

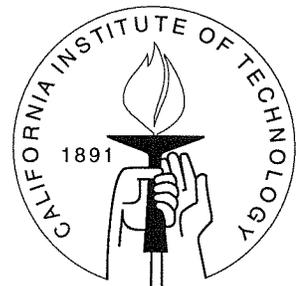
DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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EXITS

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## Abstract

*Exits* is Chapter XVI of my biography of Thomas, 5th Baron, 1st Earl, and 1st Marquess of Wharton (1648-1715). It covers the major events in Wharton's life from the death of Charles II to the death of Anne Wharton. These include the accession of James II, the Buckinghamshire election of 1685, the first session of the new Parliament, Argyll's rising in Scotland, Monmouth's Rebellion, Wharton's sojourn in Tunbridge Wells, and the final illness of Wharton's wife. I have annotated the chapter to provide additional information and to allow historians to see how I derived the facts. The lists of abbreviations and short titles pertain to the whole book, not merely to this chapter.

## EXITS

J. Kent Clark

At noon on 2 February 1685, Paul de Barrillon, the French Ambassador, sent a special courier with a dispatch to Louis XIV. About eight-thirty that morning, he reported, King Charles had been stricken with an "apoplexie" which had deprived him of speech and consciousness. He had fallen while speaking. It seemed to Barrillon, who had been allowed into the King's chamber, that Charles's face was entirely distorted and that he was not distinctly conscious of anything. There was much more to fear, Barrillon said, than to hope.<sup>1</sup>

Barrillon's assessment was right. Charles regained consciousness and survived four more days, more or less in spite of his doctors, whose bleeding and blistering might have killed a healthy man.<sup>2</sup> Then on the morning of Friday, 6 February, between eleven and twelve o'clock he died. In the afternoon his brother James, Duke of York, was proclaimed King.

That evening, in a brief note to his sister Mary, Henry Wharton expressed his reaction to the news. He was so overcome by conflicting emotions, he explained with mock seriousness, that he could write only a word or two.

For the sorrow that I have for the loss of our dear King [Charles] and the joy that we have so good a King in his place [James] puts me into such a transportation that between my sorrow and my joy I have only power to tell you that I am

Yours faithfully

H. Wharton<sup>3</sup>

Henry's attitude was shared, of course, by Tom. To the Whartons the death of Charles meant that the English government had gone from bad to worse. Tom and Henry were not apt to shed tears for the man who had spent the last four years of his reign battering the Whig party, and they were even less likely to celebrate the accession of the man whom Whigs had been vilifying since the heyday of Titus Oates. The Wharton brothers did not yet know that Charles on his deathbed had received extreme unction from a Catholic priest, though the news might not have surprised them.<sup>4</sup> Nor did they know that James had asked Barrillon to assure King Louis that he would always be Louis' faithful and understanding servant.<sup>5</sup> They did know that a personable and clever politician was being succeeded by a rigid authoritarian. If the succession of James was not a nightmare, it was at least a bad dream.

Most of the nation thought otherwise. Good Tories had praised James for years. Now their golden opinions seemed to be confirmed by his first pronouncement as King. Speaking to the Privy Council, James denied that he was "a man for arbitrary power." He would endeavor, he said, to follow his brother's example in showing "clemency and tenderness" to his people; he would also try to preserve the government "both in church and state" as it was established by law.

I know [James continued] the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have showed themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man's property.<sup>6</sup>

The King's promise to maintain the *status quo* and rule by law (an echo of Charles's promises of 1681) was immediately published by the grateful Privy Council.<sup>7</sup> It reassured many people who were not doctrinaire Tories. There was a formidable hedge of laws around the Anglican establishment, and if James truly intended to abide by existing law, the Church was in no danger. There would be no Catholic assault upon Protestantism. All the Whig hullabaloo about popish plots and threats of royal absolutism, it now appeared, had been mere propaganda. And if James with his praise of Anglicans seemed to promise the Tories a monopoly of political power, this did not appear an inordinate price to pay for political stability in the traditional forms.

Naturally, Whigs like Tom and Henry Wharton were a great deal less enthusiastic than James about Charles's "clemency and tenderness." They were also less than pleased about Charles's devotion to English law. Charles, who had declared himself in love with parliaments, had never summoned one after his defeat at Oxford. Ignoring the provisions of the parliamentary act which required that the intervals between sessions of Parliament should not exceed three years, Charles had preferred to go on collecting subsidies from Louis and avoiding divisive political contests--even after the dramatic increase in royalist sentiment and his own success in revising charters had made him relatively certain of a decisive majority. The statutory three years had elapsed by April 1684, but Charles brushed off the opinions of advisors like Halifax and continued to rule without Parliament.

From the Wharton point of view, Charles's choice of laws to enforce was at least as bad as his choice of laws to forget. The last three years of Charles's reign had seen a marked increase in the harrying of Dissenters. After several years of *de facto* toleration, the government had resumed the campaign of silencing preachers and breaking up conventicles. To Lord Wharton, a long-time patron and protector of Independent and Presbyterian ministers, the renewed attack was especially distressing. The task of maintaining dissenting congregations, seldom easy, was becoming increasingly difficult.

In other matters of law, the shift from Whig to Tory in popular sentiment had emboldened Charles in early 1684 to release Danby from the Tower on bail, as well as the three popish lords who had survived there since 1678.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, with the shift from Whig to Tory judges and juries, the post-Rye House campaign to destroy or pauperize obnoxious Exclusionists

had continued. In February 1684, after the government had failed to find the second witness necessary to sustain a charge of treason, John Hampden was convicted of high misdemeanors, fined the staggering sum of £40,000, and sentenced to remain in prison until the fine was paid.<sup>9</sup> In April, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, who had been convicted earlier of spreading Whig lies about the King's evidence in treason trials, had been fined £10,000.<sup>10</sup> In May, Titus Oates had been arrested on a writ of *scandalum magnatum* for having referred to James as a traitor, and in June the King's Bench had awarded James £100,000 and consigned Oates to debtor's prison until he paid the debt (that is to say, for the rest of his life).<sup>11</sup> Also in June, the outlawed Sir Thomas Armstrong had been seized in Holland, brought back to England, and hanged without a trial.<sup>12</sup>

Under these circumstances, James's promise to imitate his brother in defending the Church and laws of England failed to cheer the Whartons. It seemed to mean that the Dissenters and their more orthodox Whig allies would continue to be harassed and that 1685 might be a darker version of 1684. There was, however, one encouraging prospect in the immediate future. King James found himself obliged to summon a parliament. The funds that had been voted King Charles for life ended, officially, with his death. For a time, James could continue to collect customs and excise taxes by executive order.<sup>13</sup> He could also, like Charles, solicit money from Louis XIV.<sup>14</sup> But these strategies, both of which James adopted, were temporary expedients. Englishmen were at least as sensitive about their money as about their religion. They would allow the Crown to collect taxes by proclamation until a parliament could be assembled, but it would be dangerous to suggest that non-parliamentary taxation could proceed indefinitely. The only permanent solution to the King's financial problems lay in a friendly and generous parliament. If the current wave of royalist enthusiasm should produce a solid Tory majority in the Commons, James could expect to be voted substantial revenues for life. Meanwhile, the act of convoking a parliament would further reassure his subjects that he intended to rule by law.<sup>15</sup> It would also prevent agitation and forestall petitions. For these reasons, "upon mature consideration," James announced in a proclamation of 9 February that he had decided "to call a parliament speedily to be assembled."<sup>16</sup>

The King's announcement, which touched off a flurry of political activity all over England, put the Whartons into immediate action. This time the family offered three candidates. Tom stood for Knight of the Shire in Buckinghamshire; Henry stood at Malmesbury and William at Cockermouth. Goodwin had been removed from the family political roster. His virulent attack upon James in 1680 had been too strong even for his father.<sup>17</sup> He would have been unelectable now that James was on the throne. He had further distanced himself from his father and brothers by taking up with Mary Parish, a spiritualist old enough to be his mother and canny enough to deceive John Wildman--who was currently searching for buried treasure under Mary's direction.<sup>18</sup>

Any hopes the Whartons may have nursed that their party could achieve a majority in the House of Commons vanished in the elections of March, April, and May. The Tories scored a smashing victory. Taking advantage of remodeled charters, loyalist enthusiasm, and the reaction against disturbers of the peace, the King's friends defeated most of the Exclusionist candidates who sought re-election.<sup>19</sup> The Whigs in the Commons were reduced from a strong majority to an ineffectual minority. In this debacle, the Whartons fared rather better than their party. They managed to win one out of three elections. Henry and Tom's great friend William Jephson were defeated at Malmesbury,<sup>20</sup> in spite of the fact that Tom and Anne now owned the

manor there. Similarly, William lost at Cockermouth,<sup>21</sup> though Lord Wharton owned a sizeable fraction of the town. Tom, however, not only won the Bucks election but also foiled the best efforts of Chief Justice Sir George Jeffreys to defeat him.

