A HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT BOOK OF THOMAS WHARTON 5TH BARON WHARTON (1648–1715)

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Mrs Berry was archivist of West Yorkshire until her recent retirement, and we are very glad she thought of us when the document here described came to her notice. Readers will remember that the museum recently acquired, for the new art gallery, a painting by Peter Tillemans, of the house at Upper Winchenden, built or enlarged by Philip 4th Baron Wharton. It is particularly apt that we now have a glimpse of the interior economy of the house whose exterior at precisely the same time has been displayed for us.

In the Spring of 1994, when clearing out the house of an elderly relation in Healaugh in Swaledale, North Yorkshire, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Barker of Healaugh discovered a folio volume in a limp parchment cover. This volume now consists of some 172 leaves2 and contains household accounts for the period 30 November 1702 to 8 August 1703.3 The front cover has two faded titles written in different contemporary hands: 'Book of Weekly Expenses in house keeping from November the 30th to 12th of October 1703' and 'Book of Weekly Expenses in housekeeping from ye 30th Nov 1702 to ?[8br] 12 1703'. Inside on the second leaf is the heading 'Book of Weekly Expences &c'. The volume may have been one of a series, as the form of the entries is settled from the beginning and, with some alterations, remains similar throughout. The volume is also written in the same hand throughout.

No name is given of the house or owner for the accounts at the beginning of the volume from 30 Nov. 1702 to the end of May 1703, but above the date for the accounts beginning 18 June 1703 is the heading 'Winchinton', and after this on the date column on each page is written 'winch'. Upper Winchendon in Buckinghamshire, SW of Aylesbury, at this time was the main country seat of Thomas, Lord Wharton, 5th Baron Wharton (1648–1715). This was part of the Buckinghamshire estate that came to the Wharton family

through the second marriage of Thomas Wharton's father, Philip, the 4th Baron Wharton (1613–1696), to Jane, daughter and co-heir of Arthur Goodwin of Winchendon, whose family had lived there from the early sixteenth century⁴

There are references to this house as the manor house of Upper Winchendon from the early sixteenth century onwards, but it had clearly been enlarged and extended by the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the only known painting of the house shows a large Queen Anne style building of two wings facing a formal garden,5 These alterations were probably started by Philip Wharton and may still have been in progress in 1703, as this account book records 'ye glasier & his man' staying at the house for six days in the week 2-8 July 1703 and there are also references to a plumber and a locksmith staying for similar periods in the same month. At this house Philip Wharton is said to have had the finest collection of Van Dycks and Lelys in England.6 However, the greater part of the building was demolished in 1758, some years after it was sold to the dukes of Marlborough.7 The earlier and larger part of the volume, 139 leaves, most probably relates to Thomas Wharton's London house, which is known to have been in Dover Street, off Piccadilly.8 Nothing now remains of this house, but it was clearly a fine residence and was described in 1722 as 'a most sumptuous building, finely finished and furnished'.9



Upper Winchenden House c. 1700, from a painting by Peter Tillemans in Buckingshire County Museum.

(Photo: BCM)

The accounts throughout the volume are spread over two pages and the accounts for the first week from 30 Nov. to 6 Dec. 1702 comprise four double pages. In the remainder of the volume the accounts for each week vary from four to six double pages. The four headings on the first two pages read: 'Provision brought into ye house from ye 30th of Nov: to ye 6th of December 1702', 'Spent in housekeeping from ye 30th of November to ye 6th of Dec: 1702', 'Remained the 6th of Dec', and 'Compagnie that dined here on the severall days in this week'. The first column starts with meat purchased, and beginning with 31 stone 3 lbs of beef, 12 stone and 21/2 lbs of mutton and 3 stone of pork, continues with 'tung & udder', calfs head, veal, sweetbreads, calfs feet, pullets, 8 fat chickens and 4 fine chickens, a turkey, a goose, 8 partridge, 2 grey plovers, 2 teal, a pheasant, 3 woodcock, 3 snipe, 3 dozen larks, 'coxcombs' priced at 3s and 3 lbs of 'saucies' priced at 1s 6d. The list then continues with 3 quarts of oysters, saltfish, 4 whiting, a codshead, 26 smelts, 11 a pint of shrimps, 150 eggs, 'half a 100 of chees', 46lbs of bacon, 11lbs of lard, 'all sorts of herbs', 'roots of all sorts', 100 'Golden Pippins', 30 lemons, 12 'Virgulo pears', 12 quinces, 2 quarts of salad oil, 3 gallons of lamp oil, cotton, 6 gallons of 'whit' vinegar, 2 quarts of 'elder' vinegar, 2 bushels of salt, basket salt, 2 lbs of anchovies, 31 lbs of capers, 6 mangoes, a pint of 'luke' 12 olives, 200 cucumbers, 1914 lbs 'dub R: suggar', 13 12 lbs 'poud: sugg', 12 lbs 'sugg', 12 lbs raisins, 12 lbs currants, 4 lbs Jordan almonds, 1 lb 'bitter almands', 1 lb orange peel, 1 lb lemon peel, 1 lb citron, 1/2 lb of 'Ringo'14 root, 1/2 lb of pistachios, ½ lb sago, 1 lb Savoy buscuits, 1 lb Ratafia busicuits, 6 lbs rice, 3 lbs pearl barley, 1/2 lb cinnamon,' 1/2 lb cloves, 1/2 lb nutmeg, 1/4 lb mace, 3 lbs white pepper, 3 quires of 'pastrie' paper, 2 lbs of 'pack thred', bread, 3½ pecks of flour, 31 quarts of milk, 41/2 quarts of cream, 4 barrels of small beer, 2 'kilderkins' 15 of ale, 6 dozen candles, 5 lbs of wax candles, 6 lbs of 'molded' candles, 10 'chaldron' of sea coals, 16 34 ton of 'Scotchcoals', 100 of faggots, 17 lbs soap, 12 lbs starch, 6 lbs 'powder blew', 3 lbs fine Indigo. All these items are priced and the total cost was £49 16s 9d.

