THE
WHARTONS
OF
WHARTON HALL

BY

EDWARD ROSS WHARTON, M.A.
LATE FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH PORTRAIT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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THE WHARTONS

OF

WHARTON HALL

Walter L. Colls. Ph. Sc.

E. R. Wharton

NOTE

This little volume is printed as a remembrance of my husband. It contains first, a reprint of the obituary from the Academy, *written by his friend Mr. J. S.* Cotton; *secondly, a bibliography of his published writings; thirdly, an article on the Whartons of Wharton Hall, the last thing upon which he was engaged, embodying*

the result of his genealogical researches about the Wharton family.

The illustrations are from photographs by myself. The portrait was taken in March 1896; *and the two tombs of the Wharton family were done during a tour in which I accompanied him the summer before he died.*

MARIE WHARTON.

MERTON LEA, OXFORD,
Nov. 24, 1898.

Edward Ross Wharton

In Memoriam

[*From the 'Academy' of June* 13, 1896.]

THE small band of students of philology in England has suffered a heavy loss by the death of Mr. E. R. Wharton, fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. Though never very strong, he seemed latterly to have recovered from the effects of more than one severe illness. Up to Wednesday of last week he was able to be about and do his ordinary work. Alarming symptoms then suddenly set in, and he died on the afternoon of Thursday, June 4, in his house at Oxford, overlooking the Parks. In accordance with his express wish, his body was taken to Woking for cremation, and his ashes were scattered to the winds.

Edward Ross Wharton was born on August 4, 1844, at Rhyl, in Flintshire, which

gave him a qualification by birth for a Welsh fellowship at Jesus. He was the second son of the Rev. Henry James Wharton, vicar of Mitcham, in Surrey. His mother—who survives him—was a daughter of the Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, brother of the tenth Earl of Devon. A younger brother, Henry Thornton Wharton—who died in August of last year—was himself well known as the author of a charming book on *Sappho*, which has passed through several editions.

Edward Wharton was educated as a day-boy at the Charterhouse, then in its old quarters at Smithfield, under the head-mastership of Canon Elwyn. Professor Jebb and Professor Nettleship belonged to a slightly earlier generation; among his immediate contemporaries was the present Attorney-General. In 1862, he was elected to a scholarship at Trinity College, Oxford, at the same time with his life-long friend, Mr. John Gent; but neither of them came into residence until October of the following year. It used to be

be said of him among the undergraduates, that he had read Liddell and Scott through. When asked in later life whether this was true, he replied: 'Yes; except that I read it through twice.' He won the 'Ireland' in his second year, though for the 'Hertford' and the 'Craven' he came out only as *proxime*. In classical moderations, and again in the final school of Literae Humaniores, he was placed in the first class, among other names in the list being those of Professor Case and Professor Wallace. Shortly after taking his degree, he was elected to a fellowship at Jesus, in company with the present Bishop of Chester; and he remained associated with that college until his death, adopting enthusiastically its Welsh traditions and the linguistic tastes of many of his colleagues.

In 1870, he forfeited his fellowship by marriage. His wife was a daughter of the late Samuel Hicks Withers, of Willesden, to whom he had been attached from boyhood. They had no children. But she devoted

herself to his interests, sharing his travels, entertaining his friends, encouraging the amusements of the undergraduates, and—when need arose—nursing him with the utmost solicitude. After a brief period of school-work at Clifton, he returned to Oxford, and was re-elected to an official fellowship at Jesus, his duties being those of assistant tutor and Latin lecturer.

Wharton was always passionately fond of travel. In his undergraduate days he had made the acquaintance of Karl Baedeker, of Coblentz, whither he had gone to consult an oculist; and the earlier editions of Baedeker's Guide-books owe not a little to his suggestions. Láter on, he gave continual help to the series of *Thorough Guides*, edited by Baddeley and Ward. He had walked on foot over great part of the British Isles, and at one time used to go every autumn to Switzerland or Tyrol. He also managed in his vacations to visit Greece and Italy, Canada and the United States, Palestine and Egypt, Russia and Norway.

But

But while travel was his amusement, philology was the serious occupation of his life. Starting from an exceptionally wide and exact knowledge of Latin and Greek, he made it his business to become acquainted with everything that the Germans wrote on his subject, though he did not enlist in any one of their many schools. He also taught himself enough of the cognate languages, to enable him to avoid mistakes in illustrating his Latin and Greek etymologies. His methods were essentially critical. He had no scruple in adopting from others whatever commended itself to his independent judgement; but, for the most part, he worked on original lines, and paid the penalty of being sometimes misunderstood.

In 1882—before, as he himself admitted, he had fully realized the difficulties of his subject—he published *Etyma Graeca*: an etymological lexicon of classical Greek, in which are given (somewhat dogmatically, and without adequate explanation) etymologies of about 5000 words to be found in the standard

standard authors. This was followed, in 1890—when he had acquired a firmer grasp of the principles of scientific etymology—by *Etyma Latina*, constructed on a similar plan, though with some concessions to weaker brethren: notably an appendix, showing the changes which letters undergo in the sister tongues as well as in Latin. Between 1888 and 1893, he sent several papers to the London Philological Society, entitled *Latin Vocalism*, *Loanwords in Latin*, *Latin Consonant Laws*, *The Greek Indirect Negative*, and *Some Greek Etymologies*; and in 1892, induced by his esteem for M. Victor Henry, he wrote a notable paper (in French) for the Société Linguistique on 'Quelques *a* Latins.' He was also an occasional contributor to the *Academy* and the *Classical Review*. It happens that the June number of the latter, which has appeared since his death, contains a brief note from him on 'The Origin of the Construction οὐ μή,' which he illustrates both from palaeographic sources and from Sanskrit. We must not forget to mention two translations,

lations, of the *Poetics* of Aristotle and of Book I of Horace's *Satires*, in which it pleased him to exhibit verbal fidelity to the original, combined with a mastery of English idiom.