The Bucks campaign, one of the most dramatic in Tom's long political career, would have been complicated enough without the attempt of the Court to intervene. Since the 1681 election, when Tom and Richard Hampden had carried the county without a contest, many things had happened, none of them good. Besides the general wave of Tory fervor and the political debris from the Rye House plot, there were personal liabilities. Tom's malfeasance at Barrington, though excused or ignored by his friends and fading from current gossip, had not increased his popularity. The fact that Richard Hampden's son John had been accused of treason, convicted of high misdemeanors, and lodged permanently in prison, as it then appeared, might appeal to unrelenting Whigs determined to view young John as a martyr, but it would not help Richard win a county-wide election.

Because Tom had acquired enough handicaps without appearing to be the new King's irreconcilable enemy, he had seized an opportunity to kiss James's hand.<sup>22</sup> This precaution, which irritated Jeffreys, did not stop the King's agents from trying to defeat him, but it allowed his friends to portray him as a man who would "serve the King and country very faithfully."<sup>23</sup> It also enabled Tories disgusted by Court browbeating to give Tom covert support without wounding their political consciences.

The most important of Tom's secret abettors was the Earl of Danby. Now out of the Tower and seeking to re-establish himself, he remembered, as he sometimes did, that he was Tom Wharton's "cousin."<sup>24</sup> He recalled too that Tom was a power in northern Bucks and a long-time foe of Sir Richard "Timber" Temple. Since Danby's son Edward, Viscount Latimer, intended to stand against Temple in the election for the town of Buckingham, it occurred to Danby that a cousinly gesture might prove useful. Early in the campaign he promised to ask his son-in-law James Herbert and his friend Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, to support Tom in the county election. Both men were large landholders in Bucks, and Herbert was a Tory MP.

Tom was immensely pleased with the unexpected favor. "I can't but tell your Lordship," he wrote, "I am the most sensible of it in the world."<sup>25</sup> Chief Justice Jeffreys was much less pleased when rumors of Danby's "good word" for Tom reached him and when it appeared that Herbert's tenants were committed to the Wharton cause. It was no time for trimmers, much less Whigs, Jeffreys told Danby. The King's friends must unequivocally support Tory candidates. In making excuses, Danby began with an evasion: Neither he nor Herbert, he said, could control Herbert's tenants. He ended with a bland lie: "I hope my Lord Chief Justice knows me too well to believe I shall promote any Whig's interest."<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile John Egerton, Viscount Brackley, entered the contest for Knight of the Shire and gave the campaign a new dimension. As a moderate Tory and the son of the Earl of Bridgewater, Brackley was popular across the political spectrum. He had refused to stand in February 1679, and it was he who had then suggested that Tom Wharton should enter the County election.<sup>27</sup> His present candidacy (undertaken at his father's insistence) was enthusiastically supported by Tom's friend Sir Ralph Verney. "Pray tell Mr. Butterfield<sup>28</sup> my Lord Brackley stands to be Knight of the Shire," Sir Ralph wrote his steward William Coleman on 18 February, "and so doth Mr. Wharton, and I hope he will be for them." Coleman, Sir Ralph said further, was to ask the principal freeholders of the surrounding area to support Brackley and

Wharton, as he himself would do.<sup>29</sup>

Originally, Tom intended to stand again with Richard Hampden, and he had actually begun soliciting on Hampden's behalf<sup>30</sup> when the entry of Brackley changed the odds. Early enquiries showed that, for the present at least, Brackley was even more popular with the freeholders of northern Bucks than Tom. Coleman's report to Sir Ralph made this point clear. "Most about will be for the Lord Brackley," Coleman wrote on 26 February, "but not so many for Mr. Wharton."<sup>31</sup> Brackley was virtually certain to win one of the seats, and if Wharton and Hampden divided the votes of their friends, one Thomas Hackett, a Tory gentleman whose candidacy was being promoted by Jeffreys, might win the other. It was important, then, that one of them should withdraw and leave the field open for his fellow Whig. The fact that Hampden had a safe seat at Wendover and that his political liabilities were greater than Tom's suggested that he should be the one to leave the County race.<sup>32</sup>

While Hampden was deciding what to do, Sir George Jeffreys was trying to bully Tom's supporters into deserting him. One of these was Sir Ralph Verney, who had been very active in Tom's cause. Sir Ralph had decided to stand once more with Sir Richard Temple for the town of Buckingham, as he had done in 1681, and this decision made him vulnerable to political pressure. Jeffreys threatened to oppose him if he supported Wharton. To vote for both Wharton and Brackley, Jeffreys explained, made Sir Ralph "a trimmer"; that is, "one that is on both sides."<sup>33</sup> Sir Ralph also received a threat from Mayor Hugh Ethersey--one of the thirteen qualified voters in the Buckingham election. He could not have the Mayor's vote if he voted for Wharton, and the Mayor's vote might very well decide the election.<sup>34</sup>

In the face of such threats, Sir Ralph employed a variant of Danby's evasion. He agreed not to vote for Tom, but the agreement (as he interpreted it) applied only to his personal vote, not to those of his neighbors and tenants.<sup>35</sup> He expected his friends to continue their support of Wharton and Brackley. Sir Ralph's maneuver, which involved getting Tom's permission to break his earlier promise, was only moderately successful. Upon learning that Sir Ralph would not vote for Wharton, Jeffreys withdrew his opposition,<sup>36</sup> but he became enraged again after his candidate lost the County election, and the Mayor remained untrustworthy if not actually unfriendly. On 15 May, nevertheless, after many excursions and alarms,<sup>37</sup> Sir Ralph and Sir Richard Temple were elected at Buckingham.

In the latter part of March, an accident brought an unexpected complication to Tom's campaign. Attending a race at Newport Pagnell--this time as a bystander, not a participant--Tom was struck in the eye when a horse reared, and he suffered what at first appeared to be a dangerous injury. (In the language of the time, he "had like to have been spoiled.")<sup>38</sup> It was evident by the time Tom returned to Winchendon that his eyesight was not threatened, but the hurt was serious enough to make writing difficult. Temporarily, then, Anne became his scribe, and on 22 March she wrote Sir Ralph Verney to give him some important political information and to ask for an interview.

Tom, Anne said, had "at last prevailed with Mr. Hampden to desist" from contesting the County election, and he had sent Lord Brackley word of Hampden's decision. In bringing about Hampden's withdrawal, Anne wrote, Tom had designed Brackley's service "as much as his own." He now wanted Sir Ralph's advice "on how to manage himself" in the new situation and on how to make the election as "easy" as possible for both candidates. Tom realized that an interview might be a delicate matter for Sir Ralph, whose election at Buckingham might be jeopardized if

he seemed too friendly with Tom. He would be grateful if Sir Ralph could come to Winchendon next day "for a half hour's discourse," but he would understand if Sir Ralph chose to write his advice instead of bringing it.<sup>39</sup>

Tom obviously hoped that he and Lord Brackley could reach a gentleman's agreement about the election. If as the two most powerful candidates they could promise mutual support, they might avoid a contest.<sup>40</sup> This, in turn, would make the election "easy"--that is to say, relatively cheap. It would save some hundreds, if not thousands, of pounds. Tom also hoped that Sir Ralph, as a friend of both men, could offer advice and perhaps help negotiate an agreement.

Unfortunately for Tom's plan and his purse, no effective alliance with Brackley was possible. Sir Ralph's advice, if he ever gave it, could not prevent a contest.<sup>41</sup> Tom might very well promise to deliver the second votes of his supporters to Brackley, but Brackley could not deliver the votes of the rabid Tories among his flock to a Whig like Tom, especially when Jeffreys and the Court were determined to defeat him. Nor did Brackley need to fear that Tom's supporters would cast their second votes for Thomas Hackett. Most of Tom's allies would have been almost as likely to vote for the Pope as for the hand-picked Tory candidate of Sir George Jeffreys. It behooved Brackley, then, to maintain a certain distance between himself and Tom, his long-time personal friend, and to stay as politically neutral as possible.<sup>42</sup> If he avoided hotly partisan broils, he would very probably win without difficulty and without spending a fortune.

In contesting the election (scheduled for Aylesbury on 8 April), Tom Wharton had three great advantages besides the normally Whig complexion of Bucks. He was rich, he was a native of the County, and he was personable. Tom's wealth meant that he could bring freeholders from all over the County, furnishing transportation for the less affluent,<sup>43</sup> and that he could wine and dine all his supporters. In February 1679, when Tom had shared expenses with John Hampden, his first victory in a County election (technically uncontested) had cost him about £800.<sup>44</sup> Now, standing alone against two opponents, his total expenses were on the order of £3,000. Of this huge sum about £1,500 was spent in a single day at the inns, taverns, and livery stables of Aylesbury.<sup>45</sup>

The fact that Tom had lived in Buckinghamshire all his life was particularly important in this election. Jeffreys, the strident voice of the opposition, now owned Bulstrode, a Bucks estate; but he was a Welshman by origin and he represented an outside influence--a domineering Court attempting to intervene in Bucks affairs. His heavy handed attempts to coerce the local gentry made it easy for them to forget that Tom had once tried to get a London grand jury to present James as a popish recusant and that he had once, according to rumor, done something unsavory in some church or other. Jeffreys' maneuvers also made it easy to remember that Tom was a freehearted and free spending gentleman of large estates and that his stables had become a county asset. The previous October his grey gelding had won the feature race at Newmarket, beating Sidney Godolphin's horse in three consecutive heats.<sup>46</sup> And even people who cared nothing about racing remembered that two years earlier in a contest sponsored by Louis XIV he had scored a victory for England and Buckinghamshire.

