

The Thistle and the Rose

The Anglo-Scottish Aristocracy of Richmond-upon-Thames

Part 1: 1603-1746



James IV of Scotland



Margaret Tudor

When Queen Elizabeth drew her last breath at Richmond Palace in 1603, James VI, the Stuart King of Scotland, inherited the throne of England. James owed his accession to his great-grandmother, Margaret Tudor, who was the daughter of Henry VII, the king who gave Richmond its name.

In 1503, on a journey that would be made in reverse one hundred years later by her great-grandson, Margaret had set out from Richmond Palace to her new home in Holyroodhouse. Her marriage in 1503 to James IV of Scotland, which was intended to unite two warring countries, was eulogised by the contemporary Scots poet William Dunbar as the marriage of the thistle and the rose.¹ The wedding, which was negotiated and performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Blackadder, was accompanied by a Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two countries. The perpetual peace ended just a decade later at the bloody Battle of Flodden, in the course of which James IV was killed.¹ However, a son had been born only seventeen months previously – the future father of Mary Queen of Scots and grandfather of James VI.

¹ As James had been excommunicated, his body was embalmed, taken to Richmond and kept for a time in Sheen Priory. There is a legend that he was buried nearby in what is now the Royal Mid-Surrey golf course, but he was probably interred eventually in the grounds of St. Paul's Cathedral.

In 1603, James I & VI wasted no time in moving his court to London. On his progress south he dispensed knighthoods and received the homage of his new English subjects. He would return to Scotland only once.

The following biographies of Scottish aristocrats and royals with Richmond associations illustrate, among other things, their various roles in the civil wars that lasted for more than a century, their part in securing and sustaining the Union of England and Scotland, their assimilation into the British establishment and the traces they have left behind in the Borough of Richmond-upon-Thames.

The Royal Stuarts: James, Henry, Elizabeth, Charles

James I & VI (1566-1625)

Since there was no longer a functioning court in Edinburgh, many of the Scottish nobility travelled south with James or followed soon after. In London, half of the positions in the Privy Chamber and almost all the positions in the Royal Bedchamber were allocated to Scots. This led one English politician to criticise James because he had ‘brought along with him a crew of necessitous and hungry Scots, and filled every corner of the court with these beggarly blue-caps’, a reference to the woollen headgear favoured by the Scots.ⁱⁱ In Scotland, on the other hand, there were complaints about absentee landlords spending the income from their Scottish estates in England instead of locally.²

James did not share Elizabeth’s love of Richmond Palace, preferring the Palace of Whitehall.³ However, he had an inordinate passion for hunting and he enlarged the grounds at Richmond Palace so that he could pursue his passion there. For his excessive hunting he was strongly criticised in England, whereas in Scotland it had gone largely unremarked. He was able to enlarge the park to 370 acres by incorporating land from the former Sheen Priory (crown land since Henry VIII’s dissolution of the monasteries).ⁱⁱⁱ Originally called New Park, its remains are now known as Old Deer Park. Another of James’s legacies was the financing of a local commercial enterprise – the Mortlake tapestry works. The enterprise was short-lived, but some of their splendid creations have survived.

Although he was the son of Catholics – Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley – and was married to the Catholic Anne of Denmark, James had nevertheless been raised a Protestant under the tutorship of the fearsome George Buchanan, who dealt out frequent beatings to the young King.⁴ In 1606 an important event took place at Hampton Court Palace, this being at a safe distance from any outbreak of plague in London: at a conference of Anglican dignitaries and Puritans, James authorised the commencement of the momentous King James Bible. James used

² The Scottish poet, William Lithgow, urged that the Scottish nobility ‘should remain at home/And spend their rents where grows their grain’. (‘Scotland’s welcome to her native son’, 1633). Prior to 1603 there was little migration of any class of Scot into England.

³ There is a theory that Great Scotland Yard, near Whitehall Palace, was used by the Kings of Scotland for diplomatic missions prior to the Union of the Crowns.

⁴ Scotland had officially become a Protestant country in 1560, thereby ending the historic ‘Auld Alliance’ with France and paving the way for closer ties with England.

both Richmond and Hampton Court during outbreaks of plague. Sometimes this involved the complete removal of the court, government offices and courts of law, so that Richmond became effectively the capital of England for the duration.

Prince Henry (1594-1612)

James had three surviving children who soon followed him to England. James had given his first two children Tudor names, Henry and Elizabeth, doubtless with an eye to the forthcoming vacancy on the English throne. The heir apparent, Prince Henry, was given the manors of Richmond, Petersham and Ham including, for his own use, Richmond Palace. **On the occasion of his investiture as Prince of Wales at the age of sixteen, the lavish entertainment laid on at the Palace included a masque, a tournament, fireworks and a mock sea battle.**⁵

Henry, although of an athletic and military disposition, did not share his father's passion for hunting. He did, however, share his parents' love of gardening. At Richmond he employed Inigo Jones as a surveyor and two well regarded continentals, Salomon de Caus and Constantino de Servi to carry out large-scale landscaping of the gardens, including the installation of elaborate waterworks. These, however, were not completed due to Henry's untimely death. Henry was also an avid patron of art: he employed Robert Peake and other artists and initiated a picture gallery at the Palace.^{iv}

Henry was charismatic, had leadership qualities and was more Calvinistic than James (he introduced a swear box at the Palace!). It was a great blow to the nation when he died of a fever at the age of eighteen. His highly trusted Groom of the Stole had been **Sir David Murray (1567-1629). Murray was a noted poet and a member of an important Scottish family of this period** (see below under Charles I and 1st Earl of Dysart). A member of another important Scottish family, Robert Kerr (1578-1654) had been his Groom of the Bedchamber and would later become Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Charles (see below under Earl of Ancrum).

Princess Elizabeth (1596-1662)

When Princess Elizabeth arrived in England, one of her residences was the house at Kew of her guardian, Lord Harrington of Exton. This was conveniently close to the home of Prince Henry, whom Elizabeth idolised. Harrington was impoverished by the cost of maintaining Elizabeth and her entourage until she married. By way of compensation, James granted him the right to mint brass farthings (known as 'Harringtons').^v Harrington and his wife's pious Protestantism was undoubtedly an influence on the Princess and her future career on the Continent. Surprisingly, it transpired that the beautiful and tenacious Elizabeth, not Henry, was the one who would play a crucial role in the history of Great Britain and, indeed, in the history of Kew.

In 1613 Elizabeth married the Protestant Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine. Her subsequent career became decidedly rocky when the Germanic states were propelled into the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). An inspiration for the Protestant cause throughout the troubles,

⁵ Henry, as heir to the Scottish throne, already held the title Duke of Rothesay (named after a town on the Isle of Bute but without any land attached to the title). All subsequent heirs to the Scottish/British throne have received this title.

Elizabeth was lauded as the ‘Queen of Hearts’ – apparently the first usage of that expression.⁶ Elizabeth and Frederick’s third son was the remarkably colourful character, Prince Rupert of the Rhine (1619-1682) – soldier, sailor, scientist and statesman – who, among many other notable activities, fought for the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War and for the Royalist cause in the English Civil War. However, it was the unlikely pairing of their youngest daughter Sophia with the fourth son of the Duke of Brunswick that produced the child who would become, after the death of the last Stuart monarch in 1714, George I of Great Britain. It is reckoned that there were more than fifty people with a better blood claim to the British throne, but they were all Catholics.

Richmond Palace would be dismantled in the aftermath of the Civil War and would cease to be a royal residence. However, in the 18th century Elizabeth’s great-grandson, the Hanoverian George II, and George’s son Frederick would establish royalty once again in Richmond and Kew.

Charles I (1600-1649)

Charles was an infant when he came to England in 1604. (He was deemed too sickly to travel with the rest of his family in 1603). When he became the new Prince of Wales following Henry’s death, he was given Richmond Palace and the surrounding manors. He did little work on the Palace or its grounds, apart from the addition of some aviaries, but he did enlarge the picture collection.

William Murray, a nephew of the above mentioned Sir David Murray (Prince Henry’s attendant) is said to have been Charles’s official ‘whipping boy’ – raised alongside the Prince and whipped for the latter’s misdeeds.⁷ Another of William’s uncles, Thomas Murray (1564-1623), was Charles’s tutor. Thomas Murray and the other Scots attendants who surrounded him were no doubt responsible for the Scottish accent that Charles is said to have retained throughout his life. Thomas Murray later became Charles’s secretary and was eventually appointed Provost of Eton College. Following his accession in 1625, Charles gave Richmond Palace to his French Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria, as a home for the next generation of Stuart children, including the future Kings Charles II and James II. At that time the Palace was also used for the performance of plays for the amusement of the court.

Charles inherited his father’s love of hunting and this led to the creation of his greatest lasting legacy to Richmond – the enclosure in 1627 of a new 2,400-acre deer park, originally called New Park as James I’s park had been, but today known as Richmond Park. Its creation was unpopular at the time because of the loss of common land, the pressure put on private landowners to sell and the expense to the Exchequer of an eight-mile-long brick wall. We today, however, are the beneficiaries.