In his preface to *Etyma Latina*, which is characteristically dated on St. David's Day, Wharton remarks that 'in England even the worst etymologist meets little encouragement.' There can be no doubt that his failure to win public recognition induced him latterly to turn to a fresh subject—genealogy, which has this much at least in common with philology, that it is equally capable of precise statement. The first research to which he addressed himself was to obtain evidence of the descent of his father from the Westmorland Whartons. In this he was unsuccessful, though he succeeded in tracing his pedigree through a long chain of copyholders at Winfarthing, in Norfolk. He was thus led on to study the history of all who bore the name of Wharton or Warton. The greatest of these, of course, were the Whartons of Wharton

ton Hall, in Westmorland, regarding whom he compiled, mostly from the Public Records and other unpublished sources, no less than fourteen volumes of MS. collections. One result of his exhaustive researches may be mentioned, for the benefit of G. E. C. when he reaches the name of Wharton in his *New Baronage*. In the Wharton Peerage Case it was laid down by the House of Lords that the barony was created by writ in the first year of Edward VI, and consequently descended to heirs general. This decision, which agrees with the account in Dugdale, seems to have been arrived at only because no patent could be discovered. But Wharton found documentary evidence in two places that the barony was really created by patent in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII: (1) in a contemporary letter, among the Hamilton Papers, now in the British Museum, stating that on March 18, 1544, the earl of Hertford (then lieutenant-general of the north) presented their patents to lord Wharton and lord Evers—the Evers barony is admitted

to

to have been by patent; (2) in some MS. notes by Philip lord Wharton, correcting Dugdale, which are preserved among the Carte Papers in the Bodleian. The importance of this discovery is that the barony, if by patent, would be limited to heirs male of the body; and, therefore, the claimant in the Wharton Peerage Case, who represented one of several co-heiresses, must have lost his labour.

Such was the active career of Edward Wharton, as it might be seen by many. His inner self he revealed to very few. Shy by temperament, or perhaps from the circumstances of his early youth, he adopted a taciturn and even cynical manner, which naturally gave rise to misinterpretation, when in the company of strangers. If his brother Harry wore his heart upon his sleeve, Edward concealed his behind a mask. His affections were really as deep and strong as were his intellectual powers and his devotion to learning. In all the private relations of life, none was more sympathetic, none more loyal.

But,

But, as Charles Lamb somewhere confesses, he could not like all persons alike. His love he reserved for his friends; but he did his duty to everybody, and was incapable of unkindness to any created thing. The present writer has been privileged to enjoy an unbroken intimacy with him for nearly thirty years: he sat by his side at the same scholars' table; he was his comrade in his walking-tours; he was a guest in his house in the last week of his life. The characters of all of us are moulded by our friendships, especially by our old friendships; and there can be no more worthy memorial of one who is gone than the influence he must continue to exercise upon those who knew him best.

As he would have himself said, in the words of his favourite Horace:

> Absint inani funere neniae
> Luctusque turpes et querimoniae:
> Compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
> Mitte supervacuos honores.

J. S. C.

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[E. R. W.]

[1] In accordance with Mr. Wharton's will, these have been deposited in the Bodleian Library under certain conditions. Vol. VII was not bequeathed.

The Wartons of Warton Hall

The Wartons of Wharton Hall

PAST the shattered towers of Pendragon Castle and the lonely keep of Lammerside the main line of the Midland Railway descends from its greatest elevation, 1,250 feet, to the little grey town of Kirkby Stephen, in the extreme south-eastern corner of Westmorland. On three sides tower green mountains, Wild Boar Fell, High Seat, Nine Standards Rigg; northward is the wide valley of the Eden, with the Lakeland hills in the distance. Half a mile east of the station, in the centre of a huge deer-park with walls nine feet high, lies Wharton Hall, now a farmhouse devoted to cheese-making. Over the gateway are the Wharton arms, and the date 1559; the

oldest parts of the building may date from a century earlier. The courtyard is diversified by trees and bushes, with buildings on two sides; the great banqueting-hall is now roofless, but the kitchen beside it remains in all its generous height.

In 1292 Gilbert de Querton (as the name was then written: the form *Wharton* appears first in 1310) proved before the justices at Appleby his right to the manor of Querton: it had descended to him from his nephew Robert, to whom it had been given by 'Isabel, daughter of Jordan.' Gilbert had improved his fortunes by marrying Emma Hastings, coheiress of the manor of Croglin, in Cumberland; and his descendants have ever since borne the 'maunch' or lady's sleeve, the ensign of the great family of Hastings. In 1304, Gilbert and Emma settled the manor of Croglin on their son Henry and his wife Margaret 'by service of a rose,' i.e. on condition of his presenting

ing them yearly with a rose. Through Henry, Hugh, William, and John, we descend to Sir Thomas Wharton, who 'attended the duke of Bedford in France when that prince was regent there,' in 1422–35: his son Henry was father of another Sir Thomas, member for Appleby in 1529, whose son was the first lord Wharton.

Sir Thomas afterwards baron Wharton was born between 1490 and 1500. In 1518 he married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Bryan Stapleton of Wighill (about eight miles west by south of York), descendant of 'Penrodas daughter of the King of Cyprus,' as well as of the Bruces and Baliols; and in 1531 he purchased the adjoining manor of Healaugh, where he resided for the latter part of his life. In 1537 he was appointed warden of the west marches towards Scotland, and in 1541 captain of Carlisle Castle. In 1542, a Scotch army of 13,000 men crossed the Cumberland

berland border; Sir Thomas with 3,000 men met them at Solom Moss (six miles north of Carlisle), where 'through his noble governance and valiant chivalry, the chiefest of all the nobility of Scotland were either slain or taken prisoner.' So the patent of 1553, granting him an augmentation of his arms (viz. 'a bordure engrailed gold, remplired with lion's legs in saltire erased gules armed azure') expresses it; as a matter of history the Scotch quarrelled among themselves, were seized with panic, and surrendered without striking a blow. Their king, James V, was at Lochmaben, and, as Sir Thomas sarcastically puts it in his official report of the battle, 'his news that night was so pleasant that he was most in a rage therewith'; he died of grief a fortnight after, leaving the crown to his ill-fated daughter Mary.

On March 18, 1544, Sir Thomas received his patent as baron, and January 30, 1545, he

WHARTON TOMB, KIRKBY STEPHEN.