The fact that Tom was naturally outgoing, personable, and witty was at least as important as his other political assets. He genuinely liked people, and he inevitably expanded his acquaintance throughout the County, whether he was attending races at Quainton, Datchet, or nearby Brackley, supervising his manors around Aylesbury, or campaigning in Marlow or

Amersham, he was collecting friends and followers. In 1679, when Tom first stood for Knight of the Shire, he asked Edmund Verney, of East Claydon, to solicit the vote of one Captain Stafford, with whom, he said, he was not acquainted.<sup>47</sup> By 1685, he knew practically everyone in northern Bucks, from blacksmiths to peers. He had acquired more of the intimate knowledge that would make him the despair of the Tories.<sup>48</sup>

In retrospect it seems strange that Sir George Jeffreys could expect to defeat Tom Wharton in a Buckinghamshire election. At the time it seemed much less strange. Partisan passions were running high, and no one yet knew the limits of "loyalty" and political pressure. Jeffreys did not receive his first enlightening shock until 8 April, when the voters and their retainers assembled at Aylesbury. Attending the election in person, Jeffreys could see before the polling was well started that Tom "had many more voices than Mr. Hackett" and that if the voting continued Tom would win. Acting on his authority as Lord Chief Justice, Jeffreys halted the poll and rescheduled the election for Newport Pagnell. He would try again in a town where Tom was not "in the middle of his friends."<sup>49</sup>

This strategy, which had been tried against Wharton and Hampden in 1679, worked as badly now as it had worked the first time. Tom's faithful supporters followed him to Newport as they had once followed him to Buckingham. In 1679, they had stayed outside Buckingham to punish the town for its bad politics; in the present case they stayed outside Newport because the Tories (apparently warned in advance by Jeffreys) had taken up all the accommodations. Tom's troops were compelled "to lie on banks" and tie their horses to "trees, gates, and hedges." And whereas they had been entertained lavishly at Aylesbury, they even went without good ale at Newport.<sup>50</sup>

The election, "to the great grief of my Lord Chief Justice," was hardly a contest. After all Jeffreys' efforts, Thomas Hackett could muster only 1,207 votes. Lord Brackley received 2430 votes, and when Tom's total had reached 1806, "with many hundreds more to poll," Wharton and Brackley were declared Knights of the Shire.<sup>51</sup> Jeffreys had threatened to move the polls to Buckingham or Beaconsfield if his candidate could not win at Newport; but Wharton's huge margin of victory made it clear that Hackett could not win anywhere in the County. Forced to concede defeat, Jeffreys, "in his passion," could only fume and denounce the Bucks gentry as trimmers. It was later reported that during the election he exchanged "some [hot] words" with Tom;<sup>52</sup> but if he did, he stopped short of danger. He was not furious enough to give or provoke a challenge.

The Wharton triumph at Newport Pagnell was followed shortly by another at the Brackley races. On 13 April, Tom defeated Sir Charles Shugburgh and Edward Griffith to win "the 4 score pound Plate"--a prize that consisted, this time, of "a gold tumbler, a fork, and a handle for a knife."<sup>53</sup> The victory at the races was trivial, of course, compared with the victory over the Lord Chief Justice and the Court. It was welcome nevertheless. In a grim season, triumphs of any kind were to be cherished.

The new Parliament, with its overwhelming majority of Tories, met for the first time on 19 May; and it was soon apparent that Tom and his few Whig colleagues might as well have stayed home. The Tories now controlled all the major committees; and when the House was organized, Tom was not even appointed to the vast Committee on Elections and Privileges.<sup>54</sup> For the Whigs there was no use in dividing on such questions as supply and very little use in debating them. As the Tory Earl of Ailesbury later explained, Wharton, Hampden, Boscawen,

and the "handful" of other Exclusionists who "could not be kept out" of the Commons "were too wise for to endeavor to stop the torrent" of loyal measures.<sup>55</sup> They did not try to prevent enthusiastic Tories from making what turned out to be an irretrievable error.

On 22 May, the King repeated to the Lord and Commons his now familiar speech, explaining his devotion to English law and the Anglican Church. He would support both, he promised, and he expected in turn that Parliament would vote him adequate revenues for life. It would be a mistake, he warned, to feed him a little at a time in the hope of obliging him to call frequent sessions. If the Lords and Commons wanted to meet him often, they should use him well.<sup>56</sup>

Almost before the echoes of the King's speech had died away, the Commons resolved without dissent to continue for James's life the revenues that had been granted to Charles.<sup>57</sup> The bill drawn up to that effect received its third reading only four days later,<sup>58</sup> and on 30 May, after being approved without alteration by the Lords, it was ready for the royal assent. As Speaker Sir John Trevor explained to the King and the assembled Lords and Commons, the bill had been passed with all possible speed. It had been passed, furthermore, without conditions. There was no accompanying bill for the "preservation and security" of the Protestant religion.

In that {Trevor intoned}, we acquiesce, entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied in Your Majesty's Gracious and Sacred Word, repeated Declaration and Assurance, to support and defend the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law established.<sup>59</sup>

It would be several months before Speaker Trevor and his Tory friends learned that in voting the King revenues for life and trusting him to protect the Anglican Church they had made a gross mistake. Meanwhile, they essentially completed the task of making themselves irrelevant by voting James additional long-term subsidies to pay off Charles's debts, strengthen the navy, and deal with troublesome insurrections. When they finally woke up to discover what the "sacred word" of the King was worth, they were too late to apply effective financial pressures. They had made an error that no English parliament would ever make again.<sup>60</sup>

In fairness to the too-credulous Tories, it should be pointed out that they were helped to their memorable blunder by two tragic and bloody errors on the part of radical Whigs: Argyll's descent upon western Scotland and Monmouth's descent upon western England. On 22 May James announced to the assembled Lords and Commons that Argyll had landed in Scotland. The King's announcement, which followed his first request for supply, not only brought forth loyal addresses but also stifled any serious arguments on finance. Gentlemen who had just declared, *nemine contradicente*, that they would stand by the King "with their lives and fortunes" could hardly quibble about the supplies James said he needed. Similarly, on 13 June when Lord Middleton announced that Monmouth had landed "in a hostile manner" at Lyme, the Commons, who immediately voted another lives-and-fortunes address, could not decently refuse to appropriate an additional long-term subsidy.<sup>61</sup> In such crises, it would have seemed factious if not disloyal to insist that subsidies should be granted for strictly limited periods and preceded by iron-clad guarantees of protection for the state Church.

Tom Wharton, as Ailesbury noted, was too wise to oppose the flood of Tory measures in Parliament.<sup>62</sup> He was also too wise to be lured into the Monmouth disaster. Sentiment, of course, was on Monmouth's side. Tom and the Duke had been friends for at least six years.

They both loved wine, women, and horses. They had shared bottles and racing stables, and they shared the belief that Monmouth's Uncle James, now King James, was a bigoted threat to the English constitution in church and state. What they did not share was the delusion that Monmouth might be legitimate or that the time was ripe for another revolution. Whig exiles in the Low Countries might believe that the nation was panting for their return, and Whig radicals in London who could persuade themselves that Essex had been murdered in the Tower could also persuade themselves that the City would explode in the King's face if a rebel force landed in the kingdom. But to Tom Wharton, who had stayed in England and viewed the political scene with a colder eye, the odds against a successful uprising looked prohibitive. Tom remembered, of course, London's reception of the Duke in 1679 and the provincial progresses in the early 80s; but he also remembered that more than two years and a Rye House plot had intervened between the cheers and the present exile. After the long furor of plots and counter-plots, the nation was much readier for a breathing space than for a civil war. The Tory portion of the country was solidly behind the King. The King's army, though small compared to what it later became, was loyal and uncorrupted, and it could be reinforced by three Scottish and three English regiments in the Dutch service. An insurrection would be opposed too by the Prince of Orange, whose wife Mary was the heiress apparent to the English throne. Finally, the rebels themselves could not agree on whether Monmouth should claim the Crown or try to establish a new republic with himself as chief magistrate.

