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# LOCKE AND CLARKE



JOHN LOCKE

# THE CORRESPONDENCE OF

# JOHN LOCKE

AND

# EDWARD CLARKE

EDITED, WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

BY

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CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS LONDON HUMPHREY MILFORD
1927

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO LTD
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW

# PREFACE

THIS volume contains the hitherto unpublished correspondence between the philosopher Locke and the parliamentarian Edward Clarke

The letters of Locke to Clarke were transcribed from the Locke manuscripts which are known as the Nynehead Collection, and which belonged to the late Colonel Edward Charles Ayshford Sanford of Chipley, in the county of Somerset, England In this collection the letters written by Locke number over two hundred These[1] have been printed here in full, save for occasional omissions which are due to faded ink or the decay of the paper The letters from Locke to Clarke to be found in Add MSS 4290 of the British Museum have likewise been inserted with this correspondence, as they properly belong with it, although some of them have been imperfectly printed in *Original Letters*, and others have appeared in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*

The letters of Clarke to Locke, which are also now printed for the first time, belong to the Lovelace Collection, and are the property of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lovelace To the eighty-seven letters of Clarke, there are likewise added from the Lovelace Collection six written by his wife Mary Clarke, and nine by their daughter Elizabeth, the 'wife' of Locke Five unpublished letters of John Cary to Locke from Add MSS 5540, pp 66-67, 69-73, of the British Museum, and one of Cary to Clarke from the Nynehead Collection, are inserted, as they are so intimately connected with the monetary correspondence of this volume The three letters from John Locke to John Strachey at the beginning of this correspondence, which reveal the kinship of Locke with the wife of Clarke, are reproduced from the Nynehead Collection

The lives of Locke and Clarke are presented in the form of a biographical narrative which precedes the

[1] Their spelling, capitals, and punctuation have been modernized

correspondence This account sets forth most fully the history of the close relations existing between the men, and embodies a large amount of new data, particularly concerning Locke, derived from the letters The correspondence thus drawn upon for the biographies contains information of much real importance It throws additional light upon the growth of Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* It includes the original draft of a large part of *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, which was written, in the first instance, for the benefit of Clarke's children There is also much medical advice given by Locke, which will be welcomed by those interested in him as a physician The most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Locke, however, consists in the remarkable details concerning the part he played, through the agency of Clarke, in the enactment of the important coinage legislation of the period in England The personal relations of the two men, moreover, are full of human interest, since their correspondence reveals with the unreserved candour of private utterance the life-long intimacy and the unswerving devotion of Locke and Clarke

To the late Colonel Edward Ayshford Sanford, whose death occurred on the 22nd March, 1923, I am greatly indebted for his courtesy as descendant of the family of Locke's friend Edward Clarke in giving permission to transcribe for publication the letters from Locke to Clarke To him also is due the privilege of reproducing the excellent portraits of Locke and of the Clarkes, which are in Nynehead Court To the present Earl of Lovelace, who, as direct descendant of the Lord Chancellor, Peter King, has inherited the manuscripts bequeathed by Locke to the cousin of the philosopher, sincere gratitude is likewise here expressed for the use of the letters of Clarke, of his wife Mary (Jepp), and of their daughter Elizabeth, which were written in reply to those of Locke

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# LOCKE AND CLARKE

UNDER the shadow of the Mendip Hills, in the county of Somerset in England, in a pleasant and fruitful vale, nestles the old market town of Wrington With numerous thatched houses, often irregularly built, it is in appearance not unlike many other ancient English villages, but it gains a certain degree of outward distinction from its parish church, a stately edifice with a tower that has been described as one of the most beautiful in the kingdom More important far, however, is the fame it has attained from the fact that in an old thatched cottage adjoining the grounds of the church was born on the 29th of August, 1632, the philosopher John Locke The parents of Locke belonged to the Somerset village of Beluton, but his birth occurred while his mother was on a visit to her brother at Wrington

The remote ancestry of John Locke has not been traced His grandfather, Nicholas Locke,[1] is known to have migrated in early life from Dorsetshire and to have settled at Publow on the river Chew in the north of Somersetshire Nicholas Locke's first wife, the philosopher's grandmother, was Frances Langdon, who died at Publow in 1622 At Magna Chew, in 1624, Nicholas Locke married a widow, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Keene, and this being the second wife's home, he lived there after the marriage He died at Magna Chew in 1648

The philosopher's father was John Locke, whose birth occurred on the 29th of April, 1606 He had a younger brother, Peter, born on the 13th of July, 1607, and of this uncle's family the philosopher writes [2] 'My uncle left issue only by two daughters William Stratton's wife, one of them, is thereby one of the co-heirs of Bel[u]ton . The other daughter of my uncle

[1] Nicholas Locke, according to a Somersetshire will dated Oct 29, 1619, was appointed by Joanne Bisse, a widow of Pensford an overseer to the executors

[2] Locke to Clarke, 21st Jan 1687

has left a son too' Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Peter Locke, married twice and had a son by each husband, the first named John Bonville, who was settled as a lawyer in London, and the second, Peter Stratton (son of William), who was one of the chief heirs of Locke Anne, the other daughter of Peter Locke, married Peter King, and their son, also named Peter, became Lord Chancellor of England, and founder of the present house of the Earl of Lovelace Two other cousins of Locke are mentioned in the philosopher's will, Mary Doleman, and Anne Hasel, wife of John Hasel of Bishop Sutton, in Somersetshire In Locke's letters to Clarke the names of two more cousins of the philosopher appear One is called a 'cousin Jepp,' and the other a 'cousin Lyde,' both of Magna Chew

John Locke,[1] senior, father of the philosopher, married on the 15th of July, 1630, Agnes or Anne Keene at Wrington, his wife's home, and then with her settled at Beluton on the little river Chew At Wrington, however, as we have said, while the mother was on a visit, and not at Beluton, in 1632, the philosopher was born The only other child born to John Locke, senior, by this marriage was a son Thomas, who was born at Beluton, and was there baptized on the 9th of August, 1637 Thomas Locke, the brother of the philosopher, married, but died early of consumption, leaving no children The philosopher's mother, of whom her son speaks in terms of warm devotion, died when he was a young child, so that his care and education devolved chiefly on his father When the Civil War broke out, in 1642, between Charles I and the Long Parliament, the senior Locke was clerk to the justices of the peace in the district where he resided, the chief of these justices being Francis Baber of Chew Magna Joining the Parliamentary army Locke, senior, served as captain of the horse under Colonel Alexander Popham of Houndstreet, near Pensford, to whose family belonged the manor of Chew A sufferer by the war, he left, it is said, a smaller estate to his family than he had inherited Nevertheless, he was in possession of property of considerable value when he died in 1661, at Beluton

The first fourteen years of Locke's life were passed at Beluton, which lies six miles south-west of Bristol in the parish of Stanton

[1] John Locke, sr, in a Somersetshire will dated September 4, 1638, was appointed by his cousin, James Bisse of Pensford, overseer to the executors

Drew. Above this parish, on the little river Chew, was the larger and more populous parish of Chew Magna, in which on the north side of the river was the town of Chew, and on the south side, about two miles distant from the town, was the large manor house of Sutton Court Below the parish of Chew Magna was the small, ancient market town of Pensford, connected with the principal part of Publow by an old stone bridge having three arches which spanned the Chew Since Stanton Drew lay equidistant from both Pensford and Chew, there was a local rhyme

> 'Stanton Drew
> A mile from Pensford, and another from Chew'

A rich and charming country it was through which ran the river Chew The surrounding hills were well cultivated, and at Pensford hanging orchards added beauty to the landscape Pleasant memories of such lovely rural scenery must always have remained with Locke and kept him deeply attached to his early home It is evident, too, from his correspondence that he had in the small towns along the Chew a wider circle of friends and more relatives than has heretofore been supposed The mention in it of such names as Babei, Strachey, and Jepp of Chew Magna, and of Cornelius Lyde in Stanton Drew, would indicate that Locke's earliest associations were with the most prominent families in this charming Somerset region In addition to surroundings which proved to be a refining influence, the healthful atmosphere of his home life, and particularly the wise discipline exercised there by his father, were necessarily calculated to have an abiding effect on his entire career

In 1646 Locke was sent to Westminster School, which he attended for the next six years The headmaster of the school at that time was the famous Dr Richard Busby, an ardent opponent of Cromwell It is not probable that students under such a master were permitted to see the execution of Charles I, who was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649, only a short distance away in Whitehall Palace yard, particularly as on the morning of that fateful day Robert Southwell had prayers in the school for the preservation of the life of the King During the period spent at this school Locke's attention was chiefly devoted to the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and

though he afterwards disapproved of the method of instruction as ill-suited for pupils without any intention of their future use, it is certain that he acquired thereby an excellent mastery of them An interesting light is thrown upon his view of the discipline of the school by the fact that he suggests[1] to Clarke in later years that ' " if his son were sent there " he would perhaps be the more pliant and willing to learn at home afterwards '

From Westminster Locke went, in 1652, with a junior studentship to Christ Church at Oxford To Dr John Owen, the Puritan dean of this college, he owed much both from precept and example The advocacy by this dean of the freedom of different religious beliefs within the same state was a principle afterwards embodied by Locke in his letters on toleration For Edward Pococke, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic, and the most outspoken Royalist in the university, he had also an affectionate regard, which revealed in him a softening of his inherited puritanism In disputations, according to his college friend, James Tyrell, he spent no more time than he could help But it was chiefly the study of Descartes which gave him a ' relish for philosophical things ' The clearness of the writings of this philosopher led him to believe that his dislike of most other metaphysicians may have been due to their obscurity of expression rather than to any defect of his own understanding. Locke certainly profited by the example of Descartes' clearness, as in lucidity of style he has few rivals among philosophers Nevertheless, his Oxford years were not regarded by him as particularly fruitful What he says of them is doubtless true, that he learned more at Oxford from intercourse with men than from books Evidently, too, he acquired a profound attachment for the university, since his loyalty to it never wavered, even when later it was most severely tested

Locke's tenure of the junior studentship of Christ Church ended in 1659, but his election that year to a senior studentship, tenable for life, made it possible for him to remain in connection with the university Soon afterwards he was appointed to a lectureship in Greek and rhetoric in Christ Church He also held, between 1661 and 1664, the censorship of moral philosophy in the college These offices were ordinarily filled by clergymen, but Locke, after much reflection, finally decided to pursue the

[1] Locke to Clarke, 26th Feb 1691-2

study of medicine He never, however, received the degree of doctor of medicine, and, moreover, never having taken a regular medical course, he had difficulty in obtaining, in 1674, the bachelor's degree in that subject The truth is, that whatever subject Locke became deeply interested in he pursued as an independent inquirer For this reason scientific research and medical experimentation greatly attracted him The practice of medicine he began at Oxford before 1666 with Dr David Thomas, an intimate friend, who belonged to and who later settled in the town of Salisbury He continued medical work, though intermittently and chiefly in an advisory way, for a considerable period, and long after he had abandoned the medical profession as a means of livelihood, he stood ready to advise his friends in regard to their health Medical advice, indeed, may be found in his letters to some of those who were most intimate with him to the very close of his life

In 1664 Locke appears to have engaged for the first time in public affairs The desire to increase the strength of England through diplomacy during the first Dutch War had led to the appointment of an embassy to the Elector of Brandenburg, of which Sir Walter Vane was elected to be the King's envoy Of this mission Locke was chosen to act as secretary at Cleve, and while here he wrote several letters descriptive of the social life of the place to John Strachey of Sutton Court These letters prove him to have been in constant touch with the friends of his youth, for Strachey, born in 1634, only two years after the philosopher, lived in the neighbouring parish of Magna Chew The two doubtless had met also at Oxford, for Strachey matriculated at Lincoln's College in 1653, when Locke was a student at Christ Church After leaving Oxford, Strachey had come into the possession of the manor of Sutton Court through the purchase of it by his mother, Elizabeth, widow of her third husband, Edward Baber This purchase his mother had made in the first instance for the use of a son Samuel by her first husband, Samuel Jepp This son having died without male issue, she thereupon settled it on John, the son of her second husband, William Strachey To John Strachey at Sutton Court Locke made various visits prior to the death of his friend in 1674 Of Cleve he thus writes to him 'What private observations I have made will be fitter for our table at Sutton than a letter, and if I

have the opportunity to see you shortly we may possibly laugh together at some German stories '[1]

After Locke returned to England in February, 1666, he had two additional offers of diplomatic positions in Spain, but instead he resolved to take up his former mode of life at Oxford Before doing so, in March and April he paid the visit to Strachey at Sutton Court, which he had already promised While in Somersetshire he was able to look after the property he had inherited at Belluton by the death of his father, as well as that at Pensford which had come to him by the death of his brother Thomas Early in May, 1666, he took up his residence at Christ Church, and resumed the study and practice of medicine

During the summer of the year 1666, an incident occurred which had an important bearing on the philosopher's whole future career In July Lord Ashley, afterwards the first Earl of Shaftesbury, had come to Oxford to drink the waters of the neighbouring village of Astrop Ashley had appealed for advice in regard to his health to Dr Thomas, with whom he had an acquaintance, which may have been due to the fact that they were born respectively at St Giles and Salisbury, which were places not far apart Dr Thomas, being in London, wrote to Locke to advise Ashley in his stead The companionship of Ashley and Locke, which was brought about in this accidental way, gave the men such mutual pleasure that his Lordship invited Locke to London to serve as a physician in his household After another visit to his friends in the spring of the following year he accepted the offer, and made his home at Exeter House, Lord Ashley's London residence Much more important than the duties of a physician which he had undertaken, was the position Locke gradually attained here of confidential adviser to Lord Ashley, both in private and public affairs Through Ashley he received the appointment of Secretary to the founders of the Carolina Colony, and to the important share he had in the undertaking which was thus initiated in the New World, the provisions for religious liberty contained in the fundamental constitution for the government of Carolina bear ample witness

The public business in which Locke thus came to be engaged proved a severe strain on his health He had inherited a weak-

[1] Locke to Strachey, in King's *Life of John Locke*, vol i p 50

ness of constitution which resulted in a chronic consumption, and he suffered also from periodical attacks of asthma All his life he maintained a constant battle with disease, and frequent vacations became necessary to him He still retained his studentship at Christ Church, and thus from time to time was accustomed to visit Oxford He also made occasional trips to Somersetshire One such visit took place in September, 1671, when he was probably again the guest of his friend Strachey at Sutton Court At this time he mentions meeting again his uncle, Peter Locke, who was a man of considerable importance in that locality With somewhat improved health he returned from Somersetshire to London The next year, however, he was compelled to take another recess in order to regain his health In September, 1672, as the guest of the Countess of Northumberland, he made his first visit to France His travelling companion on this trip was John Mapletoft, who was a former schoolfellow of his at Westminster, and who also later became a physician of repute, and one of Locke's intimate friends in London The vacation abroad was of short duration, but it is very evident that it was thoroughly enjoyed by Locke, from the humorous letter[1] he wrote about it in October, 1672, on his return, to John Strachey at Sutton Court

On the 23rd of April, 1672, Lord Ashley had been elevated to the peerage with the title of Earl of Shaftesbury, and on the 27th of September the new Earl had been made president of the Council of Trade and Plantations On the 17th of November, shortly after Locke came from Paris, the Earl was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England In this rapid rise of his patron to office Locke profited, for the new Chancellor made him his Secretary for the Presentation of Benefices, with an annual salary of £300, and in June, 1673, further promoted him to the Secretaryship of the Board of Trade with an income of £500 But the duties of public office were never able to divert the attention of Locke entirely from intellectual pursuits Thus early in 1672, as we learn from a letter of Strachey, he was engaged on the subject of economical science In the autumn of that year, by a visit to France his thoughts were also directed towards a philosophical task In Paris he became acquainted

[1] Locke to Strachey, Oct 1672 The postscript contains the first reference to Locke's cousin Jepp

with a new work of the philosopher Pierre Nicole (1625-1693), entitled *Essais de Morale* Much impressed with the ethical worth of Nicole's book, he translated three of its essays into English, though apparently the translations were not at first made with a view to publication, as in the early part of 1673 he merely sent them for perusal, with many expressions of esteem, to Lady Shaftesbury

Never was Locke so deeply engaged in public matters or in philosophical pursuits that he was not willing to assist in the matrimonial affairs of his relatives and friends He had already accompanied young Lord Ashley, afterwards the second Earl of Shaftesbury, on his visit in 1669 to the Earl of Rutland at Belvoir, in the course of which Ashley selected for his future wife Lady Dorothy Manners When this Ashley's son, who afterwards became the third Earl and a philosopher, reached early manhood, Locke recommended to him as a wife a young lady who was 'handsome, well-natured, well-bred and discreet' In like manner, just before his departure for France on the 16th of September, 1673, we find him writing to John Strachey of his own cousin Mary Jepp, that Sir Walter Vane, uncle to the young knight Sir William Pelham, had received the proposition he made concerning her very kindly A few months later he adds [1] that he hopes shortly to see Mary Jepp Sir William Pelham's lady and a neighbour His hope of a knight, however, as husband to his cousin was not to be gratified Instead, Mary Jepp became the wife of Edward Clarke And by this marriage there resulted a life-long intimacy between the philosopher Locke and the parliamentarian Clarke

The Clarke family had long been connected with Somersetshire During the stormy period of the middle of the seventeenth century, when Charles I strove to maintain his power against the onslaught of the Parliamentary forces, the fiery Prince Rupert held for the Royalist cause the four western counties of England The Prince at length, however, was forced to flee before the victorious army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and to seek refuge as an exile in France Among the officers who fought with the Prince was a gentleman belonging to Bradford, a village between Taunton and Wellington, in the county of Somerset, whose name was Edward Clarke On the defeat of

[1] Locke to Strachey, 18th Jan 1674

the Royalist forces this officer was carried as a prisoner to London, and his Somersetshire estate was confiscated He thereupon petitioned Parliament to receive the benefit of the ordinance passed on the 23rd of February, 1645, to suspend sequestrations to such as should compound for delinquency at Goldsmith Hall His petition was granted, and on the 6th of December of that year, having freely and fully taken the National Covenant and subscribed to the same, Clarke was released from custody Edward Clarke had a son, also named Edward, who married for his second wife Elizabeth Lottisham,[1] the owner of Chipleigh House This ancient Somerset manor was in the small parish of Nynehead, lying between Milverton and Wellington It had received its name from a family of Chipleys, to whom it belonged until it passed by the marriage of Thomasne, sole daughter and heir of Thomas Chipleigh, to Robert Warre, second son of Richard Warre of Hestercombe The estate remained in the possession of the Warre family through several generations, until Mary, daughter and heiress of Edward Warre of Chipleigh Court, brought it by marriage to William Lottisham, Esq Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the Lottishams, having no issue by her marriage with Edward Clarke, gave the manor of Chipleigh to Clarke's son by his first wife It was this younger or third Edward Clarke, grandson of the Royalist and the heir to Chipleigh, who became the friend and counsellor of Locke

Edward Clarke of Chipley was born in the year 1651,[2] and was thus nineteen years younger than John Locke He matriculated at Wadham College, in Oxford, on the 30th of March, 1667, when he was sixteen years of age, and as Locke had entered Christ Church in 1652, the two were not contemporaries during their university careers In 1673 Clarke became a barrister of the Inner Temple, in London This was the year after Locke had returned from his first visit to France, and the time he became Secretary to the newly-established Council of Trade and Plantations The young barrister, who was in the early twenties, and the philosopher, who had already passed forty, had now probably their first opportunity of becoming thoroughly

[1] She was born in 1625 and died in 1667

[2] The date 1651 is based upon the Oxford records, but according to the parish record in Nynehead the date of the birth would be 1649, as it is there stated he died in 1710, *aet* 61

acquainted Their social intercourse would be a natural consequence of their belonging to the same county and of their having attended the same university Whether Locke, after the failure of his attempt to secure the knight as a husband for his cousin Jepp, played the part of a matchmaker between this cousin and his youthful friend Clarke, we are not informed, but the well-known interest of the philosopher in the matrimonial fortunes of his friends would make the exercise of such goodwill on his part seem very probable The match, in any event, was a most suitable one, as the young people belonged to families of the same social status in the county of Somerset In 1675 Edward Clarke of Chipley married Mary Jepp of Sutton Court, and the newly-married couple went to reside for a period in London Naturally, thereafter, relations of a very intimate character developed between Locke and Clarke

In March, 1675, Shaftesbury ceased to be Chancellor, and Locke in consequence lost the office of Secretary to the Council of Trade, of which the Earl had been president This friend and patron, however, settled upon the philosopher a pension under the favourable terms of one hundred pounds a year for life But this was not a gift, for Locke afterwards informs[1] Clarke, that it was paid for with all he had done for him for ten or a dozen of the best years of his life, and that moreover he had purchased the full annuity by the payment of a stated sum At the same time Locke wrote[2] to Lord Ashley that the two things he loved most were his grandfather and quiet The Earl, as it would appear, not meeting with other opportunity for an annuity, offered to bestow it himself This pleased Locke greatly, who referred the whole matter to him both for price and security As a result the annuity was obtained, for which Locke paid £800 and received as security Kingston Farm at St Giles in Dorset Thus the first Earl displayed his kindness to Locke not by a direct financial gift, but by securing to him for life through an annuity in return for payment of money the freedom and ease which he so much desired The annuity came as a real relief to one, as he says of himself, 'now broken with business' Set free from all financial anxiety, but now suffering more than usual from his

[1] Locke to Clarke, 11th March, 1692

[2] Locke to Lord Ashley, 11th March, 1692

chronic malady, the philosopher left London in November for his second visit to France

Locke's sojourn in France on this occasion lasted four years, from 1675 to 1679 This period he spent chiefly in study and travel Until March, 1677, he lived at Montpellier, a famous health resort and the seat of an important medical school Here he became acquainted with Thomas Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, to whom in 1690 he dedicated his *Essay on the Human Understanding* He then went to Paris, where he resided until the beginning of July, 1678 In Paris he made the acquaintance of Nicholas Thoynard, an eminent scientist, and of Dr Guenellon, a famous physician of Amsterdam Leaving Paris he went to the south of France with the intention of going to Rome, but was deterred from so doing by the dangers of the pass over Mt Cenis After having visited both Bordeaux and Lyons, he returned about the middle of November, 1678, to Paris, and here he remained several months, in the company of his literary and scientific friends Departing from Paris on the 22nd of April, 1679, he arrived in London eight days later

While in France Locke kept a journal which gives interesting accounts of the impressions he received during his travels He also when abroad carried on a generous correspondence with his friends Among others he wrote to John Mapletoft, who had been with him in 1672 on his earlier visit to France, and who had in March, 1675, become a professor at Gresham College Mapletoft was about to marry, and Locke desired to succeed him, if the professorship he held were to be vacated To Denis Granville, a famous Jacobite divine and philosopher, he also wrote three interesting letters, in which he discussed the subject of a conflict of duties Another to whom he wrote was Thomas Stringer, secretary of the Earl of Shaftesbury, his letters to whom chiefly concerned the private and public affairs of the Earl, who had been committed to the Tower of London in the middle of February, 1676-7, for his opposition to the intrigues of the court party On the 3rd of July, 1677, Stringer writes 'our old friend is still in limbo,' and in the Tower the Earl remained for seven months longer In an earlier letter of the 5th of June, 1676, Stringer also tells Locke that Mrs Clarke has been delivered of a son, and 'methinks looks prettily for a mother' The child whose birth is here mentioned was Edward, the eldest son of

Clarke, for whose benefit Locke later wrote the famous letters on education

On his return from France, Locke made his home at Thanet House, the new residence of Shaftesbury in London Through a political crisis in the spring of 1679 the Earl had become president of a reorganized Privy Council, and again desired the advice of Locke on all affairs of public importance But, in addition to political service, Locke now found time alike for literary and social engagements He renewed associations with former friends, such as Thomas Herbert, who later became Earl of Pembroke, the Countess of Northumberland and her second husband, the Earl of Montagu, Thomas Sydenham, the famous physician, John Mapletoft and Robert Boyle Through discussion with these and other kindred spirits he sought to clarify his views in the domain of philosophy Of social visits he records a fortnight spent in June, 1679, with Thomas Stringer at Bexwells in Essex, and then, after two months at Thanet House, he went on the 9th of August to visit with a sick friend, Mr Beavis, who lived at Olantigh in Kent At Olantigh he himself became ill, and was detained there until the 3rd of October After his return to London, owing to continued ill-health he went in December to Oxford, where he again took up student quarters at Christ Church, having been absent four and a half years A little later he went to Somersetshire, where he spent several months It is most probable that he then visited Edward Clarke and his wife at Chipley for the first time after their marriage

In the spring of 1680 Locke returned to London, and during the rest of the year lived chiefly at Thanet House Confined to the city by his duties as physician and political adviser of Shaftesbury, he seems to have been anxious to get away from town as much as possible, and for short periods he was able to do so He went down to St Giles with Lord Shaftesbury for a part of July, and on his way back spent a week with Dr Thomas at Salisbury In September he had another week of vacation at Alsford in Kent A month later he was at Oxford In November he wrote to Thoynard from London that he expected again to visit France, but in this desire he was disappointed, as he was also in the hope that Thoynard might visit him in England In January, 1680-81, he went from London to Oakley in Bucking-

hamshire to visit his friend James Tyrell, and while there was asked by Shaftesbury to find lodgings for his use at Oxford in March during the meeting of the new Parliament to be held in that place. In spite of illness he proceeded to Oxford and carried out the request of the Earl From February until the end of May he carried on his literary tasks at his student's quarters in Christ Church He was in London in the middle of June, and was probably at Thanet House on the 2nd of July when Shaftesbury for the second time was arrested and sent to the Tower About the end of August he returned once more to the city from Oxford, and was doubtless with the Earl during his trial and acquittal in November During the remainder of the year 1681 and throughout the following year and a half he lived at Oxford, but made occasional visits to London

Upon Locke's return from one of these London visits he received a letter dated the 14th of February, 1682, from Clarke, in which the writer expresses regret at being deprived of the happiness of his company This letter is the first, so far as extant, of a correspondence which continued uninterruptedly until the close of Locke's life Nearly three months later, on the 7th of May, Locke writes a letter to Mrs Clarke, who was then in London, and in a postscript asks that his humble service be given to her 'overhead neighbour' Mrs Clarke replies that it is difficult to believe that the fine words in it are not intended for her 'pretty overhead neighbour who deserves them all' The allusion here is apparently to Damaris Cudworth, who was the daughter of Dr Ralph Cudworth, the Cambridge theologian and philosopher With her mother Miss Cudworth was accustomed to make visits in London, and Locke met her on several of these occasions 'My first acquaintance with him,' Miss Cudworth writes of Locke, 'began when he was past the middle age of man and I but young I can only truly pretend to have known him since his return from Holland [in 1689], though before his leaving England in 1683 I had for a great part of above two years conversed frequently with him, and he favoured me sometimes with his correspondence in Holland' The attractions of this young lady for the philosopher apparently did not escape the observation of Mrs Clarke, and doubtless led to her playful remark quoted in the aforementioned letter

Although Locke met Mrs Cudworth and her daughter at various times in London, there is never any mention of Dr Cudworth's being there with them He probably remained in Cambridge, and as he died in 1688, while Locke was in Holland, it is not likely the two philosophers ever met The acquaintance between Locke and his daughter, however, in the process of time deepened into a most beautiful friendship Locke discovered in Damaris Cudworth 'a soul not of the ordinary alloy,' and she sat loyally at his feet as a pupil Miss Cudworth had inherited from her father a great fondness for philosophical study, but from his neo-Platonism under the influence of Locke she gradually diverged It is not strange that her thought should have been much influenced by Locke, for during the last thirteen years of his life, as Lady Francis Masham, she had the delight and privilege of having him reside in her home at Oates in Essex

Shaftesbury, who, prior to his imprisonment, had been content with the assertion of the claim of the Duke of Monmouth to the throne, on being released from the Tower, the 24th of November, 1681, immediately began an attempt to secure his succession In such plots, which continued throughout the spring and summer of 1682, Locke apparently had no part There can be no doubt, however, that he was already under suspicion, since as early as the 14th of March, 1682, Humphrey Prideaux writes to John Ellis from Oxford 'John Locke lives a very cunning, unintelligible life here, living two days in town and three out and no one knows where he goes, or when he returns Certainly there is some Whig intrigue a-managing, but not a word of politics comes from him, nothing of news or anything else concerning our present affairs, as if he were not at all concerned in them'[1] The absence of letters written by Locke during the summer of 1682 may well have been due to his desire to avoid any connection with the ill-timed conspiracy In September the plotting was disclosed, and the Duke of Monmouth was arrested Shaftesbury now occupied a precarious position, and went into hiding in Wapping On the 26th of October, 1682, Clarke writes to Locke 'Your friends in the city are very desirous of your company I have reason to believe that all circumstances considered they have now as

[1] *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis* pp 129, 131

much need as ever of the best advice and assistance of their wisest and truest friends, in which number I am sure you deserve the first place' During the time the Earl was preparing for his flight Locke visited Clapham to look after the health of the grandson, little Anthony Ashley, afterwards the third Earl of Shaftesbury From Harwich, on the 25th of November, the first Earl escaped to Holland At Amsterdam, soon after his arrival, he was taken ill, and there he died on the 28th of January, 1683

When the news of Shaftesbury's death reached England, Locke was again at Clapham, being kept there by his own illness, but attended, however, the burial of the Earl at Wimbourne St Giles, on the 26th of February, 1683 Before his flight into Holland, Shaftesbury had conveyed to Clarke and others certain property for the separate use of his wife during his lifetime, and after his death for her sole use This is strong evidence of the confidence that the Earl had in the business ability of Clarke Locke, who remained at St Giles for a short time after the funeral, writes on 2nd of March to Clarke that Lady Shaftesbury is very sensible of his kindness to her, and that affairs go on so well that he need not expect any summons from him to come down The death of Shaftesbury was no doubt keenly felt by Locke, as in after years he wrote to the third Earl of the great love he had borne his grandfather Pierre Coste, who became the literary assistant of Locke, in an account of the philosopher particularly mentions Locke's high opinion of Shaftesbury's knowledge of men, and his admiration for the Earl's presence of mind in any critical event

Since Locke was known to have been a warm friend and adviser of Shaftesbury, the clouds of suspicion began soon after the Earl's death to thicken about the philosopher Apprehending that he was no longer safe in England, he set about preparations to leave the country After visiting his friend Dr Thomas at Salisbury, from the 25th to the 27th of March, on his way from St Giles to London, he now made presumably his last stay in the city for six years In London on this occasion he renewed his acquaintance with Damaris Cudworth, for he writes on the 27th of April to Dr Thomas Cudworth, who resided in India, of the happiness he has had in the conversations with his sister and of the favours she had done him The months of

May and June were spent in Oxford, where he was doubtless able to make arrangements for a long absence from the University He then went down to Somersetshire to attend to affairs at his early home, and to visit his friend Clarke at Chipley On the 24th of August he was at Purton, but hoped soon to go to London. At this date Mr and Mrs Clarke were at Sutton Court with Mrs Strachey on their way to the city Locke, however, in order better to conceal his movements, instead of going to London proceeded to Salisbury At the home of Dr Thomas on the 26th of August, 1688, he writes a letter to Clarke, which he forwards by his host, giving minute instruction in regard to his business The annuity payable by Lady Shaftesbury he assigns in trust to Dr Thomas, and if there be occasion to Mr Tyrell 'Pray talk with Dr Thomas,' too, he adds, 'about the best way of securing the books and goods at Christ Church if there be any danger' Mention is made of his cousins John Bonville and Mrs Grigg, and of Dr Thomas Blomer, who was the husband of still another cousin, a sister of Mrs Grigg He gives the power of attorney to Mr P Percival the banker, and makes a will in which he leaves the legal control of his property to Clarke With the final details of all business affairs in England thus duly arranged, the philosopher now seeks refuge in Holland

Locke must have been fully settled in Amsterdam in the month of September, 1683, since on the 21st of November he sends word to Clarke that he begins to be pained at his silence, 'the latest date' he has from him being the 3rd of October. This note thus contains the implication that Clarke had previously written him other letters What most sensibly touches him, Locke adds, is absence from a man he so loves and esteems He intends, he says, to apply himself to the study of physic by the fireside during the winter, and he wants to know whether Dr Sydenham has published anything that year At Amsterdam he was welcomed by Dr Peter Guenellon, whose acquaintance he had first made when in Paris, and through him he was introduced to the men of letters and representatives of the various other professions in this important centre of Dutch culture He began, too, at this time a life-long friendship with Philip van Limborch, one of the chief European theologians of the period

Holland became Locke's sanctuary for more than five years But that he had no expectation of so long a sojourn there when he went abroad is clearly seen from the remark he made to Mrs Clarke in December, 1683, that he would have a turn in their 'turnip grove' next summer, and also by the invitation from her on the 1st of July, 1684, to visit Chipley in case he 'makes England happy by his presence this summer' During this period abroad he was very careful to omit from his letters all political references 'If I should, contrary to my custom,' he tells Clarke in March, 1684, 'write news, I should tell you that I think an evil spirit possesses people everywhere Here too people are writing against one another as hot as may be, and there are every day pamphlets published here that deserve as well to be burnt as the "History of the Growth of Popery," or "No Protestant Plot," or the like in other places' The exceeding caution of Locke to protect himself and his friends from any danger from their correspondence is manifest by the fact that the signature of Clarke has been cut or erased from all the letters written by him to the philosopher in Holland In place, too, of Clarke's name Locke has sometimes inserted the words 'cousin Somerton,' a name doubtless suggested by the original designation of the county of Somerset where his friend lived Since public affairs are thus excluded at this time from the correspondence of the men, their letters naturally take on a more intimate and personal tone Locke gives Clarke much friendly advice concerning the care of the estate at Chipley As to its new manor, he had never seen a house he 'thought so prudently built' He was much interested in planning the walks, and in the introduction of abele and lime trees from Holland It was a mistake of the factor in sending turnip seeds for those of lime trees that leads him at a later time to speak of the latter as the 'turnip grove' To Mrs Clarke he writes[1] concerning the proper care of her daughters Elizabeth or Betty, a child but little more than a year old, he speaks of as his 'little mistress' and a little later as 'his wife' Thus early began the beautiful relationship, which continued as long as he lived, between the bachelor and the child It was a devotion possible only to one who was very fond of children, and in whose nature there was unusual tenderness On the 19th of July, 1684,

[1] Locke to Mrs Clarke, 7th Jan 1684

we have the first of the remarkable series of letters written to Clarke for the benefit of his son Edward, and which were afterwards printed in the form of a treatise entitled *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693)

Starting from Amsterdam on the 6th of August, 1684, Locke made a tour for three months through the seven provinces of Holland He much enjoyed this outing, and in the course of it he wrote Thoynard in Paris that 'he had not for many years felt better' Upon his return to the Dutch capital in November he received a summons to appear at Oxford to answer any charges that might be made against him, but before it was possible for him to make the journey the news came of his expulsion from the studentship of Christ Church This action was due to a false accusation brought against him that he had written certain libellous pamphlets which had come out of Holland In a letter [1] to the Earl of Pembroke dated the 3rd of December, 1684, he says 'I have often wondered in the way that I lived, and the make I know myself of, how it could come to pass that I was made the author of so many pamphlets, unless it was because I of all my Lord's family happened to have been bred among books' To Clarke he ascribes the mischievous suspicion of him on this occasion as due to the fact that he had been much alone in his chamber during the preceding winter, when it was thought he was writing libels, whereas he was busy about his *Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding* 'I wish all that I have writ here,' he also writes,[2] 'were seen by those who most suspect me and wish ill to me (if there be any such), for I deserve it from nobody They would then see my head employed about speculations remote enough from any public and political concerns, and so not teeming with anything for the press here For I tell you again, with that truth which should be sacred betwixt friends, that I am not the author of any treatise or pamphlet in print, good, bad, or indifferent, and you may be sure how I am used when people talk so falsely Two or three copies of verses indeed there are of mine in print, as I have formerly told you, and these have my name to them But as for libels, I am so far from writing any that I take care not to read anything that looks

[1] This letter, which formerly belonged to the Nynehead Collection is now in the Library of Christ Church College It has been printed by Sir William Osler in *The Oxford Magazine* 12th March, 1914

[2] Locke to Clarke, 1st Jan 1685

that way I avoid all commerce about them, and if a letter from a friend should have in it but the title or mention of any libel I should think it a sufficient reason to burn it immediately, whatever else of importance there might be in it, and to quarrel with him that writ it' His innocence gave him hopes that he would regain his studentship, otherwise he would dispose of his books at Christ Church For the present, however, he desires that neither Lord Pembroke, Mr Somers, nor any of his friends should appeal to the King for clemency, lest by too much haste the benefit of their assistance be lost afterwards at a more opportune time

The death of Charles II on the 6th of February, 1685, which was followed by the accession of James II, led to the insurrection of the Duke of Monmouth, and thereby created new dangers both for Locke and Clarke In the previous December Locke had removed from Amsterdam to Utrecht in order to escape contact with those having political designs, and also to enjoy the quiet of a university town There at the home of Mynheer van Gulick he made diligent use of his pen Notwithstanding all such proper precautions, however, his name was included on the 7th of May, 1685, in a list of those in Holland whose surrender was demanded by England as plotters against the peace of the nation Returning to Amsterdam he went into hiding at the home of Dr Veen, the father-in-law of his friend Dr Peter Guenellon, and even adopted as a disguise the name of Dr van der Linden His pardon was sought by his friends, among whom was William Penn, but he declined to accept their favour, as he said he had no occasion for a pardon, having been guilty of no crime

Meanwhile Clarke had suffered greater misfortune even than Locke On the 8th of June, 1685, he was taken into custody because it was suspected 'he held correspondence with traitors' The warrant for his arrest was issued by Robert, Earl of Sunderland, who had previously ordered Locke's expulsion from Christ Church Clarke petitioned the King for release, since his father had been a sufferer in the late rebellious times, and as he had not (however misrepresented) done or said anything to incur his Majesty's displeasure He was willing also to give proper security for the continuance of his loyalty The petition was addressed to the Right Hon George Lord Jeffreys, who was

Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and resulted in his release after bonds had been given for his appearance before his Majesty's Commissioner when he should be summoned

Political suspicion still kept Locke, who was possibly of a somewhat timorous nature, moving from place to place in Holland He writes to Clarke on the 1st of September, 1685 'I am just now packing to go, I know not whither, to find, if I can, a place to enjoy my health with quiet. For, I cannot but think it an odd persecution of my stars that I, who meddle with no affairs but my own, that seeking nothing but retirement and books to pass the remainder of my time in an air that favours my health cannot be permitted' At this juncture he chose Cleve for the purpose of quiet and study For some unknown reason, however, this retreat proved a disappointment to him, and after a few weeks' sojourn there he returned to his old hiding-place in Amsterdam In this city he resided nearly twelve months, from November, 1685, to September, 1686 During this time he became acquainted through Limborch with Jean Le Clerc Inasmuch as Le Clerc was both a critic and a philosopher he thoroughly appreciated the value of Locke's writings, and as editor of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* sought from his pen contributions to its pages The ultimate publication of Locke's great *Essay concerning the Human Understanding* was directly forwarded by the printing of an abstract of it in French in this periodical As Locke was always the most modest of men regarding the merits of his intellectual work, the world is much indebted to this literary friend for what it has received from the English philosopher In addition to writing in Le Clerc's periodical, Locke continued to send to Clarke the letters concerning the education of his son, which are comprised in *Some Thoughts concerning Education* In return Clarke spared no amount of time in attendance on Locke's business, and particularly in connection with that 'slow man,' his cousin Stratton in Somerset 'Such lawyers as you are take no fees,' Locke wrote to him Since their labours were always on both sides prompted solely by love, we find at a later time Locke telling Clarke 'I am sure that I loved you above all other men'

On the 22nd of September, 1686, Locke went again to Utrecht, with the evident intention of making a long stay In

December, however, he returned suddenly to Amsterdam, apparently for political reasons For one who sought only retirement to pursue his philosophical inquiries, the necessity for such constant change was certainly a hard fate At Amsterdam he became the guest for two months of Dr Guenellon Here he sends to Clarke a new will, and asks that his former one be burned This will in turn was destroyed, and a new one was made by him in 1690 Among his visitors in Holland at this time was John Freke, a London barrister, who was called to the Middle Temple in 1676 In Locke's correspondence with Clarke, Freke is often mentioned familiarly as 'the bachelor' The friendship existing between these three men was always of the most intimate kind On returning from Holland a little later Freke reported to Clarke that Locke had thoughts of soon coming back to England

In January of 1687, Locke left Amsterdam and went to Rotterdam, which then became his most permanent abode for the remainder of his stay in Holland In this city he lived nearly two years in the home of Benjamin Furly, a Quaker merchant, for whose acquaintance he was indebted to Clarke In the summer of 1687, however, he made a visit to Amsterdam, and here he added to his discourse on education, since, as he says,[1] little versed in the subject when he began, he has lately been living in a house where there are children to observe and write about Affairs of a personal nature enliven the correspondence with Clarke on his return in August to Rotterdam John Strachey, the owner of Sutton Court, had died in 1674, and a cousin of Locke, possibly not without ambitions, it appears, had fallen in love with his widow Jane 'Let me tell you,' writes[2] Clarke to Locke, 'that my aunt Strachey continues still a widow, notwithstanding the constant solicitation of her importunate love, your cousin Lyde, who despises all the rest of womankind in comparison with her, and still renews his daily addresses to her with as much confidence as if he had never been rejected' A son of John Strachey, Clarke writes, is at Trinity College in Oxford The young man, he says, is very like his father in person and humour, and it is hoped may inherit his virtue and wisdom A daughter, he adds, is receiving the best education

[1] Locke to Clarke, 15th July, 1687
[2] Clarke to Locke, 29th Sept 1687

Bristol has to offer When Locke received this letter in Rotterdam early in October he was just beginning to recover from the most severe illness he had suffered while abroad For the most part, however, the climate of Holland proved beneficial to his health

Locke's last visit to Amsterdam was made in December and the two following months of 1687-8 His special object in the visit was to print the abstract of his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* in Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle* for January, 1687-8 The publication of the entire work also was evidently in his thoughts, as over a portrait he desired to have for it there now arose the one dispute which mars this correspondence In his Journal he wrote as early as the 8th of June, 1679, on his return from France, that the things he had left with Mr Stringer at Thanet House were found at Exeter House, whither Shaftesbury had removed, except his picture which had been taken by the secretary to his home at Bexwells To Cluke he writes on the 9th of March, 1688 'When I print my book, as I think now I shall, I would have my picture before it, therefore, pray get the picture they [Thomas and Susan Stringer] have of mine up to town whilst you are there' This picture Clarke tried to secure, but Stringer and his wife were resolved not to part with it They claimed that it was a gift to them But Locke maintained that he never could have given it away, as he always proposed to have it in his chamber when he came to settle at Oxford The controversy in the matter became somewhat acrimonious, and Stringer styled Locke in large letters a "makebate" Ultimately the difficulty was adjusted, and a print of the picture was obtained for Locke's work

At the close of February, 1688, Locke resumed his enjoyable home life at Rotterdam Here with his mum-drinking companions at the Lantern [1] he often found a pleasant relief from his more serious pursuits The visits of friends, too, from England gave him much delight Lord Ashley was evidently his companion during part of the three years (1686-89) spent by the young nobleman in travel on the Continent, inasmuch as Lady Shaftesbury sent £20 to Locke to buy books for her son's use when abroad Clarke also planned to join Locke at this time, in spite of the increase of his business responsibilities Mrs King, the

[1] One of the clubs Locke delighted to form

mother of Locke's cousin, the future Lord-Chancellor King, had died in June, 1688, and left him in charge of a trust fund for her children An own cousin of Clarke's likewise died and left him guardian of four more children Locke writes to Clarke humorously on the 23rd of June 'I see your stock of orphans increases every day Worth and honesty I see produces children as well as love and matrimony I am your eldest charge' Later in the summer of 1688 Clarke and his wife were able to come to Holland Locke's 'wife' also accompanied them, for afterwards he speaks of gallant Peter of Rotterdam and the youthful Paul of Amsterdam as rival admirers of her Undoubtedly it is to these guests that Locke refers when he writes on [10-]20th July, 1688, to Limborch 'I am interrupted by the arrival of friends[1] from England' Their visit may have extended through the month of August After they returned to England the correspondence is renewed in a pleasant vein 'When I consider,' Locke writes to Clarke on the 19th of October, 1688, 'what return I make to madam for those flowers she throws on me in hers of the 29th of September my cheeks (as cold as I am) glow with shame She knows that I am the pitifullest gallant in the world She will not think it much beside the matter, if I make my addresses to her like old father winter crowned with turnips and carrots'

Locke's stay in Holland was now drawing to a close Whatever secrecy and avoidance of political activity he may have exercised during the earlier period of his residence abroad, it is very evident that in the later stages of it he was in touch with the movement in Holland for placing William of Orange on the English throne It was on the 1st of November, 1688 that Prince William set out for England He was accompanied by Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, a political friend of Locke's, who committed to him the care of Lady Mordaunt on her passage with Princess Mary from the Hague, when the Princess was summoned to join her husband Three months, however, passed after William landed at Torbay before he marched up to London During this period a Convention had been chosen, and the terms agreed upon for his accession to the throne On the receipt of this news Locke

[1] The doubts expressed by Fox Bourne as to the identity of the friends who did not allow Locke leisure for his favourite pastime of letter-writing are here removed Fox Bourne, *Life of John Locke*, vol II p 55

writes to Clarke on the 6th of February, 1688-9, but expresses wonder whether the letter or he will reach London first At the same time he remarks that he has seen the Prince's letter to the Convention, and gives it as his opinion that such a body can be only temporary, and is not to be regarded as a formal Parliament He looks forward, too, to the restoration of the ancient Government as 'the best possible that ever was' Nevertheless, he thinks Clarke ought to have stood for a seat in the Convention On the 12th of February Locke landed at Greenwich in company with Princess Mary and Lady Mordaunt, his sojourn in Holland having lasted nearly five and a half years He had now returned to spend the remainder of his life in England

The years spent by Locke in Holland proved the most fruitful of his entire career in educational and philosophical writing His famous treatise on education originated in this period in a series of letters addressed to Clarke concerning the proper method of instruction for his son The various stages through which this work passed before publication may be traced from their correspondence and from the copies of the sections devoted to education which accompanied Locke's letters The earliest directions for the youth are written in double columns and numbered paragraphs on the blank page of the sheet with Locke's letter to Clarke of the 19th of July, 1684 The instructions here begin in the same way as in the printed text with the language '*Mens sana in corpore sano* is a short but full description of the most desirable state we are capable of in this life' When the letters were forwarded to Clarke two copies [1] were made of the material which ultimately entered into the printed work on education One of the copies of the part which is termed the 'first chapter' of the book now belongs to the British Museum, and the other transcript is still in the Nynehead Collection The corrections and additions only of the texts are in Locke's handwriting The body of the texts is in the handwriting of a scribe (undoubtedly his servant Syll [2]) whom he employed to write the longer letters on the subject Verbal differences characterise the two copies There is also a difference in the

[1] The copy owned by the British Museum (Add MSS 38771) was purchased from the Nynehead Collection at Sotheby's, 28th July 1913 (Cat 195) It is endorsed 'Some directions concerning the education of his son sent to his worthy friend Mr Edward Clarke of Chipley, 1684'

[2] Sylvanus Brownover

number of the paragraphs, as those on costiveness and diet are omitted from the Nynehead copy Letters in Locke's own handwriting are also appended to each copy of 'the first chapter' In the letter [1] with the first copy the exact period of composition is given, and its faults are ascribed to his rambling in Holland In the letter [2] with the other copy he states that the instructions are made suitable to the early years of Clarke's son, and attributes any lack of form to the fact that they are written 'not as an author to the public, but as a friend in private' Locke also adds that if it be desired he will look forward some years in the child's life and proceed to write further Both of these copies of the 'first chapter' differ from the printed work by being written throughout in a more familiar style to Clarke and his

[1] Locke's letter added to the copy in the British Museum (Add MSS 38771) reads as follows

'SIR,

You will perceive by the careless style of these papers that I have minded usefulness more than ornament and by those repetitions and disjointed parts observable in them it will easily appear they were not writ all at one time I began them before my ramble this summer about these provinces, and thinking it convenient you should have them as soon as might be, I writ several parts of them as stay gave me leisure and opportunity anywhere in my journey, so that great distance of place and time intervening between the several parts often broke the thread of my thoughts and discourse And therefore you must not wonder if they be not well put together, and that must be my excuse for the faults in the method, order and connection But that which I chiefly beg of you concerning them is that though they were writ with the best intention and sincerest affection in the world, yet that you would not look on them under that character Let not kindness interest itself at all in the judgment you shall make of them For it being in so great concernment as your son let nothing but evident reason guide you I had much rather you should find mistake in my advice to you, than that you should mistake in your application to him Be therefore both you and your lady as severe as may be in examining these rules, doubt as much as you can of every one of them, and when upon a scrupulous review we have settled this part and supplied what possibly you may find wanting I shall be ready to talk my mind as freely to Madame concerning her daughters, if she continue to be of the mind that may be worth her patience to hear me

I am, dear Sir, your most humble and most obliged servant,

JOHN LOCKE'

[2] The following letter of Locke's is appended to the copy in the Nynehead Collection

'Thus you have my first chapter on this subject calculated to the age of your son is now of When reading it over altogether I find some repetitions which might well happen to one who (having so bad a memory as I) writ it so many days and miles distance as I did I have not troubled myself to mend this fault whereby you will perceive what things were settled in my mind And since I write not as an author to the public, but as a friend in private, I hope you pardon me if I have been less careful of giving it the form of a treatise than the usefulness I design it for, and therefore have been content to give you my thoughts in as plain words as I could as they offered themselves without ornament or order I cannot be confident but that many may be

wife 'Your son' of the manuscript becomes, for instance, 'a young gentleman' when printed Certain sections, too, are lengthened and new ones are added in the published work Except for the two short paragraphs on learning Latin, both manuscripts end with Section 155 of the printed work

In a letter of the 16th of January, 1685, Mrs Clarke writes to Locke that every particular of his instructions for the education of her son will be followed, and hopes that this will encourage him to write a second part Just as Locke was about to leave Amsterdam for Cleve in September, 1685, he sent a letter to Clarke containing remarks on cruelty and curiosity which were later included in the 'first chapter' When he returned again to Amsterdam in November he began to write on the second part, and the first instalment of the continued treatise he forwarded to Clarke with a letter written on the 8th of February, 1686 At the beginning of this letter Locke says 'The kind reception you have given to my former papers on this subject, and the desire you express that I should go on with it, gives me the confidence to proceed in my advice concerning the education of your son' The opening portion is in the minute handwriting of the earlier manuscript, and is evidently Syll's It discusses mainly the books in English fit for children's reading, and the proper method of learning Latin The text breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence The remaining portion, copied in the same handwriting as that which precedes, is not forwarded

omitted in it which deserves consideration I can only say I have set down all I thought on as necessary, and when anything else comes into my mind I shall take the liberty to mention it to you And now, though I tell you that I send it to a friend, yet do not you look on it as coming from one Let it be to you a discourse that fell into your hands by chance Consider not the author nor his affection to you, but the reason and truth of what you find in it So far as they appear and convince you, so far follow them and where anything sticks with you pray let me know For though I could forwardly venture to write on a subject a little out of my way, where I thought it might be in any way serviceable to you, yet I am not so vain as to think myself infallible in what I have written I aim at nothing but the advantage of your son and family What you find may conduce to that end receive for its own sake, not mine What you doubt or condemn pray tell me freely, and when we have settled this first chapter we will if you think it worth while, proceed on to the next step and look two or three years forward If I thought you not sufficiently assured of the sincerity wherewith I write, I should beg your pardon for the confidence and liberty I have used in it, but you know

I am, Sir,

Yours

J Locke

until the 15th of March In it Locke insists that languages are to be learned only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart He then passes on to the discussion of civil government, history, and various other branches as set forth in the printed treatise Having thus brought the young master to the age when he will be out of the control of masters and tutors, he is at the limit of what he set out to say concerning his education Nevertheless, he asks Clarke not to regard what he has written as a complete treatise,[1] since he will not hesitate later to write anything else on this subject which he may have omitted, or which may thereafter come into his thoughts

From the letter of Whitlock Bulstrode to Clarke, written on the 20th of November, 1689, it is evident that this treatise on education was kept from the public for several years, but that on several occasions a copy of it was privately loaned 'I hope,' Bulstrode says, 'this will find you, your lady, and little ones in good health, and in that perfection which your most ingenious friend makes mention of in his canon of wisdom We generally say that bachelors' wives and maids' children are ill-taught and governed, but the gentleman has writ so very curiously and with so great observation, that one would think the good education of children, and consequently the good of mankind, had been the sole application of his mind Truly 'tis a great pity that a piece so universally useful should be kept in private hands, and not communicated for the good of the public But I shall keep your commands sacred in this and all things' This estimate of its worth proved to be a correct one, since the emphasis which Locke was the first to place on the individual pupil as the main concern of the teacher has ever since played an important part in the history of education

In the dedication by Locke to Clarke of the printed treatise entitled *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, which is dated 7th March, 1690, he declares that the printing of the treatise is due to the importunity of friends, as otherwise, he says, 'the papers would have lain dormant in the privacy they were designed for' He writes, too, 'these thoughts do of right belong to you, being written several years since for your sake, and are no other than you have already by you in my letters I have so little

[1] Cf *Letters on Education*, Locke to Clarke, 19th July, 1684, 1st Sept 1685, 8th Feb 1686, 29th April, 1687, 15th July, 1687, 6th Feb 1688, 28th Jan 1689

varied anything, but only the order of what was sent to you at different times and on several occasions, that the reader will easily find in the familiarity and fashion of the style, that they were rather the private conversation of two friends than a discourse designed for public view' The verbal changes, as already stated, are of such a nature that the printed text is less intimate in style than the original letters The several parts of the discourse are, however, arranged in a much more orderly way than when communicated in letters to Clarke It was three years after the date of this dedication before the treatise on education was actually given to the public On the 22nd of July, 1693, Clarke acknowledges the gift of a copy on *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, and thanks the author for the friendship shown in dedicating the treatise to him

From Holland Locke brought back to England, fully completed, the great work of his life, entitled an *Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding* The sojourn abroad had given him an advantage in working on it which he believed he could not have had in England In a letter to Clarke dated the 31st of December, 1686, he says that it is five or six years since some friends upon an accidental discourse set him upon the *Enquiry* If this statement refers to the memorable meeting of several friends at his chamber for discussion, which gave the first entrance into this 'Discourse,' then it occurred in 1681 or 1682, instead of the winter of 1670-71, the date heretofore accepted Other philosophical discussions at dates earlier than 1681 may have led Lady Masham to place the time of meeting as in 1670-71 in the sketch of Locke's life which she sent to Jean Le Clerc on the 12th of January, 1704-5, and have led James Tyrell, one of the 'assembled friends,' to give it as 1673 in the margin of his own copy of the *Essay* now preserved in the British Museum. Essays on metaphysical topics which Locke wrote during his sojourn in France between 1675 and 1679 prove, moreover, that he was at that time reflecting on various phases of the problems of which he later gave developed expression in his *Essay* But the systematic examination of the human understanding, in contrast with any previous disconnected discussions or writings, apparently began, according to his own statement, from an accidental discourse with some friends in the year 1681 or 1682 From this date Locke says he is resolved 'to examine

humane understanding and the ways of knowledge, not by others' opinions, but by what I could from my own observations collect myself'

The task of the *Enquiry* was taken up by Locke immediately on going abroad in 1683, and was carried on during the first winter which he spent in Amsterdam It was his being much alone in his chamber at that time, and engaged, as he says, for the most part on his *Enquiry*, which caused in his belief the suspicion that he was engaged in writing libels The condition of the *Enquiry* when he thus resumed work on it abroad is set forth in a letter to Clarke on the 1st of January, 1684-5, in the winter he spent at Utrecht 'It had been,' he says, 'a subject I had for a good while thought on by catches and set down without method several thoughts upon as they had at distinct times and on several occasions come in my way, and which I was now willing in this retreat to turn into a less confused and coherent discourse, and add what was wanting to make my designs intelligible to such of my friends who had desired it of me, and to whom I had promised a sight of when it was a little out of the rubbish, and to that purpose had brought those papers along with me to this country'

As Locke proceeded in the task of the *Essay* under the shadow of the University of Utrecht, he wrote also an epitome of its contents which marks the stages in its progress Such an abstract may have aided somewhat in the revision and new formation of his 'old scattered notions' It enabled him to put them into a form in which one could see the 'design and connection of the parts' In February, 1685, he received word from Clarke that the Earl of Pembroke desired to see these reasonings *de intellectu humano* They had then grown to the extent of three quires of paper An abstract, which probably consisted of a paragraph on the first book and an epitome of the second, was sent forward in May for perusal by the Earl The epitome of the third book was not received by Clarke until the autumn of the next year, 1686 Clarke kept[1] it in readiness to be disposed of as directed, but secrecy[2] was enjoined as to its possession The fourth book was completed in December of the same year, when an epitome of it was also sent to Clarke 'You have here

[1] Clarke to Locke, 25th Nov 1686
[2] Clarke to Locke, 4th Dec 1686

at length,' Locke writes[1] to Clarke, 'the fourth and last book of my scattered thoughts concerning the understanding, and I see now more than ever that I have reason to call them scattered, since never having looked them over all together till this last part was done, I find the ill effects of writing in patches and at distant times, as the whole essay has been For there are so many repetitions in it, and so many things still misplaced, that though I venture it confused as it is to your friendship, yet I cannot think these papers in a condition to be showed anyone else, till by another review I have reduced them into yet better order Though bateing that, and the negligence of the style, you will find very little in the argument itself that I think for the matter of it needs altering' The modesty of Locke in regard to this great philosophical essay is evident from his statement to Clarke that the parts being now together if he judge it not like to profit much the commonwealth of letters, he is willing to content himself with his own speculations

When Locke was in Amsterdam in December, 1687, he received a request from Lord Pembroke to see the whole discourse at large of the *Essay*,[2] so pleased was he with the design of it, from the abstract which had been sent to him Clarke, thereupon, at the request of Locke, delivered to Pembroke his own copy of the full epitome, having first, however, removed all personal references written on it After the French translation of *De intellectu humano*[3] by Le Clerc appeared in January, 1687-88, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, two packets of the separately printed abridgments were sent to Clarke for distribution among various friends of Locke Two of these were stitched in marble paper, and the others were in loose sheets A copy, handsomely bound, was given to Lord Pembroke, who was pleased to have the epitome in French, and who promised when he had read it through to send his opinion concerning its contents Mr Boyle, Mr Freke, Nathaniel Hodges, a Mrs Duke, and Mrs Clarke also received copies of it Concerning the reply sent by Mrs Clarke for her gift, Locke writes to her

[1] Locke to Clarke, 31st Dec 1686 [2] Locke to Clarke 30th Dec 1687

[3] The English Abstract of the Essay is printed in Lord King's *Life of Locke*, Lond 1830 ii pp 231-293 Le Clerc's translation from the manuscript of this abstract was printed with additions in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et historique*, Amst 1688 pp 49-142

husband 'My little treatise has brought on me some compliments, but none better than that Madam will learn French to read it' Such was the success of the abridgment of the *Essay* in Le Clerc's periodical, that Locke in a letter of the 9th of March, 1688, says that he now thinks he will print the book itself

After Locke arrived in London he was busily engaged in giving to the world the fruits of his literary labours in Holland The *Essay concerning Human Understanding* at length came from the press in March, 1690 This book was the first of Locke's works that was not printed anonymously He dedicated it to his friend and patron the Earl of Pembroke, whom Berkeley describes twenty years later, in a similar dedication to him of his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, as 'that ornament and support of learning' The *Essay* quickly gained a wide popularity, calling for the publication of successive editions, and from the autumn of 1692 to the spring of 1694 Locke's time was chiefly taken up with correcting and improving its text In September, 1692, Locke asked[1] the assistance of his friend Molyneux in such 'revision, as he was resolved, since his notions had in some measure bustled through the opposition and difficulty they were like to meet with, to omit whatsoever was superfluous, and to fill up any gaps which might make it of greater use' In a letter[2] of renewed thanks for the dedication to him of *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, written in August, 1693, Clarke says he would interrupt for private matters the revision by Locke of his 'learned *Essay touching Human Understanding* which prevails wonderfully amongst all the men of any sense and understanding he converses with' In printing the second edition Locke was aided by both Freke and Clarke 'I delivered your letter to Mr Freke,' Clarke writes Locke on the 27th of March, 1694, 'who hath been with the booksellers now concerned in your Book of Understanding, and, as he tells me, they are both very respectful, and are and will be ready to do in the affair whatever you shall direct' In May, 1694, Locke was able to say to his friend Molyneux of this second and enlarged edition of the *Essay* 'My book is now printed and ready to be sent to you' In 1695 a third edition appeared Dr John Wynne, of Jesus College, Oxford, also desired to print an abridgment of it, and

[1] Locke to Molyneux, 20th Sept 1692, in *Familiar Letters*, p 9

[2] Clarke to Locke, 2nd Aug 1693

Locke asks [1] Freke to tell him what he knows of Wynne's character. As Freke's answer was favourable, Locke was not disposed 'to oppose or go about to hinder him,' [2] and the abridgment appeared in 1696 The fourth edition of the *Essay*, which was the last to be revised by Locke, was published in 1700

Two other books, the products of Locke's labours abroad, were precursors of the *Essay concerning the Human Understanding* One of these was the *Epistola de Tolerantia*, which was written in Latin in 1685 It was addressed to Limborch, and was printed at Gruda in Holland in March, 1689, shortly after Locke came to England A translation of it, in which Locke had no part, was made into English by William Popple, and appeared in London the following summer A *Second Letter on Toleration* supplemented this work in 1690, and a *Third Letter on Toleration* appeared in 1692 The other forerunner of the *Essay* was entitled *Two Treatises on Government* It appeared anonymously in 1692 The main purport of all these publications was the defence and extension of individual liberty The *Letters on Toleration* contained a vindication of individual freedom of religious life Of the *Two Treatises on Government*, the one was an argument against the divine right of kings, and the other a vindication of individual rights in civil affairs In the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* the intellectual freedom of the human mind forms the central theme of philosophical discussion

A month after Locke arrived from Holland he was offered the post of Ambassador to Brandenburg, this favour showing the esteem in which he was held by the new government. On the plea of ill health, however, Locke declined the offered post But a little later he accepted the more modest appointment of Commissioner of Appeals with a salary of £200 per annum For his friend Clarke he sought [3] to obtain the position of auditor to Queen Mary The salary accompanying this position was only £100, but the office was accepted 'as it gave entrance to the court and a position of influence before the country' In March, 1690, Clarke was elected Member of Parliament for Taunton, in his native county of Somerset, and took his seat in the first

[1] Locke to Freke, 11th March, 1695
[2] Locke to Freke, 2nd April, 1695
[3] Locke to Clarke, 13th April, 1689

session of the second Parliament of King William III. and Mary He continued to represent this constituency during eight Parliaments, of which the last was the second session of the second Parliament of Great Britain in 1709-10 in the reign of Queen Anne His parliamentary career covered a period of twenty years The influence which Locke exerted in the moulding of legislation during the remainder of his life was due not merely to his political tracts, but very largely to the direct agency of Clarke in Parliament

For two years after Locke returned to England he resided mainly in London, living in rented apartments at the house of Mrs Smithsby, in Dorset Court, Channel Row, Westminster He made occasional visits, however, during this time at the home of Lady Masham, at Oates, in the parish of High Laver, Essex His acquaintance with this lady had begun before he went to Holland, when she bore her maiden name of Damaris Cudworth, and during his life abroad their friendship had increased through correspondence and from their relations with Mrs Clarke[1] In 1685 Damaris Cudworth became the second wife of Sir Francis Masham, to whom belonged the old manor house of Oates The family included also her mother, who had become a widow by the death of Ralph Cudworth, the Cambridge philosopher, in 1688, her stepdaughter Esther, and her son Francis, born in 1686 One of the earliest of Locke's visits to Lady Masham must have been made a few months after his return from Holland, for he writes to Clarke on the 9th of May, 1689 'I am very glad to see "my wife" here' As 'wife' was the playful term which Locke so often used thereafter for Clarke's little daughter Elizabeth, the child had evidently joined him during the visit In the next year other visits are recorded Lord Bellamont, who desired Locke's aid to obtain the position of Lord Justice in Ireland, writes to Clarke on the 30th of August, 1690 'I have not seen Mr Locke since you left town He is still at Sir Francis Masham's house I wish you would write him to use his influence for me with Lord Monmouth' The entreaties of Sir Francis and Lady Masham had kept him longer on this visit than he had

[1] Damaris Cudworth writes to Mrs Clarke on the 20th of September, 1684, when Locke was in Holland, that she intends to spend the winter in London In another letter of October, 1684, she is pleased that Mrs Clarke expects to visit Cambridge Locke also writes to Mr Clarke in April and May, 1685, that he has received letters from Miss C

intended [1] to stay In October also of this year, affairs going so well in the house, he returns to the country, as he says [2] 'to enjoy there an uninterrupted satisfaction and quiet in contemplation of them' Apparently at this time he was engaged in writing, as he was anxious to finish what he came for before going back to town Christmas, too, of 1690 was spent by him at Oates, and Clarke was invited to join the company

Locke now contemplated a permanent removal from London to Oates During his visits, according to Lady Masham, he 'made trial of the air of the place' The smoke and fog of London he had found cruelly oppressive to his weak lungs The country life, too, in Essex he found most agreeable The old manor house at Oates had a pleasant location It was in quiet surroundings a mile distant from the little church of High Laver A country lane bordered with fine trees led up to the mansion The lawn in front of it was approached by a causeway built across a pond There were splendid shady trees and walks with rustic seats The grounds of the manor were surrounded by a moat, and hence it is spoken of in Locke's letters as 'the moated castle' But far more luring than these charms of a country life, in making a decision to leave the city was the welcome he received from Sir Francis and Lady Masham at Oates In the account of Locke's life written [3] after his death by Lady Masham to Le Clerc, she says 'His company could not but be very desirable, and he had all the assurances we could give him of being always welcome here, but to make him easy in living with us it was necessary he should do so on his own terms, which Sir Francis at last consenting to, Mr Locke then believed himself at home with us, and resolved, if it pleased God, here to end his days, as he did'

Locke made his permanent home at Oates from the beginning of the year in 1691 His official duties called him from time to time to London, where he might be detained several weeks or even months Owing to the ill-effects of the city air on his lungs, however, he always welcomed the opportunity to return to his country home Here he delighted to receive his friends One of his earliest visitors at Oates was Sir Isaac Newton, who, indeed, may have accompanied him when he went there in

[1] Locke to Clarke, 1st Sept 1690 [2] Locke to Clarke, 17th Oct 1690
[3] 12th Jan 1704-5

January to live permanently Sir Isaac and he had been intimate friends for several years, and doubtless had enjoyed an acquaintance for a decade or more, as both had been friends for that length of time of Robert Boyle During the summer of 1691, Locke was urged by Clarke and his wife to visit them at Chipley His cousin, William Stratton, had removed to Bristol, and Clarke had been much engaged about the business of Locke at Sutton Locke may at this time have visited Somerset, but there is no record of his doing so In September Lady Masham informs [1] Clarke that Locke is about to visit London. She desires that Clarke's eldest son Edward may return with him, and adds 'He was almost the only child I loved before I had any' Owing doubtless to the agency of Locke, much of the business [2] of Lady Masham was done by Clarke In October Locke calls on his friend Lord Monmouth at Parsons Green Coming back to London he returns to Oates in November,[3] accompanied by Clarke's son At the close of this month he again goes to London, probably to visit Boyle in his last illness

After this visit Locke returned to Oates with his lungs cruelly oppressed from the smoky air of the city, and was compelled by the state of his health to remain in the country for several months Although he finds in coming back to his home that everybody is in love with Clarke's son, yet he asks for his early recall [4] Lady Masham, reluctant to lose the company of the youth, however, writes to Clarke 'I shall take it unkindly if you do not let me have more of his company where I fancy it could not be to his prejudice, since Mr Locke does not begrudge to bestow so much of his time upon him, as may perhaps turn more to account than three times with a master or tutor' Mrs Clarke visited Oates in February, 1692, and was accompanied by her son at the request of Locke, who again assumed a particular supervision of him, the better to advise as to his future course of discipline and study He discovers in him a tendency to sauntering that causes a want of application, which he regards as one of the worst habits which can befall any youth Under

[1] Lady Masham to Clarke, 29th Sept 1691
[2] Locke to Clarke, 9th Oct 1691
[3] Locke to Clarke, 23rd Nov 1691
[4] Locke to Clarke, 3rd Dec 1691

Locke's influence the lad apparently improves, but the permanence of the change is still somewhat in doubt Nevertheless he did not desire to induce his father to send him to Westminster School, 'of which and the discipline used there,' he adds,[1] 'I have given him such a representation, that I imagine he has no great liking for it' Wherever possible Locke preferred a tutor at home to the school Thus for Clarke's son he secured later a change from the French instructor Passebon to a tutor La Treille, as Lord Ashley 'knows him very well and speaks mightily in his commendation' Early in 1692, Shaftesbury's annuity to Locke became again a matter of correspondence between the philosopher and Clarke As Locke desired better security for it than Kingston Farm, he asked[2] Clarke to speak to Lady Shaftesbury about the matter when she came to town Although Clarke did this, Locke afterwards thought[3] it would be better to have the security enlarged by Lord Ashley, who had now become of age Clarke was of the same opinion, and yet felt assured from previous conversation with the young nobleman that his promise would suffice while he lived Locke, with the advice of Clarke, thereupon wrote a letter to Lord Ashley, which purported to give 'a true history of that affair' 'Among the things I loved best in this world,' he tells[4] Lord Ashley, 'the two I always preferred to the rest were, my Lord, your grandfather and quiet He was pleased to be so favourable to me as to contrive both for me This pleased me extremely, knowing myself safe in his Lordship's hands, and so referring the whole matter to him, both for price and security, I paid £800, and Kingston Farm was settled for it, which, not examining whether it was of a suitable value to such a charge, I took rather as a declaration of my Lord's intention, than a security of my annuity' The value of the farm Locke no longer thought sufficient for the purpose Moreover, he says it was now proposed he should be made a farmer, inasmuch as Lady Shaftesbury talked of building a house on the farm and deducting the taxes out of the annuity to pay for it In a letter to Clarke, in which the one to Lord Ashley was enclosed, Locke adds 'If my Lord had given me this annuity (which has not

[1] Locke to Clarke, 26th Feb 1691-2
[2] Locke to Clarke, 22nd Jan 1692
[3] Locke to Clarke 5th Feb 1692
[4] Locke to Lord Ashley, 11th March 1692

been a thing unusual for great men to those who have been faithful to them) it would be a shame it should not be paid me But when it was paid for with all that I had got in attending on him ten or a dozen of the best years of my life, it will be very hard measure to have the trouble which I designed to avoid instead of the full annuity I purchased' In the end Lord Ashley promised[1] to increase the security, and thus the affair of the annuity was settled

Shortly after Locke had returned from London to Oates at the end of October, 1692, he was again favoured with a visit from his 'wife' Elizabeth With his customary confidence in personal teaching he advises that a tutor be obtained for her when she returns to her mother, and instruction be given at home 'You need not doubt,' he writes to Mrs Clarke in December, 'but that she will be a good proficient in anything that is taught her, for she is very capable and apt to learn But she will have need of some prudent and attentive person to guide her without roughness, for she has wit and parts enough to distinguish between one who is and is not discreet' How careful Locke was in the recommendation of a tutor may be judged from the reply he gave to Lord Bellamont,[2] when asked to vouch for one to Lord Pembroke, that he made it an inviolable rule only to say what he knew himself, and what was beyond his knowledge to tell upon whose report it was said In November Locke again went up to London, but remained there only a week, from the 19th to the 26th of the month, as after a single day there he could hardly breathe One errand he had in the city at this time was the distribution of five copies of Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis*, which had been forwarded from Holland by the author as gifts to friends Concerning his own copy, he tells Limborch that Lady Masham and he promise themselves 'some Attic nights this winter' On his arrival back in Oates he writes[3] to Clarke 'I got safe hither, I thank God Well, I cannot say I yet am, under so troublesome a cough as I have, but my lungs move easier than they did'

[1] Locke to Clarke, 21st March, 1694

[2] Locke's friend Richard Coste (b 1636) became Earl of Bellamont in the Irish peerage He was appointed Governor of New England and died in New York in 1700

[3] Locke to Clarke, 28th Nov 1692

In the correspondence of Locke and Clarke during the early months of 1693, the measure before Parliament for the continuance of the Act of Printing made in 14 Car 2 was discussed. The booksellers, it appears, had got a patent of the classics, thereby making such books dear Locke regarded this monopoly not only as an injustice to readers, but also as detrimental to new revisions of the texts 'I wish you would have,' he tells Clarke, 'some care of bookbuyers as well as of booksellers and the company of stationers, who, having got a patent for all or most of the ancient Latin authors (by what right or pretence I know not), claim the text to be theirs, and so will not suffer fairer or more correct editions than any they print here or with new comments to be imported without compounding with them, whereby these most useful books are excessively dear to scholars, and a monopoly is put into the hands of ignorant and lazy stationers'[1] Locke likewise in May desires Clarke when in town to consult with John Freke on the Printing Act He would like to discuss these matters with Clarke personally, but tells him that he paid so dearly for his last visit to the city that he could not think of immediately returning hither[2] It was chiefly to carry on to better advantage such deliberations of measures before Parliament that Locke, Freke, and Clarke later formed the 'College'

The summer of 1693 Clarke spent as usual at Chipley On the journey to and from London by the Bath road he was accustomed to stop at Sutton Court, and here it was part of his business to look after Locke's property in Somerset During his stay at the manor house of Sutton in October of this year, on his way to the city, he received a letter from Locke which affords a fresh glimpse of the philosopher's friends and relatives in that region Locke writes[3] to him 'Pray also give my humble service to Mrs Strachey, her son, and daughter, and the rest of my friends in that neighbourhood And tell my cousin Lyde, I wish my cousin, his daughter, much joy When you see Mr Cornelius Lyde pray give him my service and thanks for the right he did me about the taxes, and if you see my cousin Stratton when you are in those parts pray talk to him about my little

[1] Locke to Clarke, 2nd Jan 1693
[2] Locke to Clarke, 4th May, 1693
[3] Locke to Clarke, 30th Oct 1693

affairs' The family of Lyde, to which Locke was related, was one of much prominence in Stanton Drew In the church at this place are still to be seen elegant mural monuments to the memory of several members of this family, and among them one to Cornelius Lyde [1]

It was not only when at Sutton Court, but also in London, that Clarke gave attention to the private business of Locke He is reminded by Locke after his arrival now in town that the annuity due from Lord Ashley at Christmas (1693) is unpaid, and also that the security for it is not effected Mrs Cudworth desires, too, the payment of money which she owes Lady Masham to be made through him At the close of the year Locke writes [2] to Clarke 'You have all the news and I all the leisure, which is very ill-suited for correspondence, when you have not time to write, and I nothing to say'

At the beginning of 1694 Locke and Lord Ashley were together, probably at Oates The latter then talked of going soon into Dorsetshire Early in February Locke must have been in London, as Clarke writes [3] to him shortly afterwards that he had been perfectly well since his departure from town At Oates Locke was now busily engaged in literary work In the spring of this year he brought out second editions both of his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* and of his *Two Treatises on Government* He no doubt refers to the former work when he tells [4] Clarke 'Its fate is, it seems, to be the worst printed that ever book was, and 'tis vain for any one to labour against it' At the end of June, Locke was again in London, and meeting by chance Lord Somers was asked 'the favour of a longer council by him' [5]

It was on the occasion of this visit that Locke, following the example of his friend John Freke, subscribed £500 to the new Bank of England By this act Locke became one of the bank's original proprietors 'Last night,' he writes Clarke on the 30th

[1] The inscription on it reads as follows 'Near this monument lyeth the body of Cornelius Lyde, of this parish, esq , who departed this life on the 25th of July, in the year of our Lord, 1717, aged 77 He was a gentleman of great piety and integrity, and served his country honourably in the commission of peace during the whole reign of King William'

[2] Locke to Clarke, 27th Dec 1693

[3] Locke to Clarke, 8th Feb 1693-4

[4] Locke to Clarke, 12th March, 1694

[5] Locke to Clarke, 30th June, 1694

of June, 'the subscriptions amounted to £1,100,000, and to-night I suppose they are full The commission and charter are now printed at large' The founding of the bank was due to the efforts of William Paterson, who had striven for three years previously to establish a corporation to lend money to the Government and to deal solely in bills of exchange, bullion, and forfeited notes Of the new institution Clarke was chosen to be a director, this fact showing the high esteem in which he was held in financial circles, but notwithstanding the efforts [1] of Locke, he persisted in refusing to accept the position In this year, however, he accepted an appointment by the Queen to the post of Commissioner of Excise [2] In July, immediately after his investment in the bank, Locke made a tour of the counties lying north from London He visited the controller at Winchington in Buckinghamshire, where he ate Newington peaches, which were ripe as early as June In Derbyshire he had ripe oranges at Lord Ferrers', and ripe grapes at the Earl of Chesterfield's At Lord Montagu's, in Northamptonshire, he found the most beautiful gardens he had ever seen in England To Clarke he recommends the methods for the early ripening of fruit which he found in those counties, where the gardeners, as he believes, surpass those of the west By the 6th of August he was back in Oates Early in October he may have made another visit to London, for he writes [3] to Clarke, apparently on his return 'I thank God the country air begins a little to relieve me from those impressions which were made on my lungs by the London smoke, which, as I told you by the last post, I perceive I must not make too bold with at this time of year' He did not venture from Oates again throughout the entire winter

Instead of writing letters solely to Clarke, Locke began in 1695 to address epistles to the 'College' The formation of this club or society is another evidence of the philosopher's fondness for social intercourse and friendly discussion The first entrance upon the *Essay of the Human Understanding* had been due to five or six friends meeting at his chambers and discussing upon subjects of a philosophical nature When in Rotterdam, a group of his companions for mum-drinking and debate was

[1] Locke to Clarke, 6th Aug 1694
[2] Glanvill to Clarke, 7th Aug 1694
[3] Locke to Clarke, 15th Oct 1694

known as the 'Lantern' But the particular body which he here calls the 'College' was smaller and more intimate than any of his previously organised circle of friends Indeed, so far as the correspondence reveals, the messages were regularly interchanged among only three persons These were Locke, Clarke, and Freke The head of the College was Freke, who was often styled by Locke 'the Bachelor,' or 'Bachelor John,' or 'Squire John' Clarke was termed by him 'Edward the Grave,' 'Sir Grave,' 'the Grave Squire,' or 'Squire Edward' The College had a twofold purpose Its social side is evident from the concluding phrase of a letter [1] by Locke, wherein he says 'I am a humble servant of the whole College, bedmaker and all, for she makes good apple pies,' and also from the inquiry [2] by Freke whether a cheddar cheese brought to his house [3] was intended for the College But the promotion of important legislation in Parliament appears to have been a more important object of the College, the advancement of various measures by the group being carried out largely through the agency of Clarke as a member of Parliament 'What I said of the warders,' Locke writes to Clarke, 'might be done, if there were more such colleges, or if this one had more such fellows' Again Locke says [4] 'I have something which I would gladly propose and have debated in the College' Still later [5] he hopes 'to see the good effect of the College's pains and labours' The legislative measure which proved the chief subject of discussion by the College and in behalf of the passage of which by Parliament it was most active was the Coinage Act

The control of the coinage was taken over by Parliament in the reign of William and Mary Inasmuch as damaged coin was treated as of equal value with good milled coin, clipping and counterfeiting of coins still continued As early as 1689 a

[1] Locke to the College, 8th Feb 1695

[2] Freke to Clarke, 14th Sept 1701

[3] Freke lived at the Licking Post in Red Lion Street, next door to the Hen and Chickens It is quite possible that the College met there, as he writes on the 14th of September, 1701 to Clarke 'Mrs Cooper (her husband being out of town) brought to my house this evening a cheddar cheese If it be intended for the use of the College, I ought to thank you for it, if not, I ought to give you notice it arrived safe, and is lodged for your further order' Clarke also says in a letter 'If you come to town you will certainly find me at the College'

[4] Locke to Clarke, 17th May, 1695

[5] Locke to Clarke, 3rd May, 1696

committee of the Commons was appointed to investigate this evil William Lowndes, Secretary of the Treasury, maintained that the purchasing power of money depended upon its imprint and not upon its intrinsic value Locke, on the other hand, whose reflections on this subject dated as far back as 1672, had reached the conclusion that 'It is only the quantity of the silver that is in it, that is, and eternally will be, the measure of its value' Consequently from the very first year of his return to England in 1689 he urged the necessity of the improvement of the coinage As Clarke, moreover, had in March, 1690, become a member of Parliament, he could now voice in the House the views of Locke on money 'You will see,' writes Locke to him on the 17th of October, 1690, 'what I say in the enclosed, which I desire you to seal, to deliver, and to discourse accordingly, if you see occasion You have a right to do it, because in truth you were the first who suggested that thought to me'