⁶ Elizabeth was also known as the ‘Winter Queen’ because she was Queen of Bohemia from November 1619 to November 1620. Tens of thousands of Scots fought in the Thirty Years War, most notably for Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and returned home as seasoned troops to fight for the Covenanter cause. Their leader was Alexander Leslie, who was Field-Marshal to Gustavus Adolphus and later participated in the decisive victory over the Royalists at Marston Moor (1644).

⁷That Murray was Charles’s whipping boy was stated in 1724 by Gilbert Burnet in his *History of His Own Time*.

The civil wars that would engulf all three kingdoms of the British Isles started in Scotland in 1639 with the First Bishops' War, when the Presbyterian Covenanters (signatories of the National Covenant) opposed Charles's imposition of Anglican practices on Scotland. Like his father, Charles had occasionally used the Richmond and Hampton Court Palaces whenever plague was rife in London. His final connection with the locality, shortly before his execution, was a comfortable imprisonment at Hampton Court in 1647. His children were allowed to join him, he had his own servants, the furnishings were improved and paintings were brought from Whitehall for his pleasure.

Roxburghe, Ancrum, Pitcarne, Belhaven, Lennox, Dysart and Lauderdale

The 1st Earl and the Countess of Roxburghe (c.1570-1650, c.1585-1643)

Robert Ker was one of the Scots who accompanied James I on his journey to London in April 1603. In the following month Jean (*alias* Jane) Drummond⁸ accompanied Queen Anne and Prince Henry on the same itinerary. Robert and Jane would later marry and become the Earl and Countess of Roxburghe. The Earl was an active politician in Scotland and England under both James and Charles, attaining the position of Lord Privy Seal. The Countess had a residence in or near Richmond Palace, presumably because of her official position as governess to certain royal children.

It is almost certain that the Countess was the 'Lady Jane' who is recorded as being governess, under the overall charge of the Earl of Mar, to Prince Henry during his time in Scotland.^{vi} This practice of fostering out royal children, creating parallel royal households, was a source of friction between James and Anne. In England, the Catholic Countess was First Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne, until she fell from grace in 1617. Surprisingly, she resurfaced in 1631 when she became governess to some of the next generation of royal children – King Charles's daughter Mary (the Princess Royal and future mother of William III) and two subsequent children.^{vii} As already stated, Charles had given Richmond Palace to Henrietta as a home for their children.

The Countess is known to have had a house at Richmond because an appendix attached to a book written by John Leslie, 6th Earl of Rothes (1600-41), states: "The Earl [of Rothes] died at Richmond, whither he retired for the benefit of the air ... in the house of his aunt, the Countess of Roxburghe upon the 23rd of August 1641."^{viii} Rothes was a leading Scots Covenanter. He had come to London to negotiate with Charles and found 'the gaiety of the English court congenial'.

The 1st and 2nd Earls of Ancrum (1578-1654, 1624-90)

Two other, related, Robert Kers (variously spelt Kerr or Carr) took the road to England in or around 1603. The most illustrious, or notorious, of the three was the future Earl of Somerset (c.1585-1645) who was a special favourite of James I. The other was the Robert Kerr who has already been mentioned as an attendant to Prince Henry and who at a later date became a resident of Kew. **After Henry's death, the latter Kerr became Gentleman of the Bedchamber and**

⁸ Not to be confused with Thomas Murray's wife of that name, who was a sub-governess to certain royal children.

Keeper of the Privy Purse to Prince Charles, and after Charles's accession he was additionally made the 1st Earl of Ancrum. He was a cultured man rather than a political animal. The poet John Donne was a good friend of his.

Ancrum's second son, Charles, was born somewhere in Richmond, possibly in the Palace, in 1624. In 1630 Ancrum purchased property in Kew that had in Elizabethan times been the Earl of Leicester's estate and would one day be part of George II's Richmond estate and eventually part of Kew Gardens. He is thought to have been the person who enlarged the main house that stood on the estate so that it became the biggest mansion of its day in the Manor of Richmond. Ancrum was loyal to King Charles throughout the civil war, but his eldest son William, 1st Earl of Lothian (1605-1675)⁹, fought on the Covenanters' side – a not uncommon occurrence in this divisive war and also in the later Jacobite uprisings. When Charles was executed, Ancrum sold off some of his Kew property in order to finance his flight to the Netherlands, which is where he spent the rest of his poverty-stricken days.

Proscribed Royalists were prohibited from holding any public office, but the proscription did not extend to the sons of Royalists. Ancrum's remaining Kew properties were inherited by his parliamentary second son, Charles, now the 2nd Earl of Ancrum. The latter had to mortgage the house and surrounding land heavily in order to pay off his debts, but he continued to live there until at least 1664.^{ix} He had a lengthy career in the English Parliament (in the House of Commons since his peerage was Scottish) running from 1647 to 1687.

Andrew Pitcarne (d. 1640)

Andrew Pitcarne was the youngest son of the 15th Laird (Lord) of Pitcairn and Forthar (in Fife, not far from Dysart). The Lairds of Pitcairn and Forthar had an hereditary right to the positions of Groom of the Bedchamber and Chief Falconer to the King of Scotland. The 16th Laird transferred this right to his youngest brother, Andrew, presumably because he wished to remain in Scotland when James I moved his court to England. As a young page, Andrew accompanied the infant Prince Charles to England. On attaining the two hereditary positions after Charles's accession, Andrew received a total income of £860 per annum. Falconry was a very popular and respected sport at this time and the training of hawks was a highly skilled art. On Andrew's death, his son Charles would succeed to the two offices.^x

In 1622 Andrew acquired a thirty-year-lease on Queen's Farm, an estate beside the Thames at Twickenham that would later be known as Orleans Park. The Parliamentary Survey of 1649/50, when the estate was still in the possession of his widow Charity (d.1653), contains a description of it. The Survey mentions gravelly walks, arbours, balusters, cypresses, 'rare and choice' flowers, cherries, vines, peaches, cabbages, turnips and carrots.

In 1635 Pitcarne paid £400 for the neighbouring (upstream) estate known as Yorke Farm. Moses Glover's map of that year shows a building apparently under construction on this site, which is believed to be York House. The current building certainly has some features dating from this period.^{xi} The Parliamentary Survey lists 'hereditaments of all sorts' including 'buildings,

⁹ William married his relative, Ann Kerr, Countess of Lothian in her own right, and in the following year he was made 1st Earl of Lothian of the second creation. His father's title, Earl of Ancrum, passed to Charles, the son from Ancrum's second marriage.

structures, granaries, stables, dovecots, gardens, orchards, flower gardens, lands, meadows [and] pasture'. The estate remained in the ownership of Pitcarne's family until 1656. Andrew also owned land in Whitton which he leased out in 1637.

The 1st Earl of Carlisle (1580-1636) and Viscount Belhaven (1573-1639)

James Hay, the future 1st Earl of Carlisle, was another Scot who came south in 1603. He resided briefly in what is now Old Deer Park around 1617. A letter in that year stated: 'Lord Hay has returned from Scotland and lives in a little house in Richmond Park [Old Deer Park] to be near Syon, where his mistress stays.'^{xii} This is clearly a reference to his future (second) wife, Lady Mary Percy, whose father, 9th Earl of Northumberland, owned Syon House across the river from Old Deer Park. As Master of the Great Wardrobe, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and Privy Councillor to James I, Carlisle was one of the King's closest advisors and a trusted diplomat. A notorious spendthrift, he was granted all the Caribbean Islands by Charles I in 1627. He was the subject of Thomas Campion's *Lord Hay's masque* (1607).

Robert Douglas, the future Viscount Belhaven, was Prince Henry's Master of Horse (Henry was a very keen horseman) and subsequently Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Charles. In 1622 he was given a long lease on Sheen House (the former Sheen Priory) and, on Charles's accession, was appointed Keeper of Richmond Palace, i.e. the mansion house, wardrobe, vessels and victuals, gardens and [Old Deer] park. He held this position from c. 1625 to 1638. In 1628 he became, additionally, the first Steward of the Court Leet for Richmond and Petersham, which established for the first time Richmond's independence from Kingston's jurisdiction. Belhaven was also a Privy Councillor and Treasurer to Charles I. Sadly, Belhaven became blind in 1637 and had to surrender the lease of Sheen as well as his keepership and other offices. He claimed to have spent £763 of his own money on the Lodge and the Keeper's Lodge and tried to claim compensation for this from the King.^{xiii}

The 4th Duke of Lennox & Duke of Richmond (1612-1655)

Two other Scots aristocrats who travelled south in 1603 were the brothers Ludovick and Esmé Stewart, the 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Lennox respectively.¹⁰ Ludovick accompanied Queen Anne and Prince Henry. These brothers, like the Earl of Carlisle, became naturalised English subjects. Esmé's son, James Stewart, 4th Duke of Lennox, was cousin, Lord Steward of the King's Household and Privy Counsellor to Charles I. He had been the legal ward of James I and so had been a close childhood companion to Charles. Not surprisingly, Lennox would become a leading Royalist. In 1638 (the year after the onset of Belhaven's blindness) Charles granted Lennox the Priory of Sheen for life. He was also made Keeper of Richmond Palace and Little Park (Old Deer Park) at the same time.^{xiv} In 1641, Lennox was given an English peerage, the appropriately named Dukedom of Richmond. This dukedom, however, took its name from Richmond in Yorkshire and had previously been given to the 2nd Duke of Lennox. The Earl of Richmond who built Richmond Palace (Henry VII) was related by marriage, but was not a direct ancestor.