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he took his seat: the house then consisted of twenty-seven spiritual and forty-five temporal lords, so a peerage was of more account than it is now. In 1561 he married secondly Anne lady Bray, only sister of George Talbot sixth earl of Shrewsbury. In 1566 he founded at Kirkby Stephen a grammar-school which still exists. He died in 1568 at Healaugh, and lies buried in the little church there under a splendid monument of Derbyshire marble. In Kirkby Stephen church he has a still more elaborate cenotaph in sandstone. On the top of each tomb are recumbent effigies of himself and his two wives, while on the sides are the figures and arms of his two sons and two daughters (Sir Thomas and Sir Henry, Joan Pennington and Agnes lady Musgrave), and two Latin inscriptions, one in elegiacs and one in hexameters. At Kirkby Stephen lord Wharton's head rests on the neck of a bull, 'supposed by the common people to represent

represent the devil in a vanquished posture'; and in reference to this the following verses were written by Dr. Burn, the 'waggish' schoolmaster of Kirkby Stephen, joint author of the standard *History of Cumberland and Westmorland*:

> Here I Thomas Wharton do lie,
> With Lucifer under my head;
> And Nelly my wife hard by,
> And Nancy as cold as lead.
> Oh, how can I speak without dread?
> Who *could* my sad fortune abide?
> With one devil under my head
> And another laid close on each side.

The Latin original of this disgraceful parody runs thus: 'Here lie I, Thomas Wharton, here both my wives; Eleanor has her place on this side, Anne on that. Lo, Earth, take back what is thine, the flesh and bones, and thou, gracious God, into the skies what is thine, the spirit.'

Lord Wharton was a masterful man; a 'tyrant lord,' as his deadly enemies the Maxwells

Maxwells called him. He was always at loggerheads with somebody, Musgrave or Dacre or Clifford; he removed from Wharton to Healaugh because of 'the continual danger he was in among the commons of Westmorland of loss both of life and substance.' He is said by local tradition to have been struck with blindness 'as a punishment for his injustice and tyranny,' while going over Ash Fell to see the property he bought in 1546 at Ravenstonedale, six miles south-west of Kirkby Stephen. The 134 letters of his which have been preserved are chiefly official, addressed to Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell, the lord protector Somerset, Philip and Mary, or Cecil: one contains 'the opinions of Sir Thomas Wharton and others for annoyance as they trust to God shall be done to Scotland this winter'; in another he says, 'my two sons shall undertake any two sons of equal honour in Scotland that will take Maxwell's quarrells';

rells'; in another 'let the Scots be punished for their abominable falsehood, I am glad to be ill beloved by them.'

Sir Thomas second lord, born 1520, spent most of his early life in his father's service; he then became steward of the household to the princess Mary, and was one of her adherents when in 1553 she became queen, and in 1558 witness to her will. In 1547 he married (at lady Derby's house in London) lady Anne Radcliffe, elder daughter of Robert first earl of Sussex. In 1561 he was committed to the Tower for having had mass celebrated at his house of Newhall, in Boreham, Essex, and lost his wife while he was still in prison: 'the good lady died of a cough, and she was as fair a lady as be, and many mourners in black, and great moan made for her in the country.' In the 'rising in the North' or 'earls' rebellion' of 1569 he opportunely had a fall from his horse, and so could do nothing

nothing for the Protestant cause. He died in 1572 'at his house of Canon Row in Westminster,' and was buried in the Abbey.

Philip third lord, born 1555, was named after his godfather king Philip of Spain. In 1577 he married (at Winchester Place in Southwark) Frances eldest daughter of Henry Clifford second earl of Cumberland. In the same year he adventures £25 'in the Cathay voyage,' i.e. in a ship going to China. His wife died in 1592, and in 1597 he married secondly Dorothy Colby, widow successively of John Tamworth (squire of the body to queen Elizabeth) and Sir Francis Willoughby: it is painful to relate that in the same year she gave lord chancellor Bacon £310 to decide in her favour a suit respecting her second husband's estate. Her third marriage does not seem to have turned out happily: in 1602 she writes, 'My lord my husband has long since taken from me all my living, refusing my company without colour

colour of cause, and, notwithstanding that I brought him an honorable living, turning me and all my children to beg, were it not for the help of friends.' The third lord does not seem to have been a good manager: his income in 1605 was £2,107 a year, but by 1618 his debts amounted to £16,713, and he had to be put on an allowance of £600 a year for himself and £500 for his son Sir Thomas. In 1617 he had the expensive honour of receiving King James at Wharton Hall. He died in 1625, and is buried at Healaugh, but has no monument there.

The third lord had two sons, Sir George and Sir Thomas, both educated at Caius College, Cambridge. Sir George Wharton K.B., born 1583, seems to have been a silly young man. In 1608 he quarrelled at cards with the earl of Pembroke, ending by saying, 'You are a fool,' to which the earl replied, 'You lie in your throat'; and in 1609, likewise

wise after a dispute at cards, he and Sir James Stuart, the king's godson, 'went out to single combat each against the other' at Islington, 'and at the first thrust each of them killed the other, and they fell dead in one another's arms upon the place' (to quote Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*); whereupon, as Anthony Wood puts it, 'the estate came to Sir Thomas Wharton father of Philip lord Wharton, the cowardly rebel.'

The younger son, Sir Thomas Wharton of Aske near Richmond, Yorkshire (1587–1622), was a man of a different stamp. 'He was a professed enemy of Popery and profaneness, a true friend and fautor of all godly and painful preachers. . . What shall I say of his unspotted life in the slippery time of youth, his religious care of constantly frequenting God's house, not only twice on the Lord's Day, but ordinarily on lecture days, and preparing himself for the use of the

the Lord's supper, his sincere affection to the holy ways of the Lord and all that walk in the same?' In 1611 he married 'the noble and virtuous lady Philadelphia,' only daughter of Sir Robert Carey earl of Monmouth, and granddaughter of Henry lord Hunsdon, first cousin (through his mother, Mary Boleyn) to queen Elizabeth, and lies buried with her at Easby near Richmond.

