

Theme 1 – The Invasion of England in 1688

Transcripts for manuscript items

Where the commentary refers to only sections of letters, these passages are shown in red.

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Document 1

Pw A 2090 - Notes giving instructions on the conduct of secret correspondence; n.d. [1687-1688]

When I send you any letter directed Mons[ieu]r Jan van Loen á Vienne, be pleased to open it, & if you find onely a Gazette enclosed, or a few lines of any com[m]on matter, or a longer letter, with a Postscript ending with an &c, in any of these cases you will have occasion to make use of the under written directions, that is to say,

Put into fair water soe much as you please of the Powder of white Coperose, the stronger you make this the better, & herewith wash the blank parts of the letter, rubbing it on with the Feather of a Pen, & imediately you will see the writing appear. Bee pleased to let one side dry, e're you wash the other, or both sides being wett at a time, the writing will not be soe visible as you will find it, when the paper is dryed.

And when the Prince is pleased at any time, or has occasion to answer, such letters with more freedom, than he shall think fit to doe in Inke, if he is pleased to direct you to hon[ou]r me with such Com[m]ands, I have a Private direction given me by my L[or]d D- whereby to send them, written in the invisible liquor, w[hi]ch the Coperose brings forth.

Bee pleased to observe the Coperose is Poyson.

Document 2

Pw A 2099 - Copy letter from James [Johnston] to 'Honoured Sir'; 17

Nov. 1687

Copy

Nov[embe]r 17. 1687

Honoured Sir,

I am told that you allow me to write to you; I hope you will also allow me to omit formalities. I shall esteem my self happy in the honour you do me, in putting such confidence in me, if I can acquit my self of so great a trust to the satisfaction of all concerned. I am sure no person is more desirous to do services than I am, nor more willing to be directed; which makes me hope that a little experience will qualify me to do them. But it is not to be expected that I can now give any account of matters. I am newly come from the Country, and not as yet disengaged from circumstances not consistent with the diligence such an affair requires. Nor can I jump on a sudden, [p.2] into the ways & methods, of going about it; and your friend here from whom I send you letters, is still in the hurry of receiving & returning visits, so that we have not had time to take measures here. The state of things here, & the present characters of people must be well known, (which takes time) before such persons can be condiscended on, as it will be necessary to trust, for information, & Dr. Stanley, no doubt, will carry with him all the publick news. There are no news more publick than that H.M. is mightily incensed against His Highness. This both Papists and Protestants are pleased with. The Protestant Gentry, so long as they have no jealousies of H. Highness, (few of them have any at present) fear nothing. H.M. about a month ago, told one from whom I [p.3] I have it, that he never could forget Covels business, that H[i]s Highness should have given way (that or some such word he used) to a story, as if he had had a design to carry away the Pr[ince]ss & marry her to the K[ing] of France. He solemnly took God to witness, that rather than marry the Heir of Engl[an]d to France, he would give her to the meanest man in England. He said, They allow us Papists neither common sense, nor common honesty. He speaks of Barnavelts business, who he says is still a Papist, & of Myl[or]d Mordaunt's conferences at Loo. About 8 days ago, S[i]r Rob[ert] Holmes told all his friends, that he was to go to sea; but now it seems, upon better information, he is not to go so soon. The Presbyterians & Independents are coming off from the fondness they had at first for the Toleration; & the Court begins [p.4] to suspect it. It is evidence they only juggle; for in many places, to my certain knowledge, such of them as declare themselves for taking off the Test, &c, have promised their voices to men who have told them they will never consent to it. Myl[or]d Mayor, (I know not if it be true that he has this day taken the Test) is much concerned to make the world believe that he gave no orders for inviting the Nuntio, & that he did not take notice of him. He & his sort of men, have consulted about it, & he is resolved, upon the first occasion, to behave himself so as to redeem the scandal he for his Party have given. Generally men are confident that there will be no Parliament; but they only suppose that the Elections will be carried on fairly; if they were sure of that, they should have reason to be confident [p.5] - fident. However the Court is as confident of having a Parliament to their mind, tho it is impossible they should expect it, by fair legal Elections. It is not believed that the new sheriffs will do the business, for which it is said they are named. It is true, many of them are Papists, & all of them chosen as the fittest men. **All the Fellows of Magdalen Colledge will be turned out, & their President will be ruined by a fine; but many of them have whereon to live; & the Gentry about town are making provision for those of them that have nothing besides their Fellowships; which will much encourage the Clergy. At Court they are not**

