be (and have been) replaced; family heirlooms are irreplaceable.

⁷⁷ This fascinating document includes everything from the drinking glasses to the garden roller (Prestage 1753).

after Pomfret's death because the house had to be cleared quickly. The second auction, a more leisurely and elevated affair, was held at Prestage's sale rooms in Conduitt-Street. This auction disposed of the Pomfret art collection. Held over three days in mid-January 1754, the sale raised £4710: 7: 6 for the trust.⁷⁸ And it is probable that at least one more auction was held because Pomfret's will refers to "books", which were often sold at separate events.

The classical statues, however, were not included in any of the auctions. Jeffreys' first wish was actually for the statues to remain at Easton Neston. But some compensation was necessary to satisfy the behest of the trust. According to Pomfret's will the statues *had* to be sold. Jeffreys did attempt to keep the collection in the family. Lempster was given first refusal: "My Lord's Heir refusing to purchase the antient statues & other marbles I sent Mr Pickford the marble-mason to remove them" (August 6 1753).⁷⁹ Given that she later gave them away, why then did Jeffreys purchase them herself? It is not known when she actually bought them, but it must have been between August when Lempster refused them and the following January when the art sale was held. The sum of £300 is often cited, but no documentation has been recovered, so that number may result from confusion with the report of Fermor's purchase, or she may have "refunded" what was owing the estate.

Based on evidence from her documents, Jeffreys emerges as sincerely and deeply concerned that the statue collection remain both well cared for and intact. If the statues were sold, she would have no control over their future. Most suggestive are her comments on collections which she saw in

⁷⁸ Prestage (1754).

⁷⁹ This refusal does not necessarily corroborate Lempster's "impoverished state"; the new Earl paid £110: 5: 0 for a single painting (Panini, *St. Paul preaching at Athens*) at the estate auction a few months later (Prestage 1754: 6).

Italy.⁸⁰ They indicate that she was mindful of issues relating to the conservation of antiques and the preservation of collections. Her description of the Medici collection and fear for its survival was quoted in Chapter 1. Describing the Tribuna on a separate occasion, she again stated her concern for its future: “the whole [is] a little Paradise; the eye being unwearied in beholding fresh wonders every moment. How great a pity it is that a wretch should possess it who only watches for an opportunity to destroy it” (*Corr.* II.143). Her opinions about the state of collections are not mere rhetoric, or intended to impress Lady Hartford. She also commented on these issues in her private diaries, for example she laments “the Barberini Palace & Collection there which is extreamly full & rich but entirely neglected” (April 5/16 1741).

Jeffreys has often been accused of poor taste for not keeping the collection for display. For example, misinterpreting Houfe’s analysis of her as someone interested in medieval styles, it has been assumed that she “had given the classical sculpture from the house to Oxford University, presumably because it did not suit her Gothick tastes”.⁸¹ As Houfe himself notes, one factor in her decision to relinquish the statues is that she had nowhere to put them.⁸² In her rented apartments at Windsor Castle and London, there was not room even for paintings, as she acknowledged to her daughter Charlotte: “I am now just going to call on Julia, to whom I have this morning sent the whole lengths, ... & would be glad to know, where you wou’d have me send [the ones] I have given you, for now I am at Windsor, I can open the Cases, & am not willing to trouble Mrs

⁸⁰ Whether or not this was a concern she reached independently, shared with others, or even was simply parroting, she mentions it frequently enough to indicate that it took root in her own psyche (*cf.* Paston 1905: 11).

⁸¹ Vickers (in Haskell and Penny 1981: 31).

⁸² (Houfe 1977 I: 278).

Chudleigh longer with them”.⁸³

Jeffreys’ decision was not about whether or not to display the statues in her Arlington Street house. In fact, she had not even chosen a site to build her house until two years after the benefaction.⁸⁴ Nor was the structure inhabitable up to the time of her death. Regardless, however, the style or aesthetic quality of the statues are non-issues in this matter. Eighteenth-century individuals did not necessarily adhere strictly to one type, and so a taste for the gothic did not preclude appreciation of the classical.⁸⁵

Jeffreys had removed the statues from Easton Neston, but not having room to receive them herself, they were placed in storage where they remained for nearly two years.⁸⁶ She resisted the temptation to display the smaller works, in order to maintain the integrity of the collection. The arrangements for the statues undoubtedly caused Jeffreys some concern, as it is unknown whether the storage facilities would have provided both shelter and space (if either) and presumably the statues were (again) exposed to the elements and somewhat jumbled together. Given her interest in preserving the collections, this situation must have been less than ideal. The proposal of gifting them to Oxford, worked out with, or put forward by, Sir Roger Newdigate, must have provided some relief.

Jeffreys seems to have first met Newdigate in Siena in 1739 (December 4/15 1739). Several years later they became relatives, when he married her husband’s niece Sophia Conyers. Subsequently there was some

⁸³ Letter to Lady Charlotte Finch (July 2 1755; DG7/Bundle 30).

⁸⁴ “This Day my Ld Granville & I sign’d the agreement for the ground next to his House in Arlington Street” (February 18 1757).

⁸⁵ Even at Strawberry Hill, cited as one of the foundational structures of Gothic Revival style, classical statuary was displayed in “gothick” rooms (as in the Gallery for example).

⁸⁶ “I paid the Rent of the Statues & all Bills in Towcester” (October 10 1754). It may be that Jeffreys wished to preserve the statues under the Pomfret name; which would preclude presenting them to one of her daughters. Since the Dawsons were based in Dublin and the Finchs and the Penns were renting at Choerley-wood and Isham respectively (only the Conyers owned a country house at this time), the question may not have arisen.

correspondence and the occasional meeting. The bond was strengthened by another marriage in 1747, when Jeffreys' daughter Henrietta wed Sophia Conyers' brother John. In addition to more frequent direct contact, the families also had a network which operated through John Conyers' unmarried sister, who moved between her sister's and brother's residences frequently. The Conyers family also facilitated the re-connection of the Newdigates and Jeffreys, according to the entries in Jeffreys' social diaries. Their first recorded contact after Pomfret's death, led to the Pomfret benefaction: "Ly Harriot & Mr Conyers, Sr Roger & Lady Newdigate Miss Conyers & Miss Mary Conyers dined here" (February 12 1755).

Sir Roger called again on his own the following day, presumably in his role as Oxford representative. Although Jeffreys herself does not state the reason for this meeting, it can be determined from another source. Newdigate wrote a letter to that same day to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. This document was an important topic of consideration at the next convocation and was transcribed in full in the official Register. In the letter, Newdigate stated Jeffreys' offer to give the University her "inestimable collection of Statues, Bustos and other Antiquities".⁸⁷ The reply from Oxford expressed grateful acceptance, concluding: "Permit us, Madam, on this happy Occasion to reflect on the great and new Lustre which must necessarily be added to this Nursery of Science by the Introduction of those Noble Remains of Ancient Art".

Apparently Oxford's senior scholars did not have a problem with ceding to any potential whims of a female benefactor: "under yr Ladyship's Direction, no Endeavours shall be wanting on our Part to suit the Place and Manner to the Nature and Dignity of the Present".⁸⁸ Not everyone was as sanguine. "Horatio" Walpole and "Horatio" Mann lampooned Jeffreys' gift.

⁸⁷ Register of Convocation (1752-57: 147-51). As with Evelyn, Newdigate's role as liason undoubtedly had its own agenda, which may or may not have been apparent to Jeffreys.

⁸⁸ Register of Convocation (1752-57: 151).

Self-styled, neo-Augustan “senators” could look to the past (even to the extent of being named Horatio) but for a woman to display such a propensity for *vertu* could be perceived as ridiculous. Oxford’s opinion has been neglected in favour of the more negative comments, such as when Walpole sneered at Jeffreys for presuming to emulate a historical benefactor: “I dare say she had treasured up some idea of the Countess Matilda, that gave St Peter his patrimony” (*Yale* 21.562). The co-existence of these opposing views argues that there was no clearly defined model for women of *vertu*.

Indeed, Matilda was generally considered a noble character and Jeffreys did perceive her as a role model. Additionally, the idea of founding a public collection may have had particular appeal for Jeffreys. Her description of the Capitoline in March 1741 specifically referred to the civic nature of the collection there: “One side is fitted up to hold the Albani collection of busts, statues, inscriptions &c bought by the late pope and given to the public” (*Corr.* II.194). This interest may have influenced her ultimate decision in the type of settlement she wished for the statues. Public spirit was a predominant characteristic of *vertu*.

Nor was Oxford slow to secure their gift. Once the offer was made and accepted, the proprieties and legalities had to be satisfied. Jeffreys’ diaries record that the compliments (and preliminary paperwork) commenced immediately: “The Earl of Arran Chancellor The Earl of Westmoreland Ld High Steward & Sr Roger Newdigate & Mr Palmer Representatives in Parliament of the University of Oxford came with a Letter of Thanks with the Seal of the University for my Collection of Statues, Busts & other antique marbles by me present to them” (February 24 1755). The Chancellor, Lord Arran, was in very poor health and was not often directly involved with university business;⁸⁹ his presence on this occasion indicates the importance of the event. Several announcements concerning the visit were

⁸⁹ This was common knowledge, but is also clear from the records in the Register of Convocation. Matters of daily administration were directed to Arran’s house in St. James.

published, including one in that month's *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁹⁰

That same issue of *Gentleman's Magazine* contained a review of an academic study of one of the Pomfret statues. In fact, the report of the benefaction specifically draws attention to it: "Among these [statues] is the famous sleeping Cupid. (see p.95)". Page 95 listed the books published in February "with remarks". The volume referred to, *Essay on A Sleeping Cupid*, was the second of John Nixon's treatises on the Pomfret marbles. The public announcement of Jeffreys' benefaction would have been submitted by the University administration. While it is unlikely that the production (or publication) of the book itself was engineered, there is a strong possibility that the review was prepared or sponsored deliberately, to appear in juxtaposition with the announcement of the benefaction. Thus the scholarly value of the collection would be emphasized. Nixon's treatise, dedicated to the "the late" Earl of Pomfret, provides a literary analysis of the statue identified as a sleeping Eros, as an example of "the agreeable Harmony, which reigns between the two Sister-arts of Imitation, Sculpture and Poetry".⁹¹

In the "Remarks" section of the *Gentleman's Magazine* Nixon's work was allotted substantial space,⁹² including a long excerpt from his iconographical analysis of the statue. In this section, chosen for its accessible argument, Nixon's specific focus was the lizard which appears

⁹⁰ "The Rt Hon. the Ctss of *Pomfret* having presented the university of *Oxford*, with the *Pomfret* collection of antique statues, busts, and other marbles, the E. of *Arran*, chancellor; the E. of *Westmoreland*, lord high steward; and two members of the university waited upon her ladyship, with the thanks of the university under their public seal. -- Among these is the famous sleeping *Cupid*" (February 1755: 90).

⁹¹ Nixon (1755: 3). Nixon's full title was: "An Essay on A Sleeping Cupid. BEING One of the ARUNDELIAN MARBLES in the COLLECTION of The (late) RIGHT HONOURABLE The EARL OF POMFRET" (1755). Nixon was an M.A. (Oxford) and F.R.S.

⁹² It is not clear whether the review is provided by, or on behalf of the publisher: "[Remarks on] 42. 'An essay on a sleeping Cupid, in the Arundelian collection'. *Is Manby*." *Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1755: 95).

near the feet of the statue. *Virtuosi* in England would have been very aware of the statue's imagery, even without an illustration; an identical work (from Rome) had been published in the 1725 English translation of Montfauçon's *Antiquity Explained* (figure 3.6).

In his treatise, Nixon argued that the reptile does not appear as a symbolic love charm, emblem of sleep, or unsleeping bodyguard (all popular, contemporary interpretations). Based on a passage by Pliny, he proposes that the lizard is actually a rebus for the sculptor's name, Saurus. Nixon's methodology was text-based and traditional, invoking classical authority in art and history. His work was intended to stand as an example of solid, no-nonsense, Oxford scholarship, so the book itself was an appropriate advertisement for that university. And so that no references would be missed by the readership, the reviewer truncated the full title to: *An essay on a sleeping Cupid, in the Arundelian collection*. Presumably there was only room for a shortened form of the title here, and the more famous name was the one retained.

In order to ensure that the Pomfret statuary collection could not be reclaimed by other family members (Fermor, Howard, Pomfret or otherwise), an indenture was drawn up and duly signed in April 1755. The wording of the legal document clearly indicates that the possession of the collection was perceived as both validating and reflecting the worth of the academic institution. Both Jeffreys and the university were glorified by the inclusion of a list of her illustrious male relatives educated at Oxford.⁹³ That the collection was expected to inspire further *vertu* was also explicitly articulated. Together these two aspects of the donation confirmed Oxford's

⁹³ George, the new Earl of Pomfret, is not included: "for and in Consideration of the great Honour and Regard which she the said Henrietta Louisa doth bear unto the said University of Oxford and as a Token of Respect to the much Honoured memories of Her late Father the Right Honourable John Jeffreys Baron of Wemm deceased, and of Her late Husband The Right Honourable Thomas Farmor Earl of Pomfret deceased and of His late Father the Right Honourable William Farmor Baron of Lempster deceased who all received their Education at that celebrated Seat of Learning" (Register of Convocation 1752-57: 165).

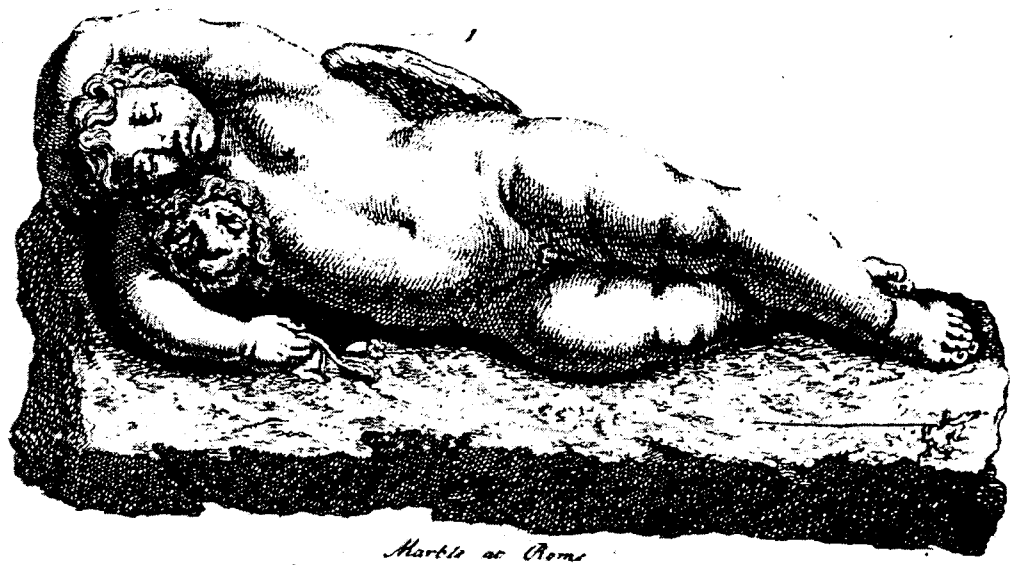


Figure 3.6: Sleeping Cupid, Rome.
Anonymous engraving.
In Montfauçon, *Supplement to Antiquity Explained*, 1725, p. 117b.

role as an important seat of learning. The wording of the indenture emphasizes the appropriate nature of the gift and echoes the language with which Evelyn had referred to the transfer of the Arundel inscriptions:

And for the further Encouragement of the Study of Antiquity and the polite Arts in the same ... for the perpetual ornament of the said University and as a standing memorial of the signal Respect and Esteem which she and her said noble Relations have always entertained for Learning in General and its ever Famous Nursery the said University of Oxford ⁹⁴

Jeffreys secured her part of the indenture with a specially designed seal featuring a colossal statue of Pallas Athena (Minerva), one of the gems of her collection.⁹⁵ Jeffreys seems to have found the whole process rather exciting. The (atypical) style of writing she used to describe the creation of this insignia conveys a breathless state of animation: “my Lord Granville has sent me a motto to my Pallas, the English of which is, Let her Inhabit the Town she Protects & which I am highly pleased with, & have sent in this night to be engraved, in order to execute my Deed to morrow”.⁹⁶ While the figure in the design was dictated by the appearance of the statue, the importance of the classical tradition is reflected in the fact that, although wildly different in scale, Minerva’s posture is immediately recognizable.⁹⁷ Although Jeffreys described it as “engraved”, the seal is not of the stamp (or impression) type, but resembles an antique cameo, very similar to one illustrated by Montfauçon (figure 3.7). It differed, however, with the significant addition of the Latin motto around the edge of its oval frame: *ipsa colat quas protegit.*

⁹⁴ Register of Convocation (1752-57: 165-66).

⁹⁵ Pictured in Kurtz (2001: plate 37).

⁹⁶ Her sentences were not usually extended to quite that extent (to Lady Charlotte, April 1755). Charlotte was also finding the process interesting: “The Motto for your Pallas I like vastly, there certainly could not have been one prettier or properer for the occasion, is it in Latin or Greek?” (letter in reply to above, April 6 1755; DG7/Bundle 30).

⁹⁷ Minerva was a signifier of *vertu*; v. Haskell and Penny (1994: *passim*).



Figure 3.7: Pallas Athena (Minerva), cameo in the Greek style.
Anonymous engraving after a drawing by Raccolta Massei.
In Montfauçon, *Antiquity Explained*, 1725, I.1.iii, pl.xli.

The complicated nature of the benefaction is illuminated in Jeffreys' diary entries which record several trips to London, a great deal of correspondence, and timetable delays: "I deliv'd my Grant of Statues Busts &c to the University of Oxford, to their two Members of Parliament Sr Roger Newdigate & Mr Palmer t'was dated March 10th 1755" (April 19 1755). This indenture was then returned to Oxford to pass in Convocation, replicated, and deposited, with one copy in the University Archives and another presented to Jeffreys in a specially designed case.⁹⁸ This was not a process that could be rushed.

Legal prudence aside, the associated ceremony was more important than the fact of possession. For this reason, every moment was fraught with significance, very formalized, even ritualized. It now appears slightly pompous: "The university presented their thanks to the Countess in a silver box",⁹⁹ but this exchange of compliments was not an empty gesture. The university was drawing on historical precedence created at the time of Howard's donation; the documentation for that benefaction makes specific reference to such polite and respectful observances (and was public knowledge due to references in Prideaux, Wood and Maittaire).

The interchange of legal paperwork was followed in May by the official bestowal of the statues. Jeffreys went to Towcester for the occasion (staying at the inn, not at Easton Neston), where she was met by representatives of the university. Her diary entry for this event is particularly interesting for providing clear evidence that she placed herself within the tradition of Arundel connoisseurship:

Towcester Northamptonshire ... Mr. Rod came to me in the Morning, then the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford & Doctor Blackstone & just before Dinner Sr Roger Newdigate ... [I]

⁹⁸ "Ld Roger & Ly Newdigate came & brought me the Counterpart of my Grant to the University of Oxford seal'd in Convocation" (April 25 1755).

⁹⁹ The context of Kurtz's use of this quotation suggests that she views the gesture as rather silly (2000: 33).

deliver'd up to the Vice-Chancellor the whole Collection of marble statues busts bas relievio's & other curious marble first brought into England by Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel then bought of his Heir by William Farmor Lord Lempster & lastly by me of my two Daughters Louisa & Anne: & given to the University of Oxford (May 19 1755).

Jeffreys had been invited to follow up this trip to Towcester with an extended period as a guest at Newdigate's country house in Warwickshire.¹⁰⁰ Her accounts of this stay record new additions to her acquaintance prompted by the Oxford connection: "Doctor Burgh a Physician, Mr Le Hunt a Schollar of Christ-Church in Oxford & another dined here" (May 23 1755). This new circle appears to have been most congenial to Jeffreys, for a number of Oxford scholars begin to feature in the diaries as correspondents and as visitors to her quarters in Windsor Castle.

Also evident, particularly from Jeffreys' family letters, is the university's eager acceptance of the collection. One epistle illuminates the considerable expense and logistics required to relocate the statues from Easton Neston to Oxford: "there are ten [wagon]loads of the Statues already safely lodged at Oxford; & tis computed they have thirty more to carry which they pursue with great alacrity".¹⁰¹ The June date of the letter gives some indication of what a lengthy process it was, moving the substantial collection of heavy, fragile, and precious objects.

Once at Oxford, the statues were placed in what was supposed to be temporary quarters in the Old Schools, because there was not money or time for dedicated display space. But expediency was not the sole issue. It should not be assumed that there had been no deliberation concerning the statuary arrangement, simply because they were installed in an existing

¹⁰⁰ Overall it was a pleasant sojourn: "I walk'd in the Garden & went in the Boat with Sr Roger & Ly Newdigate, Miss Conyers playing on the Musick, as we floated on the Pool" (May 27 1755).

