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# THE BUILDING OF MAIDS OF HONOUR ROW, RICHMOND

SALLY JEFFERY

*This article reveals the dates and details of building of the terrace of four houses known as Maids of Honour Row, Richmond-on-Thames. Although it was undertaken as a speculative development by Thomas Honour and William Walmesley, some of the accommodation was soon occupied by the Maids of Honour to Princess Caroline, Princess of Wales, and it is possible that the builders intended it for that purpose.*

**M**aids of Honour Row, Richmond, is a terrace of four houses facing onto Richmond Green on land which once belonged to Richmond Palace.<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1) It has previously been accepted that these four houses were built in 1724–5 specifically to house the Maids of Honour to the Princess of Wales. Princess Caroline and George, Prince of Wales, the

eldest son of George I, first came to live in Richmond Lodge in the summer of 1718 and leased the house as a summer residence in 1719.<sup>2</sup> It was originally built as a hunting lodge to Richmond Palace, and was situated in the Old Park to the north of what is now the Twickenham Road, in the area occupied by the Royal Mid-Surrey Golf Club. This article will show that, according to building accounts recently found in The National Archives, Maids of Honour Row was in fact originally built in 1717–21 as a speculative development, and that some of the accommodation was rented to the Prince of Wales as a residence for the ladies in waiting to the Princess of Wales, Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach. The terrace acquired its present name through this connection with its Princess.



Fig. 1. General view of Maids of Honour Row. *David Wrightson.*

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SITE

The land on which Maids of Honour Row was built was until the mid-seventeenth century part of the grounds of Richmond Palace. Its site lies on the northern boundary range and part of the Privy Garden where the Parliamentary Survey of 1649 says there was a 'tiled building, well guttered with lead and batted, and adorned with divers pinnacles covered with lead' which contained 'choise and fayr rooms both below stays and above, and one Tennis Court'.<sup>3</sup> The north side of these buildings can be seen in Wyngaerde's view from Richmond Green of c.1562 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and from the other side in the view from the River Thames, which shows the Privy Garden.<sup>4</sup> It may also be seen in Moses Glover's bird's eye view of the palace of 1635.<sup>5</sup>

The palace had been sold in 1650, but was restored to Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I, in 1660 (though she never returned to it). In the meantime it had been divided up and partly demolished for building materials, especially the parts built of stone. Gradually, new houses began to appear on the palace site. Both Charles II and James II used the remains of the palace as a nursery. Work was carried out for James II on the front range, the gatehouse block and the wardrobe in 1688–9.<sup>6</sup> Gasselin's drawing of the north front of the palace buildings of c.1695 shows that the site of the Row was still occupied by the old Tudor lodgings (Fig. 2).

By 1701, Brigadier (later Lieutenant General) George Cholmondeley, a courtier of William III, was occupying the part of the old front range of the

palace. He is named on a plan of c.1701 which also names Lady Villiers and Mr White whose holdings made up other parts of the site (Fig. 3). In 1703 Cholmondeley was appointed Steward of the Manor. He was created Baron Newborough (Irish peerage) in 1715, and Baron Newburgh (British peerage) in 1716, and inherited the Earldom of Cholmondeley in 1724. He was granted a new lease of the site on 28 December 1708, which stressed the poor condition of the buildings.<sup>7</sup>

THE CASE OF WALMESLEY  
V. HONOUR

A Crown lease for the site dated 1757 records that the Earl of Cholmondeley leased the plot of Maids of Honour Row to Thomas Honour, carpenter, on 13 September 1717.<sup>8</sup> This was later assigned to William Walmesley, who purchased it in 1735 for £1800, by which time the four houses had been standing for a number of years.