Sir Thomas Wharton of Aske had two sons—Philip, afterwards fourth lord, and Sir Thomas Wharton K.B. (1615–84), both educated at Exeter College, Oxford. The younger son served for over twenty years in the army in Ireland, and at the battle of Ross, March 18, 1643, 'led the van, and stood in the front, during the brunt and heat of the battle.' In 1662 he bought a house at Edlington near Doncaster, and lived there during the remainder of his life. In personal character he resembled his father: 'he had an eager and hungering desire after the

the Word, which he esteemed more than his necessary food.' He was 'a most loving husband, a tender father, and a careful master.' His first wife (who was also his second cousin) Mary daughter of Henry Carey earl of Dover, 'went hand in hand with him in the works of piety and mercy': 'they lived together as if they had but one heart, and one will in all things.' She died in 1672, and in 1677 he married secondly Jane Dand, who bore him two daughters, from one of whom the late professor Cayley of Cambridge descended, while the other in 1708 'refused to be married to an accomplished young gentleman of £3,000 per annum, because he was a Whig.' Philip (1652–85), only son of Sir Thomas Wharton of Edlington, and warden of the Mint, deserves mention on account of the strange adventures of his daughter and heir, Mary (1677–1727). She was, for those days, a great heiress, having £1,500 a year, equivalent

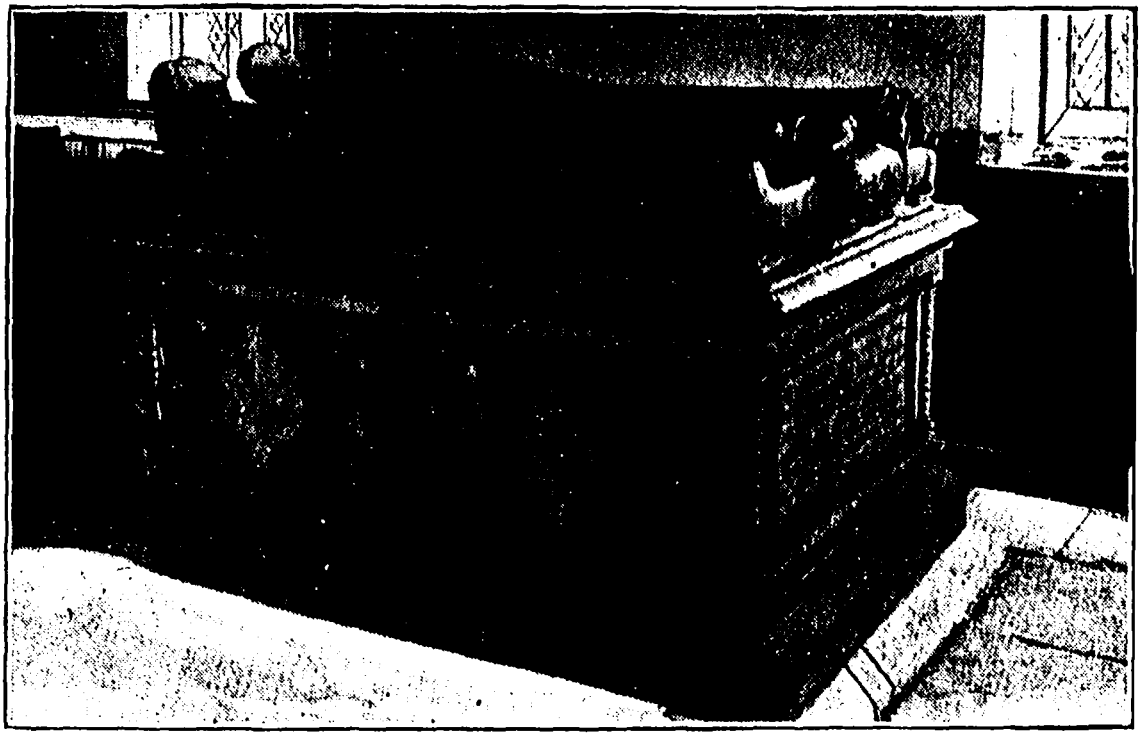
equivalent to about £5,500 now. On Nov. 10, 1690, when she was only thirteen, as she was driving home with her great-aunt to Great Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, about nine p.m., she was violently seized on by three Scotchmen—captain James Campbell (brother to the earl of Argyll), Sir John Johnston, and Archibald Montgomery —who knocked the coachman down, put her into a coach-and-six, and carried her away to the captain's lodgings in Westminster, where she was at once married to him by the Rev. William Clewer, D.D. (who afterwards complains bitterly that he only received the ordinary fee of two guineas). After two days she was restored by the lord chief justice's order to her friends, and the marriage was at once annulled by act of parliament. Sir John Johnston, notwithstanding 'sixteen maids in white who begged on their knees for his life to his majesty,'—his majesty was William III, so they might have

have saved their labour,—was hanged at Tyburn on Dec. 23: the real culprit, captain Campbell, escaped to Scotland, married again, and lived to adorn (or at least to sit in) the parliaments of 1699 and 1708. In 1692 Mary married her cousin, colonel Robert Byerley M.P., a country gentleman of Durham: the last of their five children died in 1766.

Philip 'the good lord Wharton,' elder son of Sir Thomas Wharton of Aske, was born in 1613, and in 1625 succeeded his grandfather as fourth baron, inheriting something under £8,000 a year (which would be at least £30,000 a year now). 'He was in his youthful days one of the handsomest men, and the greatest beau, of his times: he had particularly fine legs, and took great delight to show them in dancing.' In 1642 he was appointed by parliament colonel-general of an army of 5,000 foot and 500 horse for service in Munster, but the king refused to confirm

his commission: at Edge Hill (Oct. 23) his men ran away, and he prudently hid himself in a sawpit. He was a professed Presbyterian, and in 1643 one of the lay members of the 'assembly of divines' at Westminster. Cromwell writes to him in 1648 on the birth of his son Thomas afterwards marquis; in 1649 from Cork ('My service to the dear little lady,' i.e. his second wife Jane; 'I wish you make her not a greater temptation than she is'); and in 1652 about a marriage proposed between Cromwell's son Henry and lord Wharton's daughter (by his first wife) Elizabeth. In 1657 he was summoned to Cromwell's upper house, and made a member of his privy council, but never acted in either capacity. 'He was often heard to speak with some bitterness against Cromwell's treachery and usurpation.'

On May 29, 1660, he met the king at Greenwich and accompanied him to London: 'his buttons were so many diamonds.' At the



WHARTON TOMB, HEALAUGH.

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the coronation, April 23, 1661, 'his furniture for his horse amounted to £8,000, the bit of his bridle being valued at £500.' In 1677 he was sent to the Tower for five months for questioning the legality of a prorogation of parliament for fifteen months. After the accession of James II he thought it advisable to go abroad, and travelled for a year with his third wife in France and Germany. Frederick William the 'great elector' of Brandenburg gave him 'a fine set of six horses.' In 1689 he received king William at Wooburn; and in 1690 queen Mary 'came from Windsor and dined unexpectedly with lady Wharton, who was hard put to it to find food, having only a little maid as cook.'

