

◆ 'Much troubled with very rude company ...'

THE 2ND DUKE OF RICHMOND'S MENAGERIE AT GOODWOOD

by Timothy J. McCann

On 11 November 1732, Lord Hervey wrote to the Duke of Richmond, 'As to the account of the loves, courtship and marriages of your beasts, it seems to me not so much a literal description of Goodwood dens as an allegorical epitome of the whole matrimonial world'. And he continued in reply to the Duke's letter to develop the theme. 'If you would follow the example of Aesop', he suggested, 'and write fables upon your birds and beasts, I have a notion that without going out of your own park you might characterise the persons, tempers and occupations of all your acquaintances. The marriages of your bears, tigers, wolves and monkeys would certainly do for a representation of half the conjugal performances in England. But now and then you would, I confess, be a little puzzled to represent some matches one sees between brutes of a different species, which is a privilege I believe peculiar to human brutes, and consequently would be difficult to be well couched in fable and allegory'.¹

Charles Lennox succeeded his father, the natural son of King Charles II, as 2nd Duke of Richmond and master of Goodwood in May 1723. His patrimony consisted of a smallish house, built for the Earl of Northumberland and used by Richmond's father as a hunting lodge, and a small estate consisting of the immediate park, and farms in Boxgrove and Westhampnett. The family's royal origins were not reflected in their wealth, and in spite of many schemes, Richmond never rebuilt Goodwood, but he did purchase the Manors of Singleton and Charlton in 1730, which included the forests of Singleton and Charlton, so that with other minor purchases he bequeathed an estate of some thousand acres to his son in 1750.

Although he never rebuilt the house, Richmond populated the park at Goodwood with buildings, trees and animals.² He built a pedimented temple to house the Neptune and Minerva Stone, which had been dug up in Chichester in 1723.³ He persuaded Roger Morris to design Carne's seat, a stone banqueting hall with magnificent views over the Channel to the Isle of Wight.⁴ Nearby to the north, was constructed the delightful Shell House, decorated by the Duchess of Richmond and her daughters with shells sent from the West Indies. Colen Campbell described 'the Park, Gardens and Plantations' at Goodwood, 'which for the beautiful variety and extension of prospect, spacious lawns, sweetness of herbage, delicate venison, excellent

fruit, thriving plantations, lofty and aweful trees, is inferior to none'.⁵ Richmond introduced the famous Cedars of Lebanon, purchased plants and shrubs from his friend Peter Collinson, and, on the renowned horticulturist's advice, bought a number of specimens from Lord Petre's nursery at Thorndon in Essex.⁶ Such was his enthusiasm for planting that Dr Richard Pocock, writing four years after the Duke's death, described 'thirty different kinds of oaks and four hundred different American trees and shrubs' in the park.⁷

Finally Richmond created the 'Catacombs', which George Vertue described as, 'stone cells under ground and dark recesses — or passages — subterranean, which are as well contrived as curious, vast stone porphyry sea pebbles &c. variously disposed'⁸ to house his remarkable menagerie. For Richmond collected strange animals, just as he collected strange plants, and the famous menagerie that he formed at Goodwood, was one of the most noted features of the estate in his time. The menagerie was situated in the High Wood in the Goodwood Pleasure Gardens (Fig. 1), and there Richmond collected wild beasts and birds from all parts of the world. The first reference to the animals among the Duke's surviving accounts is to a coat for the monkey in March 1725/6,⁹ and the latest, a reference to a present of a West Indian sow from Governor Worsley in 1733.¹⁰ However, it is clear from his correspondence with Sir Thomas Robinson, who was sending him