Further information and detailed building accounts are provided by documents relating to a case in the Court of Chancery brought by William Walmesley against Elizabeth, the widow of Thomas Honour, late in 1724.<sup>9</sup> Walmesley, 'of St Martin in the Fields . . . gentleman', obtained the lease for Honour. He occupied a house in Little Scotland Yard, leased other Crown property and probably knew Cholmondeley.<sup>10</sup> Walmesley accused Thomas Honour of neglecting to pay his share of the building

Fig. 2. François Gasselin, View of the north front of the Palace buildings along Richmond Green, c.1695. *London Borough of Richmond upon Thames Borough Art Collection, Orleans House Gallery.*



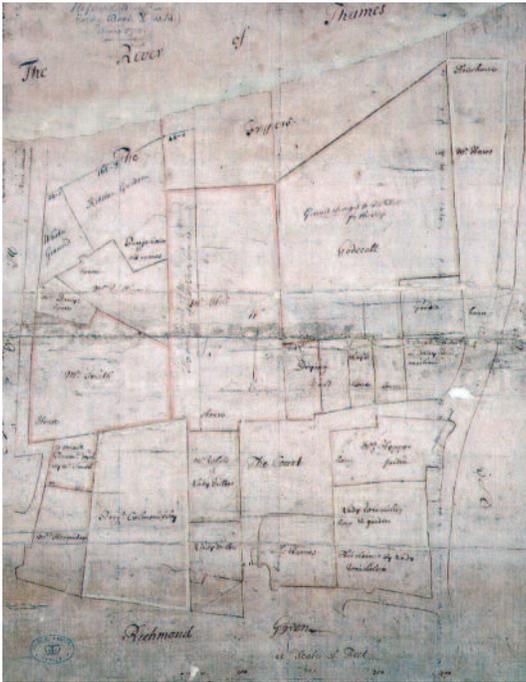


Fig. 3. Plan of the site of Richmond Palace, c.1701. North is at the bottom. *National Archives, MPE1/428*

costs for the houses, and of receiving large amounts of rent for them. These documents represent the opposing cases of Walmesley and Elizabeth Honour, and the accounts must have been copied from their records. There are therefore accusations and counter-accusations and the depositions contradict each other to some extent, particularly in the disputed area of the shared costs. Walmesley's deposition only includes very brief accounts.

However, Elizabeth Honour's deposition includes two large vellum sheets of extremely detailed accounts.

Walmesley made his deposition on 18 December 1724. He stated that Honour had asked him to obtain a lease from Cholmondeley on the 'Pile of old buildings situate near adjoining to or upon Richmond Green in the County of Surrey being part of the old Palace ... with the Court or Courtyard before the same And also of the slip of ground or garden behind the same', which equalled in size 129 by 120 ft. Cholmondeley agreed to grant a building lease to Thomas Honour for a peppercorn for the first year, and then for £20 a year for the following 40 years. Honour was to pull down the old buildings and within four years was to build in their place four houses according to a 'Modell or Plan' attached to the lease. Honour's lease has not been located, nor has the plan, but the lease ran from Michaelmas 1717. Walmesley further states that on 11 October 1717, he and Honour entered into an agreement to become partners and share both the building costs and the rents and profits equally. He claims to have spent £1259 9s. 4d. on the buildings and attaches a schedule of expenses to his document, and also claims that in June 1718, needing more money, they mortgaged the new buildings for £1000 to the Earl of Dysart and entered into a bond for £2000 to guarantee repayment of this sum and the interest on it. A further sum of £1000 was soon needed, so they obtained a replacement mortgage for £2000 from the Earl of Dysart in January 1719, with a bond for £4000. Walmesley further claimed that Honour had let out the houses to tenants at £300 p.a. 'or some such like



great rent', that he had neglected to pay the ground rent, and died much in debt. Honour died in May 1724, and his widow Elizabeth inherited his whole estate and all his papers. She denied that any agreement was made, and claimed that Thomas Honour had paid for everything, including the ground rent.

Elizabeth Honour gave her answer on 16 October 1725. She testified that her late husband had obtained the lease from Cholmondeley 'of the old pile of buildings situate near Richmond Green' and the pieces of land adjoining. After the old buildings had been taken down 'Four messuages or tenements' were erected on the ground. She denied that Walmesley had paid very much towards the costs, and that was why the mortgage was taken out. She also denied that Honour had received £300 p.a. in rent, maintaining that only three of the houses had been let at any time. According to her, two houses were let to the Prince of Wales for a considerable time before her husband's death and also ever since for a rent of £100 per year less taxes. A third house had been let to the Earl of Essex for £73 but 'now stands empty'. Thomas Honour died, according to his widow, on 31 May 1724. She was left with a number of bills to pay. The detailed accounts which follow her testimony show that Elizabeth Honour had to pay for her defence in suits in the King's Bench and the Marshalsea.

