Horses and Bridles

J. Kent Clark

_Horses and Bridles_ is Chapter XIX of my biography of Thomas Wharton, 5th Baron, 1st Earl, and 1st Marquess of Wharton. The chapter covers the major political events of 1687, particularly those leading up to the Revolution of 1688. It shows how James II alienated his Tory subjects and provided the Whig "Tom" Wharton, soon to be a leader in the Revolution, with powerful allies. The chapter also deals with the most significant changes in the personal world of the Whartons. The table of abbreviations and the short-title bibliography apply to the whole book, not merely this chapter.
On 19 March 1687, Mary Wharton Kemeys had her first sitting at the studio of portrait artist William Wissing. Her brother Tom, she reported to her husband, had already sat several times; his portrait, she supposed, would be finished after one more session. The popular Wissing was also making a portrait of Tom’s mistress Jane Dering, whom Mary had met at the studio, along with Jane’s sister Katharine, Lady Perceval. Since Wissing was working on several other portraits, Mary told her husband, it was unlikely that her own picture would be completed before she was obliged to return home to Wales.  

As for Wharton family news, Mary said, the only recent event worth mentioning was Tom’s victory at Newport Pagnell, where that week his horse had won a plate worth thirty pounds. Apparently, an earlier and considerably more important victory had already receded beyond comment. In late February, Tom had fought a duel with John Holles, Lord Haughton. This potentially lethal contest had ended without serious injury when Tom disarmed his opponent—the future Duke of Newcastle. It was a duel perhaps better forgotten, since both men were eminent Whigs and long-time allies. Tom’s memorialist, also a sturdy Whig, could not be bothered to find out what occasioned a quarrel that was obviously non-political. He used the episode only to illustrate Tom’s skill as a duelist and saved his detailed commentary for the duel at Chesham in 1699 when Tom disarmed his Tory rival Lord Cheyne and the duel at Bath in 1703 when the then fifty-six-year-old Lord Wharton discomfited a Tory challenger more than
thirty years his junior.  

Mary Kemeys proved to be right about her own portrait. It could not be finished that spring. But she had been too optimistic about her brother's picture. As of 2 April, it was "not near done," and it probably would not be done in "a good while." Tom was so ill with a cold that he was "hardly able to stir." Unfortunately for art and biography, the "good while" that Mary predicted turned out to be forever. Tom remained in town long enough to help provide bail for his friend the Earl of Devonshire on 27 April, but thereafter he spent most of the spring and summer out of London. He did not return to the studio until late August. There he learned that Wissing had gone to Lincolnshire with the Earl of Exeter and was not expected back for three weeks. But Wissing never returned. He died at the Earl's mansion, Burghley House, in September, leaving many portraits, including Tom's and Mary's, unfinished.

Meanwhile, during the spring and summer of 1687 the King, continuing to gallop, was giving the Whartons and the rest of the nation some concerns more urgent than portraits. The new crisis began on 4 April when James, with the approval of his Privy Council, issued what he called "Our Declaration of Indulgence" and what the Gazette entitled "His Majesty's Gracious Declaration to all His Loving Subjects for Liberty of Conscience." With this announcement James essentially finished the process he had begun a year earlier--the maneuvers sketched in the last chapter. He abandoned his Anglican friends and made what amounted to a formal bid for the support of the Dissenters. Heretofore, invoking his powers of pardon--the "dispensing" powers blessed by his judges--James had granted dispensations on a case-by-case basis. He had given individual recusants, and occasionally congregations, pardons in advance for breaking existing laws against religious nonconformity. Now "by virtue of... [his] Royal Prerogative," he claimed...
the right to suspend the laws themselves, including the Test Act and the Act of Uniformity. Hereafter, he would grant dispensations wholesale. He had "no doubt," he concluded, that the "two houses of Parliament" would approve his actions when he thought it "convenient for them to meet."

The King's Declaration was a remarkable document. Full of paradox, it made King James sound like an apostle of liberty, and it cleverly adopted Whig shibboleths to meet the new state of affairs. James now declared that he had always opposed any attempt to coerce conscience and that he would always protect "liberty and property." This specifically included the property now held by the Established Church, as well as the medieval abbey lands now held by individuals. Religious liberty, the Declaration asserted with a glance toward the City of London, was good for business. Repression, on the other hand, weakened government by "spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers." It also limited the King's power to make appointments. Henceforth the King would choose officers, both civil and military, from all denominations of his subjects. The King's Declaration met with something a great deal less than enthusiasm. Anglicans had no trouble discerning that it was an attack upon the powers and privileges of the Church of England. Significantly, Archbishop Sancroft had stayed away from the meeting of the Privy Council that approved the Declaration; and although a few sycophants like Bishop Nathaniel Crew and Bishop Thomas Cartwright, under strong pressure from the government, pretended to find comfort in James's promise to protect the Establishment and even drew up addresses to that effect, the great majority of churchmen saw James's proclamation as both sinister and illegal—a necessary move in a real Popish Plot.

Anglicans regarded the King's claim of a right to suspend laws as not merely doubtful,
like his alleged power to "dispense" with penalties, but clearly false--"founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament." The claim itself, which implied a right to set aside all laws at pleasure, was a breach of the King's promise to abide by the laws of England, and the Declaration was another proof that the King's promises were worthless--including his promise to protect the property of the Church of England. The implication that church property and abbey lands were not fully protected by existing law--that the King might choose not to protect them--made the promise more troubling than reassuring. Most ominous, of course, was the erasure of the distinction between toleration and employment--between allowing the free exercise of religion and loading the military, as well as central and local governments, with dissidents.