three day of one mind about the methods that are to be followed. On Thursday those that are upon the secret of affairs met Myl[or]d Bellasis, Father Warner & a third were for thinking on some expedient to be proposed in the ensuing Parliament, for securing the Papists, to which it might be supposed the Parliament would consent; but Myl[or]d Sunderland opposed it. He said H.M. affairs were now in a flourishing condition, that he must push it on, & do nothing to encourage his enemies. They parted without coming to any resolution; & since, some of the Papists rogue Myl[or]d Sunderland, as if he intended to min [error for ruin?] H.M.'s affairs. Pen & the other new Protestant Favourites, hope to prevail with H.M. to consent to the taking off of the penal Laws, without the Test. A Parliament is to be called in Scotland, & an Indemnity is to be published there. The Gentry of that Kingdom, Mr Stuart says, are against the taking off [p.7] off of the Laws, only because they are told their Highnesses are against it; & that though they think it their interest to have them taken off, they incline to do nothing that may displease their Highnesses, or seem to favour Popery. The case of Scotland is much different from that of England; it is more than probable that the Laws may be taken off there, notwithstanding all this. The noise of the thing may do hurt for a little while, & prove matter of triumph to the Papists; but after some time it will appear they had no reason to do it; for it is inconceivable that Presbytery let loose, can bring in Popery into that Country. Sir, it is thought fit that the Jesuits letter from Liege should be reprinted, with a Preface giving an account that it is a true Letter, & with reflexions on it. It will be a good paper to be published at the meeting [p.8] of a Parliament.

I am with all respect

Honoured Sir

Your most humble & obedient Servant

James J.

I forgot, neither Myl[or]d Falconbridge, nor Myl[or]d Pembroke, nor I hope, Myl[or]d Preston, will go down to the Country to put the questions to the Deputy Lieutenant & Justices. They do already at Court wish such a thing had never been thought on. It will have an effect contrary to the design. Myl[or]d (Ferris) is turned out. Father Peters is made Clerk of the Closet, a Place which is usually given to the favourite Bishop. The B[isho]ps of Rochester, Durham & London had it last. This make people think that Peters will be made a Bishop.

Document 3

Pw A 2141 - Copy of a letter [from James Johnston]; 6/16 Feb. 1688

Copy

N. Febr[uary] 6/16 1688

S[i]r

I have yours of the 10th N[ew] S[tyle]. I do not know what to write. Mr. Stourton ['Sidney' written above] is positive that Resolutions are taken of having neither Parliament nor War, after great Debates, Parliament and War, (no doubt the Irish were for it) or no Parliament and no War. Mr. Seatoun ['Sunderland' written above] being for neither, was so much out of humour, when the contrary Party was like to carry both, that he was in a manner mad; there was no speaking to him; but since, is in the best humour of the World. All this Mr. Stourton believed the last week, and still believes. Now on the other hand, on Saturday last (this is Monday) I was with Mr. Price ['Pen' written