In 1645 Lennox fought at the battle of Naseby, in which the royalist army was destroyed. Along with other Royalists, including the Earl of Dysart (see below), Lennox was charged as a

¹⁰ Their exotic Christian names are due to the inter-marriage of their branch of the Stuart family with the French aristocracy in the dying days of the Auld Alliance. When the 1st Duke of Lennox (1542-1583) left France to return to his ancestral land post-Reformation, he converted to Protestantism.

‘delinquent’ and his lands were sequestered. Sequestered Royalists could pay a hefty fine and recover their estates if they pledged not to take up arms against Parliament. The Committee for Compounding with Delinquents duly assessed Lennox for a large sum on all his estates with ‘forty pounds added for the site of West Shene Monastery’.^{xv} He paid his fine and was discharged. After Charles was executed, Lennox retired to a house in Kent.

Earl of Holderness (c.1580–1626) and the 1st Earl of Dysart (c.1600-55)

The original Ham House was built by the Englishman, Sir Thomas Vavasour, Knight Marshal to James I, allegedly for the use of Prince Henry, although there seems to be no evidence for this. According to a modern historian, Vavasour’s ‘official duties were such that he had always to be within call to take offenders into custody... They included state prisoners, seminary priests and idle Scots!’^{xvi} The occupant of Ham House in the period 1620-26 was John Ramsay, Earl of Holderness and Baron of Kingston-upon-Thames. In 1600, when he was a page, Ramsay had foiled an attempt by two Scots aristocrats to kill or capture King James. He was one of the many Scots who accompanied James on his southerly journey and who were subsequently given peerages – in Ramsay’s case English ones. After his death, Ham House was acquired by William Murray and it would remain in the possession of Murray’s descendants until 1948 when it was presented to the National Trust.¹¹

From a Richmond perspective, the originally untitled William Murray and his eldest daughter Elizabeth were among the most important Scots associated with the early Stuarts. His possible role as the young Charles’s ‘whipping boy’ has already been mentioned. On the plus side, Charles on his accession granted Murray an income of £900 as a Groom of the Chamber (other king’s attendants at that time were Ancrum, Pitcarne, Belhaven and Lennox) and later gave him the title Earl of Dysart after his Fifeshire home. In the late 1630s Dysart acquired leases of land in the manors of Ham and Petersham. He petitioned Charles for the freeholds in compensation for the enclosure of part of his estate within the King’s new Richmond Park, but the outbreak of civil war prevented resolution of this matter.^{xvii} Much of the extant art collection and interior decoration in Ham House, including the Great Staircase, as well as the brick wall around the House, are attributable to Dysart.

In the civil war Dysart acted as a go-between for the King in his negotiations with the Scottish Covenanters, who were allied with the English Parliamentarians. When the King was captured, Dysart took refuge on the Continent and, until his death in 1655, was involved in attempts to restore the monarchy. As for Ham House, as his daughter Elizabeth was later to complain ‘none

¹¹ The Murray (or Moray) family was closely associated with the Stuart monarchs in this period. John Murray and David Murray were another two Scots who travelled south with James I in 1603. They were created Earl of Annandale and Viscount Stormont for their services to the King. Two of Dysart’s uncles, Sir David Murray and Thomas Murray have already been mentioned in connection with Charles I. A cousin of Dysart, Sir Robert Moray, became Deputy Secretary of State for Scotland to Charles II under the Duke of Lauderdale (see below). He was also the driving force behind the creation of the Royal Society in 1660. Robert’s brother, Sir William Moray, was Master of Works (Architect) to Charles II. The latter two were noted early freemasons (as was the Earl of Rothes). There is no universal consensus on the early history of modern freemasonry. One possible scenario is that modern freemasonry originated in Scotland and was taken to England under the aegis of James I. For a period the lodges became foci of support for the Jacobite cause. However, in 1737 Prince Frederick, brother of the Duke of Cumberland (the future victor of Culloden), was initiated into the Richmond lodge, indicating that there was no link with Jacobitism, at least in England, by this time. (See, for example, www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/buta.html.)

had suffered more in the late times than they, having been twice plundered, sequestered, and forced to purchase their lands at an unreasonable rate'.^{xviii}

Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale (1616-1682, c.1626-1698)

Dysart had no son to succeed to his title; so, following his death and in accordance with Scots law, the eldest of his five daughters, Elizabeth, inherited his title as well as his estate. Despite being an active royalist – she was a member of a secret organisation called the Sealed Knot which conducted coded correspondence with exiled royalist supporters – the Countess succeeded in befriending Oliver Cromwell; and, despite the sequestration, she managed to hold on to Ham House. Her first husband died shortly after the restoration of the monarchy, and in 1672 she married the recently widowed Scot, John Maitland, Earl (later Duke) of Lauderdale, at St. Peter's Church in Petersham.

Maitland had initially been a leading negotiator on the Covenanters' side. However, after the execution of Charles I, he, along with many other moderate Covenanters, had taken the side of Charles II, King in exile. The Royalists, however, were defeated in 1651 at the Battle of Worcester and Lauderdale was imprisoned until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Lauderdale then became Secretary of State for Scotland and one of the Cabal, Charles II's inner circle of advisors. In this role, he persecuted those who had opposed the King during the interregnum.

Full freehold rights to the manors of Ham and Petersham were granted to the Lauderales by Charles II in 1671. The wealthy Duke, who was also created 1st Baron Petersham, added a fine new extension to Ham House – designed by another Scottish royalist, Sir William Bruce – and created the landscape that largely survives today, with its long avenues of trees radiating outwards from the house. Much of the extant furnishing and some of the decoration also date from this period. Ham House is Grade 1 listed. Beyond the Ham estate, the Duchess (when she was Countess of Dysart) and the Duke both held the position of Ranger of Richmond Park at different times during the reign of Charles II. Their fee for taking care of the deer, game and woods was one shilling per day and six shillings per day respectively; but the perks would have included rights to herbage, pannage and browsewood 'beyond what shall be sufficient for the deer and game' as well as windfall wood and the timber from dead trees.^{xix}

The Dukedom of Lauderdale became extinct on the death of Maitland but the Dysart peerage exists to this day. A later Countess of Dysart, Louisa (1745-1840), as Lady of the Manor, authorised the building of a new church on Ham Common in 1831. It was named St. Andrew's after the patron saint of Scotland – very apt in view of the large number of Scots who came to live in this locality.^{xx} Subsequently enlarged, the building is still there, picturesquely situated in the wooded part of the common.

Johnston, Orkney, Kinnoull, Mar, Argyll, Tweeddale

James Johnston (1655-1737)

Although not himself titled, James Johnston was the younger son of Lord Wariston, who was one of the most important of the Scottish Covenanters – indeed, he was one of the two draftsmen of the National Covenant. Unlike the Lauderdale faction of Covenanters, Wariston did not support the exiled Charles II. On the restoration of the monarchy, and with the approval of his former friend Lauderdale, he was executed because of his association with Cromwell. His son, James Johnston, fled to the Netherlands with his family. In 1688 Johnston accompanied William of Orange on his bloodless invasion of England. He was subsequently made joint Secretary of State for Scotland and, under Queen Anne, he was involved in the machinations that led to the Union of England and Scotland in 1707. He paid several visits to the court of the Elector of Hanover where he made a great impression, especially on the future Queen Caroline, consort of George II.

In 1702 Johnston acquired the former Pitcarne estate beside the Thames at Twickenham (later called Orleans Park) – ironically, directly opposite the Ham estate of his late enemy, the Duke of Lauderdale. In retirement, he grew fruit trees and vines there. A visitor said that ‘Doctor Bradley of the Royal Society...ranks him amongst the first rate gardeners in England’.^{xxi} In 1716 he commissioned his compatriot James Gibbs to design a fine octagonal summerhouse, which is still standing (Grade 1 listed). The design includes images of George I and the future George II and Queen Caroline. Today there is also a full length painting of Queen Caroline with her favourite son, the young Duke of Cumberland. George I actually visited Johnston at his home in 1724, and in 1729 Queen Caroline, her son Prince Frederick and Prime Minister Robert Walpole were royally entertained there – although the Queen brought her own cook and gold plate!^{xxii}

1st Earl of Orkney (1666-1737)

George Douglas Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney of the 3rd creation¹² and son of the Duke of Hamilton, lived at Twickenham Park c.1700-1702. The former estate, in the 16th century, of Sir Francis Bacon was at that time owned by Orkney’s future comrade-in-arms, the Dutch-born Earl of Albemarle. Albemarle, who was the favourite of William III, spent much of his time in the Netherlands.

Orkney had already distinguished himself as one of William’s officers during the Jacobite uprising of 1688-92, including the decisive victory over James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, and again in the larger Nine Years’ War in Europe (1688-1697). In the reign of Queen Anne, both Orkney and Albemarle participated in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1712) under the overall command of the Duke of Marlborough. Orkney, now a general, took part in every major battle and siege of that war, including the four famous victories over the French. He was noted for always succeeding in his allotted task, even against the odds. His eventual reward was his appointment in 1736 as the first Field-Marshal in the British army – just days before the 2nd Duke of Argyll (see below) was also awarded that honour.