The King's talk of convoking a parliament when it was "convenient" did not mollify his old friends. James had been rebuffed by the existing Parliament for employing popish officers, and his subsequent "threats and persuasions" had failed to change a significant number of minds. Now, although the King still nursed faint hopes that he might chivvy some more peers and Mps into compliance, there was no serious chance that the solid Tory majorities would repeal the Test Act and pass a toleration bill. If the King had "no doubt" of the approval of his "two houses," the houses would need to be different indeed from those he had met in 1685 and from those who had forced his brother Charles to retract a similar "Declaration of Indulgence" in 1673. Unless James had become as credulous as he sounded, or unless (like Charles) he was merely making constitutional noises, his ambiguous statement really meant that he intended to dissolve the present Parliament and get a new one--that he would attempt to "pack" a Parliament.
The King's talk of calling a parliament did provide one morsel of comfort for his nervous subjects. James seemed to concede that although he could suspend laws, he could not make them nor revoke them permanently. The Test Act and the Act of Uniformity, he seemed to imply, might go back into effect with his death. Certainly they could be "unsuspended" by the decree of his successor. He needed an act of Parliament to make the new order permanent, or at least to make reinstating the old laws difficult for his successors. For this advantage and for the chance that a new Parliament would vote him more revenues he was willing to risk another divisive struggle in the constituencies--a battle he could not win without re-remodeling corporations and making wholesale changes in county governments. There was a good chance, many believed, that these maneuvers would fail to produce compliant majorities.¹⁹

Naturally the Dissenters were a good deal happier with the royal Declaration than the Anglicans. Many of them, however, were inclined to look the King's gift horse in the mouth. Only the most trusting were convinced that the King had suddenly learned to love Nonconformists or that his newly proclaimed enthusiasm for religious liberty was genuine or permanent. Many Dissenters would have agreed with Halifax's witty observation that they were to be hugged now so that they might be "the better squeezed at another time."²⁰ They were inclined, nevertheless, to take the present benefits and deal with the consequences later. If the King would pretend to love them, they would pretend to trust him. If James authorized them to build chapels and worship publicly and if he not only cancelled all fines for non-attendance at Anglican worship but returned the fines collected in the past few years,²¹ they would not dispute his right to do so. And no one insisted upon going to jail or staying there simply because the King could not legally annul the penal laws.²² For the moment, at least, most Nonconformists
were willing to take the cash, both literal and figurative, and ignore the rumble of the King's drums.

The Declaration prescribed two conditions for freedom of worship. Services in the new chapels and meeting houses were to be public, not secret, and nothing was to be preached which might "in any way alienate the hearts" of the people from the King or his government. In other words, the proceedings were to be open to official observers and there were to be no anti-Catholic sermons. The Declaration did not say that Dissenting congregations were to present addresses of thanks to the King or that they were expected to help James elect a cooperative Parliament. These points were made by the King's agents--the first point immediately after the Declaration and the second when the Tory Parliament was finally dissolved on 2 July.

The propaganda campaign touched off by the King's Declaration occupied the nation during the ensuing months. As Anglican opinion hardened into opposition, the central political question became the response of the Dissenters to the King's overtures. Would they thank James for his favors? And whether or not they thanked him, would they actually help him legitimatize his Catholic appointments? This new state of affairs, in turn, meant that the Whartons had moved from the wings to the center of the political stage.

As noted briefly in the last chapter, the King hoped to get Lord Wharton's support for his new policies. This was important if he was to have any hope of succeeding. To a Catholic King, the approval of sects like the Quakers and the Anabaptists was more likely to be a political liability than an asset. To most of the nation, for example, the well known friendship between William Penn and the King merely signified (in the language of another time) that a radical crackpot was joined with a reactionary zealot. And the fact that Penn truly believed that James
was sincere in espousing freedom of worship meant that Penn was either a fool or a Jesuit.  

Similarly, the first address of thanks, from the Anabaptists "in and about the City of London," probably made more enemies for the King's cause than allies.

What James needed was the support of the Presbyterians and Independents--especially the approval of rich and respectable grandees like Lord Wharton and of prominent ministers like John Howe. Wharton was particularly important, not only because he was a renowned benefactor of Puritan clergymen and the lay patron of several Anglican churches, but also because he was a veteran peer of the realm. James's chances of getting the existing House of Lords to repeal the Test Act were microscopic. A huge majority of Tory peers and Anglican bishops--a majority of the Lords--was sure to vote against the royal proposals. James needed the support of Whig Lords like Wharton to make his cause at least faintly respectable, and even then he would be compelled to create many new peers. While in theory he could ennoble Churchill's troop of cavalry, in practice he could not swamp the House without giving up all pretense to constitutional restraint. A squad or two of creations might be almost defensible; a platoon would be ridiculous.

The King also needed help from the Whartons in the elections for a new House of Commons. Tom had already shown himself unbeatable in Buckinghamshire, as James had learned in 1685. And if Tom could not be defeated by Jeffreys and the Court's Tory minions, it was not likely he would be beaten by his friends the Whigs and Dissenters in a remodeled structure. Beyond that, Tom's influence would be useful in several county boroughs. Outside of Bucks, James would need the help of the Whartons to defeat his former friends in Malmesbury, Cockermouth, Appleby, and Westmorland. If the Whartons really decided to support the King,
they could probably deliver several seats in the Commons.

In early May, about a month after the Declaration, the Wharton family assembled at Wooburn. Politically their situation had become enviable. The King needed them more than they needed the King. They could expect favors without having to earn them. For the moment, however, they were more concerned with family matters than proceedings at Whitehall and Windsor. One of their problems was Goodwin. He had learned from supernatural sources that the cause of his continual failures to achieve wealth and fame was alienation from his family. Until he became "frank and free" with his sisters and brothers, particularly Tom, his great projects would not thrive. He had been promised divine help and sent by his mentor Mary Parish to Wooburn to repair the damage.

Goodwin came to his father’s house prepared to accept the apologies of the brothers and sisters who had misjudged and wronged him for years—beginning with the days when he had taken the part of his step-brother Alexander Popham against his step-mother Lady Wharton. Recently two of his sisters had aggravated their sins by calling Mary Parish "whore and witch." Goodwin expected that his father would bring up the iniquities of the Wharton brood and orchestrate their repentance. But Lord Wharton said nothing about Goodwin’s complaints, and no one else mentioned wrongs or remorse. Tom was the only Wharton who made any effort to be kind, and his smiles seemed to Goodwin less than genuine.

After four days when no one apologized or became "frank and free" with Goodwin and when Tom prepared to leave Wooburn without confessing his faults, Goodwin felt compelled to demand an apology. Tom refused to give one. As if he had never heard Anne on her deathbed clear herself and Goodwin of all guilt, he acted as if it were he, not Goodwin, who deserved an
apology. Goodwin, he said, "had endeavored to do him all the injury" he could. He was perfectly willing to forgive Goodwin and "live more civilly" with him, but he would not admit that Goodwin had been "a very good friend" or that he had been wrong in ordering Goodwin to stay away from his house. He had tried, he said, to become reconciled; he had even invited Goodwin to return to Winchendon. But all his advances had been slighted. He would freely admit his own errors, he said, but he could not apologize for Goodwin's. Reconciliation, as matters turned out, would have to wait another year.