The second column states how much of each item was used and the price, e.g. from the meat and game purchased this week all that remained was 5 stone of beef, 2 stone of mutton, but all the pork and

all the 'tung & udder'. The total value of the provisions used this week was £25 6s 8d. The third column lists the quantity of each item remaining, the total for this week being £24 10s 1d. The large quantities of goods purchased this week and the quantity remaining suggests that the household was being set up in London for the winter season. No sums of money are carried forward from week to week in these accounts, but the purchases for the weeks beginning 7 Dec. and 14 Dec. 1702 amount to £20 18s 10d and £26 11s 10d respectively. In the volume as a whole the quantity of goods purchased each week for the London house, after the first week, to the end of May 1703 ranged between £19 4s 01/2d to £27 11s 111/2d, while the value of goods consumed each week during the same period ranged from £15 19s 6d. to £26 19s 1/2d. At Winchendon the value of goods purchased in the first week 18-24 June 1703 was £74 18s 2d but after that to the end of the volume ranged between £10 13s 3d to £19 7s 11d, while the value of goods consumed there each week ranged from £18 12s 7d to £24 15s 8d. The total value of goods purchased for the 33 weeks listed in the volume, excluding wine, came to £771 4s 91/2d.

The fourth column containing the names of the guests on the first double page for the week, on the remaining double pages contains some comments relating to individual items. In this first week against the 30 lemons the fourth column states that 8 went to the butler and 12 to the stillhouse. Other items allocated to the stillhouse were the pears, quinces, some of each kind of sugar and 1 lb of currants. The butler also received the basket salt. A Mrs Hampton17 'was allocated some of the 'double Ref' sugar, 2 lbs of the Jordan almonds of the 21/2 lbs used that week, 11b of the bitter almonds, together with citron, ringo root, pistachios, sago, Savoy buscuits and Ratafia busicuits. On the last page of the accounts for this first week the fourth column also includes the quantity of wine consumed. Under the heading 'Spent in wine this week', the quantities are listed as: 'of Thomsons' 2 dozen 9 bottles, of 'Burgundie' 1 dozen, 'Champaine' 11 dozen. 4 bottles, of 'Winchinton'18 ale 2 dozen, of 'Sack' I bottle and of 'white wine' 1 bottle.

From the beginning of January 1703 the form of the accounts changes slightly in that the first column on each open page begins with provisions remaining on 3 January relating to the week 28 Dec. to 3 Jan, the second column relates to the provisions bought for the week 4–10 January, the third column relates to items used and the fourth column to the items remaining. From mid December too, after general items the last section of each week for items bought, used and remaining is listed under the headings 'pantry' and 'stillhouse', and from January under the headings 'pantry', 'laundry' and 'stillhouse'. Another change from January is that the list of guests is placed after the list of wine consumed in the fourth column of the last double page for each week.

Other items listed in the accounts, not purchased in the first week, include in the meat section 'a fatt doe', venison, pigs, hogs feet and ears, sheeps hearts, 'pallets', 19 brawn, sweetbreads, fat livers, giblets and marrow bones. Other poultry and game purchased include green geese, ducks, capons, field pigeons, blackbirds, rabbit and hare. Other fish include carp, fresh cod and barrel cod, crayfish, fresh eels, herring and red herring, lamprey, mackerel, perch, pike, salmon, trout, crab, lobster, mussels and prawns. Other general items include barley, bran, wheat, oat cakes, peas, vermicelli, sponge buscuits, clear cakes, caraway seed, hartshorn,20 samphire,21 and 'peter salt'.22 Other items of fuel include charcoal, billets,23 and at Winchendon considerable quantities of 'round wood, presumably logs. With regard to fruit, apples were purchased regularly and there is a reference to baking apples in December 1702 and another reference to dried apples, but no other named varieties are given. However, there is a reference to Seville oranges and a number of references to 'Chenie' or 'China' oranges. In January 1703 there is also a reference to chestnuts. Grapes were purchased in February 1703 and in March there is a reference to green plums, 'Lent figgs' and new raisins. In April there is a reference to Morello cherries and raspberries, and raspberries are listed throughout April and May, and apricots, gooseberries and strawberries are also listed in May. There are few references to vegetables, which may have been included in 'herbs' and 'roots', but asparagus is listed fairly regularly from January onwards, and artichokes, French beans, caulflower and peas were purchased in May.

As noted in the first week, small beer and ale is

listed every week among the general provisions and the quantity of wine used is listed separately at the end of each week. No prices are given for the wine, In London strong beer is included with the wine, but at Winchendon it is listed with the ale and small beer in the general provisions. In addition to the wine listed for the first week, other wine consumed between December and May at the London house included Madeira. French wine, Canary and Gallicia. In addition to Thomson mentioned in the first week, another regular supplier was Stockton. No lists of wine consumed are included in the accounts for May after 9 May. When the accounts begin again for Winchendon on 18 June the main supplier every week was 'My Lord Kingston'24 as well as Thomson, and other wines listed not already mentioned include 'Rhinish', red port, sherry and mum.25 While in London the list of wine consumed in the week 19-25 April records that seven bottles. were sent to Wooburn.26 At the end of the volume there is also a list of the considerable quantity of 'wine left at Winchinton August ye 5th' which refers to 'Thompsons', 'My Ld. Kingston's', 'Rhinish', 'Sherrie', 'Canarie', 'Mumme'. 'Stockdans', 'Red port', 'White' and 'Florence'.

The Wharton family from late medieval times were lords of the manor of Wharton near Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland. From this base Thomas Wharton (c.1495-1568), created Baron Wharton of Wharton in 1544, greatly extended the family estates from monastic and other lands in Westmorland, Cumberland, Swaledale in the North Riding and at Healaugh near Tadcaster in the West Riding.27 In addition to this property, the wealth of the family was increased in the seventeenth century through their involvement in the development of lead mining in Swaledale and the acquisition of estates at Wooburn and Winchendon in Buckinghamshire through the second marriage of Philip, the fourth Baron Wharton to Jane Goodwin in 1637.28 Before this marriage, the two main family homes outside London were Wharton Hall in Westmorland and Healaugh in the West Riding, but after this date the main family homes outside London were Wooburn and Winchendon in Buckinghamshire.