¹⁰¹ Letter to Charlotte Finch (June 10 1755; DG7/Bundle 30).

location. As visual and textual records indicate, the statues were positioned carefully, in what was essentially a gallery setting (figure 3.8). While the surroundings may not have been quite as grand as some *virtuosi* wished (Roger Newdigate, for example), numerous appreciative reports from sightseers establish that the conditions were quite adequate. The collection remained in the Old Schools, until it was moved to the University Gallery in the nineteenth century.

The completion of the sculptures' transfer did not, however, also mean that Oxford was done with its reception. The next chapter will contain an analysis of the special ceremony (the Publick Act, held in conjunction with the annual *Encaenia*) planned to showcase the benefactor, the recipient, and the gift. The traditions established with the Howard donation were perpetuated and an active publicity campaign ensured that the details were transmitted nation-wide. In the final chapter, associated questions will be considered, such as who (as Evelyn had in 1688) received the honorary doctorate given to honour this donation.

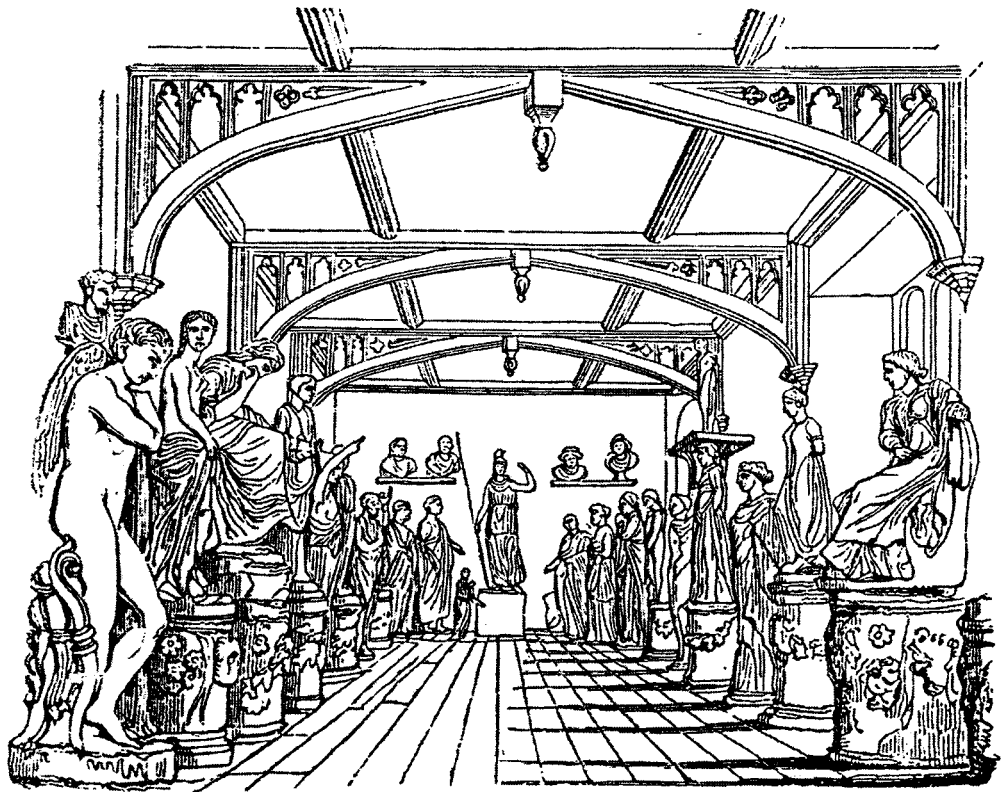


Figure 3.8: Pomfret Marbles as Displayed in the Old Schools, Oxford.
Engraving after a drawing by W. Westall.
In C. Knight, *Old England*, c. 1850.

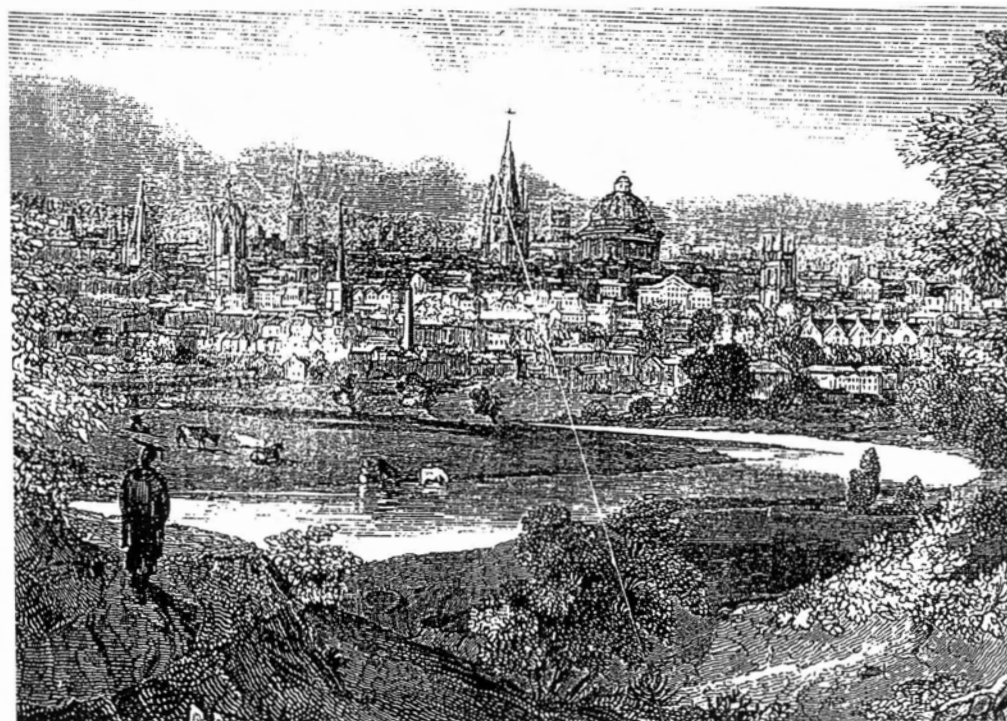


Figure 4.1: Oxford: “the proud Piles of Ancient Art” (T. Wharton).
Engraving by J. Jackson.
In C. Knight, *Pictorial Museum*, 1850, p. 273.

4

Oxford University at Risk

...our most noble Athens, the seat of our English Muses, the prop and pillar, nay the sun, the eye, the very soul of the nation: the most celebrated fountain of wisdom and learning, from whence Religion, Letters, and Good Manners, are plentifully diffused through the whole Kingdom.¹

The Pomfret benefaction was a point of pride for Oxford University and was commemorated with a number of different procedures, including a public celebration in 1756, the *Oxford Almanack* of 1757, an illustrated catalogue published in 1763, and the *Oxford Almanack* of 1765. Why was this donation so important to a university already identified as “the prop and pillar” of the nation? If Oxford was the fount of all knowledge, why the need to publicize this new acquisition so dramatically? The Pomfret donation was also publicly lauded by people outside of the University institution. How did their tributes differ from the official versions? And why did they continue for years? The remainder of the dissertation will address some of the issues raised by the preceding questions.

In this chapter, the history of Oxford University will be considered, from the Restoration to the time of the Pomfret benefaction, with emphasis on the reign of George II. There are two main points to consider throughout this discussion: one, Oxford was at risk, and two, the uses of print culture were well understood by the academic community. The texts and images disseminated by the University and its scholars during this era invoked and buttressed the Oxford “myth”.² The institution’s reputation was important, for in the first half of the eighteenth century Oxford was besieged by hostile and resolute opposition.

¹ William Camden’s description of Oxford in *Britannia*; as quoted in W. Knight (1911: 2).

² Extracts in the first 10 pages of W. Knight’s *The Glamour of Oxford* (1911) demonstrate that the mythologizing of Oxford predates the eighteenth century. But that such a book (with another 250 pages) exists is largely due to this era’s promotion of these ideals - ideals that resonate in the rage and romanticism which motivate humanistic studies.

The climate of the early Hanoverian era, in which Oxford stood accused of weak academic practice and nationally subversive behaviours,³ almost necessitated the acquisition of the Pomfret marbles. Signifiers of *vertu*, the classical statues represented academic ideologies in unassailable fashion. Thus, the socio-political context greatly clarifies the importance of both Jeffreys' gift, which was used to validate the worth of the University, and the accompanying communications, which broadcast the message.

Oxford's concerns are clearly evidenced in the print culture of this historical period. For example, defensive (and offensive) arguments supporting the University were promoted in broadsheets, pamphlets and engravings which circulated widely. The historical context and the University's use of printed materials are mutually illuminating. In this chapter, particular attention will be paid to the iconographical programmes of the *Oxford Almanacks*, since their engravings offer strong evidence for the University's embattled position in early Georgian England.

The following chapter will elaborate upon these historical issues in analyzing the further promulgation of the Pomfret benefaction. While it may be overstating the case to say that the "propaganda" value of the statuary actually provided Oxford with the *raison d'être* for accepting Jeffreys' offer, factors both politic and political motivated the University's publicity campaign. Essentially, there were two interactive systems through which the benefaction was formally acknowledged: ritualized events and conspicuous advertising. It will be demonstrated that Oxford was, by necessity, well practiced in employing these venues.

The second half of the seventeenth century had been a period of great development for Oxford University. (Re)construction of both physical and spiritual edifices, essential components of University identity, were

³ Modern studies have argued that this characterization is due to political rhetoric and does not accurately reflect the University, v. Sutherland (1973) and the respective chapters by Sutherland and Langford, in Sutherland and Mitchell (1986). While he accepts the academic criticisms, Ward (1958) still provides the most extensive treatment of the political events.

necessary following the occupation of Oxford during the Civil War and the purges of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. It was not all smooth sailing, but the foundation myth of the Sheldonian Theatre is just one example, if the most spectacular, of Oxford scholars working to create a new environment consistent with the enthusiastic optimism of the period. Commissioned in 1663 by the soon-to-be Archbishop of Canterbury, designed by the Savilian Professor of Astronomy (later architect of the new St. Paul's, London),⁴ the building gave dedicated space to academic ceremonies and housed the new University press. It is not surprising that the Arundel inscriptions (connoting classical *vertu*, superior scholarship and noble patronage), were later integrated into the environs upon their arrival at Oxford.⁵

It was inevitable, perhaps, that the subsequent period would suffer by comparison. Scholars, trained in Petrarchian humanism, formulated history in cycles; moralists drew on classical satires to denounce contemporary society; and the euphoria of novelty can only be sustained briefly (buildings become institutions, research disciplines institutionalized). But political change did have severe and measurable effects on Oxford's Hanoverian era.

The death of Queen Anne in 1714 was a turning point in the fortunes of Oxford University. Upon George I's ascension to the throne, the new social order left Oxford ostracized.⁶ Most of the Colleges were Tory affiliated, so the King's devotion to the Whig party made Oxford a vulnerable institution. In addition, his complete disregard for Oxford made the

⁴ Gilbert Sheldon and Christopher Wren. My wording here emphasizes how, in mythologizing discussions, future events were read into the past.

⁵ A recent discussion of the evolving process in the building's design is in Sturdy (1999).

⁶ Mitchell summarizes the situation in a brilliant passage which presents these problems as supplementing "the usual doubts about the purpose and value of academic life" (1986: 2). This factor has great resonance in contemporary life; it is interesting how "education" becomes problematic when it is out of the direct control of the individual or ideological body evaluating it.

institution and many of its individuals resentful,⁷ while opponents seized the opportunity to destroy them.⁸ Oxford's High-Church values were no longer viewed as acceptably conservative but as leaning towards Catholicism, which itself was associated with Jacobitism. Certainly there were Jacobites and Catholics at Oxford, but they were by no means restricted to this one geographical location. Nor were the terms mutually inclusive. But Oxford continued to be charged on these counts long after the Stuart threat had been frustrated, because it was convenient for Whig policy.

In fact, the vast majority of Oxford men had taken the oath for George I, but University regulations were interpreted creatively so that they were considered forsworn. Oxford, it was claimed, trained its students in the practice of perjury. Oxford scholars were oath-breakers to a man. The rhetoric was based on the fact that matriculation required students to swear by medieval regulations (instituted when scholars were destined for [celibate] church careers). In the eighteenth century, such rules were no longer taken seriously by a very different student body, who, it was claimed, "live[d] in a constant breach of every oath they take without the least reflection or regret".⁹ The significant numbers of non-jurors and well-behaved students were disregarded in favour of political expediency.¹⁰

⁷ Cambridge, as a Whig institution, did not come under such heavy attack. This was one factor which saved Oxford, as opponents failed to find a way to damage the one institution in a way which did not also affect the other. A series of Oxford sermons dedicated to Queen Anne and her house was construed as a studied insult to the Hanoverians (as, indeed, it probably was).

⁸ For example, the deliberately inflammatory behaviour of Whig students, which resulted in the passing of the Riot Act and a garrison of soldiers being settled in Oxford in 1715 (who themselves inflamed the situation); the legislation was passed by Whig politicians who disregarded evidence in favour of the University.

⁹ Anonymous pamphleteer quoted by Ward (1958: 70).

¹⁰ The records of Thomas Hearne, who argued thus to excuse his own oath-breaking, are often employed to support this argument, but his rabid biases caused him to greatly overestimate what he wished to see. So, in his eyes, there were no (because there could be no) moral students who were not also non-jurors (v. Harmsen 2000).

Accusations continued to be levelled by supporters of the Whig ministry, which sought to marginalize Tory participation in the circles of power.

And yet the University presented a rare example of democracy in action; the lines of allegiance were so blurred that events could depend a great deal upon the individual. Scholars who wished to benefit from government appointed preferments might find it necessary to involve themselves in politics contrary to their actual beliefs; depending upon their individual ambitions they might be useful or damaging to the University. Those who were loyal, but interested in institutional reform, might use hostile Whig rhetoric to strengthen their arguments. Academics concerned for the survival of the independent institution might speak out or act against their political partners. This led to complaints such as the following, which actually indicates one of the University's strengths:

... we see Whigs engag'd against Whigs, Tories against Tories, masters against Doctors and Heads of Colleges, senior Fellows against junior Fellows, one College against another College, and many Colleges against themselves.¹¹

In 1724 an attempt was made to address academic reform in a way that would serve Whig ambition. This movement involved the royal endowment for chairs of modern history and modern languages at both Oxford and Cambridge. These new posts were advocated as updating the Universities' outmoded curricula. But Oxford contended that their main purpose was to provide rewards for Whig scholars who could then train Whig diplomats,¹² and their grudging acceptance of the post did not improve that University's relations with the crown or ministry. A subsequent mortmain bill, damaging to university finances, united scholars at Oxford and Cambridge in a successful counter-attack, "[which] was carefully organized and skillfully mounted, with much lobbying of friends, much collecting of

¹¹ *Terrae Filius 1721*, Nicholas Amherst, in Langford (1986: 100).

¹² Supposed to be less problematic in Whig Cambridge; Ward (1958: 132).

detailed information and much attention to detail”.¹³

The mutual antagonism between Oxford and the crown changed little with the accession of George II. The Tory and Whig parties, recast as Old Interest and New Interest, really just had the same interests. But the Stuart uprising of 1745 brought fresh meaning to the established arguments, even though the invading prince had failed to find much support in his bid for the crown. Prince Charlie’s brief English tour ushered in a period, not of military action, but of intense print-based hostility. Oxford, characterized as a centre of Tory-Jacobitism, was a primary target. The seriousness should not be underestimated, people were executed on such charges into the 1750s.¹⁴ It is this acrimonious environment which provides the immediate context for the Pomfret benefaction, and is the fundamental reason for the value of the gift.

The issue of perjury, as it reflected on the validity of Oxford oaths of allegiance, was revived. Oxford struggled under the pressure of government threats and unsympathetic public perception. A new generation of scholars (many of whom could not remember a Stuart England) began aggravating affairs, resentful at being persecuted on what they perceived as inapplicable and immaterial grounds.¹⁵ But quite a number of individuals in the University administration (as well as in the government ministry) were of long standing position. Some of them had personal agendas, or even just reputations, which affected the politicized events.¹⁶

¹³ The description is Langford’s (1986: 117).

¹⁴ On the other hand, there seems to have been a reluctance in this situation to pursue charges to the point that they might lead to a capital conviction.

¹⁵ For example, drinking the Pretender’s health, still practiced by convinced Jacobites, now became common, for it served undergraduates to express their rebellion against authority (Langford 1986: 119).

¹⁶ For example, the Principal of St. Mary’s Hall, William King, who had been ousted from an official post in 1722 for Jacobitism, often served as University Speaker/Public Orator through the late 40s and 50s.

The building tension resulted in the arrest of several undergraduates for sedition in 1748. The initial allegations led to charges against the Vice-Chancellor for insufficiently pursuing “the treasonable riot”.¹⁷ The Attorney-General suggested that the evidence was legally insufficient, but was ignored by the ministry and charges were pursued. Thus, it has been suggested that the crown had a “strong predisposition” for interference at Oxford at this time.¹⁸

In the public press Oxford was criticized as immoral and outmoded.¹⁹ The New Interest cast itself in a dual role, as champion of academic discipline and saviour of the morals of the undergraduates. For example, Edward Bentham’s *Letter to a Young Gentleman of Oxford*, published in 1748, was an admonition against the unsavory dangers of the University.²⁰ Oxford was threatened with a royal visitation, with actual intervention clearly in mind. At stake was the autonomy of the academic institution.

Oxford employed print culture to clear the University’s reputation and to win public support. In addition to the primarily textual forms of tracts and broadsheets, University concerns found expression in the illustrations prepared for the *Oxford Almanacks*. Oxford had issued an illustrated almanac annually since 1674,²¹ however, the 1748 version was the first to be published with a printed *Official Explanation*. A sheet (or poster format) calendar with a large picture, the *Almanacks* were directed, and

¹⁷ As the student behaviour was described by a Whig “mole” (Blacow 1755).

¹⁸ Ward (1958: 171) and Langford (1986: 122).

¹⁹ One pamphlet of the period was titled *Reasons of the Present Judgement of the University of Oxford ... The Negative Oath* (Cooper 1749), recalling the perjury issue.

²⁰ Immediately followed by William King’s proposal for a rebuttal (two editions) and the published reply itself (all in 1749).

²¹ It has been estimated that 500,000 almanacs of various types were sold a year and that England had a population of less than 10 million during the eighteenth century (O’Connell 1999: 22). *Oxford Almanacks* commonly had print runs of 10,000 (Petter 1974: 21-22).

sometimes designed, by members of the University.²² The member responsible for the *Almanack* was the Vice-Chancellor. Thus, it is not surprising that *Almanack* images reflect the concerns of Oxford scholars.

The *Almanacks* were prepared in the fall so they would be ready before the new year. The 1748 version is not a response to the treason charges, but to the political tension which had prompted the arrests. The University's already beleaguered position is illuminated by the *Almanack* image; the *Official Explanation* describes the print as showing St. Alban Hall with "Principal Persons who have born some relation to that Ancient House of Learning".²³ The figures include Henry VIII who gives the grant of the Hall to Dr. Owen the founder. Among the supporters of the institution is Archbishop Laud, while the Abbess of Littlemore and Cardinal Wolsey are depicted in the act of being denied their claims to the estate. It is not coincidental that Oxford chose to illustrate its ancient history, emphasizing its Church of England connections (and the confounding of Catholicism), in this period of renewed accusations of Jacobitism and hostility towards all that Oxford represented.²⁴

The *Almanack* would have been posted by nearly every Oxford scholar, as the calendar contained important academic dates in addition to

²² The *Oxford Almanacks* have been catalogued in Helen Petter's two works (1946 and 1974). While Petter is being modest in saying that hers is simply a factual description of the *Almanacks*, these prints still await a thorough analysis. In printing the *Almanacks* Oxford was providing something that was attractive, functional and inexpensive, which at the same time might disseminate University concerns and values and hopefully result in "good-will".

²³ In Petter (1974: 65). The subject matter was not unusual for *Almanacks* of the early Hanoverian era, but by adding the *Explanation* the message was made more pointed; the choice of St. Alban may have been deliberate as well. The 1749 and 1750 *Almanacks* are similar presentations featuring Old Magdalen Hall (benefactors include: Hale, Hyde, Clarendon, Lucy, Pemble, Pococke, Plot) and New Inn Hall, which emphasizes "Religion and Learning" (William of Wykeham is eminent there).

²⁴ It is possible to read subversive elements into the pictures. Laud was martyred for his High-Church convictions, and the Abbess appears more downtrodden than downcast. But in any case the *Explanation* provides the primary (directed) message and the concern here is with Oxford's self-construction.

general information. Unfortunately, it is not documented how the image would have been perceived by scholars of varying political and religious affiliations. Even less is known about the wider audience, although approximately two-thirds of each *Almanack's* press run was sent to London for wider distribution.²⁵ But in a culture familiar with emblematic symbols and postures, the message would have been clear, even without the explanatory text. Oxford's respectable origins were depicted as reminders of the institution's venerable history and religious orthodoxy.