A few days after the Wharton reunion, the family's improved status received public recognition. On 19 May the King and his entourage took up residence at Windsor, a few miles from Wooburn. One of the Court's first official acts was to grant Lord Wharton and his heirs permission to hold markets and fairs at Shap, Healaugh, and Wooburn; and Lord Wharton himself was among those invited to Court. For these favors Lord Wharton was expected to present an address of thanks for the King's gracious Declaration. His friend Dr. William Denton reported, in fact, that he had done so. "Lord Wharton," Denton wrote to Sir Ralph Verney, "addressed on Friday last [3 June] but what or how, or how accompanied, I know not."

Denton's information turned out to be wrong. Lord Wharton had long since learned the art of survival in troubled times. It was allowable to be personally friendly with unpopular rulers, as he had been with Oliver Cromwell, but to forward their schemes might sometime prove fatal. It was even permissible to receive favors, but it might be ruinous to deserve them. To thank James for what was probably an illegal proclamation might not necessarily acknowledge the King's right to suspend the laws, but it might prove to be a very foolish gesture. As Lord Wharton knew, an address would certainly antagonize his Anglican friends and very possibly the
Protestant heirs apparent. Meanwhile, nothing could be lost by remaining silent. James could not recall his Declaration.

And so Dr. Denton, with obvious relief, corrected his report. "I am now better informed," he wrote Sir Ralph on 12 June. "My Lord Wharton did not address. He told me so himself, and yesterday my Lord Fauconbridge assured me the same; for he was [near]by, and [Lord Wharton] spoke to His Majesty in his hearing." 34

During the summer of 1687, while the King's agents were soliciting loyal addresses and while the troops were drilling on Hounslow Heath, the government was implementing the tactics implied in the King's Declaration. To no one's surprise, the Tory Parliament was dissolved, Anglican county officials were removed, and the process of remodeling corporations got underway. As the King later explained, no one was to be employed in government or the military who opposed his plan for repealing the Test Act and the Act of Uniformity. 35 In the language of the King's opponents, jolly gentlemen were to be replaced by sneaking fanatics and papists.

Meanwhile, the King's measures were causing a silent and permanent shift in the political center of gravity. Faced with a threat from Catholic power, the Church of England tacitly abandoned the attempt to crush Dissent. Anglicans were discovering that Presbyterians and Independents, however misguided, were after all Protestants. If, after their sorry performance during the Civil Wars, Dissenters could not yet be trusted to share political offices, they could safely be allowed to worship publicly. And if they would resist King James's illegal offers, they could achieve a legal toleration.

This new shift was implied in Halifax's brilliant Letter to a Dissenter. Composed after the dissolution of the Tory Parliament and contributing powerfully to what might be called the
Anglican counter-attack, the pamphlet concentrated on the historic intolerance of the Catholic Church and the unreliability of the King's promises. It warned Dissenters against abetting their hereditary enemy in his use of arbitrary power and against helping him to establish Catholic domination. As a work of Anglican propaganda and a satirical analysis of the King's Declaration, the letter skimmed lightly over the official intolerance of the Establishment. It contained, nevertheless, a very important sub-theme. The Church of England, Halifax said, had learned its lesson; it had repented of its former harshness. It would agree, he implied, to a legal toleration when the expected Protestant succession put church and state out of danger.

Halifax, of course, had no authority to speak for the Church, and the Church had not announced a shift in its position. Halifax's stance, nevertheless, represented the new political reality. James had promised the Dissenters both freedom of worship and political opportunity. Anglicans felt themselves obliged to offer at least freedom of worship. The next year when the seven bishops refused to distribute the King's second Declaration, they professed a "due tenderness to Dissenters" and promised a favorable "temper" when the matter [toleration] should be settled in Convocation and Parliament.

On 20 August 1687, when Tom Wharton returned to London from the country, Halifax had not yet published his famous Letter; but the processes that evoked it were in full swing. The King's agents had procured some fifty-four addresses from Dissenting congregations and a number of addresses from Anglican groups, military enclaves, and government appointed grand juries. The Crown was beginning to replace Tory justices, sheriffs, aldermen, and county lieutenants with more biddable men. In July, nine London aldermen had been removed "for opposing the address for liberty of conscience" and three Dissenters (the first three of many) had
been appointed, including John Bawdon, the wealthy husband of Tom's step-sister Letitia.

"I suppose you know," Tom commented in a letter to his sister Mary, "that amongst the general preferment of the fanatics my brother Bawdon is made an alderman of London and is to be knighted. At which her Ladyship at Wooburn [Lady Wharton, Letitia's mother] draws up her mouth notably." Tom intended to follow up his letter with a visit to Mary in Wales. She was about to deliver a child, and Tom was concerned about her health. Politics, including "the general preferment of fanatics," could wait while he attended his sister. Before he was ready to set out, however, he received word from Sir Charles Kemeys that Mary had produced a daughter. Then he heard nothing. On 16 September he wrote an anxious note to Sir Charles.

You must forgive me for begging the favor of you that you will let me know how my sister doth. I have never heard from her, nor of her, since the first account you gave me of her being brought to bed, which makes me a little fearful. I had been with you now if Harry had not stopped me a little, but you will shortly, I believe, be troubled with your humble servant

T. Wharton

While Tom was worrying about his sister--needlessly, as matters turned out--and taking a temporary vacation from politics, King James was making a royal progress through the western and midland counties. The tour, which began on 16 August and ended on 17 September, was part of what a later generation would call a public relations campaign--an attempt to drum up support for the royal policies and lay the groundwork for new elections. It was becoming clear that the process of packing a parliament would be a long one. The Crown's attempt to extract pledges of support from prospective Mps and borough magnates was drawing evasive responses and demonstrating the strength of the opposition. James hoped to quiet the rising murmurs and remind his subjects that he was King of England--the divinely appointed monarch whom his
Tory critics had promised to obey.

Anglicans did not need much reminding. They routinely prayed for James every Sunday, as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. Privately they may have prayed that he would change his religion, but officially they prayed for his prosperity and long life. The unorthodox also prayed for the King. Goodwin Wharton, for instance, a Calvinist by training and a latitudinarian by revelation, had attacked James furiously in the Parliament of 1680 and tried to exclude him from the throne. But once James became King, Goodwin dutifully prayed for him. Even after Goodwin learned from the angels, via Mary Parish, that James was a very bad King, going to hell as fast as possible, he kept James in his prayers.