In 1692 he conveyed certain of his lands near Healaugh to trustees 'for buying English bibles and catechisms for poor children, and preaching sermons': 1050 bibles (at not over 2*s.* 6*d.* each), and as many catechisms (i. e.

Thomas Lye's *Explanation of the Shorter Catechism*, or Joseph Allein's *Sure Guide to Heaven*), were to be given yearly in certain towns and villages of the four counties in which his estates lay — Buckinghamshire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland—to poor children who had learnt by heart seven specified Psalms. 'The distribution was originally made by Dissenting ministers, but about the beginning of the present century it fell into the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, who have substituted the bible and the church catechism, and have added the book of common prayer; excepting in Swaledale (Yorkshire), where a vigorous opposition has maintained an adherence to the original terms of the founder.' 'Wharton bibles' and 'Wharton prayerbooks,' all of the ordinary Clarendon Press edition, are fairly common; inside each is an entry that 'Philip lord Wharton by his will left to his trustees certain estates in Yorkshire, the proceeds

ceeds of which are to be devoted each year to the distribution of bibles and other books,' but no mention of the charity appears in his will.

The fourth lord died in 1696 at Hampstead, and was buried at Wooburn, where he has an elaborate mural monument with a Latin inscription: he was, according to it, 'an active supporter of the English constitution, a loyal observer, advocate, and patron of the reformed religion, a model alike of good works and of a true and living faith.' His children do not seem to have found him quite so amiable.

The good Lord Wharton was husband of three wives, two of them rich and at least two of them charming; and father of fifteen children, of whom six died in infancy. He married first, in 1632, Elizabeth daughter and heir of Sir Rowland Wandesford attorney-general of the court of wards: their only surviving daughter Elizabeth married

ried in 1659 Robert Bertie afterwards third earl of Lindsey, and is now represented by the earl of Ancaster and the marquis of Cholmondeley. In 1637 lord Wharton married secondly Jane (1619–58), daughter and heir of Arthur Goodwin M.P., colonel in the parliamentary army: 'my own dear mother,' her son Goodwin Wharton calls her; 'a most happy and intelligent woman, in all respects most perfect,' her epitaph has it. In 1642–3 her father writes several letters to her 'at lord Wharton's house in Clerkenwell,' on the progress of the war, addressing her as 'dear daughter,' 'honest dear Jenny,' and 'sweet dear Jenny': he died in 1643, leaving her the manors of Winchendon near Aylesbury and Wooburn near Cookham. She and her husband lived at the former till her death in 1658, when he removed to Wooburn, laying out nearly £40,000 on the manor-house (the old palace of the bishops of Lincoln) and gardens, all destroyed in the middle

middle of the last century. According to tradition he hid £60,000 in a wood here, and after the restoration, forgetting where he had buried it, had to have two acres of ground cleared before the money was found. In 1661 he married thirdly Anne daughter of William Carr of Fernihurst in Roxburghshire, widow of colonel Edward Popham, admiral under Cromwell. By colonel Popham she had a son Alexander, born deaf and dumb, afterwards taught to speak, and even to give, De Foe says, 'many rare indications of a masterly genius.' To lord Wharton she bore a son William, who was killed in a duel in 1687: 'lady Wharton's darling son, and she doted on him to an excess; the death of her son was thought would kill her.'

She died in 1692 'after a tedious long grief and trouble of mind,' and was buried at Wooburn: 'a lady,' according to her epitaph, 'adorned to the full with surpassing gifts of mind and body.'

By

By his second wife the fourth lord had three sons, Thomas, Goodwin, Henry, and four daughters, Anne, Margaret, Mary, Philadelphia, who grew to maturity. We may dispose of the ladies first. (1) Anne married her stepmother's brother, William Carr, baron of the exchequer. Her brother, Goodwin (the *enfant terrible* of the family), says, in 1687, speaking of his father, 'I writ him a letter very long, and beg him to be at least in charity reconciled to his eldest daughter my sister Carr, whom having suspected to design to marry that gentleman (lady Wharton's brother), he had made her be refused receiving the sacrament (as one in a state of disobediency), and after obliged her to quit her right to £3,000 portion, and then would give her none.' Both Anne and William died in 1689, within three weeks of each other, and are buried at Wooburn: they had no issue. (2) Margaret married successively Major (or Mayjor) Dunch, Sir Thomas

Thomas Seyliard, and William Ross twelfth baron Ross in the peerage of Scotland: the last of her line died in 1730. (3) Mary, born 1649, went in 1662 with her three brothers and her sister Philadelphia to Caen, in charge of the Rev. Theophilus Gale, author of *The Court of the Gentiles*. In 1664 her brother Thomas writes from Caen to her 'at my lord Wharton's house at St. Giles in the Fields': 'You could not have sent me better news than that Mr. Gale has not complained of me to my father, and that my father is not angry with me, for I assure you that there is nothing I fear more than my father's anger. . . I thank you, dear sister, for the care you take of me, and for the pains that you have always taken to make everything go well.' In 1673 she married William Thomas, of Wenvoe Castle, in Glamorganshire, who died in 1677, leaving her with a son and a daughter, who both died young: in 1678 she married secondly Sir

Sir Charles Kemeys, of Cefn Mably in the same county, now represented by Halswell Milborne Kemeys-Tynte of Halswell near Bridgwater. (4) Philadelphia (1655–1722) married first, in 1679—when she untruthfully puts her age at nineteen—Sir George Lockhart, who was assassinated in Edinburgh in 1689; and secondly captain John Ramsay. In 1713 she is 'in very low circumstances,' and her brother lord Wharton gives her £1,000, which he had received by selling a place in the Customs. In her portrait by Vandyke, from which an engraving is preserved in the Hope Collection at Oxford, she looks dark and heavy. Her great-grandson, James Lockhart-Wishart, 'lord chamberlain to Joseph II emperor of Germany, knight of the order of Maria Teresa, count of the Holy Roman Empire, general in the imperial royal and apostolic armies,' is now represented by lord Lamington and (if she is still living) Miss Barclay of New York.

Colonel

Colonel Henry Wharton (1657–89), youngest son of the second marriage, 'was a brave bold man. In the reign of King James II, when Tyrconnel was made governor of Ireland, he assumed the habit of a player, and sung before the king in the playhouse the famous party song of Lillibullero.' He died in the camp before Dundalk, 'and did not leave behind him a better officer or truer Englishman: no man was ever so generally regretted.'