When the bill for lowering the rate of interest came before Parliament, Locke made use of the press to disseminate his views 'My papers,' he tells Clarke on the 21st of August, 1691, 'have now all I can think of on these subjects They only want transcribing If I have time I would willingly examine two or three little treatises I have here concerning these matters and answer any objections in them that desire it' This tract he entitled *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money* It was written in the form of a letter addressed to an unnamed member of Parliament, who is believed to have been Sir John Somers In the prefatory note, which is dated 7th November, 1691, Locke says that the thoughts on the reduction of interest do not differ from those held by him twenty years before, and that the notions concerning coinage had been in writing over twelve months The printing of this pamphlet was cared for [1] by Clarke, and its immediate effect in Parliament is made known by him in a letter of the 15th of December to Locke In the letter he says 'I have given Sir Francis [Masham] one, and have disposed of four or five more so advantageously in the House that it is already in doubt whether the "bill for the lowering of the interest of money" will be read a second time or not, and all that have read *Considerations* are already of opinion the arguments therein

[1] Locke to Clarke, 11th Dec 1691

are abundantly sufficient to destroy that bill and all future attempts of the like kind I hear the whole treatise generally much approved of and commended, for the many useful notions therein touching money, trade and taxing And there have been very particular inquiries to know the author And I must tell you that there have been many that have shrewdly guessed at him, and some I believe there are who mightily commend the ingenuity of the author, yet I believe would hardly forgive him for some parts of his book were he known '

The forecast of Clarke proved incorrect In spite of the able arguments of Locke in his treatise against lowering the rate of interest, those of Sir Joshua Child in favour of a further reduction of the legal rate prevailed in Parliament 'This day,' writes Clarke to Locke on the 23rd of January, 1692, 'the bill for reducing the interest of money to 5 per cent passed the House of Commons Several attempts were had upon the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd reading to have it thrown out, wherein all imaginable reasons were used to that end In which debates I was not a little pleased to hear all the arguments used that are contained in the *Considerations upon the Lowering of the Interest of Money*, whereby it was manifest to me that the greatest and best men in our House were obliged to that treatise for all the arguments they used in these debates But I am satisfied if an angel from heaven had managed the debate the vote would have been the same as now For it is not reason but a supposed benefit to the borrower that hath passed the bill, and I believe it is that will carry it through the House of Lords likewise ' In reply, on the 27th of January, Locke says 'I cannot (you may imagine) be displeased with what you say about the debates concerning the bill of interest Sir Charles Harbord once made a motion in the House that all who wore perukes should pay for it, but after having sat still a little he rose again and told the Speaker he recalled that motion, because, casting his eyes about the House, he saw there were more members wore perukes than there were that did not But what if those who expect a benefit should find themselves mistaken? Sure there can be no such mistaken interest for the bill of coinage '

Locke's hopes in regard to the coinage were not destined in the end to be frustrated The addition to his treatise on *The Considerations of the Lowering of Interest*, which he made under

the title *Of Raising our Coin*, proved more important and effective than the previous discussion of the rate of interest In it the evils of a depreciated currency were clearly set forth Inasmuch as money differed from coined silver only by its stamp, he argued that it was impossible to alter its value by any mere change of nomenclature The reorganization of the English currency by Parliament, however, occupied over four years, and demanded for its success the united efforts of Montagu, Somers, Newton and Locke 'Your act of coinage,' Locke wrote Clarke on the 2nd of January, 1692-3, 'may deserve consideration For as it is now ordered, and other as well as milled money goes, it is but likewise in vain, and so much tax thrown away to no purpose But whether it be fit to touch on it now, when there have been attempts and some men are ready to alter and debase our coin, the consequence thereof will be very ruinous, I must leave to you there to weigh And therefore perhaps it may on that consideration be better to let the coinage act go as it is with that inconvenience that is in it, than by endeavouring to mend it give occasion to the letting in a deluge'

It was during the sixth session of the second Parliament of William III which opened on the 12th of November, 1694, that progress really began in the interest of the nation towards the redressing of the common coin of the kingdom To such an extent had clipping and counterfeiting then been carried, that the current coinage was little more than half of its proper weight So bad had it become that the tradesmen of London even petitioned, that it all be struck anew in the King's mint at its full value A parliamentary committee appointed on the 8th of January, 1694-5, to receive proposals to prevent the debasement of coin in the future and the consequent exportation of silver, reported on the 12th of March in favour of the recoinage of the silver into milled money and of having the laws against clipping enforced But this report lay neglected by the House of Commons Meanwhile, the House of Lords on the 19th of March passed 'An Act to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the coin in this kingdom,' which was sent to the Commons for concurrence On the 11th of March Locke wrote to the College 'I cannot but own to the College that I was mightily pleased to read in the votes by what hand the bill we have been talking about was brought into the House My mind is now at rest

about the matter, for when all is done that can be I acquiesce in the event If the sheet of coinage be like to do any good, I am very glad' The House of Commons, after various amendments, concurred in the passage of the bill, and it was approved by the King on the 3rd of May at the prorogation of Parliament After the passage of the Act, Locke writes[1] towards the end of May to Clarke 'I shall, I think, in the beginning of July have some money paid me, and perhaps sooner Pray tell me whether I cannot refuse clipped money, for I take it not to be lawful coin of England, and I know not why I should receive half the value I lent instead of the whole' To this inquiry Clarke replies on the 28th of May 'I think you may lawfully refuse all clipped or other money that is diminished in weight more than by reasonable wearing, or otherwise you may in a very short time be forced to receive a quarter part of what you lent instead of the whole'

An even more notable reform of the coinage was to be undertaken in the first session of the third Parliament of William III Apparently with a view to further writing on the question of money, in the summer of 1695 Locke sent his friend William Molyneux the tract concerning interest and coinage, printed three years before, to learn his opinion of it Inasmuch as the currency was to be the first business discussed in the new Parliament in October, Somers induced his colleagues to invite Locke to come up from Oates for a conference with them Locke at once complied with their request, and was in London when Clarke arrived from Chipley on the 2nd of November A pamphlet having appeared in answer to the chapter on raising the value of money in his previous treatise, at the request of the Lord Justices Locke replied to it in his *Short Observations on a Printed Paper entitled 'For Encouraging the Coining Silver Money in England and after keeping it here* A much more formidable task of a similar kind had shortly after to be performed by him in replying to William Lowndes' document entitled *An Essay for the Amendment of Silver Coins*, in which were brought together various arguments that were likely to be used against the proposed reform Concerning the objections here raised, Somers wrote in November, 1695 'I doubt not but that you will without great difficulty help us with some expedients for them'

[1] Locke to Clarke, 25th May, 1695

This challenge for assistance in the interest of coinage Locke accepted Before taking up his pen, however, he was compelled, by the sudden death of Mrs Cudworth on the 16th of November, 1695, to hasten down to Oates Here he began a reply to Lowndes Meantime Montagu's Recoinage Bill had come before Parliament, and Locke's presence was again desired in town to assist in its passage The conflict now waged was between the country and the court party, the former of which opposing and the latter favouring the proposal to call in and recoin the silver money The court party also sought to maintain the old standard, wherein the weight and fineness of the metal gave the real value to the coin But Locke was unable to come up to the city as desired, and wrote on the 2nd of December to Clarke 'I am so bad a solicitor and have acquaintance with so few members that I imagine my presence in town would that way be very little serviceable to my country, and only waste the time I now spend in writing what you desire, which, whatever may be expected from me, I cannot dispatch faster than my health and leisure will permit In the meantime you have my papers on that subject, which you may communicate or give to all those who could be serviceable in debate, who I think are not many And I have been less forward to print on this occasion, because I remember once when I was going to print something on this very subject that it was better not in regard of the parliament, for arguments that were in print were quite lost when made use of in the House, and signified nothing'

After a prolonged debate Montagu was able, on the 10th of December, 1695, to carry a measure in the House of Commons for the reform of the coinage By its terms the debased money was to be called in and recoined according to the established standard of the Mint, both as to weight and fineness The process was made gradual A time limit was to be fixed after which no debased money should be passed as legal tender except in payments to the Government, and a farther time limit after which it would not pass at all, and the Government would take it only at its bullion value It was also resolved that the whole cost of the recoinage should fall upon the Exchequer In regard to the bill Locke, as he truly said, was not 'wholly idle' Before the end of December he had not only written but printed the tract in reply to Lowndes, entitled *Further Considerations con-*

*cerning raising the Value of Money* Although the Coinage Bill in its original shape had already been carried in the Commons, yet the appearance of the treatise while the measure was under consideration in the House of Lords assisted in its ultimate passage in the form in which it was to become law On the 2nd of January, 1696, after the House rose at 8 p m , Clarke wrote to Locke ' The Lords have gone through the Coinage Bill and made several amendments to it, and added several clauses, but I cannot learn what they are in particular, only there is a clause to hinder the importation of gold and for the exportation of coin And it is said they have provided that an account be taken of what clipt money is in everybody's hand and what its deficiency is, and that then it shall go by weight ' Owing to these amendments Montagu was obliged to bring a fresh and slightly modified Coinage Bill into the Commons, which he succeeded in carrying through in April 1696

With the reform of the currency it became necessary likewise to effect a gradual reduction in the silver value of the guinea Locke had advised the reformers to bring down the guinea until the Mint ratio between gold and silver was the same as the market ratio, but the Government only partially carried out his plan, and gold was still overrated On the 5th of February, 1696, Locke writes to Clarke ' I am told that clipped and counterfeited half-crowns go freer now even in London than before the proclamation and Act I wonder now at it, for as I understand it the Exchequer must pay it, which is like to grow rich, as tradesman who buys by light weight and sells by heavy But pray is there any milled money in the Mint, and what becomes of it ? The gold you say the Cadiz fleet brought will ease us of it But how to reduce guineas to their true intrinsic value any otherwise than by making light and bad money go for its own weight I do not see I hear of a new proclamation about money, but cannot learn the contents of it But will proclamations alter the Act ?' In a letter to the College of the 14th of February he adds ' I admire the Grave's [Clarke's] constancy and applaud him highly for it It is a just and noble cause, and if he can carry his clause he shall by my consent have a statue of better metal than the coarser alloy that now passes in the Exchequer, and he will deserve it ' Clarke describes the debate on the current price of guineas as the longest he had ever seen

in Parliament 'A few gentlemen,' he tells [1] Locke, 'forced the adverse party generally to agree that unless gold and silver be brought and kept at par to each other, that which exceeds will eat out and carry away the other The reducing that exorbitant and imaginary value which hath been permitted to be set in gold for so long, all at once by vote of parliament was thought to be of such consequence, as to prevail so far against the arguments on the other side, that by a small majority there was a vote obtained in the committee, and this day agreed to by the House, viz That no guineas be allowed to pass above the rate of 28s, which 'tis expected will prevent their rising higher And I hope the true interest of the nation will soon reduce them to their real value' Locke expresses sorrow that so plain a question should hold so long a debate 'You may as well,' he replies [2] to Clarke, 'regulate the price of wheat as gold Silver alone is our money Gold was well before, when it had none or a low price set by the law Now you have overvalued it Nor can this vote or a law stop it from going far above 28s per guinea, when anyone has a mind to take it rather than the light and base money, which has been the only thing that hath raised guineas, and will raise them still, till that be cured'

The discussion in Parliament on the rate of guineas was still further prolonged through March, 1696 Locke received from John Freke a tract in favour of reform which pleased him, but he asks 'Will any national considerations work on your raisers?' He wishes [3] to know of the College what is like to be the fate of guineas, so as to be able to give directions about receiving his rent in the country On the 25th of March he writes to Clarke 'I am very glad the design of fixing a rate on guineas, especially at 25s, was defeated The thing I look upon to be ill in itself, and worse in the intention The subscribers will not now be able to put off their guineas at any high rate to the cost of the government, nor the raisers I hope be able to compass their so long-laboured design of raising the denomination of our coin' To the College Locke sends an answer to a paper which endeavoured to prove that the lessening of the coin would be an advantage to the kingdom 'I was very glad,' he writes

[1] Clarke to Locke 15th Feb 1696.
[2] Locke to Clarke, 17th Feb 1696
[3] Locke to the College, 18th March, 1696

Clarke on the 30th of March, 'that you had fought it out so bravely and carried the point about guineas and clipped money If the Act pass I think you must take some care that the clipped money shall go by weight, else I fear the want and hoarding of weighty money when the Parliament is up will make such a scarcity of it that necessity will make your law be broke through and give passage to clipped money, or else cause horrible confusion' To this Clarke could reply on the 31st of March 'The Lords this day passed our bill, wherein guineas are reduced to 22s apiece, and clipped money rendered impassable after the 4th of May next, the receiver being to forfeit double the value of every piece of such money by him received after that time And when the Royal Assent is given to that bill I think we are then safe against all further ill attempts upon our coin during this session'

Locke believed[1] the nation to be extremely indebted to Clarke for the two clauses in the Act about clipped money and the guineas In his opinion there was only one thing lacking in it, and that was, that standard clipped money should go by its weight He therefore proposed to the College that it should contrive some method by which the notion of receiving the clipped money by weight might become familiar before the measure should take effect He regarded it as of the utmost importance to keep down the guineas now that they were down, and to put a stop to the circulation of debased money A series of suggestions were accordingly drawn up[2] by him for the College by which to spread the practice of receiving the clipped money as bullion by weight The first efforts were to be made in London If the Bank of England would set the example he thought it would be a mighty stroke The goldsmiths must be watched, for few or none of them, he said, were in favour of the new measure 'If clipped money,' he wrote on the 24th of April to the College, 'once get but currency in London among those blades, for the first week after the 4th of May, but I look upon it as irretrievable, but if it be stopped there, the rest of the kingdom will fall in too, especially if receiving clipt money by weight can be introduced.' Locke received from the 'bachelor,' Freke, a printed copy of a letter of advice on the currency of clipt money, and thereupon sent to the publishers for more

[1] Locke to the College, 2nd April, 1696
[2] Locke to the College, 6th April, 1696

copies of the tract to distribute He mentions[1] that 'the College are very industrious to carry their point and save us' He would do what he could to aid in the country, but it was the city must first set the example If the hoards of milled money could only be forced out, he said, 'the business is done'[2]

In spite of the success in the passage of the Recoinage Act, Locke apprehended that the thoughts of the raisers of the coin were not yet wholly laid, as they still employed the press in favour of it He notes that Sir Richard Temple and Nicholas Barbon had singled him out for attack Temple had printed *Some Short Remarks upon Mr Locke's Book in answer to Mr. Lowndes*, in which he claimed that the standard of coin varied according to time and place, and that what custom made the medium was money Barbon was the author of *A Discourse concerning coining the new money lighter, in answer to Mr Locke's considerations about raising the value of money* In it he maintains that if money has its value from the authority of Government it will still be good money even if coined lighter In regard to these publications Locke writes on the 8th of April, 1696, to Clarke 'Pray let me know whether the printed discourses make any impression in town, for I should wonder anybody should be at all wrought on by them, unless it be such as are of their minds for other reasons than their arguments' The attitude of Lord Ashley also was naturally of much interest to Locke In January he had written[3] to Clarke 'I hear some talk of a speech my Lord Ashley made in the House I should be glad to know a little more of the matter and form of it, and the opinion people have of it For I am concerned for that young gentleman as you know, and shall always wish he may do well, especially when he appears in public' It is possible that the young Lord may have wavered on the coinage question But Locke could write on the 16th of April, 1696, to Clarke 'I am extremely glad of the good service you mention to be done by the young gent I shall always be concerned for I hope that this will bring him back into better hands, pray make that use of it He is a young man whom I hope time and experience will better enlighten'

[1] Locke to Clarke, 27th April, 1696

[2] Locke to the College, 1st May, 1696

[3] Locke to the College, 27th Jan 1696

On 4th May, 1696, under the Recoinage Act the old clipped coin ceased to be legal tender Locke thus had hopes [1] that the tricks of the goldsmiths or 'blades' were now at an end, and that he would see the good effects of the pains and the labours of the College If London stands the first shock, he is sure all will go well But the summer of this year was a critical time for the new money The recoinage went on very slowly The goldsmiths also organized a run on the Bank of England Questions arose, too, about the meaning of various clauses of the Bill upon which Locke desired [2] the opinion of the judges As this could not be obtained, Clarke said the College would labour industriously to secure a proclamation from the Lords Justices as to the intention of the law Locke thought such a proclamation would be of great value, but that it must be carefully drawn if it were to escape misuse by the Lombard Street blades 'Hold but tight,' he says,[3] 'as you have begun in London, and we shall do well enough, and the country will bless the College'

At the opening of the second session of the third Parliament of William III in October, 1696, it was still found necessary to introduce 'A bill for recoining the remainder of the hammered silver' It was at this stage of the currency legislation that John Cary, the Bristol reformer, made the acquaintance of Locke and Clarke When Locke's tract in reply to Lowndes appeared, Cary had sent the author a copy of his own book entitled *An Essay on the State of England in Relation to Trade*, printed in 1695 It was accompanied by a letter dated the 11th of January, 1696, in which the writer says to Locke 'I think you hit the mark 'Tis the balance of our trade with foreign countries not altering the standard of our coin, which increases the bullion at home' The book and letter were not received at Oates until April, having been mislaid in London Locke thereupon sends word [4] to Clarke that as he understands Mr Cary to be in town and often visits Richards' Coffee House, he desires Freke to deliver to him a note of thanks with an apology for the delay Of Cary's book he writes that it is 'the best discourse I ever read on the subject' He also tells the

[1] Locke to Clarke 3rd May, 1696
[2] Locke to Clarke, 11th May, 1696
[3] Locke to Clarke, 18th May, 1696
[4] Locke to Clarke, 12th April, 1696

author of it that 'A worthy rational man and a disinterested lover of his country is so valuable a thing that I think I may be allowed to be very ambitious of such acquaintance, wherever I meet with it'[1] Of the particular measure in regard to recoinage before Parliament at this time Cary writes[2] to Clarke as follows 'I humbly make bold to write you this on occasion of your late vote of taking in hammered money at 5s 8d p oz in the future taxes, but no mention made how it shall be received in the revenue of customs, excise, etc All trade on this last vote will be at a full stop, nothing but milled money will pass unless the revenue is ordered to be received in hammered money' Possibly it may have been due to the suggestion of Cary that it was enacted that all who received money due His Majesty after the 24th of June, 1697, should weigh as well as tale the whole

Again, in 1697, in the third session of the second Parliament of William III the coinage legislation was renewed Locke writes on the 30th of December to Clarke 'I hear there is a bill going on in your House about the hammered money Cannot there be a clause put into it to oblige by some penalty the fellows of the exchequer to receive and pay by weight as well as by toll, and to oblige them and all the receivers of the several branches of his majesty's revenue to cut all false pieces of milled money that are counterfeit coin or clipped?' Clarke replies[3] that he will seek to make such a provision, and that he hopes for better success than in the several attempts he had previously made for the same purpose Evidently he succeeded, for Locke later says[4] 'I find by the votes you have not been unmindful of the provision you promised to do all you could to make I hope now it will be sufficient and effectual' But the coinage legislation was still not complete, the ratio between gold and silver in April 22nd, 1696, at 22s was farther reduced to 21s in 1698 The guinea even at this rate was above bullion value It was not until 1717 that the value of the guinea was reduced to 21s, and thereby became definitely and permanently fixed

The year 1696, in which the Recoinage Act was passed, proved also a critical one for the Bank of England Its directors were

[1] Locke to Cary 12th April 1696
[2] Cary to Locke, 16th Nov 1696
[3] Clarke to Locke 1st Jan 1697-8
[4] Locke to Clarke, 16th Jan 1697-8

Whigs and Nonconformists The Tories, under the leadership of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, started a rival land bank The promoters promised to increase the value of land, to benefit trade, to supply the King with money, and to exempt the nobility from taxes 'Another bank,' Locke tells [1] Clarke, 'at this time of day, when such care has been taken of the exchequer will no doubt bring abundance of money' From the votes of the House he learns that the new bank is to be called a National Land Bank, and that it is to be opposed to the royal bank, since it does not permit anyone to be a shareholder in both The Government expected to get a large sum from the new bank as a loan But Locke writes [2] to Clarke 'How a Land Bank shall supply the King with ready money I do not well see, and less why anybody is that out, unless you are afraid there, that subscriptions and money will come in too fast, and overlay your exchequer' What he sought to advance was the better distribution of money in the country, rather than to have a corporation [3] which would aid in drawing it all into London He was as much opposed [4] to a monopoly of money by a bank as to the monopoly of merchandizing by the Act of Navigation For a time the shares of the Bank of England fell, but after a few months the project of the Land Bank collapsed The permanent result of the scheme was to enable Montagu to make a first issue of Exchequer bills

Locke's visits to London in his later years were limited strictly to the demands of business, as he suffered so much from the smoke and heavy air of the city Even when his duties summoned him hither, ill-health would often prevent him from going The winter of 1694-5 he spent in Oates He planned to make a visit to the city in the spring, unless bad weather and ill lungs should interfere 'My breath is yet short,' he writes Clarke on the 17th of May, 'and therefore having business that will call me to town, but not presently, I must husband my time there as well as I can' He desired [5] particularly to order his journey so as to have as much time as possible in town with his

[1] Locke to Clarke, 5th Feb 1696
[2] Locke to Clarke, 14th Feb 1696
[3] Locke to Clarke, 18th Feb 1695
[4] Locke to Clarke, 18th Feb 1695
[5] Locke to Clarke, 25th May, 1695

friend, before the latter should leave for Somerset. Clarke planned to leave town the first week in June to spend six weeks at Chipley, but replied [1] that if warm weather and health permitted Locke's coming, he would find him at the College Locke was able to go to London in June, as he had hoped, but his weak lungs soon compelled him to return to the country In August he was again in the city, as he tells [2] of an escape which he with some ladies had from being robbed in passing on his way homeward through Epping Forest When Clarke got back from Chipley in November he found Locke in London As the health of Mrs Clarke had kept her from coming to town, Locke sends [3] word to her 'You know I am not a man very fond of wine, and therefore may be trusted when I advise it' On the 16th of November, owing to the death of Mrs Cudworth, Locke returned to Oates Here he again writes [4] Mrs Clarke, telling her that Lady Masham is in great affliction on account of the death of her mother [5] With Locke at this time, too, was Clarke's son Edward, who remained at Oates from November until the following April Young Clarke had now reached an age when he was ready to assume active responsibilities, but Locke had so long had him under his care that he says [6] 'it is now habitual with me'

Locke's duties as Commissioner of Appeals required attendance at the meetings of the Board in London, which the ill state of his health often prevented In addition there was the uncertainty of a quorum even when he came to town, 'for I cannot,' he writes Clarke on the 2nd of December, 1695, 'hear appeals myself, and if my brethren will not, I cannot help it I had rather lose two places than one life' His cough was then growing worse, and he was compelled to spend much of his time in bed to ease its violence Early in January, 1696, there was another urgent call for his presence at a meeting of the Commissioners. The Lords of the Treasury lay great stress on the cause, 'and therefore,' says Clarke, [7] 'expect you should not be absent in the first instance where the Government will want your assistance

[1] Clarke to Locke, 28th May, 1695 [2] Locke to Clarke, 25th Aug 1695

[3] Locke to Mrs Clarke, 9th Nov 1695 [4] Locke to Mrs Clarke, 22nd Nov 1695

[5] The widow of Samuel Cudworth was buried at High Laver, and Locke is believed to have written the inscription on her tomb

[6] Locke to Clarke, 22nd April 1696 [7] Clarke to Locke, 2nd Jan 1695-6.

in your office They say the whole management of the revenue of excise is struck at in these appeals' Locke could only reply [1] to this from his bed 'I shall always readily obey the orders of the Treasury to the utmost of my power, but I doubt not but they will excuse my not coming to town, if anyone has so much charity left for me to represent to them the very ill state of my health, wherein I suffer at present more from my lungs than ever I have done since their first disorder' He adds that his cousin King was sitting by his side while he wrote Lord Keeper Somers, hearing [2] of his illness, was much concerned But his health must soon have improved, as during February and March his letters were almost wholly devoted to the affairs of Parliament, particularly the lowering of the guineas He is likewise interested [3] in the impeachment of the directors of the Scotch East India Company, and in how the driving [4] of its shares out of English hands will break the company In April he was again far from well, and was unwilling to attend the Commission of Appeals unless assured of a quorum Of his previous attempts he tells [5] Clarke 'I could do no more than I did unless I could have heard and judged myself I took three journeys to London to no purpose, but neither found any more than Mr Dodington in town, nor could with my utmost endeavour get three together The last time my health forced me out of town in haste' Until warm weather came he did not think it safe again to leave Oates He writes Clarke on the 22nd of April 'I am hoarse still almost every evening This is a daily monition to one to beware of your pestilential air, sir, which all other circumstances of my health have made me resolve not to hazard it in London till the advance of the season shall give me some security, and I should be very sorry if any urgent business should force me hither sooner'

In spite of poor health the acceptance by Locke of another office, that of Commissioner of Trade, compelled him to reside in London for considerable periods during the next four years The first Earl of Shaftesbury had induced Charles II to appoint a Council of Trade and Plantations, and Locke had been for

[1] Locke to Clarke 4th Jan 1695-6 [2] Clarke to Locke, 9th Jan 1696
[3] Locke to the College 27th Jan 1696
[4] Locke to the College, 14th Feb 1696
[5] Locke to Clarke, 16th April, 1696

some time its secretary Sir John Somers saw the necessity of improving trade as well as the currency, and now revived this Council Its patent was signed ready to be issued on the 16th of December, 1695, but no action was taken for several months. The 30th March, 1696, Locke writes to Monmouth 'I shall not be sorry if I scape a very honourable employment, with a £1000 a year salary annexed, to which the King was pleased to nominate me some time since May I have but quiet and leisure and a competency of health to perfect some thought my mind is sometimes upon, I should desire no more for myself in this world' Clarke, however, was able to write him on the 14th of May 'I am told the commission of trade is passed the great seal, so that I conclude we shall now be so happy as to see you in town very speedily, and by that means I may have the opportunity to kiss your hands before going into the country' In the amended patent that was issued on the 15th of May Locke was appointed a salaried Commissioner William Popple, the translator of Locke's *Epistola de tolerantia*, was made Secretary of the Commission, and Sylvanus Brownover,[1] who had been Locke's assistant and Secretary for twenty-five years, was chosen to be one of the clerks Towards the end of May Locke arrived in London to assume his new duties as Commissioner, but the lack of a place of meeting hindered the Commissioners from going on with their work until the end of July They then met at the Cockpit Thereafter Locke devoted himself assiduously to the tasks of the Commission He was the promoter of its chief undertakings, and inspired most of its important decisions

Among the measures of reform entered upon by the Commission of Trade, in which Locke had an important share, was that of the Poor Law Doubtless his acquaintance with John Cary, which was made in 1696, led him to take a special interest in such philanthropic work. In July, 1697, each Commissioner was asked to bring in a scheme of reform Locke drew up and presented [2] a comprehensive plan by which he hoped workhouses would become useful institutions This plan was adopted by the Council and reported [3] to the Lord Justices for approval In February, 1698, a consolidation of the existing Poor Laws was undertaken by Parliament, and a draft of a Bill put forward

[1] He is spoken of as Syll throughout Locke's correspondence
[2] 19th Oct 1697 [3] 21st Dec 1697

by the Commissioners was then laid before the House In a letter to Clarke of the 25th of February of that year Locke says 'I writ some time since to Mr Popple to give you a copy of my project about the better relief and employment of the poor since our board thought not fit to make use of it That now the House was upon that consideration you might make use of it, if it should suggest to you anything you might think useful in the case 'Tis a matter that requires every Englishman's best thoughts, for there is not any one thing that I know upon the right regulation whereof the prosperity of this country more depends And whilst I have any breath left I shall always be an Englishman' In reply Clarke says to him [1] 'Mr Popple hath obliged me with a copy of your paper touching the poor, and I shall make the best use I can of it, whenever I can find honesty and ingenuity enough to make a proper law for the putting of it in execution' Thus in the matter of poor relief, as previously in that of currency legislation, Locke sought through Clarke to influence the action of Parliament But the proposed poor law was not adopted, neither was the one which was introduced in 1705, and it was not until 1834 that the much-needed reform of English poor legislation was enacted

After attendance in London at the meetings of the Commissioners of Trade during its first session, Locke in November, 1696, returned to Oates Here the settlement of Mrs Cudworth's estate required much attention on the part of Locke and Clarke, who were its trustees Better security than a single hand was required of Sir Francis Masham, and an adjustment was necessary between Lady Masham and her brother Thomas Cudworth The execution of such business Locke left largely to Clarke He sought also to obtain through Clarke the payment of money due him by Sir Stephen Evans This man was apparently slow in paying, and tried Locke's patience sorely On a previous occasion when money was collected from him Locke wrote [2] to Clarke 'I have known a little boy grow a great man, but a little man will always remain so' Of his worry at times, he says [3] 'I am just made like that good doctor of divinity, that the more he knew of the world the less he liked it' But it is evident that Locke's own financial resources were

[1] Clarke to Locke, 1st March, 1698

[2] Locke to Clarke, 5th Feb 1696 [3] Locke to Clarke, 27th Nov 1696

steadily increasing, since Clarke seeks [1] to obtain from him a loan of £200 at 6 per cent Such an improvement one would expect, as his necessary expenses at Oates were not great, and to his income derived from the annuity paid by Shaftesbury, and from the rental of his property in Somerset, there was now added the salary as Commissioner

Early in 1697 Locke wrote [2] to Somers requesting him to obtain from the King a release from the office of Commissioner, owing to a settled and incurable indisposition In February he went up to London for a few days, and as a result of entreaties unwillingly withdrew his resignation He then returned to Oates to resume his literary pursuits During the year he spent much of the time in a controversy with Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, concerning some passages in the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* 'I had much rather,' he wrote [3] to Molyneux, 'be at leisure to make some additions to my *Book of Education* and my *Essay* than be employed to defend myself against the groundless, and as others think, trifling quarrel of the Bishop' To the *Reasonableness of Christianity* and its *Vindication*, which appeared in 1695, he now added a *Second Vindication* In June he was back again in London, where he worked assiduously at his task as Commissioner until the close of November

Locke always felt improved in health by the change of air on his arrival at Oates after he had left the smoke of London On the 6th of December, 1697, he writes to Clarke 'I got hither safe the day I parted from you, and did in a very short time find the benefit of the air here, which has in great measure taken off that horrible oppression which I had constantly upon my lungs in town I now breathe pretty easy whilst I sit still, and my nights pass without panting for breath which I had constantly upon my lungs in town' This relief proved only temporary, and winter weather prevented much improvement even in the country His advance in years was likewise a factor now to be regarded Indeed, he was compelled on the 25th of February, 1698, to tell Clarke 'As for a speedy recovery which you wish me, the little progress I make in the recovery of my breath, since

[1] Clarke to Locke, 22nd April, 1697

[2] Locke to Somers, 7th Jan 1696-7, in Lord King's *Life of John Locke* 1 p 244, new ed ii p 7

[3] Locke to Wm Molyneux, 11th Sept 1697, in *Familiar Letters*, p 184

the great relief I found in the first night I was here gives me no expectation of it And for a perfect recovery, as you also wish me, my lungs are too much decayed and my life too far spent to permit the hopes of it My time is all divided between my bed and the chimney-corner, for not being able to walk for want of breath upon the least stirring, I am a prisoner not only to my house but to my chair, so that never did anybody so truly lead a sedentary life as I do' The warmer weather of March[1] released him from the confinement of the chimney-corner, and he could refresh his lungs by sitting in the open air He had not breath enough as yet to walk beyond the moat,[2] and could only crawl to a seat in the terrace walk where he might lazily enjoy the sun As spring progressed there was an improvement in his health, and he hoped[3] that in a little while he might venture to town, as he concluded it would 'not be winter all the year' Nevertheless, the warm days of July had come before he became fit to leave Oates

During the spring of 1698, while Locke was slowly regaining his health preparatory to going to London, he was favoured with a visit at Oates from Clarke's daughter, Elizabeth His relations with 'Betty' were both unique and charming When she was only two or three years old he had called her 'his wife,' and throughout his correspondence with Clarke he had continued to give her this endearing title He often concludes his letters with the request, 'remember me to my wife,' and Clarke responds that 'our wives are well,' or 'your wife sends her love' The instructions, also, which Locke gives in regard to the early education of girls were first written for Betty's benefit But at this period of her visit at Oates she was approaching young womanhood, and Locke finds her very reserved He desires to know from her father how he shall carry himself towards her as he 'loves her' Both conjectured that her affections might have been engaged by some young man with whom she might be carrying on a correspondence It may have been the son[4] of

[1] Locke to Clarke, 19th March, 1698

[2] The moat still surrounds the grounds, although it is partly filled

[3] Locke to Clarke, 30th May, 1698

[4] The first letter of Locke's 'wife,' as now preserved, was written in September, 1697 from Ivy Church which was the home of Thomas Stringer. On July 6th, 1698, John Freke, 'the bachelor' while at Stringer's home writes to Mrs Clarke advising her son to take a ramble in England And on

Thomas Stringer, formerly the steward of Shaftesbury, who was the suspected party in this possible love affair, but, though Lady Masham and Locke kept a sharp lookout, they could not discover any such correspondence They promised, however, to continue watchful, and Locke says 'There is never so much cunning and opinionativity as in these cases where the affection is once engaged' But their watching proved fruitless Locke displays his usual wisdom in his advice to Clarke 'Think not of your children too confidently for fear of negligence of them to their ruin, nor too suspiciously for fear of your own needless trouble'[1]

Locke arrived in London on the 8th of July, 1698, and during the next three months was engaged with his duties as Commissioner For the five weeks, from the end of July to the beginning of September, he enjoyed in the city the society of his friend William Molyneux of Dublin It was the first and last opportunity of personal companionship these friends had When Molyneux returned to Ireland he wrote[2] to Locke ''Tis with the greatest satisfaction imaginable that I recollect what then passed between us, and I reckon it the happiest scene of my whole life' Three weeks later, on the 11th of October, Molyneux died To his brother, Thomas Molyneux, Locke writes[3] that he had lost thereby an intimate and sincere friend, whom he truly loved, and by whom he was truly loved In October, a troublesome cough and great difficulty in his breathing, as he tells[4] Limborch, urges his departure from town He settles down again in Oates for a winter of quiet and of little correspondence In January of 1699 he excuses[5] Clarke from writing, as being

the 14th of September 1698, he again sends a letter to Mrs Clarke 'with a fair and good proposal for your eldest daughter But then you must not disease him again by showing an unwillingness to come to town on that occasion, for the man that I have in my eye is a man of business that can't have leisure to go into Somersetshire to seek or court a wife' But on 18th March, 1699, Stringer writes to Clarke 'That his wife's proposal of his son for Clarke's daughter was without his knowledge and contrary to his opinion until he see him in a post advantageous to him' This attitude of Stringer may have been due to the spendthrift habits of his son, since in 1695 and 1696 Mrs Stringer corresponds with Clarke as to the payment of her son's debts, which she would conceal from his father

[1] Locke to Clarke, 20th May, 1698

[2] Molyneux to Locke, 20th Sept 1698 In *Familiar Letters*, p 272

[3] Locke to Thomas Molyneux, 27th Oct 1698 *Ibid* p 290

[4] Locke to Limborch, 18th Oct 1698 *Ibid* p 431

[5] Locke to Clarke, 27th Jan 1698-9

busy, but he thinks that the 'Bachelor' might now and then share him a word It was somewhat lonely for him at Oates, as Mr Harvey, a neighbour parson, was the only one in the locality who called on him

During the month of April, 1699, Locke welcomed Clarke at Oates, and the monotony of the place was much relieved by his visit Shortly after Clarke had returned to the city Locke tells Mrs Clarke that he hopes the weather and his lungs will soon permit him to join them in town But it was not until June that he was able to resume his duties as Commissioner In August he writes [1] to Mrs Clarke, who was then in Chipley, that the town is so thin of company that the people visit one another as if they were in the country In the matter of country air, however, he adds, there could be no such counterfeit, and if Chipley were only as near as Oates he would gladly join them in Somerset After Clarke came back to London from Chipley he joined Freke at Tunbridge Wells In a letter of the 16th of September Locke sent to him at this resort, he says 'The great news in town these two days hath been of the Scots leaving Darien' The tidings proved true The attempt of a Scotch company through the activity of William Paterson to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien had proved a failure, and the colonists, in June, 1699, had re embarked His statement [2] to Clarke that when he read in the *Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots colony in Darien*, he had reason to believe that an order sent by the House of Lords to his Board 'had some regard to him in particular,' proves that he was still the moving spirit of the Council Indeed, he had spent the five months, from 6th June to the 20th of November of the year 1699, diligently at the work of the Council of Trade in London

Early in 1700, as a greeting in a letter Locke says 'The castle at Oates salutes the College' Through the help of the latter he was able when in the country to keep in touch with the doings alike of the Council of Trade and of the Parliament He desires [3] Clarke at this time to observe the progress of the Lords relating to the commission of trade 'That my Lord Bellamont,' he reminds [4] Clarke, 'ought to be supported by all those who

[1] Locke to Mrs Clarke, 19th Aug 1699
[2] Locke to Clarke, 19th Jan 1700
[3] Locke to Clarke, 23rd Jan 1699-1700
[4] Locke to Clarke, 26th Feb 1699-1700

would not abandon the plantations I think I need not tell you' A favourable winter made him hope in March that he might in a short time come to town to attend to the duties of his office 'But these late easterly winds have pinched me shrewdly,' he writes to Clarke,[1] and to them I impute the spitting of blood, which happened lately to me, and which I am sure came from my lungs' His disease was slowly securing a mastery over him Some warm days in April give him hopes that a continuance of them may quickly set him up for town again But the chill weather again brings him to the chimney-corner, where he continues to write by the fireside[2] Nevertheless, on the 17th of May he was able to appear once more at the Council of Trade This was, however, the last year of his attendance at its meetings, and he was now present only for five weeks On the 28th of June he acquainted the Board that he had resigned his place on the Commission, because his health had become more and more impaired by the air of the city, and he could no longer make any prolonged residence in town

After his withdrawal from the Board Locke was detained several weeks in London On the 16th of July, 1700, he writes to Clarke 'I hope to-morrow to be delivered out of this town I have been very uneasy in it since you went, and breathe in pain whilst I write' He now went back to Oates, and during the few remaining years of his life seldom left his Essex home In August Clarke returned to the city from Tunbridge Wells but little improved by the waters Lady Masham desired[3] him to visit Oates and to bring Locke's 'wife' with him, and Locke furthered the request with the remark that he lived but at the town's end, and one could be presently there on the least warning He knew[4] nothing, moreover, so likely to produce quiet sleep as riding about gently in the country air, and for that purpose he himself was on horseback every day But with September he could bear neither horse nor coach, and in October, owing to the swelling of his legs, he was spending most of his time in bed[5] Nevertheless, illness did not prevent his unceasing interest in

[1] Locke to Clarke, 22nd March, 1700
[2] Locke to Clarke, 26th April, 1700
[3] Locke to Clarke (*a*) 23rd Aug 1700
[4] Locke to Clarke (*b*) 23rd Aug 1700
[5] Locke to Clarke, 3rd Oct 1700

behalf of friends To his friend Benjamin Furly he wrote [1] that Clarke intended to send his second son John into Holland to learn merchant accounts and the Dutch language, and that he desired him to look out for some honest worthy merchant to place the youth with as soon as he was qualified From Rotterdam Furly writes [2] to Clark that his youngest son Arent is with Locke, who will take as good care of him as he has been charged to do of Clarke's son As the outcome of this correspondence,[3] John Clarke, the second son, spent two years in Holland under the care of Furly Clarke's eldest son, Edward, likewise went abroad to travel, since the father asked [4] Furly to give him credit at Cologne, the young man being then at Augsburg Still another instance of Locke's kindly aid at this time is seen in a request [5] by him that Clarke would secure for a Mr Anderson the position of 'Covent Garden lecture' when made vacant at Christmas of 1700 by the departure of his cousin Hopkins. Of Anderson Locke says 'I take him to be a very honest good man that designs to do all the good he can in his calling I have heard him preach more than once, and know not where to go if I were in town to hear better sermons than his'

'Every winter,' Locke says [5] to Clarke in November, 1700, 'is of course to bring a greater load upon me till at last it put an end to my breathing at all' During this winter he was obliged to spend a great part of his time in bed, a way of living he did not much like 'Though,' he adds to his friend, 'when I consider it well, I ought to be content that I am at all among the living 'Tis not the spleen that suggests the thought, but the news I hear of this post that my poor old friend Mr Hodges is dead He, Dr Thomas, and I, were intimate in our younger days at the University These two are gone, and who could

[1] Locke to Furly, 27th Sept 1700 [2] Furly to Clarke, 15th Oct 1700

[3] Furly and Clarke had considerable correspondence from 1700 to 1702 about their sons Furly asks (20th Dec 1701) the aid of Clarke to obtain for Arent whom he had met at Oates a clerkship in one of the offices of the Navy, Admiralty, or Treasury, since 'he had such a mind to that beloved England that he cannot well resolve to settle anything in this country' Arent later, in 1702, became Secretary to the Earl of Peterborough, and died in 1705 in Spain The intimacy of both these men with William Penn is seen from a letter of Clarke to Furly on 17th of April, 1702, in which he says 'Mr Freke gives you his service and owns that he expects Mr Penn in town this week and that he will discourse him and endeavour to procure you satisfaction in your Pennsylvania affair as soon as possible'

[4] Clarke to Furly, 25th April, 1700 [5] Locke to Clarke, 5th Nov 1700

have thought that I, much the weakest and most unlikely of the three, should have outlived them' In the same tenor he writes[1] in December to Hans Sloane 'The tenement must some time or other fall to dust, and mine has held out beyond expectation' He hopes[2] Clarke can visit him before the holidays, since he could then enjoy his company alone at Oates The Christmas season itself and the first month of the new year (1701) was spent by Clarke as usual at Chipley Upon his return to London for the opening of Parliament he sends[3] the heads of the King's speech to Locke, who thinks only the one providing for the security of England and of Europe worthy of his time and thought But if wrong, Locke adds, one may forgive 'these melancholic visions out of the world, who lies abed and dreams'

At Easter of 1701, Locke had as visitors at Oates both the Earl of Shaftesbury and his cousin Peter King His friendship with the third Earl began when he directed the early education of the young nobleman, and was continued throughout his life There is no intimation of discussion between them during these visits of their philosophical beliefs No works of Shaftesbury were published by him while Locke lived With his cousin King there appears to have been an increasing intimacy as the years passed From boyhood Locke had guided King's intellectual career, and when in Holland had sent for him to study at Leyden At Locke's suggestion King had enrolled at the Middle Temple Later Locke had written[4] to him 'I am glad that you are so well entered at the bar' Locke, too, had entreated[5] him in January of 1700 to attend Parliament, in which he had then gained a seat as Member for Buralston, rather than to go on a circuit This advice King followed When he failed to visit Locke on a previous invitation the philosopher said 'Your company here had been twenty times better than any excuses you could send' Doubtless their sense of kinship strengthened the bond of fellowship between them in these later years of Locke's life Another visitor, too, with Locke at this Eastertime was Benjamin Furly, the eldest son of his Rotterdam friend, who had come over to England to enter the office of a London merchant Arent Furly, who was a younger brother of Benjamin

[1] Locke to Sloane, 27th Dec 1700 In *Original Letters*, p 70
[2] Locke to Clarke 13th Dec 1700 [3] Locke to Clarke, 14th Feb 1700-01
[4] Locke to King, 3rd July, 1698 [5] Locke to King, 27th Jan 1700

and Locke's special favourite, was also then in residence at Oates

During the summer months of 1701 Locke enjoyed better health than was usual with him In June he was able to make a visit to London Limborch's son had been entrusted to his care, and he had come up apparently to assist him to settle in the city Elizabeth, his 'wife,' writing[1] from Chipley in July, expresses regret that she is not in town to welcome him, but is delighted that he is in so much better health than formerly. Clarke, however, was not at all well, for when he went to Chipley for the summer he could hardly hold his pen His health gradually improved during his sojourn in the country, where, according to Betty, he spent his vacant hours in fishing in his own ponds With the coming of autumn weather Locke was again far from well In November he tells[2] Limborch that it was difficult owing to weakness for him to write at all, and in December he says to Clarke that he has a great cold which indisposes him from doing anything, even writing When his health begins to improve Clarke tells him[3] 'I was affectionately concerned at your late indisposition as any relation or friend you have, and am as honestly rejoiced at the account I have received from Sir Francis of your recovery' The changes of the season thus affected Locke's health more and more with increasing age

On the opening of the session of Parliament in January, 1701-2, Clarke was again in attendance in the House His communications to Locke reveal that the interest of the latter in political affairs is still unabated In a letter of the 29th of January he informs Locke of the defeat of a bill against the pretended Prince of Wales He presumes that the displeasure of the high churchmen thereat will be of as little concern to Locke as it is to him In March Locke again writes[4] to his cousin King not to desert Westminster for the sake of a Western circuit, as he wonders how any member of the House can sleep till he sees England in a better state of defence A little later he was able to make another visit to London, for on the 23rd of May he writes to Clarke 'I wish my health would have permitted me to stay there [in London] a little longer' The unselfish purpose

[1] Elizabeth Clarke to Locke, 5th July, 1701

[2] Locke to Limborch 19th Nov 1701 [3] Clarke to Locke, 29th Jan 1701-02

[4] Locke to King, 23rd March, 1701-02

he had in remaining was the opportunity his doing so would have given to prevail upon his friend to take better care of his own health The usual summer sojourn at Chipley had, however, brought to Clarke the desired improvement Some months of unusual quiet, in which he wrote no letters that are preserved, Locke passed at Oates before the return of autumn At that season the Earl of Peterborough, after a long period of political activity, was about to take an important part in the war with Spain, and desired to see Locke before his departure from England 'Had not my health,' Locke wrote[1] on the 4th of November to Peter King, 'with a strong hand held me back from such a journey at this time of year, especially to London, I had certainly, upon reading my Lord Peterborough's message to me in your letter, obeyed my inclination and come to kiss his hands before he went' As Locke was not able to go to the city the Earl, and his wife whom Locke had accompanied from Holland thirteen years before, visited him at Oates about the middle of November Peterborough did not go abroad until the next spring, but this was the last occasion on which Locke enjoyed the companionship of these friends, who had so often welcomed him at their home at Parsons Green To Clarke,[2] who was now back in London with renewed health, Locke writes on the 30th of November, a week after Peterborough had left Oates, that he hopes for a visit from him during the Christmas holidays 'Do not blame me,' he adds, 'if I desire to be happy once more in your company I have been a little better than out of the world these twelve months, by a deafness that in great measure shut me out of conversation I thank God my hearing is now restored again, and it is in your power to make me yet more sensible of that blessing It would be folly for me to count upon another Christmas' As his family did not return to town from Chipley until February, 1704, Clarke may have spent the Christmas season at Oates in response to this invitation In spite of his fears Locke lived for nearly two years more, so that there was opportunity later for further delightful personal intercourse between these devoted friends

[1] Locke to King, 4th Nov 1702 In King's *Life of John Locke*, p 258

[2] Fox-Bourne in his *Life of John Locke* II p 513 says this is the last seen of Clarke and of his daughter He regrets also the absence of any letters between Locke and his wife Readers of the present correspondence have both errors corrected from the additional data

In April, 1703, Locke had the promise of a visit at Whitsuntide from his cousin Peter King, whom, since he could not count on much more time in this world, he desired[1] to see and enjoy as much as he could In the correspondence between the cousins at this time Locke mentions also a visit from Newton he had received at Oates during the previous autumn He had then lent Newton for perusal and criticism his essay on *The Corinthians*, as he admired him not only for his wonderful skill in mathematics, but also for his great knowledge in divinity With Peter King there went down to Oates at Whitsuntide Anthony Collins, who was a new but much beloved friend of Locke The reason Locke gives for this friendship lay in Collins's 'relish for truth'[2] If the philosopher were setting out in the world, he could think of no greater happiness than to have such a companion to seek it with him Though he had met so late with one so possessed with the noble spirit of the love of truth, he spoke[3] of it as a comfort that such a man was his friend

In June, 1703, Locke had a visit at Oates from Clarke and his wife, with their daughter Elizabeth This was probably the last meeting in a group of the two friends and their 'wives,' and the re-union must have given the greatest satisfaction to Locke in these his declining years When Locke's visitors had returned to London the philosopher received a letter from Clarke, which affords evidence of another matrimonial project on behalf of his 'wife' Elizabeth Locke was now as always willing to render any possible assistance that might be desired in the love affairs of his friends In 1673 he had sought to obtain a knight as a husband for his cousin Mary Jepp, and it would be quite natural if he were equally solicitous thirty years later to obtain a husband for her daughter Betty The parents of Betty, it would appear probable, had already made the suggestion of a match between her and Peter King They now desired a revival of the affair, and of Locke's aid to bring it to a happy conclusion A marriage between his beloved Elizabeth, the daughter of his cousin, and Peter King, his own cousin and future heir, would certainly have been a romantic incident in the family history

[1] Locke to King, 23rd April, 1703 In Lord King's *Life of Locke*, II p 41
[2] Locke to Collins, 29th Oct 1703 In *Collection of Several Pieces*, p 272
[3] Locke to Collins, 17th Nov 1703 In *Collection of Several Pieces*, p 276

But the knight had not been obtained for the mother, and the future Chancellor was not secured for the daughter, as Peter King had at this time already made choice for his wife of Anne, the daughter of Richard Seyes of Glamorganshire, whom he married in the summer of 1704 When Clarke towards the close of 1703 once more visited Oates, Mrs Clarke in a letter [1] to him still again expresses the hope that the visit had reference to 'some new proposals' apparently for Elizabeth's hand The name of Anthony Collins, the youthful philosophical friend of Locke, is mentioned by her as if she had thought of him as a desirable suitor for her daughter Mrs Clarke also wishes to know to whom Mr Freke had referred as a 'suitable match' She heartily desires the right person to offer, as she fears the daughter 'begins to grow past the best'

The letters of Elizabeth Clarke to Locke, so far as they have been preserved, belong to the last years of the philosopher's life The spirit manifested in them towards him proves that she was worthy of the great affection that he had bestowed upon her They are full of expressions of gratitude to him for his kindness, and, moreover, manifest an almost reverential attitude In a letter of the 8th of July, 1703, a month after her last visit to him at Oates, Elizabeth writes to thank him graciously for another present of books and to answer his enquiry about the new translation into English of *Don Quixote* After her return to Chipley in December of this year she writes [2] to him very sweetly 'Your last gave me an extraordinary satisfaction, bringing me an account that your descent (which word is notwithstanding melancholy) is gentle may you, with as much health as you can wish, be long ere you come to your period' A storm of the 27th of November she describes as the most dreadful ever known in England, and she informs him that among those who lost their lives in it were the Bishop of Bath and Wells and his lady 'May you,' she tenderly adds, 'have escaped this danger and may you never be molested by any' This great storm, it seems, had ravaged both land and sea The financial loss to Clarke at Chipley was over £400, but he was thankful there had been no personal hurt The son of Sir Francis Masham also had 'a miraculous preservation at sea' In still

[1] Mrs Clarke to Clarke 10th Dec 1703

[2] Elizabeth Clarke to Locke, 4th Dec 1703

another letter[1] of thanks for all his kindness Elizabeth writes upon a later offer of books 'I blush to be always on the taking side But what shall I say? I want not the utmost sense of and gratitude for all your extraordinary friendship and civility to me It is then manifest, that it is my misfortune and not my fault, that I make no suitable return' Again, lest any silence on her part might be misconstrued, she writes[2] 'Assure yourself, Sir, that when I am silent, I forget not that you are both my friend and benefactor I take all opportunities to express the sense I have of your favours' Such expressions amply testify to Elizabeth's grateful and loveable disposition, and to the fact that she fully appreciated the honour of Locke's unique friendship for her, and sought to reward it by a gracious esteem and affection on her part She had no thought of him that was not full of respect and gratitude

During the last Christmas of Locke's life, or at latest in the early part of January, 1704, he was cheered by the company of Clarke at Oates To Elizabeth her father brings joy on his return by the favourable account he can give her of the health of their beloved friend This winter, even though he suffered from increasing weakness, Locke passed cheerfully Throughout his long-continued illness his decline was very gradual His lungs lasted longer than he had expected But nature inevitably took its course, and he calmly prepared for the journey's end On the 11th of April he made his last will and testament, which superseded the one he had made after leaving Holland, just as that one had replaced an earlier will written before he went abroad In this latest will he left Clarke the sum of £200, and his 'wife' Betty another £200, along with the portrait of her mother Other smaller bequests of money he made to his relatives Three thousand pounds he left in trust for Francis Cudworth Masham when he should attain the age of twenty-five Half his books he gave also to young Masham, the other half, with his manuscripts and personal property, went to Peter King His landed property he prescribed should be divided between his cousins Stratton and King Peter King he appointed his sole executor On the 3rd of May, 1704, the last annual account was adjusted between Locke and Clarke

[1] Elizabeth Clarke to Locke, 21st Jan 1704
[2] Elizabeth Clarke to Locke, 8th April, 1704

The mild weather of spring brought no relief to Locke's weak lungs and painful breathing 'The increase of my distemper,' he writes[1] to Clarke, 'indisposeth me to everything, and my life goes away in painful short breathing, which I have reason to expect will quickly come to an end' But whatever his own condition of health, he assures Clarke that he shall not cease to be anxious for the welfare of him and of his family He is much disturbed because he learns from different persons of Clarke's poor health The air and company of Oates, he flatters[2] himself, would give Clarke relief, and he therefore hopes that his friend will accept the invitation of Sir Francis Masham to visit them at an early date From other friends he receives visits Early in May Anthony Collins was with him, and they spent happy days together Collins returned again at the end of July, bringing a chaise for Locke, who was now too weak to ride on horseback or walk abroad The Bishop of Gloucester, Dr Edward Fowler, also came to see him at Oates, and there was then, as Locke says, 'an uncomfortable concert of two groaning people'

The summer of 1704 brought still greater weakness to Locke, which he bore with a quiet and serene spirit 'Put into your letter,' he writes on the 27th of June to Hans Sloane, 'when I shall see you I desire it may be very speedily, for I hasten apace to my journey's end, and can count upon but very few days in the world, and have many things to say to you' Although Locke had made many gifts to his 'wife' Elizabeth Clarke, and had supplied her, as she says, with nearly all the books that she possessed, yet in August she has again to thank[3] him for 'a noble present which he lately made,' and to assure him of her utmost gratitude for all his favour In September an elaborate marriage feast, which Locke arranged to the minutest detail, was given at Oates to Peter King and his bride 'I shall be glad,' he writes[4] King, 'to bid you and my cousin, your wife, joy' At the banquet a joyous spirit prevailed, and Locke forgot for a little his great infirmities With the departure of the guests, however, the approach of the end which had so long

[1] Locke to Clarke 28th April 1704 [2] Locke to Clarke, 8th May 1704

[3] Elizabeth Clarke to Locke, 14th Aug 1704

[4] Locke to King, 17th Sept 1704 In Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, IV p 581

been foreshadowed became more evident The struggle with disease he could not longer maintain The footsteps of death were already on his threshold On the afternoon of the 28th of October, 1704, the great philosopher, while sitting in an easy chair, where he had been listening to Lady Masham reading from the Psalms, gently passed away He was buried close to the sunny side of the old Parish Church at High Laver There to-day [1] may be seen his tomb with an iron fence on three sides of it, and the church itself on the fourth Above, on the side of the church, are the arms of the Lockes, and on the tomb there is traced the beautiful Latin epitaph which Locke had written for himself Translated [2] this reads in part 'Stay, traveller near this place lies JOHN LOCKE If you ask what sort of man he was the answer is that he was contented with his modest lot Bred a scholar, he used his studies to devote himself to truth alone This you may learn from his writings, which will show you anything else that is to be said about him more faithfully than the doubtful eulogies of an epitaph,' etc

Locke's cousin, Mary (Jepp), the wife of Edward Clarke, did not long survive him She died at Chipley on the 10th of January, 1705, and her body was interred on the 8th of the following February in the church at Chew Magna, not far from the beautiful manor of Sutton Court, in which she had spent her early years, and which she inherited in part from her father, Samuel Jepp In an inscription to her memory on the floor of this church it is said that she was

> 'At her own request buryed in a lead coffin to the end her bones might not be disturbed
>
> Conditur hoc tumulo, sua mollitur ossa quiescant
> Semper et in summo mens aureat vivat Olympo'

Concerning the later years of Elizabeth Clarke, the 'wife' of Locke, but little is known Tradition says that, in spite of the various suggestions of marriage for her here made by others, she married in the end a person of her own choice Her husband is said to have been a Jones, of Welsh extraction, who possibly may have belonged to the prominent family of that name in Chew Magna Through this marriage it is reported that she

[1] High Laver Church and Oates were visited by the writer in the summer of 1915

[2] The translation is that given by Fox Bourne

became the ancestress of a distinguished house Whatever the real facts of her married life may have been, it may safely be averred that she was faithful to the pledge of her last letter to Locke, that she would ever keep in mind her obligations to him By posterity she will always be remembered with pleasure because of the delightful way in which she entered into the life of the great philosopher Through his intimacy with her the domestic side of Locke's nature, and particularly his charming sympathy with young people, stand finely revealed, and by means of it we obtain a fuller knowledge of the attractive personality of the man

Edward Clarke continued to be a member of Parliament during six sessions after Locke's death His correspondence with John Freke, the friend alike of Locke and himself, he still maintained for several years On the 5th of December, 1706, Freke writes him that he is urgently needed on business in London Again, on the 26th of March, 1707, Freke addresses him as trustee of the estate of the first Earl of Shaftesbury 'James Harris of Salisbury, in the county of Wilts, is in treaty to marry Lady Elizabeth Ashley, and your consent to the match is desired, till which the marriage will not be consummated because you are the surviving' But Clarke's health, which for a number of years had been far from good, gradually declined, and it became more and more difficult for him to attend to business Freke sought to encourage him in his work, and writes him on the 14th of June, 1707 'Would you rouse yourself and endeavour to apply yourself to your business you would soon be able to do so' Three years later than this the end came On the parish record of Nynehead Court, Edward Clarke is stated to have died on the 20th of October, 1710, *aet* 61

The parliamentarian Edward Clarke had enjoyed the great privilege of a long and intimate friendship with the philosopher Alike as a private adviser and as a counsellor in public affairs, Locke had reposed the fullest confidence in him Men in high places, including even the King, also consulted him On a matter of importance Somers writes 'The King directed me to tell you he desires to speak with you at Kensington to-morrow morning at ten o'clock' The Archbishop of Canterbury likewise sends word to him 'I should be glad anytime before the house rises this day to speak a word or two with you about the

act relating to the press' The greatest importance by far, however, that attaches to Clarke's Parliamentary career is due to the fact that through him Locke exerted so large a direct influence on the important monetary legislation of this period Concerning Clarke's personal character no better or more truthful tribute is needed, or can be given, than that contained in the words of John Cary, the philanthropist, when he wrote to him 'That little acquaintance I have had with you hath given me full satisfaction that you are an honest English gentleman'



EDWARD CLARKE

# THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
# JOHN LOCKE
AND
# EDWARD CLARKE

# THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
# LOCKE AND CLARKE

## *Locke to John Strachey* [1]

[Oct 1672]

SIR,

If you are as you ought to be at leisure to hearken to the words of a gentleman and a traveller, and which is more thought of a Monsieur, the time is now come that you are to be beatified by the refined conversation of a man that knows the difference between a black and white feather, and who can tell you which side of his two-handed hat ought to be turned up, and which only supported with an audace I fear you have the unpardonable ignorance not to know what an audace is, to oblige you then, know that what an untravelled Englishman would take to be a piece of ordinary loop lace made use of to support the overgrown brims of a flapping hat has by the virtuosos and accomplished gallants of Paris, when I was there, been decreed to be an audace And thus you may reap the benefit of what cost me many a step O the advantage of travel! You see what a blessing it is to visit foreign countries and improve in the knowledge of men and manners When could you have found out this by living at Sutton Court and eating crammed capons and apple pies? But now I have communicated this to you and enriched your understanding with the notice of a new fashionable French word, let it not make you proud, that belongs to us only that have taken pains and gone a great way for it If I thought it would not, and being embellished by

[1] All letters are transcribed from the Nynehead Collection unless otherwise stated. This letter of the Collection is from a contemporary copy of the original

some scatterings of those jewels I have lately picked up in France you would not be elevated in your own thoughts and at the next sessions laugh at those of the worshipful quorum, which you are not to do till you have been refined with French air and conversation, I would tell you yet better things, and you should (as Don Quixote saw Dulcinea by hear say) see the Louvre, the Seine and Pont Neuf over it, Paris, and, what is the perfection and glory of all, the King of France himself And is not this do you think well worth a journey of 5 or 600 miles, and are not our people wise when they admire and run even mad after these things and several others, whereof I care not if I give you a little taste, viz, There I saw vast and magnificent buildings as big almost as others dominions preparing only for one man, and yet there be a great many other two legged creatures, but 'tis not the way of that country much to consider them, and so let them go who are in such perpetual motions that they will not much need mansions till they come to their long home [I saw] there men that had forsaken the world and women that professed retirement and poverty have yet in the ornaments of their buildings and the hatchments of their trinkets all the mighty riches exquisite art could produce of convenience, beauty or curiosity This I saw and what is more believed that this was to forsake the world and I take it may be allowed to be a heavenly life to have all things with ease and security in a place where labour and vexation enter not I saw too infinite gay things and gewgaws, feathers and frippers, and to come to you I saw Westminster Hall in epitome, which exceeds ours (how wide mouthed soever it be) a thousand times, in the noise and din. How much it came short in honesty I had not occasion to know, I thank my stars, but the hum and buzzing of those busy hornets made me suspect the laborious bee did not keep all his honeys to himself If I should go on with my story, you would find nothing in my letter but I saw, and I saw, and I saw, which not being a very graceful figure nor becoming the eloquence of an accomplished Monsieur, which having been at Paris I hope now to pass for, I will here give off

Perhaps your mouth will water after other matters, but to stop your longing I am to tell you that the great happiness of this heaven upon earth, Paris, lies wholly in vision too Eating, drinking, sleeping and the entertainment of the other senses are

not there altogether so voluptuous, but those are earthly pleasures for clodpate mortals, and we agey men contemn them And I think a man that hath once tasted the dirty water of the Seine, and smelled the variety of stinks that set off Paris, is thereby privileged to contemn you men of toast and ale and powdered beef, which salt keeps from due haut gout If the air of the country hath given me but half so much health as it hath vanity, I shall quickly be as strong as I am now conceited I only wish this puffing up would make me in truth more bulky But if it do not, 'tis yet a piece of greatness to have been amongst a sort of men that look down on all the world, and to have seen him that tramples on them who undervalues us To get this gift of undervaluing all on this side the water is (as experience shows) one of the best qualities one can learn amongst them, and therefore do but think how your quondam friend John,[1] now fashionable Monsieur John, abominated damned roastbeef and the other gross meats of England, when his mouth watered at the sweet grapes and insipid or sour bread that those brave men make meals and feast on, and how did he a night's laugh at the drowsy English men when the *punaise* and other creepers tickled him This accomplishment [you will permit] a man that hath gone so many miles for it, and you will not deny me this privilege of my travels to bring home with me the contempt of my country I wish you were but here to see how I could cock my hat, strut and shake my garniture, talk fast, loud, confidently and nothing to the purpose, slight you and everybody I protest it is worth your seeing But I wish then you would do yourself the kindness to come quickly, for I fear my French seasoning will not be so lasting as theirs who receive it in the powdering tub and therefore may in time decay And therefore if you make not haste, I believe at our next meeting you will find me what I cannot forbear even already to tell you that I am after the old English fashion, *i e* in earnest

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J L

My humble service to your Lady, Mrs Baber and my Cousin Jepp.

[*Endr*] Copy of Dr Locke's letter to Mr Strachey

[1] John Mapletoft

## *Locke to John Strachey.*

Exeter House, 16th Sept. [1673]

Sir,

Since my last I had an opportunity to speak with Sir Walter Vane,[1] who is uncle to the young knight, Sir Nicholas Pelham, who received the proposition concerning my cousin Jep [2] very kindly, and told me that now going out of town into the country where he should see his nephew he would talk with him of it and I should hear from him in a few days The estate he tells me goes for £1000, and is really now in the abatement of rents worth £900 per an And your young knight himself is really as sober and pretty a man as any I know

I am extremely glad the physic wrought so well on the man that came to your house as soon as I had left it I desire you would persuade him to give it effectually to others in the like case, for it will be very much for their health and good This I will be answerable for, and a better physician of my acquaintance here, who you know is in that malady for mild and gentle physic, and hath a great care not to hurt his patients that are troubled with that disease Pray see that this be done with good effect, and you will be useful to your neighbours in this sickly season I cannot approve of the air of Bath, but you that are so near a neighbour to it will, I hope, be careful to make what observations you can, and improve the knowledge of one who is yet but a young practitioner in physic You are a very lucky man, for I had bespoke, and bid money for, a periwig the morning before you writ to me, but we agreed not in the price and so the bargain is saved I will take care about your bell, have given your message to Mr Stringer and am,

Sir,

most affectionate humble servant,

John Locke

My service to the Ladies

[*Addr*] For John Strachey, Esq, at Sutton Court To be left at Mr Codrington's shop in High Street, Bristol

[1] Sir Walter Vane, to whom Locke acted as secretary in 1665-1666 at the Embassy in Brandenburg

[2] Mary Jepp, who later became the wife of Edward Clarke

*Locke to John Strachey.*

Exeter House, 18th Jan 73[-4]

Sir,

By the last post I gave you a short account of what you will find here inclosed more at large The estate he tells me was by his father left entailed, but he hath by a fine and recovery cut it off of half of it that it might be free for jointure or any other settlement he shall have occasion to make In the values set down he assures me he hath not set the highest, and in some places no other then as it is accounted in the poors book, and in the woods he hath only valued the coppice wood, without any consideration of the timber, which he hath upon his estate to some value There is no debt, nor sister's portions charged on any part of the estate, what is in jointure to his mother the paper shews He farther tells me (that he may leave no thing concealed which he thinks in those cases is by no means fair) that for the furnishing his house, [1] the charges of his election into the House of Commons he hath been forced to take . [1] which his mother and he are bound, but he hath not set this down, because his mother has purchased some land not mentioned in the particular which is settled upon him in reversion, and is of more value then his debt He hath only one sister, who is married, and his elder brother by another venter, Sir John Pelham, is a man of £3000 or £4000 per an He is a very sober young gentleman and a good husband, which is a rare thing in this age But for his character I had rather Mr Stringer should inform himself from the gentlemen of that county, and give it you than that you should depend on my opinion, who yet have not temptation to be mistaken on that side

The journal of the proceedings of the House of Commons coming into my hands I could not but send you it This, I suppose, is a better payment of a desperate debt then ever you looked for, and in such a lump of news at once you will be satisfied for the little you have received from me this long time I am not wise enough to comment or prognostick this I'm sure I pray for a happy conclusion, that all things may be settled to the best advantage I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

John Locke

[1] Omissions due to decay of the manuscript

Pray present my service to your Lady and my Cousin Jep and tell her that I am very diligent in the commission she gave me, and as an effect of it hope shortly to see her a Lady and my neighbour

[*Addr*] For John Strachey, Esq, at Sutton Court To be left at Dr Crosse's in Corne Street, Bristol

## *Clarke to Locke.*

London, 14th February, 1681[-2]

DEAR SIR,

Since I have been deprived of the happiness of your company I have had no satisfaction like that of hearing of your safe arrival at Oxon, and being in health, wherein there is no friend you can be more nearly concerned than myself, especially in regard my own welfare depends so much upon it At present I can only acknowledge the infinite favours I have received from you, with an assurance that whenever it shall please God to restore me to myself again, I shall use my best endeavours to make a more suitable return In the meantime I beg this further favour to be informed where I may get the true spa-water you advised me to drink, and what quantity I shall take, that in case my unfortunate distemper continue, I may seek a remedy therein, as well as in my endeavours of following your good advice

Sunday in the evening Mr Thynn was barbarously murdered in his coach with a blunderbus by a Polander in the open street in the Pall Mall His assistants were four Swedes, all Papists, whereof one was a Captain to whom the Polander was servant They were apprehended the next morning early and carried before the Council, where the Polander owned the fact, and said he was commanded to do it by his master the Captain, who owned he did it for the service of Konnismak

The Duke of Monmouth was but a few minutes before Mr Thynn was shot with him in the coach, but was happily set out at Sr Wm Poultney's house near the place the murder was committed, which makes many conjecture the design was to have taken him off Mr Thynn lived till about six in the morning yesterday, and made a will and the D of M his executor

My Lord and his bail were discharged yesterday with great respect from the court, which is all at present from your very troublesome, but

most truly affectionate and faithful servant,
E C

[*Endt*] Copy of a letter writ to Mr Locke the 14th Feb 1681[-2]

## *Locke to Clarke*

Ch Ch 16th Feb 81-2

DEAR SIR,

I believe the kind expressions of your letter in the utmost latitude you can mean them But what assurances so ever you give me of your friendship you will but ill perform what I expect from it, unless you take care to use a friend of mine that is in your hands something better then I fear you do If you continue to persecute yourself with your own thoughts I shall complain of you as one that takes a delight to torment me in the most sensible part, and you will be sure to receive all the reproaches from me that you can expect from a man who finds himself injured in what is extremely dear to him 'Tis possibly but ill-breeding to return grumbling and threats in exchange for so obliging a letter as you sent me If therefore you do not think I am naturally very rude and quarrelsome, you must conclude that the cause is of importance which makes me go contrary to my custom and inclination But I hope I take all this more out of concern then need, and I am willing to think you do not wholly neglect yourself since you enquire after the spa-waters where they are to be had I do not certainly know But Dr Goodall I remember told me he knew of some in town, and 'tis by his direction and under his conduct that I desire you to take them I have formerly acquainted him with some little of your case, and I dare answer for him he will be careful in advising you as I know he is able and discreet He lives at the College of Physicians in Warwick Lane, and pray go to him in my name

The murder of Mr Thynn is so barbarous a thing that I find it abhorred by all sober men

I find in your letter another inclosed to me which by the superscription I judge to come from Thanet house, which yet I cannot reconcile to your referring me to Mr Stringer for other

news, for I conclude he sent you this letter to be inclosed in yours, since he writ not to me himself

Pray present my humble service to Mrs Clarke, who I hope is got well out of the affair of the Nurse, and has nothing now to divert her from the great business of the gold and silver petticoat

My humble service to Mrs Cudworth and the rest of your good company

I am, Sir,
your most humble and most affectionate servant,
J Locke

If you think fit to make use of Dr Goodall, I will, if you please to let me know it, write to him at large my thoughts and give him an account of what I have done, but I should have been glad you would have consented we three might have talked together whilst I was in town

[*In Clarke's hand*]

The continued care you have of me, manifested with so much kindness and affection as is expressed in your last letter which I yesterday received deserves the greatest acknowledgments I can make you, and requires my utmost endeavours to be in all respects a strict observer of all your directions, especially since they tend so much to my attaining of what is most desirable in the world, viz content and satisfaction

The spa-waters I have not yet resolved to take, but when I do I shall apply myself to Dr Goodall, and take the liberty you give me of using your name, but will by no means give you the trouble of writing to him

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter received the 17th of Febr 1681

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Ch Ch 7th May, [16]82

Madam,

Wit and good nature meeting in a fair young Lady as they do in you make the best resemblance of an angel that

we know, and he that is blessed with the conversation and friendship of a person so extraordinary enjoys all that remains of paradise in this world For certainly the difference betwixt that happy place and this untoward world did not lie in the taste of fruits and smell of flowers, in more musical notes of birds, or a better landscape to entertain the eye But mankind here should have been angels to one another Their wit should have delighted without hurting, and their knowledge instructed without vanity Every one's virtues should have made a satisfaction to himself and an example to others Prudence and good nature should have preserved an universal harmony without leaving any room for envy by looking ill upon another's happiness to disturb one's own Good will should have given rise to all was done there, and sincerity vouching the intention to be good had banished all fears and jealousies, and kept out that worst of tormentors, suspicion, which makes even sweet things bitter, and what in itself is good uneasy and hurtful to him that has it Since then 'twas not shady walks nor groves of myrtle, the gaudy colours of some, or perfume of other flowers, that made the happiness of that garden, but the innocence, beauty, knowledge and virtue of the company there, be think yourself what a stock you have left of this lost treasure to bestow on those you will think worthy of it I'm sure it is enough to justify all the importunity I can be guilty of in sueing for some part of it, especially when you have encouraged me to hope that for a few good words, if I could light on them to send you, you would dispose yourself to think a little more seriously of your coming hither I confess those I have put into my letter are not picked words, which 'tis thought are not always the best, but I took that which I imagined was the surest way to have good ones, which was to set before my thoughts your virtues and excellent qualities, and then if I could but remember the names of them I should be sure to send you a letter filled with the best words in the world, and if I have not 'tis because our imperfect language wants names for several of those uncommon accomplishments which are to be found in you However I may fail in the main, this I shall always have cause to thank you for, that you have once in your life given me the opportunity to speak some part of my thoughts of you without being able to condemn what I say either of flattery or compliment, having yourself given me

leave to do it, and therefore you must allow me with confidence to assure you that I am,

Madam,
your most humble and most obedient servant,
J Locke

I am Mr Clarke's humble servant, and shall be glad to hear that he is returned safe and well And pray give my humble service to your overhead neighbour This you can do in better words then I can what ever you say of mine

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 23rd May, 1682

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 8th of this instant, and knowing the hand to be yours I hastily broke it open, being in hopes then to know the certain time of your return to London, but instead of having that satisfaction, I was surprised with so many fine words that I wrapt it up again, and was forced to read the superscription ten times over before I could satisfy myself that I had not opened the letter that was destined for my pretty overhead neighbour who deserves them all, but on me you ought not to have thrown away half so many of your best words If I had writ you forty letters to bespeak them, without it was to make room for something better worth your thoughts to entertain you, for I do assure you, dear cousin, half a word at any time would make me serious in a journey to wait on you were it ten times as far to do you the least service, but now I hope to see you in town where we will discourse of a journey to Tunbridge, that being more proper for this hot season, and leave the billet subject till the next winter and in the meantime I must tell you 'tis a piece of charity to let us see you now we are under great melancholy for the loss of Mrs Cudworth's company, who is lately gone to Cambridge I could have wished you had been here when she went, to have shared with us in our trouble, and by this you may see I have mischief

[1] From the Lovelace Collection

towards you in my heart, and if I can will be revenged on you for all the tricks you play me, but however you use me I find I cannot possibly be other than,

Dear Sir,

your truly affectionate and faithful humble servant,

M Clarke

Mr Clarke gives you his humble service

This afternoon I was to wait on Mr Stringer, and I understand by him he desires if you meet him at Reading to persuade you to go with him to Bath But if he prevails I am undone, for I depend on seeing you in town to advise Mr Clarke if there be anything needful for him to take before he drinks Tunbridge waters, and the advice of any body else will give me no satisfaction at all Pray if you go with him, write 2 or 3 words where you would have him drink any other waters first or not

[*Addr* ] These to Mr John Locke at his Lodgings at Christ Church in Oxford

[*Endr by Locke*] M Clarke 23rd May, 1682

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 26th October, 1682

Dear Sir,

I had sooner returned you my thanks for your kind letter of the 12th, but that I was in daily hopes at the same time to give you an account of my wife's being safely delivered, which now I thank God I can do, she being yesterday well brought to bed with a girl, and is in as good a condition as can be expected But the child is weak and feeds very little, so that we are at present under some difficulties in that particular , but I hope if the child be not better by to-morrow my wife will be content to try it with a breast

I find your friends in the city are very desirous of your company, and the good lady hath spoken to Lame Thomas to write to you about it But upon what politic reason he hath

[1] Lovelace Collection

deferred it I know not, and do doubt he hath not done prudently therein, because I have reason to believe that all circumstances considered, they have now as much need as ever of the best advice and assistance of their wisest and truest friends, in which number I am sure you deserve the first place Which with mine and my wife's humble services to you, concludes this from

your most obliged humble servant,
EDW CLARKE

Yesterday the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen on the Hustings declared Sir Wm Prichard to be the Lord Mayor for the ensuing year And the King hath promised to dine with this new Mayor and Sheriffs at the Guild Hall on Monday next etc

[*Addr*] These to Mr John Locke at his Chamber in Christ Church College in Oxon present Oxon

[*Endr by Locke*] E Clarke, 26th Oct, 1682

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

London, 20th Feb [1683]

DEAR SIR,

I have not seen a business go easier than that about little Miss's remove to Ditton, nor more jumbled than mine with Mr Clarke We were at Ditton, your Lady and I the day after you went We found Master very well and lusty, and so he continues, for such was the news Charles brought to Salisbury Court last night Nurse is to bring Master Hadly to town on Thursday next to be weaned, and the same day Miss will be sent for from Stanmore and be put into her hands, so that all that business will be as well as is possible, and I hope the event will be as successful as the beginning has been in all the parts lucky, and as far as I can guess Mistress's mind is at rest about it

I have two or three deeds engrossed for my mortgage to Mr Clarke, wherein the trouble has been his, the fault other people's The first thing that disturbed the draft you left was that the Rectory was left out of the recovery which was suffered of Overton, and so it could not be well conveyed to him by my

[1] No address, but letter is in Locke's hand

Ld P nor the rent thereof by him to me To supply this defect, my money being ready, he resolved to give me Sanford for security When that deed was ready for the seal and upon the point of being executed in comes one of my Lord's Officers, with whom Mr Clarke going to Mr G Eyers returns satisfied to go on with the payment of the money which he was at a stand in before, and then returning desires me to take my security on Overton, for that he should have need of Sanford for the raising of more money and a greater sum I that desired nothing but to be secured, and willing to ease as much as I could the perplexity of a man to whom I could impute none of this uncertainty and seemed to me to act very candidly I took the rents of Overton with the reversion of the farm and manor for my security, and that only for three months, Mr Clarke being earnest to have it for no longer time, because he thought it too great a security for such a sum, and I was willing to oppose none of his own conveniences that might consist with my security, so that the matter is as good as left to be settled between him and you when you come to town I have yet no copy of any of the deeds but of Tregonill's lease and release, those with the mortgage in your name and his bond are left with your Lady If no new thing happen I shall go out of town on Thursday next with Dr Thomas, and then the next news you have from me will be from St Giles's Your Lady and the rest of the company at Salisbury Court are well I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

I am commanded by your Lady, whom I am now with, to send you her kind remembrance I have taken place in Salisbury coa [1]

## *Locke to Clarke*

Salisbury Court, 22nd Feb 1682-3

Dear Sir,

Your cousin Clarke tells me he has now pretty well settled his business and is going out of town to-morrow he has

[1] Remainder is cut off

now all the writings in his custody with a receipt and releases from Mr Fowles He has not yet given me the copies of them, only of Tregonhil's lease and release as I told you in my last, but he has promised me to send up attested copies of all that you shall think necessary by you

I write this in your closet, your Lady by me, and Miss in the cradle in the next room She was sent for to-day, and Nurse Edeling came with her though not sent for The child is thriven since we saw it there, but yet your Lady has resolved to put it into Nurse Trent's hands to-morrow, who is also come to town with Master Hadley to leave him here, and that for these plain reasons 1st Because the thriving of the child since your last seeing of it argues some neglect in the nurse before, which the dissatisfaction appeared in you for her not thriving has made her mend since, and should have been the effect of her care and tenderness sooner 2nd 'Tis agreed that Nurse Edeling has very little or no milk and Nurse Trent plenty, so that if sucking agrees with her there she may have it, and if feeding does better Nurse Trent can do that as well as the other To which you must add a 3rd no less considerable, and that is that upon long experience your Lady can with more satisfaction and confidence trust Nurse Trent's care than the other, who never gave her so much reason to suspect her neglect in two years as this had done in three months This resolution I hope will be of good success to the child, and in the meantime put both your minds at rest, having done that which upon consideration was thought best and most reasonable to be done

Sir James Edwards tells your Lady that Mr Cawley's son is well approved of the company, but yet is like to miss his employment in the East India Company unless somebody else give security for him as well as his father hath done, since they admit none without two give bond, and the ships will in a short time be going Your Lady sends you word of this without any direction from Sir James Edwards, but only out of charity to a lad whom she has seen you concerned for, and thinks you may take some order with his father about it now you are pretty near him

I shall, God willing, be on my way to St Giles to-morrow morning, and I am now pleased with the accident that hindered me from going with Dr Thomas to-day, since it gave me the

opportunity to be here to see the child and discourse with your Lady about it before I left the town I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Chipley To be left at the post-house at Taunton

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letters about his business with my cousin Clarke, etc, and about my child, etc Received the 25th of Feb 1682