Orkney was married to the feisty Elizabeth Villiers, who was from a Richmond family and reputedly a former mistress of William III. After his active military service his political career was sound if unremarkable. Following the union of England and Scotland in 1707, he sat as one

¹² The earldom of Orkney was originally a Norse title. It became a Scottish title in 1567, but even before then it had been held by a number of Scotsmen under the Norwegian crown.

of the first intake of Scottish representative peers in the British Parliament in Westminster. He was made Governor of Virginia in 1710 but never visited the colony.¹³

7th Earl of Kinnoull (c.1660-1719) and the 6th/22nd/23rd Earl of Mar (c.1675-1732)¹⁴

The role of Thomas Hay, 7th Earl of Kinnoull, as one of the Commissioners appointed by Queen Anne to negotiate the Union of England and Scotland brought him to London in 1702. While he was there, he married off his daughter Margaret to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who was in London for the same purpose as Kinnoull. The marriage took place in Twickenham, perhaps because Kinnoull or Mar was staying with their compatriot James Johnston. What is certain is that in 1713 Kinnoull was recorded as living in a riverside house in the future St. Margaret's district of Twickenham.^{xxiii} This is no doubt connected with the fact that, between 1710 and 1714, he had joined the Earl of Orkney as one of the sixteen elected Scottish representatives in the British Parliament. In 1715 Kinnoull found himself imprisoned for a while in Edinburgh Castle on suspicion of Jacobite tendencies. This was due to his association with the Earl of Mar.

John Erskine's great-great-grandfather, an earlier Earl of Mar, had been Prince Henry's tutor in Scotland and had been yet another of the Scottish nobles who had accompanied James I on his progress to London. John's father, Charles, had supported William III against the Jacobites in 1689 and had had his castle at Braemar burnt down as a result.¹⁵ John himself had varying allegiances depending on his perceived self-interest, justifying his nickname 'Bobbing John', but he is remembered now as one of the leading Jacobites.

In or around 1710, Mar leased a property just up-river from James Johnston – today the site of the Thames Eyot flats. Mar was, by his own admission, 'infected with the disease of building and gardening'^{xxiv}. He was a patron of these arts – he launched the career of James Gibbs, for example – but he was also himself a serious practitioner. He made sketches, which have survived, of Johnston's estate, the Ham estate and Marble Hill Park. Mar's Twickenham property 'with its hanging gardens to the river' would doubtless have been landscaped by Mar himself.^{xxv} However, he did not have much time to enjoy his garden because in 1714 he decided to burn his political boats.

Mar had been Secretary of State for Scotland under Queen Anne but, as a Tory, he believed he had no political future under George I. In 1714 Mar raised the Jacobite standard at Braemar in support of the would-be James III, the 'Old Pretender', thereby initiating one of the three most dangerous Jacobite insurgencies. At Sheriffmuir he was confronted by a government army under the command of his former friend, the 2nd Duke of Argyll (see below). Although Argyll's forces were only one third the size of Mar's, the Jacobites were stopped in their tracks and never recovered. Mar escaped and, like many a Jacobite, saw out the rest of his days on the continent.

¹³ He died at his house in, oddly enough, Albemarle Street – a street named after the 2nd Duke of the 2nd creation, who was unrelated to the Dutch Earl.

¹⁴ The earldom of Mar is the oldest peerage in Britain. The numbering of individual earls has varied as a result of a legal dispute in the 19th Century. The above three numbers have been used at different times for the same person – John Erskine, the subject of this section.

¹⁵ The army raised by Charles Erskine evolved into the Royal Scots Fusiliers, which was a regiment of the British Army up to the mergers of 1959.

2nd Duke of Argyll (1680-1743)

John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll, was born at Ham House, his father having married a daughter of the Duchess of Lauderdale by her first marriage to Sir Lionel Tollemache. The Campbells of Argyll were an important Scottish family of this era, most of them of the Covenanter persuasion. John's great-grandfather, like James Johnston's father, had been executed in the reign of Charles II. John's grandfather, despite having allied himself with Lauderdale, had been executed in the reign of the Catholic James II (**both of these Campbells were beheaded by means of the 'Maiden', the Scottish forerunner of the guillotine**). John's father, like James Johnston himself, had crossed the Channel with William of Orange.

Argyll was a Whig¹⁶: he supported the Union of Parliaments in 1707 and the Hanoverian succession in 1714. A soldier from the age of sixteen, he had been another of the Duke of Marlborough's most senior generals in his wars in the Low Countries and the Mediterranean and **had taken part in, among others, the battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet**. His nickname was 'Red John of the Battles'. Red John's meeting with Bobbing John at Sheriffmuir has already been mentioned. The defeat of the Jacobites 300 years ago, in 1715, secured the Hanoverian succession and had two consequences in the Richmond area. Firstly, the leading Anglo-Irish Jacobite, the 2nd Duke of Ormond, was forced to flee the country and his estate in Old Deer Park was consequently forfeited. This estate, which included Richmond Lodge, was occupied by the future George II and Queen Caroline in 1718, and a large part of it would eventually be absorbed into Kew Gardens.

The second consequence was the development of Sudbrook Park. Argyll had already acquired some land adjacent to the Ham House estate, but in 1726 George I granted Argyll the lease of a further 30 acres of land in Richmond Park, apparently in belated recognition of his services to the Crown (he was also given the British Dukedom of Greenwich and was briefly commander-in-chief of the British army). John Roque's map of 1746 shows an extensive area planted with trees – possibly supplied by his brother Archibald (see 3rd Duke below). Argyll commissioned James Gibbs to build a splendid villa, which is still standing. Grade 1 listed, it is today the clubhouse of a private golf course. Through Argyll's daughter, Caroline, the estate descended eventually to the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch.

3rd Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)

Archibald Campbell, born in Ham House like his brother John, was known as the Earl of Islay for most of his life. He was **the first of the Scottish aristocrats to be educated at Eton**, starting a trend that would persist into modern times. He and his brother were two of the most important upholders of the Union of England and Scotland and of the Hanoverian succession. **In the 1715 uprising, Islay successfully defended Inverary against Jacobite forces that included Rob Roy MacGregor**, and he was wounded at the Battle of Sheriffmuir. However, Islay's forte was politics not war. He sat in the British Parliament as an elected Scottish peer and, like Mar and Kinnoull, he was one of the Commissioners who negotiated the Union of Parliaments. An ally of Prime Minister Walpole, he became effectively **Secretary of State for Scotland under George II: indeed he was so powerful that he was ironically referred to as 'the King of Scotland'**.

¹⁶ 'Whig' is derived from 'Whiggamore', originally a Scottish Covenanter.

Islay was a highly cultured man and, due to his patronage of key individuals, he has been called the father of the Scottish Enlightenment. In England he was influential in one particular sphere – garden design, particularly with regard to the use of exotic trees. Horace Walpole observed that ‘the introduction of foreign trees and plants, which we owe principally to Archibald, Duke of Argyll, contributed essentially to the richness of colouring so peculiar to our modern landscape’.^{xxvi} Starting in 1725, Islay created a notable garden at Whitton out of a swathe of Hounslow Heath.¹⁷ A visitor said of it that the soil “was very meagre, nearly all around being bare ling-heath; but the Duke has been able to show what pleasure, art, and money are able to effect, and that by their means the most meagre places are converted into fruitful land”.^{xxvii} At Whitton he had a supreme collection of economically useful plants as well as ornamental trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants. He achieved this through an extensive international network of plant collectors and growers. It is more than likely that his nephew, 3rd Earl of Bute¹⁸, made use of this network when he started plant collecting for Princess Augusta’s botanic garden at Kew in 1758 (see Part 2).^{xxviii}

Islay was appointed trustee of a settlement George II made on his mistress, Henrietta Howard. In this capacity, it is possible that he had a hand in the selection of the site for Henrietta’s house – Marble Hill Park in Twickenham. The design of the grounds is attributed mostly to Alexander Pope, but, given Islay’s expertise, it is likely that the latter did more than just pay the bills. Certainly, he supervised the building of the house, the initial design for which was drawn up by his compatriot, Colen Campbell. Marble Hill survives as a public park but the only part of the Whitton estate to survive is Murray Park, where Islay had housed *his* mistress, Elizabeth Williams. Local street names, Argyle (*sic*) Avenue and Argyle Road, commemorate the 3rd Duke.

In 1745, by which time Archibald had become the 3rd Duke of Argyll, the third major Jacobite insurgency occurred. In the following year, although Argyll chose not to get personally involved in the fighting on this occasion, a contingent of his Clan Campbell militia helped the Duke of Cumberland defeat the last remnant of Jacobite resistance at Culloden. By some reckonings there were more Scots in Cumberland’s army than there were in Charles Edward Stuart’s Scots/Irish army.

4th Marquess of Tweeddale (1695-1762)

The official Secretary of State for Scotland in the period 1742-46 was John Hay, 4th Marquess of Tweeddale. He was a member of the so-called **Squadron Volante** that forty years previously, under his grandfather’s leadership, had been instrumental in securing the Union of Parliaments, but was now the rival faction to the Argathelians, i.e. the Dukes of Argyll and their allies.