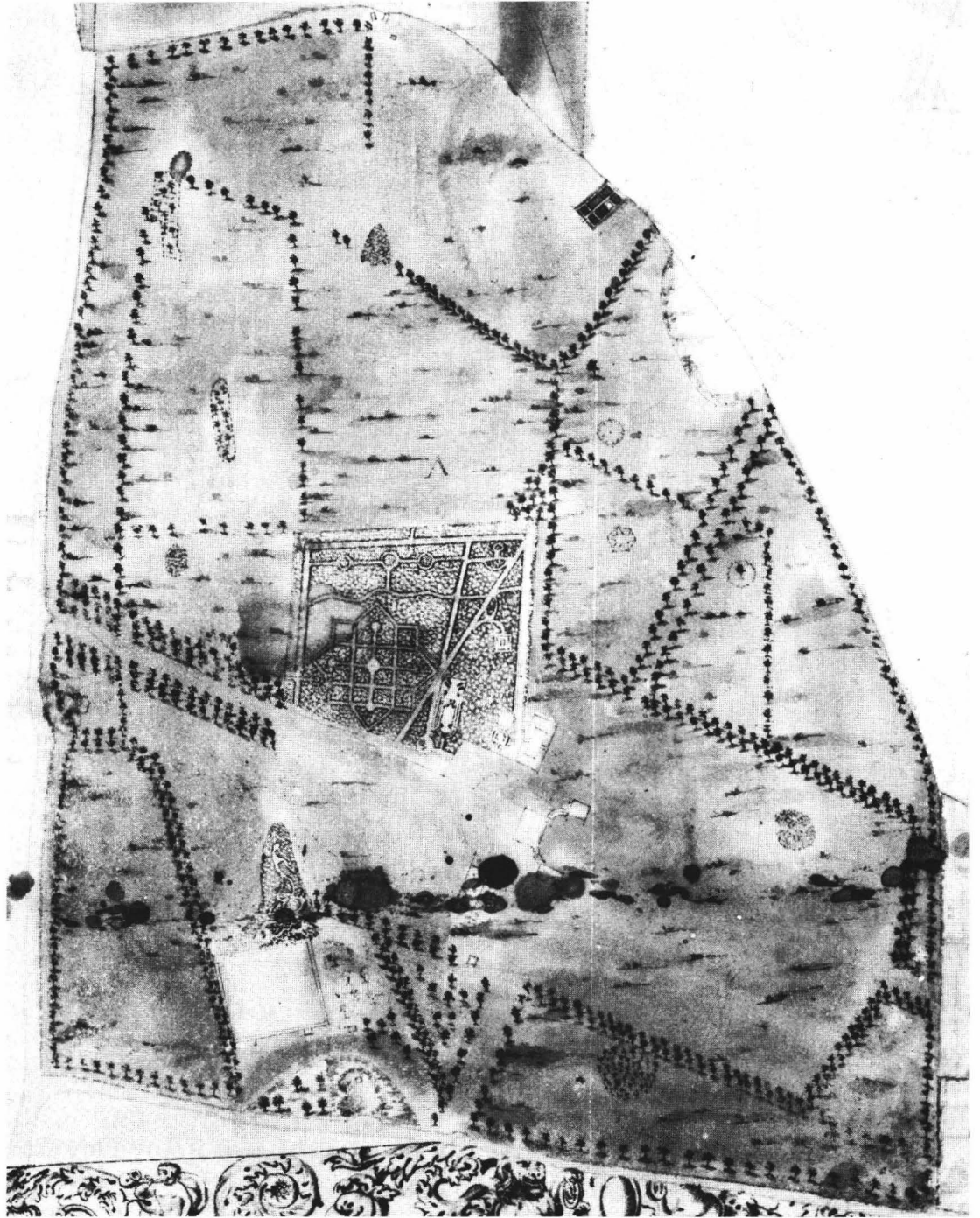


Fig. 1. Plan of Goodwood Park by Thomas Bucknall, 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. E 4992. This section of a larger plan of the Manors of Charlton and Singleton is the only surviving map of the park in the time of the 2nd Duke of Richmond. It bears a strong resemblance to the plan published by Colen Cambell in *Vitruvius Britannicus III* in 1725 even to the extent of showing in block plan Campbell's projected new house, but it shows the arrangement of the area where the menagerie was situated, as it might have been.