On the present tour James gave his subjects a special demonstration of his extraordinary spiritual powers. In several provincial towns, he touched dozens of his subjects to cure them of the scrofula—the "King's Evil." By the time he returned to Windsor, he had touched more than five thousand people. He had also demonstrated once more that he was head of the Church by Law Established. For the healing ceremony, he had used several provincial cathedrals and churches. Some Anglican clergymen were uneasy about what could be construed as a Catholic invasion of Church precincts; but no churchman could deny King James, his legal superior, the right to use an Anglican edifice or prevent him from giving the healing rites "a popish flavor."45

Besides its political purposes, the King's tour had in addition what seemed at the time a pious hope. Queen Mary Beatrice was left at Bath on 18 August to try the restorative powers of the mineral springs—to see whether she could enhance her fertility and produce a healthy male heir to the throne. James, meantime, was visiting Holywell in Flintshire and invoking the aid of Saint Winifred, the patroness of the medieval shrine. With a combination of medicine and
prayer, there was at least a chance that the royal couple could avert the dreaded Protestant succession.

Before James rejoined the Queen at Bath, he visited Oxford, where he gave himself another grave political wound. For several months he had been attempting to wrest control of Magdalen College from its Anglican possessors. The death of Dr. Henry Clarke, President of the College, on 17 March, had given him an opportunity, he thought, to install a Catholic replacement—a convert named Anthony Farmer. When he sent down his order, however, the Magdalen fellows refused to elect the man on the grounds that he was both technically unqualified and morally delinquent. Then, before there was a hearing on the matter and before the statutory time for election expired, they elected Dr. John Hough as their President. This action was approved by Peter Mews, Bishop of Winchester, their official Visitor, and it accorded, the fellows contended, with the statutes of the foundation. The election, they insisted, was both legal and irrevocable. 46

The King's Ecclesiastical Commission, meeting in June, brushed aside the fellows' arguments and declared Hough's election void. The royal mandate, the Commission said, had implicitly precluded any election until the King's further pleasure was known. Furthermore, the King's prerogative, which allowed him to suspend statutes of the realm, obviously empowered him to set aside the statutes of a college. The Commissioners did not insist upon Farmer, however. A hearing in July convinced them that the man's conduct was indeed scandalous, and his name was quietly withdrawn.

Balked temporarily of his plan to install a Catholic, James selected a compliant Anglican, Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford; and in August he ordered the Magdalen fellows to elect Parker
to the presidency. The fellows refused. They could not remove John Hough, they said, without violating their statutes, their oaths, and their consciences. They could only petition the King to rescind what they considered an illegal order.

When James came to Oxford on 3 September, the matter was still unresolved. The day after his elaborate and enthusiastic reception at the University, he called the fellows of Magdalen before him and asked whether they were ready to obey his order. They were not. They were ready to hand him a petition stating their case once more. But James was in no mood for petitions--especially petitions that implicitly questioned the suspending power and accused him of invading the property rights he had promised to protect. He gave the fellows a memorable tongue lashing. They had not dealt with him "like gentlemen," he said. They had been "a stubborn, turbulent college" for the past twenty-six years. He could hardly believe that so many Church of England men would be involved "in such a business." Was this their "Church of England loyalty"? "Get you gone," he concluded after refusing to receive their petition, "and immediately repair to your chapel and elect the Bishop of Oxford, or you must expect to feel the weight of my hand." 47

The King's speech reverberated throughout Oxford and then the country. Like the angry speech to the Commons in 1685, it showed James's frustration and rage when his legal powers were questioned. Also like the speech to the Commons, it failed to achieve its immediate purpose. The fellows repaired to their chapel, but they did not elect the Bishop of Oxford. Instead, they reaffirmed their decision to support John Hough. James had only succeeded in alarming Oxford and warning its many friends of the invasions to come.

These would follow inexorably. On 21 October a royal commission, headed by Lord
Chief Justice Herbert and accompanied by three troops of cavalry, formally deposed and dispossessed Hough and installed Bishop Parker. On 16 November twenty-five fellows who refused to admit error and apologize for their opposition were expelled from Magdalen. Shortly thereafter the appointment of Catholic fellows began; and in March, after the death of Bishop Parker, Bonaventure Gifford, the Catholic Bishop-elect of Madaura, was appointed President. Magdalen became a Catholic college and a flaming national grievance.

At the time James left Oxford for Bath, Tom Wharton was waiting for one more horse race before journeying to Wales. Although he could easily deduce from the early reports that the King had made a grievous blunder with the attack upon Magdalen, he could not yet assess the damage. And he did not know that James was handing him another powerful ally. This was his brother-in-law James Bertie, Earl of Abingdon. Tom and Abingdon had seldom agreed on anything. Married to co-heiresses, they had squabbled about property both before and after the rich estates were divided. Whig and Tory, they had opposed each other on every major political issue, most of all on Exclusion. In 1685, as Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, Abingdon had raised the militia to oppose Monmouth, dispatched troops to the West, and kept Oxford "very quiet." Tom, on the other hand, might have joined Monmouth if he had been less adept at calculating odds. To Abingdon, Tom was a Whig threat to Church and monarchy. To Tom, Abingdon was a groveling Tory whose childish theories of divine hereditary right had jeopardized England.

But the events of 1687 were forcing Abingdon to choose between his devotion to Oxford and the Church and his loyalty to King James. The King was losing. In September, Abingdon was still Lord Lieutenant of the Shire and Lord High Steward of the City, but his Tory
enthusiasm had been waning since the King's Declaration, and with the attack on Magdalen it
died. His strong sympathy with the fellows removed the very faint possibility that he might be
brought to support the King's measures. On 21 November he was dismissed as Lord Lieutenant
of Oxfordshire. It would require two or three more hopeless gaffes on the part of the King to
make Abingdon a conspirator; but the preliminary work was done.

Tom Wharton, unlike his brother-in-law, could shed few tears for the Magdalen fellows,
whose political doctrines had returned to expel them. Under other circumstances he might have
thought that they had earned a lesson in adversity. Now, however, the attack on the College was
threatening. As a display of arbitrary power and a clear indication of the King's ambitions, it
signaled danger. It meant that he must soon forgive the Berties for being idiots and seek their
help in countering the King's most powerful argument--his standing army. Since James had
thrown off his Tory bridle, another must be found for him.