¹⁷ A contemporary piece of doggerel recounted the, presumably apocryphal, tale of Islay opening up vistas at random through the trees at Whitton: ‘With transport and joy he beheld his first view end/ In a favourite prospect – a church that was ruined./ But, alas! What a sight did the next cut exhibit!// At the end of the walk hung a rogue on a gibbet!// He beheld it and wept, for it caused him to muse on/ Full many a Campbell that died with his shoes on.’ (Rev. James Branston, quoted in Horace Walpole, letter to Sir Horace Mann, 3 June 1742)

¹⁸ On the 3rd Duke’s death, Bute is reputed to have removed choice specimens of plant from Whitton to Kew Gardens, including five extant trees that are known as the ‘Old Lions’.

In the critical year 1745/46, Tweeddale is recorded as living in the house in East Twickenham formerly occupied by the Earl of Kinnoull. Operating from England, Tweeddale was politically ineffectual and he failed to anticipate the danger posed by Prince Charles's Jacobite uprising. Tweeddale duly lost his position as Secretary of State for Scotland – a position that before his appointment had been vacant for some time and after his resignation was vacant again until 1885!¹⁹ He continued to be one of the Scottish representative peers at Westminster until 1761. During that time he lived at Twickenham House on Twickenham Common. It was here that, for reasons best known to himself, he created a fence made from broadsword blades collected by the Duke of Cumberland from the battlefield at Culloden.^{xxix} This fence remained there until 1888. His widow, Frances, lived at and named near-by Gifford Lodge (destroyed by fire in 1963). The Earldom of Gifford was a subsidiary title of the Marquess of Tweeddale.

Culloden was the last battle to be fought on British soil. It was the last episode in a century of civil wars that had begun in Scotland in the reign of Charles I, and it was followed by a stability in the union of England and Scotland that would persist into the 21st century.

Part 2: 1746 onwards

As stated in Part 1, The Battle of Culloden in 1746 marked the end of a century of civil wars.²⁰ Thereafter the Hanoverian succession and the Union of England and Scotland were secure. However, from the 18th century onwards the power of the monarch decreased, followed by a more gradual diminishing of the political importance of the nobility. Also, under the terms of the Union of 1707, Scottish peers, apart from sixteen elected “representative peers”, were excluded from the House of Lords, even if they also held an English or British peerage.²¹

There were exceptions but, as one historian has put it, Scotland's upper classes, while becoming more assimilated into the British Establishment, “were losing that hard-driving entrepreneurial edge which had been part of their cultural heritage. They increasingly settled into the ideal of the English gentleman. The values of Eton, Cambridge and Oxford, of the Reform and Athenaeum clubs, and of Lord's Cricket Ground steadily replaced those of a grittier home-grown variety”.^{xxx} Conversely, following the lead of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the grouse moors and deer forests of Scotland were becoming the playground of the English upper classes.

Earl and Marquess of Bute

3rd Earl of Bute (1713-1792)

¹⁹ The polymath James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton, together with his family, were imprisoned in the Bastille for three months in 1747, possibly because the Earl had Jacobite leanings.

²⁰ Stephen Howe in his “Ireland and Empire” (OUP, 2000) called it “the Hundred Years' War of the British Isles

²¹ British peers created after 1707, of any nationality, were unaffected by this ruling. The limitation on Scottish peers was abolished in 1963, but, under legislation introduced in 1999, most hereditary peers of all nationalities were excluded from the House of Lords.

Anne (née) Campbell, the mother of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, was the sister of the 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Argyll (see Part 1). These two brothers became John's guardians when, at the age of nine, he lost his father. Bute was educated at Eton, as the 3rd Duke had been, and at Leiden University, which at that time was the leading centre of botanical science in Europe. Bute inherited the 3rd Duke's passion for botany (but not his political views) and, owing to his expertise in this sphere, Bute played a crucial role in the creation of one of Richmond's greatest assets.

In 1746, after a period spent on the improvement of his ancestral estate on the Isle of Bute, he came to England and stayed initially in Montpelier Row, Twickenham. Following a chance encounter at the Egham races, he became Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, at the very time when the latter was extending and re-landscaping his estate at Kew. After Frederick's death, Bute became tutor to the Prince's eldest son (the future George III) who doted on Bute, and also became effectively the director of what was now the widowed Princess Augusta's Kew estate. Working from a *pied à terre* in Kew Green²², Bute was responsible for staff recruitment, landscaping and plant acquisition. He introduced his protégé William Chambers (born in Sweden of Scottish parents) to Princess Augusta, and some of Chambers' architectural creations still grace the gardens.²³ Most crucially of all for Kew's future, Bute had a hand in the creation of the original nine acre botanic garden at Kew. In addition, Bute was Ranger of Richmond Park – the last non-royal Ranger – from 1761 until his death in 1792, with the use of White Lodge in the Park as a residence and with his son (or, possibly, two of his sons – see below under “1st Marquess of Bute”) as Deputy Ranger.²⁴

George III made Bute Groom of the Stole, Privy Councillor, Secretary of State and finally, in 1762, (Tory) Prime Minister. In the latter capacity, Bute steered the negotiations that ended the Seven Years' War. Latter-day historians tend to regard Bute as an able and conscientious person and the Treaty of Paris as a politic settlement. However, as Bishop Warburton remarked at the time: “Lord Bute is a very unfit man to be Prime Minister of England. First, he is a Scotchman; secondly, he is the King's friend; and thirdly he is an honest man.”^{xxxii} Following a vicious campaign by the Whig opposition (including apparently unfounded allegations of a love affair with Princess Augusta) the Prime Minister's situation became so untenable that the King had no alternative but to accept his resignation less than a year into his administration.²⁵

Bute thereafter had more time to devote to botany, including the acquisition of plants for Kew. The contemporary botanist Peter Collinson said that “from [Bute's] great knowledge in the science of botany the Gardens at Kew have been furnish'd with all the rare exotick trees and flowers that could be procured”.^{xxxiii} The foundations that were laid there under Bute's direction

²² What is now no. 33 the Green was Bute's study, while no. 37 (now the much altered Cambridge Cottage) was for the use of his family.

²³ Bute may have had a hand in naming Chambers' extant Temples of Aeolus, Arethusa and Bellona. These are all names of Royal Navy ships that were involved in the Seven Years War (see next paragraph and J.J. Colledge & Ben Warlow, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, 2010).

²⁴ George III and Queen Charlotte continued to use White Lodge occasionally.

²⁵ Almost a century passed before the next Scottish Prime Minister was appointed – George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, 1852-5. Aberdeen played a part, in 1840, in preventing the dismemberment of the botanic garden at Kew, and he later helped Kew to build up its economic botany collection. Subsequent aristocratic Anglo-Scottish Prime Ministers were Archibald Primrose, 5th Earl of Rosebery, 1894-5; and Alec Douglas-Home, 14th Earl of Home, 1963-4. The latter relinquished his peerage five days into his premiership.

and with Princess Augusta's money would be built on by George III and his new director, Sir Joseph Banks.^{xxxiii} After Bute's death, his wife Mary – the daughter of the noted writer, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu – spent the last few years of her life at the riverside house in East Twickenham previously occupied by the Earl of Kinnoull and the Marquess of Tweeddale (see also "1st Marquess of Ailsa" below). Horace Walpole was a frequent visitor.

When Bute fell from grace, so did his brother James Stuart-Mackenzie (1714-99). While Bute had spent most of his time in England, getting involved in British politics, James lived mostly in Scotland, looking after the ancestral estate on the Isle of Bute and getting involved in Scottish politics. However, in 1785, James bought a house in Petersham, adjacent to Richmond Park, which would remain in the Bute family for more than a century. The previous owner had been Sir James Cockburn, Bart. from an originally Scottish military family.^{xxxiv}

1st Marquess of Bute (1744–1814) and family

Bute House in Petersham passed to the 3rd Earl of Bute's eldest son, also John, who enlarged the building. John served as a diplomat in Italy and Spain and was elevated to 1st Marquess of Bute for his services to the state. Through his first marriage to Charlotte Windsor, land in South Wales passed into the Bute family. "Cardiff owes its existence to the Butes. It has been said that no other city has been so influenced by one aristocratic family."^{xxxv} His second wife, Frances, was the daughter and heir of the Scottish banker, Thomas Coutts. Bute House remained in the family until 1898, when it was bought and demolished by Mrs. Rachel Warde in order to make way for the handsome All Saints church (1901). This building was never consecrated and its current use is once again residential. No. 182 Petersham Road, directly opposite the Dysart Arms, is the former Bute House gate lodge. The Bute family is commemorated in two local street names, Bute Avenue and Bute Gardens.