animals from Barbados at the time, that Richmond was still collecting animals in the mid 1740s. The 3rd Duke of Richmond received the present of a bull moose from Canada, when he was interested in domesticating the species, and the painting by Stubbs, commissioned by William Hunter,¹¹ shows that although the menagerie had disappeared by then, the family enthusiasm for collecting animals was not extinct. This was the moose that Gilbert White saw at Goodwood on Michaelmas Day 1768.¹²

The meticulous Duke kept lists of the animals in his care, and, at one time, they consisted of '5 wolves, 2 tygers, 1 lyon, 2 lepers, 1 sived cat, a tyger cat, 3 foxes, a Jack all, 2 Greenland dogs, 3 vulturs, 2 eagles, 1 kite, 2 owls' that were meat eaters, and '3 bears, 1 large monkey, a woman tygerr, 3 Racoons, 3 small monkeys, armadilla, 1 pecaverre and 7 caseawarris' that ate bread. Underneath are listed 'one wild Boare, 2 hoghs afatning, one sow and one sow with piggs'.¹³ Another list mentioned '5 wolves, 2 Tygers, 2 Tiger Catts, 2 Mush Catts, 1 sivet Catt, 2 vulturs, 3 foxes, 2 greenland dogs, 6 eagles, 1 leopard and 2 martins as carnivores, with 5 bears, 1 white bear, armadilla, 2 racoons and the manligo' as bread eaters.¹⁴ Other animals that occur in the accounts are an elephant, an ostrich, a baboon, a mountain cat, Indian pigs and an African squirrel. The list of animals is very similar to 18th-century lists of animals in the Tower menagerie.¹⁵

The Duke made use of his wide circle of friends to look out for exotic animals for him and to send them back to England. Lord Tyrawley wrote to Richmond from Lisbon in 1729, that 'two blue Macao's shall certainly set out from Lisbon as soone as ever they can be procured, and Senor Ricardo, who desires his duty to you, is indefatigable in the search of them'.¹⁶ Richmond continued the search for several years, and as late as 1738 Mr Wolters wrote to him from Rotterdam that, 'you can't get Macows, all spoken for and too dear'.¹⁷ In 1733 Robert Sedgwick, the Duke's agent at Goodwood, reported to his master that 'just now was brought a Bear from Dr. Hoysden at Jamaica. He seems to be a young one & a very fierce one, the person who came along with him, says the capt. expects 5 guineas for bringing him over, but that I shall hear from the captain himself'.¹⁸ Thomas Robinson reported from Barbados in 1744 that 'the vessel that carrys this, will bring your Grace one of the most beautiful Civit Cats I ever saw'.¹⁹

Most of the animals arrived in England at London, and the Duke's accounts give details of how

they were transported to Goodwood. Richard Buckner was the Duke's steward and on 9 January 1728/9 he paid 5s for 'a cart with ye Lyon from Bishopsgate Street' and 3s. for the porters at Deptford and Whitehall, and, on January 13, 1s. 'for removing the lyon'.²⁰ In May the same year, Richmond paid 8s. 'for a great boat bringing ye baboon from Deptford'.²¹ In the following year, the fox, the mountain cat, and a bear were all collected by boat from Southwark.²² In December 1729 the tiger was collected from Tower Hill, when the cost of the boat and the porter was 3s.²³ In 1730 two bears were transported from Cadiz at a cost of £7 6s. and 8d., and they were kept in London for a charge of 14s..²⁴