## *Locke to Clarke*

St Giles's, 2nd March, 1682-3

Dear Sir,

'Tis great pity that a man who hath so much real friendship as you have should put it in a dress which is commonly made use of to cover the defects and failings of that which is less sincere And did I not know you very well, I should be at a loss how to understand the great thanks you send me which so little belong to me But I allow these expressions I find in your two letters of 21st and 24th Feb to the concernment I know you have for those things wherein I have done little more than shew my willingness to serve you, and must not yet in the meantime (whilst you talk so much of my favours) forget those greater obligations I have to you But to put an end to discourses of this nature, give me leave to assure you once for all that I believe of your kindness whatsoever you desire I should, and I beg you to believe of me that I cannot have greater satisfaction than to find occasions of acknowledging it

My Lady is very sensible of your kindness to her, and returns you her thanks But things go on now so well here that I think there will be no need of pressing Sir Wm C to come down, and without that I suppose he will scarce come, and therefore you may not be much afraid of any summons to meet here, if it should happen such care shall be taken as you desire 'Tis thought my Lady will be able to get hence by Lady day, pray send me word how long you intend to stay at Chipley

The proceedings of Mr H here have been wonderful the

stories so many [and strange] that if they were not confirmed by some body and several sober [witnesses it] would be impossible to believe

Your cousin Clarke, I believe, will have spoken with you before this come to you, and thereby you will understand how our business was settled at last I refer myself wholly to you in the affair, in whose hands I account it as safe as my own, and I doubt not but you will take care that the security shall be good and sufficient in all the parts of it Mr Stringer presents his services to you, and desires you would remember to pay to his man Simons' sister at Spaxton the money you had of him in Mich term last

I hope ere this you have received an account from your Lady of her satisfaction in your remove of Mis[s], and I hope the next news will be of her thriving well at Ditton I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr* ] For Mr Edward Clarke at Chipley To be left at the post-house at Taunton

## *Locke to Clarke*

Salisbury, 25th March [1683]

Dear Sir,

I hope you got safely to town last night and found your Lady and all well at your arrival, whereof I shall be very glad to receive the good news I got yesterday a return for your money at ten days' sight I could not meet with any that could do it sooner, and Mr Minifie, who was mayor of this place the last year, Dr Thomas assures me is a very good man, and will be in London himself the beginning of this week Your money upon two or three tellings wanted a shilling, which I added to it to make just thirty-seven pounds Besides fourteen shillings and six pence which he refused as not good money, I made up with other of my own, which yet I doubt not but I shall part with before I see you in London

We had here yesterday a foot-race, if it can be called a race where there is but one and he not to run neither, for the wager

was that he would walk twenty miles in five hours The walker won by an hour and seven minutes

My service to your Lady and the rest of your good company

I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

[*On the back*] Remember Clapham for Mr John

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter with a Bill of Exchange for £37, etc Received the 26th of March, 1683

## *Locke to Clarke*

Salisbury, 27th March, 1683

DEAR SIR,

On Sunday last I sent you a bill for £37, drawn on one William at the Saracen's head in Friday street by his master Mr Minifie of this town, who went hence for London yesterday, and so will be in town to pay you himself I repeat this to you here again that if the bill and my last letter should have miscarried, you might go to Mr Minifie for the money, by the same token he promised to tell it again on Saturday last to see whether there was nothing, which yet he did not

I am troubled for your Lady and son's cough, but I hope neither of them will be of any long continuance, and am very glad the children are going again into the country air, for so I conclude they are ere this time If your Lady's cough continues, I would advise her to take about seven ounces of blood, and purge the next day, taking five of the pills prescribed, and the cordial draught at night after it If she has six stools or more with the pills it will be well enough else let her take them again two days after, adding one or two proportionably as she found them work before, and take again the cordial draught at night, after that the lambative and emulsion I doubt not but will perfectly put an end to her cough I am sorry I am forced to send so long a bill, which I fear will be apt to fright her from doing any thing, but this I am sure is the safest way, and though there be much writing 'tis in effect nothing but a purge lambative and emulsion

For your son, if his cough does not abate of itself, let him be purged with half an ounce of manna dissolved in beer or posset drink, which, if it work not to five or six stools, increase the dose and repeat it again a day or two after Let him continue the use of the syrup or mixture for his ague according to the direction I have here sent Only after every purging let him take at night going to bed three spoonfuls, and the next morning three spoonfuls twice resting four hours between, and then let him take it afterwards again in a smaller quantity as he does now

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant [1]

I think of returning to-morrow to St Giles's, and hope our stay there will not now be long If there be occasion pray send for me, in the meantime let me hear Dr Thomas is your humble servant

My service to your Lady and the rest of your good company

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter with the prescription * for my wife and child Received the 28th of March, 1683

* For Mrs Clark, 27th March 1683

De matter sanguis e brachio ad ℥vii
Sequenti mane purgentur pil sequent
2l pil stomach cum gum ℈ii
Colch major ℈i
Resin jalap gr v
Ol junip gr iii
cum syr ros solut q s m f pil no xii
Cap no v cum regimine
Si non operentur vsque ad vj vel vij sedes repetantur post biduum augendo desin prout opus fuerit
2l syr de mecar ℥vi
Aq ceras nigr ℥iii
Aq cinam hordeat ℥ii
m f haustus cordialis cap horā somni nocte post purgationem
Postridie post purgationem ingredietur usum sequentium medicamentorum

## *Locke to Clarke*

Purton, 24th Aug 1683

Dear Sir,

I hope this letter will meet you and your Lady at Sutton, so far safe on your way to London, whither I wish you a good journey and then your Lady a happy delivery there of her great

[1] Signature is cut off

belly, but I hope to see you there before that time I have by the same hand writ to my cousin Stratton to pay you what money he has of mine in his hands I hope it will be no inconvenience to you to receive it at Sutton, for I suppose if you should not need it yet Mrs Strachey has money in London, and so it will be a convenient way of return for both her and me

I am so used to trouble you that you would almost bear it out of custom as I presume upon prescription, but I must ascribe it to the true cause, your extraordinary kindness, to which it is but a poor but all the return I can make to assure that I am, with perfect esteem and affection,

Dear Sir,
your most humble and most obliged servant,
J Locke

My humble service and thanks to your Lady for her too kind entertainment at Chipley

My humble service to Mrs Strachey

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter received the 10th of September, 1683

## *Locke to Clarke*

26th Aug 1683

Dear Sir,

Would your friendship or my occasions permit it, this paper might be with more decency employed in the return of my thanks for the kindnesses you have already done me than in putting you upon the trouble of doing me more, but so it is I can only increase the score and with far better opportunity of acknowledgment I have herewith sent you many papers You will know how and how far and in what occasions they are to be made use of better than I What you dislike you may burn I have sent amongst them a letter of attorney to Mr P P[ercivall], if you think that a fit place to lodge money in pray give it him, for I thought it convenient to have somebody in London to lodge and return it if you should leave the town you must be judge whether this be well contrived, and so I pray order it accordingly

My Lady Shaftesbury has, I suppose, money in one Mr Prince's or some other hands in Amsterdam Pray talk with

her about it, for that probably may both suit her and my occasions, but mention not me but a friend of yours you will be responsible for, for I would be private at least till you hear from me again For I would gladly have all the money I could returned to me as soon as conveniently may be, and that for several reasons, and therefore I would be glad you could get the money of Mr Morgan to be returned with others as soon as you can If he will not pay it presently, I think it would be best to put it into your or P Percivall's or R Smitheby's name by changing the bond

You remember the word *papers* This enclosed will guide you to a gentlewoman in whose hands are lodged the writings concerning my annuity Those I think were best to be sealed up and left with her still In another paper sealed up you will find a bond of Dr Thomas's for fifty pounds, which pray deliver him, with other writings of the like kind which dispose of as you think fit, though I think they will be best there till you have occasion to make use of them There is an other paper also sealed up which what it contains I suppose you will guess by the shape of it from what I have formerly told you You may consider whether you think it best to lie there or no There is also a purse of gold, about 100 guineas I suppose in value The ruby ring in it give her, and all the other pieces that are wrapped up in little papers to keep them for me The onyx ring with a seal cut in it, if you please, accept from me This purse with all in it I would also have lie there till you have an opportunity to return the money to me, for if that cannot be done I would have it rest all with her, only the two rings there I would have you take, the one for your self, the other for your Lady It will all be ready there for you to call for at any time whenever you have an opportunity to return it I would desire you to enquire of Mr Bray, one of the storekeepers of the East India storehouse at Leadenhall, whether he hath had any news from Mr R——rds of anything concerning me, and to take order in that matter as it shall require When Syll comes to town [1] for his subsistence or journey pray supply him I have ordered him to receive money in other places, of which if you will ask him he will give you an account

In the same place as Dr Thomas's bond you will find a bond

[1] The remainder of the sentence, now badly decayed, has been crossed out

of my cousin Bonville's for twenty pounds I lent it him to help set him up, and design to receive nor use nor to call in the principal till my own necessities force me And if I die before I call for it, and he behave himself well to me, which you will know from Dr Thomas, I would have the bond given up to him I have given order to Mr Pawlins to send up to you when he sends you your coach glass with [*sic*] a little red trunk of mine, in which you will find my book of accounts, which I put into your hands for two reasons, first that you may see how my moneys stand, and so get in what money you find owing to me where the sums are considerable enough to give you the trouble, and next to let you see therein my method Pray keep this book as safe as you can Stands ready cased Dr Thomas has paid me now at Salisbury fifty pounds, and therefore pray deliver him up his bond how our account stands you will see by that book I have ordered Mr Pawling to return you some money he has of mine I think it is not much What he sends take without asking any account from him, for I am sure he will keep back nothing that is mine Dr Thomas, who brings you this, comes almost on purpose about my affairs, whom pray advise in my concernments What news the Old Bailey affords from time to time I would gladly receive from you The key of that little red trunk before mentioned Dr Thomas has it serves to that and a little leather standish I have in Oxford I have writ to Mr Pawling to send you also my hat and clothes, which I should be glad to receive if they can be sent me Mr Ashurst or some such man will advise you how If Dr Thomas remove my things to a good place, I think you were best lock my book of accounts up in my scriptor when you go out of town, and to this purpose keep the key of the scriptor till then, and then you may be pleased to leave it with Mrs Grig, from whom Dr. Thomas had it Mrs Grig may be heard of at the Dean of Canterbury's or Dr Blomer's, but this as all other I leave to you wholly, only I would be glad to have that book safe

Pray talk with Dr Thomas about the best way of securing the books and goods in my chamber at Christ Church if there should be any danger There is a pair of silver candlesticks, too, and a silver standish of mine in Mr Percivall's hands When a safe and sure way of returning money to me is found, I would have them also turned into money and returned to me Upon con-

sideration I have thought it best to make a will, which you will find amongst the other papers, by which you may be legally entitled to whatsoever I leave, and it being uncertain whether that may be more or less, I can without making another formal will give you new directions to dispose of what I shall leave as occasions and circumstances may vary I have assigned over my annuity, due from my Lady Shaftesbury, to Dr. Thomas, who has promised to leave the assignment with you and a declaration of trust, and if there be occasion to assign it to Mr Tyrrell

I am, perfectly yours,
J L

[*Postscript*] All my wearing linen, flannel shirts, waistcoats, stockings, either at Dr Goodall's or Oxford, I would have sent to me My old suits and a cloak at London I would have sold *forthwith* (?) for

[*Endr*] J Locke's letters received Thomas 22nd September 168

## *Locke to Clarke*

21st Nov [1683]

Dear Sir,

I begin now to be in pain by your silence The latest date I have from you being the 3rd Oct, which I may now call a long month since For as there is nobody to whom I have greater obligations than to you, so I can truly say that whether I consider gratitude, friendship, or inclination, there is nobody in the world can upon any of these scores be more concerned for you and yours than I am upon every one of them And if I may with freedom tell it you, I can with great sincerity assure you that that which most sensibly touches in my own private affairs is my absence from a man I so perfectly love and esteem and my being out of the way of giving him those marks I would of it I think you know me so well that you will not suspect this to have the least of compliment And if you reflect upon my former letters, and consider with what a blunt confidence I have troubled you in my affairs, you will have reason to think me guilty on the other side, though you put in some allowance for the

reasons that made it almost necessary for me to write to you in such a style But now in truth I could hold no longer, and I must tell you again I am in pain till I hear from you I know that the painful hour must by this time have overtaken your Lady, and I long to hear that 'tis safely over when you assure me of that, and that she and you and the little ones are well, I shall be at rest and be at much more ease than I am at present

About the middle of October I sent you a letter wherein were four others inclosed, whereof one was to Mr Tyrrell at Oakley and an other to Mr Paul They were open that you might read them and then convey them if you thought fit, for that authority I give you over all my letters that come to your hands, you being a better judge in the place than I can be at this distance I shall [not] trouble you with any petition or anything more concerning those letters till I hear from you again I writ to you also an answer to the advise you gave concerning Roberts and Sheldate, and desire you to consider whether upon the whole matter if the gent had still any business here that you should [acquaint] her that the person whom Roberts talked so simply of is ready to serve her, and that it was declined no longer than whilst he thought he should not stay long enough in that place when that business lay to do it, having at first designed to make but a very little stay in it , and that if there be any occasion still, and she thinks still to employ him, he desires she would keep both his being there and his being employed in her business private even from Mr Sheldate The reason why he thought this offer fit to be made her was that he feared she might take it amiss that she had not had the offer of his service when he was in a place capable to serve her, which she will undoubtedly come to hear of But, as I said then, this is wholly left to your discretion to do in it as you think best, since you said you were almost out of countenance upon this occasion

Michaelmas is now over, but I have not a word of Morgan it is not intended that you should run the risk of that affair 'tis enough that you have the trouble If therefore it be not paid or secured to your satisfaction there will be £50 to be paid at Christmas by Mr Cheswell, and to balance the account the remainder shall be remitted from hence to you But however that matter stands I desire you to consider whether you or I or

Adrain Thompson were best to give the receipt for that £50 at Christmas, that order may be taken accordingly

Honest Adrian writes me word that the chest that is now in Mrs [1] custody was not opened, though he had the key and directions to do it Neither do I ask whether any thing else in her custody was opened, only give me leave to tell you that I either think or dreamt you enquired of me concerning the title of a treatise, part whereof is in Mr Smith's hands, and it is *Tractatus de morbo Gallico* If there were another copy of it I should be very glad to have that at any reasonable rate, for I have heard it commended and shall apply myself close to the study of physic by the fireside this winter But of this I shall write to you more hereafter, when I hear there are more copies than one, for else it will not be reasonable to desire it I desire also to know whether Dr Sydenham hath published any thing this year

Though I would not give you the trouble of public news which gazettes and news-letters tell of, yet I would be glad to hear sometimes of my old friends, how Thomas does and where he is, how the trust goes on, and how J H plies What news from Cambridge, and whether there be no complaints from thence of a friend of yours, for something of my particular acquaintance and friends [will be] welcome to me For I perceive, let me be as much a hermit as I will, let me endeavour to separate myself from the world as much as I can, that part will not stick to me as long as I have any life, any thought, left, and I shall still have a sensible part left for the concerns of my friends and acquaintance And truly, could I have but the conversation of some few persons I could name, with quiet and freedom, I could well forget all the gaudy superfluity of this life, nay, I should think myself very happy if I could but tell you once a day to your face how much

I am, Dear Sir,
your most affectionate and most obliged servant,
J Locke

There are four of mine besides this, of which I am uncertain whether any of them be come to your hand

[1] A hole in the paper

## *Locke to Mrs. Clarke*

[Dec 1683]

MADAM,

If your lying in will, as you say, produce long letters as certainly as I find it does fine children, I advise for my own sake as well as that of your family, that Master and you would get to work again as hard as you can drive that you might lie in again as soon as may be, for I long as much as ever you did for mulberrys that you should have two or three boys more, and for a long letter that you should tell me how good a time you have had and how the little one thrives, for methinks you do so very well at both that 'tis pity but you should keep your hand in But pray do not mistake and conclude from hence that I shall expect a letter but once a year from you If I have a great letter no oftener than you have a great belly perhaps I shall not fall out with you, but I shall grumble shrewdly if you will not afford me a few words oftener than that I am exceeding glad to hear the good news of your having passed the time so well, and being so well again I was, I confess, in pain when I heard no news of you about that time, and though my silly lungs do but ill brook your air in the winter, yet I wished myself often in the warm chamber and the good company you mention I think I could make as good a gossip as any in your parish for savoury discourses and keeping the fire warm Indeed I have not yet perfected my hand in drinking, but I hope so to harden my lungs this winter with turf smoke that they will be able by the spring to defy the stoutest of your gossips' boules, and then have at you I thank God I have not been so well these many years in winter If you please to come hither you shall not hear me cough once in a whole day together, and into the bargain you shall see new fashions, new housewifery, new cookery, new sights, too much to be put into a letter

I am glad to hear the little one is so lusty a girl, but I take it amiss that all your talk is of her and so little of my pretty mistress I shall not endure that this new comer shall in the least put her out of favour In a former letter to Mr Clarke I told you that there appeared no reason to me to apprehend that your nurse's being rickety when she was a child should make her milk less wholesome now, if she be otherwise healthy and of

a good constitution now, that being a disease in which, though it cripples poor children, yet, when age and strength gets over it, makes them not that I have observed weaker or more unhealthy men and women I wish you and all yours a happy new year, that every day of it may bring additions of satisfaction to you, till it deliver you up to greater happiness in the following, and so on till you see several generations

I am, Madam,
your most humble and most faithful servant,
J L

Because I am not at hand to present you with an Almanack I have sent you by this bearer a little piece of frost cake (for we have nothing else but frost here), which I desire you to accept as if it were new year's day

Pray ask Mr Clarke whether he has not a notable factor here He sent to him for some seeds to make a grove, and he has sent him some turnip seeds If master and his chief gardener (for you know my place) go on thus you are like to have brave walks and a notable plantation But 'tis no matter for that, you and I will have a turn in the turnip grove next summer

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Clarke

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke* [1]

7 [Jan] 1683[-4]

MADAM,

[This] is not the first by many I have received from you without having any other title to them but barely [your goodness] To make some acknowledgment, 'tis fit I acquit myself of my promise to you in reference to my little mistress [2] [and] you will think that speaking with [the sincere] affection I have for the softer sex I shall not think of any rougher usage than only what [her sex] requires Since therefore I acknowledge no difference of sex in your mind relating to truth, virtue and obedience, I think well to have no thing altered in it from

[1] This letter is in very bad condition, being discoloured and very much faded even since 1877, when a copy which accompanies it was made It is here printed from the copy of 1877, as the greater part of the original letter is now hopelessly illegible

[2] Elizabeth Clarke

what is [writ for the son] And since I should rather desire in my wife a healthy constitution, a stomach able to digest ordinary food, and a body that could endure upon occasion both wind and sun, rather than a puling, weak, sickly wretch, that every breath of wind or least hardship puts in danger, I think the meat drink and lodging and clothing should be ordered after the same manner for the girls as for the boys There is only one or two things whereof I think distinct consideration is to be had You know my opinion is that the boys should be much abroad in the air at all times and in all weathers, and if they play in the sun and in the wind without hats and gloves so much the better. But since in your girls care is to be taken too of their beauty as much as health will permit, this in them must have some restriction, the more they exercise and the more they are in the air the better health they will have, that I am sure but yet 'tis fit their tender skins should be fenced against the busy sunbeams, especially when they are very hot and piercing to avoid this and yet to give them exercise in the air, some little shady grove near the house would be convenient for them to play in, and a large airy room in ill weather and if all the year you make them rise as soon as it is light and walk a mile or two and play abroad before sun-rising, you will by that custom obtain more good effects than one, and it will make them not only fresh and healthy, but good housewives too But that they may have sleep enough, which whilst they are young must not be scanty, they must be early to bed too

Another thing is, that of washing their feet every night in cold water and exposing them to the wet in the day Though my reason is satisfied that it is both the healthiest and safest way, yet since it is not fit that girls should be dabbling in water as your boys will be, and since perhaps it will be thought both an odd and new thing, I cannot tell how to enjoin it This I am sure I have seen many a little healthy [child do in] winter, and I think that had I a daughter I should order water to be put in her [shoes] when she put them on, and have her feet well washed in cold water But this must not be begun at any time of the year, but in the hot weather in May, and then begin only with one dabble the first morning, two the next, and so on If continuing in this custom benefit to nature about thirteen or fourteen as others have (?), and as I could not at all doubt, I should

do her a very great kindness by preventing the mischiefs, that others (who used to keep their feet warm and dry) very often receive by taking wet in their feet, whereof in your sex there are daily examples But since I affect not to go out of the ordinary road, and there are many healthy women without it, I do not advise it for my pretty little Mis[s], though if there should be any inconvenience in it, the very leaving of it off would remove it

Their heads, I think, should never be covered, nor their necks within doors, and when they go abroad the covering of these should be more against the sun than the cold And herein you may take notice how much it is use that makes us either tender or hardy, for there is scarce a young lady so weak and tender who will not go bare in her neck without suffering any harm at a season when if a hardy strong man not used to it should imitate her it would be intolerable to him, and he would be sure to get a cold if not a fever

Girls should have a dancing master at home early it gives them fashion and easy comely motion betimes which is very convenient, and they, usually staying at home with their mothers, do not lose it again, whereas the boys commonly going to school, they lose what they learn of a dancing master at home amongst their ill-fashioned schoolfellows, which makes it often less necessary because less useful for the boys to learn to dance at home when little though if they were always to play at home in good company I should advise it for them too If the girls are also by nature very bashful, it would be good that they should go also to dance publicly in the dancing schools when little till their sheepishness were cured, but too much of the public schools may not perhaps do well, for of the two, too much shamefacedness better becomes a girl than too much confidence, but having more admired than considered your sex I may perhaps be out in these matters, which you must pardon me

This is all I can think of at present, wherein the treatment of your girls should be different from that I have proposed for the boys Only I think the father [ought] to strike very seldom, if at all to chide his daughters Their governing and correcting, I think, properly belongs to the mother

You need not take so much care to bespeak me to a man and company to which my own inclination so much carries me

But if once I get into possession of my apartment, as you are so kindly pleased to call it, can anybody tell whether it will be easy to get me out again? The pleasures of the place and the agreeableness of the conversation may, for ought I know, so charm me, that perhaps by that time will have his belly-full of wandering, that he may not probably go out of it This I can assure you, that if it be a pleasure to be with those one extremely loves and values, I could not be so happy anywhere as at Chipley when you and Mr Clark are there with your little ones, though there were no such temptations of a like opportunity, if he might have never any greater occasion to raise vapours than that house I am sure you will be forever free from them, both of you, for I have [never seen a] house that I have liked better and that in all respects I have thought so prudently built and suited to all purposes

You make no show of it, and you do good offices when you seemed but to compliment For it is you, I find, who by magnifying the turnips to that degree have raised them above lime and abele trees, and when Mr Clarke had reason to reproach me for this sort of plantation for walks, 'twas an obliging artifice to stop his mouth with turnips This deserves that I should at least [supply] your garden with such kind of furniture I have therefore provided you another parcel of seeds of turnips and other roots of this country If they come safe there are ten sorts of them Your gardener will take care to sow them so as to observe which genus will suit you, and have [the] excellency in them worth the sending for, that so we may take care there has to be provided from hence [only] such Dutch seeds [as are] better than our own Sarsafras is a root lately come into use It is very pleasant and very wholesome, and your gardener may also succeed [with it] and set your neighbours' mouth a watering after them too

But [what of] an arrant country Lady [1] a few hundred mile from court or any thought of London you like Blame Mrs Cudworth she solemnly protests she has not had one discourse with you [since she came] to town What is the matter, I beseech you? Whence rises and on what side lies their trouble? The mortification [of it] is as much and almost as cold as freezing a bed, and looks as strange as if coaches were going on the

[1] Probably Damaris Cudworth

Thames But will there not a thaw come, and will you not think of the spring glittering and garniture, with a gaiety again? Anything but old father winter with a garland of his turnips and carrots about his head that in them. will not always do I have [hopes] the reason of the town and better thoughts will dissipate it, and then consultation about [it] will be renewed again If it be not, I will pronounce you duller than they are here

My service to Mr Clarke and your little ones and to Mrs Cudworth and . And, let me be angry or pleased, she ought to write

I am, Madam,
your most humble servant,
J L

[*Addr*] For Mrs Mary Clarke at the Lady King's, Salisbury Court, London

[*Endr*] J L letter to Mrs Clarke received 1684

## *Locke to Clarke*

Amsterdam, 17th March [1684]

SIR,

Yours of the 26th February with the former mentioned in it are all come safe to hand And by one I received from your Lady to-day I find that one of mine, as I feared upon the notice of your journey it would, came the next day after you were gone I find she intends to trouble you with it in the country I have therefore taken this shortest way I could imagine to acquaint you that I would not have you disturb your affairs there with any thoughts of my matters of that kind I then desired, for concluding you would begin before your letter would come to your hands I have taken care to have it done in another way If I should contrary to my custom write news, I should tell you that I think that an evil spirit possesses people everywhere Here, too, people are writing against one another as hot as may be, and there are every day pamphlets published here that deserve as well to be burnt as the *History of the Growth of Popery*, or *No Protestant Plot*, or the like, in other places Tares and divisions sowing everywhere, and methinks the tares take

root and spread apace Whether the late great conjunction in the heavens make these divisions on earth I know not astrology enough to resolve, but I wish King James's maxim were more in credit on this side the water, and beati pacifici would pass among Christians for good gospel, as I think it would be good policy in defence of Christendom against the great event of war with the Turk But you know I have little skill in politics and therefore may mistake, and so I leave these matters *quae supra nos* ——

I have since my last inquired most particularly of a very skilful man concerning abele and lime trees He tells me of the abele trees there is but one sort, and in them you cannot be mistaken Of lime trees there be two sorts, but the best is that which they call the female lime tree It is that which bears the flowers, and the bark looks a little reddish and is not altogether so sad as the other The offsets from the roots will grow If I can light of any here in time enough I will send you some by a ship that is going hence for Exeter, which I conclude will be much more convenient than London and all the long cartage by land I have not yet got the lime seeds which were promised me, for our highways, that is rivers and canals, are scarce yet quite open And now I consider you in the country I can not but be talking to you of those innocent designs of building houses and planning walks the latter is my theme at present I desire you to make your walks broad enough, that is, let the bodies of the trees stand in two lines twenty foot in each side wider than the outside walls of your house, and then another row on the outside of those twenty further On the front I think lime trees would do best, on the east side elms, and on the north witch elms, which is a better sort of trees than we commonly imagine So much at present for walks

They have no water here but rain water from their houses fit for kitchen uses, and therefore every house has a cistern made of plaster of Paris to hold their rain water I am learning the way to make them, for methinks that it would do well at Chipley

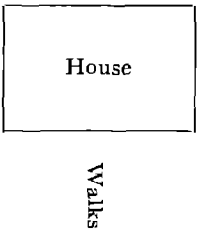
Mr Doem remembers kindly to you He lately by my encouragement made use of your name to Mr Codrington in High Street, Bristol, to desire a kindness of him, something about merchant affairs I desire you to write to Mr Codrington, and to own it and encourage him to do Mr Doem any good offices

he can in that town You see I find the way to you wherever you are I shall be glad to hear from you from hence, and am

your most humble servant,

J L

If you return by Sutton, pray enquire of my cousin Stratton of my affairs, and let him pay to you what money he hath of mine If you show him these three lines th[ey will] be authority enough My service to all my friends I shall be glad to hear if my uncle [1] got well over this very sharp winter




[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq , at Chipley

[*Endr*] J L his letter Received the 15th of March, 1683-4

[1] Probably Peter Locke, who lived till 1686

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

18th March, 1684

MADAM,

I am now indebted to you for two letters, which I think is a shame for an old bachelor to a young lady But which very much increases the debt, they are very kind letters and such as need a little allowance to be made to the very great civility of the writer to make them to be understood without some little suspicion of compliment, since they carry so great expressions of thanks for courtesies which in truth are but some poor acknowledgments of those many I have received from you I threatened in a former letter to Mr Clarke to quarrel with you about it as I found reason I had to do with him But it would perhaps be not very handsome to set upon you now you are alone And if I mistake not it is more becoming as well as more justifiable for us bachelors to make love than quarrel when the husband is away

I thank you for the good news that the little ones as well as you yourself are all well I remember I asked a good while since whether master and my mistress were in town or no, but to that I find no answer You know, or at least ought to believe, that when I have a mistress I am very tender of her, and therefore if my pretty Miss Betty be ordered otherwise than I think convenient, father and mother and all will be sure to hear of it Perhaps this is but an ill and unpractised way of making one's address But who can help it? We old bachelors are as positive as you married women, and think it sometimes as reasonable to have our wills Had I known Mr Clarke had been going into the country so soon I should not have troubled him with that letter which you received since his departure Pray trouble him not with it when he is amongst his workmen it will keep cold well enough till he comes to town Now this terrible winter is almost over (for the ice is now going apace) methinks you and I had two very good deliverances you have been well delivered of a fine girl and I of a scurvy cough, which I think had I been on your side the water this fierce long cold weather would have delivered me over to the worms But I thank God I have had more mastery of it this very contrary season here than in England I used to have in the most favourable, so that

I can not repent my journey the greatest inconvenience has been the want of yours and Mr Clarke's good company I hold you in a tale of my cough and an old pair of rotten lungs in revenge for your not telling me any news of my lady, nor Mrs Waller, nor Mrs Cudworth, nor Susan, nor none of our friends Are there no amours, no gallants, no marrying nor giving in marriage, no stories amongst all our friends? Or do you think we on this side care not what becomes of you on that side of the water? If you have thought so sore amiss, repent and reform your heresy, and believe me,

Madam,
your most humble and most obedient servant,
J L

Pray do me the favour to send the enclosed to Mr Hicks's by your footman

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, London

## *Clarke to Locke*[1]

London, 1st July, 1684

Sir,

Being on Thursday next to begin my journey into the West, I cannot omit this opportunity of telling you that my wife and children are in perfect health and give their best services to you And that you have highly obliged my wife by your noble present of the Bible, which she hath now in her possession very finely bound by Powell according to your direction But her acknowledgments for that and all other your public and private favours bestowed on her you may expect hereafter as opportunity will leave, but at present she hopes the hurry of so near an approaching journey will excuse her silence and induce you to take notice of her hearty thanks she returns you by me, and likewise of the earnest invitation we both give you to Chipley in case you make England happy with your presence this summer We design to continue at Chipley until towards the latter end of October, and then return hither if nothing in the meantime happens to alter our resolutions And I choose the rather to go

[1] Copy in Mr Clarke's hand

down the Bath road, and to make three or four days' stay at Sutton, [that I may] do you some small service there, which I shall endeavour with .

I think I told you in one of my former letters that I have placed your £5 in Mrs Smithby's hands as you ordered And the key of your scriptor is sealed up with another small key of yours and left with Mr Lynn and directed to you , and I have left one hundred pounds of your money in Perce's hands, to be paid out as you shall direct or appoint, from whom if you come over you will be informed where your goods are placed that were removed from the Doctor's Which is all that I can think of material to acquaint you at present, therefore conclude with my hearty prayers for the continuance of your health, and remain,

your most faithful friend and servant,
E C

[*Endr by Mr Clarke*] Copy of a letter writ to J L on the 1st of July, 1684

## *Locke to Clarke.*

19th July [1684]

Sir,

With my services tell Madam I very much approve her carrying the boy to Chipley with her, and leaving the child with Nurse Trent If she think it matters not whether I like this ordering of the matter or not, pray tell her though she be my mistress she cannot hinder me from loving her and her children (that would be contrary to all and reason), and that I cannot love them without concerning myself about them And therefore tell her that as I shall take care to please her as becomes a most obedient galley [slave], in this matter she must have a care not to displease me unless she [expects to] hear of it, and I can scold cruelly

I thought the young man had been well enough behaved already not to need any new instructions But since as you tell me my cousin does want a dancing master, I could him to take one from this side the water France I think a good place for those that want reinforcements of good breeding and behaviour, but I fear I should lose my labour if I should [advise]

travel to one so wedded to his own country I wish him as well as any relation I have, and pray assure him of it when you see him

This much in answer to yours of the 17th June, and now I turn to that of the 1st instant, which I received on Tuesday last and the hamper of wine the same day I thank you exceedingly for both The wine is excellent, good, and came safe Mr Pierce misinformed you came away later and arrived here Madam need not trouble herself to thank me for any public services nor for any private favours I have done her In the matter of between her and me, I can pretend to nothing but to be on the receiving side Though I have never found other, but her promise to be very kind when I come to Chipley has strong temptations in it, and I know not whether I shall be able to resist such temptation This and my wish would complete my [1]

[Instructions for the Education of Clarke's Son] [2]

1 *Mens sana in corpore sano* is a short but full description of the most desirable state we are capable of in this life He who has these two has little more to wish, and he that wants either of them will be but little the better for anything else Men's happiness or misery is for the most part of their own making He whose mind directs not wisely will never take the right way, and he whose body fails his mind will never be able to march in it I confess there are some men's constitutions of body and mind so vigorous, and well framed by nature, that they shift pretty well without much assistance from others, by the strength of their natural genius, they are, from their cradles, carried towards what is excellent But those examples are but few, and I think I may say of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten, or perhaps ninety-nine of one hundred, are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education 'Tis that which makes the great difference in mankind The little and almost insensible impressions, on our tender infancies, have very impor-

[1] Here follow some thirteen lines, illegible except for a few disconnected words On the blank page of the sheet on which this letter is written Locke begins, in double columns and numbered paragraphs as here printed, the instructions for the education of Mr Clarke s son

[2] Cf Letters on Education, *infra*, pp 112-115, 137-142, 144-161, 201-212, 214-220, 235-242, 285-287

tant and lasting influences; and there it is, as in the fountains of some rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible waters into channels that make them take quite contrary courses, and by this little impression given them at the source they come to arrive at places quite distant and opposite

2 I imagine the minds of children are as easily turned this or that way as water itself, and I think [with parents should be] their first care But though this be the principal part, and our main care should be about the inside, yet the clay tenement is not to be neglected I shall therefore begin with the case, and consider first the health of the body, as that which perhaps you may rather expect, from that study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied myself to, and that also which will be soonest dispatched, as lying, as I imagine in a very little compass

3 How necessary health is to our business and happiness, and how necessary a strong constitution, able to endure hardships and fatigue, is to one that will make any figure be anything considerable in the world, is too obvious to need any proof

4 Your son seems to me to be of as strong principles of [constitution] as any child I have seen, so that one and the hardest part touching the body is spared We need not trouble ourselves how to invigorate a weak or mend a faulty constitution We have nothing to do but to preserve a good one, and help it to continue suitable to so promising a beginning, and that perhaps might be dispatched all in a word, by bidding you use him as you see one of our ordinary tenants does his children

5 But because that perhaps may seem to you a little too spare, and to your Lady a little too hard, who will be ready to say, 'tis apparent he has no children of his own, I shall explain myself a little more particularly, laying this down in the first place as a general and certain observation for Madam to consider of, viz that most children's constitutions are either weakened or spoiled by cockering and tenderness I say not this to accuse her, for I think her not guilty, but to fortify against the silly opinions and discourses of others

6 The first thing then to be had a care of is, that he be not too warmly clad or covered in winter or summer The face is no less tender than any other part of the body when we are born 'Tis use alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the

cold And therefore what the Scythian philosopher said to the Grecian [is significant], who wondered at his going naked in the cold of winter in so cold a country 'How can you endure your face exposed to the sharp winter air?' said the Scythian 'Because it is used to it,' said the Greek 'Think me then all face,' replied he There is nothing more certain than that our bodies will be brought to bear anything and be reconciled to any hardship, if from the beginning it be by constant [degrees] made familiar I think it therefore time now, if we have not before done so, to leave off his cap, and perhaps on no more [occasion wear it] again, unless about twenty years hence, if it be thought fit, [to wear] a thin holland one for fashion's sake to please the young lady when he goes a-wooing

7 I think it would also be of great advantage to have his feet washed every night in cold water, and to have his shoes so made that they may leak and let in water whenever he treads on any marshy place Here, I imagine, I shall have both Mistress and maids about my ears One perhaps will think it too filthy, and the other too much pains to make his stockings clean But yet truth will have it, that his health is much more worth than all this little ado, and ten times as much more Must my young master never dirty his shoes? and if it cost the wash of a pair of stockings or two more in a week the trouble may be borne and the thing be worth it, if we consider how mischievous and mortal a thing taking wet in the feet proves often to those who have been bred nicely When a fever or consumption follows from just an accident, for wet in the feet will sometimes happen, then will he wish he had, with the poor people's children, gone barefoot, and so 'scaped the danger and perhaps death which a little unhappy moisture in his feet hath brought upon him, whilst the hardened poor man's son, reconciled by custom to wet in his feet by that means, suffers no more by it than if his hands were put in water. And what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the hands and the feet, but only custom? And I doubt not, but if a man from his cradle had been always used to go barefoot, but to have his hands close wrapped up constantly in thick mittens and handshoes (as the Dutch call gloves) over them, I doubt not, I say, but such a custom would make taking wet in the hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their feet is to a great many others

To prevent this, I would I say have him wear leaking shoes, and his feet washed every night in cold water, both for health and cleanliness sake But begin first in the spring with luke warm water, and so colder and colder every night till in a few days you come to perfectly cold water, and so continue For it is to be observed in this and all other alterations from our ordinary way of living, the change must be made by gentle and insensible degrees, and so we may bring our bodies to any thing without pain and without danger [1]

You know I am a meddling man in all your affairs, though not much in other ways [I have written in] very great haste or purpose your house more than what is necessary Were it not for this I had ere now sent you a draught of some things made here, that look very much like carved wood and gilded, that look very well and last as long as if they were wood They are much cheaper and serve instead of gilded , as you have seen often in rooms hanged with plain stuff, and are much handsomer It is a sort of plaster made in I hope my cousin Stratton has got in all my accounts What has happened to troubled about him [2]

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] J L 's letter with instructions about the education of my son, etc Received the 24th of July, 1684

## *Locke to Clarke* [3]

[Amsterdam, Dec 1684]

Sir,

Yours from Chipley I answered [4] about ten days since One thing since has come to my mind relating to your son's health, and which perhaps may be of use to you also, which is that I would have him go constantly to stool once a day I expect you should think it [strange that I] propose this as if it

[1] The subject ends here, and what follows seems to be a postscript written on the address side of the sheet

[2] The whole of this letter is in a very bad condition, the ink is faded, and the paper, rotten and in pieces, has turned brown

[3] This letter, like the preceding one, is in bad condition

[4] A letter from Locke to Clarke, received Oct 1684, is in pieces and wholly illegible

were in his or any body's power else, and I [think in] great measure it is, and more perhaps than you would imagine I myself being naturally costive, and considering a great part of our diseases come from a want of a due excretion of what was to be separated in the several c tions of the body, cast about for a remedy Purging medicines I knew were so far from helping those that were used to be bound, that they increased the disorder Laxative diet is neither always to be had nor fit always to be used I first, then, considered that a great many motions of our body that seemed natural and almost wholly involuntary, might yet, by a use and constant application, in a good measure be made obedient, and particularly that of the peristaltic motion of the guts which caused that excretion I saw might be restrained [1] Therefore after my first eating, which was seldom till noon, I constantly went to the stool, whether I had any motion or no, and there stayed so long that most commonly I [attained] my errand, and by this constant practice in a short time the habit was so settled, that I usually feel a motion, if not I, however, go to the place as if I had, and there seldom fail (not once in a month) to do the business I came for This is one of the greatest secrets I know in physic for the preservation of health, and I doubt not but it will succeed both in you and your son, if with constancy and patience at first you put it into practice You must pardon this homely discourse For nature not having thought fit to make us all civet cats, physicians that are nature's interpreters are forced sometimes to talk even to ladies of other things than perfumes

Since the receipt of yours of the 7th from London, I am in great pain till I hear again what becomes of my little Mistress, and whether the indisposition you then mentioned proved the small pox [2]

Your being out of town and in my ramble made me forget the mentioning to you the [matter] of the money left in Mr Pierce's hands Therefore pray deliver him up his note, and when it may be better advantage your money paid there will produce most here, pray return the book again to the same person here as Mr Pierce did, and that for my use I am not in great haste, and therefore you may do it when your con-

[1] Seven lines are here illegible

[2] The remainder of the paragraph is illegible

venience, and your business of exchange, which you will learn there amongst the merchants at any time My humble service to my Mistress and young Master, and believe that I am perfectly,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] J L his letter about my son's health Received the 25th December, 1684.

## *Locke to Clarke*

Utrecht, 1st Jan 1685

Sir,

I have been very unfortunate and other people very malicious to raise suspicions upon me without any ground but their own interpretations of my most innocent actions For I am more and more confirmed in my opinion that my being much in my chamber alone the last winter, and busy there for the most part about my enquiry concerning *Humane Understanding*, a subject which I had for a good while backwards thought on by catches and set down without method several thoughts upon as they had at distinct times and on several occasions come in my way, and which I was now willing in this retreat to turn into a less confused and coherent discourse, and add what was wanting to make my designs intelligible to such of my friends who had desired it of me, and to whom I had promised a sight of it, when it was a little out of the rubbish, and to that purpose had brought those papers along with me to this country And I was glad I did so, since they not only gave me an innocent and (as I thought a safe employment for my solitary hours here), but I was also satisfied I should scarce anywhere else, where I had had the company of my friends, and when so much time had not been upon my hands ever had had the patience to have revised and new formed my old scattered notions, it taking up more time and pains with less pleasure and profit than the pursuit of new ones Thus, however innocently it then behoved me to pass away my time with some satisfaction in the absence of my

friends and almost all company, I am confident has been the occasion of my misfortune The more I consider it the more I am confirmed in this opinion, and I fancy I could guess pretty nearly the very person who took an opportunity from my being constantly almost writing to give a rise to the suspicion which has so ruined me For why should I think, those that I have known busy in other people's affairs and tell of their misrepresentations and wrong reports, should be more civil to me Into the acquaintance with some such unavoidable accidents me here But he that thinks no ill, is apt to have none, and thereby knowing my actions and intentions clear, I had no apprehensions of anything like what has befallen me I know not whether this may bring my prudence in question I am sure it cannot my innocence He that had designed libels would have been more cautious, and not put himself into a house where he knew he should meet with such as would not be backward to give information I wish all that I have writ here were seen by those that most suspect me and wish ill to me (if there be any such), for I desire it from nobody they would then see my head was employed about speculations remote enough from any public and political concerns, and so not teeming with anything for the press here For I tell you again with that truth which should be sacred betwixt friends, that I am not the author of any treatise or pamphlet in print, good, bad or indifferent, and you may be sure how I am used when people talk so falsely Two or three copies of verses, indeed, there are of mine in print as I have formerly told you, and these have my name to them But as for libels I am so far from writing any that I take care not to read anything that looks that way I avoid all commerce about them, and if a letter from a friend should have in it but the title or mention of any libel, I should think it a sufficient reason to burn it immediately, whatever else of moment there might be in it, and to quarrel with him that writ it, and I desire no other usage for my letters to themselves from my friends But to keep myself far enough from that, I have never any commerce of news with any absent acquaintance and inquire not after it Amongst those I am with, I have scarce read so much as half a dozen gazettes since I have been here, and those only when their people have put them into my hands , not that I think it a fault, but having resolved not to meddle myself with any public affairs,

I decline as much as I can the discourse of them, and the rather because foreigners (for with those I choose rather to converse than with acquaintance) being apt to ask an Englishman concerning English news, I may truly tell him I know not any

Though all I said in my long letter to E[arl P[embroke] be all true, yet it is not all I have to say for myself For to mention but one thing more to you Can anyone think I should lay out so much money in books as I have since I came hither, above £50, and should have done more, which would be an intolerable burden to a wanderer, and at the same time by libels and miscarriages here shut up the way to my return into England and forfeit my place at Christ Church which I knew any displeasure might take from me, and now that it is gone I know not what to do with my books, having nowhere to place them Before this calamity I considered my purchase of them with pleasure, but now with regret It displeases me as often as I think on them, and if my innocence did not give me some hopes of my place again I think I should disburthen myself of them presently But though the consideration of His Majestie's great *Clemency* and of my own innocence give me reason to hope a restoration yet I do not think it convenient to move anything yet Great men are not pleased to have innocence pleaded in the first heat of their suspicions, however raised by misinformation When I am satisfied that it is a proper time to stir in it, I will in another long letter to him make my innocence yet clearer than before, but neither is it fit to load him with long letters, nor is it yet a proper time to move At present there is no remedy but patience, and therefore pray manage his forward kindness so as dexterously to put off from stirring in it till a better season, lest by too much haste the business be fouled and I lose the benefit of his assistance afterwards at a more proper time For you may let him know I have a great deal more to say for myself, but that I cannot think it reasonable to trouble him with long stories, having so lately offended that way the college For this reason I would not have Mr Somers say anything to him or any of my friends of what I guessed in mine of 8th Dec I had just then at my return from Leyden first heard of that malicious thing I there mentioned, and presently after was surprised with the news from Christ Church, and the circumstance of the time

led my then perplexed thoughts into that conjecture But had I heard then what I have since concerning it, I should not have mentioned it, nor troubled Mr Som[ers] with that useless conjecture, which could serve to no purpose to be mentioned But an innocent man under the surprise of an unexpected and undeserved misfortune must be pardoned if he cast about on all sides, and think whence so strange a mischief most probably appears to come

Did E[arl] P[embroke] take notice to you of the postscript of my letter and express any willingness that I should send him any part of my discourse, *De intellectu humano*, which I have been at work about here to put into a form that one may now see the design and connection of the parts If he did I would find some way to send it If he did not, there is no further mention to be made of it

I am glad that you approve of my last directions and method for keeping your son from being costive without giving him physic I believe you will find it effectual, and I think it a thing of great moment for his health, and therefore I recommend to you for your son's practice as well as [your own] Though I [wrote for] the young sprout, yet I would have the old stock also [equally improved]

What I say in mine that enclosed E[arl] P[embroke]'s long one, and also in another to the same purpose, I do not upon second thoughts so well approve as being out of a piece with the other, and therefore pray burn them keeping them cannot be of any use

If I had received the [communication] at large concerning the management of your son's health about the end of November, you would then have received a great part of my thoughts [set forth] much better than in the straggling pieces writ at distant times which you have received If those be miscarried, as your silence gives me reason to suspect, let me know, and then I shall renew them again with my and shall make the advantage of your loss, that then you shall have all my things together I shall be sure to make them of a [size] It will be when altogether at least four or five sheets, and therefore too big to be sent by the post, as it will weigh more than before Therefore to prevent a second miscarriage, take order with Mr Pierce that what comes to his hand for you be conveyed to you by a sure messenger on

purpose, for the penny post way has lost several of my letters which came safe to London. For though I care not who sees what I write, yet I would have those also see to whom I write it, specially what cost me some pains in writing and I think may be of some use to those I send it, as I hope this discourse concerning your son will be, or else I would not give you the trouble to read nor myself to write so much If your Lady approve of it, when she sees it I will then obey her commands in reference to her daughters, wherein there will be some though no great difference, for making a little allowance for beauty and some few other considerations of the s[ex], the manner of breeding of boys and girls, especially in their younger years, I imagine should be the same But if my way satisfy her concerning my young master, I doubt not but I shall also be thought by her no less careful of my pretty little Mistress But pray let me hear from you concerning this matter, as soon as you can, for if my rules have any advantages in them, the chief they and are to be put in practice as soon as children begin to speak, and therefore no time is to be lost

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] J L his letter [1] Received the 30th of December, 1684

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, January the 16th, 1684[-5]

DEAR SIR,

I have received a thousand favours from you, for which I ought to return you my thanks by every opportunity, but now in particular I am to thank you for the great care you have taken in writing and sending the directions, How to bring up my little boy, by which you have infinitely obliged both his father and me, who shall be very careful to observe and follow every particular of it, and I hope that will encourage you to write a second part, and that will be as great a satisfaction as can be next conversing with you in person

[1] Part of this letter is in very bad condition

[2] From the Lovelace Collection

I am in great hopes when you return hither again we shall have as much of your company as any of your friends, and that you will oblige us in making use of the apartment that you made choice of in our house, and is ever since reserved on purpose for you And I am sure you can take no better a way to keep Mr Clarke's vapours from returning than to let him see that his building proves any ways serviceable to one that he has so great a value for as yourself And I have one thing more to tempt you, which is the best turnips and carrots that ever were eaten, and instead of making walks of them, I think they have walked, for all our friends thereabouts have robbed us of them And that they might be sure not to be denied, great-bellied women have pretended to long for them, and I cannot blame them, for if you will believe me I think them the best that ever was eaten Pray pardon the tediousness of my letter, and give me leave only to add my desires to you to take great care of your health, and believe me to be,

Sir,

your most affectionate friend and faithful humble servant,

M Clarke

My son and both my daughters are your humble servants, and your Mistress is now very pretty company Sir, I hope my character of the turnips and your good nature will be the occasion of your sending some more of the same sorts of seeds

[*Endr by Locke*] Mrs Clarke 16th Jan 1684-5

## *Locke to Clarke*

6th Feb 1685

Sir,

Though I writ to you the last post in answer to yours of 16th and 2nd Jan, yet having therein in haste added some few farther directions in reference to your son, but omitted other things I had to say to you about your garden and trees, I have ventured to put this note into Madam's letter. First, then, since you so well like the roots of this country, I have got for you these following sorts, which will be sent you by the first opportunity

| | |
|---|---|
| Seeds of white sand turnips - - | ℔¼ |
| Yellow sand turnips - | ℔¼ |
| Early or summer turnips - | ℥ii |
| Leyden carrots - - | ℥i |
| Horn carrots - - - | ℥i |
| Early carrots - - | ℥i |
| Worden parsnips - - | ℥i |
| Sarsafey - - - - | ℥i |
| Sugar roots - - - | ℥i |
| Sugar ray roots - - | ℥i |

What the two last sorts are I know not They say the sugar ray roots being boiled may be either eaten hot buttered as turnips, or cold with oil and vinegar as a salad Sarsafey I have eaten in England They are pleasant and commended for wholesome

The lime trees and abele trees you desire I will take the best care I can of, and you shall have notice when they are sent

If I had your coat of arms in colours, I would get it done in glass to be set up somewhere at Chipley, being very well acquainted with a good glass painter here

I remember Adrian sent me word he could not get the key into the lock of a chest of mine wherein were some clothes This has sometimes happened to me, for there is a square spike in the lock which goes into the hollow of the key which if it stands not right the key will not go in, and then the spike in the lock must be turned a little with a pair of nippers or compasses, so that the square of it may stand right with the square of the hollow of the key to go into it, and then the key will go in But when the key is in there requires yet some skill to open the lock, to which purpose I left with him a circle drawn with marks pray remember that this mark Δ stands for degrees and this ′ for minutes

I thank Susan[1] for my flannel shirts Pray appease her wrath, for I thought she would not be displeased with my recantation to show her that I have no malice I desire her to get me four flannel shirts more just as the former, only the collars I would have single and at least three fingers broad or more, whereas these I have were double and narrow When they are done I would desire to have my scissors at John Hicks's, the little

[1] The wife of Thomas Stringer, secretary of Shaftesbury

bottle musidore left with you, and another he has or will send you, wrapped up and sent in them, and the shirts sent as the last were

Now we are come to discourse of trees again I cannot forbear to repeat what I think I mentioned formerly, that is, to be sure to set the inmost row of the trees that lead to your house on either side twenty foot from the line of your house this will be much the best when the trees are grown up And if you think it will be a fault to look along your walk by the side of your house in the meantime, that I think will be cured by planting one tree at the end of the walk next your house, just in the line of your house I do not approve abeles for walks up to your house they will do better down about your ponds and by the brook's side The walks leading to your house on the four sides I would have of those four sorts lime on the front and on the three other sides, oaks on one, elms on the other, and witch elms on the third as you like best And for winter greens, if you will be ruled by me, use none but ewe and holly They will make hedges or standards as you please, will endure any cutting or weather, whereas all others as phylyrea, alaternus, cypresses, etc , are commonly one in twenty years cut down to the ground by a severe winter , examine the garden, and see how many of them were left last summer

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

[*Addr* ] For Mr Clarke

[*Endr* ] J L his letter Received the 2nd Feb 1684 With an account of seeds, etc , and some cyphers on it, etc

## *Locke to Clarke*

Utrecht, 22nd March, 1685

DEAR SIR,

The unwelcome news of your Lady's sickness came first to me yesterday by yours of 6th instant, that being the only one I have yet received from you since that of 3rd Feb I am very sorry for her illness, and should be very much more so if I apprehended it a disease that were like to be long in its con-

tinuance or dangerous in the event, but being an ague and this the spring I should not suspect very much peril were there not Dr Goodall within call nor no Cortex Peru in England But though I am pretty secure of the issue, yet the trouble and languor of repeated fits of an ague in a friend I love so well are not indifferent things to me, and therefore I shall be in pain till I hear she is perfectly well Cortex Peru is so safe a remedy, especially if one begin to take it as soon as the fit is over, and so continued on in good large quantity till after the time of the next fit, that I never saw it do harm but always found good success After the fits are off, the use of it should be persisted in for a long time after they are apt to return Only I advise her to take it in pills, because the ungratefulness of the taste to some palates gives such an aversion and loathing when taken otherwise that the stomach is often apt to check at it, and it cannot afterwards be got down But I suppose the Doctor abovesaid is with her and then I need say nothing, only before she think herself not perfectly cured too soon, but continue taking of the medicine at least a month after she has had any grumbling of a fit This is another reason besides those I formerly mentioned to you, why you should not think of your journey till the beginning of May at soonest, for the accidents and incommodities of travel will endanger a relapse, and you will be greatly perplexed should she fall ill by the way

The seeds I hope you have ere this, but the trees we are very unlucky in, for when I believed them at Exeter I received a note that told me that they were not to be got where I was promised them, and therefore I was advised this was the plan I must [blame] myself I then presently sought the nurseries here, where I found none but what were a little above the size you desired and infinitely above the price I expected, for they stood upon eighteen pence apiece for such as were about the bigness of one's thumb or a little bigger I was loath to give £15 sterling for 200 lime tree plants, which considering the lateness of the season and the uncertainty to meet with an Exeter ship ready to sail presently, 'twas odds would not grow one of them, if any at all I advise you to furnish yourself among the gardeners and seedsmen in and about London with the seeds In the meantime pray send me word what price such lime-tree plants bear in England, for I imagine it was but the cheating stranger's price that they asked

me, and had it not been so late in the year and under the circumstances I mention I should not have left the matter so, though I was at two or three places, but I will take such order that if they be anything reasonable another year you shall not miss them, and that we may try both sorts I will take care that you shall also have seed from hence

Pray return my thanks to my cousin Somerton for his so ready complying with my occasions The circumstances and every part are extremely obliging But pray tell him if any loss should happen (as in his friendly manner of proceeding 'tis possible there may) I must make it good to him Pray assure him this from me, and say to him besides whatever you think should be said from a grateful to a good man and an excellent friend Your dispatch in one part of my business having out done my expectation, I make no doubt you have with a like care and kindness done in every point what I desired in mine of 22nd Feb especially in that part which mentions some deeds I refer you again to that letter not because I suppose all was not done that I therein desired, but because it may help you not to forget when you write next those other things wherein you have obliged me, which the haste you were in made you omit in your last letter, and will possibly be omitted in your next if you make not that letter your monitor For such lawyers as you who take no fees, please yourselves with dispatching your friends' business and doing the kindness, and then are content it should be forgotten and mentioned no more

The hair trunk of deeds, when you had done with them, I suppose you lodged at my name-sake's unless you had some particular reason to the contrary I pray, thank and gratify him for what he did for me in Mr Richard's business when you were last year out of town Besides that I look on him as a very fair and understanding man, this consideration inclined me to that place, viz, because it seemed to me the most commodious to have any writings from which there might be occasion to send for into the country, should we light upon such a chapman for Buckhell as we were put in hopes of the last year, or should there be occasion to make any other alterations The box that accompanied that trunk containing nothing but lumber is placed I presume with the lumber I left in Warwick Lane Pray thank Mrs Pierce for her care of those things In your next pray let

me know where this trunk and box are in case of mortality If the trunk be not at my name-sake's, I suppose then they are both, trunk and box together, in the other place

The bills are come safe to hand Mr Oakley hath £32 in his hands ready at call two words from you will make it be paid where you please, this and what I expect from Stratton here presently towards buying

I am,

your humble servant,

J L

Your cousin owns himself infinitely obliged to your kindness to him, and desires to be remembered with all respects to you and your Lady He cannot help wishing her here, he says, so natural is it for people who have found anything advantageous to their own health to offer and wish it their friends He says she should be very welcome to him, and he is now in a pretty good condition to receive her he thinks, for if she came you would not stay behind, nor the little ones he so much longs to see Nor should I be sorry to kiss her hands here, but dare scarce propose such a voyage to her, though a little sea sickness would not do her much harm But I see the journey lies Westward way Pray let me know when you think to be going, that I may know how to order my letters

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] J L his letters dated the 22nd, but received the 20th of March, 1684 About Cortex Peru, bills of exchange, seeds and trees, etc

## *Locke to Clarke*

Utrecht, 5th April, 1685

Sir,

I perceive by your little note of 10th of March, that came enclosed in Musidore's,[1] as well as by other instances, that the things I send you hence come very slowly to your hands I am glad, however, that those cuts at last got to you, and that they were acceptable to the Ladies I sent them to I heard there are other plants agrowing relating to the same cabinet, if there are

[1] Musidore, that is, James Tyrell

I shall get them and send them too In the meantime the slowness of things in their passage makes me apprehend what has become of the seeds I bought for you in January last For though I have writ several times to Amsterdam about them to hasten their sending and to have an account they are gone, yet I can get no answer, but so it generally happens when one is not upon the place to look after things one self

I am extremely obliged to you for the enquiries after Mrs Richards and her children Mr Bray you say in your last of 17th May yet hears nothing, and I begin to think I shall never hear anything of that I expected I am very glad that you and I jump so right about your journey into the country But though your Lady's ague be now gone again, yet let me prevail with you not to venture upon that journey till the warm weather of May Agues are apter to return this spring than ever I knew them, and upon very little accidents I have of this a clear example in my servant, who has been well of a tertian (he got last autumn) ever since November last, and has now within these three or four days even in very warm weather got it again, and that by a very little and inconsiderable oversight I therefore beg you not to think of your journey till the warm weather in May be steady and settled If I thought you would be inclined to do otherwise I would write to Madam, and two or three other friends I have in town, who would keep you in order if you were stubborn in the point and preferred the country air to their satisfaction

For I am by a letter I just now received from my C Mis ,[1] confirmed in the opinion that I was wrapped abundantly in my mother's smock, but it was still but the upper end of it She tells me of a conference lately at her lodging amongst some ladies, amongst which your Lady was one, whereof I was the main subject She tells me amongst other things there was one amongst them that maintained with great confidence that I was exceedingly in love with my C Mis , and that with a malicious design against a very discreet widow that made a part of the conversation Your Lady and herself she names, the widow I guess But who was that other Lady that had such revelation and could so certainly tell where I disposed of my heart she perfectly conceals, and I would gladly know Though I doubt not there is a great deal of raillery in this, yet the way she writes it makes

[1] Presumably Damaris Cudworth

me see there is some truth in it Pray learn from your Lady, for I long to know that I may bear my part in the mirth with them Would you not advise me to get here a good dull Dutch indifferency? For if I should return gay and amorous, what would become of my heart and lungs, too, amongst so many mistresses?

I writ to you in my last that your Lady should take on the Cortex Peru, at least a month after her ague is quite gone to prevent relapses But if she should think she should not need it on this account, for we in England are always well too soon, yet it would do her good on other accounts, and this I write to her as a most devoted servant to a most esteemed Mistress

I am concerned that my cousin Somerton [1] should be so backwards to comply with my desires about those drugs and preparations he found in the red trunk If there were any books amongst them I confess I had forgotten them and meant them not, and he will oblige me if he keep them But to satisfy him that I am not mistaken in the other things, and that I do know what was there that I gave order about, he will find in the last parcel marked 2, if he examine it, nuts, acorns, shining pebbles, ambergris, and such other things of nature's production that she herself offers to human use, this parcel he may keep also if he please In another bigger parcel (carrying the figure 1) as I remember, he will find things relating to the animal kingdom as it is divided in the beginning of Gen[esis] into the three great provinces, viz fishes of the sea, fowls of the air, and beasts, cattle and creeping things that creep upon the earth Another, which is the biggest parcel, made up in a long bundle, is all of artificial things, more exalted and refined into spirit alike by art Whereof one part was of the doctor's preparing, where you tell me (in your last) one of my mistress's more lies, and the other of my own things, for the most part marked by another's hand, who was my operator when I kept my bed I know them also to be the same I intended by what my cousin says of them, for to speak freely to you, the same reason that makes him desire to keep them makes me desire he should not But since he puts such a value as he seems to do upon trifles, some whereof are not very safe to be meddled with, and is so desirous to keep them, I am inclined to humour him so far (for in truth he is a very good man, and deserves from me particular respect for his exceeding great

[1] Clarke himself.

kindness on all occasions) as to consent he should keep one half of them, provided he can remember the way of ordering them in the division in which I once showed him an example of in things of the like nature which way of keeping them he seemed mightily pleased when I once entertained him for several hours in my chamber in town with the sight of such kind of preparations to his great satisfaction The other half I would have him put to others of the same kind, put up in the way abovesaid, in a drawer I mentioned to him in the country or other repository If he can remember and will be at the trouble to do this, I cannot refuse so far complying with the fondness he has for them But rather that he should keep them altogether unseparated in the terrible posture they are now, I positively insist on it to have the two last mentioned parcels immediately disposed of according as I directed in mine of 22nd Feb , which I desire you not only to prevail with him to do, but to see done yourself, for I am concerned for his little ones if any mischief should come to them through his carelessness and delay in this point But pray manage this business so with him that he may perceive I am sensible of the kindness he intended by that which he calls his disobedience, and that I take not those things out of his hand out of any strangeness or unkindness to him, but quite the contrary

Mr Oakley in his last to me desired some turnip and carrot seeds from hence, which I perceive somebody has recommended to him It is too late now to think of sending him any from hence for this year If you can therefore conveniently let him have a small parcel of some of your sorts for his present supply, I will take order against another year

My service to Madam, whose recovery from her ague and getting of strength again exceedingly pleases me But pray tell her she must now be orderly for a good while, and have a care of the cold evening air, cold drink, and must now and then drink a glass of wine more than she used She may be sure she may drink wine when I recommend it

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

[*Addr* ] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, London

[*Endr* ] J L his letter dated 5th and received 4th April, 1685

## *Locke to Clarke*

Utrecht, 30th April, 1685

DEAR SIR,

The news of your sickness from Mrs Cudworth put me out of the dumps my mind was in under the apprehensions of some indisposition in your family into a real trouble for your ague, and yet perhaps if I were with you I should not make that haste to rid you of it as you would expect from a man who tenders your health as much as his own Unless it treats you severely and pulls you down too much, I should let it run out a little while at this time of the year, when it seems to be an efflorescence of the blood which should have a little vent, which I would endeavour to rectify by diet rather than medicines, especially if it had no pressing or dangerous symptoms But I talk in the dark, and therefore you must not heed me in the point, but be governed by the physician who is upon the place and sees and weighs all the circumstances Only this I am positive in, that let him treat you what way you will you must not think of going out of town this month, for I will assure you it will be apt upon the least occasion to return, and when you do go out of town (after having experimented by the stay that you are perfectly well) I would have you take four of the pills I here send you the description of every other morning, exercising an hour or two after in the open air, afoot, or on horseback, if the weather permit And continue the use of them at least until January next, and the bitter wine drink with them, only deferring the use of that till the beginning of August, because we are now in the growing part of the year, and it may be too hot till that time For since your ague may, as I suspect, make you have more need of the waters this year than any one since I knew you, even, that year we were at Tunbridge together, but yet utterly forbid the use of them since they will certainly bring the ague again, nor can you safely purge or bleed I know nothing you can better do for securing your health than follow the course I here direct you, if you will add to it the method of going to stool I directed in my advice about your son, which I would have you observe, whether you take any pills or no For I would have you show my bill to your Doctor and have his opinion upon it For there may be reasons that I see not to

forbear or alter something in that method, which if there be when I know them from the Doctor I shall know what to say. Though I said above that I should forbid it if I were there, let your ague run out some time, yet the concernment I have for your health makes me long to hear speedily that it is gone

I hope your next, which will be an answer to mine of the 5th instant, will set my mind perfectly at rest with the news of yours, Madam's, and all your healths, for in that is included all things If Madam will consent to take them when she goes into the country I will send her also a direction for some pills to prevent the return of her ague, but they must be different from yours My service to her, young Master, my pretty Mistress, and the rest of my friends Besides a thousand other things, I am indebted to you, I perceive, for the discovery of the Lady I enquired after, but if I knew her as well as I knew somebody else, she should not have all the talk and laughing to herself, I would have some part in the conversation, for who knows what diversion the woman's talent might also give one?

By the enclosed you will find I writ to Mrs Clarke the last post, supposing she was ill That letter found her well, as I hope this will you There is nothing I am more concerned for, since I am with the utmost sincerity and obligation,

Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J L

If you find your wine too bitter or too hot in August, you may dilute it with good small beer or ale, or good spring water But you must not put in too much water, especially when the cold weather begins to come in, for then it will be best to allay the bitterness with pure wine

If the pills should be too big, you may then have them made less, but then you must take the more, so that they may amount to the weight of former size I prescribe

During this course eat as you used to do, and drink a glass of wine at meals as you used, the farther you are past midsummer the larger, but drink not hard be sure at any time, and let your supper be lighter much than your dinner

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] · J L his letter of directions about my ague . to consult Dr. Goodall. etc Received the 24th of April, 1685

[*Prescription*]

R Cortic Per subt pul ℥ı
Chalib crud subtilisse pul ℥ıı
Bals Peru q s
m f pil No 90.
Cap No ıın alternı diebus summo mane superbibendo Haustrum vinis sequentis medicatı, et deinde ambulando vel equitando in aere aperto si permittat caelu per horam unam vel alteram
R Centaurii minoris Mi salviae
Absynthii Romani vel ejus defectu
Cardin Bened aâ Mo
Rad gentianae ℥ıı
infundantur in vini gallici vel Rhenani genuini lb ıı frigide in ampulla vitria bene clausâ, exhausto vino recens affundatur dense vis ingredientium exhausta fuerit, et tum nova parentur ingredientia
Continuetur horum usus ad proximum Januarium Sed vinum medicatum post pilulas non sumetur nisi Augusto mense et deinceps [1]

## *Locke to Clarke*

Utrecht, 3rd May, 1685

Sir,

Yours of 20th Feb and 17th Apr, with the scissors you did me the favour to send me, came to me yesterday together I am very glad to hear you are got rid of your ague since it treated you so severely I had news of it by a letter from my C Mistress before, and thereupon writ to you the last post my opinion concerning your disease That part which concerned the letting it run out some time I am glad was otherwise ordered, for the fierceness of it required quicker dispatch, as you will find by that letter But as the other part concerning your staying in town till the end of May, I here repeat it and am positive in it, being daily more and more confirmed in the opinion I formerly writ you when I heard Madam had an ague, that agues are this year very apt to return My servant has had three relapses of an ague he first got about the end of last August, and he is now but newly out of the last return, though I cannot much complain of any irregular management of himself Therefore pray not you nor Madam think yourselves perfectly safe as soon as you find the ague gone and your stomach and strength begin to return.

[1] Doctor Goodall's opinion seems to be added here in Mr Clarke's writing, but it is mostly illegible

In my letter also by the last post I sent you directions for pills and bitter wine to take when you go into the country, which I think very necessary for you to take as I there directed to prevent any inconveniences from your ague or spleen, but pray have your Doctor's advice upon them and let me know what he says

I am very glad my cousin Somers,[1] as you tell me, will punctually comply with my desires concerning the drugs and chemical preparations I writ about Pray oblige me so far as to take care with him it be not delayed Though you cannot (as you say) in your neighbourhood find a chemist of that name I mentioned in mine of 9th April, yet you will find amongst the books at Mrs Pierce's two in quarto of an author of that name, which I desire you to put into the cedar box Though the bottle of phosphorus and the flannel shirts are not yet come, yet I hope they will in good time I can patiently wait for them, for they are not things that I have present need of, only I would not have them quite lost

I had heard from my C Mistress[2] before the receipt of your letter who was the chairwoman of that committee of ladies, who were so kind to make me the subject of their discourse But as she confessed in that letter she told it me at your instance, I know not why she would make a secret of it, since I think myself mightily obliged to that Lady who though unknown to me takes so much care of my concerns I wish I knew her so well as to begin a correspondence with her, that I might have the diversion of her's as well as I have had of her man's pen, for I dare lay two to one on nature's side and that she would be much more in the right in matters of the flesh than she has been in those of the spirit, but to speak fairly of his endeavours, what could a man do more than to write pro and con to hit it?

I desire my hat may have as near no stiffening in it as may be I beg your pardon for troubling you with this circumstance, but my weak head will not bear a stiff hat, besides that they are cheats and never wear well

I am glad to find by your letter, which was as slow in coming as my directions were in going, that you at last received those papers concerning your son I am afraid your kindness biases

[1] Somers for Somerton, that is, Clarke

[2] Presumably Damaris Cudworth

you in your interpretation and assent you give them, but be that as great as it will I can assure you it cannot be greater than the good intention wherewith I writ them And I am not a little satisfied that his mother, too, approves of my rules But pray remember that he wear thin stockings, as well as leaking thin shoes, as well as have his feet washed I have suffered so much by a cough myself that I always think it worthy to be looked after wherever it is, and I hope his is of no ill consequence But yet pray let Madam or Mr Shipton make as strong an infusion as possibly they can of alehoof, otherwise cold ground ivie, and of that infusion with a sufficient quantity of sugar make a syrup which let him take in a decoction of veronica or speedwell, and sometimes if you will in a draught of small beer, but pray let me know whether his cough was worse in the cold of winter or since the warmer weather of the spring came in But be sure send him abroad in your coach into the park every morning whilst you stay in town You know he is at no time to drink wine or strong drink, but now especially he is carefully to be kept from it, and when he coughs teach him to spit out what rises in his throat

The account you give me of his disposition is such as I guessed it to be and such as one could wish a temper in a child, curious, resolute, and good natured, will if set right produce anything I imagine Encourage his curiosity as much as you can by satisfying him, and making him understand as much as he is capable the things he desires to know, and is fit for him to know. And let nobody trifle with him and deceive him with false reasons or wrong accounts of things, it will but teach him the trick to dissemble and make excuses But the things that are not fit for him to know, it is a great deal better when he would pry into them to deny them him directly but kindly by telling him he is not yet fit to understand those matters But if children's curiosity were encouraged and led on as I think it might be, they would know a great deal more before they were fourteen years old than we usually let them, and would be themselves pleased with it and put themselves forwards But I see I am falling into a long discourse, especially if I should proceed to those other qualities you mention But that must be the matter of another chapter, only I cannot here forbear to mention that whenever he parts with anything out of civility and good nature

care should be taken that he should not lose anything by it, but should perceive how it returned him advantage together with love, esteem and commendation, which you must take all occasions to make him in love with Though he knows the letters of the alphabet already, yet I would have my method, or something like it, made use of to make him read, for I proposed it not that I thought him incapable of learning the ordinary way, but because I would not have learning to read made a business to him, but that he should get it in sport and play, and therefore he and his sister should play with letters and syllables for the fruit they had and such other things they desired, which may be done by letters and syllables printed on thick strong paper, which may be drawn by lot, or thrown up like cross and pile as well as by the dice, for one might contrive twenty sorts of play of that nature

You have been too liberal of the seeds I sent you to Mr Oakley, not that I would not have sent him enough, but his soil I am sure is unfit for roots, and they will never be good there, or else I should formerly have sent him But he having mentioned them to me, I would have had him have had a few of yours for trial, but now I fear you have not left enough for your own use Pray take care to get from him my Zinar or Persian plane-tree at a convenient season, and when you have it let your gardener set it in a place where he may propagate it by layers, or, which is a better way as I think, by grafting some of the grafts of the same tree on some of the same branches of its own roots underground, whereby I think you will quickly have an increase of young ones without hindering the growth of the main tree I would have you also in your nursery have a good stock of yew trees, both for hedges and standards, that and holly are the two best winter greens, will endure all cutting and all weather, and nothing covers a wall better Jacob Bobert has an admirable way to raise them from seeds Let our friend inquire of him the way of raising, transplanting, and ordering them

One thing in your letter of the 20th Feb. falls out unluckily to be so long a-coming, in that it brings me news that E[arl] P[embroke] has a desire to see my notions *de Intellectu humano* They are now grown to at least three quires of paper, and the writing over of such a bulk is not of easy dispatch, and I shall

not be able to compass it before you go out of town, whose hand I would have it pass by. However, I will do something before you go wherein I will endeavour to satisfy him.

I am, Sir,
your most obliged humble servant,
J L

My most humble service to your Lady, young Master, and my pretty Mistress

I hope Mr Chegwell is nothing in arrear Before you write next, pray read over mine of 22nd Feb if you keep any of my letters so long, for therein you will find something mentioned very commodious for a sick man, especially when he takes physic, but pray let not Madam know I make so bold with her secrets When the Doctor comes to you talk to him about your son's cough, for I would fain know what sort of cough he thinks it, and what the cause of it, for by that I may have more light what to say to you about it

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London.

[*Endr*] J L his letter with directions for my son's cough the 3rd and received the 1st of May, 1685 And of education

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

1st Sept 1685

Sir,

Your son's temper by the account you give of it is I find not only such as I guessed it would be, but such as one would wish, and the qualities you already observe in him require nothing but right management whereby to be made very useful

Curiosity in children is but an appetite after knowledge, and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good sign, but as the great instrument nature has provided, to remove that ignorance they brought into the world with them, and which without this busy inquisitiveness would make them dull and useless creatures The ways to encourage and keep it active and vigorous are, I suppose, these following

1st Not to check or discountenance any inquiries he may make, or suffer them to be laughed at, but to answer all his

[1] Cf Letters on Education, *supra*, p 112, note 2

questions and explain matters he desires to know, so as to make them as much intelligible to him, as suits the capacity of his age and knowledge But confound not this understanding with explications or notions that are above it, or with the variety or number of things that are not to his present purpose Mark what it is he aims at in the question, and when you have informed and satisfied him in that, you shall see how his thoughts will proceed on to other things, and how by fit answers to his enquiries he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine For knowledge to the understanding is as acceptable as light to the eyes, and children are pleased and delighted with it exceedingly, especially if they see that their enquiries are regarded, and that their desire of knowing is encouraged and commended And I doubt not but one great reason why many children abandon themselves wholly to silly play, and spend all their time in trifling, is, because they have found their curiosity baulked and their enquiries neglected But had they been treated with more kindness and respect, and their questions answered as they should to their satisfaction, I doubt not but they would have taken more pleasure in learning several things, and improving their knowledge, wherein there would be still newness and variety, which they delight in than in returning over and over to the same playthings

2nd To this serious answering their questions, and informing their understandings in what they desire, as if it were a matter that needed it, should be added some ways of commendation Let others whom they esteem be told before their faces of the knowledge they have in such and such things, and since we are all even from our cradles vain, and proud creatures, let their vanity be flattered with things that will do them good, and let their pride set them to work on something which may turn to their advantage Upon this ground you shall find that there can not be a greater spur to anything you would have your son learn or know himself, than to set him upon teaching it his sisters

3rd As children's enquiries are not to be slighted, so also great care is to be taken, that they never receive deceitful and deluding answers They easily perceive when they are slighted or deceived, and quickly learn the trick of neglect, dissimulation, and falsehood which they observe others to make use of We

are not to entrench upon truth in our conversation, but least of all with children Since if we play false with them, we not only deceive their expectation, and hinder their knowledge, but corrupt their innocence, and teach them the worst of vices They are travellers newly arrived in a strange country of which they know very little we should therefore make conscience not to mislead them And though their questions seem sometimes not very material, yet they should be seriously answered, for however they may appear to us to whom they are long since known, enquiries not worth the making, they are of moment to them who are wholly ignorant Children are strangers to all we are acquainted with, and all the things they meet with are at first unknown to them, as they were to us, and happy are they who meet with kind people, that will comply with their ignorance, and help them to get out of it

If you or I should be set down in Japan, with all our prejudice and knowledge about us, a conceit whereof makes us perhaps apt to slight the thoughts and enquiries of children, should we, I say, be set down in Japan, we should no doubt (if we would inform ourselves of what is there to be known) ask a thousand questions, which, to a supercilious and inconsiderate Japanese, would seem very idle and impertinent, and yet to us would be very material, and we would be glad to find a man so kind and humane, as would answer them, and instruct our ignorance

When any new thing comes in their way, children usually ask the common question of a stranger, What is it? Whereby they commonly mean nothing but the name, and therefore to tell them how it is called is usually the proper answer to that demand The next question usually is, What is it for? And this it should be answered truly and directly the use of the thing told, and the way explained, how it serves to such a purpose, as far as their capacities can comprehend it, and so of any other circumstances they shall ask about it, not turning them going, till you have given all the satisfaction they are capable of, leading them by the answers into farther questions And perhaps to a grown man such conversation will not altogether be so idle and insignificant as he may imagine The native and untaught suggestions of inquisitive children do often offer things that may set a considering man's thoughts on

work. And I think there is often more to be learnt from the unexpected questions of a child, than the discourses of men, who talk in a road, according to the fashions and customs of their country

4th Perhaps it may not, however, be amiss to exercise their curiosity concerning strange and new things in their way, on purpose that they may enquire and be busy to inform themselves about them; and if by chance their curiosity leads them to ask what they should not know, it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, that it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a falsehood, or a frivolous answer.

[1] Surliness in a child joined with good nature I take to be a fault that will of itself yield in time to plain dealing without any mixture of dissimulation, but being a quality much less tolerable in a man than a child, and least of all in a gentleman, it may deserve your care If you observe that it begins to wear off of itself, and that age and good company, as I am apt to think, does insensibly lessen this natural roughness, and render your young gentleman more complaisant, the best way is neither to trouble yourself nor him about it, but leave your care to time and his own observations and the example of others about him But if you find this natural stiffness confirm itself by age, and growing up with him, you must try to shame him out of it Be not yet too hasty in this case, for as I said before, unpolishedness of manners and want of well-fashioned civility should be your least care whilst he is young. If you fill his tender mind with respect for you and his mother, which consists in love, and esteem, and a fear to offend you, for that reason, the respect will of itself teach to him those ways of expressing it which he observes most acceptable to you Be sure to keep up in him the principles of good-nature and kindness, and encourage them as much as you can, by credit, commendation, and other rewards that accompany that state and when they have taken root in his mind, and are settled there by practice, the ornaments of conversation and the outside of fashionable manners, will come of themselves

One thing I have observed in children, that when they have got possession of any poor creature, they are apt to use it ill, and they often torment and treat ill very young birds, butter-

[1] The preceding paragraph is illegible

flies, and such other poor things, which they get into their power, and that with a seeming kind of pleasure This, I think, should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such cruelty they should be taught the contrary usage For the custom of tormenting and killing of beasts will by degrees harden their minds even towards men, and they who accustom themselves to delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate or benign to those of their own kind Our law takes notice of this in the exclusion of butchers from juries of life and death Children, then, should be taught from the beginning not to destroy any living creature unless it be for the preservation and advantage of some other that is nobler And, indeed, if the preservation of all mankind as much as in him lies, were the persuasion of every one, as it is indeed the true principle of religion, politics and morality, the world would be much quieter and better natured than it is But to return to our present business; I cannot but commend both the kindness and prudence of a mother I know, who was wont always to indulge her daughters when any of them desired dogs, squirrels, birds, or any such things, as young girls used to be delighted with But then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and look well after them, that they want nothing, or were not ill used, for, if they were negligent in the care of them, it was counted a great fault which often forfeited their possession, or at least they failed not to be rebuked for it, whereby they were early taught diligence and good nature And, indeed, I think people should be accustomed from their cradles to be tender to all sensible creatures, and to spoil or waste nothing at all

When your son has by the easy and gentler ways before mentioned learnt to read a little, some pleasant book of little stories suited to a child's capacity, such as Æsop's *Fables*, if it be in English, or the like, should be chosen for him to read in, where the entertainment of what he reads might draw him on, and reward his pains in reading It will add delight, if one talk with him afterwards of the stories he has read, that so he may find that there is some use and pleasure in reading, which in the ordinary method I think they do not till it be late, and so take books only for impertinent troubles that are good for nothing

For the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, they should be taught him by somebody repeating them to him by heart, and not out of the primer, or be mixed with his reading, which should be made as little troublesome to him as may be

But it is time to give off, having already exceeded the bounds of a letter Besides that, I am just now packing to go I know not whither, to find, if I can, a place to enjoy my health with quiet For I cannot but think it an odd persecution of my stars, that I who meddle with no affairs but my own, that seek nothing but retirement and books to pass the remainder of my time in an air that favours my health cannot be permitted it

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

[*Addr*] To Edward Clarke, Esq, at his house at C[hipley] To be left at the Post-house in Taunton, Somersetshire

## *Locke to Clarke*

8th Feb 1686

Sir,

Yours of the 2nd Jan brought me the good news of the safe delivery of your Lady, and the increase of your family by a lusty boy was not a little welcome to me I am rejoiced with all the circumstances of it, and though I hope you will live to see young Master happily married and have children, yet it is a satisfaction to have two strings to your bow I wish they may be as great blessings to you as children can be to a father Pray remember me to your Lady, to whom I wish the same I hope this letter will find her up, and well, and at work again about such another piece of night arras Methinks she has so good a hand at it that she ought to continue I am glad Nurse Trent is with you, for I think her a very fit woman for the employment But pray let not your house corrupt, nor make her, if she suckle her child, eat and drink those things, which she would have been a stranger to at Ditton Nor if she bring up the child by hand, make her give him that which she would not have had there Your children have had such good success in that plain way, that if reason had nothing to say for it, yet our own

experience ought to make you exactly follow it I had within this very month occasion to observe a child under an year [so often given] sugar candy to please him, that at last nothing but what was very sweet [was desired by him] [There was] nothing but perpetual crying and bawling, and the child from his hunger and craving after sweet things was perpetually uneasy I told his mother she giving him those licorish things to quiet him when he cried was but the way to increase it, [un]less she could resolve to feed him wholly with them, which would certainly destroy his health, and that the only cure was to endure for a day or two his crying without appeasing [his desires After] some time, finding that ill increased by those ways that at present [permitted the] child [to gratify his] appetite, she resolved to take away from him at once all sweet things, and how he cried [to give him] nothing but what she judged wholesomest and best for his health This made him impatient the first day, but when he saw he got not his desire by crying he left it off, and in two or three days, he, that before could not be quieted, when he saw either sugar, or sugar candy, or apples until they were given to him, so that they were fain carefully to hide them from him, was brought by this means, when apples or the like which he loved came in his way, only to show his desire of them, but not to cry for them, and this in a child wanting one or two of twelve months old Which example confirms me in the opinion you know I am of, that children find the success of their crying, and accordingly make use of it to have their will sooner than is usually imagined, and that they should be accustomed very early not to have their desires [always granted], and that they should not be indulged in the things they cry for, where they were not absolutely necessary

You will find one part of this paper filled with the continuation of my opinion in reference to your son It breaks off abruptly for want of room But the remainder you shall have whenever you desire it, and when I know how far our rules have been put in practice, and with what success, or what difficulties have hindered I shall in my next also add what may be convenient, or upon trial you have found deficient, or perhaps impracticable in what I have formerly writ on this occasion For it often happens that the speculations which please a contemplative man in his study are not so easy to be put in use out

of it If also his particular temper or inclination require any further peculiar application, that also shall be considered In the meantime I wish you, your Lady, and little ones perfect health and happiness, and am very much respect,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

I heard nothing of Adrian or Susan The Cortex Peru, and what else you mentioned in your letter, came all safe to hand, for which I thank you I hear nothing how they do at St J I hope my Valentine and all are well.