Debate in parliament and in the press concerning Oxford's supposed encouragement of treason continued for several years. One event employed by the University in an endeavour to alleviate some of the pressure was the 1749 opening of the Radcliffe Library. Accounts in the *London Evening Post* indicate that the celebration which accompanied this event had political significance as "many noblemen and eminent persons testifying their regard and affection" assembled at Oxford. In an attempt to counter the impressions created by the lawsuits, the propriety of the University was emphasized: "the decency with which the whole ceremony was conducted ... convinced many [that] calumnies [were] vented against that learned body".²⁶

This historical context has great significance for the publication of the *Oxford Almanacks* of 1751 and 1752, both of which depict the Radcliffe Library. The print of the earlier edition shows the interior of the Library during the opening ceremony.²⁷ Prints of this building had been in circulation for some time, and it was already a familiar icon of Oxford.²⁸ To site the activity recognizably for the viewer, the "frame" of the

²⁵ Petter (1974: 22).

²⁶ (April 22-25 1749; in Ward 1958: 177). For the opening, v. Gillam (1968).

²⁷ The keys were presented in the Library, but the assembly actually took place in the Sheldonian. This conflation in the print supports the argument here.

²⁸ E.g. the 1716 *Almanack* featured the proposed architectural model (Petter 1974: 49).

Almanack featured a banner with an exterior view of the library (figure 4.2).

Unlike many of the *Almanack* prints, the framing is not created by details within the scene (e.g. columns, curtains) but appears as an actual frame. Oval in shape, it masks the corners to draw attention to the centre. The effect is of looking through a window (one of the library's round dormers?) at a real event. The composition of the interior scene is less emblematic than many of the *Almanacks* and is more like a documentary "history" painting. Below the canopy provided by the pseudo-banner, Rysbrack's statue of Radcliffe presides over the ceremony. The moment depicted is that in which the Trustees presented the University administrators (here personified as Alma Mater) with the keys to the building.

The *Official Explanation* described the image as a "Representation of the Solemnity at the time of Opening the said Library". But again a deeper reading is possible. Petter has noted that the actual event allowed the Oxford to express its "power and determination to resist the Government", but she has been misled by the calm tenor of the *Explanation* in her interpretation of the print: "[t]here is no hint of the political capital made of the occasion in the scene depicted in the *Almanack* for 1751".²⁹ It is not in the iconographical details, but in the image as a whole, that the print speaks to the contemporary political situation.

The choice of this moment for the *Almanack* is politically loaded because, as the keys were being presented at the opening, an announcement was made concerning the presentations of the Public Orators.³⁰ One of the orations was very problematic. Delivered by William King, the Latin speech vigorously defended Oxford against "those detestable informers, who have so embroiled our affairs of late". The glorious days of Queen Anne, "when our senate was uncorrupt", were invoked and the speech concluded with a

²⁹ Petter (1974: 13).

³⁰ V. Gillam (1968: xxii-xxv).

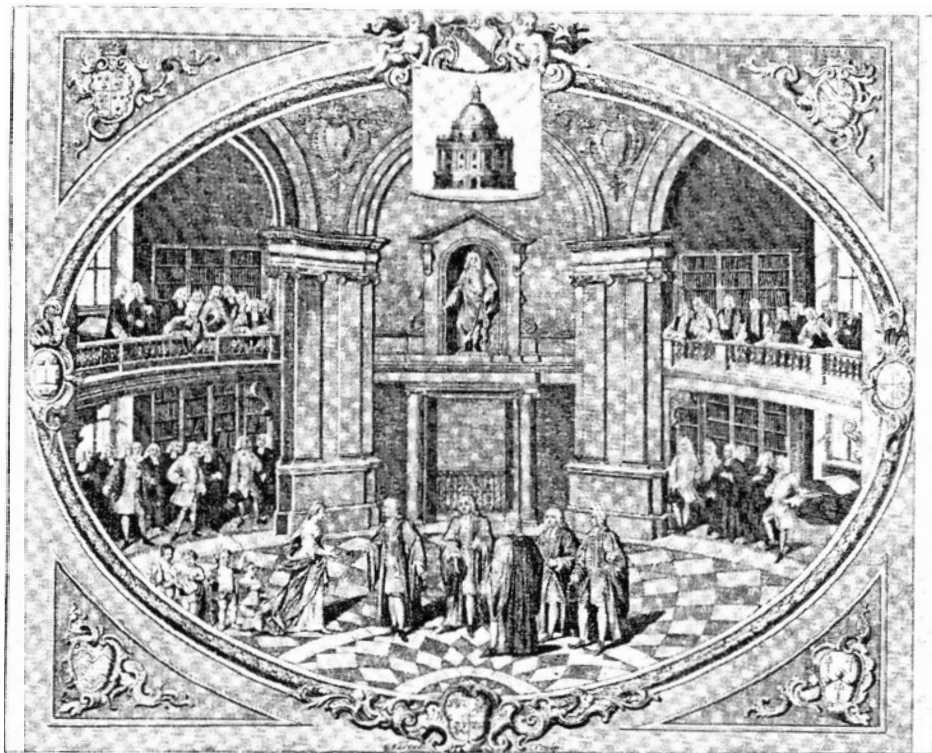


Figure 4.2: The Opening of the Radcliffe Library.
Engraving by G. Vertue.
The *Oxford Almanack*, 1751.

call for a “patriot nation”.³¹ The hostility was clear, but the wording was ambiguous; was this a Jacobite speech? Whigs jumped to the attack. There were no legal charges but an acrimonious debate was carried out in the press over the next five years.

Not only were there numerous pamphlets and treatises concerning the Radcliffe opening, but most of them went into multiple editions and the cover pages alone served to inform the public.³² Several of the orations were published, as well as the responses to and defenses of them. King’s speech was published first in the original Latin and then reissued in English.³³ The latter was in press about the same time that the design for the *Almanack* was being prepared. Given the high-profile of this argument in the press (in addition to continuing discussion of the treason lawsuits), the print would undoubtedly have been understood as a visual representation of Oxford’s defensive position. Furthermore, by depicting the event as solemn the image promotes Oxford as a site not just of learning, but of propriety.

The 1748 treason charges against the (now ex-) Vice-Chancellor were finally dropped in mid-1751 but, as there had never been a trial, the stain

³¹ In Ward (1958: 179). Other interpretations are also possible (v. Colley 1982: 257-8), but the ministry preferred a reading of Jacobitism because the position was indefensible. True dualities are rare, but they serve rhetoric well.

³² The title pages of these publications were designed to draw attention, keep the casual passerby informed, and encourage impulse buying. For example, the cover page of one pamphlet read: “**OXFORD HONESTY**, or, a **CASE of CONSCIENCE**, Humbly put to the Worshipful and Reverent the **VICE-CHANCELLOR**, the **HEADS of HOUSES**, The **FELLOWS. &c.** of the **UNIVERSITY of OXFORD**. Whether One may take the **OATHS** to King *GEORGE*; and yet, consistently with *Honour*, and *Conscience*, and the *Fear of God*, may do *all one can in Favour* of the **PRETENDER**? Occasioned by the *Oxford SPEECH*, and *Oxford BEHAVIOUR*, at the Opening of *Radcliff’s LIBRARY*, April 13, 1749”. The distribution of the pamphlet is also interesting. It was sold from “the Pamphlet Shops in London and Westminster”; seemingly, one target audience included members of the Houses of Parliament. located in Westminster. This publication, like many others, was priced at sixpence to ensure it was widely affordable.

³³ King also wrote “attacks” on himself, collecting and satirizing, the remarks of his opponents (1750).

of the accusation still lingered. Consequently, Oxford and the Tories were not as pleased at the end of the affair as they might have been.³⁴ It is assumed that these circumstances influenced the election of Sir Roger Newdigate as a University M.P in that same year. Newdigate, who would be influential in securing the Pomfret donation, was the most conservative of three Tory candidates for this post and his election was perceived as upholding Oxford's High-Church Toryism.

Support for this interpretation of Newdigate's role is found in the 1752 *Almanack*. Like that of the previous year, it depicted the Radcliffe Library. While the exterior of the building had been referenced in the earlier print, this time it dominates the scene. Nor is it shown in isolation, here Radcliffe's building is presented as firmly entrenched in the University environment. Though more subtle than the 1751 image, it is not simply a city-scape. The print was designed to recall the controversy regarding the building's opening ceremony while indicating its lack of validity. Most views of the building employ a different angle (for compositional balance), this one was selected to include the University church (figure 4.3). In addition, the border of the *Almanack* image contains personifications of Physick, Benignity and Fame supporting a medal of Dr. Radcliffe (Queen Anne's physician). Symbols of Chemistry and Botany continue the scientific theme, but, less innocently, representations of Sagacity and Vigilance refer to Oxford's defensive battle.

The *Almanack* for the following year concerned similar issues. But instead of referring to contemporary events, the 1753 *Almanack* drew on Oxford's oldest history. The *Official Explanation* describes all the figures carefully: beneath the personification of Stability, King Alfred presents the first Charter of the University to personifications of the Arts and

³⁴ Two students had been sentenced earlier, but the third was acquitted, presumably due to his father's influence with the ministry. The case against the latter was bound up with that against the Vice-Chancellor, so new charges had to be brought against the Oxford official. These ultimately failed as well (v. Ward 1758: Chapter [11]).



Figure 4.3: Radcliffe Library, St. Mary's church at left.
Engraving by J. Green (replicating his own design for the 1752 *Almanack*).
In [Mytton] *A Poem on the Pomfret Statues*, title page.

Sciences.³⁵ An anachronistic scene, it includes Alfred (who died c. 899), in the setting of University College (constructed in 1630), offering the charter for an institution that actually began in 1247. This foundation myth had already been disputed, but the importance of the legend is underscored by personifications of Religion and Justice who flank Alfred's throne. The figure of Alfred would have been an easily recognizable icon, having featured in treatises still in circulation (figure 4.4). Additionally, "portraits" of Alfred could be found all over Oxford. The representation in the *Almanack* resembles a statue from the University College gate (and which would reappear in the 1757 *Almanack* with the Pomfret marbles).

The mythical allegory of 1753 contrasted visually with the image in the next year's *Almanack*, which simply shows a view of St. Mary's Church. But in theme, the two are the same. Seemingly innocuous, the illustration for the 1754 *Almanack* may be read as depicting the solidity of Oxford's religious character. Another "city-scape", the print features St. Mary's, the University church. The viewpoint is directly facing the centre of the north facade with the tower rising in the centre, a composition which emphasizes the balance and stability of the building. Petter notes an error in the design: the structure is not actually symmetrical as it is shown in the print.³⁶ Accuracy was probably of less concern than ideology in this case. Since many of the accusations against Oxford concerned the University's High-Church views and apparent immorality, this print may be countering with a reminder of Oxford's religious basis and importance in training England's clergy.

It was critical that the University attempt to influence public opinion

³⁵ Seven figures are present, but only six identified: Navigation, Architecture, Painting, Astronomy, Geography and Music. I am at a loss to explain this deviation from the traditional lists of the seven liberal arts. Navigation was undoubtedly included to acknowledge England's naval force, but I am surprised that Rhetoric was excluded.

³⁶ Petter (1974: 67).

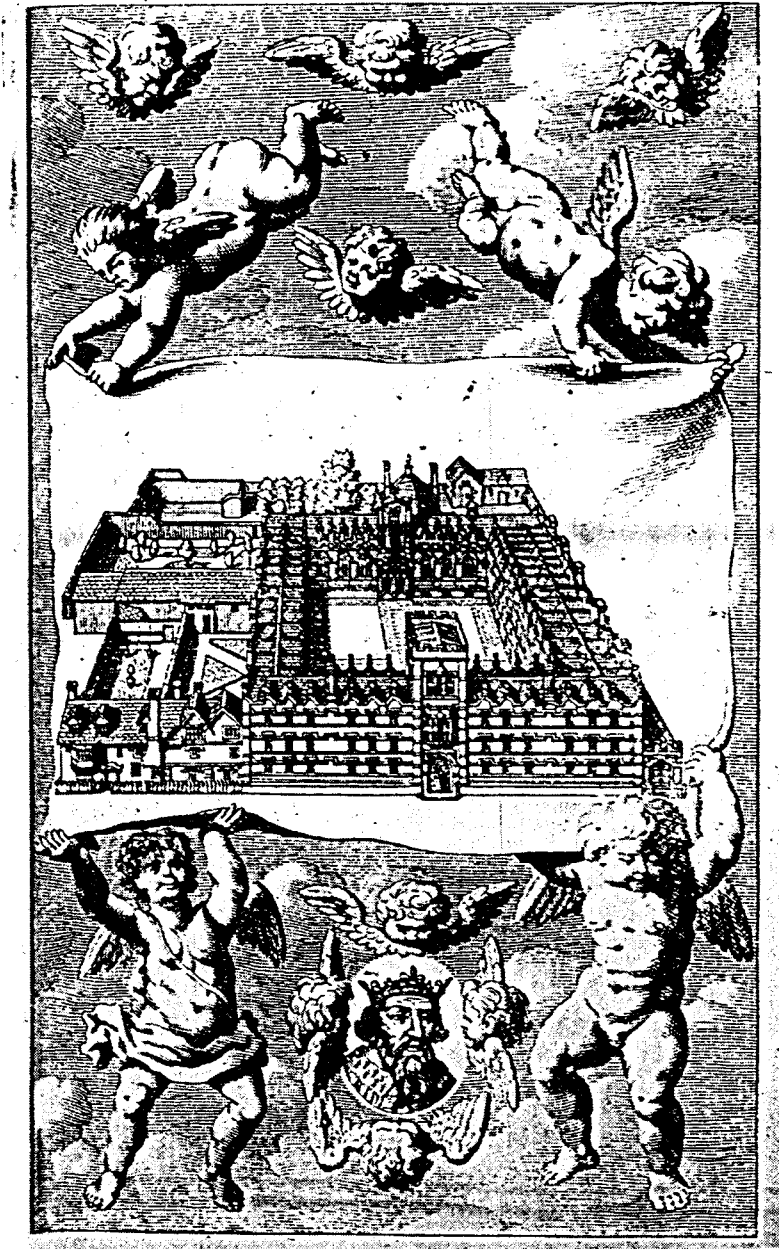


Figure 4.4: Cherubs supporting King Alfred and University College. (The portrait of King Alfred is derived from an engraving made for John Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, which in turn was based on a stained-glass image in All Soul's library). Anonymous engraving.

In T. Cockman, *M. Tullius Cicero de Oratore ad Q Fratrem*, 1696, frontispiece.

with any available method. That same year saw enrollment at Oxford, which had been dropping since 1714, at its lowest numbers. The political reputation of the University was perceived as the decisive factor in the University's decline.³⁷ The difficulties Oxford faced in trying to counter the charges may be demonstrated by the reaction to Pitt's speech in parliament at the end of that year. He said, "[he] had lately in Oxford been witness to what would have been high Treason anywhere else. He saw and heard, but this last summer, several persons of rank and standing in the University, walk publicly along the streets singing *God bless Great J--- our King*".³⁸ Pitt had not actually been to Oxford in over five years, but protests were ignored. Oxford was being used as a rallying point for the Whig leadership, which was all the more convenient because other events that year conspired to keep the University embroiled in controversy.

The year 1754 was also notable for the Rag Plot and a particularly confrontational county election. The report of Pitt's speech just quoted is from the correspondence of Richard Blacow and Thomas Bray.³⁹ These two served as Whig/New Interest informers at Oxford, and were not above creative intervention. Bray and Blacow stage-managed the Rag Plot of July 1754, in which a shopkeeper's wife reported finding "Treasonous Verses" implicating Oxford scholars in Jacobite activities. Blacow, who edited the *Whig Evening Advertizer*, betrayed himself and jeopardized the plot by submitting copy for type-setting before the event was supposed to have actually happened, the discovery of which was very helpful for the Oxford

³⁷ Sutherland (1986: 142).

³⁸ Letter from R. Blacow to T. Bray (December 3 1754), in Langford (1986: 99).

³⁹ Blacow (M.A. Brasenose) was made a canon of Windsor through Whig preferment and Bray was a fellow of Exeter College (one of the Whig Colleges). The survival of their correspondence in the Exeter College archives (Bray MSS) has contributed greatly to our understanding, not just of Oxford events, but of England's political climate during this period (v. Langford 1986 and Sutherland 1986).

defence.⁴⁰ Bray's participation was not recognized at the time, however, and he did not reveal his political allegiance until after the 1754 election. Bray took part in the debate which resulted following the poll; thus, it seems likely that he believed the political battle was nearly over, for he abandoned his (Oxford) anonymity, publicly siding with the Whig interest.

The outcome of the 1754 Oxfordshire election was important to both parties and general interest was so intense that *Jackson's Oxford Journal* had been established to provide readers with any available information. Campaigning was heated, the poll was controversial and the results were contested in parliament. Altogether the election was before the public eye for almost three years. The election was an important one; the New Interest were hoping to take the constituency which was traditionally a Tory seat. This particular election was perceived as an index of party popularity on a national scale. A loss for the Tories would have implied the failure of their ideological system.

Knowing they were under government scrutiny, the University had attempted to remain neutral, issuing directives for the Colleges to close during the poll.⁴¹ But during the seven day election, members of Exeter College contravened the University regulations and assisted Whig voters by receiving them into the College, providing them with refreshments (at the Whig candidates' expense), and conducting them through the back gates to the polling stations. That Exeter's intervention was due to specific individuals (as opposed to a party-wide activity) became clear from the fact that none of the other Whig Colleges broke the regulations, nor even supported Exeter in the resulting scandal.⁴²

⁴⁰ Blackstone [attr.] (1755: 6-7).

⁴¹ Gates were to be closed, students not eligible to vote were confined to college and wardens were put on patrol (Huddesford 1754).

⁴² Bray received private thanks from Whig politicians (though not those directly involved in the ministry) for "the assistance of your College" (in Langford 1986: 133). For a comprehensive account of the election, v. Ward (1958: Chapter [12]).

And there was a huge scandal. Despite Exeter's influence, the Tories won the election. But the government used the fact that there had been unethical activity (ignoring the fact that it was Whig in origin) to dispute the results of the vote. Once passed into parliament the election results were overturned in favour of the Whig candidates; the overwhelming Whig majority in the House predetermined that event. This unsound approach to the franchise was not passed over silently. The print culture associated with election concerns swamped all other Oxford topics. One aspect of interest to the Tory press was the "Political arithmetick" (as one broadsheet called it) and copies of the poll books, constitutional queries, and rhyming jingles were circulated to question the government action. To deflect attention from the election itself, the government levied charges against the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford for not maintaining discipline among the undergraduates. "Letters" appeared in the press, describing Exeter as a house of ill-repute (in every sense).⁴³ Oxford was in the difficult position of having to accuse its own in order to protect the institution.

The uproar was at full pitch when the 1755 *Almanack* was prepared. Formally approved by the Vice-Chancellor, it was intended to bolster Oxford's reputation by focussing on the value of education. The image shows a young man being led away from a cave in which a dishevelled woman and two men are lounging. One of the men is sleeping, the other, who reaches out to stop the youth's departure, has donkey's ears (symbolic of calumny). The youth, however, eagerly reaches for the scene his guide presents. The latter, although female, wears the winged headdress of Mercury (who commonly featured in allegories not just as a guide but as a personification of Eloquence and Reason). In front of the pair is a bank of clouds, at the base of which a group of *putti* are busy with the tools and books of study. Above are two women who point towards a large open

⁴³ E.g. *The Conduct of ---- Coll. Consider'd with some Reflections upon a late Pamphlet, Entitled, A Defence of the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College. In a Letter from a Cambridge Soph, to a Gentleman in Hampshire* ([Cantabrigiensis] 1754).

book, held aloft by angels and flooded with god-light. The *Official Explanation* describes the image as:

Science or Learning conducting Mankind from Sloth, Ignorance, and Sensuality to the knowledge of divine and Moral Truths personified by the two women who represent the Christian Faith and Morality, and together make the whole of Religion, signified by the open Bible.⁴⁴

At the time of publication this *Almanack* was perceived as Tory comment on the 1754 election. Petter, seeing this view as contradicting the published explanation, believes it unlikely that the Vice-Chancellor would have considered a controversial political theme while the University was struggling to remain independent of the government.⁴⁵ But that issue was central to the design. Given that Oxford's brand of religious faith was politically suspect and the value of the University was questioned by the ministerial party, the entire theme of the 1755 *Almanack* was provocative. In particular, the equation of "the whole of Religion" with High-Church dogma would have been very problematic for most Whig viewers.