The dispute turned on the fact that Walmesley considered that he had not received his fair part of the rents because of Thomas Honour's death. The Court of Chancery ruled that a receiver should be appointed to collect the rents and profits and distribute them fairly. It did not take the building accounts into consideration – they were considered as irrelevant or as 'impertinences' by the court and were crossed out.<sup>11</sup> Some parts of the accounts (especially those relating to the disputed subject of rents) may not be completely reliable. However, details of the work, chronology and names provide a large amount of information which there is no reason to doubt, and some of which can be authenticated from other sources.

#### THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS

The accounts indicate that work began early in October 1717, and the houses seem to have been substantially complete by early 1719, although some work continued until the spring of 1721. There is a weekly list of 'cash paid to the tradesmen' which includes all the men who worked on the houses as labourers, suppliers or craftsmen, and the amounts they earned (see Appendix). The main craftsmen were paid according to totals derived from these lists, or by piecework (for the front and back doors, for example). Some of the work of the masons and bricklayers was measured. The earliest work involved clearing the site. There is a payment for 'house razeing' in December 1717, celebrated by a supper and drink. Bricks, sand, tiles and timber were supplied, and then early in 1718 a joiner and a plasterer also started work. By March 1718 good progress must have been made. The brickwork was measured and there was a dinner and drink. In April, four front doors were supplied for a total of £2 and 2 'Books of Gold' for 4s. 4d. – presumably for gilding the railings. Lime, oil and colours and hinges were being supplied, and in June the mason was paid £8 for the front steps. By November 1718, the windows were being made. Crown glass was supplied, and the sashmakers were paid. A final payment for 'Fronterspeicis' – door surrounds to the front doors – was made to Mr Burges in January 1719, and Mr Varnon or Vernon started carver's work. Six dozen banisters were turned, and ironwork was supplied. The roof seems to have been tiled partly in pantiles – presumably for the areas not visible – and plain tiles. In March 1719 the masons were paid in full for work on all four houses, and the work was measured. This was followed by a dinner. Finishing went on during the next two years, ending with payments for the supply of brass locks, work by the smith, the glazier, the painter and the gardeners, and the fitting of dressers and shelves in May 1721. The gardeners were at work during the whole period – their work is detailed in the section below.

A few of the craftsmen are recorded as working elsewhere either locally or in connection with some of the major building work going on at the time in the London area. John Varnon worked as a carver at Maids of Honour Row, while Francis Vernon 'of Richmond' – probably a relation – worked as a carver on Twickenham church. Mathew Faulkner – one of the masons – also worked on St Mary, Twickenham, and was a local Twickenham man.<sup>12</sup> Charles Scriven worked as a glazier on a number of churches built in London at this time – St Alfege, Greenwich, St George, Hanover Square, and St Luke, Old Street – as well as being employed on several country houses.<sup>13</sup> The accounts include items for measuring the work, but do not say who did this. It was usually the work of a surveyor, but may have been done by Honour himself.

John Honour, who appears in the accounts, was Thomas Honour's cousin according to his will,<sup>14</sup> although Elizabeth Honour's accounts record a payment to 'my Brother Ino Honour'. A John Honour appears to have continued in the building trade in Richmond. He was executor to Thomas Sayer, a local builder who died in 1743, and succeeded to Sayer's lease of a site on the corner of the Green and Palace Lane, where he built workshops, stables, coachhouse and outbuildings for which he was granted a new lease in 1757.<sup>15</sup>

A question arises about the carpentry work on Maids of Honour Row. No carpenter is named in the accounts, although all the other major tradesmen are. Thomas Honour was a carpenter by trade, and he is presumably the 'Master' who appears at the head of each weekly list. We know that his principal role was as the speculative builder of the houses, but it also seems likely that he did at least some of the carpenters' work. However, James Groves & Partners were paid the large sum of £110 in August 1718. The accounts do not say what this was for, but their trade was carpentry. James Groves was employed as carpenter on Richmond Lodge for William III in 1695 and may have worked there for the Prince of

Wales later, although detailed records do not survive.<sup>16</sup> Groves had been involved in other Royal enterprises as a principal carpenter: at Winchester Palace in 1684–5<sup>17</sup>, at Hampton Court in 1689–1701<sup>18</sup>, at Greenwich Hospital<sup>19</sup>, and on the churches of St John, Westminster, St Paul, Deptford, and St Margaret, Westminster. It seems very probable that the firm did a major part of the carpentry work at Maids of Honour Row – perhaps framing the roof, for example. The main structural work on the houses was being done early in the building season of 1718, when bricks, timber and tiles were being used, and large bills for bricks and tiles were paid in August 1718. This was exactly when James Groves & Partners were paid, perhaps indicating an involvement in the initial construction of the houses.