Tom and Abingdon might have become allies immediately if they had known what
happened in Bath after the King left Oxford. There, on Tuesday, 6 September 1687, James and
his Queen achieved the answer to their prayers. Mary Beatrice became pregnant. This
momentous fact, which would revise all political calculation, could not be known, of course, or
disputed, for several weeks, and the further fact that the child was male could not be known for
many months. When James left Bath for Winchester on 14 September, his Protestant subjects
remained comfortably assured that they were protected by the Lord and by the King's sexual
misadventures from any danger of a popish heir. One of his subjects, Goodwin Wharton, had
assigned himself, in fact, to remedy the King's deficiencies. Informed by revelations from an
infallible "inner voice" that the Queen had fallen in love with him and that only he could give her
the son that she and the King craved, Goodwin had come to Bath on 10 September prepared to do his pleasant duty. But James left without giving the permission the inner voice had promised, and Goodwin could only keep the Queen under observation until she left Bath on 4 October. During this interval he recorded in his journal several hundred words about Mary Beatrice. None of them suggested the possibility that she might already be pregnant—a condition that his divinely inspired inner voice could hardly have failed to mention.

When rumors of the Queen's pregnancy began to circulate, about 31 October, few Englishmen were as convinced as Goodwin Wharton that the story was false—certainly not his brother Tom, who had never had a revelation, either internal or external. But the story emanated from court circles, and no revelation was required to predict that, whether true or false, it spelled trouble. Paradoxically, the rumor was less threatening if it was true. Judged by past performances, the odds were heavily against a successful pregnancy and a healthy boy. Though a real pregnancy meant a real worry, like the first ambiguous symptoms of a serious disease, it was not yet a cause for alarm. If the story was false, on the other hand, it implied a royal plot to change the succession, and the threat was unmistakable. The Queen's fictitious pregnancy would surely produce a male heir to the throne.

While the early rumors were circulating, James was stepping up his campaign to remodel county governments and town corporations. On 6 November he dismissed the Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, and replaced him with Lord Chancellor Jeffreys. Bridgewater, as Lord Brackley, had been Knight of the Shire with Tom Wharton after the 1685 election. Now he was replaced by the man who had tried desperately to keep Tom out of Parliament. In nearby Oxfordshire, Abingdon was dismissed, as we have seen, and replaced
by the Earl of Lichfield.\textsuperscript{58} Other casualties of the purge during November and December included the Earls of Winchilsea, Scarsdale, and Gainsborough.\textsuperscript{59}

Meanwhile, on 9 November, as if determined to alienate the kingdom, James appointed his Jesuit confessor Edward Petre to the Privy Council.\textsuperscript{60} Shortly thereafter, he formed a committee of Privy Councillors to "regulate" the corporations--to remove, that is, men who opposed repeal of the Test Act and appoint men who approved the King's policy. Of the seven "regulators," who included Petre and five other Catholics, only one, Jeffreys, was a Protestant.\textsuperscript{61} The spectacle of a Catholic board removing Anglicans from English corporations demonstrated to the King's subjects that "regulation," like the attack upon Magdalen, was part of a popish campaign against the Church of England.

While the King was blundering his way towards exile--making the mistakes that he would try desperately to undo a few months later--Tom Wharton was committing some blunders of his own. Involved in still another sex scandal, he found himself featured, along with King James and a gallery of other prominent offenders, in a satirical poem called "A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies." The poem, circulated in manuscript, linked Tom with Sophia Stuart Bulkeley, whose "nauseous bait," the author said, had been "mumbled and spit out by half the town." This liaison showed that Wharton's brains had been addled by his "rammish spendthrift buttocks," and it clearly earned Tom a place in the galaxy of Ninnies. There he ranked only slightly lower than James himself, whose bad taste in women was notorious and who had been scorned as a "dwindle" by his latest target, the Duchess of Grafton. "O sacred James," the poet intoned in mock veneration, "may thy dread noddle be as free from danger as from wit 'tis free."\textsuperscript{62}
If Tom actually saw the poem, he might have taken some consolation from the fact that the writer, or the copyist, had combined two scandals in a way that would puzzle readers and editors for years to come. And as a connoisseur of wit, he might have observed that the poet by going on much too long had made pornography monotonous. In any case, he did not have long to brood. In early December the Whartons suffered a loss that made gossip trivial. Tom's half-brother William died of infection from a wound received in a duel. 63

The episodes that provoked the duel had begun the previous summer when William, who had poetic ambitions, reflected in writing upon the literary pretensions of a minor poet and critic named Robert Wolseley. Wolseley, who fancied himself the literary heir of Rochester, replied with a satirical sketch of William in a poem entitled "A Familiar Epistle." He sneered at William's small stature, his foppishness, and his Puritan family, and ended by calling him "a merry blockhead, treacherous and vain." William countered with "A Familiar Answer," which made fun of Wolseley's bulk, dullness, lechery, and want of talent. Thereafter in several more poems, the two men exchanged insults of increasing venom. 64 Naturally, the town wits found the verbal battle highly amusing, and they found it more amusing still when a much better poet (almost certainly Dorset) intervened with a poem called "The Duel," which dubbed the pair Bavius and Mavius and gave a mock-heroic account of their "bloodless rhyming strife." 65

Soon after the poetic "Duel" came an actual duel. William and Wolseley met on 9 December 1687 to settle their differences with rapiers. And for a time the encounter on the field seemed another episode in the comedy. The diminutive Wharton "had the better in the action" against his hulking opponent; 66 he also sustained the only injury, a slight, undignified rapier jab in the left buttock. 67 Convalescing at his father's house at St. Giles, he seemed in no danger. 68
Four days later, however, before any wit wrote a commentary on the affair, the wound showed itself to be dangerously infected; and on 14 December, to the surprise and grief of the Whartons, William died.69

William had followed his older half-brothers at a distance. Fourteen years younger than Tom, he had been a baby when Tom and Goodwin were in France; and he had been an adolescent when Tom and Henry had formed their unbreakable alliance. Like his brothers, William had been raised in the strict Wharton pattern—in the hope that he would emulate his Puritan father. Also like his brothers, he found Lord Wharton easy to honor and impossible to follow. In late 1683 Tom attempted unsuccessfully to arrange a marriage for him, and after his return from a tour of France in 1685, Tom tried to get him elected to Parliament, again unsuccessfully. By November of 1685, William had acquired a mistress, Henrietta Yarborough; and by the time of his death, he seemed well on the way to becoming as notorious as his half-brothers.