However, perhaps the most celebrated animal failed to survive the journey. 'Your Grace has heard without doubt', wrote Tom Hill, Richmond's old tutor on 13 October 1730, 'and wept the misfortune of the poor elephant that was burnt with the vessel he came in. I assure you I should not have been more touched, perhaps not so much had I heard his Master the King of Siam had perished the same way. I have a particular value for that creature, not so much for its being an exotic, as that it is said to be an animal (philanthropon). As for your misanthropon whether beasts or men, I care not what becomes of them'.²⁵

The larger animals seem to have been kept in iron cages and the smaller ones in collars. In 1726 John Montigny built an iron cage for the tiger at a total cost of £93. The cage was to be 15 feet each way with a covering on the top and the total weight, some 41 hundredweight, agreed with His Grace at 4d. per lb. The detailed bill included charges for painting the cage, for a wagon that took the cage to the waterside, for a barge that took the cage to the ship, for the men who erected the cage, and for seven iron-rim locks with keys, screws, nails and scutcheons for the cage.²⁶ Richard Buckner's bills make clear that the ostrich and the monkeys lived in their own separate houses,²⁷ and there are regular payments for chains for the eagle, the monkey and the cats and dogs.²⁸

Feeding the animals was as much a problem as keeping them safe and secure. The animals described in the earlier list ate 36 lbs of beef a day and 39 lbs of horse flesh, while the bread-eating animals disposed of 6 loaves a day.²⁹ In 1729 and 1730 Richmond was paying for between 140 and 156 loaves of bread each week.³⁰ Surviving bills suggest that the fowls were fed with barley, oatmeal and occasional chicken.³¹ The cats were given straw,³²



Fig. 2. The statue of the lioness in the High Wood marking the burial place of the Duke of Richmond's favourite animal. W.S.R.O., Goodwood PD 262.

the monkeys had a diet of bread and greens, supplemented occasionally with apples and carrots and sometimes with milk.³³ The eagles fed on sheep's heads, beef and bullocks' hearts,³⁴ the sheep on hay, oats and turnips,³⁵ and the bears on bread.³⁶

This food was expensive, and it is clear that the animals were not always fed regularly. On 20 May 1730, Henry Foster, who was put in charge of the animals at Goodwood, told the Duke that 'I am afraid we shall have a famine amongst the animals',³⁷ and on 14 October, he expressed the 'hope there is no more creatures to cum here for here is no more Roome of entertainment nor vitles enough to get for them to eat so that ye must be obliged to faste some days in ye week but what days I can't say'.³⁸ By 4 April 1731 Foster was in despair writing that 'your Grace will see in my account the money is all gon and if your Grace don't send some more I shall be obliged to turne ye old horses which is brought for ye animals a way for I have not a crown in my keeping'.³⁹

Richmond wrote to Peter L'abbe, his London secretary, in April 1729 asking him to 'tell Foster he should also send me an account, once a fortnight, how all the animals doe'.⁴⁰ Foster was true to his instructions, but his epistles are sad tales of famine and death, as a result of the unsuitable conditions, food and temperature. However though he may have complained about the lack of food for the animals, he could have no complaint about their treatment when they fell ill. Sir Hans Sloane, the President of the Royal College of Physicians and President of the Royal Society, and John Ranby, shortly to become surgeon in ordinary to the King's household, were both called in to offer medical advice. In 1730 for example, bills survive for a porter who took a pig to Sir Hans Sloane in September;⁴¹ for a porter who took him a dead Civit Cat in October; and for a porter who took him a dead chameau in January 1731.⁴² Nor was the traffic entirely one way, for in a postscript to one of the Duchess' letters to Sir Hans, Richmond complained

that 'I wish indeed it had been the sloath that had been sent to me, for that is the most curious animal I know, butt this is nothing butt a common black bear, which I do not know what to do with, for I have five of them already. So pray when you write to him, I beg you would tell him not to send me any Bears, Eagles Leopards or Tygers, for I am overstock'd with them already.'⁴³ John Ranby was taken a dead lynx in in October 1730, and an eagle in 1731.⁴⁴ No doubt, though, this arrangement benefited both parties, as the physicians probably used the animals for dissection. Tom Hill, writing to Richmond on 27 August 1734, told him of a curiosity that the Governor of New York had for him — 'tis a West Indian sheep; but whether male or female, as he is silent upon that head, so must I be too. All that he said more of it is that he doubts not but that Sir Hans will have the examining of its parts.'⁴⁵