Colonel Goodwin Wharton (1653–1704), second surviving son of the fourth lord, was the strangest of a strange family. An early letter of his shows a certain originality in matters of spelling: 'Honered Phather, this letter is only to assure you how desirous I am to obseue[1] obey and neuer forgit your comandes or orders, and espetially in the things belongin to religion, I hope that by the assistance of God I shal doe

[1] Observe.

al

al things a-right as it behoues a obedient son towards his Phather. I haue mead bold to present you with a fin stik wich I braught myselfe from the Spa, and I hope that you wil accep of it as from your most obedient Son, Goodwn Whartō.' In 1679 he was elected M.P. for East Grinstead, and delivered his maiden speech in the debate on the bill for excluding the duke of York from the succession (Nov. 11, 1680): 'The duke has done his utmost endeavour to ruin this nation, and to destroy us all. . . . I do not think that you will choose a prince that will not speak the truth, to inherit the crown.' He was a skilful engineer: in 1676 he invented 'the first tolerably efficient fire-engine'; in 1691 he fished up out of St. George's Channel fourteen large cast-iron cannon, a relic of the Spanish Armada, and presented them to the queen. His autobiography, in two large folio volumes, preserved in the British Museum (Additional MSS.

MSS. 20,006–7), shows him to have been a deeply religious man: he writes to his (illegitimate) son: 'God, to whose infinite mercy I commit you, will most surely bless you a hundredfold yet more than He hath done me, who have bin blessed ten thousand time more than either my wishes or my thoughts would have reached to.' 'I often prayed that God would make me greater and more eminent in His service than either Moses or Aron.' 'I correct my brother Henery for cursing and swearing: my brothers all three afraid of me.' His morality is that of Mr. Pepys, without the disguise of a cipher; yet the last entry, five months before his death, is 'Began to walk close with God.' He is an advanced spiritualist: he sends a message to his mother twenty-five years after her death, 'the angel Gabriel comes and stays above two hours,' 'St. Peter speaks to me,' 'the holy Trinity talk with me,' 'legions of devils

devils would devour my soul, but shant [sic] if sincere.' He is quite at home among the fairies, 'a very religious people,' who hold their court at Moorfields: they have a king and queen, with a duchess of Plymouth, king of Cornwall, duke of Brittany, and duke of Hungary in attendance. 'Father Fryar dies at seventeen hundred and odd years old'; after which it is refreshing to find the writer sane enough to consider 'usquebath [1] a sovereign remedy.'

Thomas, eldest surviving son of the fourth lord, was born in 1648. In 1673 his father obliged him to marry Anne Lee, a girl of fourteen, who had £2,500 a year and £10,000 in cash. Her great grandfather was 'a keeper's son of Wychwood Forest, a one-eyed young man,' adopted by 'old Sir Henry Lee,' of Ditchley near Woodstock, K.G., 'supposed brother of Queen Elizabeth.' Anne's temper was re-

[1] Whisky.

served

served and severe; she also wrote poetry, and in fact paraphrased the Lamentations of Jeremiah in heroic couplets before her marriage. A tragedy of hers, *Love's Martyr*, on Ovid and Julia, is preserved in the British Museum. The marriage was childless, and unhappy enough; in 1682 Anne was only prevented by Burnet's remonstrances ('when I consider how little prospect you have of happiness in this life,' says the good divine) from leaving her husband, and in 1685 she died.

In 1679 Thomas got into Parliament, and henceforth divided his time between electioneering (on which he is said to have spent in all £80,000, equivalent to about £300,000 now) and horse racing. He was the boldest and most uncompromising of Whigs: in 1679 he voted for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession, in 1688 he drew up the invitation to the prince of Orange to come to England, he was one of the first

to

to join him at Exeter, and in November of the same year came out his famous 'Lillibullero song, with which, if you will believe himself, he sung a deluded prince out of three kingdoms' (Swift). The song beginning

> Ho brother Teague, dost hear de decree,
> Dat we shall have a new debittie?

is poor enough, and must have owed most of its effect—'the whole army, and at last all people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually,' says Burnet—to its chorus, 'Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a-la' (which was supposed to be Irish).

William III made him controller of the household and privy councillor, but did not love him: 'very few persons took the freedom, with so much boldness to censure the measures of the court when he thought them wrong, and that the king did not like in a servant.'

In

In 1692 he married Lucy Loftus, only daughter and heir of Adam viscount Lisburne (in the peerage of Ireland), who brought him £5,000 a year. Mrs. Manley in 1709 describes her thus: 'Her person has inexpressible charms; her face, without boasting of what you call a regular beauty, has something so gay, so sweet, so genteel and agreeable, that one cannot defend one's heart against her.' She bore him a son, Philip, and two daughters, Jane and Lucy.

In 1696 Thomas succeeded his father in the barony. In 1705 John Macky, in his *Characters of the Court of Great Britain*, describes him thus: 'He is certainly one of the completest gentlemen in England, hath a very clear understanding, and manly expressions, with abundance of wit: he is brave in his person, much of a libertine, of a middle stature, fair complexion, and fifty years old': to which Swift adds, 'the most universal villain I ever knew.' In

1706 he was created viscount Winchendon and earl of Wharton, and in 1708 Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which office he held for two years, 1709–10, and according to Swift made £45,000 by it. George I made him lord privy seal, and at the beginning of 1715 created him baron of Trim, earl of Rathfarnham, marquis of Catherlough (i. e. Carlow), in the peerage of Ireland, and marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury in that of Great Britain. He died in Dover Street, April 12, 1715, 'as willing to leave the world as he had been formerly to live in it,' and was buried at Winchendon, where, in February, 1717, his widow was laid beside him.

If we could believe Macaulay, 'honest Tom Wharton' had no virtues beyond consistency and courage. 'The falsest of mankind in all relations but one, he was the truest of Whigs': 'his friends said that he had never given a challenge, that he had never refused

refused one, that he had never taken a life, and yet that he had never fought without having his antagonist's life at his mercy.' But Macaulay's ideas are chiefly taken from Swift, who understood the art of hating. There was another side to the picture :—

> Such manly sense, with so much fire of mind,
> Judgment so strong, to wit so lively joined.
> No prepossession swayed his equal soul,
> Steady to truth she pointed as her pole;
> Bright as the youngest, as the oldest wise,
> In both extremes alike he gave surprise.