Vice-Chancellor Huddesford was known as a moderate Tory, but since the Whig campaign involved a personal attack on him, there is no reason to believe he would not have condoned means of striking back. He may even have contributed to a highly polemical (anonymous) interpretation of the same *Almanack* published early the following year. Issued in March 1755, and timed to coincide with parliamentary debate upon the Oxfordshire election, *A Proper Explanation of the Oxford Almanack for the Present Year* attempted to draw public attention to Whig behaviour in recent events. Now attributed to Benjamin Buckler, an associate of William Blackstone's, the pamphlet contains references to then-unpublished information about Oxford policies, suggesting that members of the

⁴⁴ In Petter (1974: 68).

⁴⁵ Petter (1974: 14).

University administration had some part in its production.⁴⁶

Due to the political turmoil, an undergraduate named Trevannion had left Exeter College for Queen's. This event was used as the focus for *A Proper Explanation*, in which the author describes the *Almanack* image as Alma Mater leading a (once) Whig gentleman-scholar away from the dubious activities at Exeter College towards Queen's College and Tory politics. Here, the open "Bible" explicitly refers to High-Church values.

The three figures in the cave are identified as Bray, who had led the Exeter intervention, a young woman who had brought a (justifiable) paternity suit against him, and Benjamin Kennicott, another Exeter Whig, who is not sleeping but is ignoring their conduct. While Bray is named specifically, the allusion to Exeter morals in general would have been obvious to the viewer. Printed sources had elaborated on this issue very thoroughly already: "... never was any College but *Exeter* prostituted in so infamous a Manner. Instead of Decency, Order, and Regularity; Debauchery and riotous Rusticity reigned within the Walls".⁴⁷ Clearly, the socio-political context of the *Almanacks* was a major consideration for their contemporary viewers. Richard Blacow urged Bray to sue the publisher, but the latter refused, possibly because his activities would not stand up to further scrutiny.⁴⁸

In contrast to the furor surrounding the 1755 *Almanack*, that for 1756 has been interpreted as providing a politically neutral image. It appears to return to the format of earlier *Almanacks*, in showing new buildings at Trinity College with a portrait of the founder, Sir Thomas Pope. It is not just similar to earlier *Almanacks*; the view of Trinity is actually copied

⁴⁶ The attribution of the pamphlet to Buckler is quite secure. Sutherland suggests his mentor, Blackstone, was actually orchestrating the Tory defense (1986: 140-142).

⁴⁷ From an anonymous pamphlet, signed "Cantabrigiensis" (1754: 11).

⁴⁸ Sutherland (1986: 141).

directly from the *Almanack* of 1732.⁴⁹ But even this innocuous illustration emphasizes the historical authority of the institution. Trinity College was celebrating its 300th anniversary that year, so the *Almanack* acknowledges Oxford's ancient roots. Notable scholars of this College included Vice-Chancellor Huddesford, who had just suffered personal attack by the Whig campaigners. Trinity was an acknowledged Tory bastion.⁵⁰

In this charged atmosphere, the offer of the Pomfret marbles must have come as welcome reinforcement to the beleaguered Tory administration. Blackstone, who seems to have orchestrated Oxford's Tory defence, and Newdigate, who was the liaison for the Pomfret benefaction, were close colleagues.⁵¹ It is unlikely that they would have pursued the gift (which while impressive, also created logistical nightmares) if it had not served the University in some very tangible way.

While the Pomfret benefaction of 1755 provided Oxford University with a valuable collection of classical statuary, it was the inherent, not the intrinsic, value of the marbles which was important. The offer of the collection and its grateful acceptance were both interpreted as indicating the University's commitment to correct and moral academic values, that is *vertu*. It was understood that images from the classical world embodied the knowledge of (and from) that world which was related in the historical and literary texts of the ancient world, texts which provided the basis of a humanist education.

Such characteristics could have been publicized (or understood) as exclusively Tory, but this was not done in an overt fashion. Thus, the Pomfret benefaction actually permitted two levels of political reading. Acquisition of the collection could be celebrated by the entire University

⁴⁹ Petter (1974: 14).

⁵⁰ When Huddesford retired in October of 1756 he was succeeded by Thomas Randolph, another Trinity scholar.

⁵¹ Langford (1986: 125).

community, so the donation was politically neutral at the institutional level. At the same time it upheld the traditional values of scholarship and the reputation of the University, so it could be employed in a politically proactive fashion in the national arena. For Oxford's administration, the benefaction was most fortuitous indeed.

Therefore, it is worth revisiting the 1757 *Almanack* (figure 4.5). A more comprehensive analysis of the iconography, grounded in the context of the preceding chapters, is particularly illuminating for the unfolding significance of Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys' gift to Oxford. At its most basic level, the illustration for the *Almanack* shows Minerva guiding Alma Mater into a courtyard in which the Pomfret marbles (and some of the Arundel inscriptions) are displayed. As mentioned above, several scholars have identified the figure of Minerva as Jeffreys herself.⁵² This reading foregrounds Horace Walpole's reaction to the reception of her gift, for he scathingly refers to the celebratory speeches (*Yale* 20: 579):

Having purchased and given her Lord's collection of statues to the University of Oxford, she has been there at the public act to receive adoration. A box was built for her near the Vice-Chancellor, where she sat three days together for four hours at a time to hear verses and speeches, to hear herself called Minerva, nay the public orator had prepared an encomium on her beauty, but being struck with her appearance, had enough presence of mind to whisk his compliment to the beauties of her mind.

While Walpole was not actually present at the Publick Act in 1756, the tone of associated verses indicates that this conflation of Minerva and Jeffreys is not unlikely. The *Official Explanation* for the print, however, makes no such allusion. The text is very clear about what most concerned the University. Complimenting the patron, while important, was not at the top of the list. Both the iconographical details in the print and the text of the

⁵² Downes (1987: 67 n.48); Kurtz also, based upon the fact that Jeffreys employed the design of the statue of Minerva for her seal on the indenture (2000: 82).

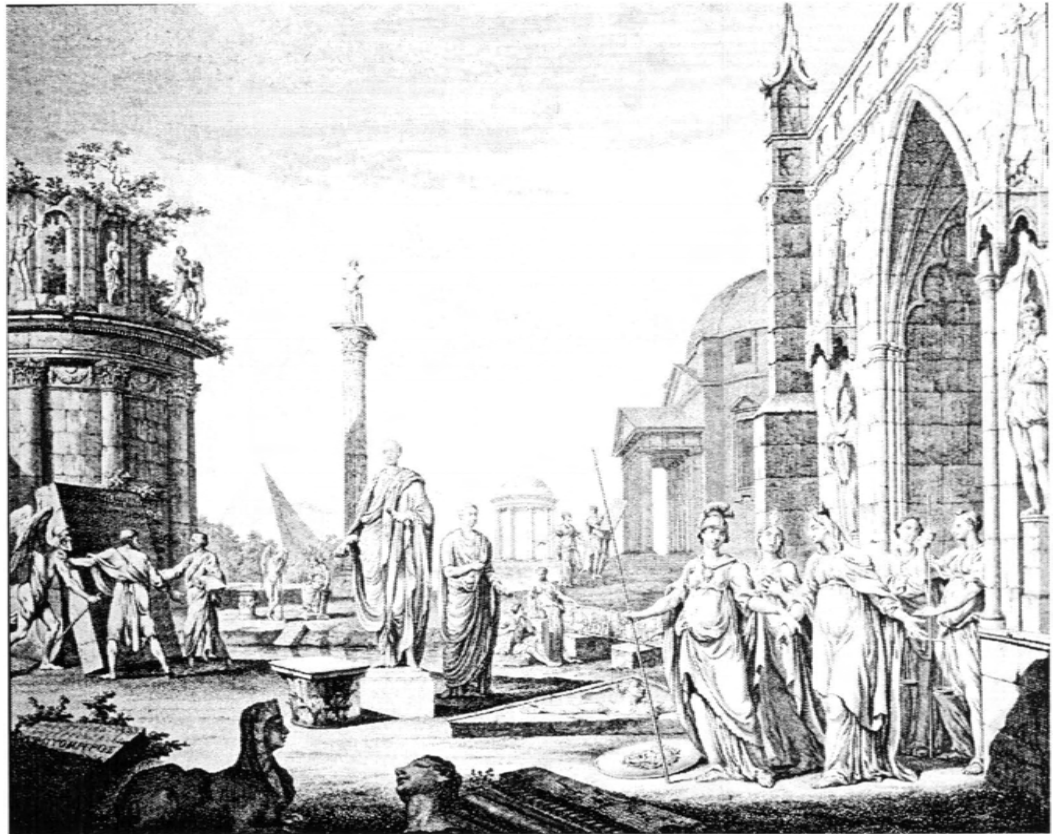


Figure 4.5: Commemorating the Pomfret benefaction.
Engraving by J.Green after a drawing by S. Wale
The *Oxford Almanack*, 1757.

Explanation indicate that the primary issues were quite different.⁵³

The *Explanation* opens with the most important part of the message: “The Design of the Plate is to exhibit the Connexion of the Studies of Antiquity, Sculpture, and Architecture, with what is usually called academical Learning”. The three fields of study can be more broadly identified in the iconographical details as representing three aspects of a comprehensive humanistic education: history, culture and application. Oxford was taking care to indicate to the public exactly how the Pomfret collection would be integrated into the function of the institution. The *Almanack* composition designates Oxford as a location of consequence, heir to the *vertu* of the classical world :

Shall foreign Lands for Pomfret wake the Lyre,
And Tyber’s more than Isis’ Groves inspire?
Let Isis’ Groves with Pomfret’s Name resound;
Not Rome alone can boast of classic Ground.⁵⁴

The 1757 *Almanack* also refers to some of the calls for reform of the academic institution, but the *Explanation* makes clear that they have already been addressed. For example, one of the issues which had been exploited by the Whig party was that Oxford’s values were outmoded.⁵⁵ The *Explanation* indicates that the criticism was itself now out of date; the Pomfret marbles have boosted the University out of its medieval stagnation. The second sentence of the explanatory text shows that this was an important point: “To this End the University, attended by her three Faculties, is introduced from her Gothic Retirement by Minerva to the Knowledge of these Arts; represented by [the] three Groupes of allegorical Figures” (figure 4.6). Though the solidity of the medieval gateway, featuring

⁵³ All the following quotations from the *Official Explanation* are taken from Petter’s full transcript (1974: 68).

⁵⁴ Thompson (1756: 5)

⁵⁵ The first reforms were eventually brought in by Blackstone (who, as already noted, was a staunch Tory) in 1759 (Sutherland and Mitchell 1986: Chapter 7).



Figure 4.6: Minerva and Alma Mater.
Engraving by J.Green after a drawing by S. Wale.
Detail from the *Oxford Almanack*, 1757.

King Alfred and a high-ranking church official (Laud? Wykeham?), suggests historical authority, rather than obsolescence, Gothic architecture was associated with the Catholic faith. Since “Divinity” is the personified-faculty the furthest away from the gate (between Minerva and Oxford), an anti-Jacobite reading is possible. In the eighteenth century, neo-classical styles were generally identified as rational and Catholicism was perceived as “irrational” (by both High- and Low-Church). Thus, the message is not simply about modernization, but includes a religio-political message. In publicizing the donation in this manner, the University was able to extol the importance of academic values while employing the venue for political commentary in a conspicuous, yet subtle, fashion.

Another general concern expressed by the *Almanack* is to describe the University as a site for the preservation of knowledge. By taking responsibility for the protection of the Pomfret marbles, Oxford demonstrates this aspect of the institution’s purpose. This issue is ranked next (given its place in the *Explanation*) and is pictured on the *Almanack*’s left side, where: “Time is endeavouring to destroy an old Marble, containing the Smyrnaean Decree, and League with the Magnesians, preserved at OXFORD in the ARUNDEL Collection; but is prevented by the Genius of antique Learning, who leads up History to consult the Inscription” (figure 4.7).⁵⁶ With clear references to the historical and cultural authority provided by the Arundel name, the University also evokes the activities of John Evelyn, who prompted that earlier benefaction, and John Selden, who had deciphered the inscription in question; both men were Oxford scholars. The further implication is, that without Oxford’s vigilance, such an important historical document would no longer exist.

The vignette in which Sculpture discusses the Trojan relief with Classical Learning, is not a reference to the “mechanical” production of art but to *vertu* (figure 4.8). The description of this point comes next in the

⁵⁶ Transitional phrases have been omitted from some of the following quotations.



Figure 4.7: Learning prevents Time's destruction.
Engraving by J. Green after a drawing by S. Wale.
Detail from the *Oxford Almanack*, 1757.



Figure 4.8: Sculpture and Learning discuss the Trojan War.
Engraving by J. Green after a drawing by S. Wale.
Detail from the *Oxford Almanack*, 1757.

Explanation and is a reference to the uses of cultured knowledge for society: “Sculpture is explaining to the Genius of classical Learning a beautiful Bas-Relief of the Destruction of Troy, in the Collection lately presented to the University by the Countess of POMFRET”. Compliments to Jeffreys were hardly the first priority for the *Almanack*, when her name is not mentioned until half way through the discussion.

The point of the reference is to invoke ideals of civic virtue, as demonstrated by Jeffreys’ act of benefaction, but also having special implications for statesmanship. While Arundel’s name recalled recent history, here was an allusion to England’s more ancient past, not simply the classical tradition, but the legend of Albion’s foundation (England) by the Trojan Brutus. Like his ancestor “*pius Aeneas*”, who founded Rome, Brutus embodied all the qualities of a cultured senator. Where one could learn about them was a place one could learn to *be* like them.

The final passage in the *Explanation* considers another example which illuminates the social relevancy of the Pomfret benefaction. As in the previous sentence of the explanatory text, it was theoretical application that was of concern: “Architecture is consulting with Geometry on the Plan of a Building, destined for the Reception of these once more united Collections” (figure 4.9). Oxford was not promoting itself as a training facility for architects, although building design was an acceptable activity for cultured gentlemen (e.g. Christopher Wren and Lord Burlington). Rather, the scene suggests the upward spiral theorized within the concept of *vertu*. The antiquities offer a window into the past. Internalized, the qualities associated with the art inspire the creation of a more cultured environment, which in turn prompts further self-development on the part of its inhabitants. Referring again to Oxford’s role in preserving the marbles, the Architecture scene emphasizes the important role of the University as a site of such knowledge and a fount of *vertu*.



Figure 4.9: Architecture and Geometry plan the museum.
Engraving by J. Green after a drawing by S. Wale.
Detail from the *Oxford Almanack*, 1757.

After indicating the larger issues expressed in the iconography of the print, the *Explanation* closes with reference to the smaller details. The more important of the marbles are named (except the Minerva, who is active in the scene): “On the Cornice of a ruined Amphitheatre, and in other parts of the Plate, are casually disposed the Cicero, the Marius, the Roman Foot and Fathom, the Graecian Epochae, the Delphic Column and Capital, the Bacchus, Hercules, and many other of the ARUNDEL and POMFRET Marbles”. Again the sub-text includes several messages. The reuniting of these two parts of Arundel’s collection is emphasized, not just to make note of the statuary’s English provenance, but because the benefaction of the inscriptions, lauded as they were, is no longer an isolated incident. A precedent had been set and now there was a tradition.

In the design of the 1757 *Almanack*, the encircling architecture actually provides a complete historical lineage, from ancient Greece to modern Oxford. The pyramid at the left is not a visual reference to ancient Egypt, but to Republican Rome.⁵⁷ The steep angle of the sides is suggestive of the Tomb of Gaius Cestius, which would have been familiar to many English people, especially those who had been to Rome. The form of this particular structure was also depicted in Piranesi prints, which had just been released for circulation, Panini paintings, some of which had been in England since the 1730s, and in *impressa* and emblems, such as Henry Peacham’s “*Minimus in Summo*”, which were eagerly studied and collected by antiquaries and historians.⁵⁸ The ruined amphitheatre is a visual echo of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, another Grand Tour site, and does not just remind the viewer of the procession of time, but also refers to the idea that the spirit of the ancient world had forsaken Italy. This point was already established in period literature and was invoked in poetry celebrating the Pomfret gift.

⁵⁷ I would like to thank Shelley Bennett and Erin Campbell, whose questions about this specific monument prompted a developing study of the iconography.

⁵⁸ This emblem and its motto were published in *Minerva Britannica* (1612).

The Gothic gateway on the right side of the print was referred to above. The steep point of the arch closely resembles passages at Christ Church, although the figure of Alfred represents the oldest foundation of the University. It is likely that a general impression of Oxford medievalism was intended. Behind it, is a Pantheon-type building, which does not indicate an existing structure but a projection of the new museum. It was deemed necessary to provide a *musaeum*, a home for the muses, who now resided in Oxford thanks to Jeffreys' gift. Clearly drawing on Palladian style, the building is an expression of cultural optimism, improvement and taste, all of which are developed by citizens of *vertu*.

The purpose of the rotunda in the background is difficult to determine. Its ultimate source was the special building which housed Praxiteles' Venus at Knidos. While that was an example of Grecian excellence in arts, it seems unlikely that the University had that particular example in mind, given the ardour the original statue had aroused. The geographically closest parallel is a copy of the Knidian rotunda at nearby Stowe, an engraving of which had been published in 1753. Or, although the architecture is not exact, the visual quotation may also be drawing upon the architectural screen at Queen's College in Oxford. Newly completed in 1735, the cupola over the entrance gate there features a statue of Queen Caroline. Such a reference in the *Almanack* would hint at Oxford loyalty to the Crown.

From the general theme to the specific details, the 1757 *Oxford Almanack* was informed by the recent history of the University. The issues and strategies in the battle fought by the administration in the struggle for academic autonomy are critical for understanding the value of the Pomfret donation. The Pomfret marbles united Oxford scholars by providing a rallying point for those who believed in freedom for the pursuit of knowledge. Therefore, the significance of Lady Pomfret's gift cannot be appreciated without reference to its ideological function within the contemporary socio-political culture.

5

The Public Face of *Vertu*

Having established Oxford's need to win public support, this chapter will concentrate on the social role of the benefaction. Focus will be on the Publick Act of 1756, a highly ceremonial occasion on which Jeffreys received expressions of gratitude from the University community. The ceremonies were promoted to invoke the historical authority of tradition and the cultural authority of *vertu*. From the description of the Act and the analysis of the accompanying publicity, it will be apparent that the University was making a concerted effort to reach a wider audience than was actually present in the Sheldonian Theatre. Of primary interest will be the avenues by which the Act itself was orchestrated to actively integrate Oxford into wider English society.

The chapter will, therefore, also address Oxford references to the Pomfret benefaction subsequent to the Publick Act. It will be argued that the Pomfret donation elicited special gratitude from Oxford because it provided that university with a timely opportunity for comment on issues of academic freedom, that it was perceived as validating the institution, and its scholars. Publicizing the benefaction granted the University the opportunity to extol the importance of academic values, specifically *vertu*, as available in Oxford University's environment.

Another particularly interesting aspect of the Pomfret donation is that the gift was responded to by intellectuals external to Oxford's administration. The discourse which surrounded the benefaction effectively operated in two public arenas, the institutional and the individual. The latter is a collective reference to authors of publications prompted by the Publick Act, unsanctioned, but not necessarily eschewed, by the University. A few examples of such work will be discussed here.

One of these unauthorized texts was provided by Sarah Fielding, who

dedicated a historical book to Jeffreys, in recognition of her “Roman spirit” (that is, *vertu*). While Fielding was a prior acquaintance of Jeffreys’, internal evidence in her writing argues that the benefaction served another purpose. Fielding’s text contains arguments which suggest that she invoked the benefaction to support her ideological position on women’s intellectual and educational concerns.

The awkward conundrum posed by having a female patron was one which Oxford had to negotiate.¹ Certain traditions had to be adapted or ignored, since the laws of the otherwise appreciative administration barred this benefactor from actually participating in the institution. Nor was her independently-acquired learning publicly celebrated other than poetically. Privately, the situation was different. The university, or at least certain individuals in the administration, seemed to accept Jeffreys’ academic interests favourably. The benefaction resulted in a lifelong relationship during which this patron(ess) was gifted with scholarly texts and engaged in academic discourse. Such responses are suggestive of Oxford’s effort to express sufficient gratitude through an accumulation of private tributes.

In acknowledging the benefaction in an overt show of gratitude, Oxford probably elicited further donations, presumably won public sanction, and surely demonstrated the polite and correct form due to a major patron. Although Jeffreys’ name eventually fell out of general consciousness, the University did show its continued respect and regard for her until the end of her life. As it responded to Jeffreys’ gift, the University did establish its rightful claim to this signifier of *vertu*, for academic honour later rescued her, after the collapse of (supposedly) more sacred obligations. Her Oxford memorial is testimonial of the University’s respect and regard.