**THE HOUSES RENTED BY  
THE PRINCE OF WALES AND  
THE EARL OF ESSEX**

The accounts following Elizabeth Honour's testimony give some further details regarding the rental of the houses by the Prince of Wales for his wife's Maids of Honour. They state that on 3 July 1722, the Prince of Wales paid £100 for a year's rent due on Lady Day 'last past'. It is not stated whether this was rent paid in arrears or in advance, but usually rent was due on quarter days in advance. It had fallen due on 25 March 1722, so presumably was for the year 1722/3. The same year, two guineas were paid 'for y<sup>e</sup> water for y<sup>e</sup> princes two Houses' and £5 for land tax. On 31 July 1724 the Prince of Wales paid £181.2s.10d. for two years' rent which had fallen due on Lady Day (25 March) 1724. On 28 July 1725 he paid a further £71.14s. for a year's rent due on Lady Day that year. Possibly the rent paid in July 1724 was for one year in arrears and one year in advance. Otherwise he would have paid twice for 1725/6. It can probably be concluded that this record covers his rentals over four years. If the details above are

correct, the Prince had been renting two houses in the Row from at least the spring of 1722, and possibly earlier. It is not known which two houses were occupied by the Maids of Honour at this time, but they were occupying the two middle houses in 1737.

The Maids of Honour must have needed accommodation from 1718 when the Princess first went to Richmond Lodge. Reports published in various newspapers add another dimension to the story, also perhaps not entirely reliable. *The Original Weekly Journal* wrote in March that year: ‘The House of the late Countess Dowager of Essex on Richmond Green, is hired for the Maids of Honour attending the Princess: their Royal Highnesses intending to go thither next Month’.<sup>20</sup> In 1719, when the Prince acquired the lease of Richmond Lodge, he was said to have ‘given Orders for several Conveniences to be made to his own House at Richmond, and to that of the Maids of Honour on the Green and also for the Building of several Stables’.<sup>21</sup>

William Capel, third Earl of Essex, was a gentleman of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales from 1718.<sup>22</sup> His mother, who was widowed in 1710, and remarried and changed her name in 1714, could have been referred to as the ‘late Dowager Countess of Essex’ in 1718. This could therefore be a reference to the house in the Row rented by the Earl of Essex, and it is possible, though rather unlikely, that one or more of the houses may have been ready for occupation in 1719. In the building accounts, the Earl is named as paying rent for a house for 2¼ years at some unspecified time before the death of Thomas Honour in 1724.

It seems that by 1724 the Prince had in mind to build some new lodgings for the Maids of Honour in place of those he was renting. Two further newspaper reports give a little more detail. ‘Tis expected’, *The London Journal* of 4 April 1724 wrote, ‘that in a few Days the Prince and Princess will remove from Leicester house to their Seat at Richmond; to which a Building is to be erected to serve as Lodgings for the Maids of Honour...?’

*The British Journal* of the same date stated: ‘His Royal Highness hath given directions for erecting a new building near his seat at Richmond to serve as lodgings for the Maids of Honour attending the Princess of Wales.’ This suggests that the Prince wished to build a lodging specifically for them, attached to or near to Richmond Lodge, rather than renting the houses in the Row, which was a little distance away. However, there is no record of this being carried out, and the Maids of Honour apparently continued to occupy their houses in the Row. The poor rate books for Richmond survive from 1726, when the Maids of Honour were first recorded as paying rates, although it is somewhat unclear how many houses they occupied at that time. Rates continued to be charged until 1737 (the year Queen Caroline died) when it was noted that they occupied the two middle houses.<sup>23</sup>

The newspaper reports quoted above have been interpreted in the past to mean that the houses of Maids of Honour Row were built to the orders of the Prince of Wales. The Chancery records contain no suggestion that the prince had instructed the building of the four houses, and it is clear that Honour and Walmesley were building speculatively. However, the possibility remains that, having heard in September 1717 that the lease of Richmond Lodge was about to be assigned to the Prince of Wales<sup>24</sup>, they obtained their lease and started to build that very winter in the expectation of his arrival. This possibility is strengthened by the involvement of James Groves & Partners in the building.