As Tom calculated the odds against success, his estimates coincided with those of John Wildman, who sounded out Whig gentlemen on the subject of insurrection. Wildman found a "coldness and backwardness" among the people he approached--an unwillingness even to talk about revolution, much less risk their money or their heads. He warned Monmouth, via William Disney and Robert Cragg, that he "should not think of coming for England."<sup>63</sup> Tom Wharton, who was very probably one of the "friends" consulted by Wildman, agreed with this prudent advice. As his memorialist observed, "he looked upon the Duke of Monmouth's attempt as chimerical, and he never had any thoughts of joining in it on the foot of his rash invasion."<sup>64</sup>

Three years later Tom Wharton and his friend Lord Colchester would be the first two aristocrats to join the Prince of Orange at Exeter in what turned out to be a successful revolution. Now, when it became clear that the invasions could not be stopped by good advice, Tom simply waited for bad news. This was not long in coming. Argyll landed at Lorne in Scotland on 13 May, but his arrival evoked little enthusiasm beyond the borders of his clan. When he attempted to invade the lowlands, his little army was dispersed and he was captured. Argyll's rising, which ended on 18 June, lasted little more than a month. Its collapse freed the King's forces to concentrate on the English rebels, who had landed at Lyme a week earlier.

Monmouth's rising, his famous rebellion, lasted only twenty-five days. For a few of those days it appeared that Tom had miscalculated the odds. Monmouth achieved tactical surprise with the landing at Lyme, and although the gentry and nobility remained aloof, he had little difficulty in recruiting a sizeable force of countryfolk and townsmen--mostly Dissenters. Virtually unopposed by the regional militias, who were either frightened or sympathetic, he took over Taunton, where he stayed while he drilled his recruits, collected more troops, and prepared for an attack on Bristol. Meanwhile, the King's regular troops, under Feversham and John Churchill (later the renowned Duke of Marlborough) were hurrying westward. Contingents reached Bristol before Monmouth. There on 25 June a planned rebel attack was halted by a

heavy rainstorm, and before it could be renewed the arrival of more regulars forced a withdrawal.

As Monmouth retreated from Bristol, it became clear that the rebellion had lost its momentum. The government had preempted a possible rising in Cheshire by arresting suspects, calling up the militia, and reinforcing the loyal garrison in Chester Castle. In London, likewise, most of the leading conspirators were soon arrested or chased into hiding. There would be no insurrection in the City, spontaneous or organized. On 30 June, when the Scots regiments arrived from Holland, they were not needed to hold down London; they could be dispatched to the West. A further blow to the rebels--perhaps more discouraging than the bad news from Scotland--was the growing certainty that the regulars, including troops once commanded by Monmouth, would not desert the King. Monmouth's friends had flattered themselves that there would be large-scale defections. They now found themselves faced with a well-trained force bent on destroying them. They had also hoped that if Monmouth proclaimed himself King, as he did on 20 June, he might attract support from the gentry, but this maneuver proved futile as well. Like his original wild declaration of 11 June, which had accused James of murdering Charles,<sup>65</sup> his claim of the Crown evoked more jeers than support.

As it daily grew more evident that the rising had been contained, the faint hearted began to desert. The rebels paused in their retreat through Somersetshire to win a skirmish at Norton St. Philip, but their prospects looked increasingly dim. At Wells some of Monmouth's soldiers plundered the cathedral, and by the time the diminished army reached Bridgwater with the royal forces in pursuit, the odds against victory had lengthened still further. The revolt now looked as hopeless as Tom Wharton and John Wildman had calculated.

But Monmouth almost proved them wrong. In a well conceived night attack, he tried to reduce the disparity between his amateur troops and the professional enemy. The royal army was camped in the open behind some drainage ditches on Sedgemoor.<sup>66</sup> If Monmouth could achieve surprise--if he could hit the sleeping battalions with a sudden cavalry and infantry attack, he might shatter them before they were well awake. And even if the surprise was not total, an assault in the dark before ordered ranks could be formed would give amateurs at least a fighting chance against veterans. With discipline and luck, the rebel troops might reverse their fortunes in a single night.

But as the rebel army threaded its way across the moor, luck deserted to the enemy. When a shot fired by a nervous trooper alerted a royalist outpost, Monmouth felt obliged to launch a cavalry attack before his army reached its intended positions. This attack, commanded by Lord Grey, disintegrated. One contingent, going to the left in search of a passage over the deep ditch that protected the royalist camp, was repulsed by a royalist squadron. The main body, searching to the right, blundered across the front of the rapidly forming royalist lines. The inexperienced troopers received a volley of musketry and promptly scattered; they could not be reformed. Discipline had also deserted to the royal forces. Three battalions of rebel infantry advanced to the attack, but they did not attempt to charge across the ditch. Before they could be properly aligned for the assault, they began firing at the opposing battalions. Halted about fifty yards from the enemy, they remained there throughout the engagement.

As the night wore on and the royal army, recovered from the initial alarm, showed no sign of breaking, it became obvious to veterans, including Monmouth, that the attack was failing. When the regulars captured the three small guns emplaced by Monmouth and brought

up cannon of their own, the evidence became even clearer. In the early morning, deserted by their cavalry, raked by cannon fire and musketry, and exposed to the cavalry sweeps of the enemy, the rebel infantry broke at last. Preceded by Monmouth, who had left while his troops were still firing, the survivors fled across the moor. The rebellion had ended and the revenge had begun. The slaughter of fleeing rebels would soon be followed by the Bloody Assizes. Monmouth, unfortunately for himself, survived the battle. Captured a few days later, he would plead ignominiously and futilely for his life and end up on Tower Hill, beheaded by a clumsy executioner.

About the time Monmouth landed at Lyme en route to extinction, Anne Wharton became ill again. At first the malady, though serious, did not seem dangerous--merely another episode in what Sir Ralph Verney termed "the colic." Attended by Dr. Richard Lower and "two or three doctors from Oxford," she seemed, to Sir Ralph at least, to be in more peril from the medicine than from the disease. Her physicians, he judged, "were able to kill a hundred patients if they would take physic enough to do it."<sup>67</sup> In any case, Anne seemed likely to recover.

But the illness lingered through the summer, and about 12 August she went from Winchendon to Adderbury to stay with her grandmother Lady Rochester and "to drink Astrop waters."<sup>68</sup> Tom, meanwhile, agreeing perhaps with the optimistic assessment of Anne's condition, had betaken himself to Tunbridge Wells sometime in July. There he was joined by his brother Henry and by his mistress Jane Dering. Henry, a beneficiary of Monmouth's rising, had been made a captain in the Duke of Norfolk's newly raised regiment of foot (a regiment Henry would one day command).<sup>69</sup> With the collapse of the rebellion, he accompanied Norfolk to the Wells. Jane Dering, whose father had died the previous year, was now twenty-three and more or less free to do as she pleased.<sup>70</sup> She did not choose to live openly as Tom's mistress, but the liason between the pair was well known--at least to John Verney, who happened to be in Tunbridge while Jane and Tom were there.<sup>71</sup>

Tom interrupted his sojourn in Tunbridge twice--once for about a week in early August, probably to see Anne at Winchendon, and once more on 12 and 13 August to see Lord Wharton in Dover. This latter trip was an episode in still another Wharton family drama. Lord Wharton, to the trouble and alarm of his servants and children,<sup>72</sup> had decided to make an extended visit to the Continent for his health. At seventy-two, then a great age, he preferred the risks of travel, he indicated, to those of an English winter. Certainly he would be better off at Montpellier or the spas of Aix-la-Chapelle than at Wooburn or London.

On 7 August Lord Wharton had gone to Windsor, explained his health problems to the Earl of Sunderland, and asked for a formal passport. Sunderland could see no reason for refusing. The old nobleman was indeed "lame"; and although his Nonconformist activities were common knowledge, the spate of confessions now pouring out of English jails in the aftermath of Monmouth affair had not implicated him in any treasonous plots. Neither Lord Grey, now singing like a bird, nor Richard Goodenough, for example, had even mentioned him. Lord Wharton had been careful, furthermore, to avoid any imputation that he was fleeing. He made it clear that he was setting out for France, not for Holland, the favorite haven for escaping rebels.