¹ It would be naive to suggest that Jeffreys’ gender was not limiting (from a twenty-first century perspective). But, as with the laws of primogeniture, there were ways of evading the “rules”. A discussion of the wider issues of gender is beyond the scope of this dissertation, which is primarily concerned with the actions of one female and makes no claims for Jeffreys’ representative nature. I would argue, however, that gender, like labels of political affiliation or religious adherence, was often invoked or ignored as convenient (i.e. what people “said” and what they “did” might not necessarily be the same).

In 1755, however, the concerns of Oxford administrators were dominated by their own, not inconsiderable, problems. Because the value of the Pomfret benefaction lay chiefly in its symbolic meaning, Oxford's administration created an elaborate public programme to declare its reception. The conjoined "announcement and book-review" in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and the 1757 *Almanack* have already been noted. The most consequential of the productions, however, was the Publick Act, held July 6-8 1756. The Act was a special version of the *Encaenia* (graduating ceremony), a highly ritualized observance. Special legislation was required to permit such large gatherings of people, so the planning stage must have begun early. Existing reports demonstrate that it was carefully organized, promoted, and reviewed.

An exchange of letters recorded in Jeffreys' diaries indicates that her presence at the Act was important to the committee organizing the event. Two months ahead of time Jeffreys received an official invitation, immediately followed by additional letters, designed to encourage her acceptance. No other references to the preparations are known. Jeffreys' attendance was fortuitous for historians, as well as contemporary Oxford; the entries in her social diaries (figure 5.1) provide a useful supplement to the convocation records and press accounts of the event itself.

The reports published in newspapers and journals focus on the official ceremonies.² Thus, Jeffreys' records are particularly useful for illuminating the associated events in the carefully choreographed ritual prepared by the University administration. The Act involved more than just the *Encaenia*, and the University took care to engage Jeffreys in all of the festivities. She was the guest of honour, and they accorded her all the consideration which was her due. For example, the letters supplementing the original invitation had concerned the accommodation for her trip (May 7-10 1756). As good hosts, the University sent representatives to welcome

² The *London Evening Post* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* accounts are used here.

her on arrival and ensure the arrangements were suitable. Jeffreys arrived in town the night before the Act: “we set out for Oxford according to an Invitation from the University ... & came to Oxford between eight & nine to the Printing House where Lodgings & a Table were prepared for me” (July 5 1756).³ The Vice-Chancellor himself was on hand to greet her.

The next morning at ten o’clock, the Vice-Chancellor called on Jeffreys again, this time in a formal capacity. He was accompanied by the heads of all the colleges and other University officials. Jeffreys recorded that the academics were in full regalia and that the “proper Compliments” were expressed on both sides (July 6 1756). Immediately afterwards there was another formal introduction, this one involved a large number of Oxford-related nobility, such as the Westmorelands and Lady Anne Hamilton. That the introductions were formal is indicated by the fact that Jeffreys’ relatives, the Newdigates, feature about halfway through the list. Following the polite greetings, the Vice-Chancellor led the group in formal procession, taking a route that led them in an almost complete circle through the Old Schools Quad and the Divinity School, to the Sheldonian Theatre (situated next door to the Clarendon Building, the contemporary “Printing House”).

Each of the Act’s three days featured academic exercises, theatrical performances, and social gatherings. The latter two aspects of the Act were integral parts of the celebration and will be reviewed later. First, the *Encaeniae* will be examined sequentially, to emphasize how each was differently nuanced. The three days of the Act were individualized, to create a transition in the focus of attention from the benefaction to the institution. By way of illustration, the official description in the Register of Convocation indicates that the first day in particular was intended as a paean of gratitude:

Lest the Oxford Muses might not prove silenced, this solemn
Commemoration and Spectacle was dedicated to the most highly

³ The Clarendon building was “official” and central, but probably also avoided problems of honouring a particular college or having (unrelated) women staying in.

ranked Mistress, the Countess of Pomfret, our Benefactor.⁴

Jeffreys' notations suggest that the result was slightly overwhelming, albeit gratifying: "my Ld Westmoreland leading me immediately after him & the rest followed in Order ... The Theatre was extreamly full the Musick struck up at our Entrance & all the Assembly Clapp'd their Hands". The published reports, emphasizing ritual and solemnity, give little sense of this aspect of the commemorative events.

The account of the *Encaenia* in the *London Evening Post*, makes special reference to the honour accorded Jeffreys in being seated at the Vice-Chancellor's right hand. She acknowledges the fact, but herself places more emphasis on the theme of the oration presented by the Professor of Poetry. The speakers at the *Encaenia* are known from several sources, which express somewhat different concerns. The particular biases of the press reports will be briefly evaluated after the events are summarized. But it is worth noting here that Jeffreys, while documenting the compliments she receives, was as much concerned with the manner as in their message.

The report in the *London Evening Post* was supplied by a member of the University. It was presumably someone associated with the administration, for it closely addresses the same issues as would the 1757 *Almanack*. The description of the opening of the ceremony places great emphasis on the gratitude shown by University members: "the Rev. Mr Warton of Trinity College, lately elected Professor of Poetry in this University, gave an elegant Oration on the Subjects of Poetry and Sculpture, and concluded with Encomiums on that inestimable Benefaction the Pomfret Marbles, and express'd the high Sence of Gratitude which the

⁴ "Qui una com Hono: ratissima Domina Domina Comitissa de Pomfret solennem hanc Benefactionum nostrorum Commemorationem et Prosentia dedignantur, ut neque provsus sileant Musae Oxonienses, cum adsit augustissima haec Optimorum Corona, cum adsit Patrona illa illustrissima - cujus com Gentilitice tum proprice Munificentrice Venerandas illas et pretiosissimas antiquae tum Graeciae tum Romae Relliquias acceptas referamus" (Register of Convocation 1752-1757: 272-73).

University entertained of it". Jeffreys had noted Warton's poem and compliment, but was more interested in the following speeches, which the *Post* refers to only briefly. Both accounts, however, indicate general preoccupation with decorum.

The next phase in the *Encaenia* was a series of speeches by graduating students from among the nobility and gentry. Both the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Post* detail the language of each speech, a point which Jeffreys glosses over. But she does make particular reference to the manner of their delivery: "then my Ld Titchfield, Ld Charles Spencer, Ld Glenorchy, Ld Willoughby of Brooke Sr Knatchbull Windham & Mr James one after another Spoke Verses in English & Latin on the same Subject with Propriety & Grace".

This showcasing of socially acceptable gentlemen was important to the University. Oxford's official accounts stress that such accomplishments are instilled by the institution: "the most Honorable and most illustrious young men, employed themselves in oration".⁵ Jeffreys is a good example of the target audience, being nobly-born, conventional, conservative. And she was impressed. Oxford gentlemen *are* gentlemen, not immoral radicals.

The second day of the Act had a slightly different orientation from the first. While Jeffreys was accorded special notice, the main speeches acknowledged all the benefactors of the University. She was introduced in a formal procession "as before", but this time her escort consisted solely of academic wives, "the Convocation was this Day setting in their Habits when we enter'd" (July 7 1756). The speeches that day were given by the graduating gentleman commoners, less impressively pedigreed than those of day one but *ornatissimi iuvenes* nonetheless.

All of the orations on the second day referred to Jeffreys' benefaction,

⁵ "*Causa Convocationis sic indicta sequebantur Encaenia sive Comita Philologiae in quibus se exercebant Honorabiles et ornatissimi Iuvenes*" (Register of Convocation 1752-57: 273); *exerceo* connotes demonstrating one's training or undertaking a drill.

but this point is scarcely alluded to in the *London Evening Post* account. Instead, contained within the mainly factual account of the Act, is a distinct address of the most essential point of the communication. Following the list of student speakers is a passage which advances the pedagogical role of the University. It also speaks to the role of alumni in the future of Oxford University and, by extension, greater English society:

It would be doing Injustice to the Noblemen and Gentlemen Commoners, who have thus stood forward on this memorable Occasion, not to acknowledge how much the Credit of the University, as well as their own Reputations, have been advanced, by the Elegance of their Compositions, and that manly Action and Elocution with which they were produced to so crowded and judicious an Audience. 'Tis to be hoped, their Examples will leave a lasting Influence on the Youth of this Place, and make them always ready to signalize themselves for its Honour, and their own.

The ceremony ended the second day with the spoken tribute to all Oxford's benefactors which was a regular feature of every *Encaenia*. Jeffreys' donation was given specific mention, as was only proper. The *London Evening Post* report noted that the Public Orator's speech "naturally closed with an Elogium on Lady Pomfret". But it is clear that the emphasis of the Act was in transition. The focus had shifted from the benefactor to the recipient. Oxford had shown worthy of the gift, now the academy took centre stage.

Jeffreys was aware of the progression in the programme. In fact, her own activities promoted this changed emphasis. Before the *Encaenia* on the third day Jeffreys received, not college Deans or academy wives, but a company of undergraduates: "the Vice-Chancellor brought by my desire the Young Gentlemen who had done me the Honour to Speak in Publick on my Account to receive my Thanks" (July 8 1756). Her acknowledgment of their efforts is itself an act of "propriety and grace".

This last day of the Act was quite distinctive and the change in emphasis was signalled by change in costume. Jeffreys appeared not as the fêted

guest, but as noble lady: “I was in full Dress which at the desire of the Company was omitted the other Daies”. The mood was much more formal and the *Encaenia* concentrated upon academic business. The Register of Convocation contains only a brief description: “The Reason for the Convocation was for the most worthy of men”,⁶ that is, to honour their achievements. It was at this time the degrees were actually awarded. All four records of the event contain a list of graduating students; only the *Gentleman’s Magazine* account is incomplete. Jeffreys’ list is quite interesting, since it indicates how closely she was following the procedure. Every student is listed and the phonetic spelling of some names indicates that she recorded what she heard at the time and was not simply copying from a printed source.

The *London Evening Post* concluded its report by touching again upon the issue central to Oxford’s concerns. The reference to the degrees granted includes a homily on the collective reputation of Oxford trained gentlemen: “they were presented by the Public Orator; who, with great Clearness and Elegance of Language, gave to each of [the graduates] their distinct Characters and Recommendations; and gained that Applause from his Hearers, which a publick Speaker will be always sure to obtain, who acquits himself with Decency and Propriety”. The inference is that such are precisely the kind of men needed in a constitutional government based upon parliamentary debate.

All of the sanctioned events of the Act were ceremonious and stately, but not all were formally academic. The three afternoons each featured an oratorio directed by Dr. Hayes, Professor of Music. The performances chosen were Judas Maccabees, Joshua, and the Messiah, tickets sales of which had begun well before the Act started. Such musical-dramas were well publicized since they were very popular. They were considerable

⁶ “*Causa Convocationis erat ut spectatissimi quidam Viri*” (Register of Convocation 1752-57: 275).

public attractions. Programmes of each performance were printed and available for purchase.⁷ Possibly these circulated further among those unable to attend the event.

As honoured guest, Jeffreys attended several dinner parties during her time at Oxford. There were also evening Assemblies, which included larger numbers of guests although attendance was by invitation only. These were probably networking opportunities to a certain extent, but the social component was not ignored. Card tables were set up and on the last evening there was dancing. One way in which the *London Evening Post* account validates the University is by including a long list of the notable people that attended the Act.⁸ Their presence was definitely something Oxford wanted publicized to wider society.

None of this associated information is included in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, possibly due to personal bias (Thomas Bray provided the Oxford reports).⁹ The Act was too important to omit, however, though in that publication the emphasis is on the names (and rank) of the participants. It provides quite a strong contrast to the article in the *London Evening Post*, which places most of its stress on the propriety and culture of Oxford University. In the newspaper account the party affiliation of the two major universities is underscored by the juxtaposition, on page one, of the Cambridge report (25 lines) and the Oxford letter which runs over two columns.

The end of the Act was not the end of either Oxford's gratitude or the

⁷ Morell (1756).

⁸ The Sheldonian Theatre, which holds at least one thousand spectators, was sold-out on each of the three days.

⁹ (Ward 1958: 197). That such a list of important people might have a strong impact upon public opinion is suggested by an official letter to Lord Newcastle who was urged to attend his installation as Chancellor of (Whig) Cambridge as "a means of drawing to ye university a concourse of people of fashion not inferior in number to what appeared at Oxford upon ye opening of ye Radcliffe Library" (BL Add MS 32718, in Ward 1958: 178).

publicizing of the gift. The 1757 *Almanack* has already been discussed above. The statutory collection was also invoked in a later *Almanack*, that of 1765. The print that year featured the last of the allegorical compositions. This change in the *Almanacks* seems to have been influenced by the general change in atmosphere following the ascension of George III in October 1760. The new King's arrival had caused the gates of Janus to be closed in the *Almanack* of 1764, which had implications for Oxford as well. But before relaxing into watercolour views of the "dreaming spires" (starting with the *Almanack* of 1767), the defence presented one last visual argument:

The Design of this Almanack is to record some of the principal Occurrences in the past Year. In the middle sits Britannia looking on Mnemosyne, who is rescuing from the devouring Jaws of Time, the Arundel and Pomfret Collection of Antiquities, which has been laid down before the Public under the title of *Marmora Oxoniensia*.¹⁰

The *Almanack* is referring to the publication of a special volume, which is obviously viewed as a puff for the institution. Continuing in the precedence set by Prideaux's documentation of the Arundel inscriptions,¹¹ Oxford University had commissioned a new, comprehensive, catalogue of its classical antiquities. Prepared by Richard Chandler, then at the beginning of his career, the *Marmora Oxoniensia* documented all of the Greco-Roman sculptural benefactions received by the University. The Pomfret marbles form the most substantial part of the corpus.

Lavishly illustrated with full sized plates (figure 5.2), carefully considered analyses of the statues, and acknowledgement of the illustrious benefactors,

¹⁰ The *Explanation* continues: "On the right hand of Britannia is Hymen bearing a Tablet, on which are graven the words Brunswick et Augusta, intended to record the auspicious Marriage of the Princess Augusta with the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. On the left hand of Britannia is Astronomy pointing to a Type of the great Solar Eclipse which happened on the First of April last. Behind these Figures on a Pedestal sit Thame and Isis" (in Petter 1976: 72). Peace at last.

¹¹ And even John Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana* which celebrated Arundel's acquisition.



Figure 5.2: The Pomfret Minerva (Pallas Athena).
Engraving by J. Miller after his original drawing.
In Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, 1763, tab II.

Chandler's volume encapsulates all of the points which made the Pomfret benefaction so valuable to the University. This was Oxford's first academic publication on the statues and it was intended to circulate widely.

Chandler's catalogue demonstrated that the *vertu* inherent in the marbles was, in fact, inspiring more of the meticulous scholarship which was the hallmark of University identity.

As a permanent memorial of the gift, a commemorative marble tablet was erected on University grounds. Designed in the form of an ancient stele, it was deliberately following the precedence of two older examples, one which records the arrival of the Arundel inscriptions and the other emphasizing the donations of John Selden.¹² The third stele is headed with the Pomfret crest and includes a long Latin inscription, referring to the sagacity of William, Lord Lempster, and Jeffreys, the "*munificentissima literarum patrona*". Although she is referred to as "*charissimi et spectatissimi conjugis*", her husband is not actually named. The donation is described as "*ex voluntate et consilio*" in order to emphasize the unsolicited nature of the benefaction, and the legality of its execution.

At Oxford, the press was not for the exclusive use of the University. The printers often contracted out and several individuals took advantage of this to execute their own commentaries on the Pomfret benefaction. The literary productions will be considered shortly. The practical manuals will be discussed first, since they were produced specifically for the purpose of introducing the statuary within the Oxford environs. There was a long tradition of travel accounts and catalogues upon which to draw, but the mass-produced, commercially-prepared handbook was a relatively recent

¹² These stelae were set in the vicinity of the Schools "to make public the benefactions to the University" (Kurtz 2000: 33). Presumably the third tablet was intended to do the same. How effective they were is uncertain; as already indicated, few people seem to actually read them. The Arundel and Pomfret examples now flank the gallery immediately opposite the main entrance in the Ashmolean. The Selden stele is upstairs.

development in England, prompted by the stirrings of national tourism.¹³

As guidebooks, these books had a vested interest in promoting Oxford glories and it will be shown that the Pomfret marbles were deemed apt for their purpose. Oxford booksellers were responsible for most of the guidebooks and the several variations reveal their competition for sales. There were several forms of Oxford guidebooks, but there were two in particular that proved especially popular and went into multiple editions: the *Pocket Companion* and the *New Oxford Guide*.

In the mid-1750s Oxford bookseller Richard Clements reworked an existing genre to produce the earliest example of the standard Oxford guidebook.¹⁴ His version, the first of the *Pocket Companion* line, was probably in press at the time of the Pomfret benefaction. Clements' edition was prefaced with a ten-line quotation from one of Thomas Warton's odes, a poem originally composed for an oration on benefactors in 1751. These lines, penned in a defensive time and arguing for Oxford University's venerable historical authority, were taken up here to help promote commercial sales. The lines serve almost to foreshadow events, for the Pomfret statues were quickly incorporated into the volume which they introduce:

See! Oxford lifts her Head sublime,
Majestic in the Moss of Time;
Nor wants there Graecia's better Part,
'Mid the proud Piles of ancient Art....

Another edition of this book was issued slightly later in the same year, 1756 (perhaps in time for the Act?). This version incorporated information

¹³ V. essays in Arnold (1998).

¹⁴ Clements (1756). His achievement is described in Thorson and Thorson (1988: viii-ix). One of the main differences between Clements' 1756 guidebook and earlier versions is the "suppression of ... negative observations about Oxford" (Thorson and Thorson 1988: xi). It is clear that the guidebooks are part of Oxford's programme of self-promotion, particularly so since one of the main distributors was in London.

about the Pomfret statuary into the existing format of the *Pocket Guide* by the simple expediency of attaching extra pages to the end of the volume.¹⁵

In the 1759 edition, printed under the auspices of Daniel Prince, the revision was taken one step further. This version of the *Pocket Guide* is identical to Clements' 1756 edition, except that the Pomfret material was now incorporated into the body of the text. It may be some index of the perceived importance of the Pomfret statuary, that they are allotted more pages than any other topic. The Public Schools are described in a single page, the Ashmolean and the Bodleian each take up two pages, and the account of the Pomfret statuary runs over three pages. Most of the description of the collection is an extract of passages from "the Catalogue and Character of them in Dr. *Stukeley's Itinerarum Curiosum*".¹⁶

Rivalry between booksellers may account for the different emphasis in James Fletcher's contemporary *New Oxford Guide*, which states its unique character in the opening lines: "Accounts of this kind are too frequently drawn from tradition, and retailed from printed descriptions. The following work is founded on actual observation".¹⁷ Essentially, Fletcher's is the book of choice for connoisseurs, and Prince's for scholars. Probably most tourists bought both since the engravings were different. Despite the fact that its introductory quote was by Milton, rather than Warton, Fletcher's *New Guide* was designed to appear more "modern" in several ways. For example, it used regularized text before Prince's version and an alphabetical rather than sequential format for the table of contents; which unfortunately obscures the fact that it also dedicates three pages to Jeffreys' gift (figure 5.3). But even a quick look at the other contents indicates the "Pomfret Statues" were a major Oxford sight.

¹⁵ Clements (1756b).

¹⁶ Prince (1759).

¹⁷ Fletcher (1764).

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Figure 5.3: Table of Contents with Pomfret Statues.
In Fletcher, *New Oxford Guide*, c. 1764.

While Fletcher's subsequent editions continued to present their unique commentary, Prince's next version differs from both its rival and its own 1759 edition by promoting an official university publication. By the time of the 1768 issue of the *Pocket Companion*, Stukeley's description of the Pomfret marbles had been replaced with "A List of some of the principal Statues, &c. given to the University by the Countess of POMFRET and others; a more perfect and accurate account of which may be seen in the grand edition of the MARMORA OXONIENSIA, lately published". Prince still relies on a textual source, but has updated to a newer (official) description. Not all the statues are included, but since Chandler's numbers are retained for the *Pocket Companion* list (the final entry is #167) and "many other Statues" are referred to, the extensive size of the collection is indicated.¹⁸

In a similar case to the guidebooks, individuals, both inside and outside the academy, also employed the Pomfret benefaction in their literary efforts. A unique example, from a professional, independent, female, will round out this section. The other surviving examples all fall roughly into the same genre. There is not a significant enough sample to make any larger generalizations, but there are extant three poems which are based upon the same traditions as the orations given at the Public Act. While these poems each display different personal concerns they are similar in that they follow the institutional format. Unpublished writing did circulate widely, so the fact that these examples were formally printed lends special emphasis to their motives.