[*Addr*] For Mr. Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

[8th Feb -15th March, 1686]

Sir,

[2] The kind reception you have given to my former papers on this subject, and the desire you express that I should go on with it, gives me the confidence to proceed in my advice concerning the education of your son For though it be a business with which my course of life has made me little acquainted, yet the service and obedience I owe you ought to make me attempt anything which you let me know may be acceptable to you

I suppose by this time he has, by the ways before mentioned, learned to read pretty well, or if he has not, *it is no great matter, so it be not without hopes that he will* If he goes on though slowly I think it better than tormenting him about it, and if he stand not quite still one may be assured that in time the skill of reading will perfectly be gotten. We have also agreed that the books he should at first read should be pleasant, easy and suited to his capacity, and yet not such as should fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of vice or folly. And therefore I made choice of Æsop's *Fables*, which being stories apt to delight and entertain a child, may yet afford useful

[1] The first half of this letter accompanies the preceding one of 8th Feb., 1686, and is in the minute hand, presumably of Syll The second half is dated 15th March, 1686

[2] Cf Letters on Education, *supra*, p 112, note 2

reflections to a grown man; and if his memory retain them all his life after, he will not repent to find them there amongst his most manly thoughts and serious business And if you and others talk with him sometimes about these fables, it will be an encouragement to his reading them

What other books there are in English of the sort, fit for children, I confess I cannot tell, having never before had any occasion to make any such reflections, much less any enquiry after them And I am apt to think, that children, being generally delivered over to the method of the schools, where the fear of the rod is to enforce, and not the pleasure of the employment to invite them to learn, this sort of useful books amongst the number of silly ones that are of all sorts, have yet had the fate to be neglected, and nothing has been considered in this kind out of the ordinary road of the hornbook, primer, psalter, Testament and Bible However, perhaps some such books [as I pro]pose may be found if you enquire

As for the Bible, which children are usually employed in, to exercise and improve their talent in reading, I think the promiscuous reading of it, though by chapters as they lie in order, is so far from any advantage to children, either for the pleasure of reading, or principling their religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found For what pleasure or encouragement can it be to a child to exercise himself in reading in a book where he understands nothing? And how little are the history of the creation, the law of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Epistles in the New Testament (to omit the prophetical parts of both Old and New) suited to a child's capacity? And though the history of the evangelists, and the Acts, have something easier, yet, taken all together, it is very disproportionate to the understanding of childhood I grant that the principles of religion are to be drawn from thence, and that they are best also delivered to children in the very words of the scripture But it is far from this to read through the whole Bible, and that for reading's sake And what an odd jumble of thoughts must a child have in his head concerning religion, who in his tender years reads all the parts of the Bible indifferently, as the word of God, without any other distinction I am apt to think, that this, in some men, has been the very reason why they have never had clear and distinct thoughts of it all their life time.

And now I am by chance fallen on this subject, give me leave to say, that there are some parts of the scripture, which may be proper to put into the hands of a child to engage him to read, such as are the story of Joseph and his brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan, etc, and others, that he should be made to read for his instruction, as that 'What you would have another do unto you, do you the same unto them', and such other easy and plain moral rules, which, being fitly chosen, might be sometimes made use of both for reading and instruction together But the reading of the whole scripture, or any part of it indifferently, is I think very inconvenient for children, till, after having been made acquainted with the plainest and fundamental parts of it, they have got some kind of general view of what they ought principally to believe and practice [1]

When your son can read English perfectly, the next thing, of course, to be learnt is Latin, which however necessary I allow it to be, yet the ordinary way of learning it in a grammar school, is that, which having long had thoughts about, I can by no means approve of The reasons against it are so evident and cogent, that they have prevailed with some intelligent persons you have known to quit the ordinary road, not without success, though the method made use of was not exactly that which I would have proposed Mine in short is this to trouble the child with no rules of grammar at all, but to have Latin, as English has been, without the perplexity of rules, talked into him For if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English and yet he learns English without master, rule, or grammar and so ought he Latin too, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language When we so often see a Frenchwoman teach a young girl to speak and read French perfectly, in a year or two, without one rule of grammar, or anything else, but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder how gentlewomen have overseen this way for their sons, and thought them more dull and incapable than their daughters If therefore a man could be got, who himself speaks good Latin, who would always be about your son, and talk constantly to him, that would be the true and genuine way of teaching him Latin, and that that I could wish adopted as the easiest and best way

[1] Here follow some sentences corrected in Locke's hand and crossed out, but they are illegible

of learning him a language without pains and chiding, which children used to be whipped for at school six or seven years together he might at the same time not only form his mind and manners, but instruct him also in several sciences, such as a good part of geography, astronomy, anatomy, besides some part of history, and all other parts of knowledge of things, that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory For there, if we would take the true way, our knowledge should begin, and in those things be laid the foundation, and not in the abstract notions of logic and metaphysics, which are fitter to amaze than inform the understanding, in its first setting out towards knowledge In which abstract speculations young men have had their heads employed a while, without finding the success and improvement they expected, they are apt to have mean thoughts either of learning or themselves, to quit their studies, and to throw away their books, as containing nothing but hard words and empty sounds, or else concluding, if there be any real knowledge in them, they themselves have not understanding capable of it And that this is so, perhaps I could assure you upon my own experience Amongst other things to be learnt by a young man in this method, whilst others of his age are wholly taken up with Latin and languages, I may also set down geometry, for once having known a young gentleman bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several propositions in Euclid before he was thirteen

But if such a man cannot be got, who speaks good Latin, and being able to instruct your son in all those parts of knowledge, will undertake it by this method, my next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by translating the two languages Latin and English, forwards and backwards, one into another, and that at first out of some easy Roman author, and by using him to read Latin and nothing else For the doing of this it will be convenient to know the declining of the nouns and the formation of the verbs, but more than this I would not have him know of grammar But the learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of words, a very unpleasant business both to young and old, join as much other real knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which is most obvious to the senses, such as the knowledge of minerals, plants, and animals, but more especially trees, their parts and ways of

propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a child, which will not be useless to the man

But if, after all, his fate be to go to school to get the Latin tongue, it will be in vain to talk to you concerning the method I think best to be observed even in schools You must submit to what you find there, nor will the Imper have it changed for your son [since what is] established in his Dominics is as unchangeable as the things of the Medes and Persians But yet by all means obtain, if you can, that he be not employed in making Latin themes and declamations, and least of all verses of any kind You may insist upon it to the learned Dom if it will do any good, that you have no desire to make him either a Latin orator and poet, but would barely have him understand perfectly a Latin author And if you observe that those who teach any of the modern languages, and that with success, never amuse their scholars to make speeches or verses either in French or Italian, their business being language barely, and not invention

But to tell you a little more fully, why I would not have your son exercised in making themes and verses 1st As to themes, though they have, I confess, the pretence of something useful, which is to teach people to speak handsomely and well on any subject, which, if it could be attained in this way, I confess, would be a great advantage, there being nothing more becoming a gentleman, nor more useful in all the occurrences of life, than to be able on any occasion to speak well, and to the purpose But this I say, that the making of themes, as is usual in schools, helps not one jot towards it For 1st Do but consider what it is in making a theme that a young lad is employed about, it is to make a speech upon some Latin saying as 'Omnia vincit amor,' or 'Dulces sunt fructus radix virtutis amara' And here the poor lad, who wants knowledge of these things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from time and experience, must set his invention on the rack, to say something where he knows nothing which is a sort of Egyptian tyranny, to bid them make bricks who have not yet any of the materials And therefore it is usual in such cases for the poor children to go to those of higher forms with this petition, 'Pray give me a little sense', which, whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easy to determine Before a man can be in any capacity to speak on any subject, it is necessary he be acquainted with it,

or else it is as foolish to set him to discourse about it, as to set a blind man to talk of colours, or a deaf man of music And would you not think him a little cracked who should require another to make an argument on a moot question, who understood nothing of our laws? And what, I pray, do schoolboys understand concerning those matters, which are used to be proposed to them in their themes, as subjects to discourse on, to whet and exercise their fancies?

In the next place, consider the language that their themes are to be made in It is Latin, a language foreign in their country, and long since dead everywhere, a language which your son, it is an hundred to one, shall never have an occasion once to make a speech in as long as he lives (unless it be for exercise), and a language, wherein the manner of expressing one's self is so far different from ours, that to be perfect in that, would very little improve the purity and facility of his English style

But, perhaps, we shall be told, it is to improve and perfect them in the Latin tongue It is true, that is their proper business at school, but the making of themes is not the way to it: that perplexes their brains about invention of things to say, not about the signification of words to be learnt, and when they are making a theme, it is thoughts they search and sweat for, and not language But the learning and mastery of a tongue, being uneasy and unpleasant enough in itself, should not be cumbered with any other difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding In fine, if boys' invention is to be quickened by such exercise, let them make themes in English, where they have facility and command of words, and will better see what kind of thoughts they have, when put into their own language And, if the Latin tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest way, without toiling and disgusting the mind by so uneasy an employment as that of making speeches joined to it.

If these may be any reasons against children's making Latin themes at schools, I have much more to say, and of more weight, against their making verses of any sort For if he has no genius to poetry, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment him and waste his time about that which can never succeed And, if he have a poetic vein, it is the most senseless thing in the world to cherish and improve it It ought to be

stifled and suppressed as much as may be, and I know not what reason a father can have to desire to have his son a poet, who does not desire to have him an idle useless fellow which is not yet the worst of the case, for if he prove a successful rhymer, and get once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is like to spend his time in, nay, and estate too For it has very seldom been, that anyone discovers gold or silver upon Parnassus It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil, and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage, but to those who have nothing else to live on Men of estates almost constantly go away losers, and it is well if they escape at a cheaper rate than their whole estates, or the greatest part of them If, therefore, you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company,[1] without whom the sparks could not relish their wine, nor know how to pass an afternoon idly If you would not have him waste his time and estate to divert others, and contemn the dirty acres left him by his ancestors, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying

Another thing, there is, very ordinary in the vulgar method of grammar schools, of which I see no use at all, unless it be to baulk young lads in the way to learning languages, which, in my opinion, should be made as easy and pleasant as might be, and that which was painful in it as much as possible quite removed That which I mean and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great parcels of the authors that are taught them, wherein I can discover no advantage at all, especially to the business they are upon Languages are to be learnt only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart, which when a man's head is stuffed with he has got the just furniture of a pedant, and it is the ready way to make him one,

[1] This letter leaves off abruptly at the bottom of the page for want of room, as explained in the accompanying letter of 8th Feb 1686, which is on the page opposite of the same sheet, in Locke s own hand The remaining portion of the letter which here follows is copied by the same hand as what preceded, and is also corrected by Locke It is dated 15th March, and is in another volume of the manuscripts

than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handsome thoughts and sayings of others, with a deal of poor stuff of his own, which is thereby only the more exposed, and has no other grace in it, nor will otherwise recommend the speaker than a threadbare russet coat would, that was set off with large patches of scarlet and glittering brocade? Indeed, where a passage comes in the way, whose matter is worthy remembrance, and the expression of it very pat and excellent (as there are many such in the ancient authors), it may not be amiss to lodge it in the mind of a young scholar, and with such admirable strokes of these great masters sometimes exercise the memory of schoolboys But their learning of their lessons by heart, as these happen to fall out in their books, without choice or distinction, I know not what it serves for, but to misspend their time and pains, and give them a disgust of their books, wherein they find nothing but useless trouble

When your son is got past words and languages, and is to learn things of other sciences, he may perhaps do well to take a short view of and salute as a passenger But those I would have him rest upon and make a thorough acquaintance with, should be the civil law and history I mean the more general part of the civil law, such as is to be found in 'Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis,' and 'Puffendorff de Jure naturali et Gentium,' which I prefer to Grotius If he be well versed in the general part of the civil law, which concerns not the chicane of private cases, but the affairs and intercourses of civilised nations in general, understands Latin well, and can write a good hand, you may turn him loose into the world, he will find employment and esteem anywhere

These three, therefore, the Latin tongue, writing a fair hand, and the general part of the civil law, I would have him perfect in, to which so much geometry as is contained in the six first books of Euclid may be useful, for more than that, perhaps, will but do harm But as for arithmetic, there is no doing anything without it It is useful in all the parts of life, and of this he cannot have too much, be sure, therefore, he be made very perfect in all the parts of arithmetic

Merchants' accounts, though it be not likely to help a gentleman to get an estate, yet possibly there is not anything of more

use and efficacy to make him preserve the estate he has It is seldom observed, that he who keeps an account of his income and expenses, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestic affairs, lets them run to ruin, and I doubt not but many a man gets behind hand before he is aware, or runs farther on when he is once in for want of this care, or the skill to do it I would therefore advise all gentlemen to learn perfectly merchants' accounts, and not think it a skill that belongs not to them, because it has received its name and has been chiefly practised by men of traffic

And when my young master has got the skill of keeping accounts (which is a business of reason more than arithmetic), perhaps it will not be amiss that his father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his concernments Not that I would have him set down every pint of wine, or play that costs him money, the general name of expenses will serve for such things well enough nor would I have his father look so narrowly into these accounts, to take occasion from thence to criticise his expenses He must remember that he himself was once a young man, and not forget the thoughts he had then, nor the right his son has to have the same, and to have allowance made for them [1] If, therefore, I would have the young gentleman obliged to keep an account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his expenses (for what the father allows him, he ought to let him be fully master of), but only, that he might be brought early [2] into the custom of doing it And that that might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practised the whole course of his life A noble Venetian, whose son wallowed in the plenty of his father's riches, finding his son's expenses grow very high and extravagant, ordered his cashier to let him have for the future, no more money than what he should count when he received it This one would think no great restraint to a young gentleman's expenses, who could freely have as much money as he could tell But yet this, to one, who was used to nothing but the pursuit of his pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober

[1] A sentence is here crossed out which reads 'All this business of keeping an account tends to nothing else but that the young gentleman should be only brought into'

[2] This sentence is in Locke's hand, interlined over the passage crossed out

and advantageous reflection. If it be so much pains to me barely to count the money I would spend, what labour and pains did it cost my ancestors not only to count but get it? If this rational thought suggested by this little pain imposed upon him, wrought so effectually upon his mind that it made him take up and from that time forwards prove a good husband This at least everybody must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a man within compass than the having constantly the state of his affairs in a regular course of accounts

Where I speak above of writing a good hand (which I think mightily convenient), I should have mentioned another thing, which as it is something of kin to writing well, so it is also what I think very useful to a gentleman in several occasions, but especially if he travel, and that is drawing, which helps a man often to express in a few lines well put together what a whole sheet of paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many buildings may a man see, how many machines, and habits meet with, the ideas whereof would be easily retained and communicated by a little skill in drawing, which being committed to words are in danger to be lost, or at best are but ill retained in the most exact descriptions I do not mean that I would have your son a perfect painter, to be that to any tolerable degree, will require more time than a young gentleman can spare from his other improvements But so much insight into perspective, and skill in drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper anything he sees, except faces, may I think be got in a little time, especially if he have a genius to it But where that is wanting, unless it be in things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose, and therefore I say of this, as I do of all other things not absolutely necessary, 'Nihil invitâ Minerva'

Music I find by some mightily valued, but it wastes so much of one's time to gain but a moderate skill in it, and engages in such odd company, that I think it much better spared And amongst all those things that ever come into the list of accomplishments, I give it next to poetry the last place Our short lives will not serve us for the attainment of all things, nor can our minds be always intent on something to be learnt The weakness of our constitution, both of mind and body, requires

that we should be often unbent and he that will make a good use of any part of his life, must allow a large portion of it to recreation At least this must not be denied to young people, unless, whilst you with too much haste make them old, you have the displeasure to see them in their graves, or a second childhood, sooner than you could wish And therefore I think, that the time and pains allotted to serious improvements should be employed about things of most use and consequence, and that, too, in the methods the most easy and short that could be at any rate obtained, and perhaps, it would be none of the least secrets in education, to make the exercises of the body and the mind the recreation one to another I doubt not but something might be done by a prudent man, that would well consider the temper and inclination of his pupil For he that is wearied, either with study or dancing, does not desire presently to go to sleep, but to do something else which may divert and delight him But this must be always remembered, that nothing can come into the account of recreation that is not done with delight

Concerning dancing I have (as you know already) a quite other opinion than of music, it being that which gives graceful motions all the life, and above all things, manliness, and a becoming confidence to children, I think it cannot be learnt too early, after they are once of an age and strength capable of it But you must be sure to have a good master, that knows and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a freedom and easiness to all the motions of the body One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all natural unfashionableness being much better than apish, affected postures, and I think it much more passable to put off the hat, and make a leg, like an honest country gentleman, than like an ill-fashioned dancing master. For, as for the jigging part, and the figures of dances, I count that little or nothing than as it tends to perfect graceful carriage

Fencing and riding the great-horse are usually considered as parts of breeding The latter of the two I could never see any use of unless it were for a captain of horse at the head of his troop at a muster For what else is necessary on horseback a country gentleman in England I think need not be taught The pleasure and the frequent occasion of riding seldom fails to instruct them without a master and hunting to complete them

in it As for fencing, it seems to me a good exercise for health, but dangerous to the life The confidence of it, being apt to engage in quarrels those that think they have some skill, and to make them more touchy than needs in points of honour, and slight occasions And young men in their warm blood are forward to think they have in vain learned to fence, if they never show their skill and courage in a duel And they seem to have reason But how many sad tragedies that reason has been the occasion of, the tears of many a sad mother can witness A man that cannot fence will be more careful to keep out of bullies' and gamesters' company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon punctilios, nor to give affronts, or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the quarrel And when a man is in the field, a moderate skill in fencing rather exposes him to the sword of his enemy, than secures him from it And certainly a man of courage, who cannot fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one thrust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate fencer, especially, if he have skill in wrestling And, therefore, if any provision be to be made against such accidents, and a man is to prepare his son for duels, I had much rather mine should be a good wrestler than an ordinary fencer, which is the most a gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the fencing school, and every day exercising

But to return to our books again, you will perhaps think it strange, that I say nothing at all concerning the study of the law of England whilst I am forming a gentleman, who can (to confess the truth) be no way considerable in his country without it But that being a study you understand so much better than I, it would be needless for me to discern my ignorance in it That province, therefore, I leave to you and him, when he is got past tutors, and shall only say that the general and public part of the law, and not the chicane and wrangling, is that which becomes a gentleman, who ought to seek the true measures of what is right, and not the arts how one may avoid the doing of it

Rhetoric and logic being the arts, that in ordinary method usually follow immediately after grammar, you may perhaps wonder, too, that I have said so little of them The reason is, because of the little advantage young people receive by them, for I have seldom or never observed any one to get the skill of

reasoning well, or speaking handsomely, by studying those rules which pretend to teach it: and therefore I would have a young gentleman take a view of them in the shortest systems could be found, without dwelling long on the contemplation and study of those formalities. Right reasoning is founded on something else than the predicaments and predicables, and does not consist in talking in mode and figure itself. But it is besides my present business to enlarge upon that speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand, if you would have your son reason well, let him read Bacon, and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully to give him the true idea of eloquence, and let him read those things that are well writ in English, to perfect his style in the purity of our language.

Natural philosophy, as a speculative science, I think, we have none, and perhaps I may think I have reason to say we never shall. The works of nature are contrived by a wisdom, and operate by ways, too far surpassing our faculties to discover, or capacities to conceive, to be ever reduced into a science. Not but that there are many things to be learnt in natural philosophy which abundantly reward the pains of the curious with delight and advantage. But these, I think, are rather to be found amongst such writers as have employed themselves in making rational experiments and observations, than writing speculative systems. Such writings, therefore, as are Mr Boyle's may perhaps be fittest for a gentleman, with others that have writ of husbandry, planting, gardening, and the like. But if he has a mind to launch further out into general speculations, I would recommend Des Carte's principles, not as perfectly true or satisfactory to an inquisitive man, but yet perhaps the most intelligible and most consistent with itself of any yet to be met with.

This is all in short that I think at present concerning matters of learning and accomplishments. The great business of all is virtue.

'Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia.'

Teach him but to get a mastery over his inclination, and make his appetite hearken to reason, and the hardest part of the task is over. To that happy temper of mind I know nothing that contributes so much as the love of praise and commendation, which, therefore, you should, I think, endeavour to instil into him by all the arts imaginable. Make his mind as sensible of

credit and shame as may be and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him which will influence his actions when you are not by, and to which the fear of a little smart from a rod is not comparable

One thing more give me leave to add, and then I think I have done this time, and that is, as he grows up to talk familiarly with him, nay, ask his advice and consult with him about those things wherein he is capable of understanding By this you will gain two things, both of great moment The one is, that it will put serious considerations into his thoughts, better than any rules or advices you can give him The sooner you treat him as a man, the sooner he will begin to be one and if you admit him into serious discourses sometimes with you, you will thereby raise his mind above the usual amusements of youth, and those trifling occupations it is usually wasted in For it is easy to observe, that many young men continue longer in the thoughts and conversation of schoolboys, than otherwise they would, because their parents keep them at that distance, and in that low rank, by all their carriage to them

Another thing of greater consequence you will obtain by such a way of treating him will be his friendship Many fathers, though they proportion to their sons liberal allowances, according to their age and condition, yet they keep them as much unacquainted with their estates and all other concernments, as if they were strangers This, if it looks not like jealousy, yet it wants those marks of kindness and intimacy a father should show his son, and no doubt often hinders or abates that cheerfulness and satisfaction, wherewith a son should address himself to and rely upon his father Nothing cements and establishes friendship and goodwill so much as confident communication of concernments and affairs Other kindnesses, without this, leave still some doubts, but when your son sees you open your mind to him, that you interest him in your affairs, as things you are willing should in their turn come into his hands, he will be concerned for them as for his own, wait his season with patience, and love you in the meantime, who keeps him not at the distance of a stranger. This will also make him see that the enjoyment you have is not without care, which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the possession, and the more think himself happy in the enjoyment of so favourable a friend, and

so careful a father There is scarce any young man of so little thought, or so void of sense, that would not be glad of a sure friend, that he might have recourse to, and freely consult on occasion The reservedness and distance that fathers keep, often deprives their sons of that refuge, which would be more advantage to them than an hundred rebukes and chidings Would your son engage in some frolic, or take a vagary, were it not much better he should do it with, than without your knowledge? For since allowances for such things must be made to young men, the more you know of his intrigues and designs, the better will you be able to prevent great mischiefs, and by letting him see what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid less inconveniences Would you have him open his heart to you, and ask your advice? you must begin to do so with him first, and by your carriage beget that confidence

But whatever he consults you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable mischief, be sure you advise only as a friend of more experience, but with your advice mingle nothing of command or authority, no more than you would to your equal or a stranger That would be to drive him for ever from any farther demanding, or receiving advantage from your counsel You must consider, that he is a young man, and has pleasures and fancies which you are past You must not expect his inclinations should be just as yours, nor that at twenty he should have the same thoughts you have at fifty All that you can wish is, that since youth must have some liberties, some outleaps, they might be with the ingenuity of a son, and under the eye of a father, and then no very great harm can come of it The way to obtain this, as I said before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your affairs, propose matters to him familiarly, and ask his advice, and when he ever lights on the right, follow it as his, and if it succeeds well, let him have the commendation This will not at all lessen your authority, but increase his esteem and love to you Whilst you keep your estate, the staff will still be in your own hands, and your authority the surer, the more it is strengthened with confidence and kindness For you have not that power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a friend, than of losing some part of his future expectation *Finis*

## *Locke to Clarke*

[15th March, 1686]

SIR,

I must confess I am extremely pleased I have done you any service in reference to your children But do not think that those mighty thanks you heap upon me for it in your last ought to make me forget the solid obligations I have to you For after all that you do or can say in magnifying this essay of mine, I must consider it as but a faint offer at some kind of acknowledgment for your favours, and I beseech you to receive it as such from one who wishes for nothing more than the opportunities of showing how sensible he is of them Upon this confidence, and the good success you assure me our method hath hitherto had, I venture to trouble you with the remainder of my thoughts on that subject, and in this one more long sheet you will find I am come to the end of my tether For having conducted my young master to the age when he will be got out of the hands of masters and tutors, we are at the bounds of what is [said] [1] to concern education I do not pretend, though I am now come to the conclusion, that I have given you a just treatise on this matter There are a thousand other things that may need consideration, especially if one should take in the various tempers, different inclinations, and particular defaults, that are to be found in children, and prescribe proper remedies to each of them But in this tumultuary draft I have made for your son, I have considered him barely as white paper, as a piece of wax, to be moulded and fashioned, and therefore have only touched those heads, which I judged necessary to the breeding of a young gentleman of his condition in general And though I have with a great deal of freedom given you my opinion concerning all those things that came in my thoughts, and appeared material, yet I am too sensible of my want of experience in this affair, and the oversights I am liable to, to think that I have writ approaches anything more perfect even in that kind You must not, therefore, though I am come to the end, look on it as a treatise, which I put into your hands for complete It is well if being writ (as it has been) by scraps at distant times and

[1] The omitted word is covered by the seal of the letter

places, it will hold together and be of a piece What parts you find I have either wholly omitted, or too slightly touched on, I desire you to remind me of For since I shall not scruple to trouble you with anything else on this subject, which may at any time hereafter come into my thoughts, you may be sure I shall much more readily do so, when you shall set me on work, or propose any new matter you shall find wanting, which your care and concern for your dear little ones cannot (I conclude) fail to suggest to you in abundance it being a fate that usually attends the speculations, which contemplative men have pleased themselves with in their studies, to be found very defective when they come to be put in practice

As to remedies for peculiar disorders, the account you give me of your son makes me think I shall have little to say on that occasion You will not suspect I flatter you, when I say his temper is as one could wish, and the love of reason he shows in his inquiries and discourses is as much to be preferred to that prattling quickness, which we are apt to be delighted in with children, as a healthy, well-made boy is to a gaudy suit, and if it were necessary here I think I could show you that that witty pertness that appears sometimes so early proceeds from a principle that seldom accompanies a strong constitution of body, or ripens into a strong judgment of mind And if you desire to have him a more brisk talker, I believe I could teach you the way to make him so But I find you had rather your son should be able and useful when a man, the pretty company and diversion to others whilst a child, though if that, too, were to be considered, I think I may say there is not so much pleasure to have a child prattle agreeably as to reason well Encourage, therefore, his inquisitiveness all you can by satisfying his demands and inform his judgment as far as it is capable When his reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the credit and commendation of it And when they are quite out of the way, let him without being laughed at for his mistake be gently put into the right, and can take care as much as you can that in this inclination he shows to reason about everything, nobody baulk or impose upon him For when we have all done, the right improvement and exercise of that faculty is the highest perfection of a man, and furnishes all the true light which our minds can attain unto

I have formerly mentioned Æsop's *Fables*, or some such other

book of pleasant stories to draw him on with delight in reading I now add that, if it be possible, you should get it with pictures, which will in a temper like his (that if I mistake not is much more pleased with things than names) make the learning of characters and words go down much easier when he sees there is some use of it, and that the knowledge of beasts and birds and such other things comes along with it those visible objects children heard talked of in vain and without any satisfaction whilst they have no ideas of them If therefore Æsop's *Fables*, or some such other book, cannot be got with pictures, yet at least get him what pictures of animals you can, with the names of them, which at the same time will encourage him to read, and afford him matter of enquiry and knowledge

If you find it with difficulty to meet with such a tutor as we desire, I do not at all wonder I can only say, spare no care nor cost to get such an one All things are to be had that way and I dare assure you, that if you get a good one, you will never repent the charge, but you will always have the satisfaction to think it the money, of all others, the best laid out But be sure take nobody upon friends, or charitable, no, nor great commendations Inform yourselves throughly whether he be for your purpose, and when you find him every way, so get him at any rate But whether he be such an one as I have formerly mentioned, and your design will need, you alone can judge, nor will the reputation of a sober man with learning enough (which with others is all usually that is required in a tutor) serve your turn In this choice be as curious as you would be in that of a wife for him For you must not think of trial, or changing afterwards, that will cause great inconvenience to you, and greater to him When I consider the scruples and cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks as if I advised you to something which I would have you offer at, but in effect not do But you know how much I am in earnest in this point, only you will understand me aright, if you think it a business you ought to be very nice in When you have pitched on one, after having had him awhile with you tell me what kind of a man he is, I will then, the best I can, tell you what kind of use you are to make of him

As to the business with Stratton I have nothing to say, but leave it wholly to your judgment, for so as you determine I know it will be well

Present my humble service to Madam, and tell her I am glad the little ones follow so well the footsteps of their mother, that they begin to have a reputation so early I wish her and them health that she may long enjoy that growing satisfaction I wish you with them all happiness, and am,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

15th March J L

*Addr* ] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Amsterdam, 4th May, 1686

Sir,

The manner wherewith you continue to speak of the advice I have ventured to send you concerning your son, makes me fear that in perusing it you more regard the intention and friendship of the author, than the meanness of the thing itself, since you so far mistake it as to think that it has laid the debt on your side, and such an one as you imagine you can never get out of, which, when I on the other side consider your favours, I conclude I have all the reason in the world [to say] in your own words, that I must forever remain your debtor But to enter into a dispute with you, wherein an excess of friendship makes you obstinate, I have another reason to suspect that your consideration for the person that gave it makes you overlook many things in the advice itself, since that I receive not from you any objections about any part of it For though I must own it is according to the best of my skill, and though I know the affection I writ it with to be very sincere, yet I can by no means fancy my opinion infallible, or that it should in all things so exactly jump with yours and madam's, that you should find nothing (in what is already put in practice) to be added, omitted, or altered, whereof however you say nothing at all For I doubt not but when I revise the foul copy, which I keep by me on purpose, I shall myself find occasion for additions or alterations

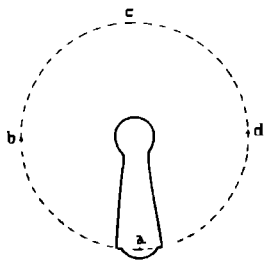
I do not at all wonder that you have not yet found a tutor to your mind, and I confess the truth somewhat pleased with it

[1] A preceding letter, dated March, 1686, by Locke, is too faded to be reproduced

Not that you are hitherto disappointed, but that I perceive that you are more curious in your choice than to take up a venture with the first or second that comes in your way 'Tis of great consequence to your son, and therefore you cannot be too nice in it If you could get your cousin to Chipley, a sober, well conditioned young man with moderate learning would do the business, but you know his humour and how averse to trouble especially of some kind

But as to the law suit I mentioned in my last, I conclude upon second thoughts that it is best to let it perfectly alone without meddling at all in it, any farther than E[arl] P[embroke] himself shall of his own accord discourse of his own concerns and give his advice about it, and then it would perhaps be not amiss to enquire and reason with him for your own satisfaction of the grounds he proceeds on

As to your Carolina affair, I remember the owner told me it was a Landgraveship of forty-eight thousand acres of land, and the privileges thereunto belonging, which are to be seen in the Fundamental Constitutions This is enough for your Scotch friend to know to see to what terms he will come, which, when they are judged reasonable or near the matter, the patent now in the executors' hands will be forthcoming time enough, if the mice have not eaten it, as I believe not, in a strong wooden chest where he was wont to keep it, and which Adrian had the direction to open, which I remember was this You must turn




the key with the sun once round and a quarter, and then turn it back again half a round and so let it stand For example, the key put in at the keyhold *a* must be turned by *b-c-d* quite to *b* again, and from *b* be turned back again to *d*, and there let stand, and then the lid of the chest may be lifted up [This] I am sure is the just quantity of the motion that the key must have, and I

think for making it you must begin the motion with the sun, but this I do not perfectly remember, and therefore nothing must be forced in the case, for if the contrary motion from *a* to *d* and so round be the way to open it, you must do the quite contrary in all things When it is open you will find one turn to lock it as it does other locks This much I remember of the lock itself, but where the chest itself is, that the executors know, I for my part know not This I only know, that if you can persuade my cousin Somerton and his wife to make use of it and remove thither (which I should advise him to if the plantation flourishes and promises any good), he may have this interest for acceptance

As you are content your pictures should remain in the hands of the merchant here that bought them for you, till you have informed yourself concerning that sort of merchandise, and to what port either London or Exeter you were best have them, so I find he is not in haste for the slate of the account between you, which therefore you need not be at the pains to send till he demand it He hopes, as I perceive, that this shall not be the last business he shall have with you, and therefore expects not to have the just balance returned, but an entire sum, something near it may serve the turn The rest, I perceive, he is not troubled should remain as a nest egg till a farther occasion as much as I know of him he is a very fair conditioned man, and knows very well your character

I am glad to hear my Lady King's son thrives so very well, but the Lady I meant is a relation of the Lady that did me the honour to remember to me in your last Pray present my humble service to her, and let her know I should be glad if there were anything here for her service My service also to my Valentine Susan, and her man Thomas, and to all you mention in your last letter

Sutton business dissatisfies me mightily If that estate will yield nothing by the year, I am of opinion you should sell it and make present money of it, at least the very proposition will quicken the man that deceived you and your aunt so scurvily

My most humble service to your Lady and little ones

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

I hope you will talk at large and fully with Adrian He that copied my last long letter mistook in the names of some books which I much desire you to correct, and for Bacon to set down Chillingworth, and for Tacitus, Tully I sent you lately a part of my reasonings *de intellectu humano*, which I hope came safe, for you know we are all concerned for our own conceptions how idle soever

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, the 30th of August, 1686

DEAR SIR,

The promise I made you in my last of the 10th of July of visiting Mr Stratton immediately after the then next Assizes at Wells was fully intended to have been punctually performed at the time by me But though I was gone as far as Wells towards it, and had spent two days of the Assizes there, and was preparing to have gone to Sutton the day following, yet I was to my great loss as well as dissatisfaction utterly defeated of the opportunity either to perform my promise to you, or to dispatch any other business that I had appointed in those parts, by the sudden death of my chief servant, in whose custody were many writings of great value to me and several others And his relations, believing him to have died possessed of a considerable personal estate, pressed hard for a sudden view of all in his custody, for the discovery of such securities as they supposed he might have money out upon, so that my wife was under a necessity of sending an express for me from the Assizes And my time hath been ever since wholly taken up with such council as his kindred made choice of, to view all such writings as were in his custody, and to separate those belonging to me, from such as they were interested in And that being now done, and such accounts as were between him and me being now stated and settled with the approbation of their council, I have now got time enough to acquaint you, That though I was recalled in such haste from the Assizes by this sudden accident, yet I had the good luck to find out Mr Stratton there, and acquainted him with the substance of your letter of the 6th of August to me And I earnestly pressed him to use his utmost endeavours for the getting in of

[1] Lovelace Collection

those arrears of rent due to you, and gave him the best directions I could for that purpose And I promised to be with him at Sutton, as soon as the inconveniences and troubles occasioned to me by the sudden death of my servant were a little removed, and I hope to perform that before Michaelmas next, being resolved to be with him now with the very first opportunity that my affairs here will any ways permit

I have little to add at present more than to tell you that your kinswoman Joan Morris is lately dead, and so your intended charity towards her is now at an end I thank God I am with my wife, children, and my whole family at present in perfect health, and do rejoice exceedingly in the account I lately received by letter from your friend Adrian of your welfare The cisterns you sent me are come safe to the little Baronet's house, and I intend to send for them hither with the first opportunity In the meantime I return you Madam's and my hearty thanks for them, assuring you that we are all here

your humble servants, etc [1]

[*Endr by Locke*] E Clarke 30th Aug 1686

*Locke to Clarke*

31st Oct 1686

Sir,

Though you have taken so much pains in my business, and recovered more of Haroll than I expected or I believe I should have done had I been there myself, yet it is to be doubted whether you will permit me to give you thanks But whatever pleasure you take in obeying your friends, and whatever right you think you have particularly to do me all the kindness imaginable, I crave leave to be sensible of your favours, and to be sorry it lies not in my power to make acknowledgments that may bear any proportion with them, I could not forbear saying this much to you, and send you half a dozen lines of acknowledgment after you had spent the greatest part of twelve days in a most troublesome affair of mine And therefore pray pardon me, and believe that I have no compliments for you, though I have all the true esteem and affection one friend can have for another

[1] The signature is omitted

I fear Mr Stratton is but a slow man of London I put something into one of my letters to you to quicken him Whether you received it, or thought fit to make use of it, I know not But in good earnest it were better that little tenement were reduced into money, than to yield no other income but trouble to me or my friends, though I doubt whether chapmen are there to be had

I was sorry to hear by yours of 30th Aug of the death of your man I suppose without the help of instances in your view you know of what value a trusty servant is

Though I gave you an account by memorandum that I thought abele trees were to be got as good or better nearer home than from hence, it was not to spare myself the trouble of sending them, since I have not so much pleasure in anything as when I am doing you some service I have therefore taken order to have some got for you, therefore pray take order with Mr Elwill about them, for to him they will be consigned With them you will also receive some Muscovy or Russian cabbage seed, and some blood red cabbage seed, which they look on here as the wholesomest of all, and perhaps not without reason, for let me tell you this as a thing worth your remembrance, that it is one of the best remedies I know against the scurvy Besides boiling of it, as we do our cabbage ordinarily, they use it here also raw as their constant winter salad, having always a store of them for the winter, which I am told the gardeners preserve by laying them in straw in deep holes dug into the ground on purpose Their way of using them for salads is this they take a cabbage and slice as much of it off as will serve for the present meal, just as you would slice a cucumber Whereby the leaves being cut across fall into little shreds, which look handsomely in the dish, and dressed with oil and vinegar is no ill salad And if you keep your counsel well I believe be scarce known what it is, and the truth is, being very wholesome, if I were there I would bring it into use under some fine new name, for after I had been a little accustomed to it I eat it with pleasure

I wonder you had not heard by the 2nd of October of several sorts of seeds sent you by a neighbour of yours, and the third book *De Intellectu humano* sent by the same hand Pray when you go to market enquire after them, if you have no news of them sooner

But to return to the abele trees, pray what do you mean by so great a number of them? It is true they are quickly up, but what are they good for when grown? If you cannot learn that the timber is good for something, I advise you to plant no more of them than you have need of for some present shade or shelter. For if they are not good timber, they are not beautiful, there is nothing recommends them but their quick growth, and for me I little value unless it be some present need things that are soon ripe and soon rotten Indeed, I have heard that their boards are almost as good as deal for floorings of rooms and dry uses, but I doubt it In a rich soil like yours where all things grow so well, I should choose to have a walk up to the front of the house of limes only for beauty, two rows of a side, and a space between them as broad as the front of your house, or ten or fifteen foot broader, as I formerly told you But behind the house I would have a walk of the same fashion of elms, and on the sides of other useful trees (perhaps oak should be one), which will serve for beauty and use too, and pay for their standing Abeles I would only place either where others will not grow, or where I have need of a present fence, and then I would place oaks amongst them, or behind them, which is better, which might do the business when they are gone but not knowing your design, I talk at random though with a good intention

Pray remember me to our Spa friends Pray observe nicely without letting them perceive that you do so, how I stand in each of their books We had some pleasant scenes here, which would come into the history of my travels, if I were with you to tell them

The promise of lime tree seeds has failed me The seedsman tells me the skipper brings word that he came too late to Norway I fear 'tis an excuse, for I had bespoke them before you writ to me, but what remedy? I must be content with a promise for another year

I fear by your silence you are not yet provided of a man such as we sought for my young master Let this (if it be so) in the meantime satisfy you, that none is much better than an unfit one And if I knew what state he at present was in as to learning, I might perhaps think of some way, wherein he might under your eye improve sufficiently for his years without almost any trouble to you, and so the principles of virtue, sense and

breeding which are the main business be preserved and nursed up in the way you have begun, and not all these, as is used, be sacrificed to a little Latin under the management of an ill or imprudent tutor unskilled as it often happens in those essential points

Though it hath hitherto escaped my pen yet it has been often in my head, to enquire what course you took about your water, and whether you are supplied from the spring we examined when I was there I have had many projects upon that affair in my head, though I never troubled you with any of them, hoping that your house is well supplied with good water without them

Pray present my humble service to Madam I had designed her a long letter by a Lady of her acquaintance I parted with not long since at the Brill But finding that other people's letters were refused to be meddled with, I thought it good manners not to give the trouble of any of mine, so that the two Ladies were excused, one from carrying, and the other from reading a long letter from me But pray tell her she has no great loss in it. For it being past doubt that I am her humble servant with the utmost affection and respect anybody can be, I had nothing to add to it but compliments for my being at that distance, which permits me not those opportunities of performing those parts of duty and gratitude belong to me, and enjoying sometimes at Chipley the company I most desire in the world

I am, Sir,
your most obliged and most humble servant,
J L

Pray remember me to young Master and my little pretty Mistress

J

I take it something amiss that you have said nothing particularly of her to me this long time, but I am glad to hear from another hand that all your little ones thrive bravely, for so I am told in a letter I lately received The news, you may believe, was very welcome, both because I have so much reason to love father and mother and all the family, and also I am glad to find that my plain rustic way of feeding and nursing children has not such hardships in it as to hurt even the tender sex For I flatter

myself that Madam in breeding her daughters has inclined a little to my method

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke To be left at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] J L his letter about abeles, cuttings, seeds, and other things, etc Received the 1st of November, 1686

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 5th November, 1686

Dear Sir,

Your two letters of the 28th and 31st of the last month are both come to my hands since my arrival here (which was the beginning of this week), with my wife and my two eldest children in my company I thank God they are all in perfect health, and so are my other two children also And my wife joins with me in thanking you for your favours in supplying our gardens and plantations with such variety of the best things And my son desires me to assure you, that he is perfectly your servant, and will faithfully discharge the trust you have reposed in him touching the lime trees, concerning which I will write to Mr Ellwell by the next post And my little girl, being unwilling to come short of her brother in civility towards you, says that she is certain she loves you much better than he can do, and is resolved never to forsake you Thus you see how you are like to be engaged whenever you return into England You may be assured the lime trees and other things shall be taken all the care of imaginable And the abele cuttings (for which I return you my hearty thanks) I will dispose of as your gift to me, and shall esteem them much if they grow, though you are pleased to set so slight a value on them But I must confess I would not have sent for near so many of that sort of cuttings, had I thought you would not have given me leave to pay for them The bill of exchange that you say you have drawn on me for twenty pounds sterling shall be punctually paid in manner as you desire

And Madam is just now got at my elbow, and commands me to give you her particular thanks for your very kind expressions in your letter towards her, and has strong inclinations of visiting

[1] Lovelace Collection

you before her return again to Chipley as I hinted to you in my letter of the 16th of October (which I hope is in your hands) But when I know more of her mind, and am a little better at leisure than at this time, it shall be communicated to you In the meantime I will only add that I spent one day with your friend Adrian in my journey up, but received no particular orders from you by him He and his lady and Lame Thomas and his spouse are all in health, and give you their services Your Spa friends I saw altogether in Devon, and some of them were afterwards with me at Chipley, until the day before I began my journey towards this place, and all spoke of you with great respect and kindness And because you ask me how we are supplied with water, I must tell you It is from the spring near the house that we examined when you were there, by one of Sir Sam Moorland's forcing pumps

This is all that the time will permit me to write at present

I am,

your obliged faithful friend [1]

[*Endr by Locke*] E Clarke 5th Nov 1686

## *A T to Locke* [2]

25th Nov 1686

DEAR FRIEND,

I had sooner answered your two letters if my seizure or Musidore's[3] stay in the country had permitted me to go into Buckinghamshire, whither I shall go with him from this town I will look after the copy of Carolina Laws, if that I have be not what you mean, and obey your direction therein I have a kinsman who intends to go to Carolina this summer with about thirty more If he can serve you, and you write what you would have done there, I believe he will do it faithfully

I am,

your affectionate

A T

[1] The signature and a postscript, of which only the tops of the letters remain, have been cut off

[2] Lovelace Collection

[3] James Tyrell

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 25th November, 1686

DEAR SIR,

Soon after the writing of my last of the 5th instant to you, my wife and your little mistress were seized upon with violent colds, and before they were perfectly recovered my eldest son fell ill of a violent fever, which in three or four days' time (notwithstanding all the endeavours of Doctor Sydenham and Doctor Goodall to the contrary) got so into his head that he has lain ever since, this being now the thirteenth day since he was taken ill, in a dazed and sleepy condition, and hath taken nothing but of their prescribing, and is now reduced to a very great degree of weakness without the least appearance of amendment, and what the event will be God only knows I have these two last days taken Doctor Thomas, being newly come to town, also into the consultation with the other two, and heartily wish it were possible for me to have your assistance, but since that cannot be, I shall acquiesce in what they do, and pray God to give a blessing to their endeavours and restore the child to his former health and understanding This is the only reason that your letter of the 25th instant [2] (which I received five days since) was not sooner answered, and this must be my wife's excuse also for not answering that obliging letter of yours, wherewith you welcomed her to the town, she being in truth at this time under a great concern

I will carefully embrace all opportunities of performing every part of your letter of the 25th, but am a little unwilling to remove those minutes of economy and husbandry, that you mention, into the square box without your further order, in regard I think they lie as safe and dry in the place where they now are And for the 2nd book of Velthusius in 4to, I must be forced to unpack and look over all your books (which are now put up together in a narrow compass) to find it out, and dispose of it as you direct However, if upon further thoughts you will have it looked out and disposed of together with the minutes of economy and husbandry in such manner as is directed in that

[1] This letter is on the same sheet as the preceding one

[2] *Sic*, but Mr Clarke's letter is dated 25th

letter, it shall be done accordingly These and all the rest of your cousin's things that were moved to and from St Jones's are placed under the custody of Mrs R S[mithsby], who gives her hearty service to you, in a house that her sister and she have taken near their former lodgings, and are like to remain there with her as her own goods, until you order me otherwise to dispose of them They are no manner of inconvenience or trouble either to the lady or the house, and I believe will continue as safe there as anywhere in the town

The discourse *De Intellectu* I brought to town with me that it might be in readiness to be disposed of as you should direct Which with mine and my wife's real love and service concludes this from [1]

[*Endorsements in Locke's hand*]

E Clarke, 25th Nov 1686 E Clarke, 25th Nov 1686 To 17th Dec

To put Velthusius 2nd and minutes in the square box, to dispose of the deeds in round court where he thinks best

A T 25th Nov 1686 To 17th Dec

To give the correct copy of the Fundamental Constitutions to E C when he had corrected his own by it

For receipt of making chocolate

To enquire for the herb against leprosy and Adrian's resolution

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

4th December, 1686

DEAR SIR,[3]

Since my last of the 3rd I have waited on the young gentleman mentioned in yours of the 25th November, who, as he desires your assistance, so he receives the kind offers you make him of it in relation to his studies with all imaginable respect and thanks, and gives me great assurance he will carefully follow such directions as you shall give him therein, and seems to be well pleased with the method you have taken by me to communicate your intentions to him, and desired me to return you his real service and thanks

[1] The rest is cut off

[2] Lovelace Collection

[3] In Locke's handwriting

Our friend J[ohn] Fr[eke] is returned safe hither, and had written to you by the last post had I not accidentally prevented him I have paid him the £20 and taken his receipt upon the bill you drew on me And am extremely rejoiced at the good news he brings me of your health, which I as heartily wish the continuance of, as I do that of my own, or anything that is more dear to me

My little boy is, blessed be God, every day better, though still very weak, but I hope time and care will perfect his health and restore him to his former temper and reason, which I think are at present much impaired by his late great sickness Your friends Adrian, Thomas and Susan,[1] and Mr Oakley and his Lady, are gone out of town to their several habitations and left with me their services for you Mr Oakley told me he had heard your treatise *De Intellectu* was in your noble friend's hands,[2] and asked me whether I did know anything of its being there, to which I made him a general answer, that I believed it was a mistake grounded on your communicating formerly some of your thoughts on that subject in a little abstract to him, wherewith he seemed to be well satisfied, and so we had no more discourse on that subject, but I believe his inquiry was chiefly to discover if the treatise were come over, and in whose hands it was But that remains a secret, and I keep the book as a treasure to be disposed of only as you shall direct, by

your most faithful friend and servant,

E [3]

[*Endorsements by Locke*] E [4] 14th Dec 86 To 31st Dec

1 Take care for one to manage with A and A when he is gone to give advice to Mr Broon over of the bit chez B F his opinion *de Intellectu*

Sir W Y[onge] to write under B F[urly] cover

P' M 10 Jan

Concerning Mr Papin for a tutor

To tell A Churchill I received Par, and Boyle [*Notion of Nature*]

[1] Thomas and Susan Stringer

[2] Earl of Pembroke

[3] Clarke's name is cut off

[4] Clarke's name is here also cut off

## *Locke to Clarke*

14th Dec 1686

SIR,

I have found reason to alter my will not long since I therefore beg you to burn my former will sealed up as it is, and to lay up this safe in the place of it If God give me life, perhaps the change in my circumstances or the death of friends may give me reason also to change this and make another, which if I do and it come to your hand I shall desire you to do the same thing that I do now, that is, destroy all former wills of mine If it please God to take me out of this troublesome life before I see you again, I doubt not but you will remember the desires of one that loved you above all other men

J L

[*Note by Mr Clarke*] The will that was inclosed I delivered to Mr Locke in June 1690, at which time he delivered me that which is now inclosed to be preserved, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke, at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] 1 Inclosed is Mr Locke's will, etc 2 This was delivered to him at Mrs Henman's the 21st September, 1691

E C

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

17th Dec 1686

DEAR SIR,

[A desire to be] with you has been since the receipt of your last, which brought me the ill news of your son's dangerous sickness Not that I think I could if I were present add anything to the prescriptions of those learned men you have consulted in his case, and are those very physicians to whom were I sick I should trust my life before any other that I know in the world But yet I am troubled to be away from you in an occasion like this, wherein what I wanted in skill I might perhaps make up in diligence and some other offices of friendship, which in the state and concern I consider you and your Lady in might perhaps not be out of season But instead of being at hand to

[1] This letter is in a very bad condition

[give] support or any way ease you, as I desire, I am in condition only to beg help from you I am in great uneasiness ever since I received your letter two days since, and shall not be easy till I hear again from you In the meantime I know not what to say, for I conclude before this comes to your hand the child's disease will be some way or other concluded That it may be according to your and my desire in that of health and recovery [I shall] add the same earnestness of prayers and wishes that I would for my own, which I do with a concern as great as can be inspired from friendship, or anything else, but the great and unknown tenderness of natural affection But whatever be the event, and how well soever the object deserves it, yet have a care it prevail not too powerfully upon you Consider what reason was given you for, and that that, and religion, are of [value only if] they are to be consulted and hearkened to at such times as this when we have need of their counsels

If this find the child recovered, I then say nothing more to you concerning the things mentioned [to be put] into the square box, than that it would be a great satisfaction to me were it done But if (which God forbid) this find you under sad thoughts for a loss which has no remedy, I then challenge the performance of your promised kindness to have it done, and that without delay, upon the receipt of this letter If you are angry with me on this occasion I shall not be much displeased [If you] will have the truth of [the matter], I had rather you should have any occupation or any business to take up your thoughts, than those sad and melancholy ones I know you will be too forward to resign yourself wholly to, if this affliction should befall you

The fourth and last book of *De Intellectu Humano* is now growing into some form, and then that will be sent or brought you , and then it will be in somewhat tolerable condition to be shown some friends and see wherein there be anything in it new or better than what [has appeared] in print in that respect, and so have their opinion upon it, or what is to be further done with it In the meantime I could be glad you had as much leisure as to let me have yours

The place where my cousin's things are [such], that I leave it to you to consider, whether the trunk of deeds in Round Court were best to be removed thither, or that you should take them into the country, or be left where they are Though I

think very well of the care and honesty of the man with whom they are, and have no apprehension, but upon mortality, or fire, therefore pray dispose of them as you would of your own

If my noble friend be in town, do me the favour to present to him my service

I am most faithfully yours,

J. L

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

31st December, 1686

SIR,

You have here at length the [four]th and last book of my scattered thoughts concerning the *Understanding*, and I see now more than ever that I have reason to call them scattered, since never having looked them over all together till since this last part was done, I find the ill effects of writing in patches and at distant times as this whole essay has been For there are so many repetitions in it, and so many things still misplaced, that though I venture it confused as it is to your friendship, yet I cannot think these papers in a condition to be showed anyone else, till by another review I have reduced them into yet better order Though bateing that, and the negligence of the style, you will find very little in the argument itself, that I think for the matter of it needs altering Of what use it may be to any other I cannot tell, but, if I flatter not myself, it has been of great help to [our first enquiry], and the search of knowledge ever since has been in my thoughts, which is now five or six years For so long ago is it since some friends upon an accidental discourse [started me] upon this enquiry, which I am not sorry for And if it has cost me some pains in thinking, it has rewarded me by the light I imagine I have received from it, as well as by the pleasure of discovering certain truths, which to me at least were new For being resolved to examine *Humane Understanding*, and the ways of our knowledge, not by others' opinions, but by what I could from my own observations collect myself, I have pur-

[1] The paper is discoloured and the writing very much faded

posely avoided the reading of all books that treated any way of the subject, that so I might have nothing to bias me any way, but might leave my thought free to entertain only what the matter itself suggested to my meditations So that, if they at any time jump with others, 'twas not that I followed them, and if they differ 'twas not out of contradiction, or a mind to be singular My aim has been only truth so far as my shortsightedness could reach it, and where I have misstated it in part or in the whole I shall be glad to be set right Read it, therefore, as a friend's act, judge of it as a stranger's, and let me have your opinion with the greatest freedom, than which there can be nothing more obliging to

your most humble servant,

J L

31st Dec 1686

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 31st December, 1686

Sir,

Yesterday I received Mr L.'s of the 27th and 31st instant, and by his directions in one of them I am to give you notice, that this day there was a bill drawn by Mr Peter Percivall on Dr Pieter Guenellon to the value of four hundred pounds sterling payable at sight to the order of Anthony Rodrigus Marhques at 35s 7d And there is a letter of advice sent from Mr Percivall to Dr Guenellon by this post, according as was directed

Pray give Mr Furley my hearty service and thanks for his letter and for the care he took of my seeds, which I have received from Mr Fr, in the performance whereof you will oblige

your real friend and servant,

Edw Clarke

I intend to write to Mr L by the next post, etc.

[*Endorsements by Locke*] E Clarke 31st Dec 86
To 17th Jan 1 Sp Drs Guenellon's money lie in his name at Mr Perce's

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke*

Amsterdam, 10th Jan 1687

DEAR SIR,

If the person answer the character you have received of him you will in the enclosed find news of a tutor for your son. That which gives me great hopes he is such an one as you seek is the great opinion I have of the ingenuity and judgment of Monsieur le Clerc, who recommended him to me and has writ the enclosed to him His study and design was divinity, but before he was called to the ministry the new conversion in France drove him from thence, and therewith made him leave the thoughts of being a divine, which in his present state must be forced to some other way of subsistence He tells me he is sober, discrete, and well natured and well skilled in the politer parts of learning, without being infected with the pedantry of scholarship, and that he will be ready to follow any method of education shall be presented to him If this be so we have the man we would, and by the influence of Monsieur le Clerc, his friend, and your namesake, we shall be able to manage him exactly to our design But whatever character I upon report send you of him, it is but to encourage you to find him out, but not to hinder you from informing yourself of him with all the nicety imaginable, and there may possibly be this convenience, now you are in London, to have him some time with you in the house upon trial before you take him into the country By such a trial you may see without the hazard of much experience, or a perfect engagement, [whether the] employment and conditions [are agreeable] and satisfy both sides If he be not in London, Monsieur Cappel can tell where he is, and will send to him, especially if you tell him your business and that the enclosed is from Monsieur le Clerc When you go to speak with him, I think it convenient you should have with you a friend who can speak French, and is well instructed in the general plan of your design in the breeding of your son Or at least by the interpreter you take with you Mr Pepin may be informed, that your chief aim is to have the mind of your son formed to virtue and civility by all the sweet ways of allurements, persuasion and example, and that languages and letters are valued by you no otherwise

than as they may be subservient to make your son the better, and the wiser, and fitter for civil conversation, and the employments of a gentleman, and that the age he now is in is the true time to teach him the mastery of his passions, wherein lies the great secret of wisdom and happiness in this life

Pardon me that I prescribe to you so confidently in a matter which you understand more fully and can manage better than me that knows not what it is to have care and to deal with children But for all that, my head and heart are both so set on this matter of the breeding of your son, that whenever that comes in my way, I cannot hold saying much more than I need, though it be always much less than what I think upon that subject, with you whose kindness interprets my actions as they are meant My concern in the case will bear an excuse for my impertinence The news of this tutor falling in so happily with [that] of his recovery flatters me with appearance of success, and makes me hope that the difficulty and dangerous passage of his health being now over, his stars are smoothing the way to all that may advantage his mind or body, my hearty prayers and wishes are that it may be so

I answered yours of the 14th Dec (which is the last I have from you) this week, and therein sent an inclosure to the young gentleman you writ about Pray present my humble service to Madame and the little ones I wish them and you a very happy new year, with many more to come I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J L

My service to our Tunbridge friends, as many of them as are in town, and all the rest that think me worth the enquiring after Pray tell Mr Awnsham Churchill, the bookseller, as you pass by Amen Corner, that I have received Mr Boyle's *Book of Nature* and the other that he sent with it, for which I thank him

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke, Esq, at Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Locke to Mr. Clarke*

Amsterdam, 17th Jan 1687

SIR,

Dr Guenellon has paid Mr Perce's bill Let the money lie there in your name, unless you know any reason to the contrary Thus much from Mr Browne I am glad to hear by yours of the 28th the confirmation of your son's recovery I hope ere this you have received the notice I sent you of a tutor for him, which I heartily wish may be such as may suit I thank you for what you have done at Round Court

I shall give your thanks to the gentleman that sent the seeds according to your desire in yours of 31st Dec I am glad that at last they are come safe to you, and hope they will grow well next spring

My humble service to Madame, and the little ones, and the rest of my friends in town The post goes

I am, dear Sir,
your most obliged humble servant,

J L

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 21st January, 1686-7

SIR,

Very lately I received the enclosed lease and letter from your cousin Stratton with great importunity to convey it forthwith to you to be executed Which at first I much wondered at, having frequently communicated to him the ample authority I had from you, for the granting of leases, as well as for receiving your rents and other moneys But it seems your purchaser would not be satisfied without your executing the lease, and that being part of his contract with your cousin Stratton, however chargeable and troublesome it be to you, I am obliged to send it you, and am desired by him to acquaint you, that it is the purchaser's request it may be sealed if possible in the presence of Englishmen, and returned to your cousin Stratton, who might have managed this matter with less trouble, with the first opportunity

Mr Perce hath three hundred ninety-nine pounds and ten shillings of your four hundred pounds in his hands, the other

[1] Lovelace Collection

ten shillings being as he says allowed for brokerage And I have taken his note for it in my own, payable on demand according to your order

And now I beg leave to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 10th and 17th instant recommending a tutor for my son, and to let you know that I have delivered the letter that came enclosed from Monsieur le Clerc to the person, and have met him two or three times, and discoursed him at large on that subject But he being as yet altogether undetermined what course of life to betake himself to, or in what manner to dispose of himself here, I have not as yet any certain answer from him to my proposals, but hope in a short time to have his resolution therein

My wife, son, and your little mistress join with me in their true love and service to you, and with my hearty prayers for the continuance of your health, I rest

your most faithful friend and humble servant,

E [CLARK ][1]

## *Clarke to Locke*[2]

25th January, 1686[-7]

SIR,

Just as I had finished and was sending away what is above written to the posthouse, with the lease and letter mentioned to be enclosed, your friend Mr Fr[cke] informed me of Mr Furley's man being in town, and his intentions to make a speedy return to Rotterdam, whereupon I declined sending it by post by reason of the charge, and will convey the lease to you by him But the letter I received from Mr Stratton I have here enclosed, and since the receipt of it have written to him to quicken him in the disposal of Robert Haroll's hay and other goods and getting in your money, etc Which, had he followed my former directions when I made the goods liable to your satisfaction might have been done before this time , but I presume the death of his father-in-law has retarded his endeavours for you in that particular

Yesterday I again met Monsieur Papin, and with Sir W Y[onge] (who in all our meetings hath been our interpreter when it was necessary) had a full discourse with him upon our

[1] The signature is cut off

[2] This letter accompanies the preceding one

design for the education of my son, and the proposals I had made him for that end, which were to this effect, viz that he should live with me by no means in the degree of a servant, but as my friend, for whom I would have my son and all belonging to me have the greatest value and esteem imaginable, and that he should have the liberty of my house and servants in all respects equally with myself, and twenty pounds a year salary The terms he made no objection to, and of the faithful performance of them was in no manner of doubt But in this, as well as all his former discourses, he seemed to think the nature of the employment, the instruction of a child, to be altogether unpleasant He called it a slavery and beneath his undertaking, and at last told us plainly that his resolutions were now fixed to pursue his former design in the study of divinity, and to rely wholly upon that for his future livelihood, and therefore could not be content to set apart so much of his time as would be necessary for the instruction of the child But in case I would not expect he should spend above three or four hours in a day with the child, and permit him the residue of his time entirely to himself, and also engage that after six or seven years' time, or so much as should be thought necessary spent in that manner with my son, I would also advance him into such a benefice as might furnish him with a comfortable subsistence for the remainder of his life, he would then undertake the employment But you will easily conclude it was not best for me to contract with him on these terms, especially when he had declared the nature of the employment to be so disagreeable and uneasy, and that he could set apart so small a portion of his time for my purpose, so that after the ordinary civilities we parted And there remains nothing but my hearty thanks to you and Monsieur le Clerc for recommending so ingenious a gentleman to me, though it be not my good fortune to have the pleasure and advantage of his society in my family.

Sir W Y, Mr Fr, my wife and the rest of your friends here give their services to you, as doth your most faithful [1]

[*Addr*] A Myn Heer Pieter de la Nove ten Huyse van Myn Heer Limburgh aan de Keysers Gragt by de Remonstranse Kerk, Amsterdam

[*Endr*] E Clarke. 21st Jan 1687

[1] The signature is cut off

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Amsterdam, 26th-28th Jan 1687

DEAR SIR,

The backwardness I find in Mr Stratton to show you his accounts or to communicate the bill of affairs has made me look back as far as I can into the matter, and by all the account I have received I do not [find more] than £130 10s 0d. [1] But finding it necessary you should know, that when you come to examine that account, that that receipt may not mislead you For I begin to doubt by his slowness what account I may expect I intended [to speak] very plainly about it But that I may not mistake in the matters I shall have occasion to mention to him, I would be very glad to know what money he has in the whole paid you

My Uncle [2] left issue only by two daughters Wm Stratton's wife, one of them, is thereby one of the coheirs of that little estate at Bel[u]ton, etc My intention is, if he acquit himself well in looking after my affairs, in acknowledgment of his pains and kindness, to settle the whole estate on his son by my cousin, during the son's life and his sister's, reserving a reasonable rent to my heirs For the other daughter of my uncle has left a son [3] too, [to whom] I have very little obligation This is my intention, if my cousin Stratton so look after my affairs in his hands [and] his negligence occasion me not either loss or trouble But if I find he manages it so ill that I make little or nothing of it, I shall think of disposing of it some other way The best way [is] for both to propose to him the paying me constantly so much a year And then I to settle on his two children by my cousin during their two lives all that I have in fee simple [for] possession I mean not out upon lease This I take the liberty to propose to you to have your advice upon it, [as to whether you approve] of it, or can think of anything more advisable

And now I am entered upon the affair of accounts I remember to ask whether Mr Perce has accounted to you for £100 received by a bill of 21st May, 1683-4 on Madame Daval Item more £20

[1] The manuscript of this letter is dropping to pieces and so often illegible
[2] Peter Locke [3] Peter King

by a bill [16]84 on Madame Daval Item more £100 by a bill of R Hill returned protested 16th May, 1685 Item more £399 10s. to Antoine Rodriguez Marquis in consideration of his bill drawn on Dr. Guenellon In all £800 If Mr Oakley desires that the money in his hands may be forborne till Midsummer, [this may be done as] a kindness to him, on condition it be secured to you, in case he should die, for living I should take his word for a great deal more, and that it may be had on demand whenever occasions call for it

Of Mr Papin's proposition and design for your son, I would have him at present teach him [to speak] in French, and that only by talking till he can read English very perfectly When he can read English well, then begin to read French For it is not fit that children should be puzzled and cloyed with too much business about reading [several] languages at once, and all the languages necessary, if a right method be taken, will be got time enough And all the languages [wrongly taught] do not recompense half the injury is usually done to their health and humours by the exertion given them in learning them. Two languages, besides his mother's, are I confess absolutely necessary to your son, viz Latin and French But the use of them, if it be considered right, is far different For the French is chiefly for French conversation, and the Latin for the understanding of books If therefore a French tutor fall in [with your method] I should have him trouble your son with nothing else about languages, but barely to talk French into him, that [while young] he may form his organs to the right pronunciation of that language

The language, I make [use as] a thing [to encourage] by example all the gentle ways of instruction to frame his mind toward [knowledge] The best modes are by making him prefer reputation and praise to the satisfaction of any present excellency and passion The method is by observing to what sort of knowledge his own natural inclination carries him, and to make [him] engage in it For children should in things of learning and knowledge never be forced to that which [is a burden to them] Encourage them by the credit and commendation they find attends it, you shall then see that they are as forward to learn as you are They will with as much pleasure learn what is good and useful, as what is bad and hurtful, if

[you lead them] to it by following their inclinations, and make it not at any time a task or a burden to them This I think [may be done if you] begin with sensible, and especially visible objects, taking those that were most familiar and obvious first They might practise drawing, a great deal of anatomy, botany, geography and astronomy whilst they are very young For [earlier than we imagine if] children be delighted to know the situation and use of the parts of their own bodies, or the situation of town and countries, or the situation of the constellations of the heavens, which I think only as so many sensible objects [are to be impressed] on their memories, it would not only save them time and pain, and be of great use hereafter, but also [at the very] least engage them in the love and desire of knowledge Being [certain also] not to weary

As therefore I have advised heretofore, I am absolutely of the opinion that he should never be beaten, or so much as chid for his book, and I would have you give absolutely in charge to his tutor, whoever he be, never to strike him or chide him for his book nor drive him to the learning of anything by fear, unless it be the fear of shame or of displeasing you But let nobody have the charge to strike him without your express order and direction It is often the passion and insolence, but always the laziness of tutors that makes them beat and chide their pupils, they finding it much easier to impose hard and unsuitable things upon them, and correct them for not doing of it, than by studying their inclinations and suiting their instructions to their abilities, explain to them those things step by step, which they are willing to learn, and would with pleasure be led into, if their tutors would condescend and take pains to do it I make sure it is so with your son, since I hear you not complain of [our] method, which you ought to have done if you had found those gentle ways I proposed of treating him any way insufficient If the success hath hitherto [been good], I desire the continuation of the same method as of more consequence than all the French or Latin any tutor has to teach [For what gain is there to learn] all languages in comparison of a mind pursuing the ways of virtue and knowledge as you direct [and] that has never yet learned any aversion to the thing he is to do from the constraint and ill-usage that controlled him I conclude this is so, for I expect to hear from you when our method fails This I thought

convenient to say concerning the instructions I think you should give his tutor, and the method you should put him in with your son, now that I have some hopes that [this one] will be fit to teach him French If this man should not prove to your turn, and you should hereafter find a man with Latin, I think we must then change our method in respect of these two languages, but in all the rest keep to it, at least I yet see nothing to the contrary

28th Jan

Though I had got thus far of this letter, yet expecting every day the letter you had promised by the next post, I [received them] all yesterday at the time three posts came together.

The [letter of advice] should lie in London where you think safest, under your name as long as you are in town, and when you go out of town to be so in the power of somebody that stays in London, that it may be disposed of at any time by order from us, [as often] as there shall be occasion Pray, therefore, send me word whom you think best to substitute in your place, when you go out of town, [and also] that may have the power to dispose of it as he shall receive advice

I thank you for the [opinion of Stratton as] I had rather have four words of yours grounded upon your unprejudiced observation than abundance of talk of people who speak of others as their passions have prepossessed them I shall be very glad to do any service, but to do it well one must know the matter one has to work on

I hope in your next to hear something about the tutor I sent you news of, and I shall be extremely glad if he so answer the character I have received of him that he prove suitable to your design If a bill for £4 or £5 come to you writ in my hand, but signed by Sylvester Browne, having this mark  under the name, pray pay it and put it to my account

The last part of the philosophical essay I hope you will ere long receive, and when the whole is together you will then be able to judge whether it be new or useful For if it be nothing but what [is well known] and be not like to profit much the commonwealth of learning, the author will content himself with his own speculations .