Notwithstanding the stories of hunger and disease, Henry Foster's letters do graphically illustrate the appeal of the menagerie to the 18th-century populace. On 8 April 1730 Foster reported to Richmond that 'we are very much troubled with very rude company to see ye animals. Sunday last week we had about 4 or 5 hundred good and bad but I Can't say which was ye gretest number, of ye two, but ye pull down ye peals treds ye coal all to dust and gets into ye grove two or 3 hundred and to say anything goes for nothing. Ye threaten to breck John Hanes Bones and he Beat some of them prette well, and he is to be taken up ye next time he goes to Chichester as he told me, and what they say in ye town, so it would be well if his Grace would give some orders in this case, that peace and quietness might Rain amongst us.'⁴⁶ His other letters, though, catalogue the decline of the animals. On 20 May 1730 he reported to Richmond that 'it will be proper to let your Grace know ye old Boar is dead and ye Black Burd which was given to His Grace at Ester is dead also'.⁴⁷ On 4 April 1731 he wrote that 'the wolf have had four young ones som time last friday but two is dead, one of the sows have pigs about a week old'. Occasionally though, the reports were good — 'the 2 foxes and Ratown came safe' he reported in October 1730,⁴⁸ and 'all the animals are well' he was able to say in April 1731⁴⁹ — and there were some who fed less well than the animals. Pulteney, writing to Richmond in September 1731, complained that 'temperance and regularity are still necessary for me to observe, and at Goodwood I believe no one ever heard of either of them . . . nay there is not a bear or

wolf in your menagerie that shall not live more plentifully than I will, till I am perfectly recover'd'.⁵⁰

Apart from his request for fortnightly accounts of the animals from Henry Foster, little of Richmond's instructions to his staff at Goodwood has survived, apart from his request to L'abbe to tell Foster to 'kill all the old Turkey Cocks, (except only those that I brought from Portugal with me) or if he has a mind to them to dispose of them himself they are at his service, but they must be imediately dispos'd of, for fear of their spoiling the Portugal breed'.⁵¹ But it is clear from the family correspondence that interest in the animals was by no means confined to Richmond, and that the menagerie excited the interest of the nobility and their family and friends as well as the general populace. Fairly soon after the first animals arrived, the Duchess of Richmond wrote to her husband to express the 'hope that the great baboon is got safely into much's cage'⁵² that had presumably been sent to London to bring it down to Sussex. The Countess of Albemarle kept Richmond informed when the Duke was abroad — 'all your relaytions this side the water are very well, & your lion allso & I hear Lord Baltmore has Brought over a Bare for you I think a white one, but I wont be sure'.⁵³ Tom Hill mentioned in October 1730 that 'your Bear for instance; during the cold rainy weather we have had, has been in the utmost delight. The villain cares not if we were all starved to death, provided he can enjoy his ice and snow and cutting eastern winds'.⁵⁴

But the most enthusiastic chronicler of the menagerie was Richmond's daughter, Lady Emily Lennox, who married James Earl of Kildare and later Duke of Leinster. Her first letter to her father mentions that 'Mama begs you would send her an account of her pea chicks and Canary birds',⁵⁵ but by 1747 she is expressing firm views of her own. 'I can't help owning my dear Papa', she wrote in August 1747, from Ireland, 'that I have often thought that since these Catacombs have been in fashion at Goodwood my poor birds have decreased daily and that I had even some suspicion of there not having had fair play for their lives, however since you assure me you had no hands in their deaths I am persuaded it was a natural one, not but that I am sure you have so much good nature that if you saw them suffer you would put them out of their pain. I will say no more on this subject but that poor Wanns esteemed himself very happy to be out of the way, while this rage of burying reigns'.⁵⁶ Later, on 8 October 1747, she wrote what might well

stand as an epitaph for the menagerie. 'I find the fate of all the unlucky animals that come to Goodwood is to be burying them in the Catacombs and an epitaph by Sam Chandler.'⁵⁷