Tom's indulgent memorialist, who as a youngster had seen the Whartons, recalled that the young men as a mark of respect for their father always remained standing when they talked with him. "There could not be a more affecting sight," the biographer declared, "than that old Lord attended by four sons, the most comely, the most brave, and the most gallant men of their time, who were at the same time the most obedient and dutiful in their demeanor before him, though a little too apt to give way to their pleasures when they were not in his presence."70

On Saturday, 21 December 1687, William was buried at St. Paul's, Wooburn. The four sons had been reduced to three, and an era was ending. For the Wharton family, William's death was a disaster in itself71 and a prologue to the tragedies of 1689. For the nation, stumbling
towards revolution, late December marked a point of no return. On the twenty-third, a royal proclamation declared that the Queen was pregnant and appointed "a time of thanksgiving and prayers throughout the kingdom."\textsuperscript{72}
1. Mary Kemeys to Sir Charles Kemeys, 19 Mar. 1687, Kemeys-Tynte, No. 661. Mary spells Wissing's name "Wissen" and "Wisten"; but there is no doubt that she refers to the extremely popular Dutch artist William Wissing.

2. Luttrell, i, 395.

3. Goodwin, who wrote (but delayed sending) a letter to congratulate Tom upon his escape from injury, says that Haughton was "wounded" in the encounter. Autobiography ii. 15. Goodwin may be wrong about the alleged injury, which is not mentioned by Luttrell or Tom's memorialist. In any event, the "wound," if there was one, must have been slight. Tom, who prided himself upon having never given nor refused a challenge, also considered himself lucky never to have killed anyone.

4. "I never heard what was the Occasion of my Lord Haughton's quarrel with him" [Tom], Wharton's memorialist writes, "and they having been afterwards very good Friends, I shall not enquire into it; 'tis certain, they were both true Englishmen, and the difference could not arise on Account of Politicks." Memoirs, p. 33.


8. William Cavendish, 5th Earl of Devonshire, had been arrested for striking Col. Thomas Colepeper within the verge of the Court at Whitehall. The Duke of Somerset, Lord Delamere, Lord Clifford, and "Mr. Thomas Wharton" stood bail for his appearance at the King's Bench. Luttrell, i, 401. For a full account of the incident, for which Devonshire was ultimately fined £30,000, see Macaulay, ii, 896-99.


10. DNB, s. v. "Wissing, William." Wissing's host at Burghley House was John Cecil, 5th Earl of Exeter.

11. PRO, PC 2/72, pp. 428-30; London Gazette, No. 2231, 4-7 Apr. 1687.

12. See above, ch. xviii, pp. 7-8, nn. 22, 24. Crew, it should be noted, was at the meeting of the Privy Council that approved the Declaration. PRO, PC 2/72, pp. 428-30. For government pressure on Bishops Crew, Cartwright, Sprat, and White to present addresses of thanks, see The Diary of Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, ed. Joseph Hunter, Camden Society, 1st ser., xxii (London,
1853), 47-49. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough, refused to comply.

13. The Declaration, wrote Anglican John Evelyn, voicing a common attitude, was "purely obtained by the Papists, thinking thereby to ruine the C. of England...which so admirably & strenuously oppos'd their Superstition." Evelyn, iv, 546. "Whatever reasons were alleged" [for the Declaration], said Reresby, "the true reason appeared to most men to be a design to weaken the Church of England; and its professors feared it would feel more blows than this in a short time...." Reresby, p. 450.

14. From the petition of the seven bishops on 4 May 1688. PRO, PC 72/2, p. 683. Such a dispensing power, its critics pointed out, "might at pleasure set aside all laws, ecclesiastical and civil." Evelyn, iv, 583.

15. On 10 April, Lord Chancellor Jeffreys was instructed to insert "a clause of dispensation from taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy" into all commissions of the peace in England and Wales "and also in all other commissions and patents" he should pass by immediate warrant." CSPD, Jas. II, ii, 408.

16. Reresby, p. 450, For another succinct account of the King's failure to change minds in his "closeting" campaign, see Lonsdale, p 15.

17. See above, Ch. v, pp. 5-7.

18. On 18 Mar., "for divers weighty reasons," James had prorogued Parliament from 28 April to 22 November. London Gazette, No. 2226, 17-21 Mar. 1686 [87]. The weightiest reason was that the present Parliament was unmanageable. It was finally dissolved on 2 July 1687. Though James was reluctant to give up all hope of recapturing his Tory Parliament, the Declaration was a tacit admission of failure and a prelude to dissolution. See Sunderland, p. 157.

19. Halifax, for instance, expressed confidence in two letters to the Prince of Orange (31 May, 25 Aug. 1687) that the King's "design" would fail. A parliament of Dissenters, Halifax said in effect, would not repeal the Test Act. PRO, SP 8/1, fols. 132, 143-44. Even Sunderland, the King's chief advisor, had his doubts. In July he told the papal nuncio that although Dissenters would repeal the penal laws, few of the them would vote to repeal the Test. Sunderland, pp. 160-61

20. Halifax, i, 252.

21. About the time James issued his Declaration, he offered to give Dissenters their money back. "The king," Luttrell notes in an entry for April 1687, "has ordered to the dissenters restitution to be made of what penalties and forfeitures have been levied on them since his majestie came to the crown." Luttrell, i, 398. For the Commission set up to deal with the claims and the Dissenters' reactions, see the excellent article by Mark Goldie, "James II and the Dissenters' Revenge: the Commission of Enquiry of 1688," BIHR, lxvi, 53-88.
22. In an address to the King, the "Nonconformists of Newcastle on Tyne" reported that by the new Declaration some of their number who had been "imprisoned by Writs of Capias for Nonconformity were discharged." London Gazette, No. 2242, 19-23 May 1687.

23. London Gazette, No. 2231, 4-7 Apr. 1687.

24. The announcement in London Gazette, No. 2256, 31 June-4 July 1687, explained that the Parliament was dissolved "for weighty reasons" and that the meeting scheduled for 22 November was cancelled.

25. As John Miller points out, James "turned the Tories from vociferous loyalty to sullen apathy." Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688, p. 202

26. Commenting upon a rumor that Penn was to be made a Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Verney wrote,"I doe not wonder that William Penn shall be made a Secretary of State, for he has been suspected to be a papist a great many years." Letter to John Verney, 15 May 1687, Verney, BL, M 636/41. For a sympathetic account of Penn's political activities on behalf of James II, see Vincent Buranelli, The King and the Quaker (Philadelphia, 1962), particularly, pp. 112-35.