'The best of fathers,' his son calls him; 'he was generous to all that he employed,' says the anonymous author of his Memoirs (1715), 'and charitable to the poor, especially old people and children: never was a man of his quality more easy of access, and never one who was a kinder master.'

Philip, only son of the fifth lord Wharton, and afterwards duke of Wharton and Northumberland, marquis of Wharton, Malmesbury, and Catherlough, earl of

Wharton and Rathfarnham, viscount Winchendon, baron Wharton and Trim, K.G., was born at the end of 1698. The sponsors at his baptism were William III, the duke of Shrewsbury, and the princess Anne. He was educated at home, and taught especially the art of speaking; his memory was prodigious, 'he had the best part of Virgil, and his more beloved Horace, by heart.' When he was just above sixteen (March 2, 1715) he married privately Martha daughter of major-general Holmes, 'a lady deserving of much more happiness than she found in this unfortunate alliance.' His father 'took it so to heart that he survived this fatal marriage but about six weeks'; and April 12, 1715, 'Philip lord Wharton succeeded his father in all his titles and abilities, but none of his virtues.'

In 1716 he went with a Huguenot tutor to Geneva, to be educated in the principles of Calvinism; but, on arriving there, he left his

his tutor with a young bear 'as the most suitable companion for him,' and went to Avignon, where the Pretender created him duke of Northumberland. Thence he travelled through Paris to England, and in 1717 to Ireland, where he made Swift's acquaintance and was admitted to sit in the House of Lords as marquis of Catherlough. He was then the only marquis in the peerage of Ireland: the only duke was (to speak in the Hibernian manner) the duchess of Munster, Erengard Schulenburg, favourite of George I.

On Jan. 28, 1718, he was created duke of Wharton: the single instance in English history of a dukedom being conferred on a subject in minority. His only child Thomas died in infancy in 1720. In that year he succeeded Pope in the affections of lady Mary Wortley-Montagu; but it did not last long. In the same year he visited Oxford and gave—or at least promised to give—£1,183 to All Souls to enable the college

college to finish the northern quadrangle: a Latin inscription there states that 'the most noble prince Philip duke of Wharton, doing honour by his munificence to the Muses whom he had lovingly and zealously courted, had this edifice erected at his expense, A. D. 1720.' According to his own account he lost £120,000 in the South Sea scheme, and in 1722 he had to restrict himself to £2,500 a year out of the £14,000 a year which he inherited from his parents. In 1723 he defended Atterbury, the Jacobite bishop of Rochester, in a speech of remarkable power and sobriety. In 1723–4 he published twice weekly a paper called *The True Briton*, mostly an imitation of the *Spectator*.

In 1725 he left England for ever, 'with a ruined constitution and fortune.' He went first to Vienna, in the Pretender's service, and thence to Madrid. His debts amounted to £70,000, and most of his estates

estates had to be sold to satisfy them: his collection of family portraits was bought by Sir Robert Walpole, whose grandson the third earl of Orford sold them in 1779 for £36,080 to the Empress Catherine of Russia, and they are now preserved in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

His wife died in London on April 14, 1726; and July 26 he married, at Madrid, Maria Teresa O'Beirne, 'a beautiful young lady at the Spanish Court, who was then maid of honour to the Queen of Spain. She was daughter of an Irish colonel in the Spanish service, who being dead her mother lived upon a pension the king allowed her.' 'She was not only very handsome, but a woman of lively wit, extreme good sense, and mistress of everything that could form the agreeable.' After his marriage he went to Rome, where he was made by the Pretender knight of the Garter; then back to Barcelona, and with the duchess to Gibraltar,

Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards under the count De Las Torres, who made him his aide-de-camp. In 1728 he and his wife were at Paris, where Sir Benjamin Keene thus describes him: 'The duke of Wharton has not been sober, or scarce had a pipe out of his mouth, since he left St. Ildefonso' (the palace of the king of Spain). In August of this year a letter of his, signed 'Amos Dudge,' appeared in *Mist's Journal*, in which he asserts without much disguise that George II was illegitimate: in April 1729 he was outlawed and attainted for high treason, nominally for having appeared against the English troops at Gibraltar. In this year he and the duchess returned to Spain, she going to her mother at Madrid and he to his regiment: he was 'colonel aggregate' with a salary of £88 11*s.* a year. In May, 1731, he 'declined fast,' apparently from pulmonary consumption, and went to try

try some mineral springs at Poblet in Catalonia, 'utterly destitute of help,' till the fathers of the Cistercian monastery there took him into their house. 'Here he languished for a week, and made a very penitent and Christian exit on May 21, 1731. He was buried the next day in the same poor manner in which they inter their own monks.' By 1806 the inscription on his grave had become almost illegible. So ended

> Wharton, the scorn and wonder of our days,
> Whose ruling passion was the lust of praise;

or, as Pope says in another place,

> What riches give us let us then inquire:
> Meat, fire, and clothes.—What more?—Meat, clothes, and fire.
> Alas! 'tis more than (all his visions past)
> Unhappy Wharton, waking, found at last.

His will, leaving all his estate to 'her grace the duchess of Wharton, my dearest spouse,' was proved at Dublin in 1736 by his

his widow. She died in Golden Square, London, Feb. 13, 1777, and was buried at St. Pancras.

The duke's two sisters may be briefly disposed of. The younger, Lucy, born 1710, married in 1731 Sir William Morice, of Werrington, near Launceston, was divorced 1737, died 1739 at Bath, and was buried at Fulham. The elder, Jane, born 1706, married first John Holt of Redgrave in Suffolk, nephew of Sir John Holt chief justice, and secondly (in 1733) Robert Coke of Longford in Derbyshire, younger brother of the earl of Leicester, who died in 1750: she died in 1761, 'the last of that noble family,' and was buried at Sunbury. Neither lady had issue.

In 1844 colonel Charles Kemeys Kemeys Tynte claimed the barony of Wharton, and in 1845 got the duke's outlawry reversed on technical grounds; but only succeeded in proving that four other descendants of

daughters

daughters of the fourth lord—Mr. Cochrane Wishart Baillie, Mrs. Aufrère, lord Willoughby D'Eresby, and the marquis of Cholmondeley—had an equal right to the title.