Unfortunately, the orations actually delivered at the Act were not recorded, but perhaps some sense of their mood may be determined from the three later published: William Thompson, *Gratitude: A Poem on the Countess of Pomfret's Benefaction to the University of Oxford* (1756); John Vivian, *A Poem on the Countess of Pomfret's Benefaction to the*

¹⁸ And the purchase of the complete catalogue is encouraged (Prince 1768: 12-13).

University of Oxford (1756); and (firmly attributed to) Thomas Mytton, *A Poem on the Pomfret Marbles* (1758). The three men were all scholars or graduates of Oxford, and their poems each commemorate the donation in eight to twelve pages of very elevated language.

Do the poems represent a University-wide, spontaneous outpouring of gratitude for the donation? Were scholars set the topic as a graduating exercise? Are the published examples indicative of a certain exploitation by the authors, using the event to catch the attention of the public? While no definitive answer presents itself here, it seems likely that no single response would suffice. For example, Mytton's poem, published in 1758, would have presumably been received by an audience familiar with the marbles, but probably did not have such a high profile as those published in the charged atmosphere of 1756. As will be shown, each of the poems suggests different motivations, yet similar concerns.

Both Vivian and Mytton's poems are prefaced with an advertisement that informs the reader that the poem had been composed for delivery at the Publick Act of 1756. As Vivian states: "the following Verses were wrote with a view of being Spoke in the Theatre at the late Commemoration". Given that Mytton was a member of Balliol College, one of Oxford's primarily Whig institutions, these statements may suggest the two authors perceived some unfairness in the selection process. But since the Act orations had included several scholars from Christ Church (then also a Whig college), there may be some other concern at work.

The statements of purpose may have to do with the academic status of the author, for Thompson's advertisement has the express purpose of explaining that his poem was "not printed with any design to come into competition with the beautiful Performances which were so admirably well Spoken in the Theatre". If Vivian and Mytton were eligible to present during the commemoration, they must have both been students. Thompson states that he was a university member for more than twenty years, and

suggests that it was some time ago. Because of the difference in stated purpose, Thompson's poem will be left till the end of this section. Vivian's will be discussed first since its early publication date connects it more firmly to the Public Act, whereas Mytton's could have been edited later.

Of particular interest in Vivian's *Poem on the Benefaction* is the way in which he suggests that Oxford has become the new, universal, centre of culture. The pre-eminence of the University is due to characteristics innate to Oxford, but these have been given added strength through the addition of the Pomfret marbles. The statues have brought the historical authority of the classical world to that academic institution because the traditional sites of ancient Rome are in decay. Culture has left the continent to reside in the English halls of learning on the banks of the Isis.¹⁹

The statues are simply the visible manifestation of virtues already resident in Oxford, but will provide further inspiration and "sweet enthusiasm" to their viewers. Vivian has a specific explanation for why England has taken up the cultural mantle, one which is a common feature of post-1688 English ideology.²⁰ A long section of the poem describes how the spirit of Cicero looks upon the lands of the ancient world and sees them damaged by false religions:

Rome's antient Genius prostrate on the ground:
 'Round him each Art and weeping Virtue lay,
 And mourn'd his Throne usurp'd and desolated sway....

A tastless croud, unlov'd, unhonour'd, dwell,
 And cloister'd Monk'ry slumbers in it's cell.
 See! Superstition sheds her thickest gloom,
 Her spectres 'round the hallow'd grottoes roam²¹

¹⁹ This is essentially the same message as expressed visually with the depiction of the ruined amphitheatre in the 1757 *Almanack*.

²⁰ Post-Reformation to be more exact, but there was a renewed self-congratulatory Anglicanism which developed following the deposition of the Catholic James II.

²¹ Vivian (1756: 6).

Vivian's poem is unique among the three for focussing so clearly on religious dogma, but his conclusions are shared by the other poets. This section on the death of the classical world is followed by a passage in which Cicero perceives that Truth, at least, has simply relocated: "In Britain chief -- for Freedom led the way".²²

Truth and freedom allow the arts and sciences to flourish and "forms th' unpolished mass, inspires the whole", so that the entire country of England is here glorified. But while the whole country is enriched with classical virtues, Vivian elaborates on the role of a personified Oxford (crowned with spires and turrets, and thus looking much like Alma Mater in the 1757 *Almanack*). She has blossomed in this climate to such an extent that she has become "[t]he soul of British Freedom".²³

Much of the poem can be interpreted in the light of Oxford's struggles to maintain academic freedom in this period. Vivian states that cultured people, people of *vertu*, naturally have the same concerns as academics and, therefore, it is in their best interest to assist the University: "Sacred to Science here the good and wise / Plant the green wreath, and bid the temple rise".²⁴ Vivian closes the poem with a call directed at Oxford's students and faculty. It is up to them to aspire to, and protect, the virtues hallowed in that centre of learning, that seat of Truth.²⁵ They should take advantage of a point stated right at the outset. The arrival of the Pomfret marbles has brought in a noble audience of influential nobility: "high-born virtue, wit, and beauty deign / To gild her shades, and POMFRET leads the train".²⁶ Oxford, through the actions of the scholars, should seize the chance to

²² Vivian (1756: 8).

²³ Vivian (1756: 11).

²⁴ Vivian (1756: 9).

²⁵ Vivian (1756: 11).

²⁶ Vivian (1756: 4).

impress upon them the importance of academic ideals, rather than staying secluded in a “high mysterious dream”.²⁷

These themes can also be discerned in the other two published poems, and thus it seems very likely that the poems which were actually spoken at the commencement featured such ideological issues as well. Even in William Thompson’s poem, *Gratitude: A Poem on the Countess of Pomfret’s Benefaction to the University of Oxford*, which had a slightly different purpose, the same currents can be determined. Though Thompson’s poem treats the donation in a slightly different fashion, which may reflect his situation as longer directly associated with the University.

Thompson seems to have attended the Publick Act, for he describes the orations as if he had actually listened to them. In addition he says that he has seen “the noble Collection of Statues and the munificent Benefactress”, though the poem was written before this happened. His relationship with the Northumberland may have given him acquaintance with or interest in Jeffreys’ activities.²⁸ But Thompson informs the reader that the poem was composed as an “extempore” show of “gratitude” upon hearing of the donation, written with love (*pignus amoris*) “only to express the Author’s Goodwill to the University of which He had the Honour and Happiness of being a Member above twenty Years”.

This self-conscious introduction is interesting for being very specific and personal. It indicates that the Pomfret benefaction truly was perceived as a gift that would add lustre to the University. An alumnus, not speaking officially for the University, took the time to compose and publish his thoughts on the event. Certainly the poem reflects Thompson’s status and *vertu* as a man of letters, but that he was prompted to write on this event is suggestive. Again the idea is expressed that the statues represent visible

²⁷ Vivian (1756: 3).

²⁸ The Countess of Northumberland was the Countess of Hartford’s daughter and on very friendly terms with Jeffreys.

manifestations of the values of the University and would reflect positively on all associated with that Alma Mater. This message seems to have been well received. In a subsequent publication, Thompson announced a second printing of *Gratitude* (figure 5.4), so presumably it had sold well the first time.

Some of Thompson's themes are similar to those expressed by Vivian. The poem opens with the concept that Oxford has become the equal of Rome as a site of culture. Cicero is here too invoked as the spectator who observes and approves of the move: "This Station satisfys his noble Pride, Disdaining but in *Oxford*, to reside".²⁹ The importance of Cicero as a historical model in the eighteenth century can scarcely be overemphasized; the men of the ruling classes saw themselves as reincarnations of Roman senators, of whom Cicero was the example *par-excellence*.³⁰

One of the most interesting features of Thompson's poem is that he, unlike Vivian and Mytton, actually discusses the accomplishments of Jeffreys herself. Like Vivian, Thompson believes the Pomfret marbles to be an important addition to the University. But rather than simply attribute England's greatness to the adoption of classical values, he emphasizes the native tradition of arts and culture. The link to the past which Thompson employs is Jeffreys: "Sprung from the ^a Pembroke Race, their Nation's Pride, / Ally'd by Science as by Blood ally'd. / Illustrious Race!"³¹ Jeffreys, the granddaughter of the seventh Earl of Pembroke, thus obeys the behest of her blood in serving as a patron of the arts and science. Later in the poem Jeffreys' relationship to this family is invoked again by a reference to "thy kindred Sidney" where a footnote clarifies that Sir Philip

²⁹ Thompson (1756: 8).

³⁰ Such classical identity in eighteenth century political ideology has been examined by Philip Ayers (1997).

³¹ Thompson (1756: 7).

Lately printed at the *Theatre* in *Oxford*.

Gratitude, A Poem, on the Countess of *Pomfret's* Benefactions to the University of *Oxford*.

Donarem statuas — Carmina possumus.

Donare. Hor.

By *William Thompson* M. A. late Fellow of *Queen's Coll.*

The Second Edition.

Figure 5.4: Announcement of *Gratitude*, second edition.
In Thompson, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1757.

is the person indicated.³²

The superscript “a”, in the first quotation above, marked a long footnote, detailing the cultured activities of the Pembroke family. Thompson’s poem thus serves as a vehicle for displaying his historical research and by extension, the purpose of the University itself:

The *Pembroke* Family have been remarkable for Genius. *Mary* Countess of *Pembroke*, Sister to Sir *Philip Sidney*, for whose Entertainment He wrote his *Arcadia*, published a Tragedy called *Antonius*. ANN Countess of *Pembroke* had *Daniel* for Her Tutor, and erected to *Spenser* the Monument in *Westminster Abby*. *William* Earl of *Pembroke* printed a Volume of Poems.³³ *Shakespear’s* and *Fletcher’s* Works, in their first Editions, are dedicated to the Earl of *Pembroke*. And *Thomas*, who ought particularly to be mentioned on this Occasion, made the largest and finest Collection of Statues of any Nobleman in *Europe*.

It is interesting that the connection between the Pembroke marbles and the Pomfret marbles (both out of the Arundel collection) is not elaborated. Perhaps Thompson is assuming familiarity on the part of the reader, or perhaps he felt that to do so would dilute his emphasis on the Pembrokes.

The cultural contributions made by the women of the Pembroke family seem to be of particular interest to Thompson. This too, marks a difference in his work from Vivian’s. Thompson sees the donation not simply as a spur to Oxford scholars, but urges females too, to emulate Pomfret’s cultured activities: “Ye Youths, with *Pomfret’s* Praises tune the Shell; / Ye Virgins, learn from *Pomfret* to excell”.³⁴ That these virtues do not simply include benefactions of valuable statuary, is a feature of the latter part of the poem where Thompson lauds Jeffreys’ “Grand Tour”:

³² Thompson (1756: 9).

³³ William Pembroke was Chancellor of Oxford from 1617 to 1630. Thompson may have assumed this was common knowledge.

³⁴ Thompson (1756: 6).

The bright Contagion of **Hesperian* Skies,
 Burn'd in your Soul, and lightened in your Eyes,
 To view what *Raphael* painted, *Vinci* plann'd.
 And all the wonders of the classic Land.
 Proud of your Charms, applauding *Rome* confest
 Her own *Cornelias* breathing in your Breast.
 The *Virtues* which each foreign Realm renown,
 You bore in Triumph Home, to grace your own.
Apelles thus to form his finish'd Piece,
 The beauteous *Pomfret* of adoring *Greece*,
 In one united, with his happy Care,
 The fair Perfections of a thousand Fair.

The asterisk indicates a footnote, which explains: “She travelled through *Italy* and was highly celebrated at *Rome*”.³⁵ Thompson may have been familiar with Jeffreys’ activities through the Northumberland, though newspaper reports did provide general accounts of her travels (many people’s arrivals and departures were announced in this way). But the tone of the poem is not explained just by the family friendship, which accounts for the knowledge but not for the praise. The really interesting point is that Thompson seems to be suggesting education and travel as beneficial to all young women. He does express approval of her religious convictions, but there is a sense that they are stronger because she had developed her intellect. Thompson’s poem is more explicitly a paean to Jeffreys herself, rather than the marbles or the University.

This appreciation for Jeffreys is one of two points reiterated in the final stanzas of the poem, which neatly entwine two themes. One is that the Pomfret statues embody *vertu*, and that this may be absorbed by the viewer, simply by looking at the sculpture, which: “breath their virtues on the Gazers Mind”. Thompson also reiterates that Jeffreys serves as an exemplum of *vertu* and is therefore worthy of such acknowledgement: “The Sculptur’d Column grave with *Pomfret*’s Name, / A Column, worthy

³⁵ Thompson (1756: 10-11).

of thy Temple, *Fame*".³⁶ As with actual portraits, such visible expression of *vertu* will then inspire further correct behaviour in others.

Published two years later than Thompson's, the poem attributed to Thomas Mytton suggests it was conceived with a slightly different purpose. The advertisement prefacing the poem notes that the verse was intended for the Publick Act and, by situating the poem in this manner, Mytton indicates that there was still public awareness about the benefaction. But while the language presumes familiarity on the part of the reader, a further prompt was provided by including an Oxford print on the title page (figure 5.5).

Mytton's poem is more emphatically political than the other two, which may have informed its late publication and may argue against it being contemporaneous with the Act. Again the statues represent the new home of classical values. But one elaboration is that Cicero is not just present, but appears as he did when giving the Cataline orations. When Truth leaves Italy and seeks a new home (where Freedom reigns) Oxford becomes the Delphi of England, a role which earns her the gratitude and respect of every citizen. In particular, royal support for the University is mentioned and, perhaps more importantly, guidance which Oxford then provides to the crown: "Here Kings, and Princes seek her aid divine, / And pour their treasures on her ample shrine".³⁷

Mytton's message is similar to that in the Oxford *Almanacks* of the period; in times past, Oxford played an important role in England and was both respected and honoured by monarchs and aristocracy. The reasons that Oxford is deserving of such a position are articulated. As a site dedicated to the preservation of knowledge, Oxford shelters and protects not only venerable objects such as the Pomfret statues, but also the virtues which they embody:

Limbs never gall'd by slav'ry's iron chain;

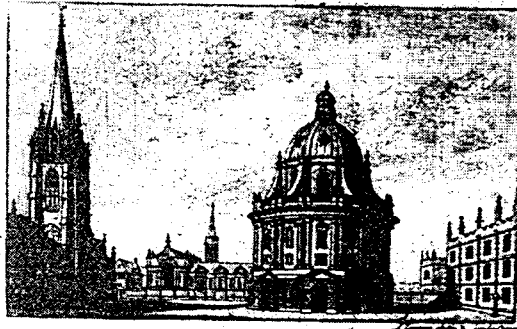
³⁶ Thompson (1756: 12, 11).

³⁷ Mytton (1758: 6).

A
P O E M
ON THE
POMFRET STATUES.

To which is added another on

LAURA'S GRAVE.



O X F O R D,
Printed for DANIEL PRINCE, MDCCLVIII.

Figure 5.5: Title Page with Print of Radcliffe Library.
Engraving by J. Green after his own design for the 1752 *Oxford Almanack*.
In [Mytton], *A Poem on the Pomfret Statues*, 1758.

Breasts, where old Honour held her constant reign.
 The sculptur'd column, and the breathing bust,
 Stand here, deliver'd from oblivion's dust.³⁸

Oxford serves as both sanctuary and caretaker, likened more heroically by Mytton to “some val'rous Knight” who “[d]estroys the monsters and sets free the maid” in “ancient bard's romantic lays”.³⁹ This martial simile is used deliberately, for the lack of valour on the continent is his concluding theme.

Mytton conceptualizes the death of Rome, much as the other poets did. But he presents it as viewed by Melpomene and Clio (statues in the Pomfret collection were identified as these two muses). Melpomene (tragedy) weeps for the loss of the ancient world, but Clio (history) arrives announcing what is essentially a call to battle. Mytton describes the political structures in Italy as somewhat cowardly tyrannies:

Ign'rance, and Superstition haunt the shade,
 Where once the Sage, and Wisdom, musing, stray'd:
 No more the brave, or patriot thought can warm,
 Fear chills each breast, and slackens ev'ry arm”.⁴⁰

Melpomene is urged to not dwell on defeat, but to listen while Clio rekindles forgotten strengths against the day “when Gallia's haughty lord, For treaties broke, shall feel th' avenging sword”.⁴¹ The black aspect of Gaul hearkens back to a section from the very beginning of the poem, where Science flees long “o'er the black realms of Ignorance”, the implication being that all is dark on the continent, particularly in France. Also returning to an earlier theme is the abrupt finale to the poem; immediately following the wielding of “th' avenging sword” are four lines which remind us of the purported function of the poem:

³⁸ Mytton (1758: 7).

³⁹ Mytton (1758: 7).

⁴⁰ Mytton (1758: 10).

⁴¹ Mytton (1758: 9).

But gentler virtues now thy praises claim;
 Be *Isis*' Friend and Patroness thy theme:
 Let Bounty's praise the graceful verse prolong,
 And POMFRET's name inspire the flowing Song.⁴²

The effect of these lines, after five pages of martial rhetoric, is of an afterthought. It is as if they were tacked on at the end when Mytton remembered his original purpose. Since Mytton deliberately mentions that the poem had been written two years earlier, and we may assume that he looked at it again before publishing it, this spontaneity must be artificial.

The authors of the three poems included in their verses a number of different issues: political ideology, academic philosophy, spontaneous gratitude, personal publicity. Certainly Mytton's poem suggests that he deliberately employed Pomfret's name and benefaction, as objects of *virtu*, to draw attention to and provide authority for his personal political agenda.

The last work to consider differs from the others in being a professional publication and penned by a female author. It does have a certain similarity to Thompson's work in that it approves of female *virtu*, and though different in form, there are parallels in expression. The established novelist, Sarah Fielding, dedicated to Jeffreys. *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* in 1757 (figure 5.6). Booksellers in the Strand, Pall Mall, Bath, Turnbridge and Dublin served as distributors for the text; the number and locations of the shops indicate the wide interest in Fielding's book and an audience which would respond to the dedication.⁴³ The dedication refers specifically to Jeffreys' recent act of patronage, clearly an allusion to the Oxford benefaction. Fielding is relying on her readers to make the connection themselves, but for her it is the act of patronage that is important and the statues do not feature as they do in the poems.

⁴² Mytton (1758: 5).

⁴³ Discussion in Johnson (1994: 18).

D E D I C A T I O N.

bellishments worthy the most refined Female Character. The Dignity she preserved, and the Delicacy of her Manners, became her elevated Station, and were an Ornament to the politest Court. She patronized the Learned, and was of a truly *Roman Spirit*, in sacrificing her private to the public Good. Nor did this Heroine shine with less Lustre in private than in public Virtues. She was a sincere Friend, an affectionate Sister, a faithful Wife, and both a tender and instructive Parent. Such was the accomplished Character of *Octavia*!

These are the Two different Pictures I have endeavoured to represent; and if I have been so happy as to draw them in any manner to afford your Ladyship the least Pleasure in the Perusal, and not to disgrace the Honour of your Patronage, my Pains will be amply compensated. I am,

M A D A M,

With great Respect,

Your Ladyship's most Obliged,

and Obedient Humble Servant,

S. F I E L D I N G.



T O T H E

Countess of POMFREY.

M A D A M,

Cleopatra presents us with the abandoned Consequences, and the fatal Catastrophe, of an haughty, false, and intriguing Woman; whose only Views were to exert her Charms, and prostitute her Power, to the Gratification of a boundless Vanity and Avarice, without Regard to the Ruin of her Country, or the Sufferings of others.

Cleopatra presents us with the abandoned Consequences, and the fatal Catastrophe, of an haughty, false, and intriguing Woman; whose only Views were to exert her Charms, and prostitute her Power, to the Gratification of a boundless Vanity and Avarice, without Regard to the Ruin of her Country, or the Sufferings of others.

The amiable and gentle *Octavia* gives us, on the reverse, an Example of all those Graces and Embellishments,

Figure 5.6: Dedication to Jeffreys.
In Fielding, *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia*, 1757.

Like Thompson, Fielding was familiar with Jeffreys' other intellectual pursuits. In fact, entries in Jeffreys' diaries indicate quite a substantial acquaintance between the years 1745 and 1749.⁴⁴ Subsequently, there are no records of contact between them and at the time of publishing the *Lives* Fielding's ill-health seems to have kept her at Bath. It is possible, however, that they did stay in touch through mutual friends.⁴⁵ Many of the names on the subscription list for the *Lives* certainly suggest that Jeffreys' family and friends knew of the dedication in advance of the book's publication.⁴⁶ For example, Lady Anne Dawson, Jeffreys' youngest daughter, subscribed to six copies of the book and Lord Viscount Windsor, Jeffreys' step-brother, put his name down for ten copies. The name of Mrs. Wadman, Jeffreys' step-sister, also appears.