#### THE LOTTERY

The accounts intriguingly contain a number of payments relating to a lottery conducted by Thomas Honour to raise money to help with the building costs. The payments run from December 1720 when there was a payment for printing, through July 1721 when Samuel Wood was paid for repairing a gold

watch ‘to put in y<sup>e</sup> Lottery’, up to January 1723, and included a lot of travelling expenses, and a charge for ‘writing y<sup>e</sup> prizes’. The list of expenses is introduced as money ‘pd & Expended upon y<sup>e</sup> account of printing off y<sup>e</sup> Lottery Tickets for y<sup>e</sup> four houses’. This must have been one of the many private lotteries held at the time. Some further details are contained in an announcement in the newspapers, which appeared first in September 1721 and then again in November, which said that winning tickets for ‘Mr Thomas Honour’s Sale of Houses and Plate’ in Richmond in Surrey, would soon be drawn. Tickets were available in Surrey (Putney, Kingston, Walton upon Thames, Heston, Isleworth, Brentford, Hounslow, Hampton Court, Guildford, Epsom and Croydon) and at various inns and coffee-houses in London (in Piccadilly, St Giles’s, Exchange Alley, Cheapside and Little Distaff Lane).<sup>25</sup> No record has come to light of the drawing of prizes, and no receipts are recorded in the accounts. Private lotteries were very popular at the time, although they were not officially sanctioned. Articles of plate were commonly offered, but lotteries for houses are not frequent. The most famous is that of the Adam brothers for property in the Adelphi in 1773.<sup>26</sup>

### THE HOUSES

Fortunately, the four houses survive. They are an important element of the townscape of Richmond Green, and are listed Grade 1. All four retain many of their original features both outside and in, which can be compared with the details in the accounts. They consist of a basement and three storeys, with M-shaped roofs separated by a valley running lengthwise down the terrace. The houses are built in stock brick, with red brick window surrounds. Most of the ornamental elements, such as string-courses, quoins and the keystones over the sash windows, are in rendered brickwork, but stone was used for the front steps and landings, the plinths and copings of



Fig. 4. Front steps, front door and door surround of No.4 Maids of Honour Row. *David Wrightson.*

the front walls and the ball finials on their piers, and the paving of the basement. The houses have their original front iron railings and gates, and the front doors and surrounds mentioned as the work of the joiners (Fig. 4). Some of the joinery work of the sash windows, the panelling in the rooms of the ground and first floors, and the carved tread ends and turned balusters on the staircases also survive (Fig. 5). Three of the four houses were the same size and built to the same plan. The fourth was rather smaller than the others, and overlapped the corner of Tudor Place (the house built in the old tennis court by 1660). At the rear of that house was an old Tudor tower, ownership of which was transferred to No.1 in about 1770.<sup>27</sup>



Fig. 5. Carving and turned balusters on the staircase of No.4 Maids of Honour Row. *David Wrightson.*

#### THE GARDENS

The new buildings and gardens were on a site made up of four parcels of land described in a way which suggests that some garden walls already existed.<sup>28</sup> No doubt the builders made use of old walls where they could, and evidence of changes in the brickwork are visible in parts of the walls. The new houses were described as having a ‘Garden Court Yard before the same and also the slip of Ground or Garden Plat behind . . . and the Walls of and to the same Court or Courtyard belonging’. The front ‘courts’ or gardens now have walls and piers which were apparently

built as part of the new development, and it is likely that the plot for the four gardens at the back was also walled when the houses were built, but perhaps not subdivided.