The baronial arms—the maunch with a bordure of lions' paws—were borne in the seventeenth century by the Whartons of Norwich, and in the eighteenth by the Whartons of Rothbury in Northumberland. These arms appear on the Rev. Henry Wharton's monument in Westminster Abbey (1695), on a flagon given in 1731 by William Wharton to Rothbury Church, and on Richard Wharton's tomb in York Minster (1794). There is no reason to suspect either family to have been of illegitimate origin: both must have descended from the second lord's younger son, Thomas Wharton of Warcop, in Westmorland, the only male member of the baronial family whose history is unknown.

Thomas

Thomas Wharton of Warcop seems to have had a son Thomas who migrated to Norwich—at that time a great seat of business activity—and married there in 1624. His son Edmund was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, became in 1660 vicar of Worstead in Norfolk, and married Mary Burr, daughter of a wealthy cloth-maker ('pannifici satis opulenti') of Dedham, in Essex. Their son, the learned Rev. Henry Wharton (1664–95), likewise educated at Caius College, became chaplain to archbishop Sancroft and rector of Chartham near Canterbury, where he does not seem to have been very happy: 'all my zeal for public service must be employed in teaching a few plough-joggers, who look upon what I say to concern them but little.' His great work, *Anglia Sacra*, a collection of early histories of English archbishops and bishops, appeared in 1691. Fragments of his diary (in Latin) have been preserved: the most curious

curious entry is under July 18, 1692, 'delirus amavi.' He had a younger brother Edmund, 'an apothecary and great rake,' who survived him, but of whose history nothing further is known.

Gilbert Wharton, younger brother of the Sir Thomas Wharton who attended the duke of Bedford in France, married Joan Kirkby, heiress of the manor of Kirkby Thore, five miles north-west of Appleby, and settled there. The manor-house, a fifteenth-century building, is now given up to dairy purposes: it lies in the pleasant valley of the Eden, with the scarped peaks of the Pennine range rising eastward. In the church are the Wharton arms, a maunch (without the bordure, which of course could only be borne by the baronial family) charged with a martlet, the latter showing that Gilbert was a fourth son. He died in 1436. His great-grandson, another Gilbert, is described in 1541 by his third-cousin Sir Thomas (afterwards

(afterwards first lord Wharton) as 'a man of forty marks land, of good activity, his age about threescore years, and the more pity': he had also £6 13*s.* 4*d.* a year as 'pensioner upon the west marches,' so his whole income would be perhaps about £350 a year of our money. He had two wives, and two sons by each; his grandson and three younger sons attended the first lord's funeral in 1568. The eldest son, John, died in 1556; his great-grandson John is mentioned in 1648, by the 'committee for compounding with delinquents,' among the 'sequestered persons in the bottom of Westmorland, papists,' whose son, also named John, died in 1669, leaving only two daughters, to raise portions for whom he sold the estate to his third-cousin (once removed) Humphrey Wharton of Gillingwood.

Charles, second son of the Gilbert Wharton of 1541, had a son John who settled in the picturesque village of Winston in the county

county of Durham, overhanging the brawling Tees. His son John in 1620 bought the estate of Old Park near Bishop Auckland, and was father of the celebrated physician Dr. Thomas Wharton (1614–73), the first discoverer of the duct (still called 'Wharton's duct') which conveys the saliva into the mouth. Izaak Walton calls him 'a good man, that dares do anything rather than tell an untruth.' He stayed in London through the plague of 1665–6, to attend the Guards: Charles II as a reward for this service granted him an augmentation of his arms, 'a canton *or* in the dexter quarter,' for which, as Dr. Thomas complains in his diary, the heralds charged him £10. He has a monumental tablet in the now ruinous church of St. Michael Bassishaw in Basinghall Street. Of his great-grandsons, the eldest, another Dr. Thomas Wharton (1717–94), whose line finally expired in daughters, was a friend and correspondent of the poet Gray; the second,

second, Richard (1721–64), mayor of Durham, was father of the Rev. Robert Wharton (1751–1808), chancellor of Lincoln cathedral, 'a most accomplished scholar, modest, mild, and unostentatious.' Through one son this Rev. Robert was grandfather of John Lloyd Wharton now M.P. for Ripon, through another of rear-admiral William James Lloyd Wharton C.B., F.R.S., now hydrographer to the Admiralty.

Anthony, third son of the Gilbert Wharton of 1541, settled at Reagill Grange, in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth, the centre of Westmorland. His son Humphrey, of Gilling near Richmond, was 'the only man whom Philip third lord Wharton (his fifth-cousin) trusted in the management of his estate.' Humphrey's grandson, another Humphrey (1626–94), as we have seen, bought his third-cousin John Wharton's estate at Kirkby Thore. This

This Humphrey's grand-daughter Margaret (1697–1791) was the most noticeable member of the family. 'She resided in York, visiting Scarborough in the season; and, frequently sending for a pennyworth of strawberries and a pennyworth of cream for her supper, the people conferred upon her the name of Peg Pennyworth.' Foote described her under that name in a farce, which unfortunately has not been preserved: 'she saw it acted, and declared with joy they had done her great justice.' She is said to have possessed £200,000, and to have given £100,000 to her great-great-nephew John Wharton of Skelton Castle. Her elder sister Anne married Ambrose Stevenson, a county gentleman of Durham: their daughter Anne married John Hall (1718–85) of Skelton Castle near Saltburn (friend and correspondent of Sterne), who added her name to his own: his grandson, Rev. William Hall-Stevenson (1770–1842), vicar

of Gilling, in 1807 changed his name to Wharton, and had two sons now living, the elder of them, John Thomas Wharton, at Skelton Castle.

'Honest Sir George Wharton' (1617–81), astrologer and almanack-maker, deserves mention if only because he was, according to Anthony Wood, 'a constant and thorough-paced loyalist, a boon companion, a witty droll, and waggish poet.' His arms, 'sable, a maunch argent,' show him to have been of our family, probably descended from one of the Whartons of Kirkby Thore. His father was a blacksmith of Kendal, who left his son an estate of about £50 a year: George spent his all in raising a troop of horse for Charles I, and saw it cut to pieces in 1646 at Stow-on-the-Wold in Gloucestershire. After the restoration he was made paymaster of the ordnance (with a salary of £400), and in 1677 baronet. His astrological works and his poetry are beneath

beneath notice; but his *Gesta Britannorum*, a diary of public events from 1600 to 1665, has an historical interest. In his portrait he is a dark, burly, pleasant-looking man. His son Sir Polycarpus lost £24,000 in the powder-works at Chilworth, near Guildford, and died without issue some time between 1727 and 1741.