But Fielding was not simply honouring her old friend. Jeffreys' benefaction provided a contemporary example of the classical *virtu* which Fielding was promoting in her book. One of the purposes of the *Lives* was to present "a picture of what marriage could be if men understood and appreciated [educated] women".⁴⁷ Fielding's description of Octavia includes what she saw as ideal female characteristics. Given Jeffreys' recent activities in "sacrificing her private to the public Good" while she "patronized the Learned" suggests that contemporary readership would have read this part of the dedication as a description of Jeffreys.

⁴⁴ Linda Bree has noted in her work on Fielding only that the novelist called on Jeffreys in 1745 (1996: 11; I would like to thank Gordon Fulton for providing this reference). That was the first meeting and is recorded in one of Jeffreys' summary diaries (March 27 1745; DG7/D2/ii). Subsequent contact is detailed in DG7/D2/i (*passim*).

⁴⁵ In particular, Mrs. Wadman, Jeffreys' sister who resided much of the time at Bath.

⁴⁶ Johnson has proposed that many of them were friends and patrons of Fielding's (1994: 33, n.21), which is probably also true.

⁴⁷ Johnson (1994: 30). One of Fielding's earlier works, *The Governess, or Little Female Academy*, had also addressed issues of women's education.

From this brief analysis of subsequent press concerning the Pomfret benefaction, it is evident that the event served not only the intentions of the University of Oxford, but was invoked for personal reasons unrelated to the institution's administration. That this happened is indicative of the character of Jeffreys' action, the status of the University, and the high public profile of the donation. While not the catalyst that a treasonous plot had been or a coronation would be, the different utilizations of the Pomfret benefaction are symptomatic of its relevance in English cultural ideologies. Furthermore, the allusive nature of Fielding's tribute may signal the existence of other references which resonated in contemporary society but have since lost their specific significance. Regrettably, Jeffreys provides little evidence of her response to this material, but she cannot have been unaware of it.

The only entries in Jeffreys' diaries subsequent to the 1756 Act which specifically relate to the benefaction concern the University and its administrators. This discussion of the continuing relationship between Jeffreys and Oxford University is selectively focussed on such passages. Her patronage of Oxford had a measurable impact on Jeffreys' wider acquaintance and correspondence which cannot be pursued here, although some of the "official" acquaintances developed into real friendships. But there was also a considerable amount of official interaction which should be addressed, because it refutes any suggestion that Jeffreys was intellectually or socially ignored by the University following the Act.

For example, barely a month after the Act, Jeffreys made a return for Oxford's hospitality: "the Vice-Chancellor his wife & Daughter came here from Oxford before Dinner" (August 2 1756). Although the visit was partially a social occasion, there was an official element as well. The trip allowed the Vice-Chancellor to deliver, in person, Oxford's highest memento of gratitude for the benefaction: an honorary doctorate for Lord Granville, Jeffreys' son-in-law.

Although not a scholar, Granville's studies had given him an acknowledged familiarity with classical history and literature; he was also a significant statesman. But it is unlikely that he would have been considered for the degree simply based on his own merits. A transcript of the letter written by the Chancellor to approve the degree, preserved in the Register of Convocation, explicitly states that the honorary doctorate was a response to Jeffreys' donation of the antique marbles:

to express their sense of the Honour derived to them from His Illustrious Character and publick Services, and their particular Happiness at this Injuncture in reflecting on His Lordships alliance with the House of Pomfret, is desirous of conferring by Diploma the highest mark of their Esteem in the Degree of Doctor in Civil Law.⁴⁷

As the letter is dated July 10th, it is clear that discussion about the degree was underway by the time of the convocation. It is patent in the wording that the idea did not originate with the Chancellor, probably it was the idea of those more closely involved in the negotiations for the donation. It is possible that the idea came from Jeffreys herself, as her correspondence concerning the bestowal of the degree may suggest. That there were a number of people involved is indicated in a postscript which follows the transcript of the Chancellor's letter: "Our venerable House has confirmed four copies of the above written document".⁴⁸

Upon approval, the paperwork seems to have been rushed through Convocation. Jeffreys noted in her diary that in response to her thank you letter to the Vice-Chancellor, she received: "a messenger with an Answer to my Letter & a Diploma with a Doctor's Degree for me to deliver to my Ld Granville" (July 22 1756). Jeffreys replied to the University and wrote to

⁴⁷ Letter of July 10 1756, from Grosvenor Street, London (Register of Convocation 1752-57: 283). Lord Arran, the Chancellor, was not well enough to personally attend to University business at this time.

⁴⁸ "*Quatuor supra scriptas Literas Venerabilis Domus ratas habuit*" (Register of Convocation 1752-57: 283).

Granville that same day. That she may have been active in preparing the application for the degree is suggested most strongly in her notation of Granville's reply: "I received a Letter from my Lord Granville in answer to mine of the Diploma to my Satisfaction" (July 30 1756); possibly her satisfaction would not have entered into the matter unless she had vested interest in the bestowal of the degree. Alternatively, she may just have been expressing pleasure at his happiness.

This exchange involved notification of the honour, the official document was presented to *Jeffreys* by the Vice-Chancellor during his visit in August (rather than directly to Granville). Shortly after the Oxford family departed, *Jeffreys* went post to London, where she dined with her son-in-law. Satisfaction is the primary emotion inherently expressed in her record: "I deliver'd to my Lord Granville the Diploma of a Doctor's Degree to him from the University of Oxford" (August 9 1756). Her personal pleasure in being the agent for this award of recognition is undeniable, perhaps she saw it as compensation for the esteem and generosity which he demonstrated to her family.

The bestowal of this degree is extremely interesting as it is so obviously gendered. By contrast, Evelyn had received an honorary doctorate in Convocation for facilitating the donation of the Arundel inscriptions.⁴⁹ If *Jeffreys* had been male the degree would have had a different recipient, personal bestowal and formal ritual. The impression remains of the difficulties Oxford faced in acknowledging this substantial gift from an individual who could not officially be integrated into its community. While women often played important roles as intermediaries, in this case, however, it seems most likely that *Jeffreys* was presented with the degree and permitted to deliver it herself, because it was really about the university thanking and expressing appreciation for her.

⁴⁹ *Diary* III.535-6. Further documentation in Maittaire (1732).

After the death of Arran in December 1758, Oxford elected the High Stewart, the Earl of Westmoreland, to the position of Chancellor. This event was cause for another special *Encaenia*. Aspects of the 1759 Publick Act, the occasion for Jeffreys' first return to Oxford, show that although this time she was not the guest of honour, she was yet an honoured guest. While tickets were available for the ceremonies, Jeffreys attended the event by invitation. The arrangements were followed by a special gift:⁵⁰ "In the Afternoon I received a Letter from Doctor Randolph Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, with my Lord Clarendons Life & History of his Times as a Present from the University. I answer'd the Letter with Thanks" (June 11 1759).⁵¹ Jeffreys attended a number of the official banquets, but she was responsible for her own accommodations this time.

As with her previous visit, Jeffreys carefully recorded the events in copious detail. Her diary entries reveal her deep interest in the events, even when her earlier role was not acknowledged. This celebration was not about her benefaction, but it was often referred to. Jeffreys attended the first day's ceremony in attendance on the Chancellor's wife, who was the doyenne of the event. Their morning began at six o'clock at the (old) Museum. Jeffreys does not say what time they went to the Theatre, but:

at Eleven the Earl of Westmoreland the Chancellor enter'd in Procession, the Heads of Houses &c following, & being seated was Install'd & took his Chair. he then made several Doctors & Masters of Arts after which, the E of Suffolk the E of Donnegal & Ld Norris spoke in Latin & English & Dr Mather ended the E of Donnegal mention'd my giving the Statues (July 3 1759).

Jeffreys was ill and unable to attend the ceremony the second day. She was

⁵⁰ In one of Jeffreys' fictional stories *I Fiori: or the Month of May*, the main character's library is guarded by busts of Chaucer and Clarendon, who represent the best literature and non-fiction respectively (DG7/Lit 23/ii f.8).

⁵¹ This biography had just been published, it was announced in the *London Evening Post* (June 28 - July 3 1759). In that same edition concerts associated with Westmoreland's convocation were advertised (p.2).

kept abreast of the events by family members who were also present and she included in her diary an account based on their reports.⁵² Fortunately for her, her illness was of brief duration and she was in the Theatre on the third day; after leaving the Sheldonian, Jeffreys went to dine with Dr. Randolph, the Vice-Chancellor.

Jeffreys' account of the fourth, and last, day of the Act is the most interesting. As she had before, she recorded all the names of the scholars who spoke (though she did not list degree recipients this time) and that: "Doctor King finish'd the whole with an Elegant Latin Oration, in which he did me the Honour to mention my Donation to the University" (July 6, 1759). Since she also specifies that Lady Primrose had saved her a seat (and two hours of waiting), it is hard to see this as smug satisfaction. Rather it suggests a blend of (permissible) pride and respect for the honour being done her. It also signals that the benefaction was brought to the awareness of another thousand person audience.

Since the *Encaenia* was described in the press, Jeffreys' diary entry is of most interest for her personal activities. On this day she refers to having twice gone to see the statues. The first time was in the company of her travelling companions, the second time she guided Lady Primrose:⁵³

Miss Shelley, Mrs Mills & self Dined at Trinity Colledge & went in the Afternoon to see the Statues Went in the Evening to Drink Tea with my Ly Westmoreland, after having carry'd my Lady Primrose with us to see the Statues (July 6 1759).

It is extremely frustrating that Jeffreys does not elaborate on her impressions of her viewing of the statues. Evidently, however, she was proud of having made such an impressive donation to the University. If her

⁵² The Newdigates and Conyers were present at the Act. Henrietta visited her mother after the Convocation (July 4 1759).

⁵³ There may only have been a single visit, although the timing does not seem correct for this supposition (evening tea was usually after supper), but even if this is the case to mention it twice suggests that this event was uppermost in her mind. Lady Primrose was Jeffreys' youngest daughter's mother-in-law. She was a friend, but not a close friend.

benefaction was of no personal satisfaction, she would probably not have bothered to make the visit to Oxford at all. That she conducts Lady Primrose on a tour of the statues supports this reading of her behaviour. Whether she cared for their location and their arrangement is, however, something we may never know (figure 5.7). A viewing of the statues formed a fitting conclusion to Jeffreys' second, and final, visit to Oxford. She and her companions left the city the following morning.

Additional interaction between Jeffreys and Oxford in her final years concerned other modes of commemoration. A grand double-portrait of Jeffreys and Pomfret entered the Bodleian collection around this time. It is first recorded in the annual inventory of 1759 and its arrival may be linked with her presence at that year's Act. It was very quickly included in published catalogues of the picture gallery but, perhaps because these were not official University publications, Jeffreys is somewhat marginalized in these descriptive lists (figure 5.8).

Jeffreys also corresponded with Oxford scholars concerning the publication of the Chandler's *Marmora Oxoniensia*, e.g.: "I received a Letter from Doctor Blackstone concerning what were the Statues to Engrave" (October 14 1760). That the university would consult with her on this matter is very interesting. Perhaps it was simply an empty gesture (unlikely), but that it was even considered suggests that her interests and concerns were recognized. It also suggests that Chandler may provide some important documentation for re-attribution of the restorations. Of the dozen or so most important statues, the only additions which Chandler ascribes to Guelfi are parts of the Bacchus. He recognizes that many of the others have been restored and is very careful to indicate precisely what he observes.⁵⁴ The puzzle of the restorations has yet to be unravelled.

⁵⁴ "*XI Bacchus quem cum altera manu et cruribus restituit Italus artifex, cui nomen Guelfi*" (Chandler 1763: i).

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also with cabinets of medals, and cases of books. It was wainscotted by the munificence of Dr. Butler the late President of Magdalen College, and the late Duke of Beaufort. This room is, in reality, a part or continuation of the Bodleian Library. Under it are the Schools of the several Sciences; in one of which are placed the Arundelian Marbles; and in another, that inestimable collection of Statues, &c. lately presented to the University, by the Countess of Pomfret: a complete catalogue of which we have here subjoined, as they stand respectively numbered in their present repository.

- 1 **A** Statue of a Grecian Lady, 7 Feet high, wants Arms.
- 2 A ditto of Archimedes, 7 Feet 2 Inches high, wants an Arm.
- 3 A ditto of a Roman Emperor, 7 F. high, wants one Arm and the Nose.
- 4 A ditto of Minerva, 9 Feet high.
- 5 A ditto of a Roman Emperor, 7 Feet high, wants one Arm.
- 6 A ditto of Cicero in the proper habit, 6 Feet 9 Inches high.—*The Drapery very masterly. He has the Sudarium in the right, and a Scroll in the left hand. The character of the countenance Settled Indignation, in which he seems preparing to speak.*
- 7 A ditto of a Grecian Lady, 7 Feet high, wants Arms.—*The Drapery falling over the right leg is finely conducted.*
- 8 A Delphic Column, with the Capital and Base; and an Apollo that stood at the top, 24 Feet 6 Inches high.
- 9 A Statue of Sabina, 6 Feet 9 Inches high.
- 10 A Venus de Medicis.
- 11 A Square Roman Altar, 1 F. 6 Inches, by 1 F. 3.
- 12 Terminus of Pan, 5 F. 7 Inc. high, wants an Arm.
- 13 A Statue of Minerva, 5 Feet high, wants an Arm and the Nose.

B 5

14 A

Figure 5.7: Statues in Old Schools, Guidebook Page.
In Fletcher, *New Oxford Guide*, c. 1764, p.9.

Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, full
 Length, by Hudson.
 Sir John Chardin a great Traveller, by Dan-
 drige.
 John Anstis, Garter King at Arms.
 The Earl of Dorset, by Richardson.
 George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in Henry
 the VII's Time.
 Thomas Farnor, Earl of Pomfret, and his
 Wife, both in One Piece, full Length, a
 fine Piece, by Bardwell.
 Mr. Addison, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
 Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland in
 Henry VII's Time.
 Theodorus Haake.
 Andrews, Bishop of Winchester.
 The late Earl of Abingdon's Father, full Length,
 by Doll.
 Michael Angelo, a famous painter, by Walker.
 Richard Vaughn, Bishop of London.
 Dr. Jane, Canon of Christ-Church.
 Jefferey Chaucer, one of the first English Poets.
 Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, by Sir
 Godfrey Kneller.
 Dr. South, Canon of Christ-Church.
 Dr. Hough, Bishop of Worcester.
 Sir Godfrey Kneller, done by Himself.

Figure 5.8: Catalogue page listing benefactor's portraits.
 Bardwell, the Earl and Countess of Pomfret; c. 1752.
 In Bull, *Catalogue of the Picture Gallery*, 1760, p.10.

During her last illness, a package for Jeffreys arrived from Oxford: “The University of Oxford sent me a Present of the Nuptias” (November 26 1761). Shortly after, the University made one final gift to Jeffreys. She was given a burial site. Walpole recorded this fact in one of his letters: “My Lady Pomfret has desired to be buried at Oxford” (*Yale* 21.562). But when Jeffreys’ correspondence with Lady Hartford was published in 1805, the editor seems to have assumed that Jeffreys *must* have been interred at Easton Neston.⁵⁵ This point has confused many subsequent historians; for example Kurtz states: “she was buried at Easton Neston. Newdigate’s influence ensured her a cenotaph in the University Church”.⁵⁶ In fact, Jeffreys did *not* wish to be buried at Oxford and she was not interred at Easton Neston. Her memorial at Oxford was unpremeditated, but the University rose to a last opportunity to prove their gratitude.

The new information concerning Jeffreys’ death and burial comes from her social diaries. When she became too ill to continue maintaining them herself, Jeffreys requested her companions to complete them for her.⁵⁷ There are no gaps in this record. Reports which follow Jeffreys’ death are written by her daughter, Lady Charlotte Finch, who signalled the change: “Here ends the Diary written by my Mother & since Nov 12th by her Direction” (December 8 1761).

Charlotte took up the diaries herself, first completing her mother’s story and then using them for her own. Charlotte’s style is much more personal and emotional than her mother’s, thus the events surrounding Jeffreys’ death are very immediate. Charlotte includes not just her own feelings, but occasionally reports on those of others; this adds a particular

⁵⁵ “She was interred with her husband’s family at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, but a neat cenotaph has been since erected to her memory in the university church at Oxford (Bingley 1805: xxvi).

⁵⁶ (2000: 82).

⁵⁷ While a couple of different hands can be detected (one, which appears to use a ruler as a writing guide, may be Lady Sophia’s) it is nice to have Jeffreys’ own stated directive.

emotional depth to Jeffreys' story that is often missing from her own narrative:

This day my dear Mother whose illness had been coming on these 2 years & who for these last Six months had had scarce any Enjoyment, being now reduced quite to a dying Condition, set out for Bath, in consequence of the Advice of all those she had consulted who said it was her only Chance for Recovery tho she had no Opinion of it herself, as she thought it her Duty to try every Method, she determin'd to take this Step, & to my inexpressible Concern I took my last leave of her, never hoping to see her again (December 9 1761).

Jeffreys never reached Bath, but only travelled as far as Marlborough; there the final stages of her illness overtook her: "This day Lady Louisa Farmor finding the Accounts of my Mother to Grow more & more alarming sat out Post & reach'd Marlborough late at Night. My Mother express'd great Satisfaction at having her with her" (December 15 1761). A week later, Jeffreys died. Charlotte reports that she was a resigned and grateful patient and while we might expect her to not say otherwise, Jeffreys' attitude is supported by similar references in their correspondence, so Charlotte's account is a trustworthy one, and does much to flesh out the usually quoted account: "Lady Pomfret is dead of a complication of distempers on the road to Bath" (*Yale* 21.560).⁵⁸

In her last will Jeffreys had given direction for the disposition of her body: "I desire I may be buried in the family vault at Easton as near my late dear Husband the Earl of Pomfret as may be".⁵⁹ But, because of the conflict that she had with her son, she had feared that there might be some resistance to her request: "But if there should be any Hindrance or Obstruction to my being buried in that said vault I will and direct that a small vault maybe made with Brick in the Church yard of Easton aforesaid

⁵⁸ Some historians have seen evidence in this account of proof of her "mania for travelling" (there is a hint of this in Paston 1901: 49).

⁵⁹ PRO PROB II / 873 / 73.

of about Eight Feet deep sufficient for the reception of two Coffins and that my body may be buried in such vault". She had not foreseen that she would be denied even this.

Charlotte's narrative in the diaries records that Lempster was very uncooperative: "I went by my Ld Granville's desire to see him, who acquainted me with my Brother's Refusal of complying with my Mother's Request of being buried in the Family Vault in Easton Neston" (December 22 1761).⁶⁰ Charlotte's narrative details the anxiety felt by the family as they sought an acceptable, yet quick, solution to this unexpected problem.⁶¹ There was a lot of discussion as they tried to determine what was best. By the following day Charlotte was able to record some suggestions. One passage explains how Oxford came to be considered:

I went in the Morning to my Lord Granville's & ... to Mr Heaton who told me my Brother had enter'd a Caveat to my Mother's will, which however w'd be of no other ill Consequence but giving a little trouble to the Executrix ... I proposed to my Ld Granville 3 different Schemes for the Internment of my dear Mother, the 1st was St Andrews Church Holborn wch she had once mention'd as thinking her Father lay there, the next was Mr Penn's Vault at Penn in Bucks till some Opportunity might offer of removing her to Easton, the last was a thought of Mr Finch's, the University Church of St Mary's in Oxford, wch last was most approv'd by my Ld Granville & he order'd me to write to Ly Louisa Farmor & Mrs Shelley to that purpose wch I did (December 23 1761)

A sudden recapitulation by Lempster made it seem to some of them as if their plans would not be needed, but the more suspicious family members doubted his sincerity and remained committed to requesting burial at Oxford:

⁶⁰ George Lord Lempster, was the 2nd Earl of Pomfret at this time. His first title is retained here for clarity.

⁶¹ This unethical decision must have come as quite a shock to Granville; he had previously been rather tolerant of Lempster's behaviour and supported reconciliation. His refusal to accept Lempster's "change of heart" is completely at variance with his earlier actions.

I receiv'd a Letter from my Sister Louisa to acquaint me yt on Wednesday Night She had been Surpris'd with a Visit from my Brother at Marlborough, who came to recant what he had said, concerning my Mother's Request of lying at Easton & yt he was ashamed of his Behaviour & desired Ly Louisa to direct the Funeral as she pleas'd. I shew'd this Letter to my Lord Granville who was still of Opinion notwithstanding what my Brother offer'd that she should be buried at Oxford (December 25 1761).

Some family illnesses briefly delayed the decision, but Louisa, who was still at Marlborough, requested that they "determine concerning the Funeral". Charlotte wrote and made her request to Oxford's governors:

I wrote by my Ld Granville's Directions a Letter to the Earl of Westmoreland Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the Names of Ld Granville, Mr Finch, Mr Conyers, Mr Penn, my own, Ly Henrietta Conyers, Ly Juliana Penn, & Lady Louisa Farmor, to desire his Permission for the Remains of the late Countess of Pomfret to be interr'd in the University Church of St Mary's in Oxford, he being out of Town I wrote also to the Vice Chancellor to the same purpose wch was sent next day by Express. the Internment desired to be on Saturday next (December 29 1761).