above], who then came from Mr. Kemp ['the King' written above] and Mr. Seatoun; he is positive that there will be no War, [p.2] but that there will be a Parliament; and he is more full of hopes than ever he was, that he will carry his point; I mean have the Penal Laws taken off, and the Test let alone, whole or in part, and for such parts of the Test as shall be desired to be taken off, equivalentents shall be offered that all the Nation will accept of; and that H.M. has promised to the Deputies of Exeter that their grievances shall be redressed. They complain that the cloath trade, &c., the only means of their subsistence, is ruined by the new Taxes that the French King has laid on the Cloath. Mr. Kemp said positively that he would never suffer it. Mr. Price is so full of hopes, that he said he doubted not but before a year went over, the King and the Prince of Orange should live [p.3] live in a perfect good understand. I am confident Mr. Price believes what he says, and that Mr. Kemp gives him ground to think so, of whose sincerity he is persuaded, and still thinks to find a remedy for his unsteadiness by tricks. Price is well with Seatoun, though jealous of him. How to reconcile all this, I dont know. Tanner ['Titus' written above] at the same time tells me that he will have no more to do with them, that he gave ear to their proposals, hoping to get the Penal Laws taken off, and the Test either entirely let alone or, if any parts were parted with, to have valuable equivalentents for them. But now, says he, they are quite off that bottom that they call Equivalentents; expedients, say they as ridiculous in case any part of the Test stand, as they seemed to him and others, when [p.4] they were offered to them in place of the Bill of Exclusion; that to have the Test off is only to quiet people among the Papists, who fear a Revolution. (But now he sees that) they are not for such small gain; their design (is to bring in) their Religion, right or wrong, and to model this Army for the doing of it; and if that is not sufficient, to take assistance from France. This he told me with great warmness. Believe what you can, this I am certain of, that both Mr. Kemp and the several parties of those of his persuasion, were never so hearty, nor in so good humour, and all full of hopes; so well pleased that Mr. Price told me Mr. Kemp and others, on Saturday, had read the reflexions on Mr. Fagel's letter, and commended them as well written; but since, I am told [p.5] told they are better informed of the effects it has, and are angry; but on Saturday Mr. Kemp was so well pleased that nothing could make him angry.

I am well informed that the King lately sent for S[i]r John Berry, a Sea Officer, and told him, in a little time he would have business for him. S[i]r John begged leave to tell H.M. that in case the business was matter of action, he would put no Popish Officers in, for he was sure the seamen would knock them on the head. H.M. told him that when he called him to be his Privy Councillor, he might give him his advice, and left him angry.

Sherridon was three hours with Seatoun, and since, the matter is hushed up, and Sherridon impudently denies that he had any design to accuse Myl[or]d Tyrconnel; It is whispered about [p.6] (I know not on what grounds) that he was to have impeached him of having entered into a Treaty with the French King. There will be a Test put to all the Officers here; I think the words are, That they are content to have the Test &c repealed. As considerable Men as Myl[or]d Oxford (who is now turned out) will quit.

I know not the truth of the story from Yorkshire; That the Country people, upon the noise of murders, &c here in Town, digged up some Roman Catholicks bodies, and hung them up on trees, with papers on them, bearing that thus the Protestants will be used, if they do not prevent them.

Mr. Kemp persuades Myl[or]d Norfolk not to go beyond Sea, because there will be a Parliament. The Queen grows big. Hill the (Priest will) have a com- [p.7]

commission to search such mens houses as he thinks [gap caused by tear in the paper] and the Press will be so regulated that nothing can any more be printed here, without a license.

Mr. Price has a paper of reasons for repealing the Test, written possibly by Mr. Stewart. They are well written, but will not be published, because the Author, for getting the respect he owes the Prince of Wales, calls all over, the Prince and Pr[ince]ss the Successors. There are written Papers (but nothing yet printed) going about, against the Repeal of the Penal Laws, which if they cannot be got suppressed, (care is taken to do it) will do a great deal of hurt among the Dissenters.

The Sheet of Reflexions on Mr. Fagel's Letter takes mightily. Myl[or]d Powis, [p.8] and the other moderate Catholicks make great use of the advice given them, particularly what relates to the Prince; and Myl[or]d Rochester is received in a manner to shew how many friends one has, and how few the other. I heard Country Gentlemen say, that if that Paper get into the Country, it will heighten the present fermentation so much, that they are confident, if any speaks against the Prince, that the People will knock them on the head. It is thought to be Myl[or]d Hallifax's, and that he has disguised his stile; He says Burnet writ it. One thousand of them were left at friends lodgings in one evening, neither Printer, nor Author, nor Bearer known; none of them to be bought. If you like them, as you ought to do, if you judge [p.9] judge of them by their good effects here; you will do well to send here and to Scotland 20000 of them. There is not one to be had here for any money. Mr. Stourton had a dozen of them left at his lodgings; Mr. Harris says he had as many; Mr. Jones ['Johnson' written above] twice as many; and many others more or less of them. They kept them all up for one day, for fear it had been a trick to trepan them; after that, every man dispersed them amongst his friends, and to others, by the Penny post.