27. Dated 14 April, the address appears in London Gazette, No. 2234, 14-18 Apr. 1687.

28. Ridiculous or not, James was prepared by September 1688 to create about fifty peers. For the numbers involved, see Speck, p. 120.

29. Mary had already received one significant favor. On 27 Aug. 1686, young Edmund Thomas ("Neddie"), her son by her first marriage, had been knighted. This was a royal nod towards the Whartons and Thomases (a rich Welsh family), as well as a mark of distinction for Mary and her second husband Sir Charles Kemeys, an MP for Monmouthshire in the 1685 Parliament. "Neddie" was about twelve when he was knighted.


32. CSPD, Jas. II, ii, 430. The warrants authorized Lord Wharton to hold markets every Wednesday and three fairs per year at Shap (Westmorland), three fairs per year at Healaugh (near the City of York), and two fairs per year at Wooburn. The markets and fairs were "for the buying and selling of all manner of live cattle and other goods and merchandises, with tolls and profits to such fairs belonging."

33. Denton to Verney, 7 June 1687, Verney, BL, M 636/42.

34. Verney, BL, M 636/42.

35. In his second Declaration (27 Apr. 1688), James explained that he had been forced to remove
many officials because they would not "contribute to the peace and greatness of their country." They had refused, in other words, to help repeal the Test Act. London Gazette, No. 2342, 26-30 Apr. 1688. On 11 Dec. 1687, he had announced that he was reviewing the lists of Deputy Lieutenants and JPs and retaining only those who would help turn his Declaration into law and make it an "Established Security for After-Ages." London Gazette, No. 2302, 8-12 Dec. 1687. He did not explain that he had begun the purge of city and county governments long before he gave any official announcements.

36. For some replies which did not neglect the sins of the Establishment, see [William Penn], Remarks upon a Pamphlet, Stiled, A Letter to a Dissenter &c (London, 1687); H[enry] C[are], Animadversions on a Late Paper, entituled A Letter to a Dissenter... (London [1687]). See also the witty poem "Dr Wild's Ghost" in POAS, iv, 108.

37. PRO, PC 72/2, p. 683.

38. By 16 August, when he set out on a royal progress James had received (by my count) 54 addresses from Dissenting groups. These were published as government propaganda in the London Gazette, 4 Apr-22 Aug.

39. Perhaps the most interesting of the addresses came from the "Benchers and Barristers of the Middle Temple," who thanked James for asserting his "Royal Prerogatives," which, they declared, were the "very Life of the Law." Since the prerogatives "were given by God himself," no power on earth could diminish them, and the Temple lawyers would defend with their "Lives and Fortunes" [the principle] "A Deo Rex, A Rege Lex." London Gazette, No. 2230, 9-13 June 1687. This defense of the "suspending" power, which echoed many Anglican sermons of the early 1680s, must have made high churchmen grind their teeth.

40. Luttrell, i, 410-11. Bawdon (or Bawden) was appointed on 27 July 1687 and knighted on 29 Oct. 1687. He was removed on 3 Oct. 1688 when the London Charter of 1683 was restored. Alfred B. Beaven, Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1908), ii, 113. Bawdon was the brother of Elinor Bawdon Oldmixon, whose son John Oldmixon eventually wrote the memoir of Tom Wharton, as historian Pat Rogers has convincingly shown. See "The Memoirs of Wharton and Somers," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, lxxvii (1974), 224-35.


42. Tom Wharton to Sir Charles Kemeys, 16 Sept. 1687, Kemeys-Tyte, No. 104.

44. *London Gazette*, No. 2279, 19-22 Sept. 1687. According to Bishop Cartwright, who was the King's host in Chester, James "healed" 800 people in Chester alone. Cartwright, *Diary*, pp. 74-75. Patients touched for the "evil" received gold coins, and the *Gazette* notes that because some ministers did not keep accurate registers, many people who had been touched before were touched again and had "new Pieces of Gold given them, contrary to the established order."


46. Most of the primary documents in the controversy have been collected by James Rouse Bloxam and published in *Magdalen College and King James II, 1686-88*, Oxford Historical Society, vi (Oxford, 1886). Bloxam's summary narrative (pp. x-xxvi) is one of the best among the dozens of later accounts. For the documents related to the King's dealings with the Magdalen fellows during his visit of 3-5 Sept. 1687, see pp. 84-94. See also *CSPD*, Jas. II, iii, 69-70. For the King's reception and entertainment at Oxford during his stay, see Wood, iii, 226-239.

47. "The King," Dr. George Clarke recalled, "put himself into so great passion that he changed colour and faltered in his speech, but Lord Sunderland stood by his elbow with much sedate malice in his face; the gentlemen of Magdalen's were all the while on their knees." HMC, *Leybourne-Popham*, p. 265.

48. Besides being expelled from Magdalen, the fellows were compelled to suffer through two long lectures by Commissioner Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, who played back to them the Oxford Declaration of 1683--reminding them that the King was "God's minister," ruling church and state by divine right. Their obedience was to be "absolute and unconditional." For Cartwright's speeches of 21 October and 16 November, see Bloxam, pp. 114-17, 185-90. For the government's version of events, see *London Gazette*, no. 2299, 28 Nov.-1 Dec. 1687.


50. Dr. William Denton was waiting too. As he explained to Sir Ralph Verney, "temptation had prevailed" with him to stay in the country to see Tom's "match" on 30 Sept. William Denton to Sir Ralph Verney, 25 Sept. 1687, BL, Verney M 636/42.

51. Abingdon's enthusiasm for the royal cause and his difficulties in raising and equipping the militia--finding horses, competing for recruits, and getting commissions for his subordinates--are graphically shown in his letters of June 1685 to the Earl of Clarendon. BL, Add. MSS, 15892, fols. 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 225, 227. The report that Oxford is "very quiet" comes from his letter of 26 June (fol. 222).

52. He had been elected on 29 Apr. 1687 but not actually installed until 16 Sept. *Oxford Council
53. After the fellows were expelled and made ineligible for "any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice," John Verney reported that Abingdon "sent to ye Ma: Coll. fellowes wishing he had preferments for 'em all but since he had not that they should be welcome at his house to his house for Beef and Mutton...." John to Sir Ralph Verney, 25 Jan. 1687[8], BL, Verney M 636/42. For Abingdon's refusal to put the King's three questions to the Oxfordshire gentry, see John Miller, James II, a Study in Kingship, p. 178.