My humble service to Madam and the little ones I thank you and her for [the enquiries] for my health I thank God I

have not had it better these many years, and in the worst of winter fear not my cough

I am, dear Sir,
your most affectionate and humble servant,
J Locke

Pray present my service to our Tunbridge friends, as many of them as are in town, and let them know I writ to three of them above a week since

I am more and more dissatisfied about my cousin Stratton, since I find by your silence he hath not yet answered the letter you have done me the favour to write to him to know what he has done in Harold's business And I believe he lets Shatter go on in the possession of that house without following your directions to discover, whether the life she pretends to hold by be in being or no Pray tell me whether it rest not upon the tenant to prove the person alive by whose life he holds, and in case of doubt, whether it be not the Lord's way to enter I only expect your answer and advice concerning what I writ in the beginning of this letter And then I will write to him at large For I fear matters will not go well in his hands, or at best that he is a very slow man of London

[*Addr*] These for Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, in London

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, January the 28th, 1686-7

Dear Sir,

In answer to that part of your letter of the 21st which concerns Mr Stratton, I must in the first place acquaint you that I have received of him to your use by bills of exchange from Mrs Strachey these several sums following, viz on the 4th of November, 1683, £31 11s 2d, on the 8th of November, 1684, £48, on the 31st of May, 1686, £50, and on the 20th of September last, £31 10s In all the sum of one hundred sixty-one pounds one shilling and two pence, of which, if I mistake not, I have in some of my former letters given you an account, so that by this you find he is not so much in arrear as you imagined

[1] Lovelace Collection

However, I think it would be for your advantage (when you write next) to desire him to perfect his account of what he hath received and paid for your use, and to pass it over to me, by which (if he makes it intelligible) it will appear to you, what is in arrears, and how he hath managed the trust you reposed in him And by a due consideration of the whole matter, you will be the best judge, whether he deserves the kindness you intend him or not. But most certainly you cannot in all probability take a better course for your future ease and quiet in the management of that estate during your own life, than that proposed in your letter of the 21st And I think in case you settle on Mr Stratton's two children by your cousin for their lives your estate in fee that is now let at a rack-rent, it ought to be taken very kindly by him, it being also an ample encouragement for him to be obliged to pay you constantly (by quarterly or half-yearly payment) the rent that those lands are now let for during your life without any deductions This proposal of yours carries so much kindness in it towards his children and so great a probability of easing you during your life in the management of that estate, that I cannot think of anything more advisable in this particular

In my letter by the last post I sent you one enclosed (which I had lately before received from Mr Stratton), wherein you have his account what postu[re your af[1]]fairs in that country are at present in, and particularly what he hath done towards the discovery, Whether the life that the widow Shatter holds by be living or not, and if what he hath written be not satisfactory in that particular it will be on the tenant's part to prove the life in being that he holds by, and because of the uncertainty in this case of yours, I formerly advised Mr Stratton to enter and bring an ejectment in your name But by his letter to you I found that he is now satisfied that the life the widow holds by is living

And now I shall inform you that in April and May, 1684, I received of Mr Perce the first £300 mentioned in your last letter And in August, 1685, one hundred pounds in lieu of the bill returned protested And I have his note (as I informed you in my last letter by the last post) payable on demand for £399 10s (the other 10s being paid by him for brokerage), which he lately received of Antonio Rodriguez Marquis in consideration of his bill on Doctor Guenellon In all eight hundred pounds (wanting

[1] Words cut out by removal of the name on the back of the sheet

only the 10s allowed by him for brokerage). As for your money due from Mr Oakley, I have a note under his hand for the payment of it, which was long since payable, and I presume gave the occasion of that part of his letter to you for farther forbearance

My last gave you a particular account of my treaty with Mr Papin and the result of it, and therefore I will not now repeat but heartily thank you for what you with so much kindness writ in your last touching the method to be used in the beginning of my son's tuition Which I so well approve of that I shall use my utmost endeavours that it may be strictly observed by the tutor I shall fix on I have at this time several offers from among the French Protestants But find it very difficult to have a true character of their qualifications or tempers, and therefore should have been much satisfied in Monsieur Papin, had the nature of the employment been agreeable to his inclinations, but that being off, I must before I leave the town (if possible) get another that may answer our design, or otherwise I doubt the child will not only lose his time, but be much injured by the company of servants and others that he will unavoidably (in my absence) spend his time withal Of which I have already this experience, that as he increases in age he grows more and more fond of such people as divert him most from the thoughts of learning, in so much, that since his last sickness, I have not by reasoning and the other mild ways that were formerly made use of been able to prevail with him to do that which before his sickness was easy and familiar But have been forced into a seeming breach of the ordinary friendship betwixt us, and the acting over a feigned displeasure towards him for whole days together before I could prevail with him to do that which I desired And I have by late observations great reason to fear that without a tutor speedily got to keep him constantly from the conversation of such ill company, I shall never be able to govern him entirely by our method But of this you shall hear more as I see cause And I will only at present acquaint you that he has perfectly recovered his former health of body, but fails in his memory much more than before his sickness, which probably may be some part of the occasion why he applies not to his book now with the same ease and freedom as formerly But I bless God he is restored to the use of his reason, and I have hopes that his

memory with use may grow better, but without it I fear his progress in learning will be very slow and difficult

The time will not permit me at present to say anything more to you on this subject, and therefore shall only add that I will seek an opportunity to take notice to Mr Perce of the oversights committed by him in his late bill and letter of advice, to prevent the like for the future And do further inform you, that amongst my acquaintance here which are like to continue in town I know no person so proper to put your money into the power of as your good friend Mrs R S[trachey], who I am certain will be ready at all times to dispose thereof in my absence as you shall order or direct And therefore (if I hear nothing from you in the meantime to the contrary) I shall before I go out of town so place it in her power, as (with Mr Perce's assistance) she may be able to answer these ends And if there be anything further wherein I may be capable to serve you, it shall with great willingness and sincerity be performed by

your most truly affectionate friend and
faithful servant,
E [CLARKE] [1]

I can no longer pretend to any excuse for my wife's not writing to you, however, hope you will not reject the hearty services that she, her son and your little mistress sends you, etc

[*Endr by Locke*] E [Clarke] 28 Jan 1686-7

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, February the 8th, 1686-7

DEAR SIR,

Presuming that my two last letters of the 21st and 28th of January are in your hands, I shall at present only acquaint you, that since the last of them I have upon Monsieur Justell's recommendation contracted with one Monsieur Foukett to go into the country with me to be my son's tutor, well hoping he will answer the character that Monsieur Justell, Sir Thomas Clarges, and several other gentlemen have given of him And if so, we have then such a one as was desired He approves well of the method proposed in your letter of the 21st of January for

[1] The signature is cut out [2] Lovelace Collection

the beginning towards the child's instruction, and promises carefully to pursue that, and such further directions as you shall think most proper, which time and experience only can give me a certainty of And, therefore, I will not trouble you with anything more of him at present, but go on to acquaint you that I much wonder I have not all this time had any answer from the young gentleman (that I lately gave you a character of) to the letter which I delivered from you to him And I cannot forbear to acquaint you that he has something lessened himself (at least for the present) in my opinion, by nonperformance of the repeated promises he made me of returning you a speedy answer to that letter, and until he hath given me some reason for that neglect, I shall suspend my further judgment of him Pardon me that I speak thus freely to you in this particular, my intent being only that you may not be deceived by anything I have written For it is my unalterable opinion, that unless the gentleman embraces your very friendly offers of assisting him in his studies with a freedom and kindness equal to that wherewith you proposed it, he will not deserve your further proceeding on that subject, nor any ways answer the character I gave of him

And now I must tell you that Mrs Clarke finding me a little quarrelsome on the point of not answering our friend's letters, it immediately produced the enclosed from her, with a promise, that for the future she will rather choose to be troublesome, than neglect the acknowledgments due to you, for that real friendship you have expressed towards her and hers, etc I am called out by business, but shall ever remain

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

E [1]

[*Endr by Locke*] E Clarke 8 Feb 1686-7

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, February the 8th, 1686[-7]

DEAR SIR,

I have been so long silent that I now know not what to say for myself And you having been so extremely kind on all occasions to me and mine, that I despair of ever having an

[1] The signature is cut off [2] Lovelace Collection

opportunity to make any suitable acknowledgment, but do satisfy myself with the thoughts that you are most pleased when you are doing works of charity to others Which I do assure you is very much shown by your good advice to us concerning the education of our children, which I think is the duty of all parents to discharge as well as they can In order to which Mr Clarke did yesterday fully agree with a tutor for our eldest son, he being one that has a very good character, and we having no hopes of the person who was recommended to us for that purpose, made Mr Clarke conclude with him And I hope it will do well as methinks we have taken a great deal of pains, and been much concerned it should do so I fancy next to choosing a wife for him this is as great an affair as any, nay, it may be, he may do that wholly himself before we know anything of the matter but with this we must trust providence I hope God Almighty that has so lately raised him from the grave beyond all expectation will give him life and opportunity to do some good in his generation, and make him thankful to you and all that are concerned for him and his good

Mr Freke at his coming over did give me some hopes of seeing you in a short time here, which I should very much rejoice in, the room at Chipley being now ready furnished and aired for you, and you would be the welcomest stranger that had ever been in that house, both to Mr Clarke and

your real friend and most obliged humble servant,

M CLARKE

All my little ones are so much in haste to be known to you, and to present you with their humble services, that I cannot tell which I must hear first

[*Addr* ] These to Mr Locke present
[*Endr by Locke*] Mrs Clarke 8th Feb 1686-7
To 15th Jul 1687

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

18th February 1687

DEAR SIR,

By yours of 21st of Jan I find that my cousin Stratton, who writes to me but once in two or three years, when he does

[1] This letter is in a very bad state the paper being rotten and faded

it is in great haste I thank you for not sending the lease by the post according to his silly desire, but some folks, so they may but please the people they talk with, and are in their neighbourhood, care not what trouble or charge they bring on those who are at a distance, although they ought to take more care of them I have taken notice of this to him in the enclosed, and beg the favour also of you to do it when you see him You will see that I have writ to him to pass his accounts to you as soon as may be When he undertook the care of my rent there I left in his hands a rent roll by which you will be able to charge him, as also, I believe, by the little paper book of accounts, which, as I remember, you have of mine A receipt you will find in his hand of mine for £31 odd money must discharge him of nothing, but being given for money which I have left in his hand, and is the same which was paid you, if I mistake not, 4th Nov, 1683 When he has passed his account and satisfied you therein, I then entreat you to open the proposition I mentioned to you in my last, which upon further consideration I find to have two difficulties that will hinder me from settling it absolutely in his children by my cousin without a power of revocation The one is, that he may die before me, and so my affairs there be set in the ends, and I fain to look out another into whose hands to put them The other is, that I would not put the power of the little estate I have there out of my hands, so as not to be able to dispose of it as I please, whatever occasion I may have, and therefore I would make no such settlement, but with power of revocation On the other side he will then have reason to object, that after he has [paid] such a rent without defalcation of taxes for some years I may resume my estate, and leave him not only unrewarded, but out of purse To obviate this the remedy he proposes is this That the rent we shall agree for, or any part of it, being behind at any time six months, I will have an absolute power of revocation 2nd That, if I do revoke without any forfeiture of his, that then upon the tender of so much as you shall think reasonable for his pains, taxes and value of the estate (if there be any difference between then and now, for I would have him pay according as it was let by the rent roll I left with him, and that without any defalcation) by the year, according to the number of years that shall be charged from the time of the date of the deed to the time of the said tender This is the

best way which my ignorance in the law and these kind of affairs can make me think of Perhaps you will think on something better The truth is were mankind so as they ought to be, I know a better way than all this, and that is, that he should pay me constantly so much a year for all that estate there during my life, and that without any account, and then I would settle the estate as I design upon his children by will, which if at any time I altered I would some other way make him amends for his pains, and loss, if he had sustained any, but by his own fault But in an age I cannot take other men's words, at least one of a 1000, I can scarce tell how to propose that another should take [them]. But I leave the whole matter to [your judgement] and kindness I would be master of my estate whilst I live I would make [disposal thereafter] with the least trouble My thoughts are of no consideration reasons intervene to the contrary to leave it to my heirs, with the advantage to my cousin Stratton's children as an acknowledgment of their father's care of it for me in my lifetime

The man is come, but the lease [is not], being in his trunk, which he brought not with him in the Marguet [Margate] boat, but sent on in a ship from London But he tells me the ship [has sailed], so that I expect it every moment

And now I return to that which troubles me most, and that is, that our endeavours hitherto prove so unsuccessful in procuring a tutor But, however, pray be not troubled about his loss of time, or the weakness of his memory, since his disease [is cured] you have nothing to apprehend from either of them If you can maintain and increase his ambition and desire of praise, and keep him from ill habits and humours, trouble not yourself about his learning, it will come time enough And I think that in the state he is now, wherein though he has no visible remains of his late disease in his body, yet his mind is not come to its former strength and alacrity, he should not be diseased with his book, but left to the diversion of innocent delights to which his own inclination leads him, which, as you observe to have this or that tendency most successful in something amongst them that may be of use and [value] to him [Do not] burden nor force him, especially in the matter of his book, which I am still in my old mind that [study should] never be made a burden or a business to him, but a sensible pleasure

One thing, indeed, you have touched on which is of dangerous consequence, which is the [keeping] company with servants, and being pleased with their flattery and insinuations, which serve for nothing but to corrupt and mislead children This is a mischief which, as I remember, I formerly took notice of as the most dangerous and the hardest to be prevented, and to which perhaps I think the great [depth] into which mankind is degenerated is more than to any one thing owing [1] They should never flatter him or play with him, unless some one sober servant to whose prudence you could trust [be in his company] It is a great deal better that your children should be alone together to play in a place where [they may be watched], than to have them in the company of admiring servants who will be teaching of them one way or other ill tricks or habits

But since his memory be not [diseased] I will answer for it that it will return again, but have [him constantly] under the notion of exercising of it now, [taking care] that you do not overburden it Keep up his spirits that be not damped and broken, and so he fall into sober tameness, which is a dangerous quality in a child, and on the other side keep him from vicious inclinations and habits, and then trouble not yourself about his learning I will undertake he shall have as good a share of it as any of his neighbours and make a better use of it By the way, is there no such book as Æsop's *Fables* in English with pictures to entertain children, and to give him to read If there be not it is a great pity, and were I in England, I would get it translated, and it would be of more use than a great many of those volumes which relate to serious matters

I desire that when you see my cousin Stratton you would mind him to view all the parcels of land belonging to the tenement at Bel[u]ton often, for that some of them being mixed in amongst other may else be in danger to be lost, and that he take Robert ssell with him to shew him them, who knows them all perfectly I beg also that the half *de Morbo Gallico*, which I left with R Smith sealed up in a little [box] about the length of a hand and about [half a] hand in breadth, may be sent into and the trunk be sent to my cousin John Bonville And the box of books that I have [left], and a folio of the four Evangelists in Greek arranged in columns and interleaved

[1] Seven lines are here illegible

(which book I delivered to my cousin Bonville myself and set an high value upon it, being not to be bought anywhere), be put into the trunk, which being locked I would have left with him, and the key carried back and left with R Smith, and tied together with what other keys were left there before You may easily [perceive] why I would have that tract *De Morbo Gallico*

Pray present my humble service to her [Madam] and the little ones Pardon the liberty with which I trouble you, and oblige me [if you] send your letters hereafter under such a convoy as your brother builder does

your humble servant,

J L

[*Add*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, in London

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, the 26th of March, 1687

DEAR SIR,

When I writ to you on the 23rd, I had only time enough to let you know that I was then returned from Sutton Court, without being able to give you any account of what success I had in those things your desires lead me particularly to enquire into there And therefore I take this first opportunity to acquaint you that immediately upon my arrival there (though it was late) I sent to Mr Stratton to desire that I might speak with him early the next morning, and accordingly he came, and acknowledged the receipt of your letter (which I conveyed to him) and the contents of it But excused his not being ready with the particulars of his account by the want of time to perfect the same, and seemed to be much concerned that he had it not ready for me as you desired in your letter, and promised I should have it in two days' time I told him I would tarry purposely for it, and resolved to spend that time in visiting my friends and acquaintance in those parts When that time was very near expired he came again to me with the beginnings of a particular account, which (as far as it went) appeared to me to be fair and reasonable, and told me that he intended to pursue the same

[1] Lovelace Collection

method for the remaining parts of it, but said that he could not possibly perfect the same to let me have it unless my time would permit me to stay three or four days longer there, which I could not possibly do, being under an absolute necessity of returning hither again within that time, so that I could not think of any other expedient, but for him to perfect the account by the Assizes, and send it to me from thence by some safe hand which he promised faithfully to perform, and I am in daily expectations of it, the Assizes being ended yesterday I am troubled that my occasions would not permit my stay at Sutton until this had been done, that I might have examined the particulars of the account with him But if there be any judgment to be made by that small part which I saw, it will appear to be just And I believe him to be honest, but slow and uncertain in all his actions And therefore I was for some time in doubt with myself (the account not being finished) whether I should make your proposal to him or not, until I was determined in that by his asking of me, what you meant by that expression in your letter to him, viz that I had something to propose that would not be to his prejudice, upon which (not being handsomely able to avoid giving him an answer to it) I told him, that you had thoughts (when his account should be perfected to satisfaction), as an acknowledgment of his pains and kindness in the looking after your concerns, to settle on his two children (by Mr Locke's daughter) for their lives all the estate you have in fee at Bel[u]ton now in possession (not what is out upon lease), reserving a small[1] your right heirs And also reserving the same annual rent that the estate was let for when you delivered him the rent roll, to yourself during your own life, to be paid quarterly without any deduction for rates, taxes, reparations, or other charges whatsoever, with an absolute power of revocation in you at any time upon default of payment of any part of the before mentioned rent for the space of six months And at all other times during your life upon your offer to pay him so much as he shall make appear to have been out of pocket for the rates, taxes, and reparations aforesaid, during the time that he shall have paid you the clear yearly rent aforesaid Which proposal (when thoroughly understood) was well accepted, and

[1] The omission is here due to the removal of the signature on the back of sheet

Mr Stratton very sensible of the kindness you intended his children therein, and says that whenever you please he will thankfully accept of such a settlement, and will take that estate into his own proper management, and pay you the clear yearly rent aforesaid, so that it is now in your own power to please yourself in this particular And I think a settlement made by you in manner aforesaid is the only way whereby you can be master of your estate, and make the most of it during your own life and with the least trouble I am sure it is the best way I can think of, and therefore cannot but encourage you to proceed in it under this method And when I have received Mr Stratton's account and perused it, you shall have my thoughts thereupon in the meantime give me leave to renew my thanks for your very kind letter of the 11th instant, and most particularly for your continued care touching my son's education, in which your method shall be as punctually pursued as possible may be And I hope the person that I have contracted with for that purpose will answer our desires, but as yet I have had no experience of him, by reason of a fever that seized him about a week or ten days before I came out of town, which confined him to his chamber, and disabled him from coming into the country with me But I hear of his recovery, and expect him daily here, and as soon as he hath been with me some time you may be certain I shall inform you particularly, and take the liberty to ask your farther directions thereupon

And I believe I shall also embrace your very kind offer touching the Freezland ewes But of that you may expect to hear further from me in a short time, and also of the lime trees you sent me, which are the finest I ever saw, and they being carefully planted by John Barber I question not but they will grow and prosper, but as yet I can have no certainty of that However, give me leave to send you my wife's, my own, and my son's hearty thanks for them They are planted in a piece of ground that lies on the south-east side of my house, and will (if they thrive) afford great pleasure in a few years I will be sure to have a good sound ash-tree felled on the 25th day of May next as you direct, and shall wait until you tell me what use I shall make of it The poplar cuttings that you sent me I have planted plentifully of both sorts of them, and have reason to believe the Populus Alba or abele cuttings will grow as well as the other

sort. Your Spa friends have planted several of both sorts of them also, and I believe we shall now in a little time be certain whether the abele cuttings will grow or not Pray send me word in your next which of the two makes the finest tree in Holland, and that will be a further obligation upon

your most faithful friend and servant,

E [1]

Madam and all the young fry are well, and give their best services to you, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr. John Locke these

[*Endr by Locke*] E Clarke 26th Mar 1687

To 25 Apr
W S to take the whole estate at the former rent
A power reserved to make leases on all out on lease
Q Whether Sir W or his sister not angry
Q Whether he hath the Carolina Constitutions with additions
W S to take the whole estate upon the terms I proposed to him
Pay A Churchill for my hat
Q Concerning St John's Court and Antony
Q At J Bonville's 4° book *de Intellectu*
To send a short peruke by Mr Mol

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

Chipley, 4th April, 1687

Dear Sir,

This serves to confirm what I writ to you on the 23rd of March last, as to the time of my being in town the next term, and to let you know that I have now received Mr Stratton's account of your rents under his care and management with his desires to convey the enclosed to you, by which you will see that on the balance thereof he makes himself debtor to you in the sum of £7 11s 8½d The account I have perused, and as far as I can judge of it without having your own rent roll to compare it withal, and the several bills of disbursements to examine and consider of which are therein mentioned to be allowed and paid by him, I believe it to be an honest and just account of those rents so far as he goes with it But in regard to

[1] The signature is cut out [2] Lovelace Collection

the £31 and odd money, which you left in his hands and gave him a receipt for in August, 1683, when you received the £5 of him, is not brought into this account as it ought to have been And to the intent you may be the better and more fully satisfied in all other the particulars of it, I will embrace the first opportunity after my arrival in town to send you the account itself to consider of, and thereby I believe it will appear to you (as it does now to me) that he still owes you the £31 and odd money, over and besides the £7 11s 8½d that he makes himself debtor to you on the balance of the said account But I rather believe this omission of his to be through forgetfulness than by design, because that when I was last at Sutton and mentioned that particular to him, he readily owned the truth of it, and said he would charge himself with it I shall not trouble you with any further observations of my own upon it, but submit it to your better consideration And hoping that my last of the 26th of March is by this time in your hands, I conclude with all our hearty services to you, and remain in all sincerity,

your most obliged humble servant,

E [1]

When I was last at Sutton I received twenty-six pounds of Mr Stratton [2] to your use, which I forgot in my letter of the 26th of March to acquaint you withal I left it with my aunt Strachey,[3] and shall receive it by bill from her in London the next term, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke these

## *Locke to Clarke* [4]

29th April, 1687

SIR,

Now that you have got a tutor for your son I set myself seriously to bethink me what you should do with him I can hardly tell what to say Not that I could not easily find work for him, but it is work so much out of the road and thoughts of those sort of people, that I am in doubt whether he be not as much to learn yet as your son is anything he shall pretend

[1] The signature is cut out
[2] Peter Stratton, Locke's cousin
[3] Mrs Strachay of Sutton Court
[4] Cf Letters on Education, *supra*, p 112, note 2

to teach him That you may know how well grounded this suspicion is, give me leave to set before you again a short epitome of what I think the true method of education and then be pleased to examine how well these principles and the pains which must be taken to keep to them and instil them, agrees with the notions and designs of the tutor you have got

He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure, or pain, for the sake of what reason tells him, is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger never to be good for anything This temper, therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes, and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be wrought into the mind, as early as may be, even from the first dawnings of any knowledge or apprehensions in children, and so to be confirmed in them by all the care and ways imaginable, by those that have the oversight of their education

2nd On the other side, if the mind be curbed, and humbled too much in children, if their spirits be abased and broken by too strict an hand over them, they lose all their vigour and industry, and are in a worse state than the former For extravagant young fellows, that have liveliness and spirit, could sometimes be set right, and so make able and great men, but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low spirits are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain anything To avoid the danger that is on either hand, is the great art, and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirit, easy, active, and free, and yet, at the same time, to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to drive him to things that are uneasy to him, he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions, has, in my opinion, got the true secret of education

The usual lazy and short way by correction, and the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know, or ever think of, is the most unfit of any, to be used in education, because it tends to both those mischiefs which, as we have showed, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which, on the one hand or the other, ruin all that miscarry

For 1st This kind of punishment tends not at all to the mastery of our natural inclination, of indulging corporal and

present pleasure, and the avoiding pain, but rather encourages it, and so strengthens in us that which is the root of all vicious and wrong actions For what motives, I pray, does a child act by, but of pleasure and pain, that takes pains at his book against his inclination, or abstains from eating unwholesome fruit, that he takes pleasure in, only out of the fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleasure, or avoids the greater corporal pain And what is it, to govern his actions, and direct his conduct, by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him which it is our business to root out and destroy? And therefore I cannot think any chastisement useful to a child, where the shame of suffering for having done amiss does not more work upon him than the pain

2nd This sort of correction naturally breeds aversion to that which it is the tutor's business to create a liking to How obvious is it to observe, that children come to hate things, which they liked at first, as soon as they come to be whipped, or harassed, or teased about them And it is not to be wondered at in them, when grown men would not be able to be reconciled to anything by such ways Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, which was indifferent to him, if he should with blows, or ill language, be hauled to it, when he had no mind? Or be constantly so treated, for some circumstance in his application to it? This is natural to be so Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things which they are joined with, and the very sight of a cup, wherein any-one uses to take nauseous physic, turns his stomach, so that nothing will relish well out of it, though the cup be never so clean, well shaped, and of the richest materials

3rd Such a sort of slavish discipline makes a slavish temper The child submits, and dissembles whilst the fear of the rod hangs over him, but when that is removed, and by being out of sight, he can promise to himself impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination, which by this way is not at all altered, but on the contrary heightened, and increased in him, and after such restraint breaks out usually with the more violence

Or, 4th If severity carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the present unruly distemper, it is only by bringing in the place a worse and more dangerous disease, by

breaking the mind, and thus, in the place of a disorderly young fellow, you have a low-spirited moped creature who, however with his unnatural sobriety he please silly people, who commend tame inactive children, because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble, yet, at last, he will prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be, all his life, an useless thing to himself and others

Beating, then, and chiding are not the punishments fit to be used in the education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous men, and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only on great occasions, and cases of extremity. On the other side, to flatter children by rewards of things that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided He that will give his son apples, or sugar-plums, or what he loves, to make him learn his book, does but authorise his love of pleasure and cocker up that dangerous inclination, which he ought by all means to subdue and suppress in him But you can never teach him to master this inclination, whilst you compound for the check you give it in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another

I say not this, that I would have children always kept from pleasant things that are not injurious to their health But they should have them only as the consequences of the state of esteem and acceptance they are in with their parents and governors, but never to be offered them as the rewards of this or that particular action that they show an aversion to, or which they would not have done without them

These rewards and punishments being laid aside, what spur or bridle shall we have left to govern unruly youth? will the tutor be ready to say To which I answer reputation and shame, of which having spoken at large formerly, I shall only remark here this one thing more of them that, though they are not the true principles of virtue, (for that is the knowledge of a man's duty, and the satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the dictates of that light he has given him, with the hopes of acceptation and reward), yet it is that which comes nearest to it and being the testimony and applause that other people's reason give to virtuous and right actions, is the proper guide and encouragement of children, till they grow able to judge for themselves, and make use of their own reason

But if a right course be taken with children, there will not be so much need of the application of rewards and punishments, as we imagine, and is commonly made use of For 1st All their innocent folly, playing, and childish actions, are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained If these faults of their age, rather than of the children themselves, were as they should be left only to time and inclination, and riper years to cure, children would escape a great deal of misapplied and useless correction, which either fails to overpower the natural disposition of their childhood, and so, by an effectual familiarity makes correction in other necessary cases of less use, or else, if it be of force to restrain the natural gaiety of that age, it serves only to spoil the temper both of body and mind If the noise and bustle of their play prove at any time inconvenient, or unsuitable to the place or company they are in, which can only be where their parents are, a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have established the authority they should, will be enough either to remove or quiet them for the time But this gamesome humour, which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temper, should rather be encouraged to keep up their spirits, than curbed or restrained and the chief art is to make all that they have to do sport and play too

2nd As to things they are to be taught in that age, as to read, dance, or some foreign language, etc, which requires some application and industry, this will be done of itself, if you can but engage their inclinations to it, which I think no hard matter to do, by ways formerly mentioned, whereof I shall here only touch the general heads

1st None of those things should ever be made a burden to them, nor imposed on them as a task or duty When that is once done it presently becomes irksome the mind takes an aversion to it, though before it were a thing of delight or indifferency Let a child be but ordered to whip his top at a certain time every day, whether he has or has not a mind to it, let this but be required of him as a task, wherein he must spend so many hours morning and afternoon, and see whether he will not soon be weary of any play at this rate Is it not so with grown men? What they do cheerfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of, and can no more endure, as soon as they find it is expected of them as a duty? Children have as much a mind

to show that they are free, that their own good actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent as any of the proudest of you grown men, think of them as you please

2nd As a consequence of this, they should never be put upon doing even those things you have got an inclination in them to, but when they have a mind and disposition to it He that loves reading, writing, music, etc, finds yet in himself certain seasons wherein those things have no relish to him, and if at that time he forces himself to it, he only pesters and wearies himself to no purpose So it is with children This change of temper should be carefully observed in them, and the favourable seasons of aptitude and inclination be heedfully laid hold of, to set them upon anything By this means a great deal of time and tiring would be saved for a child will learn three times as much when he is in tune and inclined to it, in half the time, as he will with double the time and pains, when he goes awkwardly and unwillingly to it If this were minded as it should, children might be permitted to weary themselves with play, and yet have time enough to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age And if things were ordered right, learning anything they should be taught might be made as much a recreation to their play, as their play is to their learning The pains are equal on both sides, nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be busy, and the change and variety is that which naturally delights them The only odds is, in that which we call play they act at liberty, and employ their pains (whereof you may observe them never sparing) freely, but what they are to learn, they are driven to, called on, compelled This is that, that at first entrance, balks, and cools them, they want their liberty get them but to ask their tutors to teach them (as they often do their playfellows), instead of his calling upon them to learn, and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this as they do in other things, they will go on with as much pleasure in it, and it will not differ from their other sports and play How a child is to be brought to desire to be taught anything you have a mind he should learn I think I have already showed, or if that part be any way deficient, we must perfect it The hardest part, I confess, is with the first or eldest, but when once he is set right, it is easy by him to lead the rest whither one will

Children being more active and busy in that age, than any part of their life, and being indifferent to anything they can do, so they may be but doing, dancing and Scotch-hoppers would be the same thing to them, were the encouragements and discouragements equal But to things we would have them learn, the great and only discouragement I can observe is, that they are called to it, it is made their business, they are teased and chid about it all which is a prejudice to that natural freedom they extremely affect And it is that liberty alone which gives the true relish and delight to their ordinary play games Turn the tables, and you will see, they will soon change their application, especially if they see but the examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves And if the things they see others do, be ordered so, that they be persuaded it is the privilege of an age or condition above theirs, then ambition, and the desire still to get forward, and higher, and to be like those above them, will give them an inclination which will set them on work in a way wherein they will go on with vigour or pleasure, enjoying in it their dearly beloved freedom To all which, if it brings with it also the satisfaction of credit and reputation, I am apt to think, there will need no other spur, to excite their application and assiduity as much as is necessary I confess, there needs patience and skill, gentleness and attention, and a prudent conduct to attain this at first But why have you a tutor, if there needed no pains? But when this is once established, all the rest will follow more easily than in any other more severe and imperious discipline And I think it no hard matter to gain this point, I am sure there will not be, where children have no ill example set before them The great danger therefore that I apprehend is from servants, and such other vicious and foolish people, who spoil children, both by the ill patterns they set before them in their own ill manners, and by giving them commendation together, the two things they should never have at once, I mean vicious pleasure and commendations

Besides the directing the busy temper of children by the ways above mentioned, and insinuating into them inclinations of the things we would have them do, another thing to be taken care of is to check and subdue the vicious inclinations they are apt to have, and bring them to an habitude of mastering of them; and here, indeed, there is need of reward and punishment But

still they should be those I before mentioned of, reputation and shame, the pleased and displeased of father, mother, and those under whose government they are For though to tempers that are active and busy as children are, it be easy to give them inclinations to any actions, you must do it by the proposal of some other good or evil, the only proper ones are those above mentioned

I told you but now that children love liberty, and therefore they should be brought to do the things are fit for them, without feeling any restraint laid upon them I now tell you they love something more, and that is dominion And this is the first original of all vicious habits, that are ordinary and natural This love of power and dominion shews itself very early, and that in these two things

1st We see children, as soon almost as they are born, I am sure long before they can speak, cry, grow peevish, sullen and out of humour for nothing but to have their wills They will have their desires submitted to by others, they contend for a ready compliance from all about them, especially those who stand near, or beneath them in age or degree, as soon as they come to consider others with those distinctions

2nd Another thing, wherein they affect dominion, is to have things to be theirs, they would have propriety and possession, pleasing themselves with the power which that seems to give them, and the right they thereby have to dispose of them as they please He that hath not observed these two humours working very betimes in children, has taken little notice of their actions and he that thinks, that these two roots of almost all the injustice and contention that so disturb human life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary habits introduced, neglects the proper season to lay the foundation of a good and worthy man To do this, I imagine these following things may somewhat conduce

1st That a child should never be suffered to have what he craves, or so much as speaks for, much less if he cries for it What, then, would you not have them declare their wants? Yes, that is very fit And it is as fit that with all tenderness they should be hearkened to, and supplied at least whilst they are very little But it is one thing to say, I am hungry, another to say, I would have roast meat Having declared their wants,

their natural wants, the pain they feel from hunger, thirst, cold, or any other necessity of nature, it is the duty of their parents, and those about them, to relieve them But they must leave it to the choice and ordering of their parents, what they think properest for them, and how much, and must not be permitted to choose for themselves, and say, I would have wine, or white bread the very naming of it should make them lose it

This is for natural wants, which must be relieved, but for all wants of fancy and affectation, they should never, if once declared, be hearkened to, or complied with By this means they will be brought to get a mastery over their inclinations, and learn the art of stifling their desires, as soon as they rise up in them, and before they take vent, when they are easiest to be subdued which will be of great use to them in the future course of their lives By this I do not mean that they should not have the things that one perceives would delight them It would be inhumanity, and not prudence to treat them so But they should not have the liberty to carve or crave anything to themselves They should exercise themselves to keep their desires under, and be content in the want of what they wished for And the more they practised modesty, and temperance in this, the more should those about them study to reward them, with things suited and acceptable to them, but without telling them so, but as if it were a natural consequence of their good behaviour rather than a bargain about it But you will lose your labour, and, what is more, their love and reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them This is to be kept very stanch, and carefully to be watched And here the servants come again in my way

If this be begun betimes, and they accustom themselves early to subdue their desires, this useful habit will settle in them, and, as they come to grow up in age and discretion, they may be allowed greater liberty, when reason comes to speak in them, and not passion For whenever reason would speak, it should be hearkened to But, as they should never be heard when they speak for anything they would have, unless it be first proposed to them, so they should always be heard and fairly and kindly answered, when they ask after anything they would know, and desire to be informed about Curiosity should be as carefully cherished in children, as appetite suppressed

2nd As to having their wills, which is a contest often happens between children that live together, whoever begins it should be sure to be crossed in it But not only that, but they should be taught to have all the deference, complaisance, and civility one for another imaginable When they see that this procures them respect, and that they lose no superiority by it, but on the contrary they grow into love and esteem with everybody, they will take more pleasure in it, than in insolent domineering, for so plainly is the other

The complaints of children one against another, which is usually but the desiring the assistance of another to revenge them, should not be favourably received nor hearkened to It weakens and effeminates their minds to accustom them to complaints and if they suffer sometimes crossing or pain from others, without being permitted to think it strange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn sufferance, and harden them early But though you give no countenance to the complaints of the querulous, yet take care to suppress all insolence and ill-nature When you observe it yourself, reprove it before the injured party but if the complaint be of something really worthy your notice and prevention another time, then reprove the offender by himself alone, out of sight of him that complained, and make him go and ask pardon, and make reparation for the injury he did Which coming thus as it were from himself, will be the more cheerfully performed and more kindly received, the love strengthened between them, and a custom of civility grow familiar among your children

3rd As to having and possessing of things, teach them to part with what they have, easily, and freely to their friends, and let them find by experience that the most liberal has always most plenty, with esteem and commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practise it This, I imagine, will make brothers and sisters kinder and civiler to one another, and consequently to others, than twenty rules about good manners, with which children are ordinarily perplexed and cumbered

There is another ill disposition commonly to be observed in children, which I who, perhaps, have no more rev[erence] of my two-legged companions than others, cannot yet believe to come from nature, and that is the delight they take in doing mischief, whereby I mean spoiling of anything to no purpose, but more

especially the pleasure they take to put anything in pain that is capable of it This I cannot persuade myself to be any other than a foreign and introduced disposition, a habit borrowed from custom People teach children to strike, and laugh when they hurt, or if harm come to others, and they have the examples of most people about them to confirm them in it So by fashion and opinion, it comes to be a pleasure, which in itself neither is nor can be any This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied, so as to plant the contrary, or more natural tempers of good nature and compassion in the room of it, but still by the same gentle methods which are to be applied to the other two faults before mentioned But pray remember that the mischiefs, or harms, which come by play, inadvertency, or ignorance, and were not known to be harms, or designed for mischief's sake, though they may perhaps sometimes be of considerable damage, yet are not at all to be taken notice of

If the tutor can be made to understand and relish these things, and will at the beginning apply himself to put them in practice, he will afterwards find his work very easy, and you will I guess find your son in a little time a greater proficient both in learning and breeding than perhaps you imagine but let him by no means beat him, at least without your consent and direction He must be sure also to shew him the examples of the things he would have the child practise, and carefully keep him from all bad examples, especially from the most dangerous of all, that of the servants, from whose company he is to be kept not by prohibitions, for that will but give him an itch after it, but by other ways which I think I have formerly mentioned

As to his learning, which, as you know, I always count the least matter, his tutor, if he be constantly with him, cannot choose but talk French into him, for with him he should speak nothing else, and that will be enough of languages to learn at once But whilst he learns to speak and read French, he must not forget to keep his reading of English, which his mother or anybody may hear him do sometimes, but have a care still of clogging him with too much at once, or making anything his business, but downright virtue, or rather abstinence from vice If his tutor can, when he understands him, teach him anatomy, or botany, geography, or the stars, or the knowledge of any other sensible parts of nature, that may be ordered so as to be

no burden to the child, but be made a kind of recreation, especially if you give him the pleasure and pride to teach you, or his mother, or his sister, what he knows

I know not whether it be time for him yet to learn to write, for I know not how old he is But when that is seasonable, the first thing should be taught him is to hold his pen right, and this he should be perfect in, before he should be suffered to put it to paper, for not only children, but anybody else, that would do anything well, should never be put to learn two things at once, or be set to perfect themselves in two parts of an action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated When he has learnt to hold his pen right, (to hold it betwixt the thumb and forefinger alone I think best, but in this you should consult some good writing master, or any other person who writes well and quick), then next he should learn how to lay his paper, and place his arm and body to it These preparations being got over, the way to teach him to write without much trouble, is to get a plate graved with the characters of such an hand as you like best, but you must remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he should ordinarily write, for everyone naturally comes by degrees to write a less hand than he at first was taught, but never a bigger Such a plate being graved, let several sheets of good writing paper be printed off with red ink, which he hath nothing to do but to go over with a good pen filled with black ink, which will quickly bring his hand to the formation of those characters

Yours of the 4th instant with those of later date I answered the last post I have reason to beg your excuse for this long addition concerning your son and his tutor, but you must give me leave to enlarge in this, having so little else to express that acknowledgment and zeal wherewith I am,

Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J L 29th Apr [1]

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, nr Fleet Street in London

[Endr] J L 's letter Received 2nd May, 1689 Of Education

[1] Torn

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 13th May, 1687

DEAR SIR,

That letter of yours (which in my last of the 3rd instant I told you was sent to Chipley whilst I was coming to this place) being now returned to me, I take this first opportunity to thank you for it, but most especially for the continued care you take of my son's education I, however, cannot but wonder that you should raise so kind a quarrel with me for not finding fault with what you have with so much reason and judgment written on that occasion Which, I must tell you truly, I cannot do without acting contrary to my own understanding, and the strictest observation I have been able to make upon the practice hitherto of those rules you have therein given me Which are all built upon the strongest reasons imaginable, and therefore, I believe, will never fail in case there be a constant and steady practice of them in the education of children I hope the tutor I have got will strictly observe them, he being (as far as I can discern) thoroughly convinced that the methods proposed are in all parts the most rational he ever met withal And that praise and shame are certainly the best rewards and punishments, for all that's good or evil in a child's temper or behaviour And that they are the only proper ways and means firmly to root virtuous and good principles in them And that children are to be led on by all the sweet allurements and persuasions that can be thought of, but never to be forced or governed by the fear or terror of those that are placed over them And this being declared to be his judgment, I have reason to hope his practice with my children will be pursuant to those great truths, etc

And now give me leave to answer some of the queries in your letter of the 25th of April with the plainness and sincerity of a friend, wherein I must tell you that from the first time you bid me observe how you stood in the opinion of my neighbours (your companions the last summer), I have ever since in all [2] [made] observations for your own private satisfaction As for Thomas and Susan,[3] Mrs Perce and the lady in whose house she is,

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] Half a sheet is here torn off The next page resumes as in the text

[3] Thomas and Susan Stringer

I believe they have all the same kindness and friendship for you as ever, and I am confident it is laziness or forgetfulness, rather than any disrespect, that has occasioned their long silence towards you For they all constantly make the most kind enquiries imaginable of me after your welfare, and I never see any of them but they talk of writing to you And the young gentleman [1] (to whom I formerly delivered a letter from you) came to me the beginning of this week, and made great excuses for his not keeping his word to you, and said that he had hitherto delayed writing to you upon no other reason but that of his being from time to time led on with the hopes of travelling abroad, and thereby having an opportunity to make his personal acknowledgments to you for the kind service you intend him, and says he has now obtained his end, is going into the country to take leave of his father and mother, and then is to set out hence under the care of a Scotchman (whose name I have forgot, but is to travel with him in the nature of a governor) for the Hague, and intends to wait on you in his journey thither I hope what he says is real and not a feigned excuse, but that a little time will show the certainty of, and the conversation you will have with him will direct you to make a better judgment of him than anything I can write concerning him

And now I come to that part of your letter which relates to Mr Stratton, whose accounts I have this day sent hence, with a peruke of the colour you did formerly wear (Mr Mol being gone out of town) by the person, that by your directions I have paid for the hat he lately sent you And when you have considered these accounts, I think it will not be amiss if you return them to me with your own observations on them by the same bearer, and when I am

[*In the margin in Locke's hand*] E Clarke May 1687

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

SIR, 15th July, 1687

You must not wonder that you find me often adding to my former discourse concerning education [3] It is what I warned

[1] Lord Anthony afterwards the third Earl of Shaftesbury, who went abroad about this time with Mr Daniel Denoue, a Scotchman, as tutor

[2] This letter is not in Locke's hand, but the signature, date and address at the end are in his writing

[3] Cf Letters on Education, *supra*, 112, note 2

you of heretofore, being sensible when I first undertook it that I should in a subject I was so little versed in omit many things necessary to be considered Having been lately in an house where there were children, and taking stricter notice of their actions than formerly I was wont to do, I find that crying is a fault that should not be tolerated in them, not only for the unpleasant and unbecoming noise that it fills the house with, but for more considerable reasons, in reference to the children themselves

Their crying is of two sorts, either stubborn and domineering, or querulous and whining

1st Their crying is very often a contention for mastery, and an open declaration of their insolence and obstinacy When they have not the power to obtain their desire, they will by their clamour and crying maintain their title and right to it This is an open justifying themselves, and a kind of remonstrance against the unjustness of the oppression which denies them what they have a mind to

2nd Sometimes their crying is the effect of pain or true sorrow, and a bemoaning themselves under it

These two, if carefully observed, may by the mere looks and actions, and particularly the tone of their crying, be easily distinguished, but neither of them must be suffered, much less encouraged

1st The obstinate or stomachful crying should by no means be permitted, because it is but another way of flattering their desires, and encouraging those passions which it is our main business to subdue and if it be (as often it is) upon the receiving any correction, it quite eludes all the good effects of it; and a punishment which leaves them in this declared opposition only serves to make them worse. The restraints and punishments laid on children are all misapplied and lost, as far as they do not prevail over their wills, teach them to submit their passions, and make their minds supple and pliant to what their parents' reasons advises them now, or their own reasons shall hereafter But if, in anything wherein they are crossed, they may be suffered to go away crying, they confirm themselves in their desires, and part with a declaration of their right, and a resolution to satisfy them the first opportunity This therefore, is another reason why you should seldom correct your

children for, whenever you come to that extremity, it is not enough to whip or beat them, you must do it till you find you have subdued their minds, till with submission and patience they yield to the correction, which you shall find best by their crying, and their ceasing of it upon your bidding Without this, the beating of children is but a passionate tyranny over them and it is mere cruelty, and not correction, to put their bodies in pain, without doing their minds any good But as this gives us a reason why children should seldom be corrected, so it also prevents their being so For if, whenever they are chastised, it were done thus without passion, but soberly and effectually too, laying on the blows and smart, not all at once, but slowly, with reasoning between, and with observation how it wrought, and stopping when it had made them pliant, penitent, and yielding, they would seldom need the like punishment again, being made careful to avoid the fault that deserved it Besides that, by this means, as the punishment would not be lost for being too little, and not effectual, so it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as soon as we perceived that it reached the mind, and that was bettered For, since the chiding or beating of children should be always the least that possibly may be, that which is laid on in the heat of anger, seldom observes that measure, and is commonly more than it should be, though it prove less than enough

2nd Many children are apt to cry, upon any little harm they suffer, and the least pain that befalls them puts them into complaints and bawling This few children avoid, for it being the first and natural way to declare their sufferings or wants before they can speak the compassion that is thought due to that tender age foolishly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can speak[1] It is the duty, I confess, of those about children to compassionate them, whenever they suffer any hurt, but not to show it in pitying them Help and ease them the best you can, but by no means bemoan them This softens their minds, and makes the little harms that befall them sink deep into that part which alone feels, and makes larger wounds there than otherwise they would. They should be hardened against all sufferings, especially of the body, and have a tenderness only of shame and for reputation The many

[1] From "compassion" to "speak" an additional sentence in Locke's hand

inconveniences this life is exposed to require we should not be too sensible of every little hurt What our minds yield not to, makes but a slight impression, and does us but very little harm, it is the suffering of our spirits that makes and continues the pain This brawniness and insensibility of mind is the best armour we can have against the common evils and accidents of life, and being a temper that is to be got by exercise and custom, more than any other way, the practice of it should be begun betimes, and happy is he that is taught it early. That effeminacy of spirit which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing that I know so much increases in children as crying, so nothing, on the other side, so much checks and restrains, as their being hindered from that sort of complaining In the little harms they suffer, from knocks and falls, they should not be pitied for falling, but commended and bid do so again, which is a better way to cure their falling than either chiding or bemoaning them But, let the hurt they receive be what it will, stop their crying, which will give them more quiet and ease at present, and harden them for the future

The former sort of crying requires severity to silence it, and where a look, or positive command, will not do it, blows must For it proceeding from pride, obstinacy and wilfulness, the will, where the fault lies, must be bent, and made to comply, by a rigour sufficient to subdue it But this latter, being ordinarily from a quite contrary cause, ought to be treated with a little gentler method Persuasion, or diverting the thoughts another way, or laughing at them, etc, may perhaps be at first the proper way But for this, the circumstances of the thing, and the particular temper of the child, must be considered no certain invariable rules can be given about it, but it must be left to the prudence of the parents or tutor But this I think I may say in general, that there should be a constant discountenancing of this sort of crying also, and that the father, by his looks, words, and authority, should always stop it, mixing a greater degree of roughness in his looks or words, proportionably as the child is of a greater age, or a sturdier temper, but always let it be enough to master the disorder

I must mind you also, that geography and chronology should have been put amongst those things, which in the first place your son is very perfectly to learn I mean the general parts of

them, so as to have a clear and settled idea of the figure of the earth, and the positions of the parts of it, and its first and more general divisions and denominations, and to have in his mind a view of the whole current of times, the several considerable epochs that are made use of in history Without these two, history, which is the great mistress of prudence and civil knowledge, and ought to be the proper study of a gentleman, or man of business in the world, without geography and chronology, I say, history will be very ill retained, and very little useful; but be only a jumble of matters of fact, confusedly heaped together without order or instruction It is by these two that the actions of mankind are ranked into their proper places of times and countries, under which circumstances, they are not only easier kept in the memory, but, in that natural order, are only capable to afford those observations, which make a man the better and the abler for reading of them

The globes therefore must be studied, and that pretty diligently, and I think may be begun betimes, if the tutor have but discretion to distinguish what the child is capable of knowing, and what not For which this may be a rule, that perhaps may go a pretty way, viz that children may be taught anything that falls under their senses, especially their sight, as far as their memories only are exercised and thus a child very young may learn, which is the equator, which the ecliptic, and which Europe, or England, upon the globes, as soon almost as he knows the rooms of the house he lives in, if care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to set him upon a new part till that which he is upon be perfectly and more than perfectly learned and fixed in his memory The things that he will thus learn by sight and have by rote in his memory, are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the globes, but yet are a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much the easier when his judgment is grown ripe enough for it

When I speak of chronology as a science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little controversies that are in it. These are endless, and most of them of so little importance as not to deserve to be enquired into, though they could be known And therefore all that learned noise and dust of the chronologist is wholly to be avoided The most useful book I have seen in that part of learning is a small treatise of Strauchius, which

is printed in 12° under the title of *Breviarium Chronologicum*, out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young gentleman concerning chronology, for all that is in that treatise a learner need not be cumbered with He has in him all the most remarkable or usual epochs reduced to that of the Julian period, which is the easiest, and plainest, and surest method that can be made use of in chronology

One thing more and I have done for this time We formerly observed, that variety and freedom was that which delighted children, and recommended their plays to them, and that therefore their book, or any thing we would have them learn, should not be enjoined them as business This their tutors and teachers are apt to forget, and their impatience to have them busied in what is fit for them to do suffers them not to deceive them into it but, by the repeated injunctions they meet with, children quickly distinguish between what is required of them, and what not When this mistake is made, so that his book is made once uneasy to him, the cure is to be applied at the other end And since it will then be too late to endeavour to make it a play to him, you must take the contrary course and observing what play he is most delighted with, enjoin that to him, make him play that play so many hours every day, not as a punishment for playing, but as if it were the business required of him This, if I mistake not, will, in a few days, make him so weary of his most beloved sport, that he will prefer his book, or any thing, to it, especially if it may redeem him from any part of the task of play that is set him, and he may be suffered to employ some part destined to scourge a top or the like in his book, or such other exercise as is really useful to him This I at least think a better cure than that forbidding (which usually increases the desire) or any other punishment should be made use of to remedy it For, when you have once glutted his appetite (which may be safely done in all things but eating and drinking), and made him surfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a principle of aversion, and you need not so much fear afterwards his longing for the same thing again

Playthings I would also have children have, and of all sorts, but still to be in the keeping of their tutors, or somebody else, whereof the child should have in his power but one at once, and should not be suffered to have another, but when he restored

that This teaches them betimes to be careful of not losing or spoiling the things they have, whereas plenty and variety of playthings in their own keeping makes them wanton and careless, and teaches them from the beginning to be squanderers and wasters These, I confess, are little things, and such as will seem beneath the care of a governor, but no thing that may form children's minds is to be overlooked and neglected, and whatsoever introduces habits, and settles customs in them, deserves the care and attention of their governors, and is not a small thing in its consequences

I am, Sir,

your most humble servant,

15 July, 1687 J Locke

[*Addt*] For Mrs Mary Clarke, at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

[*Endorsed in Mr Clarke's hand*] J L's Letter of Education Received the 22nd July, 1687

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 13th of August, 1687

Dear Sir,

I hope my last letter of the 27th of July is before this time in your hands, by which you find that I had then newly received yours of 2nd of June, with Mr Stratton's account returned enclosed, and had then compared it with your pocket-book of accounts, etc Some of the differences then hinted to you which appeared to me upon comparing his accounts and your little book together were these viz that the accounts of your tenants Abraham Barnes and Thomas Summers in your pocket-books stood balanced for all rent due home to Lady Day, 1680 And yet Mr Stratton (in his account to you) charged himself with the receipt of their rents (amongst others), from Michaelmas, 1679, so that until I came to Sutton (from whence I am now newly returned) I had reason to think, that in those two particulars Mr Stratton had charged himself with the receipt of half a year's rent more than he ought to have done But upon perusal of the rent-roll left by you in his hands, I found that he was thereby obliged to account, as he had done, for their

[1] Lovelace Collection

rents from Michaelmas, 1679, which so far satisfied me that I mentioned nothing to him of that entry in your pocket-book aforesaid, where their accounts for rent stood balanced home to Lady Day, 1680, but went on to compare his accounts and that rent-roll together in all the rest of the particulars By the doing whereof your first query appeared to me to be fully answered For though it be plain, by that rent-roll, that you remember right when you say your Cousin Stratton took upon him the management of the whole at once (which was at Lady Day, 1680), and though the whole rental (as well for what was due from you as for what was due to you) was for the half year due at Lady Day, 1680, yet it appears (under your own hand) in the margin of that same rent-roll, that the half-year's rent therein mentioned to be so due to you from Gullock, Smyth and Haroll, was paid to yourself, and it is so entered in your pocket-book And I find by the same pocket-book that the half-year's rent so due likewise from James Atkins was also paid to you, though it be not marked in the margin of the rent-roll by you given to Mr Stratton as the others are But for Kent's rent I find you are under a mistake, for Mr Stratton does begin his account with him, as well as with Sledge, the two Summers, Barnes and Popham from Michaelmas, 1679, and not from Lady Day, 1680 (as you will find by the account in case you have kept any copy of it by you) But for the Widow Shatter, there is no mention made of her, either in your rent-roll (delivered to Mr Stratton) nor in your pocket-book in my hands, which is the true reason of that expression in Mr Stratton's account where he says as to the Widow Shatter, 'He hath no rule to walk by in the rule for the rest' By all which it appears to me that Mr Stratton hath began his accounts right to you in all the particulars That is to say, with Sledge, Kent, the two Summers, Barnes and Sir Francis Popham from Michaelmas, 1679, and with Gullock, Smyth, Atkins, Haroll and Shatter from Lady Day, 1680 But in that particular of the Widow Shatter, there being no mention made of her either in your rent-roll or pocket-book, we have no guide where to know certainly whether he begins his account right with her or not, and the expression in his account of six years and half's rent received of her from the 29th of September, 1680, to the 29th of September, 1686 I find also the like mistake in the particular immediately

preceding the Widow Shatter's in his account, which is rectified in the like manner and so much for your first query

And in answer to your second query, I find by your pocket-book that Elizabeth Hopkins hath paid her Lords-rent of 2s per ann home to Michaelmas, 1679 And the reason Mr Stratton gives why he hath received no rent of her since, is because she pretends poverty, and great services done your family, and tells him she will not pay it, without it being levied upon her by distress, which he says he is very unwilling to do, until he has your special order for it To your third query Mr Stratton says the stile mentioned in his account was set up at Old-Down, ano 1684 And to the fourth query That the money laid out on thatching, etc, was on the house at Belton And for the fifth query, touching the particular charged in his account for two days' work done on the ground, he says it was on the ground at Buckhill, but cannot now recollect what the certain work was that was so done To the sixth query, touching the tithing-pays, he says they were 5 tithing-pays at $4\frac{1}{2}$ a pay, which (he says) he was forced to allow to Wm Gullock before he could get your rent of him, but promises me to take care that it shall not be paid for the future, etc Your seventh query, touching Pope's rent, is answered by your rent-roll left with Mr Stratton, which mentions that rent to be 8s per ann And for your eighth query touching the cole-work, Mr Stratton assures me that it is quite done and come to nothing, and that since the receipt of the money of Wm Cotterell mentioned in his account there has been nothing at all done in that work Your ninth query, touching $\frac{1}{12}$ part of Tho Summers' and $\frac{1}{6}$ part of Wm Gullock's, Mr Stratton tells me that to the best of his knowledge all charges were reckoned in according to your bargain And for your tenth query, touching the £31 11s 2d mentioned in Mr Stratton's account as paid to Mr Strachey, 8th of October, 1683 It now appears to me to be the same money that you gave him a receipt for and deposited in his hands the 2nd of August, 1680 And therefore I have now taken up that receipt again from him, for otherwise by bringing it into his account now and keeping that receipt you gave him also, he would have two discharges for the same sum And I find that you are under a mistake in that part of your letter of the 10th of June last, where taking notice of the said £31 11s. 2d, and £31 10s. marked

by me in Mr Stratton's account, you say '*that the latter of them is not mentioned by me to you as received by me*' Now if you please to look back into the letter of the 28th of January last in answer to yours of the 21st preceding, you will find that I therein acquainted you (or intended so to do and by accident omitted it), that I had then received of him to your use (by bills of exchange from Mrs Strachey) these several sums, viz on the 4th of November, 1683, £31 11s 2d , on the 8th of November, 1684, £48 , on the 31st of May, 1686, £50 , and on the 20th September, 1686, £31 10s —amounting in the whole to £161 1s 2d

Your eleventh and last query touching what value Robt Haroll sets on the lease of the ground you made him, I have reason to doubt that Mr Stratton, by some former discourses with him upon that subject, has much heightened the value thereof For I no sooner casually mentioned that lease to Haroll, and asked him to see it, but he presently replied, That since your grant to him of that lease, he had laid out in the enclosing and dressing of that ground above £30 , and that he would never part with it without a very good consideration But said he would at any time be willing to make that lease over as a further security for his payments of the residue of the rent that remains in arrear due from him to you, which I think will be the only way that you will ever have to get in that lease upon any reasonable terms I find by perusal of the lease it is dated in April 20$^{mo}$ Car 2$^{di}$ under the yearly rent of one pound But I do not find that Haroll hath ever paid you one penny of that rent ever since the granting of the lease, the reason of which I desire to know by your next For if that yearly rent of one pound so reserved on the lease be bona-fide still remaining due from Haroll it will considerably increase his debt to you

The memorandum at the foot of your queries touching Gullock's being obliged by his lease to pay a part of the taxes that are payable for your estate at Belton (besides his $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the charges at Publoe), I sent to him (by Mr Stratton) to see his lease, but he came not to me with it However, he showed it to Mr Stratton, who informs me that upon perusal thereof he finds that Gullock is so far from being obliged to pay any share of the taxes at Belton (as you have mentioned in your memorandum) that he is by the lease absolutely discharged from all payments except tithes The rules laid down by you (in the

same paper with the query) to be observed for the future I have inculcated and pressed on Mr Stratton as much as possible

And having now done with your paper of queries, I come next to the business of the intended settlement formerly proposed by you and embraced by Mr Stratton And therein I must inform you, that I now find by his discourse and his thoughts much altered touching that affair from what they were when I writ last to you concerning it And to be plain with you, I found that his wife had filled him with objections against his acceptance of your settlements on the terms proposed because it was said, that would be the way to lessen the provision which he might make for his younger children, by paying more than he should receive yearly out of your estate during your life, to make a larger provision for his children by his first wife And much more was said to the like effect, which I heard, and it being not my business to persuade, made little answer to it, more than that I was very certain that as the proposal was made by you in great kindness to his elder children, so you never designed it to be any ways prejudicial to his younger children, etc Upon the whole matter he declined the acceptance of your settlement on the terms proposed, and made this offer instead thereof (which he desired me to communicate to you, viz That he will take upon him the collecting of your Lords-rents, and be answerable to you for them half-yearly That is to say for James Atkins's rent per ann, £2 10s , for Wm Gullock's rent per ann , £2 10s , for Eliz Hopkins's rent per ann , 2s , for Richard Kent's rent per ann , 5s , for Tho Summers' rent per ann , £2 15s , and for Ben Smith's rent per ann , 6s And for your rack-rents, he will take upon him the absolute management of them also, and be bound to pay you for them after the rate of £40 per ann , half-yearly, and stand to all rates, taxes, offices, payments, repairs and losses whatsoever during yours and his own life, and you to be at liberty touching any settlement on his children, etc Now those which he accounts your rack-rents stand thus in your rent-roll left in his hands, viz

| £ | s | Now lett, etc | | | | £ | s | d | | £ | s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 53 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | John Anthony per ann - | 5 | 0 | 0 | Toto | 55 | 5 |
| | | 4 | 10 | 0 | Abraham Barnes per ann - | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | 23 | 0 | 0 | Robt Haroll per ann - - | 23 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | 0 | 15 | 0 | Nath Summers per ann - | 1 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| | | 21 | 0 | 0 | William Sledge per ann - | 21 | 0 | 0 | | | |

And I find by this his offer of paying you £40 per ann clear for these rents he thinks he shall not be great gainer nor loser, being of opinion that the rates, taxes, offices, repairs and losses, will one year with another amount to as much as he shall be able, with all his care, to make of it over and above the £40 per ann clear that he proposes to pay to you This in pursuance of his desires I have communicated to you, which, when you have duly considered, I know you will give him or me your answer to it He tells me that he hath written to you at large on this subject in the enclosed, and, therefore, I think it needless for me to say anything further to you concerning it But only that in case you should resolve to make sale of all or any part of this estate, I have little reason to believe your Cousin Stratton will give me any great assistance therein But I submit all to your directions and better judgment, resolving to serve you faithfully to the utmost of my power in all things and in such manner as you shall command

And now give me leave to take notice of the paper you sent in one of your late letters setting out the virtues of the wound-wood, whereby I know you design a particular favour to me and all my friends and acquaintance, and therefore I return you my hearty thanks for that and all other of your favours But Madam (who is the chief quack of this part of the country) says that unless you tell her where to get the wood she shall be but little the better for knowing the virtues of it, etc

I intended when I began this letter to have said something to you in answer to your former inquiries touching the qualifications of my son's tutor, but being almost tired I must defer that till another opportunity, and conclude at present with mine and my wife's true love and service to you, and subscribe what really I am,

your most affectionate and obliged servant,

E . [1]

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These

[*Endr*] E Clarke [2] 13 Aug 87 To 12 Sept

[1] The signature is cut out

[2] Clarke is written in Locke's hand in blacker ink over an earlier indorsement, 'E Som'ton' (Somerton), undoubtedly a cipher name of Mr Clarke. This is also doubtless true in the other indorsements by Locke beginning with letter of Clarke to Locke of Jan 28, 1687, although the earlier signature is more obscure

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 29th September, 1687

DEAR SIR,

The true friendship you express in your continued care for the education of my children so far exceeds all the acknowledgments I can make, or the small services I can do for you, that I will not pretend to either as a suitable return for the real service you have done me in that particular However, give me leave to take notice of that which ought never to be forgotten by me, viz your extraordinary love towards me and mine manifested by your constancy in directing, and your kindness in frequently minding me of such things as ought to have been my own care, and particularly in your last of the 12th instant, whereby I find myself obliged not only by your earnest expectations of hearing something from me concerning my son's tutor, in order to your giving yourself a further trouble in that affair But you have also much increased my debt to you by your kind present of the Freez-land sheep, for which you have Madam's and my hearty thanks, together with the thanks of the young fry also, who are all as much rejoiced with the thoughts of the share they have in them, as the young shepherd is with that of the employment, and are all much pleased with the contemplation of the riches they shall possess by the increase of this flock, which you may be sure shall be taken particular care of, that being a chief part of the portions I shall be able to provide for them

And touching the tutor I have this to say, that although I am satisfied it is next to impossible to meet with all the qualifications desired in any one man that undertakes that employment for a livelihood, yet I am well pleased to find some of them in the person that is now with me in that place, who appears (by all that I can as yet discern) to have had a gentleman's education, and to be well inclined to sobriety and virtue, and hitherto shows a ready compliance to the methods proposed by you for the child's education And I believe does practise them, by the pleasure I find the child takes in his company, and in learning from him, and by the great kindness the child in all his actions expresses towards him, from whence I am in hopes, that those easy and

[1] Lovelace Collection

gentle ways so much recommended by you have and will be pursued by him in the progress he makes with the child, which shall be my constant care, being abundantly satisfied, that as long as the child is not brought out of love with learning and books by ill usage, though his memory be bad yet he may in time get knowledge and learning enough to pass his life comfortably through the world, and to behave himself so as to deserve the character of an honest man, which are the chief things I aim at, and if there happens anything more it will be beyond my expectation

As to your question of what sort of learning the tutor I have got is most versed in, you know I have but a small capacity to judge, and therefore am but badly able to answer it But I have been told and do believe that he speaks the best French, having had his education chiefly in Paris, and do believe he understands the Latin tongue pretty well, and is moderately skilled in geography He talks much of his knowledge in mathematics, geometry and fortification, and I believe does understand something of each, especially the latter But that which I like best of all in him is that he promises carefully to pursue your directions in the education of my son, which if he as truly performs I am sure we cannot much fail in our hopes and expectations He hath hitherto spent his time chiefly with the child in talking French to him (by which the most common and ordinary expressions are gotten), and in showing him something of geography, which the child seems to take a very great pleasure in, and is able to give a tolerable account of the most remarkable places and things in England, and is much delighted to see the maps, and to shew what he knows there And he tells me that he has now a great mind to travel over Scotland to Ireland in the map, that he may understand something of those countries also Which he is to be obliged in, provided he gets something of French every day, that he did not know before, and upon these terms he begins his travels into Scotland to-morrow And to the end he may in time be able to give some account of his travels, and to thank you with his own hand for your extraordinary and tender care of him, we have newly begun with him in writing, in the method now advised, wherewith the child seems to be much pleased, and I believe will that way get the knack of writing much easier and sooner than any

other way And as he proceeds in this or any other sort of knowledge or learning you shall be troubled with a further account from me

In the meantime let me tell you that my Aunt Strachey continues still a widow notwithstanding the constant solicitations of her importunate lover, your cousin Lyde, who despises all the rest of woman-kind in comparison of her, and still renews his daily addresses to her with as much confidence as if he had never been rejected Her son [1] is grown tall and very like his father in person and humour, and I hope will inherit his learning and virtue also. He is now of Trinity College in Oxford, but I presume is not designed to continue long there His sister has the best education that Bristol will afford, but is much at home with her mother To these, and to old Mr Jones, who is still lusty, and to Mr Lyde of Weeke and Mr Cheswell I constantly give your service, as also to your Cousin Stratton and his wife—all whom I constantly visit whenever any business carries me to Sutton And your Cousin Stratton I met in Wells about a fortnight since, when I renewed the best directions I could for securing the residue of the debt due to you from Robt Haroll, and the management of your other affairs, and you may be assured that your last enclosed letter shall be conveyed to him with the first opportunity, and at the same time he shall not fail of my further thoughts in writing for securing the remainder of your rent and the getting in your lease granted to Robert Haroll And Madam being just now got at my elbow, will not permit anything further to be written until I have made another excuse for her silence, and I think it is another great belly which begins to be in her way that makes writing uneasy to her, and says that my letter is too long already, and that she longs I should leave off writing and subscribe as I am entirely and affectionately

yours,

E Clarke [2]

[*Endr*] E Clarke [3] 29th Sept 1687 To 2nd Dec

[1] John Strachey, the son of Locke's friend

[2] Clarke is written in Locke's hand over ' Som'ton ' (Somerton)

[3] Also in the endorsement Locke at first had put ' E Som'ton,' but altered it in the same ink as the alteration of the signature to Clarke

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, the 12th November, 1687

DEAR SIR,

Your obliging letter of the 12th of September I received, and on the 29th of that month in answer I gave you the best account I could of my son's tutor, etc, with my hearty thanks which will be ever due for the real friendship and kindness you have done me in the particular of my children's education And I then promised to send your letter that came enclosed in yours of the 12th of September to Mr Stratton with the first opportunity, which I have since done by a safe hand, with an earnest repetition of such former directions as were given him for securing the debt due from Robert Haroll and the better management of the whole affair for the future, which I hope will be carefully performed by him And my intentions were to have taken Sutton in my way this term towards London, hoping that by my presence there I might have been capable of doing you some small service But by the unexpected death of one that was concerned in the business that would have carried me thither at this time, I am disappointed of my journey and the satisfaction I proposed to myself in the doing you some little service in my way thither However, you may be certain I shall willingly embrace the next opportunity that offers of seeing Mr Stratton, and doing all that lies in my power for your advantage in your concerns there In the meantime pray accept Madam's and mine, with all the young fry's hearty services, and be assured that I am,

your most affectionate and obliged servant,

E [2]

I hear nothing as yet of the Freez-land sheep, but have lodged a piece of the wound-wood with Mr Elwill in Exon with directions to be conveyed to Mr Ben Furley with the first opportunity

[*Endr by Locke*] E Clarke [over Som'ton] 12th Nov 1687
To 2nd Dec

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] The signature is cut out

*Locke to Clarke.*

Amsterdam, 30th December, 1687

DEAR SIR,

If I tell you that I love you more than any man in the world you will not find it hard to believe me, since not only your actions have been such as deserve it, but your friendship so long constant and to that degree, that I cannot but believe that there are but few men in the world that you love better than you do me You need not therefore question but that all the kind things that you say to me in yours of 7th of my health and your wishes for me at Chipley are to me truths that I am fully persuaded of, and were my lot to be cut out by my own wishes you would find I placed my greatest happiness in enjoying your company and expressing to you some other way than in bare words the esteem and acknowledgments I owe you As to my health, which I know you are in earnest concerned for, I make haste to tell you that I am perfectly, God be thanked, recovered, and am as well I think I may say as ever I was in my life A journey I have lately taken may assure you of this And, indeed, it was necessary for me not to be grincing and lazy within doors, when I was like to have business abroad You will no doubt wonder what business I could have here besides my health

You must know, then, and you must laugh, too, when you know it, that I have been very like to turn farmer here Wonder upon wonder will you say A trade no doubt you think me as fit for as your brother builder to be master of a ship or J[ohn] F[reke] a gentleman usher, but yet so it is that I could hardly avoid renting a farm and turning perfect country man It is a long time since you know that I talked to you of sheep I sent for three, and the man out of pure goodwill bought and sent me seven When I writ to you last I hoped by some ships of Exeter that lay then at Rotterdam to have sent you four of them, but one of the ships being full crammed with other freight could not take them in, and into the other, which went empty, the master would not take them So that having a flock I knew not what better I could do than to take a farm and set up for a breeder, for the truth is my flock was not like some of those which the parsons appropriate wisely to themselves that can be fed with bare talking to If they would have been content with such

foddering, I had presently set up for a preacher, but the mischief of it was they must have grass and hay, which I find is not altogether so apt to be found in a great merchandising town as long discourses by the hourglass in good earnest It has been as pleasant a scene as you could imagine, and I being in hands that knew well enough to turn it into raillery, the sport and laughing that we have had at it has been well worth the venture That alone which has been displeasing to me has been your disappointment And though there be now another ship of Exeter at Rotterdam where the sheep are ready, yet I know not whether you are ever like to see ever any one of them, though all the care imaginable will be taken there to send them

You will perceive by the enclosed that my Lord Pembroke is so well satisfied with the design of my *Essay concerning Human Understanding* by the abridgments of some parts of it that I have sent him, that he desires to see the whole discourse at large. I must therefore beg the favour of you to send him that copy that you have, and this enclosed letter, together by a safe hand on the first opportunity It would ill become me to refuse him this request were he still but what he was formerly, my old friend Mr Herbert, much less will his present quality and the obligations I have to him permit me to neglect this opportunity of expressing my respects If I should set Syl on work to copy it for him it would be too long before I should be able to satisfy him I must therefore desire you to send the copy in your hands You will have no great loss by it, for it is at best but a trifle, and if you desire another you shall not fail to have one, if it be not printed, which I am apt to expect it will now be ere long But before you send it away you must be sure carefully to tear out all that is writ particularly to you at the beginning or ending of any of those little books it is bound up in[1] For it would be a little ungraceful that a copy which I send him should carry the marks of being intended for anybody else When you know whether my Lord be either at London or Wilton you will easily find a way to send them to Dr Thomas at Salisbury or Mr William Charleton at the Temple, and either of them will deliver them to my Lord upon your request or only when they know what the business is only be sure to send them by a safe hand

[1] Here a sentence has been erased which says "and blot out any date that may have been the date of translating it, if there be any"

I am exceeding glad to hear of the health of Madam and the little ones I wish you and her and them all a happy new year to your full satisfaction And am

Dear Sir,

perfectly your affectionate friend and servant,

J L

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke To be left at the Lady King's In Salisbury Court near Fleet Street, London

[*Crossed out and re-addressed*] For Mr Edward Clarke at Chipley To be left at the post house at Taunton Dean in Somersetshire

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 14th January, 1687-8

Dear Sir,

The intelligence of your perfect recovery in your last was the most acceptable news to Madam and me that we could possibly have received from you Which makes me hasten to return you my hearty thanks for it, and for all other your real favours heaped on me And to assure you that your letter, which came enclosed for my Lord Pembroke, together with your very learned and ingenious Treatise *de Intellectu*, shall be both within a very few days (God willing) delivered with my own hand to him *in such manner* as you have directed For on Monday next my wife and I shall begin our journey hence for London, and do hope to be there by the end of that week, where it shall be one of my first actions to wait on my Lord with it, and to give you an account thereof, and shall ever rejoice in any opportunity to serve you because I am in all reality,

your most truly affectionate friend and faithful servant,

E [2]

Madam and the young fry join with me in their service to you, and had I not been obliged to conduct Madam in this journey to London, I would have taken Sutton in my way up in order to have done you some small service there, etc

[*Addr*] These to Mr John Locke Present

[*Endr*] E Clarke [over Som'ton] 14th Jan 1687-8 To 3rd Feb.

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] The name is cut off

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, London, 27th January, 1687-8

My wife and I together with your little Mistress arrived here about four days since, and on Wednesday last I waited on your honourable friend, my Lord Pembroke, and with my own hand delivered your four books *de Intellectu* (all sealed up in clean paper) to him, having first carefully taken out all that was particularly writ to me at the beginning or ending of any of them My Lord received them with all imaginable kindness, as also your letter which I delivered with them, and was very solicitous for your return into England this spring, which is also much desired by many other of your friends, but most particularly by him that is obliged all manner of ways ever to continue

your most faithful friend and humble servant,

EDW [2]

Madam and your little Mistress, with your good friend R S, present their services to you, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke These

[*Endr*] E Clarke [3] 27th Jan 1687-8 To 24th Feb

## *Locke to Clarke* [4] [Jan 1688]

And the sheep that I so long ago expected to be coming till lately, and not being yet sent, I was ashamed to write till I could tell you that they were on board, and therefore should have stayed a little longer could I with any countenance forbear now that I have a second from you which obliges me with all the speed I can to desire you not to give yourself the trouble you talk of about my Belton affairs, the concernment not being worth your journey thither, and therefore I beg you not to think of going so far upon so slight an occasion It is enough that you concern yourself in it and look so much after my affairs there when any other business makes you go thither, and the journey which you have taken already on this occasion is more than I can sufficiently thank you for

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] The signature is cut out [3] Over Som'ton

[4] This letter is in very bad condition, whole passages being entirely illegible or in part perished

I have now got ready three ewes and a ram, which I hope will now find a passage very speedily He that brought them assures me that they use more commonly to bring 3, 4 and 5 lambs at a time than one or two He means those of this kind, for these being young and this their first [being] with young, you are not to expect from them this time above one or two, but when they are at their full growth he says they will have four or five at a time But they must be kept in good rich land that will feed them full and large He talks about their going with the cows The man in charge of them has by no means followed my direction For I would have had ewes in their [separate folds which] might have shewed you what was the number of lambs they brought forth [1]

Though I have told you somewhat a[larming] story of my health, let it not fright you no more than it has done me, it was uneasy, troublesome and long, more than it was dangerous, for my lungs having suffered very little in a great variety of indispositions I have been wearied with all they gave me not any apprehensions but of the trouble and continuation of them It began with a looseness which it was a good while before I could master, and when with much ado it was stopped my stomach was so gone that I could scarce eat anything, and when I got some small matter down it was such a load to me that I wished it out again When by very slow degrees I was got pretty well of those symptoms, a violent catarrh took me and held me not a little while in great disorder, which with ill weather that hindered my going abroad brought back some part of my former maladies, but now I thank God I am so well that were there nothing else to hinder it but the remaining untuneableness of my humour I should be able so [to order] that as to be in a condition to laugh with you But it is time now to close, lest my robbing Madam so long of your conversation should make her long that I, too, should make my letters shorter I wish her and you and all the little ones all happiness imaginable, and am

Dear Sir,

J L

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke at the Lady King's, Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

[1] Here follows a paragraph, mostly illegible, on beginning geography by a study of east and west at Chipley

## *Locke to Clarke*[1]

6th February, 1688

SIR,

There is no subject one can employ one's thoughts about but affords a great deal more matter of consideration than at first one imagined Every time I write to you concerning the education of your son I think I shall have no further occasion to trouble you on that argument, and when I conclude for that time I think it is all I shall have to say, when yet it is seldom very long before I find reason for some farther addition I know not whether this may not in part be owing to the pleasure I take to be discoursing with you especially upon a matter which I cannot but be concerned for, since I know you are so That which I am going to say to you will possibly at first view appear so extravagant, that you will have reason to suspect that I have warmed my head with this subject, and that I am now so delighted with talking of it to you, that I will propose anything rather than say nothing But of this as well as all the rest of the discourse I desire you to do otherwise in reading it than I do in writing I confess I write to you in the full career of esteem and affection, and were those away I doubt whether my thoughts would run with that liberty and warmth they do But you in reading must (as I have formerly asked) lay by all your affection for me, and be no more by that swayed or inclined to what I say, than if it came from a person you knew [and] valued not, and had not mind to hearken to any farther than the evidence of the thing and the reason that supports his advice satisfy you it is fit to be followed The thing, then, that I am going to say to you is, that I would have your son learn a trade, a handicrafts trade Will you not think now, that I have either forgot that he is your eldest son and heir, and have formerly written to you concerning his education, which had all a tendency to a gentleman's calling with which a trade seems wholly inconsistent. I confess that so, and have not forgot either his birth or estate, or what breeding I thought suitable to it, and yet I would have him learn a trade, a manual trade , nay two or three or more, but one most particularly

[1] Cf Letters on Education, *supra*, p 112, note 2

That one of all others would please me best would be a painter, had it not one considerable argument against it, which is this, that ill painting is one of the worst things in the world, and to attain a tolerable degree of skill in it requires too much of a man's time If he has a natural inclination to it, it will endanger a neglect of all other more useful studies, to give way to that, which if he have no inclination to it, all the time, pains, and money shall be employed in it will be thrown away to no purpose And therefore I think not of painting

In the next place did I think of his settled constant abode at Chipley, as a country gentleman, I should propose one, or rather both these two viz gardening, or working in wood, as a carpenter, joiner, or turner, as being fit and healthy recreations for a man of study or business For since the mind endures not to be constantly employed in the same thing or way, and sedentary or studious men should have some exercise, that at the same time might divert their minds, and employ their bodies, I know none that could do it better for a country gentleman than these two Besides that, by being skilled and exercised in the one of them, he will be able to govern or teach his gardener, and by the other contrive, and make a great many curious things both of delight and use though these I propose not as the chief ends of his labour, but as temptations to it, diversion from his other more serious thoughts and employments, and also a way of subsistence that fortune cannot take from him, being that for which I chiefly propose this of some trade

Nor let it be thought that I mistake what I call these or the like trades, diversions or recreations for recreation is not being idle, as every one may observe, but easing the wearied part by change of business He that thinks diversion may not lie in hard and useful labour, forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of huntsmen, which is yet known to be the great recreation of men of the greatest condition Delving, or inoculating, or any the like profitable employments, would be no less a diversion, than any of the idle sports in fashion, if men could but be brought to delight in them, which customary skill in any trade will quickly make any one do And I can upon my own experience assure you, that being got in a place where I was frequently called to play at cards, I have been more tired with it than ever I was with any the most serious employment in

my life, though I have no aversion to that sort of recreation, and can as willingly sometimes divert myself at it as others Though when one reflects on that and other the like pastimes, as they are called, one finds they have idle satisfaction behind them when they are over, and most commonly give more vexation than delight to people while they are actively engaged in them, and neither profit the mind or the body They are many instances to me that men cannot be perfectly idle, they must be doing something

The skill should be so to employ their time of recreation that it may relax and refresh that part has been exercised and is tired, and yet do something, which, besides the present delight and ease, may produce something which will afterwards be profitable And it has been nothing but the vanity and at the same time pride of greatness and riches has brought unprofitable and dangerous pastimes into fashion, and persuaded people into a belief, that the learning or putting their hands to anything that was useful, could not be a diversion fit for a gentleman This has been that which has given cards, dice, and drinking so much credit in the world And a great many throw away their spare hours in them, through the prevalency of custom, more than any real delight they find in them, only because it being very irksome and uneasy to do nothing at all, they had never learned any laudable manual art, wherewith to divert themselves, and so they betake themselves to those foolish or idle ways in use, to help off their time, which a rational man, till corrupted by custom, could find very little pleasure in

I say not this, that I would not have your son accommodate himself to the innocent diversions in fashion, amongst those of his age and condition I am so far from having him austere or morose to that degree, that I would have him have more than ordinary complaisance for all the gaieties and diversions of those he converses with, and be averse or testy in nothing they should desire of him, that might become a gentleman, and an honest man But allowance being made for idle or jovial conversation, and all fashionable and becoming diversions, I say, a young man will have time enough from his serious and main business to learn almost any trade. And it is want of application, and not of time, that men are not skilful in more arts than one, and an hour in a day constantly employed will carry a man in a short

time a good deal farther than he can imagine And if men from their youth were weaned from the sauntering humour, wherein some, out of custom, let a good part of their lives run uselessly away without either business or recreation, they would find time enough to acquire dexterity and skill in hundreds of things, which, though remote from their proper calling, would not at all interfere with it And therefore, I think a lazy, listless humour, that idly dreams away the time, is of all others the least to be indulged or permitted in young people It is the proper state of one sick and out of order, and is tolerable in nobody else, of what age or condition soever. But to return to the trade I would have your son learn after several that I have thought on, that at last, which I particularly pitch on, is a jeweller I mean the cutting and polishing and setting of precious stones

I believe you intend your son should travel, the seeing of the world and acquainting himself with the men and manners of other countries besides his own has advantages in it, that nothing that a man can learn at home can perfectly supply But yet I must say, there are few of them yet, in the way that young gentlemen usually travel For they being ordinarily sent abroad under the conduct of a governor, who whether he be able to make any observations or no is to be their oracle, they seldom trouble themselves to make any useful observations of their own, and it is well if they will hearken to any he makes to them And in this way of living abroad they are not much different from being at home , for depending from home for supplies, and being under the shelter of their governor's wing, there be few of them that stand on their own legs, and make their thought and consideration of the ways of mankind Their money and subsistence is managed by another's hand than their own, and they are by that means never put to the trouble to examine the designs, observe the address, and consider the arts, tempers, and inclinations of men, that so they may know how to comport themselves towards them

I confess, the knowledge of men is so great a skill, that I do not expect a young man should in the first warmth and gaiety of his age be perfect in it But this I think I may yet say, that being a knowledge to be got only by experience, the earlier a young man is put upon the exercise of that, the sooner he will learn to be cautious and wary, and accustom himself to look

beyond the outside, and when he has been bitten once or twice will be the less apt to be deceived with fair pretences A little suffering from his own credulity, inadvertency, or passion, will more effectually instruct him than twenty wise lectures And at least when he begins to subsist as it were of himself it will teach him to be a man the sooner, form his manners, [and give him] prudence

To [resume] present purposes When you think him of an age and proficiency fit to be sent abroad I would advise you to place him for a year or so with some sober and skilful jeweller, either in Holland, or some other convenient country you should pitch on, that there with him he may learn that trade As for his clothes and other circumstances of his stay, order them during the time as you please, for in other countries arts are not learned as they are in England, where they are bound to be under till six or seven years By this way he will learn the language of the country sooner and better than in any other When a competent skill in learning their ordering and value is got, I would then have you furnish him with a small stock to traffic in them, and so travel on farther, working still with those of the same trade wherever he come, whereby he shall get skill in an art and traffic which a man may thrive by in any condition and which will bring him into an acquaintance with persons of quality and procure him welcome everywhere Thus I imagine he may travel over any parts of the world he has a mind to, with more advantage and experience and a great deal less charge than ordinary, and get into the conversation of the persons of condition where he comes, which, though a thing of most advantage to a gentleman that travels, yet, I ask, amongst our young men that go abroad What one is there of the hundred that ever almost speaks with any person of quality? much less makes an acquaintance with such, from whose conversation they may learn both what is good breeding in that country, and what is worth observation in it, though from such persons it is that one may learn more in one day, than many years rambling from one inn to another

I confess this of all that I have hitherto writ to you to be the most visionary It can hardly be expected that a young man of the age they are usually sent to travel should have prudence and steadiness enough to dissemble his condition, and willingly

to submit himself to some hardships, which in this way he will meet with And on the other side Madam and you will scarce be brought to consent that when he is riper and fit for a wife, he should spend his time in wandering, and that in the garb of an ordinary journeyman, for which yet while he stick with you remedy may be found and the ordering of it a little varied as we shall find his temper and other circumstances However, pray consider of this project, for though I cannot say I have looked it through, nor weighed all the objections may be made against it, several whereof I foresee, yet I can tell you I have many and weighty arguments for it Your son's temper, and the way he will be bred in, will dispose him earlier to than otherwise one might expect And I hope by the time he is of an age fit for travel, he will be so convinced of your kindness and friendship to him, that he will be disposed to hear and understand the reasons of anything you then propose for his good and advantage, how far soever it may seem out of the ordinary way, and unsuitable to his condition At least I thought it worth the proposing to you Let you and I debate this matter We have time enough I have here sent you a very rough and imperfect draft of this project, and have not mentioned half that might be said for it I imagine it might be so ordered as not only to be reconciled but be found to be the best way to promote whatsoever you can propose to a young gentleman in travelling this appears so to me I have laid it in my thoughts, when you and I have argued it step by step, all the parts of it, I promise myself we shall beat something out of it that will be worth putting in practice, and which Madam herself will think reasonable

In the meantime this I think you are sufficiently convinced of, that children hate to be idle All the care then is, that their busy humour should be constantly employed in something of use to them, which, if you would attain, you must make what you would have them do a recreation to them, not a business The way to do this, so that you may not perceive that you have any hand in it, is to make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoining and making them under some pretence or other do it till they are surfeited For example, does your son play at whip and scourge too much, enjoin him to play so many hours every day, and look that he do it, and you will see that he will quickly be sick of it and willing to leave it By

this means, making the recreations you dislike a business, he will of himself with delight betake himself to those things you would have him do, especially if they be proposed as rewards for having performed his tasks in play as commanded For that he be ordered every day to whip his top so long to make him sufficiently weary, you do not think he will apply himself with eagerness to his book, and wish for it, if you promise it him as a reward of having whipped his top lustily quite out all the time that you set him Children in the things they do, so they comport with their age, find little difference so they may be doing the esteem they have for one thing above another they borrow from others, so that what those about them make to be a reward to them, will really be so By this art it is in their governor's choice whether scotchhoppers shall reward their dancing, or dancing their scotchhoppers, whether peg top or reading, playing at trap, or graffing, shall be more acceptable and pleasing to them, all that they desire being to be busy as they imagine in things of their own choice, and which they receive as favours from their parents or others from whom they have respect and with whom they would be in credit A set of children thus ordered and kept from the ill example of others would all of them, I suppose, with as much earnestness and delight learn to read, write, and what else one would have them, as others do their ordinary plays And the eldest being thus entered and his manners fashioned on your plan, it would be as impossible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is commonly to keep them from the other

The busy inclination of children being always to be directed to something that may be advantageous to them, the advantage may be considered of two kinds 1st Where the skill itself that is got in practice is worth the having Thus skill not only in languages and learned sciences, but in painting, gardening, tempering and working in iron and all other useful arts is worth having 2nd Where the exercise itself, without any consideration, is necessary or useful for health Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by children whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though these employments contribute nothing at all to their healths such are reading and writing, and all other sedentary studies, for the improvement of the mind, and are the

unavoidable business of gentlemen quite from their cradles Other manual arts which are both got and properly used by children, do many of them by their exercise contribute to the health too, especially such as employ us in the open air In these, then, health and improvement may be joined together, and of these there are some fit ones often to be made the recreations of one whose chief business is with books and study In this choice, the age and inclination of the person is to be considered, and constraint always to be avoided in bringing them to it For command and force may often create, but never cure an aversion, and whatever anyone is brought to by compulsion he will leave as soon as he can, and be little profited, and less recreated by, whilst he is at it

[1] I desire to hear in the next how his tutor proceeds with your son, what he teaches him and in what method, that whether he looks after things afar off, and [yet does] not neglect any thing that is of present use I think I have formerly said that [French should be studied] by yourself, Sir When you have a Frenchman in the house, do not learn that language [by grammatical rules] The best way to do that is to get a French New Testament in the translation, and let him hear you and Madam [read an] hour in every day, and correct your pronunciation Trouble not yourself with anything of grammar

I wrote to you about a month, or longer, since in answer to your kind letter, wherein you so concernedly enquired after my health In the same letter I begged you carefully to tear out of those several parts of my treatise *de Intellectu*, which I had formerly sent you, whatever might show they were designed for you or anybody else, and then send them, by the first safe conveyance you could meet with, to the Earl of Pembroke, with the letter to him from me that I sent enclosed in yours I know that if that came to your hands you have not omitted any opportunity of satisfying my desire in a thing, that you would by what you mention receive [as I] had reason to be earnest in, [with] no other obligation to him but that of a former acquaintance I could not refuse to lend him, and that with all speed, a copy of my essay when he [expressed his wish] in the manner he did But also now he has not been wanting in [the desire to] express his [esteem] and affection This affair I cannot but be intent

[1] From this place in Locke's own hand

upon it till I hear it is done, that is, till I hear that you have received my letter about it, for then I shall look on it as done, for so I have learnt with reason to do in what receives your care And I mention this here again, only to save time if my former letter should be miscarried

By the letter I received yesterday from Mr Furly[1] I am informed that our sheep set sail from Rotterdam on Wednesday last Pray write to Mr Elwill by the first opportunity after you receive this to send back to Mr Furly the three bags wherein their provision of beans and oats were sent on board These he says the master (Hodder) forgot to empty, and so carried away with him, and he desires they may be sent back I need not repeat here what I think I writ formerly that these sheep must be kept in good pasture, such as the cows go in, but if they be near yeaning perhaps it will not be convenient to drive them far as soon as they come on there, but that I suppose

Pray present my most humble service to Madam and the little ones, and particularly to my little Mistress

I am, Dear Sir,
your most affectionate and most humble servant,
J L

I thank God my health is in a very good state I have had no manner of [trouble with it], and your concern for it makes it not the less valuable [my being well]