It is certain that there is a price on Burnets head, and accepted of; and I believe a Yacht sent, to bring him, or it, over. I imagine the Officers that are to come away, have undertaken it. Some say 15 Men are gone over. I am not sure of particulars; they do not much deny the thing it self. Some of the [p.10] chief men at Court have (given out an) [note to state that paper was torn and words are guessed at] advertisement, and pretend to have done all they could to (hinder it) [similar note]. I know not who they are; only I am told that one of them is so great a Knave, that it is not doubted but he is in the design. My Authors say, this is the only honest action they have known him do these many years. He said he knew all the particulars, but cannot discover them without ruining himself. He is a Lord. The Lardon bears their Highnesses owning Fagels Letter; which is taken notice of all over the Town.

Document 4

Pw A 2188/8 - Note in handwriting of William Bentinck on possible landing places for the invasion of England in 1688; n.d. [c. 1688]

[Translated from Dutch]

Number of the Places situated in the West of England

English Miles up to 48	Rije [Rye] from	Rivers to Cross
24		4

30	Nieuwhaven [Newhaven] to Chichester	3	
9	to Portsmouth	1	
12	to Southampton	3	
25	to	4	Distant from the other [each other] 3 to 4 miles
	Pole en Chrijst-church [Poole and Christchurch]		
18	to	2	
37	Waijmouth [Weymouth] to	3	Lyme between the two difficult but has to be watched
	Exmouth		
15	to Torbay	2	Can only be defended with difficulty
4	to Dartmouth River	1	A landing is possible on both banks
17	to Plymouth [Plymouth]	3	
40	to Faelmouth [Falmouth]	7	

Document 5

Pw A 2197/2 - Plan of the order of sailing of the Dutch fleet; n.d. [c.1688]

		15 ships of guards on foot and their horses 6 with dragoons 1 with artillery 2 for [the equipment of Willem] Meesters	4 ships of bodyguards 22 with dragoons' horses 4 with his Highness's and the gentlemen of Owverkerck's horses	15 ships of [horse]guards 2 with his Highness's carriages 3 with artillery and their horses 1 with French and their horses
		24 ships	30 ships	21 ships
	∞ Weyman [Lord Macclesfield]	∞ Graaf van Solms, with Col. Bohun on board	∞ Colonel l'Estang	∞ Colonel Holsappel
	∞ English gentlemen	∞ English lords		
	∞ Marshall Schomberg			
	∞ Nassau	∞ Voorst	∞ Count van Lipp	∞ Major Doecum
	∞ Scottish lords	∞ General Major Mackay		
2 Pilot Boats	∞ His Highness	∞ provisions and baggage of his Highness		
		19 ships of English 1 their horses 2 artillery 22 ships	12 ships with cavalry 1 with men 13 ships	12 ships with cavalry horses 1 with men 9 volunteer artillery and artillery ships 3 with Lord Levin's and Lord Picton's men 25 ships
		∞ small service tenders (pinnaces)	∞ small service tenders (pinnaces)	∞ small service tenders (pinnaces)
		19 with infantry 1 horses 2 with artillery 22 ships	10 ships with horses 1 with men 11 ships	21 ships with cavalry horses 2 with men 23 ships
		∞ small service tenders (pinnaces)	∞ small service tenders (pinnaces)	∞ small service tenders (pinnaces)
		∞ Palsgrave	∞ Coll. J. Hersum	∞ Colonel Schaeck

Document 6

Pw A 2247 - Copy of a declaration by William, Prince of Orange [later King William III], at Exeter; n.d. [1688]