In this situation, Sunderland not only issued a passport for Lord Wharton but also presented him to King James, who allowed him to kiss his hand and wished him a pleasant journey. After a farewell to his family and servants at Wooburn, Lord Wharton travelled to Dover on 12 August. He was accompanied by Goodwin, who stayed with him until his ship,

delayed by contrary winds, sailed for Calais on 18 August.<sup>73</sup> He had not felt called upon to explain to Sunderland and the King what he later explained to Alexander, Baron von Spaen, governor of Cleves, that the health of prominent Dissenters was likely to be better on the Continent than in England. The harrying of Nonconformists, bad before Monmouth's abortive rebellion, was apt to grow worse. So far, Lord Wharton would tell von Spaen, he had been protected against persecution by aristocratic privilege, but even this might vanish in the increasing fury of Tory reaction.<sup>74</sup>

Tom had seen Lord Wharton at Dover on the evening of 12 August and returned to Tunbridge the next morning. He had barely resettled himself when Henry engaged in another of his hot-tempered brawls. Riding before the Duke of Norfolk's carriage en route to the spa, Henry ordered a coachman whose coach was blocking the road to make way for the Duke. The coachman answered somewhat pertly that he had broken some harness and that the Duke must wait. Whereupon Henry knocked him down, and when the occupant of the coach asked what was going on, Henry "bade him come out of the coach and he would serve him so too." Unfortunately for Henry, the passenger turned out to be Dr. James Jeffreys, brother to the Lord Chief Justice, who was understandably "angered." It required the influence of Norfolk to prevent serious consequences.<sup>75</sup>

The incident brought Tom some unwanted publicity. It impelled John Verney, then in Tunbridge, to report Harry's latest outrage to Sir Ralph, and while he was about it--while his mind was on the Whartons--he also reported the most recent scandal about Tom. "Tom Wharton is here," he wrote, "and so is Mrs. Dering, though I hear Mrs. Wharton is not yet well." That Tom should be in Tunbridge with his mistress, John implied, though less than praiseworthy was perhaps to be expected, but that he should be disporting himself while Anne continued to be ill was at best shabby.<sup>76</sup>

In reply to John's letter, Sir Ralph did not comment upon Tom's misdeeds. He concentrated instead upon the "rashness" which led Henry "into more disputes and troubles than can be expressed." He hoped that Henry would grow up and get tired of his "brangling broils." The sojourn of the Wharton brothers at Tunbridge would soon be over in any case, Sir Ralph said. The Quanton races were scheduled to begin Wednesday, 26 August, and neither Tom nor Henry was likely to miss them. Meanwhile, Anne, who had been at Adderbury for about ten days, would probably stay "a little longer."<sup>77</sup>

Sir Ralph was right about the Quanton races. Harry won the feature event there on the first day. Sadly, he was only half right about Anne. In late August, about the time Tom returned from Tunbridge, Anne took a sudden turn for the worse. Instead of staying "a little longer" at Wilmot House, she stayed there the rest of her short life. The new state of affairs was described by John Cary, who had come to Adderbury on 1 September to attend the marriage of Lady Ann Wilmot and Henry Boynton:

But to allay all that mirth [Cary wrote] Mrs. Wharton lies very weak and ill, and it's much feared what the issue will be. All care imaginable is taken for her, and Doctor Radcliffe doth most diligently attend her, and we hope the best. All is in the hands of the Almighty.<sup>78</sup>

On 6 September, Sir Ralph Verney sent his son John a further report.

Mrs. Wharton is extremely ill; I am much afraid of [for] her. The poor will miss her dearly. Yesterday she lay in great pains and convulsions.<sup>79</sup>

Anne continued "very ill" through September, "without any great hopes of recovery"--attended much of the time by her sister Eleanora, Countess of Abingdon,<sup>80</sup> constantly by her grandmother, and sometimes by her husband. Meanwhile, in London, her brother-in-law Goodwin was making plans to restore her to health. During the past year under the tutelage of Mary Parish, he had greatly expanded his spiritual powers. From communication, via Mary, with mere familiar spirits, he had progressed to receiving messages from angels and finally, as of 19 May 1685, to receiving audible revelations from God. It was now within his power, he believed, to go to Adderbury and effect a miraculous cure. All he needed was the permission of the angels and the assurance that he would not find Tom at her bedside. Since his narrow escape from adultery, his affair with Anne had preyed on his mind. If he could now save Anne's life, he could expiate the flagrant crime he had committed in his heart and rid his conscience of a chronic sore.

On 1 October the angels gave the necessary permission, and on subsequent days they provided him with some holy oil, prescribed a special prayer, and fixed the date of his journey for 7 October. On that day (the angels foresaw) Tom would leave Anne's bedside and go elsewhere. At the last minute, however, the expedition was cancelled. A short audible revelation informed Goodwin that the Lord had done his "business." In other words, as Mary Parish explained, Anne would be cured without any help from Goodwin. It would be sufficient if Goodwin wrote Anne a letter and sent her some drops of holy oil.<sup>81</sup>

But the miraculous cure was cancelled as well. Anne died on 29 October. As Mary Parish (quoting the angel Ahab) explained to the horrified Goodwin when he learned of Anne's death, the Lord had changed his mind about curing Anne when, after a sincere repentance for her sins, she showed signs of relapsing into "an ill temper." In his mercy, He "thought best to take her off whilst penitent." Anne had spent some of her last moments, Mary explained further, reconciling herself with Tom and removing his suspicion that she had actually committed adultery with Goodwin--testifying "upon the blessed Sacrament" that she had not committed the crime "he suspected her guilty of." Tom, thoroughly convinced of her innocence, repented in tears "like a child" for his own misconduct.<sup>82</sup>

Unluckily for biography, the stories recounted by Mary Parish on the authority of the angels, though always interesting, are seldom trustworthy; and there seems to be no independent confirmation of this one. It is possible that during the two-month crisis, Tom offered some of the apologies he owed his dying wife, and it is conceivable that Anne might have confessed some of her own lapses from grace; but if so, no mere mortal seems to have recorded the event--not, that is, in a document that has survived. In particular there are no extant documents from Anne or Tom, whose feelings are the ones that truly matter. The last hours of the poet (to paraphrase Auden) were not only kept from Anne's poems, but also from her correspondence. She may have been too ill to write, and she did not make a will.<sup>83</sup> If Tom wrote to his father, then in Cleves, or his sister Mary in Wales (as he sometimes did), the letters have disappeared. What he thought at the time will probably remain unknown. What he did, however, is recorded in the Verney family letters and in the Winchendon Parish Register. He brought Anne home for

burial, and three days before the funeral, which he set for 10 November, he sent servants around to invite the neighboring gentry to the services. Held in the evening rather than the daytime, the funeral was as heavily attended as Anne could have wished. It was too simple, however, for some tastes. Edmund Verney said, in effect, that Tom, who had inherited Anne's estate, should have spent more money on her services.<sup>84</sup> He did not comment on the fact that Anne was buried in the church and that Tom had made one final gesture, Defying the law that required English men and women to be buried in woolen, Tom caused Anne be buried in silk. For this defiance, he paid a fine of fifty shillings (roughly two hundred fifty pounds in modern currency). The money was distributed among the poor of Winchendon.<sup>85</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

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

Add.	Additional
BL	British Library
Corr.	Correspondence
<i>SSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
<i>CTB</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
<i>HCJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library
<i>HLJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i>
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
HS	Harleian Society
<i>IHCJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons...Ireland</i>
<i>IHLJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords...Ireland</i>
IRO	Irish Record Office, Dublin.
MS, MSS	Manuscript, manuscripts
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
<i>N &amp; Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
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
<i>VHC</i>	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

### 2. List of Books and Manuscripts cited by Short Titles

Addison	<i>The Letters of Joseph Addison</i> , ed. Walter Graham (Oxford, 1941).
Anglesey Diary MS	Diary of Arthur Annesley, 1st Earl of Anglesey--1675-1684, BL, Add. 18730. (The pages are unnumbered.)
Annals	Abel Boyer, <i>The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals</i> , 11 vols. (London, 1703-13).

- Ashcraft Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics & Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986).
- Autobiography The Autobiography of Goodwin Wharton, BL, Add. MSS 20,006-07.
- Baschet Armand Baschet, Transcripts of reports by French ambassadors in England from originals in the *Affaires Etrangères*, PRO, PRO 31/3/1....
- Baxter Stephen Bartow Baxter, *William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650-1702* (New York, 1966).
- Biog. Univ.* *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne...*, 2nd edn., 45 vols. (Paris, 1843-65).
- Burnet Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, ed. Martin Joseph Routh, 2nd edn., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1833).
- Calamy Revised* Arnold Gwynne Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934).
- Carte Bodleian Library, Carte MSS.
- CB *Complete Baronetage*, ed. G. E. C.[okayne], 5 vols. (Exeter, 1900-6).
- Clark Sir George Norman Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955).
- CP *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom*, ed. G. E. C.[okayne], rev. ed., 12 vols. (London, 1910-59).
- Dalrymple Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1771-73).
- Dalton *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714*, ed. Charles Dalton, 6 vols. (London, 1892-1904).
- Danby Andrew Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds*, 3 vols. (Glasgow, 1944, 1951).
- DBF *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, eds. J Balteau, M Barroux, M. Prévost, et al. (Paris, 1929--).
- DNB *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- E. R. Wharton Edward Ross Wharton, *The Whartons of Wharton Hall* (Oxford, 1898).