According to John Cloake and other authorities, the Marquess's brother, the Hon. James Stuart (later James Stuart Wortley Mackenzie, 1747-1818) was resident Deputy Ranger of Richmond Park at some time in the period 1781-92 with Old Lodge (demolished 1839) as his residence. However, *History of Parliament* has James as Deputy Ranger of *Windsor* Park, 1786-1818, and another brother, Sir Charles Stuart (1753-1801) as Deputy Ranger of Richmond Park, 1784-92. The same publication also gives one of Sir Charles's addresses as Stone Lodge, Richmond Park – an 18th century name for White Lodge, which up to 1792 was the residence of the Ranger, Sir Charles' father, 3rd Earl of Bute.^{xxxvi} Sir Charles is known to have lived, and indeed died, at Thatched House Lodge in Richmond Park (another residence once associated with Keepers and Deputy Rangers) in the period 1785-1801. Research might reveal a sharing of duties, and perhaps residences, by members of the Bute family.²⁶ From 1801 to 1813, under the rangership of George III, the Deputy Ranger was another Scottish aristocrat, Louisa (née) Cathcart, 2nd Countess of Mansfield in her own right (1758-1843).^{xxxvii} She had the use of Old Lodge in the Park for the duration. For the rest of her life she lived in a house at the top of Richmond Hill – today the Richmond Hill Hotel.²⁷

²⁶ The Anglo-Scot, Sir Angus Ogilvey (1928-2004), second son of the 12th Earl of Airlie and husband of Princess Alexandra of Kent lived in Thatched House Lodge from 1963 until his death. He turned down the offer of an Earldom of his own and a grace-and-favour apartment in one of the royal palaces.

²⁷ Richmond Hill Hotel are currently (2015) offering "Countess of Mansfield Afternoon Teas" at £29 per person, including a glass of chilled champagne! The Countess inherited her title from her uncle, William Murray, 1st Earl of

The brothers James and Charles Stuart were both military men (a common route for the Scottish aristocracy to take) who saw action in the American War of Independence (1775-83). Sir Charles also took part in the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) and was a particularly able, if fractious, general. One army historian has ranked him with Wellington, describing him as “a man of talents so rare both as a commander and an administrator, that the imbecility of Henry Dundas [Secretary of War] alone prevented him from winning a name in history even before his premature death”.^{xxxviii} The two brothers were buried in the family vault at Petersham.

One of the 1st Marquess of Bute’s sons, another Charles Stuart (1775-1796), at the tender age of sixteen joined a future Petersham resident, Captain George Vancouver, on a famous survey of the Pacific coast of North America. Charles was one of two aristocratic midshipmen on that voyage, the other being Thomas Pitt whose father, 1st Baron Camelford, like Charles’ father, had a residence in Petersham (Petersham Lodge in his case). During the voyage, Vancouver had the young Pitt publicly flogged for some minor misdemeanour. At a subsequent dinner, Charles produced a razor and told Vancouver that he would sooner cut his own throat than suffer the humiliation of a flogging. Vancouver thereafter gave Charles a disproportionate number of arduous and hazardous tasks to do, which he carried out with fortitude.²⁸ Sadly, at the age of twenty, the by-then Lieutenant Stuart died when his ship sank off Madeira.^{xxxix}

Queensberry and Buccleuch

3rd Duke of Queensberry (1698-1778)

The 2nd Duke of Queensberry and 1st Duke of Dover was another Scottish nobleman who played a major role in securing the union of parliaments in 1707 (see Part 1). His son, Charles Douglas, 3rd Duke of Queensberry, held a number of official positions, including Lord of the Bedchamber to George I and Privy Councillor, but although he had inherited a British peerage (Dover) as well as a Scottish one, he was excluded from the House of Lords.

In 1728 the 3rd Duke inherited a house in Petersham that had been built on part of Petersham common field and that to this day bears his surname – Douglas House (it is now part of a German school). His wife, Catherine (“Kitty”) Hyde, was a great socialite and literary hostess, and one of her protégés, John Gay, is believed to have written *The Beggar’s Opera* there. When a sequel to this operetta satirising Prime Minister Walpole was refused a license by the Lord Chamberlain, Kitty’s brazen championing of Gay’s cause got her banished from the court and forced her husband to resign his offices. Queensberry then allied himself with the opposition by becoming, in 1733, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to (Kew resident) Frederick, Prince of Wales. However, the latter died before he could accede to the throne. George III restored Queensberry to

Mansfield, the remarkable Scotsman who reformed the *English* judicial system and, in the famous Somersett’s case, ruled that no one could be a slave in England. It was of Mansfield that Samuel Johnson said: “Much may be made of a Scotchman if he be caught young” (Mansfield had completed his education in England).

²⁸ The naturalist/surgeon on this voyage was Scotsman Archibald Menzies, who was tasked with collecting plants for Joseph Banks and Kew Gardens. Menzies famously introduced the Monkey Puzzle tree (*Araucaria araucana*) into Kew after picking seed out of a dessert that had been served to him by the Governor of Chile, who was the father of Bernardo O’Higgins, the future liberator of Chile. Bernardo left to live and study in Richmond around this time.

the Privy Council, but in practise he exerted little political power. His two sons pre-deceased him and the Dukedom of Queensberry passed to a nephew.

4th Duke of Queensberry (1724-1810)

Before inheriting the Dukedom of Queensberry in 1778, William Douglas had held two other Scottish peerages and had a seat in the House of Lords as one of the sixteen elected representative peers. He was also a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to George III. Settled in Piccadilly in London, “Old Q”, as he became known as, was a confirmed bachelor and a notorious gambler and womaniser. He was also a breeder of racehorses and was an early member of the Jockey Club.

In 1780 Queensberry bought a house on the former site of Richmond Palace, enlarged it and filled it with fine furniture and paintings, the latter mostly of eminent people from the reign of Charles I. Apart from its being a fashionable area, it is difficult to see what attracted such an urbanite to rural Richmond. It was not, evidently, the beautiful scenery. William Wilberforce quoted him as saying: “What is there to make so much of in the Thames? I am quite weary of it; there it goes, flow, flow, flow, always the same”.^{xi} Nor did he seek solitude. He held frequent soirées there with illustrious guests such as Horace Walpole, William Pitt, the Duke of Clarence, the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, as well as refugees from the Terror in France.

He was popular with the locals because he spent money and gave generously to charity. However, when he tried to enclose part of the towpath, which was common land, and add it to his property, Richmond Vestry took him to court and won. Queensberry left Richmond, never to return. He bequeathed Queensberry House to a young lady who, he believed, was his daughter. The house was demolished in 1829, but the current 20th century block of flats on this location continues to bear the name Queensberry House (in Queensberry Place). The brick arches that can still be seen in the garden of the flats are believed to be the remnants of an arcade that was added by Queensberry.^{xii} The two Flower Pot Islands in the Thames opposite are his only other legacy: for some unknown reason he divided what was originally a single island into two.^{xiii}

Queensberry was only of middling importance in British and Scottish politics. Believing George III to be dying, he switched his allegiance to the Prince of Wales – as his uncle had done with an earlier Prince of Wales. However, the King recovered and Queensberry thereafter ceased to have any prominence in politics. He died at the age of eighty-six. A contemporary said that “he would have lived longer but for his imprudent indulgence in eating fruit”!^{xiiii} His dukedom passed to his cousin, the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch.

3rd Duke of Buccleuch & 5th Duke of Queensberry (1746-1812)

The 1st Duke of Buccleuch is better known as the Duke of Monmouth, the favourite illegitimate son of James II, whose wife under Scottish law was Duchess of Buccleuch in her own right. The 3rd Duke, Henry Scott, was educated at Eton and did the Grand Tour in the company of the great Scottish philosopher and economist, Adam Smith, who remained a lifelong friend. Although he also became a friend of the all-powerful British politician (and fellow Scot) Henry Dundas, Buccleuch chose to spend his time improving his Scottish estates – not just on a commercial

basis but also on enlightened social and moral principles – rather than pursue a political career in London.^{xliv} Among the offices that he held was Governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland, whose first Governor, and one of its founders in 1727, had been the 3rd Duke of Argyll (it was a good bank then!).²⁹

Buccleuch's inheritance of Sudbrook Park (in 1794) has already been mentioned. His wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of the Duke of Montagu, and on the latter's death in 1790 she inherited, among other property, a small estate beside the Thames at Richmond. Part of this estate still bears the name Buccleuch Gardens and is a public park. Buccleuch's relative, Sir Walter Scott, was an occasional visitor and no doubt consequently became familiar with the view from Richmond Hill. Sir Walter's description of this view in his novel *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818) helped to make it world famous.

Buccleuch and his wife were noted for their charitable works. An obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* said that "His Grace succeeded at an early age to a princely fortune, which gave him the means of indulging his natural disposition to public spirit and private liberality, to which purpose a considerable part of his immense funds were known to be applied A person so greatly exalted was generally accessible to the poor"^{xlv}. His ODNB entry states that "his death [in] 1812 marked the end of an era of enlightened public leadership by the great nobility of Scotland".

5th Duke of Buccleuch & 7th Duke of Queensberry (1806-1884)

Walter Montagu Douglas Scott was orphaned, and inherited his two dukedoms, at the age of thirteen. The Sudbrook estate was sold off by his family, but since the young duke was attending Eton College in this period, it is likely that he spent a considerable amount of time at the Richmond home of his grandmother Elizabeth, the widow of the 3rd Duke. When Walter was sixteen, George IV spent two weeks as his guest on his Midlothian estate. This was the famous occasion in 1822 when the kilted Hanoverian was in Scotland on a visit organised by Buccleuch's relative and namesake, Sir Walter Scott. This was a foreshadowing of later events.