The 2nd Duke of Richmond died on 8 August 1750 at the early age of 49, and his menagerie died with him. Indeed as early as 1743 the Revd Jeremiah Milles was able to write that, 'The Duke had formerly a good menagerie at Goodwood, but within these few years he has disposed of almost all his beasts.'⁵⁸ His biographer, the 7th Duke, wrote in 1911 that 'in the High Wood a few scattered, ivy-covered rocks, with, here and there, a half-obliterated inscription, represent all that remains of the quaint "Hermit's Cave" and the "Catacombs" wherein lie buried the pet dogs and birds of their long dead masters and mistresses, though the underground passages remain to this day in almost as good condition as when they were constructed, and the stone lioness still guards the head of the old chestnut avenue'.⁵⁹ Today, some 80 years later, the site of the menagerie is still discernible, but there is little obvious evidence of the Duke of Richmond's bold experiment to people his park with animals.

Tom Hill in his letters mentions a menagerie belonging to the Duke of Bedford, and describes the

break up of another belonging to Lord Weymouth, reporting that 'his eagles and vultures he has disposed of among their relations in the Tower'.⁶⁰ His experiment was by no means unique even in Sussex — the steward's accounts of the 6th Duke of Somerset in 1694 include a payment for 'helping to file the teeth and cut the paws of a bear',⁶¹ while Lady Anson writing to Marchioness Grey in 1758 speaks of 'Lady Egremont's violent passion for her menagerie' at Petworth, when recommending her to offer an eagle,⁶² and Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh at nearby Uppark mentions his menagerie there in his 1748 Account Book⁶³ — but it was conducted on a far larger and more ambitious scale. Mick Broughton remonstrated with the Duke in 1735 when he had made an elaborate monument for a dog, 'now you have begun with a Dog, should you persist in Doing the honours to all your Quadrupeds and Feather'd Animals: What a noble field of invention and Expence will be Given by the death of the king of Beasts, or of the Bird of Love. I advise the interment of the first Lyon, under the Chichester Council-house, where his busto is already fixed'.⁶⁴ The stone Lioness (Fig. 2) still stands guard at the head of the High Wood at Goodwood to mark the site of the 2nd Duke of Richmond's menagerie.⁶⁵

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NOTES

¹ Lord Hervey to Richmond, 11 November 1732. W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Goodwood MS. 111, f. 199. The Goodwood Archives are quoted by courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgements to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist.

² T. P. Connor, 'Architecture and Planting at Goodwood, 1723–1750', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (1970) **117**, 185–93.

³ M. Hills, 'Remarks on a Stone bearing a Roman Inscription. Found at Chichester in 1723, and now at Goodwood', in *SAC* **7** (1854), 61–3.

⁴ The Goodwood Archives contain a plan of the floor of Carne's Seat, 1744 (Goodwood MS. 137) and a description of the ceiling, 1747 (Goodwood MS. 1999).

⁵ Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* III (1725), 9.

⁶ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, ff. 793–9.

⁷ J. J. Cartwright, (ed.), *The Travels through England of Dr Richard Pocock, successively Bishop of Meath and Ossory during 1750, 1751 and later years*. Camden Society, (1889), 111.

⁸ Walpole Society, *Vertue's Notebooks* V, (1939), 143.

⁹ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 82.

¹⁰ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 126, f. 4.