- Evelyn *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Esmond Samuel de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955).
- Fox Charles James Fox, *A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second* (London, 1808).
- Goodwin Wharton* J. Kent Clark, *Goodwin Wharton* (Oxford, 1984; repr., London, 1989).
- Granger *Letters between the Rev. James Granger...and Many of the Most Eminent Literary Men of His Time*, ed. J. P. Malcolm (London, 1805).
- Grey Anchtell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*, 10 vols. (London, 1763).
- Halifax *The Works of George Savile Marquis of Halifax*, ed. Mark N. Brown, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1989).
- Hatton* Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols. (Westminster, 1878); Camden Society Pub., N. S., vols. xxii, xxiii.
- HC, 1660-90* *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, ed. Basil Duke Henning, published for History of Parliament Trust, 3 vols. (London, 1983).
- Holmes Geoffrey Shorter Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (rev. ed., London, Ronceverte, 1987).
- Hore John Philip Hore, *The History of Newmarket, and the Annals of the Turf*, 3 vols. (Newmarket, 1885- 1886).
- Japikse *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, ed. Nicolaas Japikse, 5 vols. ('S-Gravenhage, 1927-37).
- Kemeys-Tynte NLW, Aberystwyth, Wales, Kemeys-Tynte MSS.
- Kennett White Kennett, *A Complete History of England*, 3 vols. (London, 1706).
- Kenyon John Philipps Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, New York, 1972).
- Langley Thomas Langley, *The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough* (London, 1797).
- Lonsdale Cumbria RO, Carlisle, Lonsdale MSS.

- Luttrell                    Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857).
- Macaulay                    Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, ed. Sir Charles Harding Firth, 6 vols. (London, 1913-15).
- Macky                        John Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.* (London, 1733).
- Marlborough-                *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. Godolphin Henry L. Snyder, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975).
- Memoirs*                      *Memoirs of the Life of the Most Noble Thomas, Late Marquess of Wharton* (London, 1715).
- Mignet                        François August Marie Alexis Mignet, *Négociations Relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1835-42).
- NBG                            *Nouvelle Biographie Générale...*, 46 vols. (Paris, 1855-67).
- Ogg                             David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1955).
- Old Cause*                    John Carswell, *The Old Cause* (London, 1954).
- Parl. Diary*                    *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693*, ed. Henry Horwitz (Oxford, 1972).
- Parl. Hist.*                    *The Parliamentary History of England*, ed. William Cobbett, 36 vols. (London, 1806-20).
- POAS                          *Poems on Affairs of State, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, gen. ed., George de F. Lord, 7 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1963-75).
- Pol. State*                    Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain* 60 vols. (London, 1712-40).
- Rawlinson                    Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS.
- Recueil*                        *Recueil des Instructions Données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France...*, vol. xxv, *Angleterre*, ed. J. J. Jusserand (Paris, 1929).
- Reresby                        Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, ed. Andrew Browning (Glasgow, 1936).

- Romney Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. Robert Willis Blencowe, 2 vols. (London, 1843).
- Sacheverell Geoffrey Shorter Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London, 1973).
- Shaftesbury Kenneth Harold Dobson Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford, 1968).
- Speck William Arthur Speck, *Tory and Whig, the Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715* (London, New York, 1970).
- Sprat Bishop Thomas Sprat, *A True Account and Declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy against the Late King, His Present Majesty, and the Government* (London, 1685).
- State Trials *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, ed. T. B. Howell, 21 vols. (London, 1811-26).
- Surv. London Greater London Council, *Survey of London*, vol. i--(London, 1900--).
- Swift, Corr. *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1963-6).
- Swift, Prose *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, 14 vols. (Oxford, 1939-66).
- Tankerville Ford Grey, 3rd Baron Grey of Warke and 1st Earl of Tankerville, *The Secret History of the Rye-House Plot: and of Monmouth's Rebellion, Written by Ford Lord Grey, in MDCLXXV*, 1st edn. (London, 1854).
- Trevelyan George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England Under Queen Anne*, 3 vols. (London, 1930-34).
- Verney Bucks. RO, and BL, microfilm collection of Verney family letters in Claydon House.
- Wharton Bodleian Library, Wharton MSS.
- Wood *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891-1900).

## NOTES

1. Baschet, PRO 31/3/160, fol. 27.
2. For a detailed medical account of the last illness and death of Charles II, see Raymond Crawford, *The Last Days of Charles II* (Oxford, 1909). Crawford (a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians) concludes that Charles did not die of apoplexy, as his doctors mistakenly supposed, but of "chronic granular kidney (a form of Bright's disease) with uraemic convulsions" (p. 13). For a graphic report of the medical treatment, see also Evelyn, iv, 405-07. Barrillon's letters to Louis XIV furnish a vivid eye-witness report of events as they happened. Barrillon, who had access to the royal palaces, including the King's bedchamber, not only observed Charles's condition but also played a part in the last dramatic scenes. Baschet, PRO 31/3/160, fol. 27 *et seq.* See also the summary in *Recueil*, xxv, 301-04. Some of the correspondence between Barrillon and Louis XIV, from 7 Dec. 1684 to 6 Dec. 1685, is printed in Charles James Fox, *A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second* (London, 1808), App., pp. i-cxlii.
3. Henry Wharton to Mary Wharton Kemeys, 6 Feb 1684/5, Kemeys-Tynte, No. 75.
4. For a searching analysis of Charles's religion and his not quite successful efforts to conceal his Catholic sympathies, see Halifax, ii, 484-88.
5. *Recueil*, xxv, 302.
6. PRO, PC Register, 6 Feb. 1684[5].
7. *An Account of what His Majesty said at His First Coming to Council* (London, [6 Feb.] 1684[5]). See also, *London Gazette*, No. 2006, 5-9 Feb. 1684[5]; *Parl. Hist.*, iv, 1342.
8. Lord Petre had died in the Tower on 5 Jan. 1684. The three surviving lords, Powis, Arundell, and Belasyse, were admitted to bail on 18 Feb. Danby was bailed on 12 Feb.
9. For Hampden's trial and sentence, see *State Trials*, ix, 1053-1126. The fine of £40,000 (about £4,000,000 in the currency of the 1990s) was too much for the comparatively wealthy Hampdens to pay. As Burnet says (ii, 416), the sentence really amounted to imprisonment for life.
10. *State Trials*, ix, 1371-72.
11. Kenyon, p. 245; *State Trials*, x, 126-148. For other actions on writs of *scandalum magnatum* brought against Whig notables, see *State Trials*, x, 126-27 n.
12. I have covered the Armstrong case from the point of view of Goodwin Wharton in *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 87-89, 339-40, notes 4-8. For more commonplace accounts, see *DNB* (Armstrong,

Sir Thomas); *CSPD*, May 1684-Feb. 1685, pp. 47-80 *passim*; Luttrell, i, 309-12; *State Trials*, x, 106-24; *Biographica Britannica*, 2nd edn. ed. Andrew Kippis *et al*, i (London, 1778), 248-56; Burnet, ii, 418-23; Sprat, pp. 140-45; *London Gazette*, 9-12 June, 12-16 June, 19-23 June, 1684.

13. *CTB*, viii (1685-89), pt. 1, x-xi; *A Proclamation for Continuing the Collection of the Customs and Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage* (London, 9 Feb. 1684[5]); *London Gazette*, No. 2007, 9-12 Feb. 1684[5]. A few days later, James issued another proclamation declaring that a contract (signed the day before Charles's death) between the royal commissioners of the treasury and three farmers of the excise tax would remain in force. For the ensuing three years the government would receive £550,000 per year from the assigned collectors. The legality of the continuance, James declared, had been "certified by the Opinion of Our Judges." *By the King, A Proclamation. James R....* (London, 16 Feb 1684/5); *London Gazette*. No. 2009, 16-19 Feb. 1684[5]. See also, Luttrell, i, 330; Evelyn, iv, 417 and n. 6.

14. *Recueil*, p. 309, n. 5. When Louis heard of Charles's death, he sent James 500,000 livres without being asked--a gift that brought tears of gratitude to James's eyes. Barrillon to Louis XIV, [16]/26 Feb. 1685, C. J. Fox, *A History of...James the Second*, App., p. xxviii.

15. The announcement that James intended to call a parliament, as Barrillon explained to Louis XIV (who was never enthusiastic about the summoning of an English parliament), not only served to calm English spirits but also diverted attention from the fact that the mass had been re-established at Whitehall. *Recueil*, p. 307.

16. *A Proclamation for Continuing the Collection of the Customs....* (London, 9 Feb. 1684[5]). The promise to call a parliament served as a preamble to the announcement that James intended to continue collecting tonnage and poundage.

17. Above, ch. XII, pp. 20-21.

18. *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 123-24.

19. For a general account of the election, in which Whig MPs were "reduced to a rump," see *HC, 1660-90*, i, 40.

20. *HC, 1660-90*, i, 452-53. Although the list of candidates on p. 452 shows, correctly, that it was Henry Wharton who stood for election at Malmesbury in 1685, the author of the segment on Malmesbury elections gives the mistaken impression (on p. 453) that the Wharton candidate was Tom. Henry and Jephson petitioned unsuccessfully in the ensuing Parliament. *HCJ*, ix, 720.

21. *HC, 1660-90*, i, 186; *HMC, Le Fleming*, p. 403; *HCJ*, ix, 718.