Thomas, the first Baron Wharton, although always loyal to the Crown, is thought to have been sympathetic to the Catholic cause. This was cer-

tainly true of his son Thomas, the second Baron, (1520-1572), who entered the service of Princess Mary in 1552, was a member of her Privy Council throughout her reign and was a witness to her will.29 Little is known about the religious and political leanings of Philip Wharton, the third Baron (1555-1625)30 but his grandson Philip, the fourth Baron (1613-1696), was a pronounced puritan and during the early part of the Civil War was active for the Parliamentary cause both in the House of Lords and in the army.31 After Pride's 'purge' of the parliament in 1648 Wharton withdrew from public life, and although he remained on friendly terms with Oliver Cromwell during the Protectorate, he is thought to have disapproved of the execution of Charles I. At the Restoration he was in the cavalcade which escorted Charles II from Greenwich to London in May 1660,32

In spite of this show of loyalty, Philip afterwards pursued a fairly independent line in politics, even spending a few months in the Tower in 1677 for arguing that parliament had been prorogued illegally and refusing to make the submission demanded. On the accession of James II in 1685 he withdrew for a time to the continent and was one of the first to declare for William III in 1688, by whom he was made a privy councillor in 1689, 33 By this time his son and heir Thomas, the fifth Baron, had largely replaced him in the Whig cause. Between 1690–2, following the Toleration Act of 1689, he founded and endowed the bible charity for which he is now mainly remembered. 4 He died in February 1696 and was buried at Wooburn. 35

Thomas Wharton, the fifth Baron, for whom this household account book was written, was the third but eldest surviving son of Philip by Jane his second wife and was born in August 1648. He was educated at Caen in Normandy and afterwards in 1663–4 he made the grand tour of Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries with his younger brother Goodwin³⁶ (d.1704). Thomas entered parliament as a member for Wendover in 1673 and held this sea t until he was returned as one of the two members for Buckinghamshire in 1679. He continued to represent this county until the death of his father in 1696, after which he took his seat in the Lords.³⁷

From the beginning he supported the Whig

cause wholeheartedly and, following the Popish Plot of 1678, party rivalry intensified over a range of issues including dissent, attempts to exclude James Duke of York as a papist from the throne and opposition to a standing army, which the Whigs saw as a threat to the powers of parliament, Thomas, like his father, voted for the Exclusion Bill in 1680 and, after the accession of James II in February 1685, in May of that year he opposed settling revenue on James for life on the grounds that some of this might be used towards a standing army. During the abortive rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II, in June 1685, on behalf of the protestant cause, Thomas was suspected of complicity and his house at Winchendon was searched.

In the period leading up to 1688 Thomas corresponded with William Prince of Orange and was among the first to join him at Exeter in November 1688. Earlier in 1687 Thomas wrote the satirical ballad Lilli Bulero Bullen a la against popery and the Irish which, when set to music by Purcell, became so popular both in the army and throughout the country that afterwards Thomas boasted that he 'had sung a king out of three kingdoms'. Following the proclamation of William and Mary in 1689 Thomas was appointed a privy councillor and also Comptroller of the Household, a post which he held until 1702. In spite of his undoubted support, Thomas never fully gained the confidence of the king, and, following his accession to the Lords in 1696, he was disappointed not to succeed Sir William Trumbull as Secretary of State in December 1697, However, earlier in April 1697 Thomas obtained the post of Chief Justice in Eyre south of the Trent and in the same month he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire. In March 1698 he entertained the King and Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, at Wooburn and in January 1699 the King, Talbot and Princess Anne were sponsors to Thomas's only son Philip (b. Dec. 1698). In January 1702 Thomas was appointed Lord Lieutenant for Buckinghamshire, but in June 1702 he was dismissed from this and all his other offices following the accession of Queen Anne, who is said to have very much disliked him as an enemy of the church.

In the early years of Anne's reign Thomas's work in the Lords was successfully directed against

the Tory high churchmen to prevent the passage of three bills against occasional nonconformity. In the course of these debates in January 1704, in reply to personal attacks. Thomas maintained that he had the Church of England service read twice a day at his house in Winchendon by his chaplain Mr. Kingford and that he commanded all his servants there to be present. In another debate in November 1704 he urged the Lords to look at the distracted state of Scotland and refrain from irritating dissenters at home. His exertions for the Whig cause in the elections of 1705, during which he is said to have spent over £12,000, greatly increased his influence with the leaders of the party, and from this period to the end of the reign he was a leading member of the Whig Junto. In April 1706 he was named as an English commissioner for the treaty of union with Scotland and in December 1706 he was created Viscount Winchendon and Earl Wharton. In November 1708 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a post which he held until October 1710. Thomas appointed Joseph Addison (1672-1719), the essayist, as his secretary for this post and travelled to Ireland in April 1709 amd stayed until September. During the session of the Irish parliament during this time Thomas pursued his antipapist policies by procuring a bill under which the estates of Irish papists would descend to their protestant heirs.

On his return to England Thomas was active in the Whig campaign to impeach Dr. Henry Sacheverell for his popular provocative attack on the Whigs and nonconformists in 1709, and at one stage during the trial in February and March 1710 Thomas's house in Dover Street was threatened by the mob. The sentence passed on Sacheverell of a three year suspension from preaching was seen as a moral victory for the doctor over the Whigs and stimulated celebrations and counter demonstrations in many parts of the country. Following the defeat of the Whigs in the election of September 1710 Thomas worked hard to maintain the Whig opposition both in and outside parliament. In February 1712 he entertained Prince Eugene of Savoy, the famous Austrian general, who had helped Marlborough at Blenheim (1704), Oudenarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709), then on a visit to London, and who was thought by the public to be neglected by the Tories. By 1713 when a committe of the Lords, appointed to investigate malpractice in public revenues, reported that Thomas had received £1,000 to procure a post in the Customs House, the Whigs were strong enough to secure a resolution that as this had taken place before the Queen's general pardon of 1709, he should only be censured. In June 1714 he spoke strongly against the Schism Bill stating that what was schism in England was established religion in Scotland, and when the bill was passed he signed a protest against it, During Queen Anne's last illness Thomas was prominent among the Whig lords of the Privy Council who asserted their right to attend meetings of the Council to ensure the peaceable proclamation of George L Following George I's accession in August 1714 Thomas was appointed a privy councillor in September. In January 1715 he was appointed Baron of Trim, Earl of Rathfarnam and Marquis of Catherlough in Ireland, and in February 1715 he was also created Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury, However his enjoyment of these honours was short-lived. He fell ill in March and died at his house in Dover Street on 12 April 1715. He was buried at Winchendon on 22 April 1715.