His Highnesses Declaration

William Henry, By the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, &c. Wee have already given a full and clear Account of Our designes in this Our Expedition in Our Declaration for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion and the Lawes and Liberties of England; And since God hath thus farre blest us, that after a safe and prosperous Voyage and Landing wee are happily come to the City of Exceter; Wee have thought it necessary, most earnestly to invite all persons that are zealously affected to the Protestant religion, and to the Lawes and Liberties of their Countrey, to come and shew it by concurring with us, in this Our Undertaking for the securing and establishing of them; And Wee do promise and assure our Protection to all that shall come to Us, and do declare, that if any of those, that have assisted Us, or shall assist Us in any kind, or shall be coming toward Us for that purpose, Or shall publish, disperse, keep or read our declaration and publication of any sort, fall into the hands of our Enemies, and are ill used by them [p.2] Wee will return the same usage upon all that wee find in Arms or giving any assistance to them and against us; We will take care to signifie the same to our Enemies, by which it will appear to God and to the World, that if any severe executions are committed, wee are forced to them by the Cruelties of our Enemies for the protection of Our friends. Wee doe also com[m]and and require all receivers and Collectors appointed to receive any part or parts of the revenue given by the Wisedome of former Parliaments, for the maintaining of the Dignity and honour of the Nation, and the established Lawes both in Church and State: And which are now applied to the supporting of Popery and Arbitrary Governm[ent].

Document 7

Pw A 2251 - Requisition order for oxen and wagons, signed by Prince William of Orange, Exeter; 16 Nov. 1688

William Henry Prince of Orange, &c.
Whereas through the Want of Cariages to convey Our Bagage train of Artillery &c. from hence to Hunyton [Honiton], wee are necessitated to oblige all the Neighbouring inhabitants to furnish us with their draught Oxen and Cariages; And to the end they may be the better encouraged to comply with Us in this Matter wee are willing to give and allow such rates and prices, as divers Gentlemen of this Country have judged reasonable; That is to say, for every draught of 4 Oxen, 4 Schillings; and for 6 Oxen 6 Schillings by the day, which said rates we will exactly comply with and justly paye and discharge.
Wherefore wee do require and com[m]and the Constable of Ken and Kenfort, that immediatly upon the receipt of this Our Warrant, he presently goe along with 2 of Our Souldiers from house to house within the said parish, examine what Quantity of Oxen they have and certifie under his hand to Morrow, to our Commissioners for providing of Carriages, the Number and Oxen so found and signifie to such inhabitants who have such Oxen, that upon [p.2] upon the 20th day of Novemb[er] + they repaire with such draught Oxen and Cariages together with Yokes and Lanes as also some spare Lanes to this City, to attend that service^T; hereby com[m]anding the said Inhabitants to be obedient to this Our Order as they will answer the Contrary at their peril. Given at Exceter this

16th day of Novemb[er] 1688.

G [Guillaume, i.e. William] Prince d'Orange

+ ten a Clock in the morning

T to the Number of thirty Oxen

Document 8

Pw A 2235 - [Part of] a [draft] account in French of the march [from Torbay to London] by William Bentinck [later 1st Earl of Portland]; n.d. [c. Dec. 1688]

Page 1:

[Translated from French]

The Duke of Grafton my
Lord Churchill Lieut. Gen.
and Mr. Barckley
[Berkeley] gentleman in
the household of the
Princess of Denmark and
Colonel of a dragoon
regiment coming from the
King's army came to join
him

On the 21st His Highness marched from Exeter to Honiton and on the 22nd from there to Axminster where he remained on the 3rd/23rd also the following day when His Highness detached M. Bentinck with 1200 horse and dragoons in order to march to Wincanton near to the king's army in order to give occasion to those of our friends who were there to come and join us, but when he arrived the next day at Sherborne he learnt from many officers and horsemen that he met on the road coming from Salisbury, that the aforesaid army had marched out of there and from Warminster where it was quartered towards London in very great haste and disorder, having left part of their men in the town of Salisbury without allowing any man to stop them and billeting the troops there to await the army. On the 6th/26 His Highness marched to Crewkerne. Colonel Trelani [Trelawney] with all the officers of his regiment of infantry, almost all the officers of the dragoon regiment of Conan and many officers of other regiments which had been billeted at Warminster came to find him. The 7th/27 His Highness marched to Sherborne and stayed with Lord Bristol who came to receive him with Colonel Stranguish, Sir Oliver St. George and a number of the Dorset nobility...