Buccleuch was made a Knight of the Garter and a Privy Councillor and involved himself in British politics as well as Scottish affairs. A Conservative, he became the third Scottish Lord Privy Seal in Robert Peel's Tory government – the administration that would be responsible for the repeal of the Corn Laws.³⁰ He was also involved in a number of societies, notably as President of the Royal Horticultural Society in succession to Prince Albert.

When his grandmother died in 1827, Buccleuch took possession of her Richmond estate. A crucial event in the history of this area was Buccleuch's acquisition of the neighbouring estate of Lord Lansdowne, so that his grounds stretched from the River Thames to the top of Richmond Hill with magnificent views across the Thames Valley. **Buccleuch had lands in England and Scotland (indeed he was one of the richest private landowners of his day) but Richmond was a favourite place for him and his wife Charlotte, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Victoria, to**

²⁹ At the time of writing (2015) anyone using the cash dispenser at the Royal Bank of Scotland branch in Richmond (or elsewhere) will see, flashed on the screen, an image of the 3rd Duke of Argyll on an RBS £20 banknote.

³⁰ The others were 1st Baron Wharncliffe, son of James Stuart Wortley Mackenzie (see above), and the 9th Earl of Haddington.

receive royal visitations: in 1833, William IV, Queen Adelaide and other royals; in 1842, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and King Leopold I of Belgium; and finally, in 1867, Sultan Abdulaziz who was the first ruler of the Ottoman Empire to visit western Europe.

The June 1842 event was surely the most glittering to occur in Buccleuch's estate. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, King Leopold I and Queen Louise-Marie of the Belgians, Queen Dowager Adelaide and a plethora of royal princes and princesses, together with an aging Duke of Wellington and former Prime Minister Viscount Melbourne, were seen strolling on Buccleuch's riverside lawn. Buccleuch had just been made a Privy Counsellor and Lord Privy Seal in Robert Peel's Tory government – the administration that would be responsible for the momentous repeal of the Corn Laws. Cannon were fired on the approach of King Leopold and the three Queens. Madrigals, catches and glees were sung. Dances were performed. One of two military bands, the Royal Household Guards, played a selection of waltzes, including one composed by Prince Albert himself. At nine o'clock, the trees and shrubs in the gardens were illuminated and there was a splendid fireworks display. The next day, the *Morning Post* declared that "a scene of more gorgeous grandeur, as well as beauty, was never before seen in this or any other country"^{xlvi}.

Buccleuch received Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on another occasion. This was at his Midlothian estate and was the start of the royal couple's famous love affair with Scotland. Buccleuch's Richmond estate eventually became part of the current Terrace Gardens, acquired in 1884 by Richmond Vestry and officially opened by the Hanoverian cousin of Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Teck.

When Buccleuch died, his son William, 6th Duke of Buccleuch (1831-1914), sold the Richmond estate to the local authority. The latter had feared that the grounds might be built on by developers and the famous view from Richmond Terrace ruined. Most of the estate became a public park, named Terrace Gardens, in 1887. Richmond Vestry noted that the grounds "had been laid out not many years ago by the Duke of Buccleuch" and had therefore decided "to keep the gardens practically as they were - there was no need to gild the lily"^{xlvii}. A lengthy contemporary article in a local newspaper described the gardens' heavily wooded and secluded character and listed a series of beautiful internal and external views that can still be enjoyed today.^{xlviii} Importantly, the trees in the Gardens also serve to frame the famous view from Richmond Terrace and screen out a large part of modern built-up Twickenham. The Gardens were registered Grade II in 2001.^{xlix}

Montrose, Ailsa, Gordon, Fife, Strathmore & Kinghorne

2nd Duke of Montrose (1712-1790)

William Graham, 2nd Duke of Montrose, was the great-great-grandson of the Marquess of Montrose, the Scottish Covenanter who became a royalist (like the Duke of Lauderdale – see Part 1) and won a string of victories before his disastrous defeat at the Battle of Philiphaugh (1645). William's father, 1st Duke of Montrose, on the other hand, was a leading supporter of the Hanoverian succession in opposition to the Jacobites. The Eton-educated 2nd Duke briefly followed a military career. However, "His Grace had the misfortune, when yet but little past

middle age, to suffer the affliction of blindness, which he bore with singular courage and patience”³¹ The Duke in later life lived mainly in England – at Petersham House (141-3 Petersham Road) and, more splendidly, at Twickenham Park, the former estate of Sir Francis Bacon and the Earl of Albemarle (see Part 1).

Twickenham Park extended from the Richmond Ferry almost to the mouth of the River Crane. The will of the previous owner had made a curious stipulation, which Horace Walpole summarised: [The Countess of Mountrath has bequeathed] Twickenham Park to Lord Frederick [Cavendish], but he must permit it to be inhabited by the Duchess of Montrose till the Duke of Newcastle dies³¹, when the Duchess of Newcastle is to occupy it, and when she dies, the Duchess of Montrose is to return to it, and after her Lord Frederick is to enjoy it.”^{li} That indeed is what happened, except that the Duke of Montrose seems to have lived on at Twickenham Park until his death two years after his wife’s demise.^{lii}

Richmond Bridge was completed during the Montroses’ tenure and that involved some loss of land from the Twickenham Park estate. C.J. Sauthier’s map of 1786/7 shows the grounds as they were during the Montroses’s time there. The formal layout shown in earlier maps had been replaced with a largely naturalistic design in accordance with the fashion of the day. Despite the Duke and Duchess’s infirmities, they did a great deal of entertaining there: Horace Walpole, for example, visited three or four times a week.^{liii}

Montrose’s son James, 3rd Duke of Montrose (1755–1836), was a very active politician. In 1782 he was responsible for bringing about the repeal of the 1747 Act that, in the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden, had prohibited the wearing of highland dress in Scotland. A contemporary Gaelic poet, Duncan ban McIntyre, celebrated the event in verse,³² and Highlanders long afterwards drank a toast to Montrose. When the 3rd Duke died, his widow Caroline (née) Montagu, moved back to Petersham. Her house, directly opposite Petersham House, is still today called Montrose House. Tommy Steele, the popular singer, lived there at one time!

1st Marquess of Ailsa (1770-1846)

Archibald Kennedy had held the titles of 12th Earl of Cassilis (Ayrshire) and Baron Ailsa before his friend William IV created him Marquess of Ailsa in 1831. Ailsa Craig is a granite rock of 220 acres in the Firth of Clyde, uninhabited except by puffins and gannets.³³ His father, the 11th Earl, had been a naval commander. The Marquess himself was a Fellow of the Royal Society and sat in the House of Lords. He voted in favour of the momentous (Whig) Reform Bill of 1832.

In 1820 Ailsa acquired the northern half of the former Montrose estate at Twickenham Park. He built a mansion on it, replacing the house previously occupied by the Earl of Kinnoull, the Marquess of Tweeddale and Lady Bute (see Part 1). He called it St. Margaret’s House after the canonised English wife (1045-93) of Malcolm III of Scotland – the king who ousted Macbeth – perhaps as a tribute to his own wife Margaret (née) Erskine. A visitor said in 1840 that “this

³¹ The 1st Duke of Newcastle was Prime Minister immediately before the 3rd Earl of Bute. He died in 1768.

³² “Indulgent laws at last restore/ The noble dress our fathers wore/ Exulting then let us resume/ The bonnet blue and eagle plume/ The tartan coat and jaunty vest/ and belted plaid becomes us best.” The only people exempted from the tartan ban had been the soldiers of the Black Watch regiment.

³³ Ailsa Craig is currently (2015) up for sale at an asking price of £1,500,000.

beautiful spot owes its present appearance and arrangement to its noble proprietor, who has displayed great judgement in forming out of old buildings the delightful residence which adorns Twickenham Park, and embellishes the view down the river from Richmond, whence it is seen to great advantage".^{liv} An article in *The Gardens Magazine* in 1838 gives a detailed description of the gardens' fruit, vegetable and ornamental planting. Of particular note were a Rhododendron that cost thirty guineas, exceptionally large specimens of White Poplar, and oranges grown in an orangery "not far exceeded by the far-famed orange trees at Versailles".^{lv}

The Ailsa family retained this estate until 1848, after which the area was developed as a garden suburb. The Marquess's name lives on in place names – Ailsa Road, Ailsa Avenue, Ailsa Tavern and Cassilis Road – and the surrounding district has retained the name of the sainted Queen of Scotland – St Margaret's.

Lord James Hay (1788-1862), Lord Frederick Gordon-Hallyburton (1799-1878)

To the north of the Ailsa estate there stood a fine house overlooking the River. This building is extant and today bears the name Gordon House (Grade II listed). For a while in the 20th century it was a teachers training college, but it recently became part of a major housing development. The original building on this spot dates back to the 17th century, but as of 1826 the house was owned and occupied by General Lord James Hay, the second son of the 7th Marquess of Tweeddale. Hay named it Seaton House after his family's ancestral seat in Aberdeenshire.