As the son of a prominant puritan, perhaps in reaction, Thomas early acquired and retained the reputation of a great rake and libertine, summed up in a verse written in his father's lifetime:

'I prithee good Lord take old Wharton away That ye young Wharton may come in his place To drink and whore and play 100 tricks more With a damn'd Fanatical face'38

Another contemporary description, when he was about fifty, stated that he was 'of middle stature [and] fair complexion' and that William III did not like in a servant the boldness with which he censured the measures of the court and thought him 'too popular or too much of a republican to be intrusted with the administration of state affairs'. It added that he 'is certainly one of the compleatest gentlemen in England, hath a very clear understanding and manly expression with abundance of wit. He is brave in his person, much of a libertine.' Swift's well known comment on this description was that Thomas was 'the most universal villain I ever knew'. 40

In 1673 Thomas married Anne (b.1632), daughter of Sir Henry Lee, fifth Baronet of Ditchley and

Quarrendon, who brought with her a dowry of £10,000 and £2,500 per annum. She was known to her contemporaries as a poet⁴¹ and, according to Thomas's biographer 'she was a woman of wit and wisdom, yet her person was not so agreeable to him as was necessary to secure his constancy'.⁴² She died childless in 1685 and was buried at Winchendon. Thomas's second wife Lucy, whom he married in 1692, was the daughter and heiress of Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburne.⁴³ Lucy also brought Thomas a large fortune and estates in Ireland, including Rathfarnam Castle in Co. Dublin.⁴⁴ There were three children of this marriage, Philip⁴⁵ (b. 1698), the second Marquis and first Duke, and two daughters Jane and Lucy.

Apart from politics, Thomas's main interests were horses and racing and he owned one of the finest studs in the country at the time. However, politics also came into his sport and it was said that his greatest delight at Newmarket and elsewhere was to win plates from Tories and high churchmen. He was also a skilled fencer and claimed never to give but never to refuse a challenge, boasting that he could always disarm his adversary.46 His nickname 'Honest Tom Wharton' was a satirical reference to another of his boasts never to refuse but never to keep an oath. It was said that he once told Lord Dartmouth 'Are you such a simpleton as not to know that a lie well believed is as good as if it were true', and his rough manner of speech offended his fellow peers in the House of Lords, where he was accused of introducing vulgarities and flippancies into debates.

However, the wholehearted enthusiasm with which Thomas supported the Whig cause, while he could rightly be accused of many serious personal shortcomings, was based on a real belief in parliamentary government and a toleration for all protestants. He also believed that the Tories, while using fine phrases about the Church and the Crown, were papists and Jacobites at heart and therefore not only his enemies but enemies of his country. His success at electioneering, for which he was famous, was based on a combination of endless energy, a ready ability to mix with all classes, and the fact that he spared no expense to get constituents drunk on the best ale. Over the years he extended his influence so that eventually he controlled twenty five seats: ten of the fourteen seats in Buckinghamshire, twelve in Westmorland and Yorkshire, two in Sussex, and Malmesbury in Wiltshire.⁴⁷ His political career was summarised by the Whig historian G.M. Trevelyan as 'the most active manager in the Whig Junto' and 'perhaps the most influential Whig of Anne's reign'.⁴⁸

The Whig Junto, of which Thomas became such an important member, was a group of moderate Whigs formed in the early 1690s, which usually met every day during parliamentary sessions at a cabinet minister's house, and more informally at their country houses when parliament was in recess. Other Whigs were also invited to these meetings as necessary to strengthen party loyalty. In addition a wider group of supporters and sympathisers, including many writers and authors, began to meet at the Kit Cat Club, founded by Jacob Tonson the publisher in 1700.49 The name of this club was derived from mutton pies called Kit Cats made by a pastry cook, Christopher Katt, at whose house in Shire Lane near Temple Bar the early meetings of the club took place. Thomas was a member of the club and the guests listed in this account book include seventeen other members. Portraits of fortyeight members of the Kit Cat Club were painted by Godfrey Kneller between 1697 and 1721.50 It is against this background that it is of interest to list and identify, wherever possible, the guests listed in this household account book, who were entertained by Thomas both in Dover Street. London, and at Winchendon between November 1702 and August 1703.51

DOVER STREET, LONDON

Week Monday 30 November to Sunday 6 December 1702

Monday Mrs Brown

Tuesday Lady Skipper, Mrs Brown, Mrs

Farrington

Wednesday Mrs Farrington, Mrs Brown

Thursday Mrs Brown

Saturday Duke of Somerset, 52 Duke of Grafton, 53

Lord Hartington, 54 Sir Richard Tempel, 55 [sic] Col. Mordant, 56 Mr Vice Chamberlain, 57 Mr Dormer, 58 and 'fowre more'