The building accounts mention a number of payments to a gardener, named as Mr Thomas Dunn. These start very early in the building history, in the spring of 1718 and continue until May 1721. He was specifically paid for cutting turf in February 1719, and for mowing the grass twice in September 1719. On 13 February 1719 fruit trees were purchased from George Moor, and gravel was supplied in June 1719. Mr Moor was recorded elsewhere as a nurseryman at Twickenham.<sup>29</sup> It is likely that the gardens were extremely simple at this time, consisting only of grass, gravel paths and fruit trees planted against the walls.<sup>30</sup>

#### LATER VIEWS

Overton and Hoole’s famous *Prospect of Richmond* of 1726 shows the new houses abutting the buildings around the gatehouse of the palace. It correctly shows four houses, each with their front gardens, front walls, and steps up to the front doors (Fig. 6). As this is a bird’s eye view, the shape of the roofs and the chimneys can be seen, as well as the string courses and the blind panels in the brickwork of the parapet, but small details such as keystones over the windows, door surrounds and front railings are not well recorded. The engraving is unreliable where the back gardens are concerned since it shows them running down to the riverbank. The whole of the site of the old Privy Orchard and of the palace itself is missing. However, it does show the back gardens of all four houses undivided by walls. The details shown may be representative only, but the simple arrangement of trees trained against the walls, grass plats divided by paths, and clipped evergreens were characteristic of town gardens of the time, when the fashion was for topiary shapes and plain symmetrical designs.

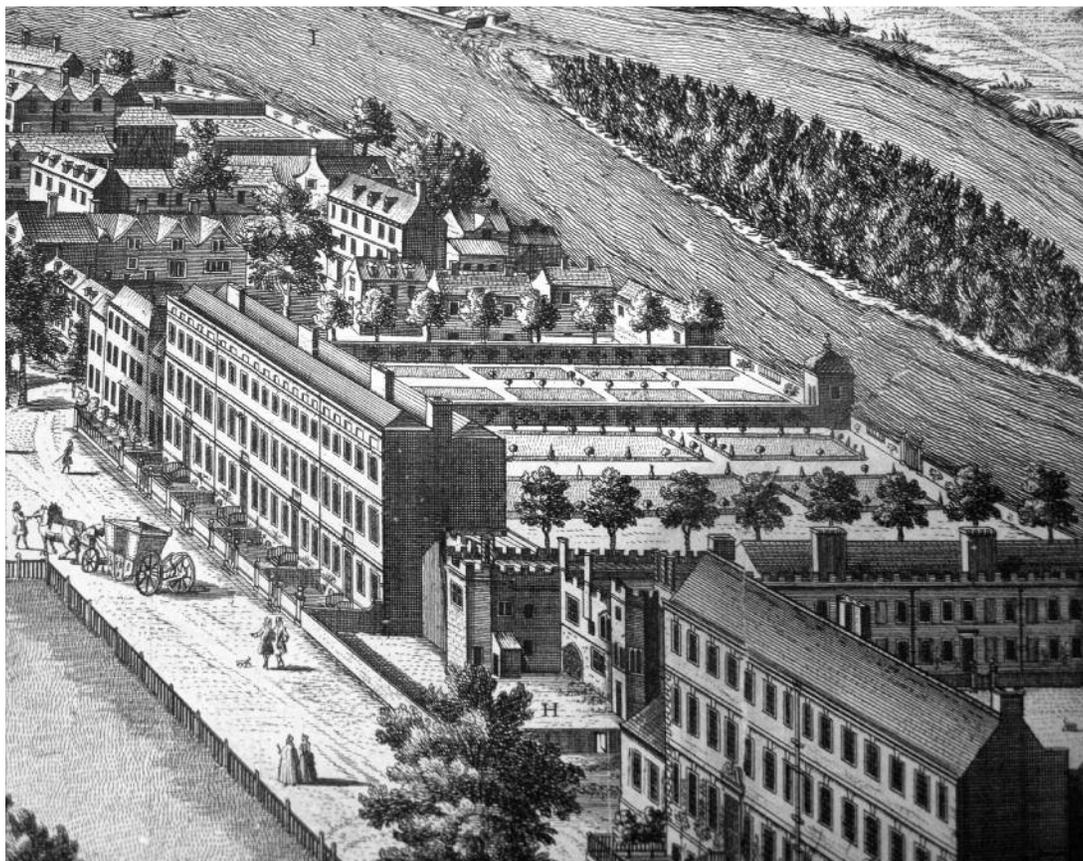


Fig. 6. Overton and Hoole, engraving, 'The Prospect of Richmond in Surry', 1726, detail.  
*London Borough of Richmond upon Thames Local Studies Collection.*