Charlotte also wrote to her mother's companion, Miss Shelley: "in order to express my self more fully concerning what had pass'd & to endeavour to satisfy her of what is my Real Sentiment, that the Step now taken wd be approved by my dear Mother herself c'd she know it" (December 30 1761). The following day they received word that Oxford would make this last gesture of gratitude to their benefactor. Charlotte noted that she: "Rec'd a very handsome answer from my Ld Westmoreland" (December 31 1761).

Nor did Oxford simply grant Jeffreys the burial, but saw her to the grave. That this ritual was performed indicates the regard in which she was held, as the numerous officials worked this act into their individual schedules:

My Dear Mother was buried in the University Church of St Mary's at Oxford between 9 & 10 o'Clock this Morning Lady Sophia Carteret & Lady Louisa Farmor attending her to the

Grave. Mr Gregory her Chaplain perform'd the Service. The Vice Chancellor & Heads of Houses attended (January 2 1762).

Thus, the tablet in the north porch of St. Mary the Virgin's (above the tower entrance) is not simply a commemorative plaque, but marks the final payment in the University's debt of gratitude (figure 5.9). The text reflects the views of her female descendants, who loved and respected their mother very much. Louisa and Sophia, as the remaining immediate family, set their names on the stone to speak for the the rest of the family (all but one). And in the end, it does seem appropriate that Jeffreys should have returned to Oxford. Though the significance of her gift has been lost over time, the Pomfret benefaction of 1755 provided critically needed reinforcement for the beleaguered university. As signifiers of *vertu*, the statues provided valuable, visual, visible symbols of the principles and ideals which were part of Oxford ideology. Jeffreys' gift was available to the university because of her own socially ingrained and personally developed cultural philosophy, which would not countenance further dispersal of the collection. In the end, Oxford did owe her this much; the only question remaining is if the debt has been fully cancelled.

Henrietta Louisa Farmor
Widow of Thomas Earl of Pomfret
mother of our family
unique in faith and character
reverent, sagacious, of venerable family
noble ancestry
and graceful in the face of death
Sophia Carteret and Louisa Farmor
bid you farewell, mother
most deserving.
Among
the distinguished monuments of antique art
which, living, with generous spirit
she had conferred
likewise may she of blessed name
by the reverent
be remembered



Figure 5.9: Jeffreys' memorial, St. Mary's, Oxford.
 Photo by D. Dudley.

Conclusion

Affected wisdom has a woman made
 To wear foul linen and despise brocade.
 How nobly did she with her statues part
 Though marble is the thing next her heart
 (*Yale* 20.470 n.17)

By the rules and theories which governed collecting in the early modern world, Jeffreys should be lauded as a woman of *vertu*. She demonstrated continued application to self-development, strong interests in liberal arts, and such a high regard for the ideals of conservation and preservation, that she gave away the most valuable part of her art collection to ensure its future protection. But changes in criteria that have elevated “taste” over *vertu* (i.e. quality over moral purpose) in the practice of connoisseurship have marginalized her role. Furthermore, as demonstrated with the quotation and discussion used to introduce Jeffreys in Chapter 1, she has been misrepresented because scholars have predominantly relied upon the words of Horace Walpole to characterize her and her actions.

The short poem above is attributed to Walpole and is appended in a footnote to the letter in which he describes the Publick Act of 1756 in an off-hand and critical manner (*Yale* 20.470). His views have come to serve as general commentary on Jeffreys and her gift of sculpture. Previous scholarship has tended to combine Walpole’s opinion of Jeffreys with the polemical discourse which attempted to weaken contemporary Oxford. The result has been misapprehension concerning the importance of the Pomfret benefaction, which is undoubtedly why it has been discussed so infrequently.

Traditionally, the Pomfret benefaction has not been of much interest to scholars. It has registered only because of its association with Arundel, primarily in discussions of the Arundel collection or the history of the

Ashmolean museum. In this dissertation new archival evidence has been employed to re-evaluate the larger significance of the Pomfret benefaction, revealing how ideals and ideologies of *vertu* informed the collection, its donation, its publicists, and its audience and demonstrating the cultural importance of the event.

As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, Jeffreys' donation was celebrated by Oxford in highly public ways. The media which reached the widest audience tended to be ephemeral in character. But some methods of commemoration were intended to be enduring, such as the engraved stele and even Richard Chandler's catalogue. From its location in the University Church, Jeffreys' funerary monument too celebrates her *vertu*. Her brief possession of ex-Arundelian sculpture had a very positive impact on her public image. With such evidence available, how is it that Jeffreys has come to be characterized (almost exclusively) with Walpole's critical words?

By way of conclusion I present here a brief historical review of the character of Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys as a way of underscoring the larger issues addressed throughout the dissertation. For example, in the historical sources Jeffreys' commitment to learning has prompted negative comment. Jeffreys is described as having "pretensions" to *vertu*. But how do we distinguish between "pretensions" and "aspirations"? One what authority and what criteria do judgements rely? There is no one correct response to these questions. And it is not the answer which must be defined precisely, but the voice. Walpole's characterization is valid if the question is, how does someone like Walpole view someone like Jeffreys? But the answer is not the definitive historical "truth". It can also be further complicated by successive layers of transmission. As will be demonstrated here, the overburden of accumulated biases in the historical record has greatly obscured our comprehension of the actual person that was Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys.

In 1805, W. M. Bingley published a selection of correspondence

between Jeffreys and Frances Thynne, Lady Hartford.¹ His interpretation of Jeffreys' character is generally positive and his comments on the letters contradict Walpole's assessment of her. He states: "Lady Pomfret's remarks ... bear the appearance of arising from correct and acute observation. In her reflections, and in her descriptions of human life, her thoughts and language often take an air of elegance; and the great length of time that she was resident in different places abroad, gives a degree of authenticity to her writings, which the generality of books of travels are not able to boast" (*Corr.* I.xxiv).

Bingley believed the women's correspondence could serve a didactic purpose (and was making comment on contemporary morality); he was not without his own ideological biases. But his characterization of these two women was very positive, as he articulated in his biographical preface to the letters referring to Hartford and, by extension, to Jeffreys. He comments: "respecting the education of her children, inspiring into their youthful minds the principles of virtue, and the love of religion, she has had but too few equals in her own rank of life" (*Corr.* I.xvi).² In so far as this work is published barely fifty years following Jeffreys' death, it is interesting to note that Bingley knew very little about her:

With respect to the character and literary acquirements of lady Pomfret, which, in every essential respect, seems to have very nearly resembled those of her amiable friend and distinguished correspondent³, the best source of information that has been open to the Editor is the following letters. To these, therefore, he refers the reader, only remarking, by way of introduction, that all the passages from whence conclusions can be justly drawn,

¹ Lady Hartford later became Countess of Somerset.

² Bingley's words apply to Jeffreys even though he does not explicitly say so. These are issues the women discuss in the letters and can be detected in other sources. Whether Jeffreys and Hartford were unique is, however, uncertain.

³ Bingley feels more secure about Lady Hartford, having validated her worth by reference to her "celebrated literary" acquaintances, including James Thompson and Gilbert Burnet (viii-ix).

will concur in affording proofs of an intelligent and well-formed mind, and of a heart susceptible of amiable virtues and unaffected devotion (*Corr.* I.xxvii).

It is explicit in the passage just quoted, however, that Bingley perceived Jeffreys to have possessed “an intelligent and well-formed mind”. The most interesting thing about that characterization is that it is based on Jeffreys’ own words. Relatively few people have looked at her writing since.

In 1833, Horace Walpole’s correspondence was released in a limited edition. While despising him as the product of a dissolute generation of preferment-seeking rakes, the nineteenth century was enamoured of Walpole because his cynical depiction of his own period fit in with their (self-congratulatory and self-righteous) opinion of the preceding era. Walpole’s comments on Lady Pomfret were eagerly seized upon because they were so delicious and his words quickly took precedence over her own.

One of the earliest reworkings of Jeffreys’ character, following the release of Walpole’s correspondence, was a work of historical fiction. Titled *A Chronicle of the Fermors: Horace Walpole in Love*, the two-volume novel was published in 1873. The author, M.F. Mahony, assumed that Walpole had been in love with Jeffreys’ daughter Sophia. The plot was worked around some of the events described in the newly-available Walpole letters along with very careful selections from the Jeffreys-Hartford correspondence. Mahoney’s book is an exercise in character assassination:

[she] contrived to maintain a character for genuineness and worth among her friends, especially for susceptibility and for the strength and durability of her attachments; although no one was more skillful in dissevering old links than she, or knew better how to drop worn-out friends quietly to leeward when they became a clog on her prosperous progress in the world. (I.3)⁴

⁴ I assume Mahony is basing this on his impression of her relationship with Walpole. Jeffreys’ circle of friends was, in fact, remarkably stable.

That is one of the more positive statements about Jeffreys as she is described in the first chapter. Jeffreys is characterized as a social climber, one who sought preferment above all else. Some of the techniques Mahony believes she employed are interesting: “No difficulty baffled her. For example, when her own personal charms began to wane she provided a substitute for that leading article of woman’s influence by having a daughter lavishly endowed with beauty” (I.3). How *does* one arrange that?

Mahony does not appear to have had any personal animosity against Jeffreys. The theme of the book (the unethical mores of eighteenth-century aristocrats) was intended to entertain his audience, while making them feel morally superior. This is clear from the way he interprets Jeffreys’ motives: “Lady Pomfret’s attempts at authorship were, however by way of refined pastime to utilize intervals of leisure” (I .11). In fact, all of the women in the novel are depicted as vapid and vain. The hostility is not simply gender based (Walpole is characterized as a foppish sort of Iago), but the female characters seem to have no redeeming qualities at all. Ultimately the book provides us with more information about acceptable nineteenth-century attitudes towards women than with any real knowledge of Jeffreys and her time. But because it masquerades as history, and reflects Walpole’s opinion, the characterization has been accepted as truthful, even factual.⁵

The similarities between the pulp-fiction novel and Walpole’s literary conventions suggest that some serious questions need to be asked about Walpole’s authenticity. That non-fiction works elaborated upon Walpole’s characterization of Jeffreys illustrates his appeal as a historical source. A biography of John Carteret published by Archibald Ballantyne in 1887 partially addresses this issue. While documenting Carteret’s personal life, Ballantyne notes that Walpole’s reports might not necessarily be true. Walpole described the wedding of Carteret and Sophia Fermor as

⁵In the same way that people who saw James Cameron’s movie believe they “know” what happened on the Titanic.

somewhat furtive, and *déclassé* (*Yale* 18.431). Ballantyne rejects Walpole's version of the event:

Walpole's circumstantial account has the disadvantage of being inaccurate; Lord and Lady Carteret returned to their home together in the usual way of reasonable beings; but it would have been less piquant to say so in a letter intended to supply gossip to Lady Sophia's friends and admirers in Florence.⁶

But Ballantyne's acknowledgement of Walpole's shortcomings did not extend to cover Jeffreys; all of the comments on her behaviour are derived from Walpole's letters. This leads Ballantyne to describe her as "one of those well-meaning but fussy, meddling and terribly inconsequential women of whom it is impossible for posterity to see anything but the slightly ridiculous side ... a well-educated woman, but with a fatal turn for amateurish pedantry".⁷ The difficulty in appreciating Jeffreys is because "posterity" is "seeing" only Walpole's characterization.

Not long after, a volume compiled by Emily Morse Symonds (under the pseudonym of George Paston) employed the same type of "shock-journalism" approach as Mahony's novel but in a supposedly non-fiction format. Published in 1901, *Little Memoirs of the Eighteenth Century* contains short essays on selected individuals who: "all have fallen, whether deservedly or not, into neglect, if not oblivion. It has seemed almost like an act of charity to resuscitate these sociable garrulous beings".⁸

Paston believed herself disinterested, and thought that her work stood as an example of pure history: "I have made no attempt to act as special pleader for any member of my little company. While allowing them to tell

⁶ Ballantyne (1887: 379). In fact, Ballantyne is incorrect as well. The Carterets did leave their wedding in the usual way, but it was customary at the time, for the bride to be conducted home by her mother: "at Night I conducted the Bride Home, & saw her ready & in Bed" (April 14 1744; DG7/D2/ii).

⁷ Cf. Ingamells (1997) below.

⁸ Paston (1901: v).

their own stories in their own complacent fashion, I have quoted by way of corrective, certain of the more candid comments of their contemporaries”.⁹ In fact, Paston believes that the criticisms are more accurate than the autobiographical material, particularly in the case of Jeffreys. For example, in her analysis of the correspondence between Jeffreys and Hartford, Paston completely ignores the internal evidence of the letters:

At the time of its publication the editor, a Mr. Bingley, had not the opportunities which we enjoy of comparing his material with the numerous letters of Horace Walpole which have been printed since the beginning of the century. The Lady Pomfret of the correspondence is represented to us as a *grande dame* of the utmost refinement and culture, but the Lady Pomfret drawn for us by Walpole’s malicious pen is the most perfect specimen of a *precieuse ridicule* that her century has produced. We have more than a suspicion that Lady Hartford belonged to the same genus, but in her case there are fewer data to go upon.¹⁰

Paston’s *Memoir* is primarily a synopsis of the women’s correspondence, with emphasis on the more “interesting” sections of the letters (primarily scandalous or personal) so that the reader really has no basis on which to judge the intellectual content. On the other hand, one of Walpole’s letters, criticizing Jeffreys’ grasp of her studies, is quoted in full. Paston even comments on the fact that Jeffreys’ loss of reputation rests solely on Walpole’s word, while at the same time accepting his viewpoint as valid:

For several years after the publication of Lady Hartford’s and Lady Pomfret’s correspondence, the two friends were held up to young people as models of virtue, culture, and refinement; and it must have come as a sensible shock to many excellent people when the bubble of their pretensions was pricked by Horace Walpole, and they were exhibited as two well-meaning ladies with a tendency to talk and write upon subjects which they did not

⁹ Paston (1901: vi).

¹⁰ Paston (1901: 3-4).

altogether understand.¹¹

There appears to have been a period in which Jeffreys was appreciated for her intellectual qualities. But it is disconcerting to realize just how fragile a reputation can be, when a single source, like Walpole, can wreak such havoc. It is as if Jeffreys' own words became tainted or actually changed once people became aware of Walpole's opinion. Her identity was rendered nearly unrecognizable due to the preference for Walpole as authoritative historical voice.

Through the twentieth century Jeffreys attracted little attention from historians. In 1940 Helen Sard Hughes published a biography of Lady Hartford which includes numerous references to Jeffreys. Hughes' work contains the most balanced and complete look at the lives and interests of these two women since their own correspondence was published. Hughes drew not just on Bingley's material, but on the larger body of Hartford's unpublished correspondence, diaries, and commonplace books. While providing context for the material, her use of lengthy quotations and transcriptions permits Hartford and her correspondents to speak for themselves. Unfortunately, Hughes' work has not had as much impact as it deserves. It must have been overlooked by subsequent scholarship on Jeffreys, for nearly every reference concerning her or her family contradicts the opinions and "facts" in the accepted historical record.¹²

A two-part article by Simon Houfe for *Country Life* was the first attempt at rehabilitating Jeffreys herself, but its reception too has perhaps not been what the author wished. Struck by Jeffreys' reverence for

¹¹ Paston (1901: 53).

¹² For example, Hartford's opinion of the match between Carteret and Sophia Fermor is very positive. She does mention it as "good fortune" for the family (312), but is more concerned with how they will suit. She emphasizes that Sophia is happy with her choice (314) and expresses satisfaction of her own: "Lady Carteret was presented to the King by Lord Lincoln, which I confess gives me pleasure, for as I am sure she was perfectly indifferent about it, I am very glad it fell to his share" (319).

historical building, Houfe utilized her diary entries to suggest that she was “the first woman Gothickist”.¹³ A stronger adherence to chronology might have strengthened Houfe’s case, for otherwise his argument tends to reinforce Jeffreys’ minor (practically subservient) historical role:

Religious buildings she says in 1738 give her a sensation ‘so solemn in the whole that in my mind Creates a pleasure & esteem for devotion.’ This remark which echoes Gray and anticipates the Sublime was said of Rochester Cathedral.¹⁴

Likewise, Houfe describes her interest in Gothick architecture, “which was only just coming into its own in the hands of Horace Walpole, Chute and Sanderson Miller”,¹⁵ even though those of her comments he cites predate the men’s activities. Thus, Jeffreys was not initially influenced by Gray and Walpole, as Houfe’s language suggests. The concerns of all of these individuals should, however, be viewed as part of a larger movement, which had much deeper roots than are generally imagined. Interest in medieval design (perceived as vernacular) had never been entirely wiped out by the Palladian classicism of either Inigo Jones or William Kent. There is no inherent contradiction in Jeffreys’ consideration of Burlington as “the reviver of Taste in Building” (December 3 1753) and her interest in medieval style.¹⁶

In a later article, Houfe considered Jeffreys’ wider interests, describing her as “both a connoisseur of taste and a woman of knowledge”.¹⁷ But unfortunately, Walpole’s characterization has proven too attractive to other

¹³ Houfe (1977 II: 800).

¹⁴ Houfe (1977 I: 730). Historians often credit Gray’s trip to the continent as the impetus for his medieval interests. In any case, Jeffreys did not meet him until 1739.

¹⁵ Houfe (1977 I: 728).

¹⁶ V. Kurtz (2000: 81), referring to individuals such as Roger Newdigate and Jeffreys, undermines the validity of the eclectic approach by describing it as a “*melange* of styles”.

¹⁷ Houfe (1998: 33).

scholars who have misconstrued Houfe's earlier work. Writing an entry on the Niobe statue for Frances Haskell and Nicholas Penny's *Most Beautiful Statues*, Michael Vickers quotes Houfe to suggest that Jeffreys' apparent love of the Gothic precluded her from appreciating the antique marbles:

Henrietta Louisa, Dowager Countess of Pomfret, 'the first woman gothicist of the 18th century', had given the classical sculpture from the house to Oxford University, presumably because it did not suit her Gothick tastes.¹⁸

Slightly earlier, D.E.L. Haynes had noted in his Ashmolean catalogue that it was "thanks to her that a substantial part of the Arundel collection ... was saved from piecemeal dispersal, and eventually reunited with the Arundel inscriptions".¹⁹ But for the most part Walpole's depiction has retained its potent force and Jeffreys remains in the historical record as: "a somewhat humourless lady with pretensions to scholarship".²⁰

Even the most recent work on the marbles does little to rehabilitate her. Once Kurtz has "explained" Walpole's enmity,²¹ he is otherwise regarded as accurate.²² Jeffreys is described as having "cultivated antiquarian interests" but the only reference made is to Houfe's early articles. The lack of any real documentation in Kurtz's own study suggests that she regards Jeffreys simply as a tool in Newdigate's empire building. Jeffreys is referred to as the object of Walpole's "ridicule" three times in as many pages, and since her motivations are not explored, the impression that lingers is of a self-important and ridiculous woman.

¹⁸ Vickers (in Haskell and Penny 1981: 31).

¹⁹ Haynes (1975: 15-16).

²⁰ Ingamells (1997: 781-2).

²¹ As due to his being spurned by one of the Pomfret daughters (2000: 80).

²² Newdigate's Arbury Hall was "gothicized" whereas Strawberry Hill was "built ... with archaeological accuracy" (80). Walpole is not mentioned in association with the term "*melange*" (81). The resulting impression is that Walpole is more reliable (Kurtz 2000).

Walpole's post-Victorian reputation has been revived primarily due to the efforts of Wilmarth Lewis. Unfortunately, the recovery of Walpole's voice has silenced others, as he has assumed the mantle of an "authoritative voice". Walpole's depiction of Jeffreys is hostile and inaccurate, combining personal animosity and gendered chauvinism. The perceived value of the Pomfret collection has increased recently, gaining reflected lustre from the recent work on Arundel. But the later provenance of the marbles has continued to be overlooked.

By contextualizing the donor and the donation, I have argued that that the Pomfret marbles were very valuable to the University of Oxford. I have also suggested that the donation was informed by Jeffreys' self-directed, cultural education as a woman of the Enlightenment and that her circumstances and personality were responsible for that benefaction. My dissertation has addressed, as a secondary theme, the danger of accepting "authoritative voice". I do not claim to have solved the associated problems, but every additional voice added enriches the historical record and just identifying the problem increases awareness of the issues. I have also expressed a concern for the vulnerability of information. As much of my source material is composed of single-copy manuscript its dissemination is critical. Like the scholars and antiquaries of the early modern period, I view the preservation and presentation of such historical material as my responsibility and my privilege.

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