Sunday Lady Bettie Cromwell⁵⁹ and her mother,

Col. Mordant, Sir Thomas Wheat⁶⁰

Week Monday 7 December to Sunday 13 December 1702		Tuesday	Lady Bettie Cromwell, her mother, Mr Fielding, Mr Congrave	
Tuesday Wednesday Friday Saturday	Mrs Brown Mrs Farrington Thursday Mrs Brown Mrs Farrington, Mrs Brown Col. Mordant, Mr Duns, 61 Mrs Barton, Lady Skippers and her daughter	Wednesday Thursday Saturday	Lady Skipper, Lady Bettic Cromwell, Mrs Farrington, Mr Congrave Mrs Farrington, Mrs Brown Lady Bettie Cromwell, Mr Congrave, Mr Vanbrug.	
Sunday	Mrs Barton, Col. Mordant, Capt. Lapell, Lady Bettie Cromwell, Mrs Barton, Mrs Farrington.	1702/3	day 11 January to Sunday 17 January	
Week Monday 14 December to Sunday 20 December 1702		Tuesday Wednesday	Lord Rivers, ⁷² Mrs Brown Lady Skipper, Mrs Farrington, Sir James ?Upique ⁷³	
Monday Tuesday	Mr Congrave, 62 Mr Hamden, 63 Lord Carborough, 64 Lord Somers, 65 Lord	Thursday	Mrs Barton, Lord Revers, Col. Mordant, Mr Fielding, Capt. Pey Lady Bettie Cromwell	
Wednesday Friday Saturday	Hallifox, 66 Mrs Barton, Col. Mordant, Sir Edmund Denton, 67 Mr Hamden, Mr Duns Lady Skipper and her son and daughter Lady Bettie Cromwell, Mrs Barton, Lord	Saturday Sunday	Mrs Mincel, Mrs Barton, Mr Fielding Mrs Barton, Lord Say and Seel, ⁷⁴ Lord Hollifox, Mr Bray, Mr Congrave, Mr Dunss.	
Sunday	Hallifox, Sir Edmund Denton Mr Welsh, 68 Mr van Brugg, 69	Week Monday 18 January to Sunday 24 January 1702/3		
	Mrs Brown and her daughter, lay 21 December to Sunday 27	Monday	Lord Kingston, Lord Carrborough, Col. Mordant	
December 1702		Wednesday	Lady Skipper and her daughter, Mrs	
Monday Wednesday	Mrs Farrington Lady Skipper and her son and daughter, Mrs Farrington	Thursday	Farrington, Col Mordant Mrs Barton, Mrs Farrington, Lord Kingston, Lord Hallifox, Mr Manwerin, ⁷⁵ Mr Welsh, Van Brugg	
Thursday Saturday	Mr Slown ⁷⁰ Lord Kingston, ⁷¹ Mr Cutcher, Sir Edmund Denton and his lady	Saturday Sunday	Lady Skipper, Mrs Farrington Capt. Palmer, Capt. Tyrrell, Mr Saunders, Mr Dunss, Israel Fielding.	
Sunday	Lord Kingston, Sir Richard Tempel, Mr Dormer, Mr van Brugg, Lady Bettie Cromwell, Mrs Farrington.	Week Monday 25 January to Sunday 31 January 1702/3		
	Week Monday 28 December 1702 to Sunday 3 January 1702/3		Lady Skipper, Mrs Farrington Mrs Barton, Mrs Farrington, Mrs Brown,	
Monday Tuesday Wednesday Friday	Mrs Mincell, Sir Edmund Denton and his lady, Mr Fielding, Mr Hambden Lady Skipper and her niece Mrs Farrington, Mr Fielding, Mr van Brugg Sir Thomas Skipper and his lady, son	Thursday Friday	Mr Fielding Capt.Griffin, Mrs Farrington Lord Gray, ⁷⁶ Lord Cullpeper, ⁷⁷ Lord Mohun, ⁷⁸ Lord Abergueny, ⁷⁹ Lord Osselston, ⁸⁰ Lord Herbert, ⁸¹ Lord Cornwallis, ⁸² Lord de la Ware, ⁸³	
Saturday	and daughter Lady Denton, Mrs Farrington, Mr	Saturday	Lord Lovelace, ⁸⁴ Mrs Barton, Mr Fielding, Mr Lapell, Mr Vanbrug, Mr Slown	
Sunday	Fielding, Mr Dunss Sir Thomas Skipper and his lady, son and daughter.	Sunday	Lord Carlisle, ⁸⁵ Lord Kingston, Mrs Barton, Mr Lapell, Mr Britton, Mr Stapleton, ⁸⁶ Mr Congrave.	
Week Mond 1702/3			Week Monday I February to Sunday 7 February 1702/3	
Monday	Mrs Mincel, Mrs Farrington, Sir Edmund Denton and his lady, Mr Fildin, Mr Dormer, Mr Vanbrug and '2 more'	Tuesday Saturday	Lady Bettie Cromwell, Mrs Barton Mrs Barton, Mrs Farrington, Lord	

Carlisle, Lord Kingston, Lord Huntington, ⁸⁷ Lord Hollifox, Sir Charles Hotham, ⁸⁸ Col. Bretton, Capt. Tyrrell, Capt. Lapell, Mr Dunss, Sir James

?Upique

Sunday Lady Skipper and her son and daughter,

Mrs Britton.

Week Monday 8 February to Sunday 14 February 1702/3

Monday Duchess of Grafton, 89 Lady Bettie

Cromwell, Mrs Ramsey, 90

Sunday Lord Say and Seal, Mr Moylman, Mr Dunss, Mr Slown, Miss Skipper, Mr

Cutchard.

Between 15 February and 29 May 1703 no guests are listed, and there is a gap in the accounts for the period 30 May to 17 June 1703.

WINCHENDON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Week Friday 18 June to Thursday 24 June 1703

Col, Mordant, Mr Cutcher, Mr Owen '& ye Coll. man' 5 days

Mr Pennington 3 days

Sir Edmund Denton and '2 man' 2 days

'Mr May's 3 daughters and 2 servants at dinner'
'besides 23 freeholders one day'.

Week Friday 25 June to Thursday 1 July 1703

Capt. Tyrrel and 2 servants 6 days Mr Dunss 2 days with a servant Col. Mordant, Mr Owen 1 servant 1 day Mrs Harthen and her son and daughter Mr May, 9 gentlemen and 11 servants more.

Week Friday 2 July to Thursday 8 July 1703

Mrs Yorck and her son 4 days

2 'taylers' 1 day

2 brewers 5 days

Mr [blank in text], Mr Lee and a servant 1 dinner 'ye glasier & his man' 6 days.

Week Friday 9 July to Thursday 15 July 1703

Mr Hambden and his servant 4 days Sir Richard Stamford and 2 servants 1 day Mrs Yorck and her son 7 days 'ye plummer' 1 day 'ye locksmith' 7 days. Week Friday 16 July to Thursday 22 July 1703

16th and 17th Sir Richard Samford and 2 servants 17th Mr Hambden, his lady, sister and 6 servants

17th Mr May, Col. Beax and 2 servants

19th Sir Richard Temple, Sir Edmund Denton, his lady and 7 servants

21st Mr May's 5 daughters and 2 servants
Mrs Yorck and her son, 'ye locksmith', 'ye plummer'
7 days.

Week Friday 23 July to Thursday 29 July 1703

24th Dr Slowen and Dr Garth91

25th Sir Richard Temple and 3 servants, Dr Garth, Capt, Chenie, Mr Cutcher

26th Mr Hamden, Dr Garth, Mr Ebens and his wife 27th Col. Wharton⁹² and 3 servants, Dr Garth, Mr Hamden

28th and 29th Mr Hamden and his servant 4 days 'ye locksmith' 7 days, 'ye plum' 5 days.