22. Sir George Jeffreys to Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland, 5 April 1685, *CSPD*, Feb.-Dec. 1685, pp. 122-29. King James, Jeffreys implies, had made a mistake by allowing Tom Wharton and Sir Thomas Lee, another good Whig of northern Bucks, to kiss his hand. He had given them a propaganda advantage. Sir Thomas, Jeffreys explained, "values himself, as Mr.

Wharton does, for having kissed his Majesty's hands, and thereby our mischief comes." Just when the hand kissing took place I don't know. Sir Thomas (according to the sketch in *HC 1660-90*, ii, 722) "kissed James II's hand on his accession." I imagine, though I have no evidence, that Tom Wharton too was among the crowd of grandees who congratulated the new King.

23. Sir Ralph Verney to William Coleman, 2 Mar. 1684/5, Verney, BL, M 636/39.

24. Danby's wife, née Bridget Bertie, was the sister of Robert Bertie, 3rd Earl of Lindsey, whose second wife, Elizabeth Wharton, was Tom Wharton's half sister. See above, ch. VII, p. 7.

25. "T. Wharton" to Thomas (Osborne), 1st Earl of Danby, 16 Feb. 1684[5], *Catalogue of the Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents...by Alfred Morrison*, vi (London, 1892), 405. It is noteworthy that Tom's letter of thanks to Danby was written only a week after James announced his intention of calling a parliament. Danby was obviously one of the first to offer Tom support.

26. *Danby*, i, 368, n. 2.

27. Above, ch. XI, pp. 6-7.

28. William Butterfield was the rector at Middle Claydon. "I hope he will make what interest he can among his Bretheren," Sir Ralph told Coleman.

29. Sir Ralph Verney to William Coleman, 18 Feb. 1684/5, Verney, BL, M 636/39. "Pray speake to Joseph Churchill," Sir Ralph wrote, "and any other Freeholder that you thinke fitt, especially in Ashendon Hundred to bee for my Lord Brackley & M<sup>r</sup> Wharton. And I wish you would go to M<sup>r</sup> James Tyrill and M<sup>r</sup> Giles of Brill, & to Captaine Pigot...& to M<sup>r</sup> Billing...and alsoe to M<sup>r</sup> Hurley the Baylye of the Hundred, to speake to as many...Freeholders as he can, for he knows them all, & get their Voyces for my Lord Brackley & M<sup>r</sup> Wharton. Also speake to M<sup>r</sup> Duncombe of East Claydon, & whom else you think fit there, or elsewhere."

30. After reporting to Sir Ralph Verney that Joseph Churchill has promised to support Wharton and Brackley and get the 84 freeholders of his town to do the same, William Coleman says that Tom Wharton has sent blacksmith Thomas Matthew to ask the Verney servants to solicit votes on behalf of himself and "Old M<sup>r</sup> [Richard] Hamden." Coleman to Verney, 22 Feb. 1685, Verney, BL, M 636/38, Verney replied to Coleman, who asked for further instructions, that he was engaged only to Tom and Lord Brackley and that Coleman should "speake only for them."

31. Verney, BL, M 636/39. Writing thirty years later, Tom's memorialist (probably Oldmixon) says that Tom so far outpolled Brackley and Hackett, the Court candidate, that he could have elected either man with the second votes of his followers, and that he chose to support Brackley (*Memoirs*, p. 29). This account is badly skewed. As I explain in the text. Brackley was never in any danger of losing, and Tom could not have delivered a significant number of votes to Hackett if the absurd idea had ever crossed his mind.

32. The account in *HC, 1660-90* (i, 136) of the 1685 election in Bucks gives the wrong reason for Richard Hampden's failure to stand again for the County. It was not that Hampden "could not oppose the Court without endangering his son's life." At the time of the election, John's *life* was in no danger (though it would be later, when Lord Grey began confessing). John had been convicted of high misdemeanors and was "safely" in jail during the election campaign. Richard Hampden withdrew from the County election because (as he eventually perceived) he had little chance of winning and a great chance of getting Tom Wharton defeated. Very prudently, he stood for Wendover, and won.

33. Sir Ralph Verney to William Coleman, 17 Feb. 1684/5, Verney, BL, M 636/39.

34. Sir Ralph Verney to William Coleman, 2 March 1684/5, BL, Verney, M 636/39.

35. "If M<sup>r</sup> Wharton is in Towne," Sir Ralph wrote to Coleman on 2 March, "I will endeavour to get free of that promise [to support him], as to my owne Vote, but keep this to yourselfe, and if any body speakes to you, you need only say, you are confident I will not give him my vote, they need not feare it." BL, Verney, M 636/29.

36. Sir Ralph Verney to William Coleman, 5 Mar. 1685, Verney, BL, M 636/39.

37. On 22 April, Sir Richard Temple complained that Sir Ralph's ill-concealed support of "M<sup>r</sup> Wharton" in the County election might prove "fatall" to the Verney-Temple candidacy at Buckingham. Temple to Verney, 22 April 1685, Verney, BL, M 636/39.

38. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 22 Mar. 1685, Verney, BL, M 636/39. Tom "was noe way faulty," Sir Ralph told John, "hee being butt a by Stander." See also, Edmund Verney to John Verney, 23 Mar. 1685, Verney, BL, M 636/39.

39. Anne Wharton to Sir Ralph Verney, 22 Mar. 1685, Verney, BL, M 636/39. In closing her letter, one of the last that I have seen, Anne told her friend Sir Ralph: "This [message] is what I am comanded from him [Tom] but am now to tell you that I was very glad of the opertunity of assuring you that I am with all faithfullnes your obedient humble ser<sup>t</sup>. A Wharton"

40. Tom probably envisioned an arrangement something like the one he helped to engineer thirty years later, when by agreement one Whig (Richard Hampden) and one Tory (John Fleetwood) stood for the County election in Bucks and thus saved the expense of a contest. For a summary, see the account of William Cheyne, Viscount Newhaven, 11 Feb. 1714/15, HEH, Ellesmere MS, 10706a.

41. After receiving Anne's letter, Sir Ralph intended to see Tom at Winchendon "suddenly." as he informed his son John in a letter of 22 Mar. 1685 (Verney, BL, M 636/39); but I have not discovered from subsequent correspondence whether he actually did so.

42. When Tom's Whig memorialist says (*Memoirs*, pp. 28, 29) that Brackley "was at best too *Passive*" in the election and that he gave Tom some "unfriendly Treatment," he means that Brackley kept a politic distance from Tom and that he did not campaign against the Tories--or

spend an inordinate amount of money.

43. Hackett later filed an election petition on the grounds that Tom had brought many unqualified voters to the polls (voters, that is, who did not possess a 40 s. freehold); but Hackett's defeat had been so decisive that even a Tory House of Commons declined to hear the case at the bar. The petition, referred to the Committee on Elections and Privileges, was later dismissed. *HC, 1660-90*, i, 136-37, *HCJ*, ix, 717, 760.

44. Above, ch. IX, p. 10.

45. *Memoirs*, pp. 29-30.

46. Hore, iii, 90-91.

47. Tom Wharton to Edmund Verney, 30 Jan 1678{9}, Verney, BL, M 636/32.

48. The most famous demonstration of Tom's detailed knowledge of Bucks occurred several years later, after he had inherited his father's title. The story is recounted by Tom's memorialist, who had it from an eye witness--a Tory gentleman who had inserted himself among Tom's followers during an election campaign in High Wycombe. Tom, then Lord Wharton, was going down one side of the street soliciting votes for two Whig candidates while his opponents were going down the other side. The gentleman spy, a friend of the Tory leader, joined Tom's party as it was entering the shop of a shoemaker. There Tom (in the words of the memorialist) "*ask't where Dick was. The Good Woman said, Her Husband was gone two or three miles off with some Shoes, but his Lordship need not fear him, she would keep him tight. I know that, says my Lord, but I want to see Dick, and drink a Glass with him. The Wife was sorry that Dick was out of the way. Well says his Lordship, How does all thy Children; Molly is a brave Girl I warrant by this time, Yes I thank ye my Lord, says the Woman; and his Lordship continu'd, Is not Jemmy breech'd yet? The Gentleman crost over to his Friend...and cry'd, E'en take your Horse and be gone, whoever has Lord Wharton on his side, has enough for his Election.*" *Memoirs*, p. 31.

49. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 9 Apr. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/39.

50. *Memoirs*, p. 29.

51. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 12 Apr. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/39; *HC, 1660-90*, i, 135.

52. "We heare on y<sup>e</sup> Excha[nge]," John Verney wrote his father on 26 April, "that at y<sup>r</sup> County Election there past some words between y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup>: Ch: Ius: and Mr. Wharton. BL, Verney, M 636/39.

53. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 13 Apr. 1685, and Edmund Verney to John Verney, 13 Apr. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/39.