The first accurate plan is dated 1756.<sup>31</sup> Charles Evans drew the various buildings on the site of the palace, and included the four houses on the Row.<sup>32</sup> They are noted as in Mr Walmsley's possession, and are shown as walled both front and back, but still apparently without walls between the plots. The note says that the brick messuages were 'in but middling repair'. Walmsley leased two parcels of land – Maids of Honour Row and another on Old Palace Lane – and together they were valued at £76. The old palace buildings encroached on the site of No. 1. A very similar plan, also by Charles Evans, was made one year later with the same details (Fig. 7).

Thomas Richardson's *Plan of the Royal Manor of Richmond* of 1771 appears to show the plots fully walled front and back for the first time, and with the addition of small constructions at the end of the gardens.<sup>33</sup> These were probably privies. No.4 has two, one in each corner.

The first large-scale Ordnance Survey maps of Richmond date from 1867. Here for the first time the houses have the name of *Maid of Honor Row*. The houses are simply outlined, but slight variations are seen in the front area steps, and in additions at the back. At No.1, the turret of the old palace building is correctly shown as part of the house although the

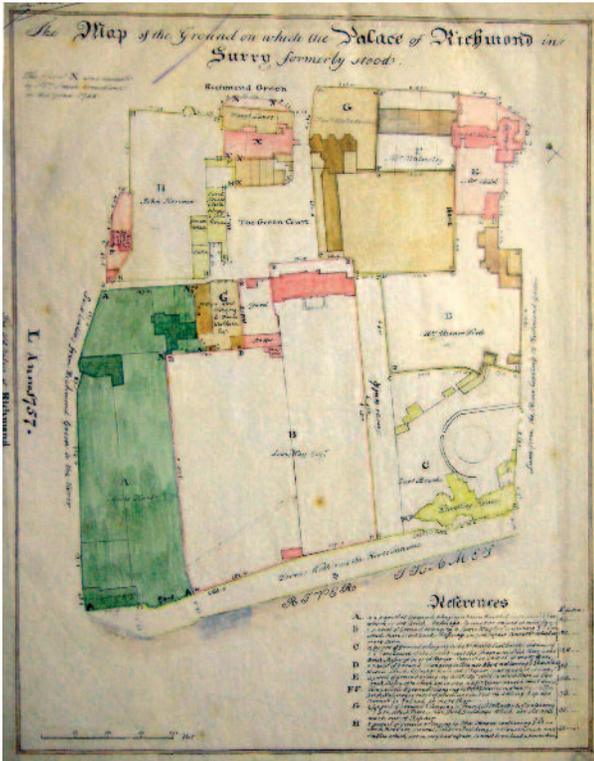


Fig. 7. Charles Evans, ‘The Map of the Ground on which the Palace of Richmond in Surry formerly stood. Anno 1757’. Maids of Honour Row is at the top right, coloured brown and marked ‘F. Mr Walmesley’. *London Borough of Richmond upon Thames Local Studies Collection LM 0468-0472.*

division between No.1 and Tudor Place is not correctly shown. Here is the first detailed record of the garden layouts. For No. 4, the front garden is shown with a path to the front door and area, and shrubs or bushes planted at regular intervals in beds round the edges. The rest of the garden is left blank. At the back there is a border round three sides, again planted with evenly-spaced bushes, and a central rectangle with a path round it. There are two trees and some shrubs. The small buildings at the end are no longer there. The other gardens are less detailed, although No. 2 has a central path in the back garden with a shrubbery at the end.

Photographs from the early-twentieth century show some of the houses covered with creepers, and a number of prominent hedges, but they retain their walls and railings and their appearance from the street has changed little.

The lawsuit brought by Walmesley against

Honour’s widow was not unusual in that litigious age. What is unusual is the wealth of detail contained in the Chancery documents for these relatively modest buildings which provides information on the way they were built, the materials and labour used, and also something of the financing of their construction. There is now a firm date for these houses, and a clear understanding that they were built as a speculative venture by William Walmesley and Thomas Honour. However, the possibility remains that they sought their lease and undertook their building in the winter of 1717 in anticipation of the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Richmond Lodge.