Week Friday 30 July to Thursday 5 August 1703

30th Dr Slown, Mr Hamden and 1 servant
31st Mr Hamden and 1 servant
1st August Sir Thomas Wheat and 2 servants
2nd Sir Thomas Wheat and 2 servants, Col. Beax, Mr
May

3rd Mr Harthen and 1 servant, Sir Edmund Denton and 1 servant, Sir Thomas Wheat and 2 servants, Mr Kegg, his lady and 6 servants

4th Mr Kegg and 6 servants, Sir Thomas Wheat and 2 servants, Mr Hamden and 1 servant, 'Mr May 3 daughters' and 2 servants, Col. Beax

5th Mr Kegg 'etc', Sir Thomas Wheat 'etc', Mr Yeate, Dr Garth.

From the names that can be identified, it is clear that Thomas Wharton's guests included leading members of the Whig party, aristocratic and other Whig supporters, and members of local Bucking-hamshire families, many with Whig counections. It remains to consider how this volume of household accounts was found in North Yorkshire. No information to explain this has been discovered, and one can only conclude that in the dispersal of the Wharton estates and archives during the lifetime and following the death of Thomas's son Philip, Duke of Wharton, in 1731, this volume was transferred with other records relating to land holding in Swaledale to the Barker family. 93

REFERENCES

- 1. The Barker family have lived in Swaledale since the midseventeenth century, when a Robert Barker came from Chesterfield in Derbyshire to help Lord Wharton's agent with the development of lead mining. The family has a good collection of its own records from the late seventeenth century, and others relating to land holding in the dale. These land-holding records may have come from the Wharton family. For an account of the early connection of the Barker family with the Whartons see A. Raistrick, The Wharton mines in Swaledale in the seventeenth Century, 1982 (North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications, No. 31). Some of the land-holding records and others referring to Robert Barker, his brother Adam and family, are printed in Documents relating to the Swaledale Estates of Lord Wharton in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, edited by M.Y. Ashcroft, 1984 (North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications; No. 36).
- The volume is very fragile and has been badly damaged by damp, which has seeped through the back cover. Some leaves at the end have also been cut or torn away.
- The last date in the volume is 8 August 1703, but another heading on the last page 'Provisions brought in from ye 8th of Aug to ye 12th of Oct being the sum of my Lords staying at ye Park' probably relates to the missing pages.

4. VCH, Bucks. vol. 4, pp. 122-4.

 This painting by Peter Tillemans (1684–1734) has recently been acquired by Buckinghamshire County Museum. I am grateful to Mr. H.A. Hanley, County Archivist of Buckinghamshire, for this information, and to the Buckinghamshire County Museum for an illustration of this painting.

6. This collection later passed to the Hermitage in St.

Petersburg, DNB.

- A house in Upper Winchendon called The Wilderness dating from about 1650 is a surviving part of Thomas Wharton's mansion, VCH, Bucks. vol.4, p. 122.
- G. E. Cokayne, The complete peerage, new edition, 1910–1959, vol. 12/2, p. 608, hereafter cited as GEC. This guess is confirmed by entries in the week 19–25 April 1703 for the purchase of 'chickins in Lond' and 'chickins fr; ye count:'.
- J. Macky, A journey through England quoted by H. B. Wheatley, London past and present, 1891 vol. 1, p. 516, I am grateful for this reference to Mr. J. R. Sewell, City Archivist to the Corporation of London,
- 10. In the following two weeks this item is listed as 'combs' and in the week beginning 21 Dec. 'combs & saucies' are listed together. It is possible at this time that cocks combs were used in the making of gravies etc.
- 11. Small fish similar to salmon.
- 12. Written as luca i.e. Lucca in the next column.
- 13. Written as 'double Ref. sugg' in the next column,
- 14. Unidentified.
- 15. A cask containing between 16 and 18 gallons.
- 16. A measure of coal, each chaldron containing 36 bushels.
- There are no further references to the butler, but there is a reference to Mrs. Hampton in the following week 7–13 December.
- 18. This ale was probably brewed at Winchendon. The list of company there for the week 2–8 July includes two brewers who stayed for five days.
- 19. Unidentified.

- A substance from the horns of harts, formerly a chief source of ammonia and used in the making of smelling salts.
- 21. A cliff plant with aromatic fleshy leaves used in pickles.
- 22. Presumably saltpetre, used for preserving meat.
- 23. Thick pieces of fire wood.
- 24. See below note 71.
- 25. A kind of beer originally brewed in Brunswick,
- This also formed part of the Goodwin estate in Buckinghamshire which Thomas Wharton inherited through his mother. The greater part of the house was demolished in 1750, GEC, vol. 12/2, p.605; VCH, Bucks.vol. 3, p.106.
- For an account of his career and the development of his estates see M. E. James, Change and Continuity in the Tudor north: the rise of Thomas first Lord Wharton, York, Borthwick Institute, 1965 (Borthwick Papers No.27).
- 28. See above n.1 and p.1
- 29. GEC, vol. 12/2, p. 599.
- He entertained James I at Wharton Hall on 8 Aug. 1617, Ibid. p. 600.
- 31. He acquired the nickname 'Sawpit Wharton' from the story that he hid in a sawpit after the defeat of his regiment at the Battle of Edgehill in 1642. For an account of his career see G. F. Trevallyn Jones, Saw Pit Wharton, the Political career from 1640 to 1691 of Philip fourth Lord Wharton, Sydney University Press, 1967 (Stuart Historical Studies Vol. 1).
- 32. At this time being in mourning for his second wife Jane (d.1658) 'to give his black a look of joy on that occasion, his buttons were so many diamonds'. GEC, vol. 12/2, p. 604 n.(f).
- 33. DNB.
- 34. This charity settled some of his lands at Healaugh in the West Riding upon trustees for 1050 bibles and catechisms to be given yearly in certain towns and villages in the counties of Buckingham, York, Westmorland and Cumberland, where his estates lay, to poor nonconformist children who had learned by heart seven specified psalms. Later Anglican children were also included, B. Dale, The good Lord Wharton, 1906, pp. 109–202.
- 35. GEC, vol. 12/2, p. 606.
- Ibid. Goodwin's autobiography is in the British Library, BM. Add. MSS, 20,006 and 20,007.
- 37. There is no modern biography of Thomas Wharton, the fifth Baron. Shortly after his death Memoirs of the life of the most noble Thomas late Marquess of Wharton was printed in 1715. The following details of his life are taken from DNB and GEC, which uses these Memoirs and other sources. For a modern analysis of the politics of the period see T. Harris, Politics under the later Stuarts, Party conflict in a divided society 1660–1715, (Studies in Modern History) Longman, 1993, hereafter cited as Harris.
- T. Hearne, Remarks and collections, Oxford Historical Society, vol. 1, p.313
- J. Macky, Characters, Roxburghe Club, pp.91–2. His portrait by Kneller as a member of the Kit Cat Club is reproduced in Lewis Melville, Life of Philip Duke of Wharton, 1913.
- 40. In 1710-11 Swift produced Short Character of T[homas] E[arl] of W[arton] L.L. of Ireland in which he described Thomas as 'an atheist grafted on a dissenter' and summed him up as wholly occupied by 'vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness and business fill up his whole conversation' GEC, vol. 12/2, pp. 608-9.