The finishing and the folding of the before [written] long letter was the last thing I had designed when I received yours of the 14th passato It was well come to me on many accounts I was exceeding glad to hear of your health and the rest of your family, and that Madam's great belly was gone on so well, for if I guess not amiss this journey to London is to lay it down there I suppose ere this comes to your hand you will have delivered the papers to my Lord Pembroke, else I should have desired you the same time to have with my service told him, that I hear to-day or to-morrow the last sheet of the Epitome of my Essay will be printed, and then I shall have nothing to do but to get it bound as soon as it is dry, and send it him by the first opportunity I can get For notwithstanding he is pleased to do me the favour to read the whole, and so will see many things in the discourse at large better explained, which could not but be obscure in the

[1] Benjamin Furly, quaker of Rotterdam

extract, yet the abridgment itself will be of some use, since in that he will see my whole design reduced into a better order than when that copy was written But if you have delivered the papers before you receive this letter you need not go to him again on the occasion I shall have an opportunity to speak of it more at large when I send him the printed Epitome In the meantime I am very sorry my letter was done before yours came, that you may see how sure I was of your care in this affair, as well as be a witness to my Lord how careful I was to obey his commands with all the speed might be

I am glad for many reasons that you are in London Pray tell me how long you shall stay there Amongst many other things I shall have to beg of you whilst there one at present is to pay Mrs R S [mithsby] ten pounds some time at your leisure I shall speedily write to her to get me some flannel shirts and other things, which I would have ready to be sent either by Uncle Adrian or Mr Oakly, which comes first of them, for they have promised that I shall see them both this spring very early If I durst I would tempt you also [as you] know what Madam made me once hope But though there be nothing more that I wish in the world than to enjoy your company, I have too many obligations to you to desire it should be with your trouble, and it is fit I should come and seek it If Madam's business be what I imagine at London, I wish her a happy hour One thing else I wish her, her satisfaction and yours, and her and all yours all the happiness this world can afford For I am yours without

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

[12th] February [1688]

SIR,

I am glad to hear by yours of 20th Jan that my opinion on children has at last come to hand But I hope you have ere this received a more perfect copy [of the portion] lost I took care to send you Indeed I was in some trouble for several days [in trying to] find the original copy and so being [thereby able] to retrieve it again For if I were to be hindered at this rate I

[1] This letter is in very bad condition and in part perished

could not write to you on the same subject again anything you or I could with patience read, because whenever I should set myself to write my thoughts would hunt in my memory for what pleased me when I writ before, and not in any reason whereby I should be able to make nothing of it I am glad also to find by yours of 16th Jan that it so well pleases both you and Madam But yet though one can but be satisfied that what one does proves acceptable to a friend one loves, yet I once more beg you to look on it as a discourse that fell into your hands by chance and to have no consideration of the author but of your son in the case, for I had much rather you should find me in a mistake than commit any yourself by my advice in a business of such concernment to you as is the right ordering of your son

One thing I have thought fit to add or alter concerning your [method of teaching your son] to read, which therefore if you value and think it worth the transcribing you may add to the end of the former papers Instead of the ivory polygon, a polyhedron mentioned p to paste the letters of the alphabet on, a shorter and better way will be to get some of the largest dice (4 will serve for the 24 letters) you can, and either pecke out the marks, or, which is better, have them plain without any On one of these at first paste an A and a B, drawing lines under them as here to show which way they must stand to be looked at Then have the same letters in pieces of paper and lay them on apples, raisins, almonds or any of those kind of things he loves, and you have a mind he should have, and so after dinner or supper the company, and amongst them he, play for them, so that who first throws A is to have what A is laid on, etc When by this way of playing he is perfect in these two letters you may add C, and so on Another way may be with pigeon-holes as they call them at these twenty-four holes, over the first paste an A, over the second a B, and so laying a like *a* and *b* to the things you play for, let that be won which has the letter you first hit This has variety and more exercise than the other [1]

I must therefore desire you to excuse my silence till I get a little leisure to talk to her concerning my pretty little Miss and her other daughter, wherein if I can satisfy her as well as she persuades me I have about her son I shall think myself very happy And since you continue to think my old bachelor's advice con-

[1] Several lines are here faded

cerning your son's education as he proceeds] is worth the having, you may be sure that I who so forwardly thrust myself into this affair will not be backward to go on now you desire it [1] The next thing therefore to be done is to observe his temper whether bold or timorous, careless or curious, steady or unconstant, friendly or churlish, etc , for your having once established your authority and got the ascendant over him, the next thing must be to bend the crooks the other way if he have any in him, and apply proper methods to his peculiar inclinations Pray tell me in your next whether his cap was left off and whether his feet have been washed every night in cold water as I advised in the beginning of summer, and how it has succeeded with him

There is at Mr Old's an hair portmanteau trunk with deeds in it and the box you nailed up and sent thither when you did me the favour to go to Paulton I desire you to let him know there are things in them both that you shall have occasion to make use of for me, and therefore desire him to send them both to you very carefully He has besides a very little red trunk of mine, not a foot I think nor eight inches long, which I desire him to lock up in the hair portmanteau trunk (for as I remember he has the key of it), and send it in it When I hear you have them I will tell you what I would have done with some of the deeds in them [2]

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [3]

London, 16th February, 1687-8

DEAR SIR,

I have nothing to shelter myself under for my great neglect in not returning you oftener my thanks for your many favours to me and mine, but your great goodness and charity to forgive all offenders And now like one of our sex I take this opportunity to insinuate myself a little into your favour and good opinion again, if it be possible, by writing to you to let you know that Mr Clarke is now in the country, where some extraordinary business which was of moment to him required his presence and could not be dispatched without him, by which means he was deprived the satisfaction of receiving or answering your last

[1] Here follow three lines heavily crossed out

[2] The rest of the letter is mostly illegible, and the signature is faded or lost

[3] Lovelace Collection



MRS. EDWARD CLARKE

kind letter But with his leave I was to open all letters in his absence that came hither directed to him, and in yours I find so much thought and friendly care that you take about the education of our son, that I know not how to express my thankfulness as I ought to do, though I have a true sense of it and will continually keep it in my mind in hopes of some opportunity at least to show my gratefulness

I thank God the child is now very well and grows very tall for his age, but thin He is very much improved in reading of his English since Monsieur came to him, that being what he has most applied himself to, which indeed was by my particular desire, he being after his fever not able to read one word, and very little better when his tutor came, but now can read any chapter in the Bible very prettily and distinctly He can also give an account of what he reads He has also made a pretty good progress in the description of the countries, especially his own, and something in French which he has learnt by heart, and is now beginning to read it And he is very much pleased with his learning to write I hope he will in a short time be able to write you a letter of thanks himself That way of blacking of copies is a very pretty and easy way of learning, but that sort which we have got of them methinks is too set But Mr Clarke likes the hand very well, they tell me it is the modish round hand I confess they know best, but methinks it is a better hand for his sisters to learn, it looks too set and formal for a man, and especially a man of business as I would have him be And I find by your letter you are so much for business that you would have him of a trade And of all your trades you could never have thought of one that would have pleased him better than that of a joiner, for ever since he could take delight in anything he was never better pleased than with a hammer and a nail The trade of a jeweller and such like I fear will require more judgment than he will ever have, without he delighted in it as much as his hammer

I fear you think him forwarder than he is He is a sort of a downright honest block-headed boy, and what he has in him is pretty hard to find out Mr Clarke tells me he is like me and my relations, reserved. But I hope not, for I should be glad I knew anything worth communicating He has but a bad memory and it is pretty hard to him to learn, but he is of a very

good nature and loves his father extremely, and I believe would do anything in the world that he said he should do, or that he thought would please him, and seems to be under great concern when he is displeased with him, so much that he changes colour as pale as can be, and seems to tremble, though his father reasons with him with as great love and tenderness as can be, so that at last he seems to be quite dazed, and yet soon forgets it, so that I observe as yet a few words and a little whipping does do more good than all reasoning alone till they are older and better able to judge of it Not that I would have this exercise used often, or by anybody but a father or mother, and then to be sure it will not be immoderate

I have two daughters, one you are pleased to honour with the title of your Mistress, not to recommend her to you, but she is more affected with one word than the other with five hundred without a little of the rod sometimes, though she is of a very good nature, and very apprehensive for her age, and seems to look mightily concerned when you tell her of a fault, and like a little saint, but next time it is forgotten, then without we have had a little of the lady birch's help She is extremely like her brother when he was of her age and exactly of his humour, but more merry

He loves his tutor very well and is very willing to go to his book, I believe because he knows he pleases his father, though it is hard to him to learn, and oftener calls on him to know if he is ready to go up to his book, and tells him what it is o'clock, than the tutor does on the scholar, though I must needs say they are both diligent enough and Monsieur is of a very good nature I think, and not at all given to any vice, as swearing, or drinking, or such like, as I can perceive in the least, but rather an abhorrer of it The greatest fault I can find with him, he is pretty formal, and very tender and nice and careful of himself, and for doing all things about himself just in such a time and method, more like one of the curious sort of ladies than a distressed Protestant, that must shift in the world But this is better to be borne withal than the above-mentioned faults, and I confess I would have the child to be brought up very neat and cleanly, but not too formal, which I the more speak against, he being a little that naturally But this I hope as he grows bigger and comes to travel abroad they will soon laugh him out of

I have taken the liberty to enclose a little of Monsieur's writing, and a little of his pupil's, which I happen to have in my pocket at this time, which if you like I shall have the better opinion of , though I must needs say I like such a hand for a man as Sir Walter Yonge writes, or Mr Bridges', which I think is rather the better But I know not whether you ever saw that or no, and therefore cannot give me your judgment

I am glad you are like to see your two good friends you mention this spring I am now at this place preparing for another little one, my reckoning being out about our Ladyday, and if please God I do well, and find myself lighter, you would have been in some danger of seeing me also, if you had not told me I ought to stay till you come in person to invite me, so that it may be now I may take state on me and stay till that time

I brought only your mistress to town with me for a nurse when I lie in, but instead of that I have been hitherto forced to nurse her, she having had the measles, since her father went into the country, but now I thank God is very well again They left a great rheum and weakness in her eyes, but they are much better now too, and I hope will be quite well before her father comes home, though I expect him this week She will needs have her service presented to you, though I tell her I have hardly room to subscribe myself, what really I am as you may imagine by the liberty I now take,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,

M Clarke

I write so seldom that makes me now so impertinent and tedious, so that one fault creates another as is too usual

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke
[*Endr*] Mrs Clarke 16 Feb 87-8 To 9 Mar

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 21st February, 1687-8

Dear Sir,

Soon after the writing my last of the 27th of January, I was suddenly and unexpectedly called again into the country by the death of my wife's old Uncle Watts of Sidcott, and am

[1] Lovelace Collection

but now newly returned from thence, however cannot omit this first opportunity of thanking you for your very kind and obliging letter of the 6th instant, which I have not as yet sufficiently considered, nor have I time at present to answer as I ought, and therefore will now only speak of such particulars thereof as seem to require a speedy answer

My intentions are to continue here until my wife be delivered and the danger over, which I expect and hope will be about our Lady Day next And soon after that my business will unavoidably carry me hence into the country, where I believe I shall be forced to continue for the space of a month, or thereabouts, and then I shall return hither again, hoping in a short time thereafter that Madam will be in a condition to begin her journey towards Chipley And whatever commands you think fit in the meantime to oblige me withal, you may depend upon it they shall be faithfully performed, and you may be also assured that within a day or two (as I can get time) Mrs R S shall have the ten pounds you have ordered me to pay her, etc

Your other letter (with the enclosed to your noble friend of the 17th) I have also this afternoon received, and shall be very punctual in observing every particular of your directions therein as the books come to hand In the meantime (because you desire it) I must acquaint you that my brother builder is in town and received you letter, but J F[reke] is amongst his relations in the county of Dorset And I find that your noble friend is not so great in his interest at Court as he was, being very lately discharged from those honourable commands which he had over his own county, to make room for some other more complying with that which is called his Majesty's present interest Many others are likewise turned out and put in, and the world is full of change But I am still the same unalterably,

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

E [1]

My wife says she writ to you by the last post, and now joins with your little Mistress in their services to you, etc

You have also the thanks of the whole family for the Freezland sheep, which are safe at Chipley, to the great joy of the young shepherd and all about him, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These
[*Endr*] E Clarke [2] 21 Feb 87-8

[1] Signature is cut out [2] Written over Somerton

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 2nd March, 1687-8

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday in the morning and not before I received from your friend Mr Charleton of the Temple two packets wherein were enclosed two of your abridgments *De Intellectu* stitched in marble paper, one in loose sheets and one very handsomely bound That which was so bound, together with the letter which came enclosed in yours of the 24th of January last to me, I delivered in the afternoon with my own hand to your noble friend,[2] who received them both with all expressions of kindness and respect to you, and seemed to be well pleased that the abridgment was writ in French And told me that he had read over the greatest part of your treatise at large upon that subject, and that he was much pleased therewith And to use his own expression he said there were very fine illustrations of your notions all along in it, and promised me that when he has gone through it, you shall have his thoughts therein more particularly In the meantime by me he returns you his thanks for your free communication of your notions upon that subject to him, and professes the continuance of a real friendship towards you One of the stitched abridgments in marble paper I have since also presented to Mr Boyle in your name, and in such manner as you directed me, which he received very kindly, and was very glad to hear of your welfare I found him weak and much indisposed, but he told me he had been much worse, and was now recovering, and assured me he would (as soon as possible) read over your abridgment and give you his real thoughts without compliment thereupon, and desired me to give you his thanks for it The other two I keep by me to be disposed of as you shall further direct And just now whilst I was writing this I received by the penny post one other of your abridgments bound, which according to your directions was immediately delivered to Mrs Clarke, who, though at present she understands it not, yet values it exceedingly, and promises to learn French on purpose that she may thereby be enabled to understand it, and will give you her own thanks for it as soon as the great

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Lord Pembroke

belly is laid In the meantime, pray take my hearty thanks for that and all other your favours, and be assured of my being

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

[1]

I forgot to tell you in my last of the 21st of February, that when I was at Sidcott to bury my Uncle Watts, though my business was such, and my time so short that I could not possibly go to Sutton to speak with Mr Stratton about your affairs in those parts, yet I sent a servant on purpose to desire him to come to me in case he wanted my advice or assistance in any of your concerns there, but hearing nothing in return from him I had reason to conclude that all was well there, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These
[*Endr*] E Clarke 2 Mar 87-8 To 19

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

9th March, 1688

MADAM,

If you pay all your real debts after the rate you do an imaginary one to me, it would [be well if it were] convenient Mr Clarke should have ever now and then such a business that he had lately at Sidcott The letter you did me the honour to write me the 16th February brings such an overplus of interest for a little forbearance, that I fear you take me for a grievous extortioner that could not be satisfied for a few ordinary words I sent you some time since without receiving from you in return four times their number of such as infinitely exceed them in value To confess the truth I do not find you are under any obligation to keep touch with me in writing, for being so much before hand with me in real and substantial kindness, you need not think that some thankful words I sometimes send you can give me any just claim to an answer from you in writing, though amongst all your favours there be none more welcome to me than those And whatever were the cause I cannot but be extremely pleased that one of the kindest and one of the longest letters you ever writ in your life was to me, for so I think I may well say your last was There is but one favour left beyond it to complete my happiness, and that I demand with some kind con-

[1] The signature is cut off

fidence, since your promise gives me a right to it, and your own purpose was to perform, which no pretence of state can excuse you from when you have laid down the great belly and are well up again And I shall have reason to conclude you are willing I should languish away my life here under the dominion of a Dutch mistress that holds me fast on this side the water, if you will not come and by the unresistable power of your presence redeem me from it In the meantime I with great concern wish you easily and safely delivered of another lusty boy My young master gives such hopes of himself that I cannot but wish he may have more brothers and like him I guess by what you say of him that he is a little more tender and soft in his nature than I imagined he would have been, which is a new reason for me to insist on my former rules against rough usage Let not the rod I beseech you be employed either on him or my little mistress, but in case of obstinacy and direct refusal to obey your commands I take the liberty to repeat it here, because your letter seems to intimate that the rod is of most prevalency on him, for his book which I am still in the mind should be made his recreation And you have all the hold one can desire upon him, since you confessed he is solicitous so much about nothing as pleasing his father Keep him in that temper of being afraid to displease you and his father, and you have him safe and need not use any blows to bring him what you have a mind to, provided you go not too fast and put him not beyond his pace Now that he can read English let him every day read a chapter or two to you, or some other English body But to his tutor let him read and speak nothing but French Let him now get that tongue as fast as he can, for do what you can he will have English

I am glad you [hit] upon so good a tutor for him The finicalness and formality you take notice of in him is the least fault one could have met with, [but let him give] none of his niceness and formal ways to your son It is much better to be borne with in a French schoolmaster than in a little gentleman His tutor's hand (bateing a letter or two) I like exceedingly, and if your son leave out the long tails of his g's, p's and y's, and the impertinent stroke of his f's, and instead thereof will write them thus g, p, y, f, I could not wish almost to write a better hand But if you like the enclosed better I will send you some of these yellow copies for him to go over with black, if you like that way

to form his hand The graver has misspelt Mr Clarke's name, but that will do no harm to the writing

Pray remember me very kindly to my pretty little mistress I am exceedingly glad that the measles is so well over, which is a disease not without danger in the old way of tampering I know if you had either Dr Sydenham or Goodall they used neither hot remedies nor hot keeping, which is a rule I advise you to observe, if any of your children should have the same disease in the country Madam, you will pardon me for talking thus to you of things you understand yourself much better than I do 'Tis an odd way I am got into of entertaining you Your own permission has encouraged me in it, and since I understand not the courtly way of compliments, give me leave in this to speak the true and sincere respect and concern wherewith I am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble and most obedient servant,

J L

Pray do me the favour to give Mr Clarke so much of this paper as belongs to him

## *Locke to Clarke*

Sir,

Never was letter more obliging in the seasonableness as well as other circumstances of it, than your lady's last, for it came very opportunely to ease me of a great pain your unusual silence had put me to For having no doubt of your kindness nor forwardness to write I the more feared your health, or some of your family That which it has proved does the least of any afflict me, since he died in a good old age and good right mind, which you know is a comfort since there is no remedy for mortality Your lady having done me the favour to give me an account of your son I have taken the liberty to trouble her on that subject And if I guess right at his temper by what I find in her letter he must be dealt gently with And since the respect he has for you has a great awe upon him, keep it as much as you can in all your conversation with him from confounding him The just measures of severity and mildness which is to be mixed in your words, looks, and carriage to him, it is impossible for any one absent to guess at, but only in general that if they be so tempered as to keep up your authority and his spirit, all will go

well whatever little slips he may be guilty of, for you must neither endeavour nor desire to have him grave or staid beyond his age, nor proficient in anything beyond his natural disposition

Sir, you need not make any extraordinary haste to answer that extravagant part of my letter of the 6th passato which concerns your son His age and that business will bear delay Only I am still of the mind, that it will not misbecome a gentleman to recreate himself from his other affair in some manual art And the more skill and dexterity he has in it the more pleasure and diversion will he find in practice of it

I hope ere this you have received of the epitomes two bound, two stitched, and one in quires, that by several hands as I could light on them I have sent That in quires I would have bound and gilded as the other are Those three are to be thus disposed of the first to my Lord Pembroke, and the other two, one to Mrs Clarke, and the other to Mrs Duke, which I desire you to send her by Sir Walter, who will be pleased to content himself with the reading of that, if it be worth it, till I can find an opportunity to send him that I desire for himself The other stitched up on marble paper are one for Mr Boyle and the other for Mr Freke

I would beg the favour of you to get me a good beaver hat made the diameter of the inside of the crown at the band, which I have here below marked by the two black lines, as also on the margin of the copy here enclosed I desire the hat may be made as high as the fashion will bear the rest I leave to your direction I desire also a peruke very deep, the caul of a middle colour betwixt black and flaxen, and a little longer than a parsons These Adrian or Mr Oakley will bring with them

Pray present my humble service to Sir Walter, and beg his excuse for my not writing to him this post as I designed, but have not now time scarce to finish this And let him know he may, if he please, take Morery's dictionary[1] that [he] had from Mr Charleton into the country with him So I designed it if he like it, and we shall well enough adjust the matter I have more to say to you but have no more time, but to assure you that I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most obliged servant,

J L

[1] Louis Moreri, *Le grand dictionnaire*

I hear that Thomas and Susan [Stringer] are in town I wonder I hear not a word from them When I print my book, as I think now I shall, I would have my picture before it, therefore, pray get the picture they have of mine up to town whilst you are there, that I may take order to have a plate graved from it

I am glad to hear the sheep are got safe to Chipley The country man here I am told is very importunate to have his bags again wherein the provision of oats and beans were laid in for them during their being at sea, and which the master of the vessel carried away with him to Exeter If it may be pray let Mr Elwill send them back to Mr Furly by the next ship

[*Addr*] For Mrs Mary Clarke, at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Locke to Clarke*

[11th March, 1688]

[I am glad] at last some of the *abregée* has got to your hands That in loose sheets may be bound as Mrs Clarke's was, and then sent to Mrs Duke by Sir Walter [Yonge], as he will be the best [able] to correct it And pray desire him to content himself with the reading of [that copy], if he think it worth while, till I get an opportunity to send him one for himself It is so difficult to meet with people to send them by that my friends must not take it amiss that they have them not all together, nor so soon as I could wish them The remaining one in marble paper [give when] you can to [Mr Freke]

I was surprised [to hear] that W P had procured your cousin a pardon I know not how to understand it, since if there be any truth in your cousin's professions he knows nothing of it you will therefore do well to inform yourself as dexterously as you can from Mr P by a third and skilful hand what there is in it For your cousin thinks himself concerned to know, though in a business of the nature it will not become him to appear inquisitive Adrian tells me he communicated the same piece of news to you When you inform me of the truth and particularities of the story you shall have my opinion concerning the case, for as this may be I know not how far this may alter

his measures I think, therefore, it will be of concernment to him, that you without any stir inform yourself particularly of all that has passed in the affair, if there be any such thing

Adrian will be some time this month in town He will receive £20 in St John's Court to buy books here for the young gentleman, which I desire him to pay you I write the same thing to him, but if that letter should miss him your minding of him will be enough, for in his last letter is my order to dispose of it I desire him also to wear over a chamlet cloak for me, which I have desired Mrs R S to buy for me I would have it of the best boiled chamlet that is to be got, that will endure wetting and of a dark colour, not apt to stain, for I am past fashion and finery, and am now only for things of use The lining I would have of a very good shalon, unless there be anything else lighter and as strong I have writ to her to the same purpose, but it will not be amiss (if you hear not of her before) to send to her for the cloak when Adrian comes to town She sends me word she has the £10, for which I thank you

The 9th instant I writ to your lady in answer to hers of 16th February I hope ere this it is come to hand, for there was in it something for you too If you looked in the little bound abregée, that came single, there was a short letter in it, wherein I desired to know your opinion of the hand printed on the paper it was wrapped up in, whereof I have sent another copy since, printed in red with Madame's letter If you like that hand and that way I will send you more of them for young master

Madame, I remember, solemnly promised me heretofore to let me see her on this side the water I think she cannot do a better thing at any time than to keep her word, especially now after she has got up again, when at the same time she may join health, pleasure and charity together Resolve on it you and she together It is not so much as a journey to Tunbridge, and has ten times the advantages in it And I long mightily to speak with you about my Bel[u]ton estate You will do me a kindness whilst you are in town to draw a grant of all the land I have there and in St Thomas to J N whilst you are in town and send me it by Adrian, or Mr Oakley, or rather bring it yourself, for I cannot do as I would without talking with you I am extremely beholden to you for the care you had of it when you were at Sidcott, but unless Wm Stratton be pressed upon

that point I fear the rent will run again into arrears, for he is a slow man of London But if you will come we shall both settle that matter and discourse many points concerning your son, which whole sheets of writing will not do half so well At Abel Ropers, a bookseller, at the sign of the Sun, in Fleet Street, you will find *Æsop's Fables, English, with cuts* Pray buy it for him, and get a Latin one too of that edition out of which the English one was translated I will tell you hereafter what use to make of it Get it also in French if you can

I am, Sir,
your most affectionate and most humble servant,
J L

My little treatise has drawn on me some compliments, and I doubt not but that I shall receive others upon the same occasion, but amongst them all I dare say there will be none that will come near Madam's in the case For nobody but she will go so high as to tell me they will learn French on purpose to understand it Tell her I expect she should keep her word, for whatever the book be good for the French may be worth the having, and since she has as much to say to the purpose as other people, I would have her have as many fashionable languages to express it in This is spoke methinks with the air and authority of an author, but I am so little and so new an one that I can easily lay by that to express myself in my ancienter and more natural temper, which is that of being with a very great respect and affection her most humble servant Pray remember me kindly also to my little mistress

I have writ to Adrian to bring my cloak and to J T. to bring my hat and peruke

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke, at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 16th March, 1687[-8]

DEAR SIR,

Since my last I have gotten the abridgment, which came to me in quires, bound and gilded as the other was, and according to your order have placed it in Sir Walter's hands to be

[1] Lovelace Collection

conveyed to Mrs. Duke And the other, which remains in marble paper, I shall also send by him to Mr Freke about a fortnight hence, when he designs to go out of town, if I have no other opportunity by a safe hand in the meantime to convey it to him

I have also gotten you a good beaver hat made by the diameter of the inside of the crown of the band exactly according to the dimension marked by the two black pins in your letter of the ninth instant A peruke I have also bought for you, pursuant to your directions in the same letter, as near as possible as I could And these, together with six flannel-shirts (bought and made up by your very good friend Mrs R S) and a cloak, which in the buying and making up I gave her my best assistance, I have sent hence by your old friend Adrian, who stayed but one day in town, and is this day set out from hence towards you, and it is possible may be with you as soon (or before) this can come to your hands He promised me to take particular care of them all, and to see them safely delivered to you, which I hope he will do, they being all in my opinion extremely good of the kind, and I believe will give content in the wearing

By him you will also receive a letter that I had from Mr Stringer in answer to what by your order I writ to him touching your picture, by which you will find that he is resolved not to part with it And I would by him also have sent to you a grant of your estate at Bel[u]ton and St Thomas to J N, as you desire, could I have gotten time during his stay here to have done it, but now I think I must take a time by your directions and in your presence to do it, which if God bless my wife with an happy lying-in, and no extraordinary business prevent, my inclinations do very strongly prompt me to But since there are so many accidents which may contradict my intentions in this particular I dare promise nothing, but trust on Providence to send us a happy meeting, which I earnestly desire and long for In the meantime give me leave to assure you that I will use all imaginable care and caution to find out the truth of what was done in that affair touching W P and my cousin, that in your last you mentioned to me And I will also take care to get Æsop's Fables, in Latin, English and French with cuts, as you have ordered, and will wait your further directions for making the best use of them

Just now I received the enclosed from my son, with his earnest desires that in my next it might be conveyed to you It was in the shape of a letter directed to you , but the back-part of it, for the conveniency of postage, I took off, and hope you will pardon both him and me for troubling you with it, since you will there see what good effects the following of your methods in teaching the child to write, as well as all other things, hath already produced He begins to be sensible of the great kindnesses you have done him, and I hope as he increases in knowledge he will be no less grateful than him, who by all manner of ties you have obliged to be never other than

your most affectionate, faithful servant,
E

Madam gives her hearty service to you, is very well, but not yet laid, and joins her desires with mine that you will send prints of those copies of which you have already given us a sight, the character being much better (as I think) than any I can get here, etc

I have written again to Mr Elwill, who hath repeated his promises under hand to me, that he will take particular care to send the bags again to Mr Furley, wherein the provision for the sheep was sent over, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These
[*Endr*] E. Clarke 16 Mar 87-8
To 30th

## *Locke to Thomas Stringer*

Rotterdam, 11th April, 1688

By a letter you writ to Mr Clarke, which according to your desire is come into my hands, I perceive my old friend Mr Stringer is contrary to my expectation grown a great courtier, and I cannot but wonder that a man I thought of a quite other make amongst so many professions of attention and respect in words should in the same letter mix things so little consistent with either of them Children's play and colourable pretences are accusations that savour but little of esteem and kindness At least whatever I might have deserved from others I might justly expect our old acquaintance and friendship might have preserved me with Mr Stringer from any such suspicion till

some manifest injury had forced him to alter his thoughts of me. It is, I confess, no small humiliation to me that I have not deserved so much confidence as that from a man that I have for many years called and believed my friend And if the rest of the acquaintances I have left in England entertain the like thoughts of me, I think it will be best for me to stay with my Dutch friends, who treat me with another kind of respect and affection

There is another insinuation in that letter as if you had reason to complain that you never hear from me Were I given to complain I think I might with some reason say that it was a very silent respect and affection that would not in four or five years bestow four or five words upon an ancient acquaintance If I have forborne to write to any of my friends it has been purely out of regard to them, to whom I thought I could not do either more easily or more friendly than to leave it to them to judge whether they thought it fit to hold any correspondence with me, and I never was silent to anyone who gave me reason to think such a commerce would be acceptable to him Mrs Stringer must be my witness in this part, to whom I never failed to write so long as she thought my letters worth the answering And, if I mistake not, till she plainly said she would write no more to me For I made use of the interception of some friends in England to obtain a letter from her, which though for these two or three last years was a favour I was not worthy of, yet I made no unkind reflections on it, nor had ever mentioned it, but in my defence, now that this undeserved reproach for not writing forces me to take notice what tenderness my absence has procured for me in some of my friends who so readily impute to me those neglects which they are guilty of

But to return to the main subject of your letter If you believe yourself when you say I gave you my picture, I beseech you to consider what you think of yourself when you deny it me upon this occasion Sure I am you will never persuade anybody else, that you think *bona fide* I gave it you, whilst you dare not trust it again in my hands For you will not find anyone who knows me, that will imagine I deserve to be suspected of a design to cheat anyone of what is his, much less a friend of what I had given him To all skilful discourse about pictures and draughts I say no more but that I hope I may be allowed to be

of age enough to know if I would have a print of myself, what kind will best please me But, Sir, I that am very slow to entertain hard thoughts of my friends will not determine which part of your letter, either the friendly complemental, or the unkind and disobliging, is the most in earnest I leave you free liberty of interpreting And your compliance or not with the desire I sent you by Mr Clarke will fully resolve me what is the friendship and esteem I am to expect from you In the meantime,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

Pray present my humble service to Mrs Stringer

This being in answer to what you writ to Mr Clarke I have sent it to him open, to be sealed and conveyed to you, that he being our common friend may see how well I deserved those very evil things you writ to him of me, if they were said in earnest

[*Addr* ] For Mr Stringer at Ivy Church

## *Thomas Stringer to Locke* [1]

Ivychurch, 30th April, 1688

Sir,

I was so sincere in everything I wrote to Mr Clarke concerning you that I was strangely surprised at the reading of your answer unto it You know we live in a country which sometimes at this time of the year doth not want heat And a reinforcement of so much sharpness out of Holland, was enough to put a colder constitution than mine into such a fermentation, as to take time for deliberation, drink large draughts of whey to cool, and read some of your former letters as an allay, before I did dare trust my temper to adventure you a reply I think I have heard of a treatise you have either printed or are about to print, that sayeth words are of no other use than to convey men's sense and meaning from one to another And if a man out of dullness or want of skill should blunder upon words that are of a doubtful or double interpretation, I suppose it hath always been a rule in friendship to take them in the best and most favourable sense Hearty friends will strain hard of that

[1] From Record Office Shaftesbury Papers, Bundle 47, viii , No 23

side to make them mean well, rather than use learning and skill by [very] drolling fanciful arguments to interpret them otherwise I have still so much respect for old friendship as not to enter into particulars, besides being of all men very unfit for animadversions

But in the general I cannot but be of the opinion, that if the best new Dutch friend that you have, should give himself the trouble of so much impertinence as to read over what I then wrote to Mr Clarke, and at the same time be acquainted that is (*sic*) was from an old friend, who had a most sincere esteem and true affection for you (and hath so still, but that he is become a cripple and so not serviceable) That the old friend doth say (and truly believes himself when he doth so), that when we were in our most intimate friendships and obliging endearments, you at two several times and places (the one at Exeter House and the other at the Long Walk at Bexwells) gave him your picture, and afterwards upon some occasion wrote a letter to his wife to borrow it, to take a copy of it, with a promise that you would not deprive her of it, but return it safe to her again, etc That all this being forgot, some time since you sent to this old useless friend for the picture, and told him you either had or would dispose of it otherways, whereupon he claimed a title to it, and refused to deliver it That now a gentleman in London informed him you had commanded him to write to this old friend to send up your picture thither from his house in the country, to engrave a print by it, but he remembering upon what occasion you had before sent for it wrote that letter to the gentleman, and would not send it unless you would promise to return it to him again Let this new Dutch friend have never so much respect, esteem, or kindness for you, and be as perfect a stranger to me, I dare hold a bet of any odds he will make quite another construction of it than you have done

And then you may judge how very slow you have been to entertain hard thoughts of me (who still must and do pretend to be your friend) when you have so hastily determined the matter with so much severity against me as to act such a very angry part before (you say) you know whether I am in earnest or in jest But since you are pleased to appeal to Mr Clarke as the common friend between us, though he is a person I am sufficiently troublesome unto in other more necessary concerns, yet

if you will send back my letter again, I will request the favour that he will compare yours with it and consider whether from a person that hath a true friendship that could possibly deserve such a very angry and severe return

To be accused of falseness, indirectness, rudeness and incivilities, etc, are hard charges (which I should be sorry to deserve from any, but especially Mr Locke), and all about a shadow, or something less For one part of your letter seems to carry the heat unto an old pique to my wife And (though for some years you have travelled with it, and for want of a better occasion hath catched at this to bring it forth), yet if you will impartially examine the matter, I am apt to believe, you will find but little reason for such a conjecture She professeth herself a perfect stranger to every part of your charge, not in the least remembering that she was ever solicited to write, or denied to do it For she did lately write and intended to send it by the doctor, though for another cause than I perceive you apprehend, she omitted it And I am sure whenever your name hath been mentioned, or she hath had an occasion to talk of you, she hath always showed a concern for Mr Locke, by all the marks and appearances of the truest and faithfulest friendship and kindness that is possibly to be expressed by the heartiest and best friends And of this she can appeal to many witnesses, and with as great assurance challenge the whole world to testify the least thing tending or inclining to the contrary, which was the reason she was more surprised than I, when she saw that part of your letter However, she jocularly bid me tell you that matrimony hath not yet wasted so much of her good humour, that she could make such a construction, or for so little reason harbour a pique of so long standing against her greatest enemy But for Mr Locke she doth hold herself in many respects so much obliged to him, that if nothing else would hinder prejudiced and lessening thoughts, yet gratitude will not suffer any other opinion of him, but what doth deserve the highest esteem And she did not a little delight herself to provide brown bread and milk against his coming with the doctor From hence you may see there could be no such strange mediums to represent things amiss between England and Holland, if some were not very much disposed to be wrong interpreters there And this I take to be another evidence of your slowness to entertain hard

thoughts, etc My wife doth really do what you say, makes no reflections, but believes if it please God she lives ever to see you, she shall be able thoroughly to satisfy you, that you are much mistaken and she is not in the least guilty

But as for the picture which you make another cause of this quarrel, you may be well assured I should not have detained that any more than I did any other of your things, which you left in my custody, nor divided it from them to carry it to Bexwell's, if I had not been thoroughly satisfied that you did really and *bona fide* give it me, and that in justice and right it was mine And therefore your claiming to have it again is a manifest injury, which (as it is demanded) I have no reason to comply with And though I have had an exceeding value for it, not for the paint or intrinsic worth, for that (as the case is) I should despise, but for the sake of the person it represents, which I can strongly aver I truly loved, yet I do now begin to believe by the course you are taking it may be in your power to bring the makebate to suffer a punishment answerable to the offence

How sharply soever you accuse me for not believing myself when I say you gave me the picture, I may with more confidence return the same upon you, when you say I denied you the use of it upon any occasion whatsoever, so as I might have it returned again If I should have done so mean a thing, you might too justly have bestowed some of those before mentioned epithets upon me, and bring me under the reproach of those that entertain suspicions of their friends, apprehends them to be cheats and mix inconsistencies between their words and actions But I am sure you know other things of me And if you will lay aside an unprejudiced [*sic*] mind, and turn the tables, I doubt not but you can much easier reconcile all those hard things to satisfy a true friend, than find in it such appearances or relishes of distaste

The skilful discourse you mention about pictures and draughts is what I learned from Mr White, when my late Lord sat to him to draw his face in black and white, in order to engrave a plate for a print of him And he being a man of such eminency and reputation in that art, I thought he might have so much skill to know which way was best in his own trade However, I did not presume to write that by way of instruction, or believe that you wanted either age or discretion, to choose, but only tell Mr Clarke a story of what I both saw and heard from him,

which I could not apprehend would be any lessening to you I know all men are not born with like parts, nor do they acquire equal learning, and though I cannot pretend much skill in anything, yet you may believe no man loves to be upbraided with his ignorance

I have the same excuse you make for not writing, and more notwithstanding you call it a silent respect For you being in your retirements, and it may for good reasons not desiring any more correspondence than was necessary for your business, I must leave you to judge whether silence in that respect did not look more like friendship in me, than impertinently to interrupt it, especially, I knowing mine own circumstances and indiscretion which at that time might occasion ill to a person I wished well And whether in such a case I might not reasonably conclude that in any of your removes not to give me direction to write was not a modest way of forbidding it However, I so little regarded the ceremonial or formal (which is the troublesome) part of friendship, that I always desired you should act with what freedom you pleased towards me, it being as much satisfaction to me And I was as well pleased to hear the news of your health by Mr Clarke, or any other hand, as though I had the favour of receiving it from your own

I understand not your dividing my letter into parts, or that there is anything complimental or disobliging in it Compliments are more suitable to travellers to make address to new acquaintance And to disoblige old friends is fitter for those that are fond of new I don't know that I am guilty of either Plainness and true-heartedness is what I pretend to, and that I should be sorry any Dutchman should outdo me in

I think without force or injury I may mention one instance more of the kind thoughts you entertain of me, that after the experience of so many years' acquaintance, and friendly conversation, you should contrive a test to try how far you may trust or put confidence in me If I should act so little a part to gratify your humour in that particular, such phantasies usually increase, and are seldom satisfied But this seems the harder, because you have not left me liberty to choose, you having already prejudiced the cause And the question you have put to try me at the end of your letter, you have fully decided by all the other parts of it For who (that knows Mr Locke) can

be persuaded, that he is grown so touchy, fanciful, and nice humoured, as to be provoked and put into such a fit of anger and choler against an old friend for a letter which he believes may be only mirth or jesting, or that he doth look for so much respect and observance as to quarrel at freedom and familiarity.

You may think of me as little and narrow as you please, and put what trials and tests you will upon me, but you will still find I shall endeavour to preserve an eternal esteem and respect for old friendships, and particularly for you, whatever opinion you may conceive of

Sir,

your most humble servant

*Locke to Clarke*

16th May, 1688.

DEAR SIR,

I could not read your kind letter of the 27th passato without great shame to see how great and unkind some troubles I had given you, in sending you on so many small errands with my inconsiderable treatise I know not what to say to you to excuse it Find some arguments in your own friendship and goodness to do it, or else I am undone For it is without a compliment that I assure you that there is nothing so dear to me as my interest in you, nor anything that I should so unwillingly lose any part of But your tried friendship secures me of that fear, and the share you allow me in it is what I possess in this world with greatest satisfaction When your lady is well laid, which I hope every day to hear, and well up again, which I mightily long for, I hope I shall have an opportunity to tell you so to your face, and then you will be convinced that I have all the reason in the world to think myself so happy in nothing as the enjoyment of so good a friend

You will here enclosed find a letter to Mr Stringer in answer to his about my picture The truth is, he deals with me after a way I could scarce have believed under any other assurance but that of his own hand He tells me his wife has it under my hand that I gave it to him I am afraid he strains the matter too far, for having never purposed but to have that picture in my chamber in Oxford when I came to settle there I am sure I

could never give it away in a letter to anyone, or say anything like it unless I were drunk when I writ it. But if you can, pray get a sight of that letter that I may know what it is, for , I have not the least remembrance of any the least thing towards it, nor can I believe it For I think such a thing as that I should not possibly forget

As to Mr Somerton's cousin, he has certainly the oddest state in the world He desires nothing but to be quiet in the world, but cannot obtain that of his friends Adrian he says will inform you what has been done in his affairs without his least knowledge or privity But now it is done I find he is brought into straights by it For to refuse what is granted is to bid defiance, to blame, or talk of P is to affront and make an enemy of him [1] And to that I now scarce see a remedy, which Mr Oakley's imprudent meddling in the case upon his own head has yet made more difficult, so that if great care be not taken I think your cousin will receive all the inconvenience is possible in this affair and none of the benefit That which he thinks best I find is to let the matter sleep as much as may be at present, but if the matter should go on and he by Mr Oakley's meddling be left out of it, he asked me whether his reputation would not be altogether in as bad a case and [even] a much worse, to which I could not tell what to say, though I were willing a little to ease his mind, which I find mightily troubled with this odd business

I have herewith sent some copies for your son I like the hand he writes already very well, and particularly because it has no flourishes in it, which is carefully to be avoided in children when they learn to write Pray let him have my answer with my thanks for his pretty letter, and make him as proud of it as you can, that he may take a pleasure betimes in writing of letters

My most humble respects to your lady I hope the pain and danger is already over, and she is rejoiced in another lusty boy I am with the utmost reason,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

If he like the copies I have sent for your son, the use I would have him make of them is this to go over one of the yellow

[1] Several lines here cannot be deciphered

copies with black ink, and then setting another before him endeavour to imitate it on fair paper The one I think will teach him to fashion the letters, the other will give him a freedom of hand, if these two way be used alternately

[*Addr*] These for Mr Edward Clarke at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, London

## *Locke to Clarke*

21st May, 1688

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 7th and 27th April I received, and in them, as in all yours, new matter of thanks I wish I could pay them such as I owe, but in my inability I have this satisfaction, to think you believe I heartily wish it I fear my Beluton affairs give you more trouble than they are worth I scarce know a remedy, whilst they are in the hands of an undexterous and slow man, and how to take them out cannot be thought of till I see you I have lately drawn a bill on Mr Perce for £50, which I hope will be answered according to advice Pray be pleased to receive of my Lady S[1] £20, which she gave me commission to lay out in books for the young gentleman,[2] and to get commission for £20 more I hear he has writ lately to her, pray enquire whether he takes notice of it to her, for I sent him word of it

If you light upon an excellent servant, fit for me, pray secure him till you can give me notice of his age, qualifications and terms He must be trusty, sober, diligent, well conditioned, read and write well, and some other good qualities, in fine excellent, for none is better, than as the ordinary sort And it is better to stay and take Syl[3] again, than one that is not better He had occasion to go home, and asked me leave I told him it was not fit, whatever might happen, that he should be obliged to come back, or I be obliged to wait without a servant till he returned On these terms we parted, though I believe he hopes to return to my service However, if in the meantime fortune should do such a miracle, as to bring such an one in your way,

[1] Lady Shaftesbury [2] Lord Ashley

[3] Sylvanus Brownover

as you could wish me, and I would have, I would be glad, but would not have you give yourself much trouble in seeking

If you saw Adrian since you writ, he will have told you what I have desired him to write to Mr Oakley in your absence It is necessary, and that for fresh reasons, that he should unsay to W P and own to him that it was without the order or privity of the person concerned, and so take off the suspicion of slighting or affront, which it cannot but be prejudicial for his friend to lie under with a man of that interest This must be the reason, and it must come only from you or Adrian But you must be sure to let him know no part of the contents of the enclosed, for he loves to be talking, and therefore you must charm him to say just so much and no more as is desired of him in the fit place, and nothing nowhere else, but let it die If I tell you what you thought was quite laid by, is now again on foot, you will think it necessary that Mr Oakley should forthwith redress as much as is possible, what his meddling, without order, in a business he was wholly a stranger to, has done

I know not what stars govern my friends at this time Mr Oakley quarrels with me, and thinks himself injured, because I do not employ him, and without any communication with me will he do though to my cost But what is beyond all is Mr Stringer's answer to that letter you delivered him from me, wherein I allowed his friendship leisure of second thoughts to recollect itself, if ever he had any, and gave him leave to turn the harsh things he had said of me in his letter to you into jest if he pleased But in his answer he has taken pains to second it with such an overflow of gall and spite as required no less than two whole large sheets of paper to wrap it up in, and that leaves no room to doubt, but that he would have what he writ to you understood in the most provoking sense it could bear And if anyone should see this letter of his, that knew not what had passed between him and me, he must needs think me the most inveterate enemy he ever had in the world, and that, in that letter, I had treated him with the utmost outrage What he said in his letter to you, his wife had to show under my hand that I had given him my picture (and no doubt if he have any such he has shown it you) is it seems by his letter to me this, viz that I writ to his wife to borrow it to have it copied I always imagined the deed of gift he bragged of was some such

matter as this, that at best would amount to nothing but an evidence against him I must therefore now explain the whole matter to you

After my return out of France speaking upon an occasion at Bexwells, of removing my picture, I was told I should have it no more And finding from the discourse, that it looked more like earnest than I could have expected, having never once in my life thought of parting with it, I was not a little surprised, but not having then any place, where I was settled, to remove it to, I thought best not to press it any farther, but to wait an opportunity to get it into my hands by fair means, not being willing to come to a heat upon this occasion, which so fierce and positive a man as Mr Stringer was but too apt to break out into Which way of proceeding, how necessary it was, if I would not endanger breaking with him, the event witnesses It is like then I might, pursuant to this intention of not having a quarrel with him to recover my picture, write to her something to that purpose And if it should now be asked why he let me not have it upon that request, it will be hard to find any answer, but what will carry with it a plain confession, that he was conscious to himself it was not his, which, joined to his desire of keeping it right or wrong, is that alone which can explain all his carriage in the whole affair since But that I gave it him, or ever intended to give it anybody, whilst I thought of returning to Christ Church, where I had all along designed a place for it in my chamber, has been always so far from my thoughts, that I can assure you with the greatest truth, I never did it However, he affirms, and I deny on whose side lies the proof? But take it that our opposite words are equal, there will still be this odds, that it cost me the pains of sitting, and fifteen pounds dry money to boot, which he pretending no consideration, but a bare word, by which it came to be his, I think gives me the better title It appears more than enough that he has an unreasonable desire it should be his It may be, too, he has talked himself into an opinion that it is, or an opiniatrity that it shall be so For some men you know, having once said a thing, are for ever after infallible in it

But grant I were mistaken, I ask whether anybody, but Mr Stringer, though he did believe the word had been said, would yet strain to such a degree, when he was told it was not remem-

bered, or was not in earnest For a friend's picture is I think of all things the last to be kept as a gift where it is declared not to be so intended Nay, if it had been given with the formalities that transfer a right, and been delivered before witnesses, I think nobody but he would have refused to give it back again to a man he called his friend, and for whose sake alone he pretended to value it, if he knew it was desired, much less would have refused it, as Mr Stringer has done me, when I mentioned borrowing of it (as he himself says) formerly, and now that I had occasion for it, and made use of you our common friend, who were upon the place to get it of him If you find anything in all this (whether I gave him the picture or no) that deserved his reproaches, I beseech you tell me, for I will make him satisfaction But pray tell me has not sitting still not crippled his understanding too? For it is hard to think a man not under some decay should be willing to have it thought of him, that, having got his friend's picture into his hands (which came there with other things only as a deposition) he is malicious enough to think of dis[train]ing it, if he may not keep it without being asked for it His words are these, put a better construction upon them if you can 'I do now begin to believe by the course you are taking, that it may be in your power to bring the MAKEBATE to suffer a punishment answerable to the offence' Can you hold laughing at the pithy expression of makebate, writ in great letters, as if he valued me more than my picture! Witness his carriage, or that if he spoiled the picture, that would compose the difference The poor man had ill-luck to betray his forwardness to destroy it For the wisdom of Solomon could not (you know) think of a surer mark, in the want of other proofs, whereby to judge, which of the two pretenders had no right

But he lays the blame on the course I am taking What course could be more gentle than nine years' patient attendance I would fain have anyone tell me For it should have been restored to me with my other things upon my return out of France, it being with them left in his custody during that absence. But if Mr Stringer be so elevated, that he thinks he has a right, not only to keep what was barely intrusted to his care, but to give ill language when you only asked it, that there might be a plate graved from it · and to quarrel with me since, because I did not interpret kindly what he writ of me to you

with so much unkindness, that he either could not or would not put a friend's interpretation on it himself, though I left him at liberty to give it what sense he pleased or if, finding that I am not like to bear his ill language with the same patience I have hitherto borne the detention of my picture, he being very uneasy to think that I should now insist on my right and make the whole matter appear in its true colours, I cannot help that I am sorry he has so sore a place, that the least touch galls and the very pointing at it puts it out of temper No course I have used could disease anyone, who did not suffer more from his own conscience than from me And to show what regard I have still to the familiarity has been between us, and the friendship I am sure has been on my side, I will not refuse any amicable course, you or any of our friends shall advise, for the obtaining what by all manner of right is mine But if nothing else will serve his turn, and he will needs paint himself to the world in indelible characters, I shall not leave him till he has done it That the profession of friendship without the reality is the mask of low minds, that change with every look of fortune, is no new thing, and what I must expect should I have any real need of him, this compassion to my indisposition and absence cannot but satisfy me

Pardon me, Sir, that I tire you with so long a story You are a friend whose least good thought I value above any picture can be drawn of me, and therefore I cannot suffer myself to lie under any imputation on that account Besides you know all the offices of civility and friendship by the surest way, that is by practising them I think I have transgressed none of them in this whole affair I am sure I will not be obstinate in what you shall find blameable in my proceedings

I am extremely glad that Madam and her little one are so well Three boys and three girls, look up again, think, I beseech you, on what you made me hope for I long for nothing so much since there is nothing so much pleases me, as the affection and sincerity wherewith I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J L

The enclosed I think were best be sealed up in a cover superscribed to yourself, and left with her that brings it you, to be

ready at hand when there shall be occasion But let nobody read it but yourself

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke

[*Endr*] J L 's letter to receive £20 of the Lady Shaftesbury laid out in books for the Ld Ashley, etc And about Mr Stringer and the picture, etc Received 26th May, 1688

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 5th June, 1688

DEAR SIR,

Saturday night last I returned hither from the West, and found my wife and children well here I was with your cousin Stratton at Sutton Court, and at his own house about a fortnight since, but could not be so serviceable to you there as I designed by reason he had not, nor could not possibly (as he said) make out your accompt for me, but promised to return fifty pounds of your money hither to me with the first opportunity, and make his accounts perfect against my coming again into that country There are generally great complaints of the difficulties to raise money amongst tenants, but I meet with none greater than those I have heard from Mr Stratton, the tenants thereabouts being much worse than formerly, and (as he says) are grown so poor and scarce that unless they are permitted to have their rents left in their hands for a considerable time, and other advantages besides, there is not a tenant to be had for anything in these parts By all which I presume there are some arrears greater than he was willing to tell me the particulars of at that time, especially having a prospect that the greatest part of them will be speedily gotten in Mr Stratton hath followed the method I directed, and without any difficulty and trouble hath got into his hands your lease to Robert Haroll of the home-close at Beluton, etc, which will be a further security for what remains due from him to [2] prevent him in his design of making such unreasonable advantages upon you as he intended by it

My time at present will not permit me to give you a more particular account of your affairs in Somerset, but if I can be

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] There is here a hole in the paper due to the cutting out of the signature on the other side of the page

so happy as to see you this summer, as I intended, you will then be more fully informed, but ever since I fixed my thoughts on that enjoyment, everything has seemed to conspire against me in it First many cross accidents in my own affairs have happened besides the death of my Lady King, which brought me into a trust for her children And immediately upon that the sickness and death of my Cousin Clarke's lady here, he being at that time extremely ill, and since dead in the country, leaving the care of his estate and four young children upon me, hath so much increased my affairs and troubles that at present I can hardly see a way through them But notwithstanding these and many other unexpected misfortunes that have happened, yet Madam and I are not totally without hopes of seeing you before we return into the West, if there be a possibility of my getting so much time as to come to you, which I most earnestly and heartily wish for

Your friend Mrs R S is just now come in with your letter that came enclosed the last week to her for me, and gives you her real love and service, but at present the time will not permit me to answer any part of it But you may be certain I will carefully perform what is therein desired, and answer it with the first opportunity, and for ever remain,

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

E [1]

Madam gives her service to you, etc

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These

[*Endorsed by Locke*] E Clarke 5th June, 1688 To 22 [June]

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, 15th June, 1688

DEAR SIR,

Soon after the writing my letter of the 5th instant to you, I was taken ill of a disease that of late has been almost universal in the town, which fell into my eyes, and disabled me for all manner of business for a considerable time But I can now inform you that I have spoken with Mr Oakley, who tells me

[1] The signature is cut off

[2] Lovelace Collection.

that he pursued Adrian's orders with a blind obedience in that affair relating to R B , and by letter hath given you a particular account thereof But by his discourse I have reason to doubt that matter was not managed exactly pursuant to the method directed by you , but all being over before my return to town, I was thereby altogether disabled from serving you in that affair, as otherwise I should have done Mr Oakley goes not out of town until Monday next, but gives his service to you and desires to know if you have received his letter As to your affair with Mr Stringer touching your picture, I have seriously considered all parts of it, and without partiality do assure you, that I cannot find anything blameable in any of your proceedings therein, and therefore as opportunity serves I will use my utmost skill and interest to make Mr Stringer sensible thereof, and put an end to the contest if it be to be done And what further I may be sensible to you in shall at all times be faithfully and willingly performed by

your most affectionate humble servant,
E [1]

Your old friend Nath Hodges will be in town the latter end of this week, and he shall have the only remaining abrégé delivered to him as you desire, etc

Mr Cheswell hath paid all home to Christmas last, etc

Madam and the young fry are well, and give you their best service, etc

[*Addr* ] For Mr John Locke, These
[*Endr* ] E Clarke 15th June, 1688 To 6 Jul

## *Locke to Clarke*

[22nd] June, 1688

Dear Sir,

It was very good news by yours of the 5th that you were come up to town, and that all the family were well, but better that you intended not that the farthest of your journey I wish for nothing more, but how much soever I wish it, I cannot consent it should be with the least straitening to you or your affairs

[1] Signature is cut out

I see you have been, as you are wont, careful of my affairs more than I have the confidence to desire I expect no other news from Sutton than what you send me My cousin is a slow man and let them get in arrears, when complaints and backwardness of tenants was not at that pitch it is now, and therefore it is not to be wondered if he in the common distemper yields to what is grown almost a fashion I dare say he is not one of those who shall reform it But who can help it? I must either suffer this or resolve to part with what I have there But of that [later when] we talk with one another In the meantime, though I love not to be cozened, yet I have no great reason to be afflicted, for I have meat and drink and clothes as much as I need, and what should I complain of?

I see your stock of orphans increases every day Worth and honesty I perceive produces children, as well as love and matrimony I am your eldest charge and must desire to keep the place, and I fear the great boy will not give you the least trouble Should they all write so many and so long letters as I do to you, that were enough to wear you out I confess my fault, but fear I shall not much mend it, for if I knew anybody I loved better, I might talk with you less

Since my last I have read a letter from Mr Oakley whereby I find he has done what Adrian desired of him But has not been able to forbear what I presume Adrian also desired him He loves to be a man of business At any rate it would choke him, if his tongue might not go, whether with rhyme or reason it matters not The very mention of holding his peace is like a cork that makes perfect bottle beer of it, and yet it must sputter He tells me himself he has been talking of it to my F If he, when he sees you, takes any notice of it to you, you must tell him that Mr Oakley meddles in business wherein he has neither commission nor knowledge, and loves to be talking he knows not what This I think is best to be said to him, for I think not seasonable to discourse to him at large that whole affair, nor to show him how my name has been brought in question without any desire or so much as knowledge of mine [1] But at present I think there be reasons why it should not be mentioned to him

By a letter I received just now from Adrian I find Mr Oakley is gone into the country He has left two books of mine with

[1] The paper is faded and several words are illegible

Awnsham Churchill to be sent me Though they be but little ones, yet I value them very much, and sent to him for them only upon presumption he would bring them himself I desire you to take them into your custody till you can meet with a safe hand to send them by, and if you go out of town before that happens pray leave them with Mr R S You will do me a favour also to tell Mr Churchill that Adrian gave him order to send me some books which I never yet heard of, and which therefore I desire him to send me by the first opportunity, and also an octavo, or one of the least quarto Bibles, that are printed with the chronology set down at the top of every page

Pray present my most humble service to Madam Tell her she must hold her resolution I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J L

[*Addr* ] For Mr Edward Clarke, at the Lady King's in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, London

[*Endr* ] John Locke's letter 18th June, 1688, about Mr Oakley, and about 2 books to be sent to him

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, [Salisbury, 16th September, 1688 ]

I hope my letters from Dover to London are before this time in your hands By this you will see I am not yet got home, being forced to leave Madam in London, Bartholomew Fair affording so much business it was impossible to procure such a dispatch as to get her out of town with me However, she promised to overtake me here this evening, where I have been forced to spend the greatest part of the week past in the execution of the trust for my cousin Clarke's children But hearing that your noble friend [2] was preparing to leave Wilts for the winter season, I went with Adrian to wait on him, where, I presume, we were the more kindly received by the intelligence we brought him of your welfare Your letter he received from me with great kindness, and upon a long discourse with him

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] Lord Pembroke

touching your treatise *De Intellectu*, he gave me this in commission to write to you That whatever he had to say upon that subject was in no sort any objection either to the notions in your book, or the reasons made use of to support them, but purely relating to the repetitions and other small errors therein which you have already corrected, and therefore he desires you to proceed in your design of publishing it, with the first opportunity, as a performance that will not only exceedingly oblige him, but all the considering and learned part of mankind This he bid say to you to speed the work, but promised he would write to you himself upon his return to London, but when that may be is altogether uncertain, he being now gone with his Lady to Sir Robert Sawyers, where he intends to spend some days, and by that time he gets to London it is possible his Lordship may forget his promise in that particular, therefore pray go on in fitting it for the press, and whatever commands you shall please to give me concerning it, or any other of your affairs, you may be assured shall be most willingly and faithfully performed by me

I think in my last I forgot to tell you that I could not speak with Capt Greenhill, he being at Tunbridge , but I have informed Adrian in every particular touching Mr Champnes, and of your care and concern for him He thinks there is a necessity of removing him from Utrecht, and will with the first opportunity consult his brother Greenhill what methods will be most convenient for the doing of it I also acquainted him what care you had taken in the settling Mr Davys at Amsterdam, for which he returns you his thanks

Your friends at Ivy Church were very inquisitive to know what you had said to me touching the picture, etc I told them that you showed me Mr Stringer's long letter, and that upon my perusal of it, I had censured it as a paper written in heat, and not fit to have passed between friends of so long and so intimate an acquaintance Mr Stringer in excuse said that he had the same respect and friendship for you as ever, but it was your letter that provoked him to write in such a manner I answered that I thought there was no occasion in that letter of yours to induce such an answer And a further dialogue we had upon that subject, which I think would be troublesome to repeat But I cannot get a sight of that letter of yours, which

conveys the unquestioned right you once had in the picture, and the post being ready to go off, I am forced to conclude with an assurance that I am,

your most obliged faithful servant,

E [1]

Salisbury, September the 16th

Pray give mine and my wife's humble services to Mr Furly and his wife, etc




[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These

[*Endr*] E Clarke 16th Sept, 1688 To 1 Oct

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

[30th September, 1688]

DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter of the 17th has been now a full week in my hands, for which you had immediately received my thanks had I been able to write But soon after my last of the 16th from Salisbury to you I was taken ill of an ague, with an ill fever that attended it, which so much weakened me that it was not without great difficulty I got hither, but by use of the *Cortex Peruv* I thank God I am now able to tell you that I am at present free from both, and do hope shall continue so, but am not in condition to go abroad to dispatch the business I came into the country for, which you may imagine (my circumstances considered) is no small disappointment and trouble to me

You have exceedingly obliged my gardener by your junkills and the large nasturtium indicum seed you have sent him, which we hear are safely arrived at Topsom by Spicer, and I hope some time the next week to get them safe hither The lime-tree seeds, and the turnip seeds you mention, will be no less acceptable, when they come, but I hear nothing as yet of their arrival

I am entirely satisfied in every article of yours and Mr. F 's accompts, and do not doubt but Mr Percival will make punctual

[1] Signature is cut off

[2] Lovelace Collection

payment of the bill that is drawn on him for £110 17s 11d mentioned in your letter. But I have neither strength nor time to thank my good friend Benjamin [Furly] as I ought, either for his great kindness to me whilst I was in Holland, or the extraordinary care and trouble he hath taken for me since And therefore I beg you to make him sensible of my hearty acknowledgments, and earnest hopes, that I may some time or other be happy in an opportunity to serve him And I heartily thank you for opening the complimentary letter you mention that was directed to me And I wish you had done the like by the other also, for I cannot guess at the hand by that part of the superscription you sent me Therefore, pray open that also, and in your next let me know the contents of it, if material, and by whom it was written And with mine and Madam's true love and service to you and all the good family with you, I subscribe, though perfectly tired, yet

your most affectionate friend and obliged servant,

E [1]

September the 30th

Miss Betty adds her service to you, and all her younger gallants, etc




[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke, These

[*Endr*] E Clarke 30th September, 1688 To 19th Oct

## *Locke to Clarke*

[19th October, 1688]

DEAR SIR,

I cannot be pleased that you should be sick at all, but of all others I can best bear with an ague, if you must have any disease, because as you have got rid of it (which rejoices me), so I think it is in your hands to hinder its return, if you please To that purpose I advise you to continue on your use of the *Cortex Peruv* at the rate of at least ℥i every week during all the month of October, ¾ of an ounce every week all November, and

[1] Signature is cut off

℥s all December, drinking a glass of good wine after every dose I think if you can swallow pills, that the best form to take it in, lest the nauseous taste grow so offensive to the palate and it make the stomach refuse it Let it be very finely powdered and made into pills with syrup of july flowers There needs scarcely other rule in taking it, but that it be not just before or after eating, though the morning fasting be thought generally best You may easily enlarge the dose and time of taking it, for I never yet knew anybody receive harm by taking too much, but often suffer by taking too little Be sure to get that which is good, for which I think you may trust Mr Shipton, and never be without it in your house Thus much for your ague, which I hope I shall hear no more of, nor of any other sickness, in your family

In hopes, therefore, of your healths and good stomachs I have been just now taking care about your garden belly timber, since Madame has been pleased to value them of this country so much I have therefore bought winter turnip seeds ℥vi, summer turnip seeds ℥vi, yellow turnip seeds ℥vi, carrot seeds ℥iii, red cabbage seeds ℥iiii, and lime tree seeds as much as all the other together I have now taken the first of the season to provide them to make some amends for my tardiness last year, and you may expect them time enough to try some of them yet this season if the wind hinder not, for the vessel they are designed by waits for nothing else I am very glad your gardener was so well pleased with what was to be got for him whilst you were here The truth is the nasturtium indicum, with that brave large glorious flower, is an excellent plant both for show and use I hope the seeds though of the last year will grow

When I consider what return I make to Madam for those flowers she throws on me in hers of 29th Sept my cheeks (as cold as I am) glow with shame She knows I am the pitifullest gallant in the world She will not think it much besides the matter, if I make my addresses to her like old father Winter crowned with turnips and carrots Let her but take in the stove under my feet (which I have whilst I am writing this) instead of a pan of charcoals, and the piece will be perfect But yet I am not out of hopes to entertain her, whether you sweat again or no under the shade of the lime tree grove, but it must be in some of the butterfly months, for in the winter I am as dead

as they. Your complimental friend therefore mistook my constitution, when he so kindly offered me his service, if I would make any advance I am so far from any advances towards love, or mistress, or courtship, when the sun is on tother side of the line, that I think on nothing but the chimney corner, which I think not to be left for a beauty or fortune, wherein a man otherwise disposed might hope to find a paradise Madam, therefore, may be sure of this, that though she may easily find more diligent and agreeable gallants, yet she can never have one more constant and more faithful than I am, who prefer my apartment at Chipley with her company to all the noise and grandeur that tons of gold promise, and to all those fine castles in the air which Love uses to build on the hopes of a rich match

The other letter according to your order I opened a copy of it you will find on the other side, which though it be of business yet perhaps scarce worth the postage, therefore, I have transcribed it Pray present my humble service to Madam, and tell her that though I writ to her the last post, yet her letter which she lately honoured me with will draw on her the trouble of another from me speedily The Dr [1] and his Lady, whom I saw to-day, were glad to hear of your safe arrival at home, and their young gallant Peter desires to have his service to Miss Betty, and yesterday her other gallant Paul, who presented her with Amsterdam, asked for her How she will do between those two young apostles I know not, unless she will rob Peter to pay Paul, for they both pretend vigorously to her, and I cannot blame them for I love her mightily myself Remember me kindly to her and all the little ones I wonder that in all your letters I find not any mention of J[ohn] F[reke] I hope he is only stolen out of your crowd, not out of the world I wish you what you can with yourself, and am,

Dear Sir,

perfectly yours,

J L.

19th October, 1688.

I have not yet presented your compliments to Benjamin [Furly], not being at present within reach of him

[*Endr*] of October 1688 How to take the Jesuit's bark About lime-tree seeds and other seeds, etc

[1] Dr Veen

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 24th October, 1688

DEAR SIR,

By reason of my absence for about ten days past from this place, your very kind letter of the 19th came but lately to my hands, so that this is the first opportunity I have had to return you my thanks for it, and to assure you that I shall carefully perform your directions in taking the *Cortex Peruv*, by which I hope to prevent the return of my ague, from the ill effects of which I thank God I am now pretty well recovered again, and shall at all times readily employ what strength I have in your service I am also to return you Madam's and my thanks for the plentiful provision of belly timber you have got together for us The turnip-seeds, carrot-seeds and red-cabbage seeds will be very welcome to the people in the kitchen, as well as the gardener, whenever they come But the lime-tree seeds will be as much more esteemed by me, as I value a good plantation of timber and of beautiful trees beyond any belly timber whatsoever, the one if taken sufficient care of when first planted being a g[ood provis]ion for posterity, and the other only serves as a [2] to please the palate and destroy hunger But I hear nothing as yet of the arrival of either sort of them My gardener is not a little proud of the large nasturtium indicum seed and the other things you sent him, and returns his humble thanks for them and all other your favours, and would be very glad to hear that all the above-mentioned seeds were safely come to hand, because if they come not in a very short time he fears the season will be lost

My wife gives you her service, and bids me tell you that whilst I was the last week at Sutton, she writ to you, and sent one enclosed from Mr D'eully, which she hopes is gone safe to your hands Your cousin Stratton was with me at Sutton a good part of the time I was there, which I spent with him chiefly in directing the most prudent methods I could think of for getting in those arrears of rent that are now due to you They are indeed much more considerable than I could wish they were,

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] A hole in the paper, due to removal of signature

and I doubt will not be got in without great difficulty For there has never been known a time when sheep, cattle, corn, wool, and everything else that the countryman should raise money by, sold at such poor mean rates as now they do, in so much that in many places the profits of the lands will hardly pay the workmen's wages that are employed to manure it Mr Stratton approved of the directions I gave him, and promised to follow them carefully I received one hundred pounds of him to your use, and at the request of my Aunt Strachey left it with her upon her bill payable by Mr Lynn in London before the end of this term, which is a conveniency to her, and will be I hope no disadvantage to you

J[ohn] F[reke] was lately with me here, and is now at Escott He gives you his hearty service and thanks for your kind inquiry after him He acknowledges the receipt of yours of the 7th of May last, and assures me that he hath written twice to you since that time The little Baronet hath received the books you last sent him, and he and the rest of that family together with Madam and the younger fry here give their services And you have also the hearty good wishes of

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

E

[*Addr*] For Mr John Lock, These
[*Endr*] E Clark 24th October, 1688

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

28th January, 1688[-9]

SIR,

You may remember that I have formerly told [2] you that children whilst very young should be treated as rational creatures, and that therefore you should always carry this in your mind in all the management and discipline of your son This I perceive [needs some] little explication, it being liable to some mistake It is true your son and all children should be treated as rational creatures, therefore argued with as grown men Long discourses and philosophical reasonings at least do

[1] The first part of this letter is not in Locke's hand

[2] Cf Letters on Education, *infra*, p 112, note 2

but amaze and confound but do not instruct them When I say, therefore, that they must be treated as rational creatures, I mean, that you should make them sensible by the mildness of your carriage, and your composure even in your correction of them, that what you do is reasonable in you, and useful and necessary for them, and that it is not out of caprice, passion, or fancy, that you command or forbid them anything This they are capable of understanding, and there is no virtue they should be excited to, nor fault they should be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of but it must be by such reasons as their age and understandings are capable of, and those proposed always in a very few and plain words The foundations on which several duties are built, and the fountains of right and wrong, from which they spring, are not, perhaps, easily to be let into the minds of grown men, not used to abstract their thoughts from common received opinions Much less are children capable of reasonings from remote principles They cannot conceive the force of long deductions the reasons that move them must be obvious, and level to their thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say) be felt and touched But yet if their age, temper and inclinations, be considered, they will never want such motives as may be sufficient to convince them If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any fault fit to be taken notice of in them, viz that it will be a discredit and disgrace to them, and displease you

But of all the ways whereby the children are to be instructed, and their manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is to set before their eyes the examples of those things you would have them do or avoid Which, when they are pointed out to them, in the practice of persons within their knowledge, with some reflections on their beauty or unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their imitation than any philosophical discourses can be made to them. Virtues and vices can by no words be so plainly set before their understandings as the actions of other men will show them, when you direct their observation, and bid them view this or that good or bad quality in their practice And the gracefulness and ungracefulness of many things in good or ill breeding, will be better learnt, and make deeper impressions on them, in the

examples of others, than from any rules or instructions can be given about them

This is a method to be used, not only whilst they are young, but to be continued even as long as they shall be under another's tuition or conduct Nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a father as long as he shall think fit, on any occasion to reform anything he wishes mended in his son, nothing sinking so gently and so deep into men's minds as example And what ill they either overlook, or indulge in themselves, they cannot but dislike and be ashamed of when it is set before them in another

SIR,[1]

Your letter you did me the favour to write me the day you came to town I received last Tuesday, and the same day returned you my thanks I since that received yours of the 1st instant, and could not have received a welcomer new year's gift I thank you for the good wishes and enclosed print in it One thing troubles me that I see you look not after your election, but I hope you will have it somewhere without looking after I wonder at N F what he means I think the treatment he received from others, lay no obligations on him to be forward now

Your son's tutor will I [hope not] find himself out in his account, however, you do well to seek another I wish one to our purpose You [will see from] what is above, that I still continue in my wonted liberty It was designed you a good while since, [but I had no] mind to send it till I had hopes it might come to you

Your last makes me doubt whether this will find you in town, or else I had writ something to you, which I have now writ to the gentleman who put something into the last letter, who I told you in my last I d[esired to] draw up the settlement of a match I had in my thoughts, but I have writ to him to communicate it to you when you come to town Do not laugh at me when I talk of a match at this time of day, for I can tell you that one of the ladies at this court came not long since to this town on purpose to see and be acquainted with me I am not like to be a courtier where are any of your young spruce blades

[1] What follows is in Locke's own hand.

that have such compliments? I have since returned her her visit, and we are very well pleased one with another If ever you be so happy as [to meet her], you shall acknowledge she is an extraordinary fine woman This perhaps you will think as strange news [as any I can] receive from you, but it is fit I return you some in exchange for yours But pray tell Madam for all that [no one] can shake my service to her My humble service to her and the little ones

I think of returning some [bills of exchange] speedily to the same hand as before And now if you think fit to look abroad for placing some money for me out, either in a lump sum or in parcels, I have nothing against it I am glad you have those papers from Ivy Church We shall talk matters when I see you, which you may be sure I long for above all things there

I return all your good wishes with [whatever] mine can add to them Upon the coming of the first news of success I received the kindest letters, both [from] the Dr and his wife, and my friends at Amsterdam, that you can imagine They always remember you, and your company, with kindness and respect I intend to go and see them as soon as the weather is fit to travel, but can scarce tell how to think My service to all my friends in city and country as they come in your way I am perfectly,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and faithful servant,

J L

folks, as well as John and Okes, salute you and yours

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke To be left with Mrs Rabsy Smithsby in Dorset Court in Channell Row, Westminster

## *Locke to Clarke*

8th February, 1689

Dear Sir,

Yours of 22nd January is the third I received from you since your last coming to London, for which I cannot forbear to return you my thanks by the post that same day that I receive it, though it be a doubt to me whether as it may happen this or I shall get to you first

I have seen the Prince's letter to the Convention, which carries weight and wisdom in it But men very much wonder

here to hear of committees of privileges of grievances, etc, as if this were a formal Parliament, and were not something of another nature, and had not business to do of greater moment and consequence sufficiently pointed out to them by the Prince's letter People are astonished here to see them meddle with any small matters, and when the settlement of the nation upon the sure grounds of peace and security is put into their hands, which can no way so well be done as by restoring our ancient government, the best possible that ever was, if taken and put together all of a piece in its original constitution If this has not been invaded men have done very ill to complain, and if it has, men must certainly be so wise by feeling as to know where the frame has been put out of order, or if amiss, and for that now they have an opportunity offered to find remedies, and set up a constitution, that may be lasting, for the security of civil rights and the liberty and property of all the subjects of the nation These are thoughts worthy such a convention as this, which, if as men suspect here they think of themselves as a parliament, and put themselves into the slow methods of proceeding usual therein, and think of mending some faults piecemeal, or anything less than the great frame of the government, they will let slip an opportunity which cannot even from things within last long. But if they consider foreign affairs I wonder any of them can sleep, till they see the nation settled in a regular way of acting and putting itself in a posture of defence and support of the common interest of Europe The spring comes on apace, and if we be, France will not be idle And if France should prevail with the Emperor for an accommodation (which is more than feared), I beseech you consider how much time you have to lose in England I mention not Ireland, because it is in everybody's eye

I writ some time since to J[ohn] F[reke], suspecting you might be out of town, concerning one point, which if gained will go a great way to keep all right I desired him to communicate it with you, if you were not gone into the country I could tell you several other considerations I have, which I need not trouble you with, who I am sure will think of the very same or better. I do not perceive that you stood to be chosen anywhere, which when I see you I shall quarrel with you for not a little make not the like omission the next election I writ to you the same time

I did to him, but supposing it would find you in the country, it was only upon the old subject of your children I am glad to hear their mother and they are well I am their and

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J L

The news comes just now from a good hand, that the Emperor and the French king are agreed I have by the two last posts remitted money to Mr Percival The bills of exchange are five that I have sent him, the sum how much you will see by the bills Pray whilst you are in town when you go that way look a little after it, and mind him to be careful of it My service to Mrs Smithsby and the rest of my friends that are in town, especially your western neighbours—amongst them I reckon J F

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke To be left with Mrs Rabsy Smithsby, in Dorset Court in Channell Row, Westminster

[*Endr*] J L Letter received 18th February, 1688[-9] Touching the Convention, etc

## *Locke to Clarke*

London, [13th] April [1689].