**Note:** In the building accounts and the newspapers quoted here, the year end was 24 March, and the new year began on Lady Day, 25 March. Dates have been adjusted to modern usage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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APPENDIX: Maids of Honour Row 1717-24

**Builders**

Thomas Honour of Twickenham, Middx., carpenter (d.31 May 1724)  
William Walmesley of St Martin in the Fields

**Craftsmen, tradesmen and suppliers by trade**

*Masons*

Mathew Faulkner, mason  
Robert Glover, mason  
Thomas Hardick, mason  
?Barnet and Boulton 'Barnet & Boulton ... for work done in the 2 Last houses' [Perhaps masons – listed as the next item after Hardick for 'Masons work to the first two houses'.]

*Carpenters and timber*

?James Groves & partners  
?Thomas Honour and John Honour  
Jane Hanbara/Stnbara, deals  
James Theobald, timber, deals  
Buckland, oak

*Bricklayer, bricks, lime, sand*

Thomas Whitney/Whilmey, bricklayer  
John Neale, bricks  
William Doe, sand  
Edward Hawkins, lime

*Tiler and tiles*

Henry Field, tiles  
John Oxled/Ogle, pantiles, tiles

*Plumber, lead*

Anne Harris

*Plasterers, laths, hair*

Thomas Brayden, plasterer  
Edward Hewet, plasterer 'for Thomas Brayden, plaisterer'  
Edward Bucknell, laths  
Thomas Ingram, hair  
Elizabeth Thomas, hair  
William Thomas, hair

*Joiners and sashmakers, turner*

Barrington, sashes  
Glover, sashes  
Robert Burges, joiner and frontispieces  
William Day, frontispieces  
Charles Forster, joiner  
Thomas Hawkins, joiner  
Bernard Jennings, joiner  
Lugger/Luker, joiner  
William Perkins, turner

*Glazier*

Charles Scriven, glazier

*Carvers*

John Varnon, carver  
Robert Bills, beedwork

*Painters and colourmen*

Richard Damsel, painter  
Thomas Warburton/Wolburton, painter  
Isaac Bell, colours

*Ironmonger, smiths, nails*

Francis Bedwell, ironmonger and locks  
John Meors, smith  
John Stoaks, smith  
John Brice, nails 'for use of Thomas Whitney'  
Thomas Mathew, nails

*Garden*

Thomas Dunn, work, gardener  
George Moor, fruit trees

## NOTES

- 1 The research for this article was prompted by the sale of No.4 Maids of Honour Row in 2007 to Hilary and David Barnfather. Conservation work was carried out for them from 2007–2009 under the direction of Wyndham Westerdale, Director of Conservation at Acanthus LW Architects. It had belonged for many years to the late Edward Croft-Murray, who researched the paintings in the entrance hall and published his findings: Edward Croft Murray, 'The Painted Hall in Heidegger's House at Richmond', parts I and II', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXVIII (April 1941), pp. 105–112 and (May 1941), pp. 155–159. The history of the houses has been studied by other scholars: Randal Phillips, 'No.2 Maids of Honour Row, Richmond, Surrey', *Country Life*, LXIV (8 December 1928), pp. 837–839; Christopher Hussey, 'No.4 Maids of Honour Row Richmond', *Country Life*, XCIII (28 May 1943), pp. 968–971, and correspondence 11 June, p. 1064 and 2 July, p. 32; Mirabel Cecil, 'Keeper of the Flame', *World of Interiors* (November, 2004), pp. 112–121; Jeremy Musson, 'No.4 Maids of Honour Row, Richmond, Surrey', *Country Life*, CCI (8 March 2007), pp. 102–107; John Cloake, *Palaces and Parks of Richmond and Kew*, vol. 2: *Richmond Lodge and the Kew Palaces* (Chichester, 1996).
- 2 H.M. Colvin, J. Mordaunt Crook, Kerry Downes, John Newman, *The History of the King's Works*, V, 1660–1782 (London, 1976), p. 218; Cloake, *Richmond*, vol. 2, pp. 31–2.
- 3 Parliamentary Survey of Richmond Court, 1649: National Archives (hereafter NA), E317/Surrey 46, printed in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LXXI (1977), pp. 169–75.
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