- 41. See separate entry in DNB
- 42. Memoirs, pp.18-21.
- 43. Lady Mary Wortley Montague called her 'a flattering, fawning, canting creature, affecting prudery and even sanctity, yet in reality as abandoned and unscrupulous as her husband' that 'most profligate, impious and shameless of men.' DNB. She survived Thomas and died in 1716.
- This estate is said to have been worth £5,000 per annum, GEC, vol.12/2, p. 608.
- 45. Philip was created Duke of Wharton in 1718, but through his profligacy some of his estates were broken up and sold during his lifetime and the remainder were sold in the years following his death in 1731. For an account of his colourful career see L. Mclville, op.cit.
- Again his fencing was linked to his politics and he fought two election duels in 1699 and 1703, DNB.
- Elliott Viney, "The Buckinghamshire Lieutenancy", Records of Buckinghamshire, vol. XIX, 1972, p. 122.1 am grateful for this reference to Mr. H. A. Hanley, County Archivist of Buckinghamshire.
- 48. G.M. Trevelyan, Blenheim, 1930, pp. 194-5.
- Harris, pp. 151–2; G. F. Papali, Jacob Tonson, publisher, 1968 p.107, hereafter cited as Papali. I am grateful to Emma Floyd, assistant librarian at the National Portrair Gallery, for this reference.
- These portraits now belong to the National Portrait Gallery and some are on loan to the National Trust at Beningbrough Hall near York.
- Following the general election in the summer of 1702, parliament met from 20 October 1702 to 27 February 1703.
 Royal Historical Society, Handbook of British Chronology, 3rd. ed. 1986, p. 577.
- Charles Seymour (1662–1748), 6th Duke of Somerset from 1678, was generally known as 'the proud duke'. He took up arms for the Prince of Orange in 1688 and later held many offices of state. He was also a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; GEC, vol. 12/1, pp. 77–9
- Charles Fitzroy (1683–1757), 2nd Duke of Grafton from 1690, was a member of the Kit Cat Club and later Viceroy of Ireland 1720–4. GEC, vol.6, p.45.
- William Cavendish (c.1673–1729), Marquis of Hartington 1674–1707, became the 2nd Duke of Devonshire in 1707. He was a Whig MP 1695–1707 and later held many offices of state. GEC, vol. 4, pp. 344–5
- 55. Sir Richard Temple of Stowe, Buckinghamshire (1675–1749), 4th baronet from 1697, became Baron Cobham in 1714 and Viscount Cobham in 1718. He was a Whig MP for Buckingham and Buckinghamshire 1697–1713 and also had a distinguished military career. He is now chiefly remembered for the re building of Stowe and laying out the famous gardens. He was a friend and patron of many literary men and also a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; GEC, vol. 3, pp. 339–41
- 56. Unidentified, but possibly Col. Charles Mordaunt, a nephew of Charles Mordaunt, 3rd Earl of Peterborough, who married Elizabeth, widow of Charles Mohun, 4th Baron Mohun (d.1712) see n.78. The Mordaunt family owned the Castle Manor in Lavendon, Buckinghamshire from the early sixteenth century. DNB; GEC, vol. 9, pp. 27–9; VCH, Bucks. vol. 4, pp. 381–2.
- 57. This office and its holder have not been identified.
- John Dormer (1669–1719) was a member of the Kit Cat Club. The Dormer family held a lordship in Long Crendon

- and other lands in Buckinghamshire. VCH, Bucks, vol. 4, p. 40; National Trust, Beningbrough, Handlist of portraits, 1981, p. 3, hereafter cited as Beningbrough.
- 59. Lady Élizabeth Cromwell (1674–1709), only daughter and heir of Vere Essex Cromwell, 4th Earl of Ardglass, Viscount Lecale and Baron Cromwell, assumed the title of Baroness Cromwell on the death of her father in 1687. Her mother, who married in 1672, was Catherine daughter of James Hamilton of Newcastle, co. Down, GEC, vol. 3, p. 559.
- Sir Thomas Wheate (d.1721), son of Thomas Wheate Esq, of Glympton, Oxfordshire, was created a baronet in 1696. He was later MP for Woodstock. W. Betham, Baronetage of England, 1803, vol. 3, p. 112.
- Probably Edmund Dunch (1657–1719); a Whig MP 1701– 1719 and also a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; Beningbrough, p. 3.
- William Congreve (1670–1729), dramatist. He was also a member of the Kit Cat Club. Later he held a number of lucrative government posts. *DNB*; Papali, p. 108.
- Probably Richard Hampden (d.1728) of Great Hampden, Buckinghamshire, great grandson of the famous John Hampden (1594–1643), and a Whig MP for Wendover. DNB; VCH, Bucks, vol. 2, p. 289.
- 64. John Vaughan (1640–1713), 3rd Earl of Carbery from 1686, was a Whig MP 1681–1687, a strong supporter of the 1688 Revolution and a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; GEC, vol. 3, pp.8–9; Beningbrough, p. 3.
- 65. John Somers (1651–1716), lawyer, was created Baron Somers in 1697. He was a Whig MP 1689–93 and later as a leading member of the Whig Junto held many offices of state including Lord Chancellor 1697–1700. He was also a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; GEC, vol. 12/1, pp. 29–31.
- 66. Charles Montague (1661–1715) was created Baron Hatifax in 1700 and Viscount Sunbury and Earl Halifax in 1714. He was a Whig MP 1689–1700 and held many offices of state including Chancellor of the Exchequer 1694–9. He was also a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; GEC, vol. 6, pp. 245–6; Papali, p.107.
- Edmund Denton of Hillesden, Buckinghamshire (d,1714) was created a baron in 1699 and Thomas Wharton supported his election as a Whig MP fox Buckinghamshire in 1710. VCH, Bucks. vol. 4, pp. 173–4; Memoirs, p. 86.
- Probably William Walsh (1663–1708), poet and politician.
 He was a Whig MP 1698–1708 and a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; Beningbrough, p. 3.
- Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), dramatist, architect and herald, was knighted in 1714. He was also a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; Papali, pp. 108.
- 70. Hans Sloane (1660–1753) physician, was created a baronet in 1716. He founded the famous botanic garden in Chelsea, and later his collection of books and MSS became part of the collections of the British Museum. He was also a witness to Thomas Wharton's will. DNB; A true copy of the last will... of Thomas late Marquess of Wharton, 1715 p. 22, printed with the Memoirs, hereafter cited as Will.
- 71. Evelyn Pierrepont (1665?–1726), 5th Earl of Kingston upon Hull from 1690, was created Marquis of Dorchester in 1706 and Duke of Kingston in 1715. He was a Whig MP 1689–90, a member of the Kit Cat Club and later held a number of offices of state. In 1715 he was appointed a trustee and executor of Thomas Wharton's will. DNB; GEC, vol. 7, pp. 306–7; Memoirs, p. 106.
- 72. Richard Savage (1660?-1712), 4th Earl Rivers from 1694,