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to find by yours of the 11th that you had not then received mine, which I writ to you this day seven night, which had more business in it that required your speedy answer then and there I was then in treaty with a French tutor for your son, of whom I shall say no more now, but that Mr Furly who has known him a good while gives him a very good character J[ohn] F[reke] likes him very well, and I [likewise] approve of him upon two or three discourses I had [with him But I] put him off for a final answer to the end of this week, in hope of receiving one from you by this, and accordingly he came to me this morning The terms I told him as well as I knew them The main one, which was the salary of £20 per annum, I perceived he would willingly have accepted I told him, that both the tutor you formerly had and he whom you had agreed with, I thought, had neither of them the promise of any more, but this you undertook to him, that his terms with

you should be sure not to be worse than either of those, nor, indeed, do I think they ought, for by what I see of him I like him better than either of them He has lately had the tuition of two young English gentlemen, and Mr Furly, who saw them with him in Holland, and at whose house he was with them a fortnight, gives an excellent character of his care and government of them, and says, moreover, that his wife, who has no great opinion of Frenchmen, was in love with him, and this was at a time when he thought not Mr Furly would ever have occasion to give any account of him He wishes you were in town, that you might see him and him you, to be both the better satisfied each of other I like him not the worse, and in my discourse with him I find him not forward to [claim knowledge] he has not, nor to undertake anything in the breeding of your son for which he is not prepared, which signifies more to me than a forwardness [to attempt some]thing, and a presumption of his own abilities [1] [Let me know in your] next the particular of the terms (for I have once more remitted him for another week) that I may conclude with him And then let me also know how to convey him down to you, and the proper [directions] to me about the going abroad with your son whenever he went abroad without his mother, and whether he must lie in the same bed, or chamber As to the bed, I answered positively no As to the chamber, I left that to your determination And I think it would be convenient [to permit] him in the same chamber, for that will gain so much time and talking. But then it would be convenient he should at least have a closet adjoining, but unless I know your house better than my memory now retains it I can say nothing to that To these particulars pray give me an answer and add all others you think necessary

The other business, I writ to you of at the same time, was a project I have in my head to get my Cousin Somerton [2] to be Auditor to the Queen's Majesty My Lord Coote is treasurer to her. The salary is but £100 per annum The perquisites, I am told, about so much more, the business not much, and such as Mr Bridges says he will quickly perfect my Cousin Somerton in It is not the present advantage that put me on this for my cousin, but the entrance it gives him into the court, and the

[1] Nine lines are here illegible, the letter being in very bad condition

[2] Clarke himself

countenance it gives him in the country And I will tell you how far I am advanced in it The Bishop of St Asaph has promised me to move it to the Queen Mr Dacome has promised me to second him with both these , I have made an acquaintance for this very purpose And my Lord Coote has promised (who is very hearty in it) to do all he can when once the matter is moved Pray assure my cousin that though I have done this without his knowledge I hope [he will not be offended] that I endeavour to engage him in such small affairs , if I had power or interest to reach to greater I should employ it [with equal zeal] for him [1]

[Scotland has] proclaimed King William and Mary It is agreed there is a great fleet ready to [sail] at Brest, and that there are 14 or 15,000 land soldiers drawn down thither If it is so, and that [be done it] must be for a descent somewhere on our King's dominions, it is hard to guess where I wish [it may not be] in the West But the House of Lords refusing to consent to the Commons that the Bishops should be obliged to take the oaths, and both Houses adhering to their opinions that being to-day puts a stop to the bill, and consequently to the settlement of the country

I grow more and more sick of this world

Let Madam [be assured] I am her most humble servant Remember me kindly to your little ones, and believe me,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J. L

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq , at Chipley near Taunton
[*End*] Received the 20th April, 1689

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

Chipley, 20th April, 1689

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated the 13th was not sent out of London till the 16th, as appears by the office mark on the outside, and so came but last night to my hands, which I was exceedingly

[1] Eight lines are here entirely illegible

[2] Lovelace Collection

troubled at in regard to some parts thereof that required a speedy answer And I could heartily wish that all my thoughts were as clearly and fully laid before you upon every part of your letter, as they at this present appear to me , and then you would in them plainly see the most grateful and hearty acknowledgments, that can be made by one that has a true sense of those many real and extraordinary acts of friendship , and particularly those mentioned in your last letter, that you have done for me

As to the French tutor now in treaty with you, which Mr Furly commends, I have upon his judgment a great opinion of, and shall willingly give him £20 per annum as I gave Mr D'eully, and shall contentedly bear the charge of his coming into the country, whenever we agree the certain But at present I am under great perplexity of thought in that particular, the true reasons that occasion it I think not so proper for a letter, and therefore I shall defer them till I see you, or have an opportunity by a private hand to convey them to you , and only tell you that my wife and I have some thoughts at present of seeing you in London, and spending some part of this summer at Tunbridge, and of bringing the children with us, and if that should happen to be resolved on, it would be altogether improper to send for the tutor hither at this time, and therefore my desire at present is, that you make no absolute agreement with him in that point, until you hear from me again, unless you have already obliged yourself And if so, I shall punctually perform it, be the agreement whatever it will

As to the other part of your letter, I know not how I shall deserve either the honour or the favour designed me by you If the place do not oblige me to a constant residence in town, and I am capable of performing it (of which you and Mr Bridges that know my failings are the best judges) and it can be obtained, I shall faithfully perform the service, and the trust that shall be thereby reposed in me, and shall ever acknowledge your favour and kindness therein whilst you permit me the title of

your faithful friend and servant,

EDW CLARKE

I am much rejoiced to hear that our good friends Mr Furly and his wife are safe in England Pray give Mrs Clarke's and my true love and service to them, and accept the like yourself from

us And when you have read the enclosed, if you think fit, pray seal and send it to my Lord Coote, who was so kind to write to me upon the same subject by the last post, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke 20th April, 1689

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 9th May, 1689

DEAR SIR,

I am very glad to see my wife here, though not pleased with the occasion that brought her hither I shall do all I can to serve you in this matter, and my lady and I have consider[ed] about it more than once since she came, something whereof you will perceive in my letter of Saturday Pray give my service to Madam and thanks for the letter she sent me enclosed in yours Pray tell her I hope she is better, and has received more advantage by the Doctor's prescriptions than she thinks Tell her that I shall have my eyes open for her service as I can, and am her humble servant and yours

J LOCKE

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's Letter Received the 11th May, 1689
Answered the 12th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Taunton, 30th July, 1689

DEAR SIR,

Being thus far safe with my fellow-travellers in our journey towards Chipley, and the post going hence to-morrow morning, I take this first opportunity (though very much tired) to return all our hearty thanks for your extraordinary favours towards us It is all the return we can make, and therefore hope it will be accepted, etc

The enclosed letter sent me in your last I delivered to Mrs Stringer at Ivy-Church, and I presume you will in a short time receive her answer She and her lame Governor seemed to be well pleased that Madam had left the picture with you to be graven, and I find they are willing it should remain in your

[1] Lovelace Collection

hands till the plate be finished But I find that lame Thomas retains his inclinations to maintain his pretended property therein, notwithstanding all I could handsomely say to induce him to give up the picture to you again I am interrupted by company, and can say no more at present but that I am

your most obliged friend and humble servant,

EDW CLARKE

Madam and all the younger fry give you their best services, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Mrs Smithsby's house in Dorset Court in Channell Row, Westminster

[*Endr*] E Clarke 30th July, 1689

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Sutton Court, 12th August, 1689

DEAR SIR,

My last of the 9th from Wells being intended only to give you some account of my countrymen's behaviour at the assizes, I mentioned nothing therein relating to your private affairs But I write this to tell you that I met Mr Stratton in Wells the first day of the assizes, and had a long discourse with him about your business, and at last made an appointment with him to be here Friday, and to spend all Saturday in settling his accompts, and getting in the arrears of rent due to you, etc , where I came accordingly But instead of meeting him here his extraordinary occasion carried him to Priddy Fair, which he hath since told me he had perfectly forgot when he made the above-mentioned appointment with me However, I sent for your former tenant Robert Haroll, as thinking what remains due from him to be the most desperate of any of the debts due to you in these parts , and have used my utmost endeavours to secure the remaining part of it for you, wherein, as in all other your affairs here, I shall more particularly inform you when I can be so happy as to see you next I have this morning earnestly pressed Mr Stratton to the speedy performance of several things that I have directed him in, which he promised shall be done accordingly I find there will be some further abatement on your tenant at

[1] Lovelace Collection

Beluton But I sent for David Haroll (the present tenant), and have done all that can be with him to keep up the value of it, and I was willing to have seen and settled Mr Stratton's accompts, but his extraordinary business (during my stay here) would not, as he says, permit him to do it, but he will prepare it in a readiness for your own view and consideration, whenever you shall please to come into this country

This is all that I have to tell you at present from hence, more than that all your old friends and acquaintance in this neighbourhood make very kind enquiries after your welfare, and all give their hearty services to you, as doth

your most obliged servant,
EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Mrs Smithsby's House in Dorset Court in Channell Row, Westminster, London

[*Endr*] E Clarke 12th Aug 1689

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

12th December, 1689

MADAM,

I am at the Tavern with your husband and other blades of his gang as debauched as he, and therefore you must not wonder that I do not return you my thanks for the favour of your last kind letter with all the civility that is due What concerns my dear little Betty in it I have writ to Monsieur of, and if that takes, as I do not doubt, it will naturally draw in her sister and younger brother The way I proposed for my wife alone was the much likelier to take, and will not fail to be as effectual

The best thing I can think of for your servant whose case you proposed by Mr Clarke I think to be as followeth

Take common dock roots, ℔i
Dandelion roots, ℔i½
Elder flowers, handfuls, 4

Put all these into four gallons of small ale and work in them When it is fit to drink let him drink a glass of it mornings, afternoon, and at night, or rather let him make it his constant drink Let me know how it does with him, for being of

your family and one that you take care of I cannot but be concerned for him, being as I am both by inclination and gratitude perfectly,

Madam,
your most humble and most obedient servant,
J Locke

[*Addr* ] For Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley
[*Endr* ] Mr Locke's letter about John Spreat

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [1]

3rd March, 1689[-90]

Dearest Sir,

Your letter to Mr Clarke came safe to his hand, but he is not in a condition as yet to answer it, though he every day finds himself better, and I hope in a short time will be perfectly recovered of his rheumatism We are both obliged to you for your directions as to his taking the Jesuit's powder, which I am resolved to see punctually performed, there being nothing more agreeable to me than to have your commands in everything I do, being then sure of success Having so lately had the experience of it in what you ordered for Mr Clark's man, who has been very careful to follow your advice, and is for the present perfectly cured, and I hope so as it will not return again The only inconvenience he finds now is that he has a great heaviness in his head, and sometimes has a dimness before his sight, so much that when he is writing for a small time is fain to lay by his pen Sir, the great favour you have done him in advising him and the good he has found by following it, has encouraged him to beg of me to desire to know of you, whether it is not his best way to be bleeded, or to do anything else you shall think fit

Sir, I have nothing of news from hence to acquaint you with more than, that the election for this county is not yet determined, and there has been all the foul practices imaginable in the management thereof, and it is thought there will be a false return at last against Sir John Sydenham and Mr Speake, in order to set up Sir Edward Philipps, being the great pillar of the

[1] Lovelace Collection

Western Church Bridgwater has the same members as they had last Parliament, and as for the Taunton people they have not made their choice as yet, but it is now thought that Portman and Clarke will carry it, if there is not tricks played by the first mentioned I am,

Sir, yours,

M C

My service to you and the ladies and old Mistress also Betty is wholly yours [1]

[*Addr*] These to Mr John Locke at Mrs Smithsby's House in Dorset Court in Channell Row in Westminster, London

[*Endr*] M Clarke 3rd March, 1689-90

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [2]

Chipley, 23rd March, 1689-90

DEAR SIR,

I was extremely concerned by Mrs Smithsby's letter that you were not well, but am very glad to hear since by yours to Mr Clarke that you so soon recovered I thank God Mr Clarke's recovery was much sooner than I feared it would have been, though not so quick as yours I hope now you are together you will take care of one the other, and not be guilty of so many debauches as you were last, which I believe was the occasion of all your disorders, if the truth were known But I'll say no more on this subject till I see you, but have in the meantime, in pursuance of your commands, sent an account of the disorders and proceeding of Mr Clarke's servant, who I have desired to state his case himself underneath, that it may be the more perfect And am,

Sir,

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,

M CLARKE

My humble service to the ladies Betty is entirely yours

HONOURED SIR,

I had in the first place several hard nobbs that did arise, some in the right side of my neck and one under my right arm,

[1] Written in the margin of the first page

[2] Lovelace Collection

and after that, in some little distance of those nobbs, small clusters of little pimples full of clear water The places on which those pimples arose were very red and fiery, and very troublesome—like to the stinging of nettles But (all humble thanks to your favourable directions) they with the nobbs are all long since dissipated and gone And now what remains is a giddiness in my head that frequently surprises me without the least pain and soon leaves me again , and also a trembling mist that very often comes before my eyes, like as when one has gazed on the fervent sunshine, so that I cannot distinctly discern for some time , and I do very often bleed at the nose

Sir, your former prescription for me was a diet drink, with four handfuls of elder flowers, one pound of common dock roots and ½lb of dandelion roots put into it, which I have carefully made use of, and I find it the most agreeable to me of any kind I drink And if you please to give yourself the trouble of affording me your further direction touching my present case, it shall be carefully observed and thankfully acknowledged as the greatest of favours to your most obliged

humble servant,

Jo Spreat

[*Addressed by Mrs Clarke*] These to her worthy friend Mr John Lock, present

[*Endorsed by Locke*] M Clarke 23rd March, 1689-90 To 3rd April

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 1st September, 1690

Dear Sir,

I was very glad to receive the news of your health and quiet by yours of the 20th August, and the continuance of the same by another of the 23rd The enclosed from Monsieur of your son's proficiency not answering his expectation, I hope is rather from his great care and concern than any just cause of complaint, and I am the more encouraged to hope so because I find he complains also of the little progress my wife had made in French, which yet I found when she was in town was beyond what I could have expected He names both childishness and obstinacy in your son If it be the first, though it be not now to be indulged, yet we are not to hope quite to cure it, that must

be the work of age But obstinacy is a dangerous point, and must at any rate be mastered, or else all will be spoiled I have writ to him so, and pressed him again to be sure to make himself obeyed I know not whether Monsieur's temper be capable of that austerity and rigour which may be necessary I must desire you to examine and look to that, and if there be any obstinacy in the case see it mastered To dispose your son to it, perhaps it may be enough to represent to him with a serious brow that it is absolutely your will that he should perfectly obey Mr Passebon, and that if he make any difficulty to do it, or that you find he does not, you will send him to school, where he shall be hardly used, whipped often and be under your displeasure to boot This said in few words and your countenance kept may perhaps be enough to produce all we desire If not, you must both order Mr Passebon when he is obstinate to correct him severely, and go on in the correction till he find him subdued, or else you must see it done yourself, but it were better he did it by himself And if all this will not do, we must look for a new tutor rather than have your son spoiled Though if this man can gain an authority over him, perhaps we may not easily find a better, for I think him one of the best and honestest Frenchmen I have met with And let me tell you there is this good in his temper, that the less he is inclined to severity, and the less he depends on whipping, the more pains he will take, and if it can be brought to do, the milder is certainly the better way When I say your son must not be spoiled, we must not think that childishness or a neglect in him of his improvements is presently that You must allow him to be a child and be like other children, averse to study and careless of what is for his future advantage But an obstinate prevalency in having his will against the direction of his tutor, or an habitual idleness must not be indulged The latter I am confident by the advances he makes it is not, and the former I guess consists more in a cunning elusion of Mr Passebon's orders than an open refusal or opposition to them I have writ something to Mr Passebon for a farther advance in his studies, and I begin to think it time now to enter upon Latin, which I advise Mr Passebon may be by reading the Latin Testament and explaining it in French

I am not sorry that Madam has for some time stopped your journey towards Sutton The ill weather we have had here,

together with the entreaties of Sir Francis and my Lady, joined to my cough, which with the ill weather began a little to return, have kept me here longer than I intended, else perhaps I had been by this time at Bath if my Lady Monmouth be (as Mrs Lockhart writ me word she intended) gone thither But having heard nothing of it since, I know not but the constant rain we have had here ever since may have kept her as well as me from travelling As soon as I get to town if the weather favour travelling I intend for the West, if nothing else upon the place which I cannot foresee hinder me, for I long to see Madam at Chipley Pray tell her so, and assure her of my respects

yours,

J L

Sir Francis and my Lady present their service to you The corn here is pitifully in the suds My love to my dear wife and all the younger ones, and my thanks to Master for his kind letter, which I shall in a short time thank him for myself

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Chipley, near Taunton
Frank

[*Endr*] J L touching my son Received the 5th September, 1690

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 17th October, 1690

DEAR SIR,

Things going so easy and so right in your House I know you will excuse me that I went into the country to enjoy there an uninterrupted satisfaction and quiet in the contemplation of them I hope they continue on in the same course since my coming away, and the zeal and forwardness of you yourselves makes it needless for us without doors so much as to think of the public, which is the happiest state a country can be in, when those whose business it is, take such care of affairs, that all others quietly and with resignation acquiesce, and I think it superfluous and impertinent to meddle, or beat their heads about them You will see what I say in the enclosed, which I desire you to seal, deliver, and discourse accordingly, if you see occasion You have a right to do it, because in truth you were the first

who suggested that thought to me, and the more I have reflected on it, the more I am convinced you were in the right You may from me consult my Lady about it, whom you will find of our side However, I will be sure to come to town, either to prevent or prepare for the journey, whenever I am sent for And therefore pray let me not fail to hear from you, if either the House be like to rise, or there be any preparations made or orders given concerning the King's journey But I would willingly finish what I came for before I return if I may, but that still shall give way to any commands from my Lord, yourself, or any of my friends in town My humble service to them all, particularly the gentlemen were with you at my chamber the day before I came away I am,

perfectly yours,

J L

You are kindly remembered here

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 20th October, 1690

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 22nd December, 1690

DEAR SIR,

You who do your friends' business so carefully and so exactly have no need to excuse yourself for want of time when you write your letters I return you my thanks, and am desired by my Lady to do the same for her, who is extremely obliged to you for your care in her business She says that she concludes whatever haste you are in, that the Parliament will not sit in the holidays contrary to the privileges of the Church, which has a right to make people idle at some times, as well as eat fish at others And she says whatever sort of recess you have you cannot keep your Christmas at Chipley, and however great a lover of the town you may be she guesses that you may fairly by this time have your bellyful of it This being so she makes it her request to you that you would come and spend a few days here She shall take this, she says, as kindly as anything else you have done for her She desires me to enclose this letter to you, which is to the same purpose as she says, but orders me to excuse the shortness of it to the weakness of her eyes, which

seldom permits her to write at all I need not tell you how glad I shall be to see you

My service to Madam when you write and thanks for her letter, and my love to my wife and the rest If you go to the house after the receipt of this, pray in your way to deliver it to Mr Fox, if not, it will be well to send it to Mr Pawling by the penny post, and he will deliver it

Pray if you come hither do the favour to bring me a pair of drawers of swan's skin, which I have writ to your neighbour Clarke to make for me If you wear them down on your own, they will do you no harm this cold weather And if it be not too much trouble to you, I would beg you to bring me two pieces of Lightfoot which Dr Thomas sent me, and which Mr Pawling promised to call for at Richard's Coffee House, where Dr Thomas ordered them to be left for me And pray also take out of the garret where my books are the xiv vol of the *Bibliotheque Universelle* It is a book in bound in vellum, as all that whole set is, and bring it with you

Give my service, and speak all things fit to show my respect, and preserve my interest in the stone gallery [1]

[*Endr*] Mr Locke and Lady Masham's letter Received the 24th December, 1690

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

Chipley, 7th March, 1690-1

DEAR SIR,

After about twelve days' absence being now got home again I hold myself obliged to acquaint you that I spent some part of my time with Mr Stratton in your affairs about Sutton And not to mention other particulars of lesser moment, I only acquaint you at present, that I have at last obtained an actual entry to be made on the parcel of ground next Robert Haroll's house, which you formerly leased to him, and is I fear all the satisfaction you are ever like to have for the remainder of the debt due from him, he being now much more likely to stand in need of relief from the parish than ever to be in a possibility of

[1] There is no signature

[2] Lovelace Collection.

paying what remains due to you Had this entry been made sooner as I advised, there might have been more of your debt satisfied thereby, but let that pass It is now disposed of (though not without difficulty) with the rest of the grounds to David Haroll for £20 for one year from Lady Day next And more than this we could not possibly advance it to , and I fear another year, if the price of corn, cattle and wool, etc , does not advance, there must be further abatements But more of this with other particulars when next I see you In the meantime, I cannot omit to acquaint you, that Mr Stratton hath lately married his eldest daughter to James Hazell, to whom the house and lands that Mr Stratton lived in at Sutton are assigned , but upon what terms or conditions I know not, only that Mr Stratton and his wife and the rest of the family are to remove speedily to Bristol, where he has taken a house, and says he intends to spend the rest of his days, so that I think it will be necessary for you to have a new steward for the management of your concerns in those parts But of this likewise I shall discourse you more fully hereafter

Mr Stratton tells me that he has about £60 or £80 of your money in his hands, for which I endeavoured to get a return, but could not do it at this time from Bristol without loss, which I declined, knowing that your occasions were no ways pressing for it The money due to you from Abraham Barnes upon the writ I sent down against him at your suit is well secured, and Mr Stratton tells me will be speedily paid There is one thing more I think material to acquaint you with, and that is, the agents for your landlord Mr Popham have lately began coal-work on the lands called the New Tynings, which you hold by lease for your life, which is and will be to your damage And I know not what remedy to advise until I see your lease, and can have opportunity to consider with you upon it There is nothing else of moment that occurs at present But if there happens anything wherein I can be any ways further serviceable, you may depend upon it, it shall be carefully performed

And now methinks I would fain answer that part of your last letter to me which relates to the present state my eldest son is in, both in respect to his mind and learning But, indeed, the task is so hard, that I know not well how to answer your expectations therein , and, therefore, can only acquaint you that

as to his mind upon the strictest observation, there is no manner of disposition to anything that is ill, neither can I find any inclination in him towards any sort of learning whatsoever, nor any pleasure that he takes therein However, he goes on, though slowly, and with a very great indifferency Monsieur complains much against him for want of application to his business, and tells me he is capable, but too careless and indifferent in all things, and very apt to forget what he learns though never so perfectly, which I attribute more to the badness of memory than neglect in him I am satisfied he hath made some progress in geography, but having so little knowledge therein myself am altogether unable to give you any particular account thereof He also understands perfectly addition, subtraction, multiplication and division And a little use will, I presume, make him very ready in those parts of arithmetic He also proceeds (though but slowly) in the methods proposed by you for learning the Latin tongue, and I hope will in time be made master of that, as well as of French Monsieur certainly takes great care and pains with him And the only discernible fault is, that he hath all along, and still does suffer himself to have too little authority over him, by which means the child stands in little or no awe at all of him, the consequence whereof is so ill that thereby the child has not that esteem and value for his instruction as I believe he would otherwise have, frequent instances whereof I have seen in the child's having a greater regard to and minding much more what I or my clerk say to him than what his tutor instructs him in And if we could but find an effectual cure in this particular (and so as not to disoblige Monsieur neither, for that I would carefully avoid), I fancy our business would go on much the easier and pleasanter for the future

Monsieur writ to you about three weeks since, which I hope you received And since that the eldest boy has been ill of the measles, but is now well recovered again, only his eyes are something weakened thereby, and there remains a cough, which I hope will wear off in a little time after being gently purged, which is intended to-morrow All the rest of the young fry continue as yet well Your wife makes the greatest progress in French of any of the children, but I find it very difficult to get them to speak French when they are out of my sight But the

great misfortune of all is, that neither my wife nor I can speak the language, for I am satisfied that if either of us could do that, the children would learn it with much less difficulty, and in half the time But this I take to be a disease without a remedy, the hurry of business I am constantly in not permitting me to learn it, and the natural averseness there is in my wife to all sorts of learning and books, though of very good natural parts, keeps her from attempting it Upon the whole matter I fancy there is hardly anything but your presence with us here will mend any of our faults, and therefore as well as for many other reasons I hope you will bear being importuned to visit your own native country, and make us happy with your company here, without which I hardly think it possible to grow fat here as formerly I have done The general complaints of others, and my own frequent disappointments and losses, by the breaking of tenants and otherwise, are preventives sufficient against increasing either in body or purse I think I have sufficiently tired you, but, however, I am desired by my wife and yours, all the children and Monsieur, to present you with their services, before I tell you how much I am,

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Endr*] E Clarke 7th March, 1690-1

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 9th March, 1690-1

DEAR SIR,

Though by your way of writing, and the little tampering I presume would be used in the case, made me hope your son would not suffer much by the measles, you told me he had in your letter of 23rd February, before you went to Sutton, yet I could not forbear to write to Madam about it, and send her some general rules concerning the disease, which perhaps might be of use in some other cases, though I hope Master need not any Supposing him therefore recovered of the measles and quite well again, I desire we may enquire a little into his studies and temper of mind I suspect he trifles away in his chamber a good part of his time, and does not by a diligent application of

his mind dispatch it so soon as he might, that so he might go to his recreation, or anything else A habit of this sauntering humour I look on as one of the worst things that can befall him, as well as one of the hardest matters to be cured But withal pray consider it as very apt to be mistaken, and therefore we must use great care and wariness to get a true knowledge of it, and not mistake one thing for another I know he has a great respect for you, and stands in much awe of you The first caution therefore to be used is, that the enquiries you make concerning this matter be made with all the gentleness and softness imaginable, and be so managed that even his tutor suspect not that any intimation concerning this matter comes from me, but that you think it convenient of yourself to enquire what your son does, what progress he has made, and how he spends his time And therefore before you come to this enquiry examine him in geography and other parts of his study, and let it be some time after the receipt of my letter before you begin it 2nd If you do find that he does loiter at his book and let a good deal of the time he spends in his chamber run idly away, do not presently conclude that this is from a sauntering humour in his temper It may be childishness, and a preferring something to his book, which his thoughts run on , and he dislikes his book, as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a task To know this perfectly, you must observe him out of his chamber and at play, or following his own inclinations, and see there whether he vigorously sets himself about anything, designs anything, and with labour and eagerness pursues it, till he has accomplished it , or whether he lazily and listlessly dreams away his time If this laziness be only when he is about his book, I think it may be easily cured If it be in his temper, it will require a little more pains and attention to remedy it

If you are satisfied by his earnestness at play, or anything else he sets his mind on, in the intervals between his times of study, that he is not of himself inclined to sauntering, but only want of relish of his book makes him negligent and sluggish in his application to it , the first remedy is to try, by talking to him kindly of the folly and inconvenience of it, whereby he loses a good part of his time, which he might have for his diversion But be sure to talk calmly and kindly and not much at first, but only these plain reasons in short If this prevails, you have

gained the point by the most desirable remedy, which is reason and kindness If it prevails not, try to shame him out of it, by you and your mother laughing at him for it, asking every day, if there be no strangers there, when he comes down with his tutor, how long he was that day about his business And if he has not done it in the time he might be well supposed to have done, expose and turn him into ridicule for it But mix no chiding with it, only put on a pretty cold brow towards him and keep it till he reform, and let his mother do so too If this works not the effect you desire, then tell him he shall be no longer troubled with a tutor to take care of his education you will not be at that charge to have him spend his time idly with him in a chamber But since he prefers this or that (whatever play it be he delights in) to his books, that only he shall do, and so in earnest set him on work on his beloved play, and keep him steadily and in earnest to it, morning and afternoon, till he be fully surfeited and dog weary of it, and would, at any rate, change it for some hours at his book again But when you thus set him a task at his play, you must be sure to look after him yourself, or set somebody else to do it, that you may constantly see him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too I say yourself look after him, for it is worth your while, whatever business you have, to bestow two or three days upon your son, to cure so great a mischief as is sauntering at one's business

This is what I propose, if it be idleness, not from his general temper, but a peculiar or acquired aversion to learning, which you must be careful to examine and distinguish, and which you shall certainly know by this, if you in good humour give him a play-day once or twice, and observe then whether he spends it lazily or actively about some project of his own But, though you have your eye upon him, to observe what he does with the time he has at his own disposal, yet you must not let him perceive you do so, for that may restrain him from following his own inclination And that being the thing his head or his heart is upon, and not daring to prosecute it for fear of you, he may forbear doing other things, and so seem to be idle and negligent, when, in truth, it is nothing but being intent on something which the fear of your eye or knowledge keeps him from executing You must therefore, when you would try him, give him

full liberty, but let somebody whom you can trust observe what he does, and it will be best he have his play-day of liberty when you go from home, and if Madam and Monsieur too went abroad at the same time it would not be amiss. For if you be in doubt whether sauntering be only a laziness in his book, or listlessness in his temper, this is the first thing to be done that you may come to a certainty

If there be anything of sauntering and laziness in his natural disposition, as it is one of the most unpromising tempers I know, so it is also one of the hardest to be dealt with For it, generally carrying with it a kind of indifference for future things, may be attributed to want of foresight and want of desire, and how to plant or increase either of these, where nature has given a cold or contrary temper, is not I think very easy In our present case, if there be anything of it, you might first find out his most predominant passion, and carefully examine what it is to which the greatest bent of his mind has the most steady and earnest tendency, and when you have found that, you must set that on work to excite his industry to anything else If he loves praise, or play, or fine clothes, etc, or on the other side, dreads shame and disgrace, your displeasure, etc Whatever it be that he loves most, except it be sloth (for that will never set him on work), let that be made use of to excite him to activity For in this listless temper you are not to fear an excess of appetite (as in other cases) by cherishing it, for it is that which you want, and therefore must labour to stir up and increase, for, where there is no desire, there will be no industry

If you have not hold enough upon him this way, to excite vigour and activity in him, you must employ him in some constant bodily labour, whereby he may get a habit of doing something It were better to employ him constantly in some study to get him a habit of exercising and applying his mind But because that is an invisible attention, and nobody can tell when he is, or is not idle at it, you must find bodily employments for him, which he must be constantly busied in, and kept to And, if they have some little hardship and shame in them, it may not be the worse to make them the sooner weary him, and make him desire to return to his book the sooner, it may not be amiss, but be sure when you exchange his book for his other labours, set him such a task to be done, in such a time, as may allow him

no time to be idle Only, after you have by this way brought him to be attentive and industrious at his book, you may, upon his dispatching his study in the time set him, as a reward, give him some respite from his other labour, which you may increase as you find him grow more and more steady in his application, and at last wholly take off when his sauntering at his book is cured But if I mistake not mightily your son's temper we shall not need this remedy

My service to Madam, my wife and the rest

I am, yours,

J L

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Chipley near Taunton

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about Master Edward

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 16th March, 1690-1

DEAR SIR,

By mine to you the post before I received your kind letter of the 7th you will perceive that Monsieur's letter came to my hand Had I then had the view of your son's state so well as I have now by your letter, I should have either spared you that long trouble, or writ otherwise than I did I believe matters stand with him just as you apprehend them Monsieur, having by his lenity at first failed to establish that awe which is so very necessary in a tutor, will no doubt now have great difficulty to recover it The want of this does no doubt not a little clog our progress I foresaw it from the beginning, and more than once talked to Monsieur of it, but, whether it were good nature in him or anything else, I fear he never put on that austerity, which having once established an ascendent over the child's mind, he might afterwards have safely been as familiar and gentle as he would

Another thing that you suspect makes master go on slowly is want of pleasure in learning, to which you add the badness of his memory To cure what is curable in this case I think we ought diligently and carefully to enquire into the root and

bottom, as far as we can, and see from whence any of these inconveniencies spring

1st As to his carriage to his tutor it should be carefully examined, whether it be contempt of his person, an opinion of his ignorance, presuming on his lenity, or an aversion to learning, that makes him have so little a regard to him When you have, by your own observation as well as talking with Monsieur and the child, made a certain and clear judgment in this point, I doubt not but if you and Monsieur join your forces this will be cured well enough, for I understand he stands mightily in awe of you

2nd As to his not very much liking his book, pray consider what I writ in my last, and observe whether he who is a little cool in his studies be warm, intent, and vigorous in other things, where he has the freedom to follow his own inclinations, and whether he will play heartily and with all his might And next, if you can, pray inform yourself, whether he more dislikes his tutor because of his book, or his book because of his tutor When we know these things I cannot but think the remedy easily attainable The hardest part is that of his memory How to mend that natural faculty, if it be any way weak, I confess, I scarce know Though I doubt not but time and health will by degrees restore it in him, for I look on it as an effect of his dangerous fever How to assist it I know ways, but they lying more in order and method of thought than anything else, I doubt whether a child be capable of any advantage by them

Two things mightily please me in your letter, one is that you find in him no inclination at all to anything that is ill This carries with it the promises of a great deal of satisfaction from your son A good man will bring you more comfort than a great scholar, and very ordinary parts with a good disposition will make a better and more useful man than great abilities with vicious inclinations The only odds would be, if that were the case, that he imbibes knowledge slowly, that there should be chosen out for him only the most necessary, and the rest be let alone But by the other thing you tell me, I do not see that is like to be our case I am mightily pleased to hear he understands arithmetic so well, not only as it is a part of knowledge that will be very useful to him all his life, but as a mark of the

goodness of his parts, for that is a science not to be gotten without memory and reason I would have him by constant exercise more or less every day be well confirmed in it When at your leisure you have been able to satisfy yourself of those other things we will then bethink ourselves what is to be done In the meantime let him proceed in Latin And if he knows longitude and latitude perfectly upon the globes, and how to apply it to particular maps, and thereby find their situation on the globe, I mean the countries these maps are of, he will have geography enough by looking in the maps or globe, for those countries and places he reads of in history, or the gazettes To which if Monsieur can add a general view of chronology, if it be but of those two epochs, the Julian period and the year of Christ, it will be enough But of this I shall write to him, and hope this summer will be so favourable to me as to let me see you at Chipley

I am much indebted to you for your great care in my affairs I am at a loss where to find one to look after my concerns at Pensford, if my cousin Stratton give it up, but I will not now tire you any longer My service to your lady I hope she received the letter I writ to her in your absence I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful humble servant,

J Locke

My kindest love to my wife, and master and the rest All here are well My Lady herself writes to-day to Mrs Clarke and sends her own compliments If you take any notice of anything to your son, pray do it very sparingly and very gently, till we have resolved together what course to take Only observe as much as you can, which you will do the more the less you interpose

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq., Member of Parliament, at Chipley near Taunton
Frank

[*Endr*] J L touching my son and his tutor, etc Received the 22nd March, 1690-1

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, the 8th July, 1691

DEAR SIR,

By the last post I answered your letter of the 22nd of June, which by reason of my absence from home for about a fortnight past, came but then newly to my hands I have therein fully answered my Lady's question stated in your letter, and hope it will go straight to your hands And because I had not then time to acquaint you what discourse I had with Mr Stratton, and what other enquiries I made into your concerns in that neighbourhood, I take this first opportunity to tell you, that though Mr Stratton be actually removed to Bristol with his wife and family, and become a settled inhabitant there, yet he hath hitherto, and promises me to continue, to take the same care of your concerns as formerly, until he can have an opportunity of settling his accompts with you Which he is now so hotly bent upon, that all that I could say to him was but barely sufficient to prevent his putting himself to the charge and trouble of making a journey to Oates, on purpose to pass his accompts with you By which, and by his leaving his trade of tanning, and quitting his other country affairs, and retiring into the city, where he hath no employment, I guess, he hath now so much time upon his hands, that he doth not well know how to dispose of himself If in hindering him from this unnecessary chargeable and troublesome journey, the expense of which would I presume one way or other have been expected from you, I have done amiss, pray correct me in your next as for an error in judgment, not in will

The repairs most absolutely necessary about the house at Bel[u]ton are finished And I find upon enquiry that the agents for Mr Popham have for several months past foreborne to dig any more coal on your tenement And as I am informed, they pretend a readiness to make a reasonable satisfaction for any damage you or your tenants have sustained by their coal works there Therefore I have now again desired and pressed Mr Stratton to inform himself of the particular damages already sustained by you, and be in a condition to make the same appear by proof, in case there shall be occasion for it

[1] Lovelace Collection

This is all material that at present occurs to my memory touching your affairs in those parts And now give me leave to observe to you that Madam's humour for the boarding-school continues, and I believe nothing but the conversation of her friends and acquaintances in London will change her opinion or resolutions in that matter It is an affair that I am as much silent in as possible I can, but dare not contradict nor argue against it

Monsieur, I hope, is very industrious to improve my son, and with care hath amended in a great measure what in my last discourse with you I complained of He and the child and your wife, and all the rest of the younger fry, with Madam and myself, are as much your servants as you can wish, and do all passionately desire your company here In every one of your letters pray give us repeated assurances of your intentions of seeing Chipley this summer, that if we should be so unfortunate to miss that real happiness, yet we may not want the good effects that the expectation of your company will certainly produce in the government of the family here I am,

your faithful friend and servant,
EDW CLARKE

Pray give our hearty services to my Lady and all at Oates, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke 8th July, 1691 To 18[th July]

## *Clarke to Lady Masham*

London, 15th September, 1691

I presume Mr Locke hath acquainted your Ladyship that my wife and I and our three eldest children are now in town, and hath done us the right to present our humble services to Sir Francis and your Ladyship, and hath likewise informed you of my intentions to have waited on you, but the constant indisposition of Mrs Clarke laboured under will not I find (at least until after she is delivered) admit one that happiness And, indeed, it is that makes me under the necessity of begging that by letter which otherwise I would have done in person It is for your Ladyship's leave that my son may wait upon you, and spend a few days at Oates now whilst Mr Locke is in the country

with you And likewise let me deal plainly and like an old friend with you, my design being to give Mr Locke an opportunity of observing what improvements the child hath made under his tutor, and also the tutor's conduct in the management and education of him, in all which I am wholly incapable of making any judgment, being altogether a stranger to the French language And therefore beg your permission to make use of this opportunity for my satisfaction in these particulars And do also intreat you to be my advocate to Mr Locke, and so to present my desires to him (which are of great concern to me) that he may not be uneasy in the gratifying me therein, nor think me encroaching on his friendship by desiring such a trouble of him, especially since I do it by you for whom I know he has so great a respect If you can pardon me for this freedom and at any time give me an opportunity to serve you it will be a great addition to all your former obligations you have laid on

your most humble servant,
EDWARD CLARKE

Pray accept mine and my wife's humble services, and present the same to Sir Francis, your mother, Mr Locke, and the rest of your good family at Oates

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 15th September, 1691

DEAR SIR,

At the importunity of my son I have promised him the liberty of waiting on my Lady Masham and yourself at Oates, and therefore beg the favour of you by a line or two to let me know what stay you are like to make there before you next return hither, to the end he may be certain to find you there when I send him, and at what place he may be set down to be afterwards conveyed to Oates most conveniently, and where the coaches stand here in town You will therein lay a further obligation upon

your most faithful friend and servant

I have no news but what Dyer's letter will inform you in

[1] This note forms a part of the preceding letter to Lady Masham

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 9th October, 1691

DEAR SIR,

I hope this will find you, Madam, and the children all in health according to their several conditions I got safe and well hither, where you and your family are remembered with all manner of kindness, and was asked why Master was not come with me, and when you would send him My Lady charges me to let you know how sensible she is of the great care and pains you have taken in her business, and how much she owes you for having brought it to so happy a conclusion

Let me hear from you constantly by Saturday and Tuesday post (for Thursday's comes not hither but with Saturday's), how you all do My humble service to Madam and my wife My Lady presents her service to Mrs Clarke, and is glad to hear she and her little son are so well She wishes her much joy of him I am,

Sir,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J LOCKE

Searching just now in my pocket I found the enclosed paper, which I forgot to deliver to my Lord Monmouth when I saw him at Parsons Green He was busy when I came to him in the garden, but promised to carry me to town with him, whither he was going to dinner This put off all talk with him then, he telling me he would call me in my Lady's chamber, whither I went to make her my visit When my Lord came they both agreed I must stay and dine with my Lady, so I was left and this paper forgot I know not whether it be not now too late However, I send it you

Pray direct and send the enclosed

[*Endr*] J L for me to write to him Tuesdays and Saturdays. Received the 12th October, 1691

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 21st October, 1691

DEAR SIR,

I presume Madam and the children are all well, or else I should have heard from you by Saturday's post, though I

should have been better satisfied had I received it from your own hand

My papers have now all that I at present can think of on those subjects They only want transcribing If I can have time enough I would willingly examine two or three little treatises I have here concerning those matters, and answer any objections in them that may deserve it I am sure some of them have a good deal of nonsense in them I writ to you the last week for the two things you suggested to me in my chamber which I cannot recollect

I herewith send you a lease sent me by my cousin Stratton to execute If I mistake not it is very sillily drawn and needs mending, for I think for all there said he may shroud all my trees, and plough what he pleases of my land I desire you, therefore, if it needs to, amend the draft, and then give it to Mr Pawling to engross for me, desiring him to dispatch it as soon as he can

My Lady presents her service to you, and so do all the good company here You are desired to mind Mr Andrews again not to deliver up the mortgage, but to give back the counterpart if it be mentioned to him

I have also a question to ask you, viz whether the person that has an action of waste can sue the person against whom the action lies without arresting him

Pray present my humble service to Madam, my wife, and the young folk I hope you and they are very well

I am,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My service to Mr S, to Sir W Y, and J F

[*Endr*] J L about the lease sent from Mr Stratton Received by Syll the 21st October, 1691 Answered by Syll the 22nd

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 23rd November, 1691

Dear Sir,

We all arrived here safe on Saturday in the evening, and Master, with the rest of the good company here, is very well, and presents his duty to you and his mother My Lady presents

her service to you and Mrs Clarke, and orders me to return her thanks to you both for trusting your son with her, who is very welcome to her, and whom by her discourse with me I find she likes mightily By what you said to me in haste upon the stairs going down just at our parting I do not well know what you expect from me concerning his return But this you may be sure nobody here, and I as little as anyone, will set bounds to his stay, and I hope you do not look for it from me I should be out of countenance if I thought you did

I have herewith sent you one sheet of Æsop's *Fables* done as is designed The words with one line under them are to be in *italic*, those with two being such as have none answering them in the other language are to be in *Gothic* Pray let Awnsham Churchill have it as soon as you can, for he intends to offer it the company of stationers at their next court, and if they will not do it themselves he will compound with them and do it himself And I had much rather he would print it than that they should, because I would have it printed in a fair character and on good paper My most humble service to Madam, and my love to my wife and Miss Nanny I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful and most humble servant,

J Locke

It was time for you to do your office and drive me out of town I find I was very ill, but fancy myself better already Never did anyone invite or retain his friends with so much kindness as you drive away me When you see any of our friends at Whitehall, or about the Temple, pray present my service to them

There is another reason besides what I mentioned above why I should have Awnsham Churchill print it, and that is, that the first sheet may then be printed presently, which may be had for present use before the whole book can be finished, and, therefore, you having some concernment in it, you may do well to talk with Mr Churchill yourself I will give you my pains, but it must be at leisure hours, for I have other things to do that will not permit me to make it my business and to do it as it should be, and when it is writ fair to line and correct it

Pray do me the favour to leave the enclosed at Mr. Pawling's

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 3rd December [1691]

DEAR SIR,

I came safe hither yesterday, where I found Master and everybody well, and I fancy myself a little better already, though I feel my lungs yet cruelly oppressed Though I find everybody here in love with Master and particularly my Lady, who makes account of keeping him till Mrs Clarke comes to fetch him, now that Syl has told her that Madam intends to make her a visit, yet I think it convenient you should send for them away as soon as conveniently you can Do not perplex yourself to find out the reason why I have so much changed my opinion since I parted with you You will not guess at it, and I promise you to explain it to you hereafter, only I assure you in the meantime that the child has behaved himself very well, and there is nothing in it that will when you know it trouble you in the least And therefore pray be sure not to alarm Madam, but find some reasons to satisfy her, why you send for him away sooner than perhaps she understood you intended If you can find no better, you may tell her you hear there is company coming suddenly hither, and that they here will be straitened in room, but if you can find other reasons of your own, it will perhaps be better You may if you think fit to-morrow in the evening take places for them for Monday next in London in the Bishop Stortford coach at the Pewter Pot in Leadenhall Street, and by the same coachman send a letter to me with one enclosed to Master, directed to be left with Mr Harison at the Crown in Harlow, to be sent to Oates from thence by an express You may also (for fear that should miscarry) write by Saturday's post, and enclose it in one to Mr Jocelin, to tell him you have taken two places for your son and his tutor, who are at Oates, in the Bishop Stortford coach, and desire him to speak with the master of the coach, and let him know they shall be ready to meet the coach at Harlow on Monday next by nine of the clock, and desire him to send away by an express the letter enclosed to me or your son

You must present my Lady's service to Madam, and excuse her that she returns not an answer by Sir Francis now to Madam's

kind letter Sir Francis only called here this morning in his return, but stayed so little while that she could not possibly get any time to write by him, and so is forced to defer it till to-morrow She presents her service to you Pray give my service to Madam and the children, and be assured I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

Whoever goes to take places for them at the Pewter Pot must speak with the Bishop Stortford coachman himself, and set down their names, and tell him that coming from Oates they shall be taken up at Harlow on Monday morning But if this be too much trouble, and you have nobody you can send to-morrow night to the Pewter Pot who will do it right, you may do all as well by Mr Jocelin at Bishop Stortford, who may take the places there, and send word of it to me hither by the same messenger that comes express to bring your letter from Bishop Stortford hither

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter about sending for my son from Oates, etc Received the 3rd December, 1691

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 4th December [1691]

Dear Sir,

I suspect I surprised you yesterday by the letter Sir Francis brought you, and I fear I shall draw a quarrel on me from my Lady, who designing to keep Master here till his mother came down (for she and everybody else here are mightily pleased with the child) will certainly be very angry with me if she imagine I had any hand in his removal so soon We must therefore manage the two women in this case that there be no suspicion of unkindness on either side, and you must find out reasons to satisfy my Lady for sending for your son as well as to satisfy Mrs Clarke And you must take it wholly upon you as the sole cause of taking him away so soon Though I own to you that I am it And I know nobody but myself who would not be very glad to have him here much longer And yet I hope you do not

think me weary of him Rest satisfied till I see you that there is nothing in the case that ought anyway to give you the least thought And I should not like it so well if I did not think it conduced to the end you proposed when we talked together in the Speaker's chamber Pray send the enclosed sealed when you have read it to mend your own by My Lady and everybody here present their service to you Master is very well and presents his duty My service to your lady My love to my wife, and remember me to all my friends

I am, perfectly yours,

J Locke

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 7th December, 1691

Dear Sir,

Your orders concerning your son have been obeyed, though to the great dissatisfaction of my Lady, who is not well pleased that you have sent for him away so soon I have told her the reasons you writ, but that does not content her She was really pleased with the child's company, and would fain have had it longer , and thinks, besides, that she having such obligations to you she might have presumed on you for a greater stay than this And I think Madam is doubly bound to make her amends

Upon examination of your son I cannot own that he has made all the proficiency I could have wished, or you might justly have expected Mr Passebon himself is of the same mind Where the fault is I cannot certainly say Mr Passebon lays it wholly on the child's negligence and obstinacy and unconquerable aversion to him He professes his great pains about him, and endeavours to be advantageous to him, and I believe he speaks truth But withal he adds that it is not reasonable that you should be any longer at the charge to keep about your son a man that is not like to do him good, and who despairs to answer the expense by a suitable success Though when he quits this employment he has nothing to subsist till he can find another, yet he cannot consent you should be deceived in your expectation concerning your son, but advises you, either to get an Englishman that speaks French who possibly may have more authority with him, or else put him to your French maid's

brother to school, where emulation might excite his industry The poor man spoke this with tears in his eyes, and this way of proceeding has so much of fairness and ingenuity in it in his circumstances, that it extremely moved me , and if I had wanted any inclination before to do him any kindness it would certainly have forced it upon me He spoke to me also to represent this so to you, that you and Mrs Clarke should not take amiss of him the giving up the conduct of your son, not being able to satisfy himself in the want of that success, which he has in vain laboured for, and which has made him very uneasy And the trial being now carried as far as he can, he has given up his hopes I undertook to him for your favourable interpretation and acceptance of this so open and direct a way of dealing with you, and for the continuation of your friendship And I doubt not but you will be ready (as I shall always be) to do him all the good offices you can upon any occasion I know not what you will think of him for a tutor, but this I dare say you will join with me in thinking him one of the fairest men you have met with of his nation, and one that deserves best to be kindly treated and taken care of

He has spoken to me again about his marine manuscripts If you or J[ohn] F[reke] can help him with Churchill, Basset, or any other bookseller, who will give him money for them, I know you will, to which I will help all I can 'Tis more to be wished than hoped, that Mrs Lockhart could help him to any little place to make him subsist at Court There is one Mr Cunningham of her acquaintance, who speaks French well if I mistake not, whom I have heard several people speak very well of I know him but not long enough to know his character, but I judge him above the ordinary size He is a Scotchman and newly returned from travelling with a young gentleman, who as I think died beyond sea I know not what he would undertake nor his rate But I am sure it is worth your enquiring after, and by Mrs Lockhart I think you may do it

My humble service to Madam, whom I hope to see here speedily Let me know when My love to my wife and Miss Nanny I am,

Dear Sir,

yours,

J Locke

I had forgot to tell you that Mr Passebon spoke very respectfully of you and Mrs Clarke, and expressed a great sense of your civility to him

Everybody here present their service to you and Madam

I mentioned above Mr Passebon's manuscripts, but asking of Syl what part of the room they lay in where my books are, that I might direct Mr Pawling where to find them and deliver them to him, he tells me he does not remember to have seen them there lately, and that he remembers I bound and sealed them up, and thinks I locked them up too If it be so Mr Passebon must blame himself if he cannot have them till I come to town, for if he had spoken to me when I was there he had then been sure of them However, I have writ to Mr Pawling to look for them among my books, and if he can find them to deliver them to you

In the book you commend so much, p 91, l ult , read *cheaper* Tell A[wnsham] C[hurchill] [1]

[*Addr* ] For Edward Clarke, Esq , Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

[*Endr* ] Mr Locke and Lady Masham about Monsieur and Master Edward, etc Received 8th December, 1691

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 11th December, 1691

DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter of 8th gives me little satisfaction in the news it brings me of your toiling to no purpose do your endeavours cheerfully, and they not being your faults vex not yourself with disappointments Your compliments I have delivered to my Lady, but for all that she is dissatisfied with your so suddenly sending for your son, and the more that you say nothing of Madam's keeping her word You say nothing to me concerning Master and his tutor, which is an affair you know I am more concerned for than all your compliments If I knew what were your present resolution in that case I should have something to propose to you I know not whether Monsieur told you of a proposition he made to a citizen of Cambridge the

[1] Paper is torn

morning he went from hence, which was to come to Cambridge at Xmas and live with him to teach his son French

In one of the enclosed you will see the great faults that are to be amended, without which the sense cannot be understood Make C sensible of it, and take the note of him he promised to give, that after this edition the copy is mine, and at my disposal I hope you have given Sir Francis one, but with due caution If not, pray let him have one, and let me know what you hear of it The other enclosed I would not trouble you with, but that it lies in your way, and I would be glad you would talk with Mr Pawling about his business which he tells me he hopes will begin to move now My humble service to Madam My love to my wife and Miss Nanny I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Monsieur and my son, etc Received 14th December, 1691 Answered fully the 15th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 15th December, 1691

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 11th with those enclosed for Mr Pawling and Mr Churchill came safely to me, which I sealed and left them at their houses, they being both abroad when I went to speak with them And I will make use of the first opportunity I can get to take the note of him, which he promised to give after this edition touching the copy, etc I have given Sir Francis one, and have disposed of four or five more so advantageously in the House that it is already a doubt whether the Bill for Lowering the Interest of Money will ever be read a second time or not, and all that have read the *Considerations* [2] are clearly of opinion the arguments therein are abundantly sufficient to destroy that bill, and all future attempts of the like kind I hear the whole treatise generally much approved of and commended, for the many useful notions therein touching *money*, *trade* and *taxing*

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] Locke, *Some considerations of the consequences of lowering the interest and raising the value of money* 1691

And there have been very particular enquiries to know the author And I must tell you that there have been many that have shrewdly guessed at him, and some I believe there are who mightily commend the ingenuity of the author, yet I believe would hardly forgive him for some parts of his book were he known And so much for that

Monsieur has hitherto carefully avoided all opportunity of talking with me since his return from Oates, and has not said one word to me touching any discourse you had with him in the country about my son, nor hath he mentioned anything of the proposal he made the citizen of Cambridge, etc , nor have I as yet thought fit to begin any discourse with him upon the subject of the child's education, being not as yet provided with a conveniency to dispose of him to my satisfaction in the manner I mentioned to you before you went last out of town in which resolution I shall still continue, unless you give me reason to alter my opinion in that matter, therefore, pray let me know what it is that (you say) you have to propose to me And therein you will lay a further obligation upon

your most affectionate and faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

Pray give and take Madam's, and mine, and all the young folks' humble services to my Lady and yourself, and the rest of the good company at Oates And let my Lady know that the true reason why my wife hath not as yet performed her promise, is because the girls are not yet placed out, by reason of the Frenchwoman's indisposition where they were to go, etc

Not a word of the Parliament, etc

[*Addr* ] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's-Stortford Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr* ] F Clarke 15th December, 1691

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 18th December [1691]

DEAR SIR,

I am very glad to hear anything will do any good to any man in any matter in this age , and I believe what you say in

the conclusion of that part of your letter, that some who commend his ingenuity would not yet forgive him if they knew him, therefore, pray, when you talk with my Lord Ashley caution him in that point

The proposal I had to make to you concerning your son I forbore to mention because I would neither stop nor hasten your parting with Monsieur, having brought the matter to that pass you desired and put it into your hands to do it without difficulty, or any appearance of displeasure in you, when you pleased But since you desire me to let you know, what it is that which I intended to propose to you when Monsieur's leaving your son was agreed was this, that before he went into other hands I would be glad to have him here with me some time by himself to try his temper and see whether he has that aversion to his book Monsieur complains of, or whether it were only to him and his method And whether it be sauntering and listlessness, or intention upon play, and such wandering of thoughts as is suitable to his age, that makes him less intent (if he be so) than we would have him in his studies I am willing to have him here with me so long as to make this trial before he went under a new tuition, believing it might be of some use for the future method of his education, which you cannot doubt but I am concerned should [be] managed to all the advantages of his temper and parts Besides, too, that this would mightily gratify my Lady, who is very fond of the child, and earnestly desires to have him here again She presents her service to Mrs Clarke, and is sorry anything has stopped her intended visit, but she hopes, she says, it will not be long ere the hindrance she mentions will be removed, and that then she may expect the performance of her promise Pray give my humble service to her, my wife, and the rest of the young folk I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful humble servant,

J Locke

Your answer is desired to the enclosed case

I intend to dispose of my money somewhere or other where it may turn to advantage, possibly in the East India Company, if I find you make a good regulation in it I mention it to you that if it may be without inconvenience I would desire to have the money that is in your hands

My letter to A C was not of that consequence but you might have sent it by John Pray let him have those other corrections which I send as I meet with Correct your own book by them

Pray thank Master in my name for his civil and obliging letter to me, which I shall one of these days not fail to answer

My Lady presents her service to you, and Master, and his sisters, and will not be long without answering your and his letter

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs. Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke touching my son, etc, and his money Received the 21st December, 1691 Answered fully the 22nd in all particulars

## *Locke to Clarke*[1]

Oates, 27th December [1691]

DEAR SIR,

[Mr Fur]ley is here, and returning to town again He mentioned to me Monsieur Soveraigne as the person with whom you were like to place your son, and told me at his coming hither that you desired my opinion of it The man I have heard well spoken of formerly, and if he will undertake the conduct of him, you know I like that way much better than a public school If you be satisfied about the character of the man, which I suppose you may have from Mr Popple, whom as I remember I have formerly heard speak of him Whether he go to Soveraigne or anybody else, I would be glad we might preserve as much of our method of education as could be, and at least not perplex him with grammar, much less with themes, declamations, and making of verses, but only reading and translating prose authors, beginning with those of the [easier sort, and] so proceeding to harder This I think you would do well to discourse beforehand with the person you have under consideration, to see whether he be not superstitiously wedded to the methods he himself was educated in, for from such a man I should not expect much And this, if he speak no English, you may do by

[1] This letter is in fragments

Mr Popple or my Lord Ashley I shall be very glad to have him here with me some time before he [begins with his tutor] to see as much as I can of his parts and temper [1]

My Lord Ashley has afforded us the honour of his company

I know not how Madam will answer it to my Lady, if she make not [an effort to keep] her promise I wish her, and you, and all your flock a happy new year, and withal an increase of the advantages of this life My service to her, and my wife, Master and Miss Nanny I thank you for the resolution of the case I sent you, and am,

Dear Sir,

perfectly yours,

J Locke

My service to Sir Walter [Yonge] and the family, to Mr Sov, to Mr Popple and his, and J[ohn] F[reke] I admire your opinion concerning the clause added by the Lords to the Bill of Treason I wish myself with you for an hour, but desire you to consider that what they propose (if I am rightly informed in it) is what is of great advantage to the Commons of England

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 6th January, 1691[-2]

Dear Sir,

I steal so much time from a houseful of people, who are keeping Christmas here to-day, as to thank you for your kind letter of the 2nd, and to tell Madam that I shall be very glad to see her here, as soon as her business will let her, as I know my Lady will be Master also will be very welcome to her, and to me, you know more than upon one account, because I hope it may give me an opportunity to do you or him, or both, some little service

I know you will never need any justification to me or anybody else in what you do, having I am satisfied no other aim than the public good, but I mistake very much if I could not convince you that the thing in question between us, and that

[1] Several lines are here illegible

you are against, is very much so, even granting the design to be such as it appears to you For I ask you, who are those who ever did and ever shall be aptest to fall under the prosecution of that law, even in this reign, and all those we can foresee? When you have resolved yourself that question, then do what you think fit

I wish you a happy new year, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

Pray send away the enclosed by Tuesday post, and excuse me for giving you the trouble

My most humble service to Madam, my wife, and the rest, to all whom I wish a happy new year

[*Endr*] J L about coming to Oates, etc Received the 8th January, 1691 Answered the 12th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 22nd January, 1692

DEAR SIR,

I am always best pleased when my friends recover from any inconvenience in their health without the use of my prescriptions But yet if there be any suspicion of the stone, or gravel, in Madam's case, as I fear, I think she would do well to follow my direction, especially it being so agreeable a breakfast, and possibly it may be of use to her though there be nothing of the stone However, I am glad she is well again

As to the hint you have desired of me, my Lady has talked of going to town during this session of Parliament ever since the beginning of it, and by what I can discover, if she goes at all thinks the session so near drawing to a conclusion that it is time now to come to some resolution Sir Francis, I understand, intends to be here the beginning of the next week, and then if the intended journey to London holds, I suppose it will be soon after, and then I know not how Madam's journey hither at the time you mention will suit I conclude upon Sir Francis coming down their measures will be taken, and then I hope by him at his return I shall be able to give you a clear account so that

there may be no doubt concerning this matter But in the meantime you must not take the least notice, either of my Lady's intended journey to town, nor of Sir Francis's coming out of town to anybody , no, not so much as to Madam, but hold her journey in suspense upon some other pretences, till you hear from me again

Pray send me word what your Act for an East India Company is like to be, and what are the heads of the regulation

If my Lady Shaftesbury be come to town I must beg leave to put you in mind of speaking to her effectually about the affair of Kingston farm

You have forgot to tell me what I enquired concerning the story of the idiot, and what happened on it

My humble service to Madam, and Master, and pray let the enclosed at your leisure be delivered with all the kind words you have I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most faithful servant,

J Locke

My service to Monsieur Passebon, and thanks for his compliment at the bottom of Betty's letter

[*Endr*] J L to know the heads on which the East India Company is to be established, etc Received the 25th January, 1691

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Dear Sir, London, 23rd January, 1691-2

The enclosed was publicly delivered in the Court of Requests, by which you may see to what height that business is carried But nothing is sufficient to make some men wise For news I can only tell you That the reasons of my Lord Marlborough's being turned out of All are not yet publicly known, but the general discourse is of a cock-pit-design A little time will, I presume, discover the secret, and experience will convince that there ought to be no medium between turning him out and putting him in the Tower

This day the Bill for Reducing the Interest of Money to 5 per cent passed the House of Commons Several attempts were

[1] Lovelace Collection

had upon the first, second and third reading of the bill to have thrown it out, wherein all imaginable reasons were used to that end In which debates I was not a little pleased to hear all the arguments used that are contained in the *Considerations upon Lowering the Interest of Money*, whereby it was manifest to me that the greatest and best men in our House were obliged to that treatise for all the arguments they used in these debates But I am satisfied if an angel from heaven had managed the debate the votes would have been the same as now For it is not reason, but a supposed benefit to the borrower that hath passed the bill, and I believe it is that will carry it through the House of Lords likewise I wish we may have better success upon the Bill of Coinage, and so I rest,

your most truly affectionate and faithful servant [1]

Madam is well, and so are the children, and they all join with me in their hearty services to my Lady and yourself, and all the rest of the good family at Oates, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 23rd January, 1691-2

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 27th January, 1692

DEAR SIR,

Whether the supposed soon rising of the Parliament with this present sharp weather or any other reason hath changed that resolution, I have reason to conclude the London journey is quite off for this time So that now there is no manner of hindrance to Madam's purpose on this side, nor pretence for not keeping her promise But of this, as I cautioned you in my last, pray take no notice to anybody

The printed paper you sent me enclosed in yours of the 23rd vexes me cruelly I mean the whole business I always saw inconvenience in it, and did what I could Pray send me word what is like to come of it, and present my most humble service on all occasions

[1] No signature

Though I felt benefit from the fresh air as soon as I came into it, yet the impressions were made on my lungs when last in town stuck so hard that I got them off but very slowly, and it is but lately that I am got quite free of them

Perhaps I agree with you in thinking there ought to be no medium between the two things you mention, but yet you must needs approve constancy to a method all of a piece I cannot (you may imagine) be displeased with what you say about the debates concerning the bill of interest Sir Charles Harbord once made a motion in the house that all who wore perukes should pay for it in the tax, but after having sat still a little he rose again and told the Speaker he recalled that motion, because casting his eyes about the house he saw there were more members wore perukes than there were that did not But what if those who expect a benefit should find themselves mistaken! Sure there can be no such mistaken interest for the bill of coinage I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful servant,

J Locke

My Lady and I and all here send greeting to you, and Madam, and all there The Cambridge man, who treated with Mr Passebon for coming to his house, has now changed his mind and sent him word not to come

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 29th January, 1692

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 30th January [1692]

Dear Sir,

By Sir Francis I gave you an account that the London journey being over, and so no obstructions any longer on this side, I now expected Madam's promise to be performed speedily

I thank you for the votes you sent me, but am in doubt yet what will become of that regulation and company, for I conclude it will not be brought to an act this session

Having an opportunity by Sir Francis's man to send this to town I have made bold to trouble you with the enclosed If Dr Thomas be in town I know you will hear of him He promised to be there this month and before this time If he be not yet come, pray give his as well as the other letter to my

cousin Stratton in to the post with your own Sir Francis's man comes not out of town till Tuesday or Wednesday, which you may know of Sir Francis I mention this because it may perhaps be of some use to show Madam the way hither, if you can make the time suit My service to her and your young folk I am,

Sir,

your most faithful servant,

J Locke

My letter to my cousin Stratton puts me in mind of his neighbour Mr Jones, to whom I designed one of the books which, whilst I now think of, I desire you at your leisure to take from A C and convey to Mr Jones when you meet with an opportunity

[*Endr*] Mr Locke with letter enclosed to Doctor Thomas and Mr Stratton, etc Received the 1st February, 1691[-2] Answered the 2nd

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 5th February, 1691-2

Dear Sir,

If Madam resolve to come in the stage coach, the best place to set down at is Harlow, where your son was both set down and taken up by the Bishop Stortford coach Thither I will take care my Lady's coach shall go to meet her on Tuesday next, if we hear nothing to the contrary on Monday You need make no apology to my Lady for the trouble of such visitants She was indeed troubled when Master went away, and has been every post since enquiring impatiently when he would come again, and when Mrs Clarke would make good her promise She presents you and Mrs Clarke her service

I thank you for talking with my Lady Shaftesbury in my affair But I ask you, whether it would not be reasonable to have my security enlarged by my Lord Ashley, with or without her now when he is of age, for, should he die, the hands I might fall into might possibly have little regard to his grandfather's intention or honour Pray let me know your opinion I am,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to Madam and the rest, and my love and

thanks to my dear wife, whose kind letter I have not now time to answer

Honest Davie thinks every one should know as well as himself where he lies, and therefore has said nothing to me of it, which makes me trouble you with the enclosed

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about enlarging his security for his annuity, etc
Received the 8th February, 1691-2

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 20th February, 1691-2

DEAR SIR,

My Lady Masham has this one trouble more to beg of you in her affair, and then she hopes she has quite done You will in a black box receive by Mrs Clarke these following writings

(1) Sir Francis Masham's deeds of mortgage by lease and release to Sir Walter [Yonge], etc, for the raising of £600 for Mrs Margaret Masham

(2) A bond from Sir Francis Masham

(3) Assignment of Sir Francis Masham's mortgage to Richard Andrews and Samuel Cudworth to protect the Lady from encumbrances, dated 5th October, 1691

(4) Dr Walker's receipt for £600, dated 5th October, 1691

(5) Sir Francis Masham's declaration that Dr bonds for £600 deposited in Sir Edward Abney's hands were to remain there for his [protection] until the encumbrances on her additional jointure were taken off

(6) Sir Francis Masham, Damaris Cudworth and John Cudworth's assignment by lease and release of Sir John Barrington's mortgage for £600 to Rich Andrews and Samuel Cudworth for securing the old encumbrances dated the 28th February, 1690-1

These writings, as you will see by the enclosed, she thinks convenient to be [placed] with Sir Paul Whichcote, who is one of her trustees, and has the writing of her marriage settlement And she thinks it best, if you [agree thereto], that these as belonging to the same matter and the other should be kept together Whether it be fit to have or demand any receipt or memorandum from Sir Paul, that he has these writings, and the other, she leaves to you She thinks it not so convenient to trouble her

brother Andrews, for he having lately brought them hither with him, and left them here, she thought it not of so good [form] to send them back again to him to be conveyed to another And therefore

She bids me tell you that she takes it kindly that your son is left here with her, and hopes he will bear with the inconveniency of the house, and says she hopes the a pledge in her hands to draw you down hither before you go into Somerset I should be very glad it might be so, for I resolve to see you before you go to Chipley, and I had rather it were here, than in London, not for the pains of the journey but the air of the place I am,

Dear Sir,

your most and humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about Lady Masham's writings with Sir P Whichcote Received the 2nd March, 1691[-2] Answered the 5th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 26th February, 1691-2

Dear Sir,

I am satisfied about your son that he wants not parts, so that if he has not made all the progress we could have desired I lay it wholly upon want of application, which as far as I can guess is owing something to a saunteringness that is in his temper, a good deal to an unsteadiness of mind which is quickly tired with a bookish attention, which he takes no great pleasure in, and a little to something of my young master I mention not any particular aversion he had to Monsieur Passebon, for I can discover nothing of that And I think all the quarrels he had with him was from a mixture of laziness and contempt and endeavour for mastery, assisted possibly by the folly and encouragements of servants, wherein he gained his point, and would no doubt have a trial of skill with any other that shall succeed him But yet though indulging to his ease it is like will make him weary and resty with any other tutor, especially if

he have hopes to tire him out, yet I look upon it as very far from being unconquerable For he does what I bid him, and has sometimes since he has been here spent several hours in the day by himself, and I suppose busy about what I set him But to obtain this I think it necessary to keep a pretty cold and constantly severe countenance to him, and when at any time he neglects and makes excuses, I show him gravely and without passion, that I see it to be an excuse, which signifies nothing but that he has had no mind to do it And sometimes I chide him, but still gravely in few words and without any passion, by which way of treatment I think he is better reconciled to his book, for he comes sometimes of himself to me to show me what he hath done and to ask what he shall do next, though he has not all the alacrity towards it I could wish, and I know not whether there be some cunning in it for fear I should represent matters so to you, that I should incline you to send him to Westminster School, of which and the discipline used there I have given him such a representation that I imagine he has no great liking to it

I know the question you will be ready to ask me, is, But what will you have me do with him? To which I answer, I should be still of my first opinion of having a tutor for him at home But that there are two great obstacles lie in the way The one is that Madam, if I am not mightily mistaken, is utterly averse to it The other is, Where shall we find a man with discretion and steadiness enough to manage him right, for he will require a constant attention and a due application to his temper

The next to this were some Frenchman's house, where he might be taken in and looked after by the man himself

The last is a French school, where the master would have a particular eye to him, and manage him with such a rein as his temper requires But which of these three is easiest to be found I cannot tell A Frenchman it must be that he may not lose the French tongue, or else perhaps I might advise you to Westminster, or some other very severe school, where if he were whipped soundly whilst you are looking out another fit tutor for him, he would perhaps be the more pliant and willing to learn at home afterwards But for the reasons above mentioned I think not of that Whosesoever hands he is put into, he must be sure to keep a steady hand upon him, for the bias lying on the lazy, wayward side he will be ready to slip from him

by all the artifices and excuses can be imagined, all which he should be constantly beat out of by admitting nothing but the thing done And the first time anything came in contest to be sure to correct him severely, and repeat it on, till his tutor perceived it had wrought upon his mind and settled the mastery That once done and he was become pliant and submissive to orders with all his industry, then not to strain him too hard, but to give him such employment, such tasks as his parts may with moderate industry dispatch, praising him when he deserves it, and finding out ingenuous recreations for his vacant times, but never letting him be saunteringly idle, but let play of some kind or other, and exercises as dancing and fencing, etc, or study take up all his time If you can anywhere enquire out a man that will follow this method you will find your son improve to your great satisfaction, and without this I fear he will have a great many unprofitable and uneasy hours, and I wish he make not you have some uneasy ones too I think Madam has not done amiss to leave him here for many reasons I shall have the more time to observe his temper, and you will be eased of the fear and trouble of having him in town without a tutor

Madam, I hope, will return to you very well, and not a penny the worse for the wearing Pray remember me kindly to my wife and sister, her mother tells me my wife has a cough, look after it betimes My humble service to all my friends that you see in your walks I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

Give me leave to mind you of your opinion concerning enlarging my security, and of the note I am to have from Mr Churchill

Monsieur Passebon desires me earnestly to return you his thanks for your great kindness to him in getting him another place

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq [1]

[*Endr*] Mr Locke of my son's temper, his disposition and capacity, and about placing him out, etc Received the 1st of March, 1691[-2] Answered the 5th

[1] With this letter there is a small outline drawing of three winged allegorical figures—Fame flying blowing trumpet, Time standing below, and another seated at a table It is signed E C, etc

*Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 29th February, 1691-2

DEAR SIR,

I am very glad Madam came safe My service to her I like all in your son, except his cough, better than whilst his mother was here His cough not amending at all I send to-day to Bishop Stortford for one to let him blood to-morrow For since his cough abates not I think that the properest remedy, and which at this time of the year can do him no harm, and his mother thought it advisable when we talked of it here As to any trouble your son is to me, you know me not as you ought, if you do not believe that were it ten times more I should take pleasure in it, whilst it is what his condition and circumstances require And as for a trouble to the house, I shall be as nice in that as you, and if I saw it was thought so by anybody, I should take this liberty with you as my friend to put an end to it For my Lady in particular I can be answerable to you, that it was her desire ever since he went from hence to have him here again And therefore, I bid you be at rest about his being here longer than is convenient as long as you hear nothing of it for me I am glad of the hopes you give me of seeing you here, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

My service and love to my wife

By a letter I received from my Lord Ashley but now I find he talks of going into the country, which makes me again mind you of your opinion concerning enlarging my security When you see my Lady Shaftesbury I desire you to ask her, whether Mr Cheswell be still to pay me, and desire of her an order to him, or who else is to pay the money And if, as you formerly intimated, you find she intends to abate anything for the tax, be pleased to let her know that I do not think my Lord her husband would have done so

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about letting my son's blood And his annuity payable by Lady Shaftesbury, etc Received 2nd March, 1691[-2] Answered the 5th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 3rd March, 1691-2

DEAR SIR,

I intended to have written to you by the last post, but was prevented by a sudden summons to appear at Mrs Elizabeth Yonge's wedding, who was that day married to Mr Beale (Mr Hunt's relation) We all remembered you kindly, and wished you with us

I am concerned to hear the child's cough continues, and that he is thereby made so much the more troublesome to you, but am infinitely obliged to my Lady and you to dispense withal for my sake I am very glad to understand that you intended to have him bleeded, and whatever further you think fit to have done, I shall thankfully acquiesce therein as the best and most proper means for his cure Pray give my humble service and thanks to Sir Francis and my Lady, and acquaint my Lady that I have placed her deeds and writings with Sir P Whichcote, and have taken a receipt from him of these last, and those formerly delivered to him, which I shall keep by me until I have an opportunity by a safe hand to convey it to you

I have this week been twice at my Lady Shaftesbury's to have spoken with her about the payment of your annuity, but missed her both times However, that shall not discourage me from repeating my visits, until I can be so fortunate as to speak with her, and then you shall not fail to have a further account from me I have also duly considered the proposal touching the enlarging of the security for your annuity, and upon the whole matter do think it most advisable for you to attempt it, being satisfied that should my Lord Ashley die you would immediately have the farm of Kingston turned upon your hands for your satisfaction, but as long as my Lord lives I reckon you are safe in his promise, which upon another occasion in discourse my Lord was voluntarily pleased to renew to me The method for doing this, whether by your writing to my Lord, and my delivery of it, or by my application to him on your behalf, or by any other way, you think most proper, I submit to your better judgment And assure you that I shall most heartily and

[1] Lovelace Collection

willingly serve you therein, and shall joyfully embrace every opportunity wherein I may show how much I am,

Dear Sir,

your most truly affectionate and faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Endr*] E Clarke 5th March, 1691-2

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 7th March, 1691-2

DEAR SIR,

I wish my daughter much joy, pray let her know it with my service to her, Sir Walter, and the whole family

Master was let blood on Friday, since which he finds his cough better, but yet not so gone as I could wish, but I hope a little time will do it I need not, I hope, tell you, that I shall do with him just as if he were my own And for his being here, I find it a satisfaction and not a trouble, and my Lady thanks you for it Sir Francis is now at Chelmsford assizes

My Lady thanks you for the trouble you have taken and care about her writings, and hopes she shall receive Sir Paul's receipt from your own hands

I thank you for your care about my annuity Your advice about increasing the security I look on to be very good and shall follow it

If Master has somebody that will constantly drive him, but so as to apply right to his temper by mixing reason and liberty by intervals with his books, I imagine he may be brought to do something, and the principle (which we want) of industry and love of reputation be put into him This makes me, notwithstanding Madam's aversion to a tutor, tell you that La Treill is now quite off from Mr Vane, and in town, and may be had You may in the meantime (till I write to my Lord Ashley about him, which I shall do the next post in answer to what he has desired of me for him, and you shall see it) inform yourself of my Lord Ashley concerning him, who knows him very well and speaks mightily in his commendation His ability I doubt not, his temper is that which I would have you chiefly inform yourself of, and whether he will willingly follow a method that you shall choose for your son This I could not forbear to mention to you,

because I find people speak so well of him and what he has done with Mr Vane's children J Freke also (to whom pray remember me kindly) will, I suppose, be able to give you a good and impartial account of him

Pray give my humble service to Madam, with my thanks for her kind letter The gardener's boy she mentions I fear is in danger of a consumption At present I think it best he should wholly forbear all wine and beer, and drink nothing but water, or sometimes a little milk with it, eat very little flesh, but the chief of his diet to be water gruell, well-boiled with bread in it, and sometimes milk If I find anything to be added to it Madam shall have it by the next post, when I intend to make my acknowledgments to her for the favour of her letter more in form But now I am summoned to make ready for dinner, and the letters go away presently after I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

My service to my wife and her sister

My Lady desires you when you see Mr Robert King to inquire of him what his sister's portion is, or what he will make it She says if he will (as he offered not long since) make it £4000, she thinks she can propose a very good match for her She knows not whether £3500 will do, and therefore would not have you mention anything under £4000 to Mr King, but try what he will be brought to

Sir Francis desired me before he went to Chelmsford to desire you to send to Serjeant Tophams in his name for all the Acts of Parliament that were passed by the King with the Pole bill They were not printed when he came out of town, and so he could not then have them Serjeant Tophams, he says, lives in a little paved court towards the lower end of Holborn, almost over against Hatton Garden

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about my son and Le Traile, and Lady Masham to know Mrs King's fortune, etc Received the 9th March, 1691(-2)

*Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 11th March, 1691-2

DEAR SIR,

The hopes you gave me in your last of seeing you the next week pleased me at first sight extremely, but when I reflected on it again, and thought how probable it might be that you intended to take back your son with you, I was a little at a stand, desire to see you urging one way, and the consideration of your son weighing on the other His cough since his bleeding is better, but not quite gone, and I should not think the town air fit for him till his cough be gone Besides, if you are not yet provided of a place for him, what will you do with him in town? He will be much better here with me I hope you will not be nice in the case, or think I am weary of him, and to everybody else I assure you he is welcome My Lady when I told her you intended to be here some time the next week, answered I hope he does not intend to take Master away with him So that if you mean not to take Master back with you, come as soon as you can, the sooner the better If it be your resolution that he shall return with you whenever you come, let your coming be as late as you can This I say (though I long to talk with you) as your friend that advises what he judges right Let not any scruple of any inconvenience he may be here hasten you If I perceived anything that might be the least reason to you to take him away, I should be as forward as you and send you word You know I have done so once already, and you may trust me in this case You need not be uneasy I assure you or hasty at all upon that score, and of this rest satisfied, and let him be here as is most for your convenience It is good for his health I hope no disadvantage to him otherwise No trouble to the house or anybody of it, and I am pleased with it

I have here enclosed writ to my Lord Ashley as you advised You will there read the true history of that affair, to what is there said you may add if you find need, that if my Lord had given me this annuity (which has not been a thing unusual for great men to those who have been faithful to them) it would be a shame it should not be paid me But when it was paid for with all that I had got in attending on him ten or a dozen of the best years of my life, it will be very hard measure to have the trouble

which I designed to avoid, instead of the full annuity I purchased My Lord Halifax never used strangers so, and shall it be said this is a usage my Lord Shaftesbury provided for his friends But I hope there will be no need of arguments in the case I desire you would talk with my Lord Ashley and deliver the enclosed before you come out of town, and if he be prevailed with to do it I beg you to make the security and draw the writing as you think fit

Sir Francis and my Lady present their service to you and Madam Mine to her, my wife, and Nanny I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

I thank you for your news, believe it true, and have just the same thoughts of it you have

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs. Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke with a copy of what he writ to Lord Ashley touching his annuity, etc

And about my son's continuance at Oates, etc

Received the 14th March, 1691[-2]

## *Locke to Lord Ashley* [1]

Oates, 11th March, 1691-2

My Lord,

Among the things that I have loved best in this world, the two that I always preferred to the rest were, my Lord your Grandfather and quiet He was pleased to be so favourable to me, that he himself was pleased to contrive both for me, and to that purpose, when he retired from business into the country, told me that I should be in the country with him, and that he would find out somewhere thereabouts an annuity for me, knowing that I had little money by me But either meeting with none, or none that he liked, he after some time told me, he would do it himself This pleased me extremely, knowing myself safe in his Lordship's hands, and so referring the whole matter to him, both for price and security, I paid £800, and

[1] A copy in Mr Clarke's handwriting

Kingston Farm was settled for it Which, not examining whether it was of a suitable value to such a charge, I took rather as a declaration of my Lord's intention, than a security of my annuity, not doubting but that (if I should out-live him) such a regard to his memory and honour would go along with the estate he should leave, that I should never meet with any difficulty about this little matter, in a family I had the honour to be so long related to But your Lordship is not ignorant that it has been under deliberation, and advice has been given, that instead of receiving an annuity I should be made a farmer I wish my Lord your Grandfather had been by to have heard it If his intention to me that I should during my life receive the full hundred pounds yearly without trouble has not been yet crossed, I know how much I owe it to your Lordship, whose justice and the assurance you gave me by Mr Clarke concerning it I take for so good security That could your Lordship be but as sure to out-live me, as I should be to rest satisfied with your word, I would desire no other But your Lordship knows what will become of me if I should have the misfortune to fall into the hands of him that is next I beg the favour of you, therefore, to complete the kindness and put me out of these dangers That for the small remainder of my life this little support of it may not waste it in cares and the affairs of a farm, which I understand not, and which my Lord your Grandfather never intended I should purchase of him And the little time I have to come I hope I may employ to better advantage

This letter and my desire I have put into Mr Clarke's hands to be delivered to your Lordship He is no less your Lordship's than my friend And though I think there be nothing unreasonable in my request, or difficult in the case, yet I am willing, one, whose advice I know your Lordship thinks well of in other cases, should be privy to it I beg your Lordship's pardon for the trouble of this letter It is of a sort I do not love to write, especially to your Lordship And this is one inconvenience I receive from this business already But I hope I shall have no occasion to write to your Lordship any more, but about matters and in a way wherein I may more suitably to my own inclination, express how much I am,

your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

J Locke

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 19th March, 1691-2

DEAR SIR,

I would have written to you by the last post, but was disabled then in one of my writing fingers, but now I am able to hold a pen well enough to acquaint you that I waited on my Lord Ashley with your letter, which after he had read, he frankly discoursed with me upon it, and expressed a great readiness fully to answer your desires therein, and gave me all the assurances imaginable, that as soon as he has anything in his power to dispose of, he will increase the security for your annuity in any manner that can reasonably be desired And this assurance he promised me to give you with the first opportunity under his own hand, so that I think now the next step that I can make towards your service in this affair must be to find out (if possible) something whereby my Lord may enlarge your security But at present I know nothing of that kind, and therefore shall carefully enquire into it, and embrace all opportunities to secure this point to you

I am so unfortunate as not to be able to wait on you as I fully intended, but am necessitated to visit Chipley for ten days and then return again I shall go hence Friday next, and be here again in Easter-term If I can serve you in anything here before I go, or whilst I am in Somersetshire, you need but let me know it, and I shall rejoice in the performance of it

Pray make my acknowledgments to my Lady for her last obliging letter, and her great favours to me, in her kindness to my son, and your willingness to continue my son with you yet a longer time is the greatest obligation imaginable upon

your most affectionate and faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

Mrs Smithsby, understanding I was to have visited you this week, sent me the enclosed to be delivered to you, which I convey this way being not able to deliver it myself, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke 19th March, 1691-2

[1] Lovelace Collection.

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

[March, 1692]

It is time to acquit myself of my obligations and return you my thanks for your kind letter, which though I owed to Mr Clarke's finger a little, the [use of] your hand, yet being pleased when on any occasion you bestow [it] on me I cannot but acknowledge the obligation The world goes here as it used to do, only that nobody rejoices to find ill, rainy, stormy weather that confines them within doors, when they expected fair sunshine to tempt them abroad into the fields So that at present, bateing the [severity] of the town air and the kindness it has for [weak] lungs, we have not here much advantage of you, [since we have] no other diversion here but telling of tales by the fireside, for it is both wet and cold, and for that you have more choice of matter and company

Just here Master comes in to me and tells me he is perfectly well, and that he has not coughed at all this morning, which notwithstanding it has for some time been going with very great abatement, yet I think till now he has generally had some touches of it at his rising But the amendments of it of late have been to so little a remain of it that I judge it not to be any care or [further trouble] about it I hope you and my wife, and her sister, are all well in [the country] We are all so here at present Our service, love and duty to all there respectively I am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to Master in the country

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Bishop's Stortford, 13th May, 1692

Dear Sir,

I am got thus far homewards from Cambridge, where I have been for two days, drawn thither by business that was very

[1] From Br Mus Add MS No 4290, p 105 Also printed in Fox-Bourne's *Life of John Locke*, II 234

necessary to be dispatched I stayed there less time than I could well have spent there, and was very much importuned to But I left not Mrs Cudworth so well restored to her health as to be sure she would need no more assistance which made my Lady very earnestly press my speedy return from Cambridge, and it was with much difficulty I got leave to go thither I here meet with yours of the 10th instant, which is the first and only one of yours is come to my hands since I saw you

The consultation you would have me be at about the health of our infirm friend, I know not what to say to You know I wish him very well, but my notions in physic are so different from the method which now obtains, that I am like to do little good, and not being of the College can make no other figure there but of an unskilful empiric, and no doubt anything I should offer would seem as strange to his physicians as the way you tell me they take with him seems strange to me But as everyone's hypothesis is, so is his reason disposed to judge both of disease and medicines But I hope the young gentleman will do well without me, and that the danger will be over by the time this comes to you I hope my Lady will not, as you say, blame my absence considering the necessity called me away, and her son was in so good hands that I concluded there was no need of me in that case, and I shall never omit any occasion wherein I may be serviceable

In your next pray do but name the person of whom I may enquire upon occasion for what belongs to me You need but name him, without troubling yourself to mention again what you inform me, in yours that I have now before me, is done I have also received this post a letter from Mrs. Lockhart Pray present my service to her and the rest of my friends as they come in your way, especially to Madame, my wife, and the rest of family I am,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

Since I writ this, yesterday's post brings me one from John Wheelock, but none from you

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 16th Answered the 17th, 1692

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 16th May, 1692

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 10th I met at Bishop Stortford on Friday last in my return from Cambridge, and answered it from thence, and since that I have yours of the 14th These are all I have received from you since I came out of town, so that of the four you have writ two I see are lost You know any desire of yours, or any of my friends there to bring me to town are not very forwardly resisted by me at any time, and therefore I think I shall come But whip me if I can think what I shall do in a crowd, or a smoke I find my head as little suited to one as my lungs to the other And I am so morose given, or moped by a country retirement, that all the world appears a bedlam to me, and a madness to meddle with it Perhaps you will think me distracted for writing thus, and possibly you have reason, and we may perhaps have that mutual compassion to pity one another, and that perhaps is the utmost either of us can do

Having received from John Wheelock a letter, wherein my Lady talks of building a house on Kingston Farm, and deducting the taxes out of my annuity to help pay for building the house on it for the improvement of the farm, I have writ the enclosed answer I know not whether the indignation to be so used has made it a little too warm If you think not, pray seal it and deliver it, and acquaint my Lady that I have writ to John Wheelock, and to what I have said there (which I would desire you to bid him show her) be pleased to add in your discourse to her that by the condition in the settlement of the annuity I have a right in law to £100 per annum, whatever others may have advised her to This I thought a great deal better to be said by you to her, than to put into my letter, wherein I thought it best only to insist on my Lord's intention to me in general, and the pretences I had to be better used , for the other insisted on, I suspected would look more like threatening, though from you it will be an advice to her when you inform her I have a covenant in my grant to be paid £100 per annum If you think the letter not fit to be delivered I must then beg you to discourse the whole matter with her, and represent to her

how little such an usage of me will suit my Lord's kindness and intention to me, or be for the honour of his memory and my Lady's credit I would not trouble you again in this affair, but that I know you can do more in it than anybody, and it is necessary to stop it in the beginning For if I once admit of any abatement, I know there will be no end of it I thank you for your good news I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to Madam and all the young folks, particularly my love to my wife

My Lady presents her humble service to you and Mrs Clarke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq To be left with John Freke, Esq, at Richard's Coffee House, between the two Temple Gates in Fleet Street, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with one enclosed to John Wheelock touching his annuity, etc Received 16th May, 1692 Answered the 17th in part

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 17th August, 1692

Dear Sir,

I return you my hearty thanks for your kind letter of the 9th, and the good advice you gave the Lord B[ellamont] in relation to me I have (with difficulty) got good returns for £200 on bills payable to Mr Percivall, but was forced to ride to Exeter on purpose before I could get it done It is the return of the taxes that makes it so difficult But I hope to find a return for the remainder of your money in a short time I will order that already in Mr Percivall's hands to be paid where, or in what manner, you shall appoint, and if your occasions require haste I will write to Mr Percivall to give me credit for the remainder due to you until I can get returns for it to him In answer to which pray give me a line per next, and

[1] Lovelace Collection

in the meantime give my humble service to Sir Francis and my Lady, and the rest of your company at Oates, and be assured that I am,

your most obliged faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These, for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 17th August, 1962

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 31st August, 1692

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 22nd came not to my hands until yesterday, or else you should sooner have received my thanks for it, and for your great kindness to me therein with respect to the returns of money I mentioned to you in my last But I have now no occasion to take the benefit of your kind offer in that particular For soon after the writing my last to you I met with a convenient and good return for £100 more to Mr Percivall, so that I have now between three and four hundred pounds in his hands, out of which you may receive the balance of my last accompt with you whenever you think fit Presuming there is more than sufficient (together with the money you received since I came out of town at my Lord Bellamont's office) to discharge that balance But I am at a loss to know the certainty thereof, not having the last accompt here with me in the country, and therefore in your next pray let me know the certain sum that will discharge that balance, and I will not fail to send you a bill on Mr Percivall for the payment thereof to you, or your order, and lest you should want it in the meantime, I have enclosed sent you a bill on him for three hundred pounds, which you may use if there be occasion

I am heartily glad to hear that you and the good family at Oates are well, and that you escaped the highwaymen in the

[1] Lovelace Collection

forest Pray give my humble service to all the good company you are with, and be assured that I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These, for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 31st August, 1692

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 20th October, 1692

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed* is the only letter that came to Mr Pawling's for you by the last post This morning he and I went to Mr Rose with the diamonds as you directed And those that are to be your security for £200 are sealed up and left with Mr Pawling, and the rest are delivered to Mrs Lockhart in the presence of Mrs Cutts as you ordered The instrument for securing the diamonds to you I have drawn, and delivered to Mr Pawling to be fair written, and do hope to see that whole matter settled to your satisfaction in a few days, and whatever else you have to command me shall be willingly and faithfully performed The King is just now come to town My wife and yours are well, and join with me in their humble services to you, and all the good company at Oates, and I am in haste,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

What must there be done with the strawberry roots?