From 1832 it was owned and occupied by Lady Augusta Kennedy-Erskine, the illegitimate daughter of Dorothea Jordan and William IV (who is said to have paid 8,000 guineas for the house). Augusta was the recent widow of Hon. John Kennedy-Erskine, who was the second son of the 1st Marquess of Ailsa and equerry to King William. The Marquess, of course, lived next door at St. Margaret's House. The gardens of Seaton House were re-designed "in the Venetian style, fountains and classical vases meeting the eye at every turn". The King was a frequent visitor.

Things started to go wrong when Augusta married another Scot, Lord John Frederick Gordon, the third son of the 9th Marquess of Huntly. Gordon was a naval captain, later known as Lord Frederick Gordon-Hallyburton after he had inherited an estate from an uncle of the latter name. The Ailsas disapproved of the re-marriage and the bickering between the neighbours got so bad that King William re-housed the Gordon-Hallyburtons in Kensington Palace. However, Lord Frederick was recorded as the occupant of the now re-named Gordon House up to 1847, and he was followed by a succession of Hallyburtons (or Haliburtons) up to 1867.^{lvi} Lord Frederick eventually became a full admiral. Haliburton Street and Gordon Avenue in St. Margaret's commemorate this period.

1st Duke of Fife (1894-1912)

Alexander Duff was initially the 6th Earl of Fife. By tradition the Earls of Fife are descended from McDuff, Thane of Fife, who features in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1606). The 6th Earl was created 1st Duke in the peerage of the United Kingdom on the occasion of his marriage in 1889 to Louise, the future Princess Royal, eldest daughter of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. This is

the last created U.K. dukedom, other than those created (usually re-created) for members of the royal family. Historically, the Earls of Fife had the honour of placing the crown on the head of Kings of Scotland. The 1st Duke had another somewhat less honourable royal connection: he was another descendent of the one-time Richmond residents William IV and his actress mistress Dorothea Jordan.³⁴ Some people thought that Louise was marrying beneath her station, but Queen Victoria, who loved all things Scottish, approved.

The very wealthy Duke had grand estates in Scotland, but the happy couple's favourite residence was East Sheen Lodge, adjacent to Richmond Park. When they returned there after the wedding in an open carriage, "the route [through Mortlake] was gaily dressed and spanned with triumphal arches. At the parish boundary, the bridal party was met by a band of children who preceded them, strewing flowers the whole of the way".^{lviii} The couple's three children were born (one still-born) in this house and it became a favourite place for royals to visit, including the future Kings Edward VII and George V. In fact, it was here in 1893 that the then Prince George proposed to (Richmond resident) Mary of Teck. Unfortunately, surrounding developments in the early 1900's persuaded the couple to quit the area. However, the now named Fife Road remains as a memorial to that period.

Alas, what was a genuine love match was shattered in 1912. The family was travelling to Egypt when their ship sank in the Mediterranean. Just a few weeks afterwards, the Duke developed pleurisy and died. Princess Louise became reclusive thereafter. Under letters patent, their daughter Alexandra inherited the title, so that the dukedom survived even though there was no male heir.

14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne (1855-1944)

The Eton-educated Anglo-Scottish army officer, Claude Bowes-Lyon, 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, had previously held another family title, Lord Glamis. As such he was descended from the ancient Thanes of Glamis (contrary to what Shakespeare wrote, the historic King Macbeth of Scotland was never Thane of Glamis). In 1881 he married Cecelia Cavendish-Bentinck who lived with her mother, Lady Caroline Louise Scott, at Forbes House in Ham Common.³⁵ As Lady Scott had had a disagreement with the Vicar of St. Andrew's in Ham, the wedding took place at St. Peter's in Petersham.

In 1923, the couple's ninth of ten children, Elizabeth Angela Marguerite Bowes-Lyon, married Prince Albert, the second son of George V and Queen Mary. As a child, Elizabeth had spent happy holidays at her grandmother's Ham home. Now the royal couple took up residence at White Lodge in Richmond Park, where Queen Mary had spent her childhood. Unfortunately, they were not happy there. The house was expensive to maintain, it was inconveniently located,

³⁴ Residences were Cardigan House on Richmond Hill (1793-97) and subsequently Bushy Park, Teddington.

³⁵ Gordon Forbes acquired this house in 1828 and gave it his name. The house from this period was demolished and replaced with the current Forbes House in 1936. However, near-by Gordon House, overlooking the pond, dates back to the 17th/18th century. Forbes's father, Scotsman General Gordon Forbes (1738-1828), lived there from 1783. See Evelyn Pritchard, "A brief history of Gordon, Forbes and Langham Houses in Ham Common", *Richmond History*, vol.14.

there was a lack of privacy and, apparently, the décor had been chosen by Queen Mary. The couple therefore quit the Lodge in 1927.³⁶

The abdication of Edward VIII in 1936 catapulted Elizabeth into the unexpected role of consort to George VI and eventually Queen Mother to our current Queen. This accession of a Scottish Queen is a good place to end a story that began in 1603 with the accession of a Scottish King to the English throne.

Elizabeth II's Lineage

James I & VI
 |
Princess Elizabeth
 |
Princess Sophia
 |
 George I
 |
 George II
 |
 Prince Frederick
 |
 George III
 |
 Prince Edward
 |
 Victoria
 |
 Edward VII
 |
 George V
 |
 George VI
 |
 Elizabeth II

Spouses

Princess Anne of Oldenburg
 Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine
 Ernst Augustus, Elector of Hanover
 Princess Sophia Dorothea of Celle (Brunswick-Lüneburg)
 Princess Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach
 Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha
 Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz
 Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld
 Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg & Gotha
 Princess Alexandra of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg
 Princess Mary of Teck (Württemberg)
Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon
 Prince Philip of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg

³⁶ As stated above, royalty returned to Richmond Park in 1963 when Princess Alexandra of Kent moved into Thatched House Lodge with her late husband, the aristocratic Anglo-Scot, Angus Ogilvie. The Princess still lives there (2015).

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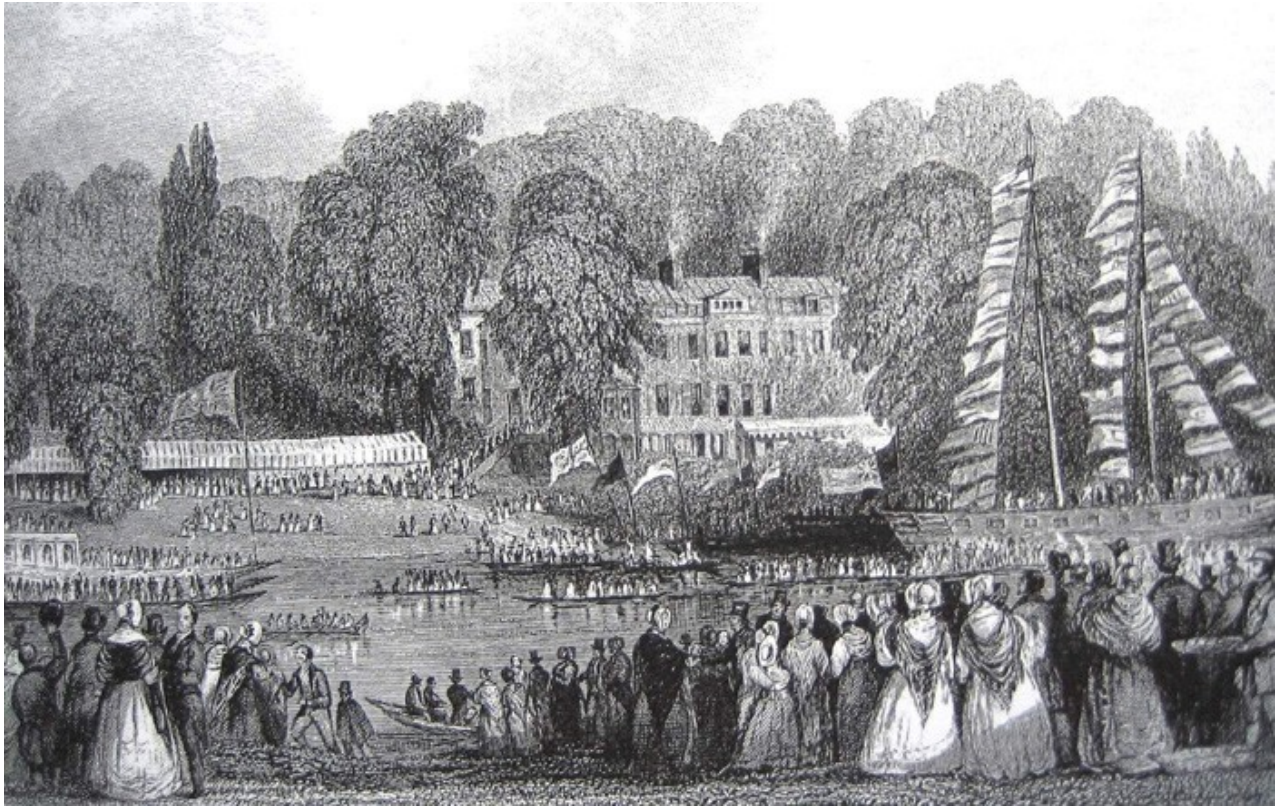
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Richmond Palace



Queen Victoria's visit to 5th Duke of Buccleuch, June 1842