soldier and Whig MP 1681–89, like Thomas Wharton, joined William of Orange on his landing at Exeter in November 1688. DNB; GEC, vol. 11, pp.28–9.

73. Or possibly Lepique, unidentified.

 Nathaniel Fiennes (1676–1710), 4th Viscount Saye and Sele from 1698, was a keen Whig supporter. GEC, vol. 11, p. 490.

- Probably Arthur Mainwaring (1668–1712), a member of the Kit Cat Club, an MP 1706–12 and in his writings attacked Dr. Sacheverell. DNB; Papali, p. 108.
- Ralph Grey (c.1661–1706), 4th Baron Grey of Warke from 1702, was a Whig MP 1679–1701 and Governor of Barbados 1698–1701. GEC, vol. 6, p. 170.

 John Colepeper (1640–1719), 3rd Baron Colepeper from 1689, was a Whig supporter. GEC, vol. 3, p. 365.

- Charles Mohun (1677–1712), 4th Baron Mohun from 1677, soldier and duellist, was tried three times for murder in the House of Lords, He was a staunch Whig and a member of the Kit Cat Club. DNB; GEC, vol. 9, pp.27–9; Beningbrough p. 3.
- George Nevill (e,1659–1721), Baron Bergavenny from 1695, was said to own one of the finest libraries in England. GEC, vol. 1, pp. 38–9.
- Charles Bennet (c.1674–1722), 2nd Baron Ossulton from 1695, was created Earl of Tankerville in 1714. GEC, vol. 12/ 1; p. 633.
- Henry Herbert (1654–1709) was created Baron Herbert of Cherbury in 1694, and was a Whig MP 1677–94. DNB; GEC, vol. 6 pp. 443–4.
- Charles Cornwallis (1675–1722), 4th Baron Cornwallis from 1698, was a Whlg MP 1695–8, a member of the Kit Cat Club and later held a number of minor offices of state. GEC, vol. 3, p. 454; Beningbrough, p. 3.
- John West (c.1663–1723), 6th Baron de la Warr from 1687, later held a number of minor offices, GEC, vol. 4, pp. 161–2.
- John Lovelace (d.1709), 4th Baron Lovelace from 1693, was a soldier and Whig supporter who became Governor of New York, where he died, 1708–9. DNB; GEC, vol. 8, pp. 233–4.
- 85, Charles Howard (1698-1738), 3rd Earl of Carlisle from

- 1692, was a Whig MP 1689–92 and later held a number of offices of state. He was also a member of the Kit Cat Club and in 1715 was appointed a trustee and executor of Thomas Wharton's will. DNB; GEC, vol. 3, p. 35; Memoirs, p. 106.
- Probably Henry Stapleton (d.1716), a member of the Stapleton family of Wighill near Tadcaster in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He lived mainly in London. H. E. Chetwynd Stapylton, The Stapletons of Yorkshire, 1897, p. 252; GEC, vol. 12/2, p. 597.
- George Hastings (1677–1705), 8th Earl of Huntingdon from 1701, soldier, was a cupbearer at the coronation of Queen Anne. GEC, vol. 6, pp. 660–1.
- Sir Charles Hotham (1663–1723), 4th baronet from 1691, was a Whig MP 1701–1723 and took part in the campaign to defeat the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715. A. M. W. Stirling, The Hothams of Scorborough and South Dalton, 1918, vol. 1, pp. 115–40, portrait opp. p. 126; P. Roebuck, Yorkshire Baronets 1640–1760, 1980, pp. 74–82.
- The second duke (see n.53) did not marry until 1713, so this
 is probably his mother Isabella. She was regarded by her
 contemporaries as a great beauty. GEC, vol. 6, pp. 43–5.
- Possibly Philadelphia, sister of Thomas Wharton, who married as her second husband Capt. John Ramsey. In his will of 8 April 1715 Thomas Wharton left her daughter Margaret Ramsey £500. DNB; Will, p. 7.
- Samuel Garth (1661–1719) physician, was knighted in 1714.
 A member of the Kit Cat Club, he was physician to Thomas Wharton and witness to his will DNB; Memoirs, pp. 38, 106.
- Unidentified, but presumably a member of the family, Thomas Wharton's brother Col. Henry Wharton died at Dundalk in Ireland in 1687. DNB.
- 93. Records relating to the Wharton estates in Swaledale are in the North Yorkshire County Record Office (see n.1); accounts and papers for the Winchendon estate 1715–32 are in the Braye of Stanford Collection in the Leicestershire Record Office, and nine volumes of Wharton family papers (Ref. Carte MSS, 79–81) are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.