Document 9

Pw A 2231 - [Part of] a [draft] account in French of the march [from Torbay to London] by William Bentinck [later 1st Earl of Portland]; n.d. [c. Dec. 1688]

Page 4:

[Translated from French]

[Princess Anne wrote to her brother-in-law William that she was taking refuge in] the North of England, under the protection of the aforesaid bishop [of

London] and that of several provincial gentlemen who had gathered round her as she fled, and that she intended going towards Nottingham [Gloucester erased] to wait there for news from the Prince of Denmark [her husband]. On the morning of the 3rd/13th Dec. His Highness sent back the king's messenger with the required passports; the same morning the Dutch ambassador arrived, having obtained the king's permission to come, and in the evening there came from London Lord Clarendon and Sir Henry Capell, brother of the late Earl of Essex, who had passed through the quarters of the king's troops without being arrested. On the 4th [14th Dec. New Style] His Highness marched to Salisbury, where he was received with public acclamation; the mayor and corporation came before him in their robes. The 5th/15th His Highness remained in this place, Lord Oxford arrived there from London. His Highness sent an officer of his guard to Lords Halifax, Nottingham and Godolphin who had arrived in Andover about 15 miles from Salisbury to conduct them to Hungerford to await the arrival of His Highness, who marched on the 6/16th to Collingbourne Kingston, and on the 17th to Hungerford.

Document 10.

Pw A 2221 - List in Dutch relating to quarters for the army; 16 Dec. 1688

[Translated from Dutch]

Quarters for 16/6 December

		<i>[Modern place name]</i>
Headquarters	Collingborn Kingston	<i>[Collingbourne Kingston]</i>
Marshal Schomberg with the Staff	Collingborn St. Andrews	<i>[Collingbourne Ducis?]</i>
1 Guards' battalion	West Everley	<i>[Everleigh]</i>
Prince van Birckenfeld	Chute	
3 Guards' battalions	North Tudworth	<i>[Tidworth]</i>
	South Tudworth	<i>[Tidworth]</i>
	Haxton	
Birckenfelt's Brigade	Apleshire	<i>[Appleshaw]</i>
	Shaddesden	<i>[Shoddessen]</i>
	Kimpton	
	Trouxon	<i>[Thruxton]</i>
Sidney's Brigade	Ambesbury	<i>[Amesbury]</i>
General Nassau, with 1 battalion	Great Bodwin	<i>[Bedwyn]</i>
1 Battalion of Wynberg's Brigade	Little Bodwin	<i>[Bedwyn]</i>
2 other battalions of Wynberg's Brigade	Burbich	<i>[Burbage]</i>
Lord Macklesfield	Overton	
English Lords and Volunteers	Lurgi shall	<i>[Ludger shall]</i>
Scottish Lords	Ampoort	<i>[Amport]</i>
Refugee Officers stay at Corps of Guards	Boscombe Wilton	

Horse Guards	Bishamstock	<i>[Beechingstoke]</i>
	Wilsford	
Cornbury's Dragoons and Langston	Marlebrough	<i>[Marlborough]</i>
Canon's Dragoons	Proshut	<i>[Preshute]</i>
	Clatford	
Coning's Infantry	Wootton	<i>[Wootton Rivers?]</i>
His Highness' Dragoons	Titcombe	<i>[Tidcombe]</i>
	Wexcombe	
	Marton	<i>[Marten]</i>
	Shouborn	<i>[Shaibourne]</i>
Marwits' Dragoons	Ham	
	Buttermor	<i>[Butter mere]</i>
	Harding	<i>[Harding Farm in Great Bedwyn]</i>
Waldeck	Stoke	
Lype		
Bentinck	West Gratton	<i>[Grafton]</i>
Heyde [Hyde]		
Loppenbrock	East Gratton	<i>[Grafton]</i>
S-Gravemoer	Mitton	<i>[Milton Lilbourne?]</i>
Nassau	Eastern	<i>[Easton Royal]</i>
Ginckel	Dracot	<i>[Draycot Fitz Payne]</i>
Oye	Pewyse	<i>[Pewsey]</i>
Riedt Ecsel		
Flodorp Opdam	Maningford Abbey	<i>[Manningford Abbots]</i>
Zuylestein	Wilkot	<i>[Wilcot]</i>
Schack		
Monpouillan	Maningford Crucis	<i>[Manningford Bruce]</i>