54. The article on Thomas Wharton in *HC, 1669-90* says (iii, 699) that he "was probably appointed as usual only to the elections committee." In fact, however, Tom was not even appointed to the elections committee, whose members are listed in *H CJ*, ix, 715. The only Wharton [or Warton] on the committee was Sir Ralph, an MP for Beverley.
55. Thomas Bruce, 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs of Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury* (Westminster, 1890), i, 105. Bruce, who would inherit his father's title before the second session of James's first and only Parliament, sat in the first session as an MP for Wiltshire. He was wrong in naming [Hugh] Boscawen as one of "the old members who could not be kept out." Boscawen lost his election at Tregony.
56. *H CJ*, ix, 714.
57. *H CJ*, ix, 715.
58. *H CJ*, ix, 719.
59. *HLJ*, xiv, 21.
60. *CTB*, viii (1685-89), pt. 1, p. x. See pp. x-xvi for a description of the money bills of the session and the hasty, slipshod way in which the Commons rendered James financially independent and themselves dispensable. See also *H CJ*, ix, 722-23, 724, 726, 734, 740, 742-43, 747, 748.
61. The Commons voted a subsidy of £400,000 and authorized the government to borrow the sum immediately, before the money was raised.
62. Since the Commons did not keep attendance records, it is impossible to say how many meetings Tom actually attended. His father, in the House of Lords, attended through 5 June and then after a 20-day absence returned on 25 June and attended for the short balance of the session. G. F. T. Jones notes that Lord Wharton ceased attending on 5 June (*Saw-Pit Wharton*, p. 253) but fails to note that he returned. Douglas R. Lacey likewise, after noting that Lord Wharton "suddenly ceased to attend" the House of Lords, fails to add that he returned. *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1660-1689*, p. 166.
63. I have covered Wildman's tortuous dealings with Monmouth and his concurrent dealings with Goodwin Wharton and Mary Parish in *Goodwin Wharton*, ch. IX ("Wildman's Rebellion"), pp. 123-38, 342-43. For an even more exhaustive treatment, see the uncut version of the chapter, HEH MS, HM 49429, ch. IX. The quotations here are from the confessions of Robert Cragg, who carried messages between Wildman and Monmouth. *HMC, House of Lords*, ii, 383-84.
64. *Memoirs*, p. 28.

65. *The declaration of James Duke of Monmouth, & the noblemen, gentlemen, & others now in arms, for defence & vindication of the Protestant religion, & the laws, rights, and privileges [sic] of England, from the invasion made upon them: & for delivering the kingdom from the usurpation & tyranny of James Duke of York* [London, 1685]. Besides "contriving the burning of London," "incouraging" the murder of Godfrey, and hiring the murderers of Essex, James (the Declaration alleged) had "snatched the Crown from hi[s] Brothers head" by poisoning him.

66. The Battle of Sedgemoor has been refought on paper many times, including once by me, in my historical novel *The King's Agent* (New York, London, 1958), pp. 35-49. Two particularly interesting 20th-century accounts are those of Sir Winston Churchill, in *Marlborough, His Life and Times*, i (New York, 1933), 215-221, and Robin Clifton, in *The Last Popular Rebellion* (New York, London, 1984), pp. 199-224. Churchill tells the story from the point of view of his ancestor Marlborough, Clifton from the point of view of Monmouth and his rebels. The three-paragraph summary here covers some of the crucial points.

67. Sir Ralph Verney to John Cary, 20 June 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40. In the same letter, Sir Ralph notes that Argyll has been captured and hopes that the rebels in the West "will be dissipated or taken, which will be joyful news." For Dr. Richard Lower (1631-91), see *DNB*.

68. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 23 Aug. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40. There were "medicinal wells" at Astrop Park, Northants.

69. Henry's commission as captain in the Duke of Norfolk's Regiment of Foot is dated 20 June 1685 (Dalton, ii, 33). He had been promoted to lieutenant in the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards on 5 July 1678 (Dalton, i, 239).

70. John Carswell (*Old Cause*, p. 64 ), perhaps misled by the fact that Jane seems to disappear from family records after the probate of her father's will (in which she is bequeathed two London houses) on 4 July 1684, says that Jane herself died in 1684. This is not true. She was in Tunbridge with Tom Wharton in 1685; like Tom she was having her picture painted by Wissing in 1687; and she was still alive and apparently still seeing Tom in October 1689 when her brother Colonel Edward Dering died of the fever at Dundalk--an event reported to Tom by Henry (then Colonel Wharton), who would die a few days later himself. For the will of Jane's father, see *The Diaries and Papers of Sir Edward Dering, Second Baronet, 1644 to 1684*, pp. 208-210.

71. One of Tom's sisters was also at Tunbridge. She accompanied Tom to Dover on 12 August and returned with him the next morning. Goodwin, who mentions this fact (*Autobiography*, i, 228), does not say which sister.

72. *Autobiography*, i, 222; *Goodwin Wharton*, p. 139.

73. Ashcraft ( p. 472, n. 2) suggests that John Wildman, who escaped to Holland after Sedgemoor, may have left England with Lord Wharton and the eminent Nonconformist clergyman John Howe, who went as Wharton's chaplain. The suggestion, based upon the fact that Wildman first came under government surveillance when he visited Lord Wharton after

Wharton was installed at Emmerich (in Cleves), is reasonable but wrong. Goodwin, who was disgusted with Wildman for not surrendering to the government as Mary Parish and the angels had instructed him to do, stayed with his father at Dover until the last moment (Autobiography, i, 228, 242). It is clear from his account that Wildman, who had "taken his own way," was not in the entourage. Lord Wharton, proverbially cautious, had enough worries without transporting fugitives. I should also note that Ashcraft (p. 420, n. 49) lists a "Wharton" among the radical Whigs mentioned in the diary of Roger Whitley (Bodleian MS, English History, C711, fols. 5-22). If Ashcraft means Tom Wharton, as I suppose he does, he is mistaken. The only Wharton mentioned (fol. 8, verso) is "Sir M:[ichaell Wharton." Though Tom undoubtedly knew the Whigs mentioned by Whitley (and Ashcraft), nothing in the diary shows that he had any "social contact" with them.

74. Philip, Lord Wharton to Alexander, Baron von Spaen, 18 Oct. 1685, Carte 81, fols 786-78. See also, G. F. Trevallyn Jones, *Sawpit Wharton*, p. 253.

75. John Verney to Sir Ralph Verney. 16 Aug. 1675, BL, Verney, M 636/40. The incident is also recorded in *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, comp. Frances Parthenope, Lady Verney and Margaret Maria, Lady Verney, iv (London, 1899), 353. The compilers did not transcribe the rest of John's letter with its information about Tom Wharton--perhaps because they did not understand John's abbreviations or know who "M<sup>rs</sup> Dee<sup>r</sup>---" was. For Henry's "broil," see also Seymour Schofield, *Jeffreys of 'The Bloody Assizes'* (London, 1935), pp. 160-61.

76. John Verney to Sir Ralph Verney, 16 Aug. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40. In the text, I have expanded Verney's abbreviations. As Tom Wharton's biographer, I should add, I am grateful to Henry for knocking down Dr. Jeffrey's coachman. Had "Harry W---" not perpetrated another outrage, John Verney might never had recorded the fact that Tom was at Tunbridge with Jane Dering and that about "12 or 15 days" before Harry's offence he had left for a week, probably (as John supposed) "to see his wife."

77. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 23 Aug. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40. Sir Ralph seems to have coined the phrase "brangline broils" to describe Henry's (usually drunken) brawls.

78. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 2 Sep. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40. On 29 Aug. Edmund Verney had written to his brother John, "Mrs Wharton Doth with much adoe Breathe at Aderbury, & thats all." BL, Verney, M 636/40. "Doctor Radcliffe" was the celebrated John Radcliffe (1650-1714), who later attended King William and Queen Anne. His career is summarized in *DNB*.

79. Sir Ralph Verney to John Verney, 6 Sep. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40.

80. John Cary to Sir Ralph Verney, 22 Sep. 1685, BL, Verney, M 626/40.

81. Autobiography, i, 233.

82. Autobiography, i, 235: *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 143-44.

83. Anne had settled her property on Tom in agreements made before she became ill and registered in the Court of Common Pleas. For the details, see PRO, C5 637/73. The agreements were a fertile source of lawsuits between Tom Wharton and the Berties.

84. Edmund Verney to John Verney, 15 Nov. 1685, BL, Verney, M 636/40.

85. Bucks RO, Winchendon PR. 10 Nov. 1685. "Mrs Ann Wharton [the entry reads] the wife of the Honorable Tho: Wharton esqr died at Aderbury the 29th of 8ber, and was interred (nota) in this church Nov: 10th. She was buried contrary to the Act [requiring burial in woolen]; information was given in due time to John Young church warden w<sup>ch</sup> he brought to Major Sanders. The fifty shillings was levied for the poor by his order...." The widow Cox and her son Edmond received twenty shillings, Ann Townsend and William Coxhal received five shillings apiece, Henry Acorn received eight shillings, Gams [James?] Powel received ten shillings, and John Young, "for trouble and expense" received two shillings.