54. The crucial testimony on the dating of the Queen's pregnancy is that of her physician Sir Charles Scarburgh, who testified on 22 Oct. 1688 before the "Extraordinary Council" convoked by James in the attempt to prove to his disbelieving subjects that Mary Beatrice had actually produced a son. See State Trials, xii, 139-40.

55. Goodwin Wharton, pp. 184-90. Goodwin realized, of course, that the last thing England needed was a popish heir, but his voice assured him that James would change his religion when Mary Beatrice produced a son.


57. See above, ch. XVIII, p. 11 and n. 33.

58. Edward Henry Lee, Earl of Lichfield, was Anne Wharton's cousin. His father, Sir Francis Henry Lee, was a brother to Sir Henry Lee, Anne's father. Lichfield was married to Charlotte Fitzroy, the illegitimate daughter of Charles II. In 1686, he succeeded Norfolk as colonel of a regiment of foot. After the Revolution he remained loyal to James and resigned his commission. The regiment was given to Henry Wharton.

59. Heneage Finch, 3rd Earl of Winchelsea, Robert Leke (or Leake), 3rd Earl of Scarsdale, and Edward Noel, 1st Earl of Gainsborough. For a complete list of the Lord Lieutenants dismissed during 1687 and 1688, see CP, ii, App. G.

60. Perhaps the most unpopular man in the kingdom, Petre had been, in Reresby's phrase, "the greatest incendiary" in promoting the King's Declaration (Reresby, p. 538). His promotion to the Privy Council gave the King's enemies an immense propaganda advantage. For Petre's appointment, on 11 Nov. 1687, see PC 2/71, fol. v; London Gazette, No. 2294, 10-14 Nov. 1687.

61. The Privy Councillors were Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, Sunderland, William (Herbert) Marquess of Powis, Roger (Palmer) Earl of Castlemain, Sir Nicholas Butler, and Edward Petre. They were aided by barrister Robert Brent. See Luttrell, i, 420-21; John Miller, James II, p. 180.

62. For the text of "Ninnies," generally attributed to the Earl of Dorset, see POAS, iv. 191-214; for the lines about Tom Wharton and one of his brothers (probably Goodwin), see ll. 135-74; for an extended discussion of the dating and other editorial problems, see the original MS, Goodwin

63. In telling the story of the duel and its aftermath, I have essentially repeated the account I gave in Goodwin Wharton, pp. 215-16.

64. The six extant poems in the exchange between Wharton and Wolseley appear in Poems on Affairs of State...Part III ([London], 1698), pp. 1-21.


67. Indictment against Wolseley, Gaol Delivery Rolls, 13 Jan. 1688, Middlesex County Records, iv, 120. Wolseley did not answer the indictment; he fled abroad (possibly to avoid a duel with Tom or Henry) and was outlawed. He was later pardoned by King William. See Goodwin Wharton, n. 36, pp. 355-56.

68. Goodwin, who saw William on the evening of 13 Dec, said that his half-brother had been "very well" until the previous day, the wound "being but very slight." Autobiography, ii, 61.

69. The date of William's death, it should be noted, helps to date "Ninnies," which must have been written before the fatal duel. The author, who devotes nineteen lines to Wolseley, another eminent Ninny, could hardly have failed to mention an event so notorious. Galbraith M. Crump, the editor of "Ninnies" in POAS, iv, 191-214, assigns the poem to early 1688; but he mistakenly dates the duel 1692 and names the wrong Wharton--Henry instead of William (p. 206).


71. The death of William was especially crushing to his mother, Lady Wharton, who (in Goodwin's phrase) "doted on him to an excess." Autobiography, ii, 61.

72. By the King, A Proclamation Appointing a time of Publick Thanksgiving and Prayer throughout the Kingdom (London, 23 Dec. 1687). See also, London Gazette, 2-5 Jan. 1687[8].
ABBREVIATIONS

1. List of abbreviations commonly used in the citation of book titles and of manuscripts

Add. Additional
BL British Library
Corr. Correspondence
CSPD Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
CTB Calendar of Treasury Books
HCJ Journal of the House of Commons
HEH Henry E. Huntington Library
HLJ Journal of the House of Lords
HLRO House of Lords Record Office
HMC Historical Manuscript Commission
HS Harleian Society
IHCJ Journal of the House of Commons...Ireland
IHLJ Journal of the House of Lords...Ireland
IRO Irish Record Office, Dublin.
MS, MSS Manuscript, manuscripts
NLW National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
N & Q Notes and Queries
OED Oxford English Dictionary
PL Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge
PR Parish Register
PRO Public Record Office
RCHM Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
RO Record Office
SP State Papers
TCD Trinity College, Dublin
VHC Victoria History of the Counties of England

2. List of Books and Manuscripts cited by Short Titles


Anglesey Diary Diary of Arthur Annesley, 1st Earl of Anglesey--1675-1684, BL, Add. MS 18730. (The pages are unnumbered.)

Ashcraft

Richard Ashcraft, Revolutionary Politics & Locke’s Two Treatises of Government (Princeton, 1986).

Autobiography


Baschet

Armand Baschet, Transcripts of reports by French ambassadors in England from originals in the Affaires Etrangères, PRO, PRO 31/3/1....

Baxter


Biog. Univ.


Burnet


Calamy Revised


Carte

Bodleian Library, Carte MSS.

CB


Clark


CP


Dalrymple


Dalton


Danby


DBF

Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, eds. J Balteau, M Barroux, M. Prévost, et al. (Paris, 1929--).

DNB

Dictionary of National Biography.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work Title and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kemeys-Tynte NLW</td>
<td>Aberystwyth, Wales, Kemeys-Tynte MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonsdale</td>
<td>Cumbria RO, Carlisle, Lonsdale MSS.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Rawlinson  Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS.


Reresby  Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, ed. Andrew Browning (Glasgow, 1936).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verney</td>
<td>Bucks. RO, and BL, microfilm collection of Verney family letters in Claydon House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharton</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Wharton MSS.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wood

RECENT HUMANITIES WORKING PAPERS


160. Cancelled.


165. To be announced.

166. Clark, J. Kent. “Galloping.” April 1997