¹¹ W. D. Ian Rolfe, 'A Stubbs Drawing recognised', in

Burlington Magazine 125 (1983), 738–40, and 'William Hunter, 1718–1783, On Irish "Elk" and Stubb's Moose', in *Archives of Natural History* **11** (1983), 263–90.

¹² Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne*. Letter XXVII, March 1770.

¹³ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 134, f. 3.

¹⁴ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 134, f. 4.

¹⁵ John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, (1720).

¹⁶ Lord Tyrallow to Richmond, 25 March 1729. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 368.

¹⁷ D. Wolters to Richmond, 29 December 1738. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 398.

¹⁸ Robert Sedgwick to Richmond, 4 August 1733. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 342.

¹⁹ Thomas Robinson to Richmond, c. 1744. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 328.

²⁰ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 189.

²¹ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 168.

²² W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 122.

²³ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 80.

²⁴ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 164.

²⁵ Tom Hill to Richmond, 13 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 205.

²⁶ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, f. 96.

²⁷ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 94.

- ²⁸ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MSS. 121, ff. 72, 180 & 189; 120, f. 189 & 126, f. 56.
- ²⁹ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 134, f. 4.
- ³⁰ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 120, ff. 205 & 261.
- ³¹ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, ff. 96 & 119.
- ³² W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
- ³³ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
- ³⁴ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 120.
- ³⁵ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
- ³⁶ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 188.
- ³⁷ Henry Foster to Richmond, 20 May 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 816.
- ³⁸ Henry Foster to Richmond, 14 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 822.
- ³⁹ Henry Foster to Richmond, 21 April 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 824.
- ⁴⁰ Richmond to L'abbe, 2 April 1739. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 98.
- ⁴¹ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 189.
- ⁴² W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 203.
- ⁴³ Duchess of Richmond to Sir Hans Sloane, 14 [January 1736/7]. British Library. Sloane MS. Add. MS. 4078, f. 66.
- ⁴⁴ W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 121, f. 203.
- ⁴⁵ Tom Hill to Richmond, 27 August 1734. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 221.
- ⁴⁶ Henry Foster to Richmond, 8 April 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 815.
- ⁴⁷ Henry Foster to Richmond, 30 May 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 818.
- ⁴⁸ Henry Foster to Richmond, 14 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 822.
- ⁴⁹ Henry Foster to Richmond, 4 April 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 108, f. 824.
- ⁵⁰ William Pulteney to Richmond, September 1731. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 112, f. 293.
- ⁵¹ Richmond to L'abbe, 2 April 1729. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 98.
- ⁵² Duchess of Richmond to Richmond, nd. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 26.
- ⁵³ Countess of Albemarle to Richmond, 11 November nd. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 106, f. 462.
- ⁵⁴ Tom Hill to Richmond, 13 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 215.
- ⁵⁵ Lady Emily Lennox to Richmond, nd. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 51.
- ⁵⁶ Countess of Kildare to Richmond, 18 August 1747. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 67.
- ⁵⁷ Countess of Kildare to Richmond, 8 October 1747. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 102, f. 70.
- ⁵⁸ British Library, Add. MS. 15,776, f. 246.
- ⁵⁹ Charles Gordon Lennox, Earl of March, *A Duke and his Friends* (1911), 719.
- ⁶⁰ Tom Hill to Richmond, 13 October 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 221.
- ⁶¹ Petworth House Archives 173.
- ⁶² Bedfordshire Record Office. Lucas MSS. L30/9/3/82.
- ⁶³ W.S.R.O., Uppark MS. The original of Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh's Account Book perished in the fire at Uppark in 1979, but a partial typescript has survived at W.S.R.O., and the reference appears on p. 13.
- ⁶⁴ Mick Broughton to Richmond, 1 January 1734/5. W.S.R.O., Goodwood MS. 103, f. 157.
- ⁶⁵ This article is based on a paper delivered to the Autumn Conference of the Society for The History of Natural History, 23–25 September 1993, held at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, Chichester (Bishop Otter College).