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 20th October, 1692

* My Lady Masham's of the 17th October [Note in Locke's hand]

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, October 22nd, 1692

DEAR SIR,

Pursuant to your commands I opened the enclosed letter from Mr Stringer, and have carefully perused it, but am thereby no ways enabled to advise you in what manner to answer it But I think it necessary that Mr Stringer should in a little time, when you may be thought to have reviewed your papers which he seems to desire in the close of his letter, be informed from you, that you have carefully inspected your papers, but can find nothing which manifests that matter of fact that he affirms touching those orders and vouchers being delivered to you, and upon which he builds his whole letter I believe the convincing him of his mistake in that particular, if it be in your power to do it, will tend very much to the creating a better understanding in this business between you, which I most heartily wish, to the end that Bruncker's receipt may be found out, and both of you thereby discharged

I am very confident Mr Pawling is in the right touching the other letter that you will find enclosed in his to me, which I send you for no other reason but that you may thereby discern the gratitude and the honesty of the man you have preferred The tribe to which he belongs satisfies me in both, but this instance (if it be as supposed) is a demonstration that he is qualified for further preferment

I hope on Monday to settle the business of the jewels, and as soon as Mr Pawling hath engrossed the other mortgage, that shall be dispatched likewise with the utmost care of

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

My wife, and yours, and the rest are well, and we all desire you will make our services acceptable to Sir Francis and my Lady, and the rest of the good company at Oates, etc

[*Addr*] These, for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 22nd October, 1692

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 25th October, 1692

DEAR SIR,

I rejoice in the account you give me of the visible amendment in your health, and heartily wish the daily increase of it

I had the note you left with Mr Pawling, and would have strictly and punctually followed your directions therein, but Mr. Rose being very positive in his opinion, that the unset stone, and the long diamond set in a silver collet, were worth to be sold to any jeweller £250, and that he would give so much for them, I thought them together with the Lady's bond an ample security for your £200 And that the taking one of the other four stones, together with these into your security, would be rather an encumbrance than a conveniency to you, especially the four other stones being valued by Mr Rose but at £25 a-piece, and by the Lady at double that value, I thought, if any accident should happen, it would be better for them to be in her own hands, than to be made part of your security Upon these considerations I ventured to take the unset stone, and the long diamond, together with the Lady's bond, for your security, and delivered the other two pair of stones to the Lady in the presence of Mrs Cutts and Mr Pawling And at the same time sealed up the unset stone and the long diamond before mentioned in their presence, and by the Lady's direction Mr Pawling took them into his custody again, where they still remain, for her conveniency and your security If I have erred in what I have done in this affair, having not exactly fulfilled your direction in your note by Mr Pawling, I hope you will pardon me, having acted therein for you according to the best of my understanding, and as I would have done for myself, had it been my own particular concern The enclosed is a counterpart of security, which is desired may be executed by you before witnesses, and sent up again to be delivered to the Lady concerned by the first safe hand

Your pattern for the new way of sealing deeds shall be delivered Mr Pawling, that yours may be sealed in that manner, which I think to be an excellent good way

[1] Lovelace Collection.

Mr Attorney[1] was with the gentleman very opportunely the next day after you went hence, and I hope for good effects of it, etc

News I have none to tell you, but that the Archbishop was the first man the King took into his closet after his arrival here, and it is observed the King hath been particularly kind to him ever since

I am commanded by Madam to acquaint you that she intended on Saturday next to send your wife in the stage-coach to wait on my Lady Masham and you at Oates Ellen is to go down with her, and I beg you to think of some way or other with the least trouble to get them from Harlow, where they are to be set down at the usual place Pray forgive this trouble yourself, and excuse it to Sir Francis and my Lady This is Madam's frolic, and you know that women in her condition are not to be contradicted in anything I am,

your most obliged faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

Pray give my humble service to Sir Francis and my Lady, to whom

[*Addr*] These, for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford
Frank Edw Clarke
[*Endr*] E Clarke 25th October, 1692

## *Locke to Clarke*[2]

Oates, 28th October, 1692.

DEAR SIR,

Had my desire to you in my note been with other design than it was, I should with satisfaction have submitted to your judgment in the affair But the reason why I resolved to give back some of the stones being only because I would not be cloyed with more than was necessary for sufficient security, what was enough for that was all I in effect desired, whether two or three it mattered not I thank you for your care and trouble therein

[1] Sir John Somers was Attorney General from 2 May, 1692 to 23 March, 1693

[2] From Add MS 4290, *f* 60 Also printed with an omission in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, La Haye, 1912, p 229-230

The counterpart I have not yet executed, being in some doubt, whether it be reasonable for me to do it, till I have the stones out of Mr Pawling's hand, where they lie for her convenience, and so I have them not in my custody However, I will be governed by you in it In the meantime I think it necessary she should write a letter to me to thank me, that I have consented at her request to let them be deposited in Mr Pawling's hands, for her to have them to [use] at Christmas, if she has occasion, and that if they miscarry before they be restored to me again, it must be at her adventure and loss, they being deposited there at her request, and for her convenience Let her seal and deliver that letter to you, which I desire you to keep, but you must make her write it whilst you are with her, or else it will not be done

I hope the enclosed in answer to that you conveyed to me is what you will approve of If not pray blot out, or amend whatever you think fit and send it back to me, for I desire only to do the business and to avoid wrangling, and therefore I have forborne to take notice of his wonted rhetoric

You will also enclosed receive another short epistle to a worthy neighbour of his, which I desire you to seal and send away You will find but few and those I think very civil words in it, but I would fain receive an answer to them What spell is it that they cannot be like other men?

I am exceedingly glad that Mr Attorney did as you tell me, and I hope he found him to his satisfaction as I said Pray send me word, and give my humble service to Mr Attorney

I thank you for the news you sent me, and if the men of this age were like those of former I should hope for some good of it

When the mortgage is executed by Mrs L[ockhart] my cousin Bonville need not be there You may by a penny post letter send for him to your lodging when you please, and then he may there execute both the mortgage and the declaration of trust at the same time, without troubling them You will excuse this liberty I take with you in giving you so much trouble on all occasions But I am perfectly,

yours,

J Locke

Present my humble service to Madam, to whom I heartily wish a short and safe hour I shall take care to have the coach

sent for my wife to-morrow, and shall make all the compliments to Sir Francis and my Lady I thank God I am recovered beyond expectation My service to the ladies at Whitehall, and thanks to Mrs Lockhart for her letter But tell her that I can upon no other terms obtain a peace for her here, but only upon condition she, according to her promise given, come hither herself and ratify it Excuse the packet enclosed, but three letters are as easily sent to the post house as one

H et[1] gone with Mr Popple on Friday when you have sent me your thoughts

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching his executing the counterpart to Mrs Lockhart, etc Received the 1st November, 1692 Answered the same day

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Oates, 28th October, 1692

DEAR MADAM,

It was kind of you to send my wife[2] to me, though I know not how it may prove if she be not very constant For little master[3] is so mightily in love with her that he professes openly he will get her from me if he can You need not make use of my interest to recommend her to Mrs Anne, who is well enough disposed to it of herself, besides what my Lady expects of her However, I shall not fail to desire her care of my wife, which I do not at all doubt of She shall not want books whilst she is here And I doubt not, whatever you in your mother's way of talking say of her being troublesome, but she will so behave herself as to get the love and kindness of everybody here, which they have all [expressed] for her Pray therefore trouble not yourself about us here Think my wife safe with me, where I shall take care of her, and everybody love her [Madam] thinks she behaves herself so well and so womanly that she may [need little] of me But for that we shall do well enough Look you to yourself [and to the] great belly, which I desire you may lay down with as little danger and [trouble] as may be As to any other concernment of your health there is nothing else now to be considered

[1] MS damaged [2] Elizabeth Clarke

[3] Francis Masham, b June 1686, son of Sir Francis and Lady Masham

or meddled with I hope I shall now speedily have news that you are well delivered of a lusty boy, and after that we will talk of other matters

I see my countryman of Taunton Dean is like his neighbours, very fond of fine shows He would not else have gone to town for my Lord Mayor's on Saturday last, when he might [as easily] have come hither, spent one Sunday well with us at church, and then we could have delivered him back the day after to the hands of his [beloved] brethren

My Lady presents her service to you, and wishes you a good hour I am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble

Sir Francis and all the good company [present their humble service to] Mr Clarke

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 31st October, 1692

DEAR SIR,

My wife came safe and well hither on Saturday, and you had completed the kindness if you yourself had come with her But you could not part it seems with my Lord Mayor's show for your poor country friends, and a sermon to boot This I tell Madam is the reason why you stayed in town, though I doubt not but you have business enough, but yet I know you will not blame me that I desire to see you

You will receive to-day my packet I sent you by the post on Friday last If my letter to Mr S[tringer] have anything in it you approve not of, pray correct it and send it to me again to be transcribed I find that since he talked with you there, he has changed his note, talks no more of the vouchers being in the Exchequer, but now is come to be infallible that he delivered them to me, for seeing where the matter pinches, he no longer

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 61 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 230-231, but with the order of paragraphs changed

desires me to search for the order and Mr Broncker's receipt in the pells or anywhere else, but is sure he delivered them to me I have writ to him as civilly and as gently as is possible to press him to do what I think is his interest, for if he can but find those vouchers there will be an end of the trouble, and my account will be easily passed

My wife I shall take care of as her mother desires And I think she need be in no pain about her whilst she is here, where everybody is so disposed to take care and make much of her, as she very well deserves But my Lady intending to write to Mrs Clarke herself, I shall say no more on that subject

I thank you for your care in my business Excuse the trouble of it, and believe I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

Pray do me the favour to let Mr Pawling have the enclosed as soon as you can

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Mr Stringer's letter to him Received the 1st of November, 1692 Answered the same day

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 2nd November, 1692

Dear Sir,

My wife, and I, and all here (except Mrs Cudworth, who also is much mended) are well, and according to our respective duties salute you I cannot let Sir Francis come to town without telling you this, though I have very little else to say, unless it be to thank you for your care and trouble in my affairs, and that would furnish me with matter enough for more than one letter I have this farther favour to beg of you, that you would send for Mr Awnsham Churchill (to whom I have writ four or five times to desire him to send me the sheets[2] [which] have been printed since I came out of town, but cannot receive a word from him) and tell him I would by no means have him publish it till I have perused all the remaining sheets, which I would have him send to

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 62 Also printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, p 53

[2] Presumably *Some Thoughts concerning Education*

me I desire you would give yourself this trouble For I am concerned to see it before it go abroad Pardon the trouble I give you with my letters, and believe that I am, perfectly yours,

J L

[*Endr*] Mr Locke for me to speak to Mr Churchill, etc Received the 3rd November, 1692 Answered the same day

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 11th November, 1692

DEAR SIR,

*Omnia bene* you know needs not many words to make a return in I wish you can give such an account from thence

I expect every day several books concerning the Inquisition[2] writ by Mr Limborch, amongst the rest there is one for the Bishop of Bath and Wells,[3] with a letter to him I have ordered Mr Pawling to put what is for that worthy Bishop into your hands to be delivered him by you in my stead and with my service Pray excuse my not having waited upon him, as I have a long time desired, and hope ere long I shall have the opportunity to do, though it be one of the inconveniencies I suffer from my ill lungs that they usually drive me out of town when most of my friends and those whom I would wish to be near are in it

My wife and I and everybody here respectively to you and Madam and yours I hope every day to hear of her safe delivery, and am,

yours,

J L

The books were shipped in Holland above a fortnight ago, so that I hope they may be in London before this Pray excuse the trouble of the enclosed

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to deliver Mr Limborch's book to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, etc Received the 14th November, 1692 Answered the 15th

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 63 Also printed with omissions in *Original Letters of Locke*, p 54

[2] Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis, etc* Amst 1692

[3] Richard Kidder, D D

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 12th November, 1692

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed came to my hand this day, and pursuant to your direction I opened it and do find it to be of that extraordinary nature that I am perfectly at a loss what to say to it There seems to be such a disposition to an open difference touching the matter in question that I despair of any opportunity to do you any real service therein, but hope there will at last be right done you in that affair

I have tendered the bill of exchange sent up by your cousin Stratton for sixty pounds to Mr Edwards, who promises payment in a week or ten days' time, which when performed I will pay the same to Sir Stephen Evans, and take his note as you direct I have sent to Mr C[hurchill] for one of the books, but have not yet received it from him When it comes to my hands I will carefully endeavour to answer your expectations as opportunity will permit

For news I can only tell you that the House of Commons have given Admiral Russell [2] thanks for his great courage and conduct in the victory obtained at sea this last summer And this day Sir John Ashby [3] is sent for to give an account why he did not pursue the victory as he was ordered I have not time to add anything at present, but mine and my wife's humble services to you and all with you, and to subscribe as I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] For Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 12th November, 1692

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, won as an admiral, on the 19th May, 1692, a victory over the French fleet, but a part of it escaped

[3] Sir John Ashby's reasons sufficed to satisfy the House

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

DEAR SIR, Oates, 28th November, 1692

I got safe hither, I thank God Well, I cannot say, I yet am, under so troublesome a cough as I have, but my lungs move easier than they did

My wife's shoes are too little We thought at first to send them back, but upon consideration that it will be longer much before another pair can come from London, and that the sending one and the other pair will cost almost the price of a pair of shoes, we think to send one of these new ones to-day to Bishop's Stortford, and hope on Friday to have from thence a pair that will fit her

Amongst the many things I left undone and forgot at my coming away, you will not think it strange that I should let slip the cheddar cheese at Mr Pawling's There it is, and there pray dispose of it as you think fit

I expected to hear from you to-day how Madam is, and whether the medicine did any good, but by your silence I conclude all goes well, and hope I shall not find myself deceived in your next My Lady, my wife, and all here, are well, give their service to Madame and you, and wish you joy of the lusty boy Pray when you give theirs leave not out my service

I must beg you to send again for Mr Churchill and let him write down from you these names Ashley, Newton, Somers, Popple, Le Clerc, Furly, Wright, Freke, and Firmin [and Treby and Ker These two last if you think fit, for I am in some doubt whether it be prudent or no],[2] but to none of them as from me To yourself, more than one, if you please Hither two to be sent Bid him forthwith bring in all the remainder of the copy to you And let him send me hither the *History of the Air*[3] complete, that I may see it before it be published I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble servant, J L

Burn this scrawl

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter touching Mr Churchill, etc Received the 30th November, 1692 Answered in part on the 3rd and fully on the 5th December, 1692

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4020, f 64 The last paragraph only is printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, p 55

[2] These words are scratched out in the original

[3] Robert Boyle, *The General History of the Air designed and begun* (1692)

## *Locke to Clarke.*

SIR, Oates, 5th December, 1692

By mine the last you will see I made the excuses to myself for your silence before I received yours of Saturday last My Lady returns you her thanks for what you bid me tell her is coming

Read and seal one, and send both the enclosed I desire you with yours to the post, the gentleman went not out of town Wednesday as he pretends

Pray when you see the Bishop of Bath and Wells excuse me that I waited not on him when I was in town, being able to do no more towards it than enquire for his Lordship at the Lord's House, where he then was not Tell him I hope he has received Mr Limborch's book, which I should have delivered to him myself if I had been in town I am very glad Madame, and the little one, and all are well We are all so here, and give our duty and service to her I am,

yours, J L

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London
Frank

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

DEAR SIR, Oates, 9th December, 1692

I must beg you the first time you see my Lord Bellamont with my humble service to assure his Lordship that his commands will in all cases have that weight and authority with me as to dispose of all the power I have for his service. That therefore to enable me to serve him in the present occasion, I desire his Lordship to send me Mr Stanley's name and qualifications and the place he is now in in the Court, and whatever he thinks may recommend him to my Lord P For this is an inviolable rule which I always do and always shall observe in recommending any person, that I say what I know myself of them, and whatever

[1] From Brit Mus Add MS 4290, f 65 Printed with omissions in *Original Letters of Locke* pp 55-57

is beyond my own knowledge I always tell upon whose report and credit it is that I say it, so that I shall be sure to vouch my Lord Bellamont's testimony, which cannot but be better than mine for a person whom I am so little acquainted with as I have the honour to be with Mr Stanley

The cheese is come safe hither, and my Lady desires me to return you her thanks She intends to do it suddenly herself, but the news to-day of the death of a niece, and the short stay of the messenger that carries back our letters, makes her desire me to excuse it this post

When the imprest roll comes to your hand, pray be sure before you do anything else, to get a perfect account of the form of the oath, though I am apt to think it is such as I told you

I and we all here are very glad Madame is so well As to her costiveness I know not what to say I should not be forward to meddle if I were upon the place, but at this distance it would be more than I dare do A little patience will now put her so out of danger that she may have the assistance of physic, if there be need But I am apt to think that nature will return to her fair, natural, easy course without it

People generally think that if one has an interest anywhere one may use it as one pleases, whereas I think one has it and preserves it only by a fair and cautious use of it If my Lord B[ellamont] would reflect upon what I have said and my way of proceeding, which I never do nor shall vary from, he would see it would be of no great advantage to the business to send his recommendation of the gentleman to my Lord P round about by my hand, and therefore if you can put him off from sending me on so silly an errand you may mind him that I used the same method and measures in recommending Mr La Treille to Sir James Rushout, and that you know I will not nor can an honest man vary from it

I trouble you with a new letter for Holland But it need give you no more pain than your own does Betty is very well, and I am, Dear Sir, yours, J L

My humble service to Madam As also my Lady's and everybody's here

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching my Lord Bellamont The Imprest Roll, and the Oath, etc Received the 12th December, 1692

## *Locke to Mrs. Clarke*

December, 1692

MADAM,

You do me right when you think I am very concerned for you and yours, and therefore you may be sure that I shall always contribute what lies in my way to your services, especially in what you know I have more particularly concerned myself in, which is the education of your children [For as] you state the matter it is evidently less chargeable, and if you can get a fit man, I am inclined to think it may be better, to have a tutor at home than to send them abroad, especially if you can get one who will more look after the fashioning of their minds than the teaching them languages [or any]thing else For I must often repeat that, because I see it so generally overlooked, that the setting of children's minds right is the principal and almost the only thing to be taken care of And when that is done and kept so, all the rest will in time easily follow, and without that, all the rest signifies nothing My wife,[1] which will now be the eldest at home, is very capable of it, and with very little trouble, if a right course be taken with her But if that be not done, there are few so excellently good by nature, but they may be spoiled, and in the midst of the ordinary accomplishments be brought up with faults, that will scarce be made amends for or counterbalanced by all the acquisitions that gentlemen's children usually learn from masters She being the eldest and set right will have a great influence by her example and instruction over all the rest, and you need not doubt but she will be a good proficient in anything that is taught her, for she is very capable and apt to learn But she will have need of some prudent and attentive person to guide her without roughness, for she has wit and parts enough to distinguish between one who is and is not discreet You cannot, therefore, but think, that I, who have been for it from the beginning, should be for their breeding at home, if you can get a good tutor and all other things concur

As your strength and vigour returns your sight will recover again, and therefore I would not advise you to be tempted to tamper at all with your eyes Since I find no complaint of it in

[1] Elizabeth Clarke

your letters I hope your costiveness begins to work off Be sure to have your legs, feet and lower parts warm, and then I hope there will be no need of anything more to be done, and walk as much as your strength will allow this and some few other things I writ in my last to Mr Clarke will I hope make an end to that inconvenience without any use of physic I wish you a happy new year, and am,

Madam,

your most humble and most obedient servant,

JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr* ] For Mrs Clarke

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 23rd December, 1692

DEAR SIR,

Though your short letter of Tuesday tells me nothing but what I expected, yet I cannot help being troubled One particular I had from Sir Francis, and am sorry there are more I had designed to draw you hither if you have any holidays I long to talk with you, and mightily desire you should have a little refreshment in the air But I fear I shall make you an ill compliment to invite you to a bedfellow, and such an one as I am If you can dispense with that, pray come You will be to everybody very welcome, I know, and would be desired if it could be a civil invitation The house will be so full when Mr Cudworth comes, who was expected with Mr Andrews and is looked for now every day, that Mrs Masham is fain to lie in a servant's chamber and bed in the passage to the nursery The want of room hinders my Lady from desiring Master's company now as she intended, and she desires me to excuse it to him, which pray do, but hopes she may have him here at some other convenient time

By yours and Mrs Smithsby's silence I guess the imprest roll is not yet got out of the pipe Pray when it comes to hand take the vouchers which you will find in the little trunk (and no other papers but the vouchers, for there are others there

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 66 Also printed in *Lettres inedites de John Locke*, pp 231-2

relating to that matter), and together put them into Mr Bridge's hand I wish in the meantime I knew the form of the oath Baron Bradbury,[1] if he comes in your way, can tell it you, and I think it best to ask him My service to Madame and Master I wish you all a merry Christmas, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

I think it best to know the form of the oath before Mr Bridges be any more spoke to about the business or the papers put into his hand

My wife is very well and sends her duty My Lady and Mrs Cudworth, etc , present their services to you and Mrs Clarke

You may to introduce the discourse ask Baron Bradbury whether the oath might be taken before or after the Auditor has stated the account, for Mr Bridges told me it might be either, if I made a state of it myself Pardon this trouble

[*Endr* ] Mr Locke to consult Baron Bradbury touching the Oath, etc Received the 27th December, 1692 Answered in part the same day

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 2nd January, 1692[-3]

Dear Sir,

I find by your votes of the 23rd December [1692] that you have resolved to continue the Act for printing made in the 14 Car 2 I wish you would have some care of book-buyers as well as all of booksellers and the company of stationers, who having got a patent for all or most of the ancient Latin authors (by what right or pretence I know not) claim the text to be theirs, and so will not suffer fairer or more correct editions than any they print here, or with new comments to be imported without compounding with them, whereby these most useful books are excessively dear to scholars, and a monopoly is put into the hands of ignorant and lazy stationers Mr Smith, a bookseller in St Paul's Churchyard, can give you a very fresh instance of this, concerning the importation of a new fair correct edition of

[1] George Bradbury, Judge of the Court of Exchequer (1689-96)

Tully By this monopoly also of those ancient authors, nobody here, that would publish any of them anew with comments, or any other advantage, can do it without the leave of the learned, judicious stationers For if they will not print it themselves nor let any other, be your labour about it never so useful, and you have permission to print it from the Archbishop and all the other licencers, it is to no purpose If the company of stationers so please it must not be printed An instance you have of this in Æsop's *Fables* Pray talk with A Churchill concerning this, who I believe will be able to show you other great inconveniences of that act, and if they can possibly, I wish they could be remedied And particularly, I think, that clause, where printing and importation of any books, to which any have a right by patent is prohibited, should be at least thus far restrained that it should be lawful for anyone to print or import any Latin book whose author lived above a thousand years since Pray talk with your members about it, and I should imagine some of the Bishops, too, of your acquaintance should be for it For it is a great oppression upon scholars, and what right can anyone pretend to have to the writings of one who lived a thousand years ago He that prints them best deserves best, and should have the sale of them, which our company of stationers can by no means pretend to For if you examine it, I believe it will be found that those of the classic authors, which are of their publishing, are the worst printed of any

Your act of coinage, too, I think may deserve considering For as it is now ordered, and other as well as milled money goes, it is but labour in vain and so much tax thrown away to no purpose But whether it be fit to touch on it now, when there have been attempts and some men are ready to alter and debase our coin, the consequences whereof will be very ruinous, I must leave to you there to weigh And therefore perhaps it may on that consideration be better to let the Coinage Act go as it is with that inconvenience that is in it than by endeavouring to mend it give occasion to the letting in a deluge

I long mightily to see you, and I hope you will either bring down with you the paper-draught of account stated, or send it by the next post, that we may talk of it here and you carry it back with you For I make sure you will come down not only to the election but hither I suppose Sir Francis has told you

that his coach will carry Mr Andrews and you from hence to Chelmsford and back again Pray therefore come to Harlow in the Bishop Stortford coach Saturday next, if possible, unless Sir Francis thinks coming hither Tuesday night will be time enough, and going Wednesday morning to Chelmsford But if your business would permit, I long to have more time with you than one night

My service to Madam I sent her a letter enclosed in yours the last post, and I received none from you this I say it to tell you not to complain, and am,

yours,

J Locke

We and all ours to you and all yours greeting and a happy new year

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London
Frank

## *Locke to Clarke*[1]

Oates, 24th January, 1692-3

Dear Sir,

Having in my two last letters forgot when I came to write them the mentioning the certificate for my Michaelmas poll paid here, it is not strange that you in the multitude of other business should either have forgotten it or at least the mention of it to me I therefore take the liberty to mind you of it, and desire you to get it and put it into Mr Pawling's hands, and direct him what use to make of it I have here enclosed as you will see houghd[?] him upon you for it

By the other enclosed you will have a view of all my business with Mr Bridges You will easily guess why I so much desire dispatch of it, if possible by any haste to get a quietus in this term, which I very earnestly desire Therefore pray press him as [urgently] as is decent, and as soon as you can have notice when the engrossed account will be ready send me word and write on the superscription of your letter

To be sent from Bishop's Stortford by an express

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 67 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 232-3

The occasion of my enquiry about your Saturday's debate was a mistake

I [have no]t yet had leisure to peruse your printed paper, but shall give you an account in my next My service to Madame and all the rest of my friends I am,

yours, J L

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching the certificate, touching Mr Bridges and how to write to him, etc Received the 25th January, 1692 Answered the 26th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 28th January, 1692-3

DEAR SIR,

You may make what use of this paper and in what manner you think fit without any [order] If I can do any service any way to my country, it is what I am always ready for [1] I know not whether they write their Portugal word Reys or Res, that should be known too

I sent to you on Tuesday last the paper draught of the account with a letter to Mr Bridges which I hope came safe

Give me leave to mind you again of the certificate of my poll

I have kept the printed paper about coinage, supposing you can get another

I doubt not but you and Mr Bridges have agreed at what time it will be best for me the account should be made to determine

What, Madam, you and my wife all colds? It frights me before I come to town, therefore, remember to prepare Mr Hampden that I may be soon dispatched, for though I am now well, I doubt not but I shall quickly find the change when I am got into your air I am sorry it has so ill effects on you all My service to Madam, Master, etc, and my love to my wife I shall ere long answer the favour of Madam's All well here and all greet you I am,

yours, J L

You say not a word of Mr Chadock [2]

[1] Several lines here and at the beginning of this letter are illegible

[2] The remainder of the postscript is illegible

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 24th February [1692-3]

Though I know you are ready enough of yourself to do Sir Francis all the service you can, yet I am so far interested in this last that I must thank you for it as if it were for myself I fear by yours of yesterday that there is nothing more to be done by my Lord C and nothing to be done in the business at all, if my Lord P[embroke] (whom we desire to gain by him) be resolvedly engaged for another This I would gladly try, and if possible gain him powerfully to our side, or at least get him to be indifferently favourable This I know not any other way how to come at but by Mr Attorney to whom I have here enclosed writ, but so as to leave to you the whole management of the affair with him in such manner and so far as you shall find convenient I presume he will do for me what one friend may expect from another, and farther than that I can never desire for myself, or in a business for another I wish as well to as if it were for myself If my Lord P would help or not stand in our way I should then think it worth while to move by other hands, but till I can be assured of that I think it is better to sit still than make a bustle and noise to no purpose If Mr Attorney thinks fit to speak to my Lord P in it you may furnish him with all those arguments in Sir Francis's behalf which you used to my Lord C If there be found by Mr Attorney any life in it, the time pressing I must desire you to speak in my name to my Lord Pembroke to move the King in it, and tell my Lord that as soon as I receive your letter I shall come up to town on purpose to wait on his Lordship in it, as certainly I shall if you give me any encouragement to hope any good is to be done in this affair

I am, Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

My Lady presents her humble service to you and Mrs Clarke, and is sensibly obliged by your kindness in this business

My humble service to Madam and my love to my wife

[*Endr*] Mr Locke for Sir Francis Masham, with one enclosed to Mr Attorney [Somers], etc Received 25th February, 1692 Answered the 28th in part Answered fully the 7th March

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 6th March, 1692-3

DEAR SIR,

I know not by what mistake I received not yours of the last of February till just now I thank you for your care and concern in Sir Francis's business I am extremely troubled that your cold sticks so upon you Pray drink water and carefully no wine, and be as little abroad in the evenings as you can I know not what else to say to you unless you will come hither a little while for some country air If your cold increases upon you, quit all business that you may serve your country, for when you are sick or worse you will not be able to serve it Therefore pray come hither We will make very much of you My Lady would take it very kindly, and says this is a sure place to get rid of colds

My service and thanks to Mr Attorney I am very sensible of his great favour on this occasion My service to Madame, my wife, etc I must end, for the messenger will be gone I am,

yours,

J LOCKE

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, persuading me to go into the country air, etc
Received the 8th March, 1692 Answered the 9th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 10th March, 1692-3

DEAR SIR,

I am so accustomed to receive matter of thanks from you in every letter, and that if true gratitude lay more in the expression of words than in the true sense and disposition of the mind, I should be troubled to find out a new form of thanking you upon every new occasion I have to do so I doubt not yet but you will believe that I am very much obliged by the last labour you have laid out for Sir Francis, to which I must entreat you to add this farther kindness, that when you see Mr Attorney

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 68 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 233

you will let him see the great sense I have of his favour in this business And that I think myself to have the same obligation to him in it as if the thing had been for myself and I had obtained it by his intercession, or which pleases me more than all that, I receive it as a great and fresh instance of his friendship, a place which perhaps one no better versed or taken with the world than I am may think he has reason to prefer to any of the places men so scramble for Pray tell him he can bestow his favours upon nobody so much gratis as he does upon me, for whatever he lay out this way upon me it is like to bring him no return of any greater love or esteem than what I had for him before And for doing him any service, I may with vanity bid him expect it from me when I am Attorney and he a poor useless thing in the country

I thank you also for your care about my poll certificate Put, pray, in your next to me an account of your health, or, which will be a great deal better, bring yourself hither to give an account of it My Lady, who returns you many and hearty thanks for this last favour, earnestly presses you to do so It is very ill husbandry for your country to neglect your health, even to serve it to-day so as not to be able to do it to-morrow, when probably there will be as much need Leave, therefore, your wrangling and voting and bring your cold hither, and you shall see what notable states folk we are here, I mean as much as goes to the curing of a cold Indeed, your last letter has made me uneasy, and I shall be so till you give me a better account of your health If I could be half so good a physician to you in town as I can be in the country I would come up to you But believe it, my skill in curing colds lies at Oates Come hither and you shall find it If at any time you see the ladies at Whitehall neither say nor know anything to them of Sir Francis's affair I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

Love, service and kind remembrances respectively from all here to all there

What will you give me for my £60 due from the Treasury ?

The enclosed has had ill luck It has been writ a good while, but not been in the way when I sent to you This must be his

excuse for the slowness of it And he has again and again desired me to return his thanks for the fine cane was sent him

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, full of compliment and thanks to Mr Attorney [Somers] and myself, etc Received the 13th March, 1692 Answered the 16th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 4th May, 1693

DEAR SIR,

Your letters [have brought] in my mind all that I know of that trouble, and in consideration my thoughts reduced themselves to two which were Sir Thomas Millington and the gentleman in Queen Street I formerly recommended to you And though upon account of ability my guesses inclined clearly to Sir Thomas (a late book of the other not having much increased my opinion of him), yet I had some thoughts of mentioning the other with Sir Thomas to him, because his having been a neighbour in the country might satisfy our friend concerning him and make him [acceptable to] him This I say was my purpose to have proposed these two to him, till thinking again on the matter and considering the access [2] Sir Thomas had at court, whereby our friend might have an easier way of procuring himself recesses, or making his excuses for them when his health required, I concluded in all respects Sir Thomas to be the fittest man, and upon second thoughts remain of the same opinion, adding to the former the convenience of his near neighbourhood

I wish to your general opinion of his [Lord Keeper Somers] ill state of health you had added some particulars concerning it, but for want of that, taking it to be some remains of that indisposition which made him once go out of the house, I am steadily of opinion that he should wholly leave off wine and wholly come to drinking of water, by gradually diminishing the wine and accustoming himself to the other, for which this is a fit time of the year, but by no means to make

[1] This letter is in very bad condition, and wholly faded in parts

[2] Sir Thomas Millington was Physician to William and Mary

this change all at once Another thing I think necessary for his health is to make himself as many holidays as possibly he can, and to disburthen his head of weighty cares every half-hour of leisure that he can get I am not ignorant how hard a thing I propose in this, but my meaning is that he should get all the time of relaxation of thought and diversion that he can A third thing necessary is that whenever he takes physic or a water, that he be sure not to let anyone come near him that has the least business in his mouth or so much as looks , but that he get some company to be with him those days who never had any other thoughts in their heads but to laugh and chat and be merry

I know him and myself too well to be guilty of so much vanity as to think I can say anything to him where his own thoughts would not give him better views [1] This, however, I cannot but say, that I count justice and dispatch are the two greatest businesses of his place The one I know nothing can divert or [lead] him from The other I know how much the multiplied forms and artificial perplexities brought into the court will hinder him in But this, too, if he will make good his own character and the expectation of the world, he must break through It being little release to a man that the cause is judged at last with justice on his side when he is undone in the length of the suit I easily grant that inveterate evils cunningly wove into the forms of business are not all to be removed in a day But this I know, that my Lord Shaftesbury making himself Chancellor, and not letting the Registers be so as they were before by making the Register read the minutes he took from his mouth aloud in court, gave so great hopes of dispatch to all men the first day he sat in the bench that it was thereon said he had cut off one great part of the needless charge and delay of clients, and put that in its right course with so general an approbation that none of his enemies durst so much as find fault with it You may easily see by this what I wish to be done now even for his sake For it is in that post and the opinion he gives of himself that way that he must gather the strength which must assist his integrity, steadiness, civility, and admirable parts to make his way through all opposition, and I suppose you will concur with me in this I sometimes wish myself with

[1] The six lines which follow are illegible

you and in his neighbourhood that I might talk with you and our friend J[ohn] F[reke], and show my readiness and respect to my Lord But I paid so dear for my last being in town, and have so hardly mastered the ill effects of it, that I cannot yet think of returning Pray present my humble service to him as one that perfectly partakes in all the good he does, and all the good he receives And be sure that his taking the sacrament and oaths be not forgotten, which I have known like to happen in a man of great business

My service to Madam, J F[reke], and the rest of my friends, and my love to my wife If you have leisure whilst in town pray spend an hour or two with J[ohn] F[reke] upon the printing act, or at least put him up in it.

When I was in town I desired my Christmas half-year annuity from my Lady Shaftesbury, but was told there would be no money till John Wheelock came to town, who was soon expected Pray if he be come speak to him and my Lady of it, and get it if you can, and give my humble service to my Lady

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

Sir Francis, my Lady, Mrs Cudworth present their service to you all

Since the writing of this I received yours of the 2nd by the post, and thank you for both the one and the other Pray tell me what you can learn of the affairs of Scotland Mrs Lockhart promised me a speech from thence, but Mrs Cutts I hear has laid it up for me against next year Pray get it if you can and send it to me My service to them if you see them I am very glad you came to town well and found all well I hope you left all well, too, in the country I have seen the verses on your mistress's visiting on the Thames and admire the heroism of the action, but am not poet enough to [criticise the] verses on it

[*Addr*] For Mr Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr. Locke, touching my Lord Keeper's [Somers] health and the dispatch of business in Chancery Received the 8th May, 1693 Answered the 11th

*Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 15th May, 1693

DEAR SIR,

The footing that our friend must have to support himself and the expectation is of him must be in the character and reputation he must make himself in the minds of all men, which no station gives him so fair an opportunity to do as that which he is in, both by the universal concernment it is of and the late management of it If his attention and steady progress be there directed to public advantage and dispatch he will be invulnerable, hard to be removed or withstood, and equally great in or out of that post That credit of an unbiasedly prosecuting and disentangling right from intricacies and delays will have such charms that I know not what it may not produce and be a rise to I say not this that I at all doubt it will be otherwise, or that a man of so much sense as well as integrity will subject himself to your good will, or put himself into the power of those to whom his merit has made him not very acceptable by raising him without their consent or assistance But I mention it to justify what I writ to you in my last rather as an expression of my concern and good will than that I thought there was any need of it I am glad to find by your letter of the 11th (if I mistake it not) that he it so Perhaps I was a little too far in coming to any particulars, but that which I mentioned being but one little thing that nobody could ever except against, but yet of the mighty influence (as I remember well), I could not forbear

Besides the desire I have to see you and Madam, my wife, and all of you before you go into the country, I could be very glad I could have some discourse with you and our friend John to debate farther of these matters whilst you are in town, for knowing we aim at the same things I would be glad we might consider and propose them together But I consider how few opportunities your short time and the term is like to give us with him whilst you stay, and how hard it is to bring four ordinary people together who have more leisure each than I am sure two of these four have And I know not whether what I have proposed already be not, if not more, yet as much as is fit to offer, till it

be seen how far it is judged that the world and present circumstances can bear so much The health I have here and the ill impressions it receives in London, especially whilst the weather holds at the rate it does, gives me no encouragement to venture so soon again unless something you judge worth it makes it advisable, and then you know how readily I always obey your summons

I am very glad to hear the gentleman's [1] health you mention is in a better state Ease and air are the best thing I know, to which if he can add water I hope he would need no physic This perhaps will seem, as it is, hard , but health cannot be paid too dear for I dare talk thus because I am sure I wish him as well as anybody, and so pray give him my most humble service

Though I shall have use of it nowhere so much as in town, yet I think you were best send me hither Mr Passebon's letter, because I may possibly desire Mr Pawling to enquire out the person I am directed to before I come to town, that I may prepare for the dispatch of that business before I come

If it fall not out that I see you and Madam, to whom pray give my service, before your journey, I wish you all a very good journey into the country and all that you wish yourself there I thank you for your care of my affair with my Lady Shaftesbury, and am,

yours,

J Locke

My service to J F[reke] very particularly, and my love to my dear wife

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq , Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching my Lord Keeper, etc Received 17th May, 1693

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

Taunton, 22nd July, 1693

Dear Sir,

This morning I received (by the hands of one Mr Babb, a bookseller here) your *Book of Education* for Madam, which I

[1] Lord Keeper Somers [2] Lovelace Collection.

will deliver to her this evening, but I hear nothing of any more of them from Mr Churchill The printing of that book is certainly a great service to the public, and a particular obligation on all that are, or shall be, parents of children But the dedication of the book to so inconsiderable a person as I am in the world will I doubt very much prejudice it But the extraordinary honour you have done me therein, and the particular great friendship you have thereby (as well as in all other instances ever since I had the happiness of your acquaintance) manifested towards me and my family, is ever to be acknowledged and remembered with all the testimonies that a grateful sense of them can produce from

Your most truly affectionate, most faithful and obliged servant,

EDW CLARKE

I thank God we are all well, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Mr Pawling's house in Dorset Court in Channell-Row, Westminster, London

[*Endr*] E Clarke 22nd July, 1693

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 2nd August, 1693.

DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter of the 24th came but last night to me, but was very welcome, bringing me that which I most earnestly desired, the intelligence of your good health, which I pray God to preserve for your own sake, as well as for the great benefit and advantage that all your friends and the whole nation will receive by it Your labours for the public are a blessing to us all, and the particular honour you have done me in the publication of your *Thoughts concerning Education* is never to be sufficiently acknowledged But having returned you my particular thanks upon that occasion in the last letter I writ to you, I shall trouble you no further on that subject at present, but beg leave to interrupt your revising your learned *Essay touching Human Understanding*, which prevails wonderfully amongst all the men of any sense and understanding that I converse with, with acquainting you that I think my wife is breeding again, I hope of another boy Her legs often swell much, and she has sometimes

[1] Lovelace Collection

frequently the same pain on the lower part of the right side of her belly, that we have both formerly compained to you of , and she often makes that thick sort of water that you have heretofore seen She is, I bless God, otherwise in perfect health , she eats, drinks, sleeps and looks well. But I would gladly know your thoughts upon the whole matter, whether advisable to drink the Bath water, if she be desirous of it, whilst she is with child, or what else you think proper I hope you will pardon the freedom I take with you, and accept the humble services of us all here, particularly of your wife, and believe that no man can be more entirely and affectionately

your friend and servant than
EDW CLARKE

Pray make all our services acceptable to Sir Francis and my Lady, and all the rest of that family, and the good neighbourhood, etc

I just now understand that my wife hath this day written to you I desire therefore you will take no notice in your answer to her of my having written to you at all on that subject, for she knows nothing of what I have writ, and perhaps I shall incur her displeasure by meddling She is full of vapours as usual when with child, and so the more difficult to be pleased or satisfied Sometimes she seems to be willing to go to Bath, at other times that she cannot be content or satisfied to leave her children here, and frequently asks if the Bath waters may not be drank here at home with good success, so that I know not how to behave myself better than to be willing to go thither, or to send for the waters home, as shall be most advisable and she shall be most inclined, believing that if she could be content and quiet in her own mind, that would be the best physic to her, and the greatest satisfaction to me and all about her. Pray write fully to her, and persuade her to be a philosopher if possible, and, that she may not suspect my having written to you, pray complain a little of my silence towards you, and forgive me that I am thus troublesome to my best friend, and say nothing to me in any letter of yours touching her, lest it should happen to fall into her hands

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex
[*Endr*] E Clarke 2nd August, 1693

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 16th September, 1693

DEAR FRIEND,

Having not for a long time heard anything from you, I hope you will forgive my enquiry at present after your welfare, and because I know you are so heartily concerned for the safety of me and mine, I with confidence apply to you in all difficulties Poor Mrs Clarke hath had two severe fits of a quartan-ague, and to-morrow expects a third, which together with the usual grievances attending her in breeding makes her look very thin I presume she will not be prevailed with to take anything without your direction She has now gone about half her time with child, and did formerly in the like circumstances take the Jesuit's powder with good success, though it passed through her without being digested in a remarkable manner, as I have formerly related to you I beg your direction in this case And as for going to the Bath, I have heard nothing at all of it since your last letters on that subject, and I dare not persuade in any case, but shall be ever sensible of the obligations I have to you on that and all other accounts Mrs Clarke, your wife and all the rest of the young folks here join with me in their humble services to you, Sir Francis and my Lady, and the rest of the good family at Oates, and I am in haste,

your most affectionate and obliged faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 16th September, 1693

## *Clarke to Locke.* [2]

Newberry, 29th October, 1693

DEAR SIR,

I enclosed this to Mr Pawling that if you are in town it may find you there and obtain the favour of you (if it be not very inconvenient to your affairs) to remain there till Wednesday

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Lovelace Collection

next, by which time I hope to be in London with my wife; or else that it may be sent to you at Oates, and bring you thence with the first opportunity that your health and business will permit, in order to the curing my wife of her ague, and raising of her again out of that weak condition which that distemper hath reduced her to I am not out of hopes but that you may yet prevail with her to do what by your kind letter you advised so long since, and then (by the blessing of God) I doubt not of her recovery It is the long and constant experience of your friendship that encourages me to be thus free with you, and when I can be so happy as to see you, and fully lay before you all the circumstances of her case, you will not tell me that I am thus importunate with you without reason I beseech you forgive the trouble I give you on all occasions, and accept mine and my wife's hearty services, which is all that the time will permit me to write, the post being just now going hence, more than that I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 29th October, 1693 To 3rd

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 30th October, 1693

DEAR SIR,

Now that I know that you are at Sutton I venture this in answer to three I have received from you I am sorry Mrs Clarke remains averse to the Jesuit's bark, but in her case there is no contesting with it, but it must be left alone Her aversion to the bark makes her not, I believe, in love with her ague, which I wish her well rid of To that purpose pray tell her there is one here that has a plaster which applied to the wrists seldom fails of curing agues, but they make a great secret of it I know not whether I shall get it or not, but if she be desirous of it I will try, and either send her the receipt or the plasters For I would not have her lie any longer under the inconvenience of

her quartan, and I am sorry she has suffered so many fits of it already Pray remember me very kindly to her, and tell her she must eat heartily the well days, especially that after the fit, and drink wine more freely than she used to do And let her often remember that I shall neither be pleased with her nor eased in myself till I hear she has got rid of her ague

Pray also give my humble service to Mrs Strachey, her son and daughter, and the rest of my friends in that neighbourhood And tell my cousin Lyde I wish my cousin his daughter much joy When you see Mr Cornelius Lyde pray give him my service and thanks for the right he did me about the taxes And if you see my cousin Stratton whilst you are in those parts pray talk with him about my little affairs there, and give him order in anything you think fit to be done as if it were your own affair *I have writ to him to follow your direction in everything* And the money that he has of mine in his hands pray settle with him the best way of returning it, and if you have no need of it there yourself let him give you a bill on somebody in London payable to you Send me word when you intend to be in town, for I will be there by that time I long to see you, and am,

Dear Sir

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

Pray remember to speak to Mr Lyde about Mr Jones's legacy for pious uses to get some of it for maimed seamen

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Mrs Strachey's, at Sutton Court, London ?

[*Re-addr*] To be left at Richard's Coffee House in Fleet Street, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Mrs Clarke's health, etc Received the 10th November, 1693

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 27th December, 1693

Dear Sir,

You have all the news and I all the leisure, which is very ill suited for correspondence, when you have *not* time to write and I nothing to say, unless it be to trouble you with my affairs

Give me leave, therefore, to mind you here again of the hundred pounds due to me now at Christmas from my Lord Ashley, and the increase of my security These things I desire you to speak to him of in the manner we agreed and get effected if you can

I desire you also to pay Mr Freke seven pounds for me, and to desire of him the receipt for the King's evil

One thing more I must trouble you with My brother Commissioners being taxed in London (where they ought not to be taxed, but in Westminster where the execution of our office is), though they had warning of it, yet they neglected it so as to suffer us all to be returned into the Exchequer This Major Beake, a member of your house, told me of the day before I came out of town I beg you to speak with him, or Sir Wm Honywood, another of your members and of my brethren, about it, and set them in the way what to do as the case now stands For I see by this what men of business they are My service to Madam I wish her an happy hour, and her and you all a new year I am,

Dear Sir,
your most humble and most faithful servant,
J Locke

My humble service in the Temple It was no small disappointment to me, and I am not a little troubled at it, that I had not one opportunity with him whilst in town My service also to J F[reke] and Sir Walter [Yonge]

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to get the £100 from Lord Ashley due at Christmas, etc To pay Mr Freke £7, and speak to Major Beke, etc Received the 29th December, 1693 Answered the 30th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 2nd January, 1693-4

Dear Sir,

He has found all the rest right, *i e* all but what is wrong Who doubts it, but what becomes of the wrong? To this add the list here enclosed, and he has well mended the matter Whatever he promised this second time I am out of patience If you please to give him a copy of the enclosed, and keep the original by you, it is more than he deserves I hope at the same

time you will thank him for his great care and exactness. Pray give my service to Mr Freke and thanks for the receipt he sent me

I have here enclosed writ to Monsieur Guissemare, if you like what I have said, you may seal and send it

I thank you for the minding of Mr [Skengle when] you sent him the kind letter two days since And he was here with me yesterday, and returns you his acknowledgment with great sense of your kindness [He seeks] to me to render some such services to this country that he seemed uncertain whether he should resolve to remove as far as Somerset, whereof I think he means to write to you himself I have given him your [address] But if you hear not from him by Monday's post you may take it for granted that he quits all thoughts of taking your Vicarage in Somersetshire If then you could get it for Mr Pawling's son you would do a charitable thing to a deserving father, and a sober young man, his son, who is a good scholar and a master of arts of several years' standing, and though not in orders yet you know that is not hard to be got I desire you, if Skengle accepts not of it, as I conclude he will not (for he was of that mind when we parted) to call in at Mr Pawling's as you passed by and talk with the father and son about it You see what liberty I take with you, but it is for those who I think deserve it. And he that I would speak for has a very peculiar and uncommon merit for he is not yet in orders [1]

Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 8th January, 1693-4

Dear Sir,

I have more need to excuse my troubling of you, than you so carefully excuse yourself that you spoke not yet with my Lord Ashley, nor knew not when you first writ that he was in town I am of your mind you should not desire a meeting of him about it, but speak to him when accidentally you meet

[1] The endorsement is also illegible The letter is faded and discoloured

him that will look best The reason why I desired you to speak to him as soon as you could was because he talked to me of going into the country, and so it be done before he returns to Dorsetshire it will be time enough

I thank you for your assistance to me and my Brethren, notable men I have drawn a bill on you for ten pounds to be paid to my Lady Masham, which Mrs Cudworth, who returns it to her, desires she may receive as soon as may be after the bill comes to your hands, there being present occasion for it I know writing a bill does it, and so that will be easily and soon dispatched I fear my Cousin Stratton has not yet returned you that money Pray let me know in your next As I remember you told me I might have more money of you if I wanted it, when I received the last from you, else I should not have drawn this bill on you so at sight, but if you need that or more you shall have it again

The other matters of your letter I shall trouble you with in my next This with the three enclosed being enough for this time My humble service to Madam I wish her a happy hour, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

Pray let the enclosed go with your letters to the post

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, for me to pay a bill of ten pounds to Lady Masham, etc Received the 11th January, 1693 Answered the 13th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 8th February, 1693-4

Dear Sir

Yesterday I received yours of the 5th, and by the same post received from Mr Codrington a bill of forty pounds, as part of the money paid in to him by Mr Stratton for your use And in the same letter Mr Codrington desired me to make good the remaining £6 8s 6½d to you, which for your ease I am contented to do What Mr Stratton writes Mr Codrington told him touching the return of £90 to me about a fortnight since must be

[1] Lovelace Collection.

a perfect mistake somewhere, for I know nothing at all of it But shall be always glad of any opportunity to serve you, who am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

I have not been perfectly well ever since you went out of town, and am now but in an ill state of health, etc

[*Addr*] These to his worthy friend Mr John Locke, Present
[*Endr*] E Clarke 8th February, 1693-4

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 5th March [1693-4]

DEAR SIR,

My Lady Masham, writing to you the last week by an hand that she cannot be over confident was careful in delivering her letter in at the post, has obliged me to propose to you in her name whether it will not be best to move the house upon what has been said of it in general than upon what has been reproached to any one of its members, because she thinks the house may more heartily espouse the one than the other She also desires it may be considered, whether it will not be best to complain at first against only one of these two blades without mentioning the other till that be passed, and to begin with him which will go easiest, for when an order is made to send for one of them the other cannot be refused, or at least will pass the easier This she says her concern makes her suggest to you, though she doubts not but having the men this comes to you by upon the place, you will do what is best and fittest She gives her service to you and Mrs Clarke, and wishes you both joy of your little one So much from my Lady

From myself I have little new to trouble you with, and think you too full of business to add my idle and perhaps mistaken thoughts to you concerning matters you are busy in and possibly have light from, and therefore shall only mind you of my private affair with my Lord Ashley when he comes in your way My service to Madam, who I hope gets up apace I am,

Dear Sir,
your most humble and most affectionate servant,
J LOCKE

My service to Sir Walter [Yonge] and J. F[reke] and the rest of my friends that come in your way

Forseeing this letter would go this morning by Sir Francis's man before our London letters came in I writ it yesterday, not expecting to hear from you before it went But my Lady sending yesterday to Bishop Stortford for Sir Francis's letter, I have yours of the 3rd, for which I thank you Mr Pawling writes me word under the same date that he has delivered the bundle he had of you for me to the carrier, which I hope I shall receive on Tuesday, and then you shall have my answer to that part by the first opportunity I thank you for so punctually answering the bill I drew on you to Sir Francis I am very glad the increase of your health gives you hopes of a perfect recovery in a little time Wine, watching and vexation are the three things I am sure you are to avoid for the hastening and confirming of it The two first it is your own fault if you are not master of for the last you must try your skill Adieu

My Lady returns you her thanks for the favour of your letter and the concern you express in it

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, in London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Sir Francis Masham, etc Received the 6th March, 1693

## *Locke to Clarke.*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 7th March[1] [1693-4]

The packet you sent came safe yesterday by the carrier But there was in it but one of the two sheets of corrections, writ not in the bookseller's hand, but another hand, which you sent me formerly and I returned to you again Without that I cannot well examine what has been now performed or how well I beg you, therefore, to send it me by this bearer, Sir Francis's man My service to Madam I wish you good success in your business, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and most affectionate servant,

J LOCKE

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Mr Churchill and the errata Received the 8th March, 1693[-4] Answered the 10th

[1] Corrected from February

*Locke to Clarke.*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 10th March, 1693-4

My Cousin Bonville who brings you this will with it deliver you a key sealed up, which is the key of my secretor at my lodgings, which I must desire you to open, and in the second drawer of the upper row you will find a great number of acquittances filed together Amongst them I must desire you to look out the last of those that Mr Fox, who is collector for the tax, gave Mr Pawling for my tax and compare it with Mr. Pawling's account with me, that you may know whether it be the last money was paid by Mr Pawling for my tax, for he sometimes forgets to give me the acquittances for money he pays for me When you see what is the last payment you will be able to judge what remains due This trouble I am forced to give you For though Mr Pawling has constantly paid this for me, and I have writ to him several times about it, yet as you will see by the enclosed (which I received last night with your two last, one of the 15th and the other of the 17th) I can get but a very lame account of it There is another reason why I would desire you to look into this matter, and that is, that I not only now, but have formerly suspected there is some skill in the management of this tax at Westminster For they let it run nine or twelve months or more without demanding, and then it must be paid all of a sudden That which augments this suspicion that they require the acquittances to be shown and do not produce their book of rates, which ought as I take it to be signed every quarter by the Commissioners and then collected, and those that pay be crossed Whereas, if I mistake not, once that I saw the rate, the warrant to collect it was not annexed to it Whether it be so or no you may enquire when you pay the money, for I must desire you to pay what you find I am in arrear But I believe you will think it convenient to see the rate first, and then you may make what observations you think fit, without taking notice of anything I have said to you

I am at a loss why you hold me in suspense about my Lord Ashley's answer till I come to town The particulars of the discourse may be perhaps too long for your time and a letter But the result I desire you to send me, that I may bethink

myself what to say or do in the case For I imagine I shall scarce be able to get to town till the Parliament rises This being to go early to Harlow that it may come to you to-night, I shall not give a particular answer in it to both your letters, but defer it till by and by, when I shall write another letter to you to be sent you by this day's post, which you will have Wednesday My humble service to Madam I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

## *Locke to Clarke*

Dear Sir, Oates, 12th March, 1693-4

I had taken some pains to rectify the faults yet remaining in the book you sent me, and to make the edition as good as may be But there is no contesting with everlasting unalterable neglect If I receive that other paper I sent for I shall go on with it If not I shall trouble myself no more about it Its fate is it seems to be the worst printed that ever book[1] was, and it is in vain for anyone to labour against it

I can easily guess that ill-management can spoil the best business in the world, and some people have a faculty at it But of this, as you say, when I see you My service to Madam, who I hope is now well up again I have just time to write you this, and shall in my next send you one to my dear wife In the meantime pray remember me to her It is so long before my Lord Ashley comes in your way that I think it necessary to name again the two businesses to him One is the enlarging my security, the other £100 due to me at Christmas last, whereof £50 was due last midsummer, which I had occasion for then as I have for all now I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching my Lord Ashley, etc Received the 14th March, 1693 Answered the 15th

[1] Locke, *Essay concerning Human Understanding*

*Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 19th March, 1693-4

DEAR SIR,

If the letter I sent you this morning by the Bishop Stortford coach come safe you will have received my desire, which for fear of miscarriage I hear repeat to you again to pay my tax, which I am rated in Westminster for my commission of appeals, when you are satisfied by the collector by the view of the rates and by Mr Pawling what I am in arrear I add to these the acquittances I have in my scriptor at Mr Pawling's, for what has at several times been paid by him for me I doubt not but if the letter I sent this morning came safe, but that Mr Bonville brought you the key of my scriptor If he did not I must desire you to send to him for it If there be need of seeing those acquittances, you will find them filed with several others in the second of those four drawers which make the uppermost row in my scriptor, and they may be easily found from the rest, being printed My cousin Bonville has the key of that scriptor sealed up and will bring it you if you send to him for it But I hope this is done before the receipt of this letter, for Mr Pawling writ me word that they pressed for the money, which they have an odd way of collecting, letting it alone nine or twelve months together and then demanding it in haste, which I understand not in the K 's want of money Besides I think you will do well to inspect their rate to see whether the Commissioners' hands and seals are inseparably affixed to the rate they gather by But if you please let this be your own accidental observation

I know not what I may do in obedience to you But truly I am mightily discouraged from doing anything more where I meet with nothing but repeated negligence I have other views concerning that paper that is pretended to be trod under foot and torn than you h[ave], which I believe nothing of, and therefore must desire you to press for it again, and demand the torn pieces of it For what is pretended to be torn may be kept for other and ill uses, but say nothing of that, but let the man whose letter you sent me enclosed be forced by you to hunt it out and return it again, because without that he is not like to have any more assistance from you And pray rub up his

carelessness a little And let him know you find, as far as you have had time to look into it, this second ten times worse than the first edition [1]

I must desire you to let me know what I am to expect of my Lord Ashley in both those points you talked of It is very uneasy to be left under a doubt, and therefore I make account you will do me that favour though you defer the particulars passed between you till I have the happiness to see you in town

The enclosed, which was writ before I received yours of the 17th, will be a sufficient answer to that kind letter of yours I intended to have sent it by the post as it is directed, and not to trouble you with more of my affairs than necessity compels me, for I think you do not want business But since you were so kind to concern yourself in that affair, it is fit I could only thank you to let you see what is requisite to be done in it You may tell Mr Freke that I intend to make an alphabetical index to the book, for I would have this edition as useful to all sorts of readers as it can, and I hope it will be of some Whether he thinks best to speak with Dring (which your letter alone has named to me), or Manship, or both, I must leave to him Pray give him and of my friends my service, most particularly to Madam I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most faithful servant [2]

My Lady and all here present their service to you

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

Frank

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 20th March, 1694

Dear Sir,

I understand not why Mr Fox that was so much in haste for the money is now so slow in coming to you for it But I very well understand the obligation I have to you in this affair, which I look as safe now it is in your hands

[1] Locke's, *Essay, etc*

[2] Signature has rotted away

What you say of my Lord surprises me the less because your silence made me suspect some such matter, but of that more when I have the happiness to see you

They say you have resolved on an increase of duty on wines A fit time to bring the rate of customs on French wines as high as that of Spanish and make all wine pay alike tun for tun methinks No good Englishman can refuse this The French will still undersell theirs because of the short carriage But I resolve not to waste any of your time with a long letter I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

All our services here to all you there

Did you receive mine wherein was one to Mr Freke?

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to make customs on French wine as high as those on the Spanish wines Received the 20th March, 1694

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 21st March, 1693-4

Dear Sir,

I received your letter and the key of your scriptor Monday night late by Mr Bonville, and went early the next morning and looked out the last receipt that Mr Fox gave Mr Pawling for your tax, and compared it with Pawling's accompt, as you directed The receipt bears date the 14th of April, 1693, and is for £7 10s for the third and fourth quarterly payments, etc, ending at Christmas, 1691, and I do find it was the last money that Mr Pawling paid for your tax I went immediately after to Mr Fox his shop, and to his house, at which places I have been several times since to speak with him, and left word that I had your tax ready in my hands to pay him whenever he would receive it, and let me see the book what it amounted to, and have sent Mr Pawling several times in the same message to him, but I cannot as yet meet with him, nor get him near me But I will try again to-morrow, and so on till your tax be discharged

As to your affair with my Lord Ashley I have only time to tell you that I had as good an opportunity as I could have

[1] Lovelace Collection

desired to speak to my Lord for the payment of what is in arrear to you, and did make the best use I could of it, as I shall tell you more particularly when I am so happy as to see you next, but I have not yet received any part of it And as to the increase of your security, I find it is to be done by an improvement to be made on the farm by building, and not otherwise But of this also more at large when I see you I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

Our humble services to all the good company at Oates, and in that neighbourhood, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 21st March, 1693[-4]

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, London, 27th March, 1694

In my last I gave you an account that I looked out Mr Fox his last receipt and compared it with Mr Pawling's account, etc Since that I have got a sight of the rates and assessments signed by the Commissioners, wherein you and your brethren are charged for your office And after having carefully examined the books I paid him all that you were in arrear home to Christmas last, which amounted to thirty-six pounds five shillings, and saw him cross it in the books, and took his receipts for the money so that affair is now settled I hope to your satisfaction

I delivered your letter to Mr Freke, who hath since been with both the booksellers now concerned in your *Book of Understanding*, and as he tells me they are both very respectful, and are and will be ready to do in that affair whatever you shall please to direct I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

I bless God we are all well, and join in our hearty services to you and all at Oates, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 27th March, 1694

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 30th March [1694]

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your care of my tax, and Mr Freke for his care of my book The errata of the book you sent me you will receive on Monday by one that goes from hence I have perused it a good way at your command, and have put in only the gross errata that make it unintelligible, for the small ones are infinite The use I think is to be made of this, is, since he offers that he will if you think fit lose this edition, that he should sell this very cheap, and then you may tell him you will at your leisure look it over and correct it more exactly, you having now left a great many faults in the pointing that disturbs the sense, and then he may take care to have it printed correct in a fair charcter and good paper But let him sell this at a very low rate This will quickly rid him of this edition and not hinder the next, though this be scattered amongst common readers My humble service to Madam I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J LOCKE

My Lady, Mrs Cudworth and Mrs Masham present their service to you and Madam

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mrs Henman's, over against Little Turnstile in Holborn, London

Frank

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

London, 30th June, 1694

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 26th brought me the welcome news of your safe arrival with your family at Ivychurch I hope the rest you take there will carry you out easily all of you the remainder of your journey

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 69 Also printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, pp 58-59

Tuesday last I went to see our friend J F[reke] Upon discourse with him he told me he had subscribed £300, which made me subscribe £500, and so that matter stands Last night the subscriptions amounted to £1,100,000, and to-night I suppose they are all full Mr Freke talks of going out of town Monday and I shall go Tuesday The commission and charter are now printed at large, and I shall leave them with Clarke the tailor to be sent you I have received my £64 out of the Exchequer

Here is no news of any action in Flanders or from the Fleet, but a buzz of peace I know not how grounded Thursday last my Lord Keeper,[1] whom I met by chance in the gallery going to Council, did me the honour to enquire about my stay, expressed a great desire to meet with me before I went out of town, and asked (for you know his civility) whether he might send to me when he found a leisure time My most humble service to Madam I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate and humble servant,
J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching the Bank, etc Received the 2nd July, 1694 Answered at large the 7th

## *Clarke to Locke*[2]

Chipley, 28th July, 1694

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 13th, writ in the company of two ladies at Whitehall, I long since thanked you for by a letter directed to you at Oates But your obliging letter giving an account of your travels, and the wonders you have seen, dated the 12th came not to my hands until the last night, though it was sent out of London (as I find by the post-mark on the outside of it) on the 19th But the distant date of that letter from the post-mark, and the long time after it took up in its passage to me, are not so strange as the wondrous rarities you saw, and ate in your late ramble I have communicated what you writ me to John

[1] Sir John Somers, who was made Lord Chancellor in 1697
[2] Lovelace Collection

Barber, who is very hard of belief, but very willing to know the places where you found these rarities, and then I think he will hardly sleep quiet until he has seen them But I told him travellers were generally too cunning to make their relations so particular, as thereby to leave it in the power of a busy inquisitor to contradict or detect them in anything they say Upon which John hoped it might not be all true which you had written, being very desirous that nobody should have earlier or better fruit of all kinds than his masters in these parts I am sure we are obliged to John, how little soever you may be in this particular But he says he means honestly, and I return you my hearty thanks for your letter, and rejoice in the pleasure you took in that journey, and could have heartily wished Chipley had lain in your way

I bless God Madam is something better, but far from enjoying perfect health, and therefore I hope she will yet be prevailed with to go to Bath, and drink the waters regularly there Your wife and all my children here are well, and very much your servants, but none so particularly as your wife, and

your most truly affectionate and obliged humble servant,

EDW CLARKE

I have made the best excuse I could to the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England And desired them to choose another director in my place, etc

My reasons I will give you at large when I am next so happy as to see you, and I hope you will forgive my refusal, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford

[*Endr*] E Clarke 28th July, 1694 To 2nd Aug

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 6th August, 1694

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 28th July brought me the good news of your health and that of our wives, at least as far as they think health worth the looking after I have said so much to Madam on that account that it would I think be ill manners in me to press her again, as if the perfect recovery of hers by drinking Bath waters were of more concernment to me than her, though

I can say there is nobody that more heartily wishes her a confirmed health than I do

I know not what you and your man John Barber think of us travellers But if you continue to doubt of what I told you, you may go to Mr Controlers at Winchington in Buckinghamshire, and there have it verified to him that we ate there ripe Newington peaches the beginning of July, which they there had perfect ripe and good in June, we gathering and eating the last that was left At my Lord Ferrer's we ate the ripe oranges and at the Earl of Chesterfield's the ripe grapes, where also you may see oranges planted and thriving in the ground If John Barber will go to these places he will perhaps see ways of ripening fruit and having it early which he has not thought on These two last houses are in Derbyshire, and if he will take into his walk my Lord Montague's at Boughton in Northamptonshire he will there find such a garden as he never yet saw in England I am so much John's friend that I wish he had seen all these places, and some others I could name, that so he might not only outdo the gardeners of the West, but most others in England, for truly I met with what I could not expect, though I was prepared with stories beforehand

I cannot imagine why you refuse to be one of the directors of the Bank I look on it of no small consequence to you and to England, and therefore shall hope you will not persist in a refusal, at least without consulting your friends, who no doubt will be ready to hear your reasons

I do not perceive by anything in yours of the 28th of July, nor your other which I found here at my return, that you received my letter which was directed to you at Ivychurch In that you will find a reason of what perhaps you may think a change in me Pray remember the cheddar cheese for Mr Bridges My humble service to Mrs Clarke and all the young folks, especially my love to my wife All here salute you I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most faithful servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Chipley, near Taunton

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching the fine gardens seen, and touching my refusal of being a Director of the Bank, etc Received the 12th August, 1694

## *Glanvill*[1] *to Clarke*

Greenwich, 7th August, 1694

DEAR SON,

I am not a little proud that you, Sir Walter Young[2] and Doctor Locke call me father, the esteem I have for you all three is I am sure not less than the respect and friendship which sometimes everyone of you says he hath for me After this prologue I suppose you begin to think what next, neither compliment or business, only be pleased to know that on Friday last at a Cabinet Council, the Queen with her [3] made you a commissioner of the excise, and your acquaintance Mr Danvers, one Aram is turned out Sir Walter Young, Mr Chadwick, son-in-law to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and one Mr Clark,[4] a very knowing officer of the custom house, are made commissioners of the customs, and Sir Richard Temple, Sir John Worden and Mr Booth turned out This I have from an infallible hand, and let me assure you that upon your and Sir Walter's account my joy is equal to my pride, that their Majesties have set their mark of favour on you both, for what good father is not both pleased and proud when his sons come to preferment Could I see my dear Doctor Locke but rewarded according to his merit, which is almost impossible, my joys would be complete Pray present my service to your Lady, and believe me you have a very affectionate friend and humble servant in

your poor father,

GLANVILL

[*Endr*] Father Glanvill's congratulatory letter received 10th of August, 1694

## *Clarke to Locke*[5]

London, 28th August, 1694

DEAR SIR,

I had forgot in my last to acquaint you that I bought the cheese you ordered me at Wells, and have presented it to Mr

[1] Presumably William Glanvill, Esq, then an aged deputy of the Lords of the Treasury

[2] Sir Walter Yonge

[3] Hole in the manuscript

[4] Samuel Clark

[5] Lovelace Collection

Bridges from you according to your direction I had a letter from my wife by the last post, wherein she tells me that she continues to drink the Bath waters at Chipley, and that they agree very well with her But she still complains of great dispiritedness, faintness, tremblings, and fears of she knows not what Which circumstances I beg you to take into your consideration, and give me your thoughts thereupon, with your advice how long you think it necessary for the establishing her health, the doing whereof will be a further obligation upon

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

My humble service to all at Oates, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, London
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke 28th August, 1694

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 3rd September, 1694

SIR,

I thank you for the trouble you have given yourself about the cheese I do not doubt but it was good, and I hope not unacceptable as a mark of my acknowledgment

I am very glad to hear that the Bath waters agree so well with Madame They are the best things I know to remove the dispiritedness, faintness and tremblings she complains of, at least the best thing I think she will be persuaded to make use of for it lies in the want and weakness of the spirits, and a custom of representing to herself things on the worst side, and thereby burdening her mind and suppressing[1] the spirits The proper remedy for this would be more exercise and less thoughtfulness If you can find a way to compass that it would be of great use to her, in the meantime the best thing she can do is to continue the waters as long as she finds them agree with her and pass well And I know no other medicines fit to be joined with them When she has given them off I will bethink myself what else may be done in that kind as there shall be occasion My

[1] Written over "cloging," which is crossed out

service to her and my love to my wife, and respects to the other young folk

I return you my thanks for your four kind lines the last post I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

All here present their service to you My humble service to J F[reke] and the rest of our friends in town

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter, etc

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 15th October, 1694

Dear Sir,

The agreeing of the waters with Mrs Clarke I think of so great use to her health that in my opinion she ought not to impute the pain she did for some nights feel in her back on the left side (for she must observe and send me notice of some other symptoms before she or I can conclude it was in her left kidney) to the drinking them I rather judge it was from some disorder in the humours from the cold she then had, and do wish she would continue in the use of the waters, and that with more constancy than she has hitherto observed, it being that chiefly which in these kind of remedies produces such great and beneficial effects. I wish she had sent you word how her stomach and strength is, and how they improve by her drinking, for pains in the particular parts of the body, though they be what the patient generally most takes notice of and soonest complains of, yet they usually, when nothing more is known, give the least light to a physician, especially if they be transient and movable pains My service to her, and my love to my wife and the rest of the young good company with her at Chipley I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

I thank you for your concern for my health I thank God the country air begins a little to relieve me from those impressions

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290 f 70 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 234-5

were made on my lungs by your London smoke, which, as I told you by the last post, I perceive I must not make too bold with at this time of the year My service to Mr Freke, Sir Walter Y[onge] and your son Here enclosed is a letter for him from little Frank [1] Sir Francis, my Lady and all here present their service to you

I shall send Mr Fox to you in a little while for my tax, which Mr Pawling is not yet in a condition to pay That must be my excuse for giving you this trouble I have paid none since you paid him last

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Mrs Clarke's drinking the waters, etc
Received the 18th October, 1694 Answered the 20th

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

Oates, 2nd November, 1694

DEAR SIR,

The favour of your last having no business that required an answer but the kindness in it, I thought you would not be displeased if I returned my thanks by Mr Freke He has since obliged me in his kindness to my cousin King,[3] and now in your turn I must beg you to return my thanks to him I shall be glad to hear how Madam does and whether she continues the waters In my next I shall return her my thanks for her last letter in an answer of my own But I would willingly first be informed of her present circumstances, that if there be any occasion I may give her further directions if there needs any, or at least send her my opinion whether for confirmation or alteration In the meantime pray return my service and thanks to her for her letter, and do not forget my wives, to whom also give my love

If you have no other news pray in your next say a word of the present state of the Bank

Excuse the trouble of the enclosed, and believe that I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

[1] Frank Masham Cudworth, born June 1686

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 70 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 235-6

[3] Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor

I have writ to Mr Stratton[1] to return up some money to you If you deliver the bill to Sir Stephen Evans, and take a note from him for so much payable to me or order, it will, I hope, cost you no other trouble but endorsing the bill

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to have a word of the state of the Bank Received the 5th of November, 1694 And about returning money from Mr Stratton, etc Answered the 6th

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Oates, 9th November, 1694

MADAM,

I hope my answer to Mr Clarke's enquiry about your farther drinking the waters came to your hands before I received yours of the 14th of October I was glad by that to find that you were still in a disposition to continue them, and that there only wanted my direction in the case Mr Clarke in his last informs me of your taking them again and the good success of it, the assurance whereof very much rejoices me, for nobody can be more concerned for your health and the health of all your family than I am I know not what you intend by *the remainder of the waters you have by you* which you intended to drink, as if you did it that those might not be lost I measure not your drinking of them by the number of your bottles, but by the good I conclude they will do you And being of an opinion nothing can be better than they are for you, I would have them continued without any interruption for six weeks or two months together, so that what went before you left off goes with me for nothing I am glad to hear all your little ones are well My service to them, and particularly my love to my dear wife, whom I thank for her kind letter which I will very speedily answer I am,

Dear Madam,
your most obedient humble servant,
J LOCKE

All this family present their service to you and yours

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter, to continue to drink the Bath waters

[1] A cousin of Locke

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 13th November, 1694

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 9th came safe The enclosed for Utrecht I delivered into the grand post this morning with my own hand, and your kind letter to my wife I have likewise conveyed to her, and return you my hearty thanks I have a note from Sir Stephen Evans for your Michaelmas Quarter lately received by him I presume Sir Francis sends you the prints of the King's speech with what was done yesterday in the House of Commons Mr Freke joins with me in his service, and I am (in haste),

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

My humble service to my Lady, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford.
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 13th November, 1694

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, 27th November, 1694

DEAR SIR,

I am exceedingly obliged by your kind letter of the 23rd, and what you therein writ to my daughter Betty, etc, but am surprised that I hear nothing at all from you since the 15th, that I sent you by the post a lease to be executed by you which came from Mr Stratton to me Pray let me know whether you have received it or not, I put it into the post-house with my own hand, and hope it went safe to you If you return it to me in a few days I shall be able to send it back to Mr Stratton by Mr Codrington of Bristol, who is now in town, and goes down again the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next week

I must beg also your direction in the following case Mrs Clarke writes me that little Molly has had a sharp ugly humour

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Lovelace Collection

breaking out all over her face, and has run much, but is gone off without leaving any scars or marks other than redness, and that about ten days since it swelled and gathered under her chin, and about her throat, and it was very hard and much swelled in those parts until it broke and began to run Mrs Clarke hopes by such a good diet, and such purging or other directions as you shall think proper, the child will do very well again She bears it very patiently, and is willing to take anything My wife has endeavoured to purge her by an infusion of rhubarb, but the child is very difficult to be purged, and therefore my wife earnestly desires your thoughts and directions upon the whole matter, which she promises shall be punctually observed Pray pardon the trouble I have given you, and accept Mr Freke's and my hearty service, and be assured that I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 27th November, 1694

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 11th January, 1694-5

DEAR SIR,

I hope this airing of your son[2] these holidays in the country will be convenient for his health and no prejudice to his learning He was welcome to everybody here and particularly to me, and I am glad to find him such a proficient in Latin, from which I conclude that in a little time now he will be master of that tongue But schools I see still are schools and make schoolboys I say this to make you observe whether it be not to be apprehended that the main benefit of a dancing master will be lost, though he dance constantly two or three times a week, if those who ought to have the constant care of him in every part do not look after and mind his postures, carriage and motions, when he

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290 f 72 Also partly printed in *Original Letters of Locke* [1694], p 57, and fully in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 233-4

[2] Jack

is out of the dancing master's hands, for without that the steps and figures of dances I think of no value

The remedy which as Mr Freke tells me set you and him so much thinking you will find in the beginning of my letter to him If it will have time enough now to work I know not, but that I thought on and can think of no other

I return you my thanks for your care of my lease Here enclosed is a short answer to Madam's kind letter, whether she will think it sweet too I know not Whether it be like to work on her to the end which I propose, which is her health, you must be judge If you think a longer letter, and of another turn, may prove more effectual you have but to send the enclosed back again, and I shall follow your instructions, though I chose that most persuasive style I could think of I wish you and yours a happy year, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J Locke

Here enclosed you will find a letter to Monsieur Le Clerc If it come not to your hands time enough to be put into the post this Friday, which is the post night for Holland, I desire it may be done Tuesday next, for it is a letter of concernment I beg your pardon for this trouble

[*Endt*] Mr Locke, touching Jack and Mrs Clarke, etc Received the 12th January, 1694 Answered fully the 15th

## *Clarke to Locke*[1]

London, 15th January, 1694-5

Dear Sir,

The remedy proposed in the beginning of your letter to J[ohn] F[reke] by my son I believe will not be taken whilst this man is mayor, and I fear there is not honesty enough left amongst us to give any reasonable hopes of anything like it in our time, and therefore I despair of a cure

I cannot but repeat my thanks to my Lady and you for your extraordinary favour and kindness to my son whilst at Oates, and to you particularly for the account you gave of his pro-

[1] Lovelace Collection

ficiency in the Latin tongue, and the hopes you thereby give me of his being master of that language in a little time And I heartily thank you for the hint you give me of his postures, carriage and motions, and the care that ought to be taken thereof by those whose business it is to mind his behaviour in every part, for without that I conclude with you that the steps and figures of dances signify nothing

Your lease is gone safe to Mr Stratton's hands I have a letter from him wherein he owns the receipt of it And as soon as I can get the money he returned for you, it shall be received, and I shall wait your order how to dispose of it The bill he sent me gave me some troublesome walks, it being ten days before it was accepted, but now I believe it will be paid in a week or ten days' time at the furthest Your very obliging letter to Mrs Clarke I also particularly thank you for, and sent it to her by the last post Pray give my humble service to my Lady, and be assured that I am

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

My son desired me to convey the enclosed to you

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left at Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex
[*Endr*] E Clarke 15th January, 1694 5

## *Locke to the College*

8th February [1694-5]

MR COLLEGE,

I thank you for making a poor ignorant countryman understand your Parliament matters, for I find that he that now and then chops upon some of the printed notes will not be very well instructed

I grant to Squire John[1] that a supply of the public at 5 per cent is saving of money But if trade be not a little looked after I imagine we shall have but little money for private or public, and I cannot but think a monopoly of money by the bank, as well as a monopoly of merchandising by the Act of Navigation, must prove a great prejudice to the trade of the nation

[1] John Freke

I thank Squire Edward[1] for the receipt of my money I desire it should be transferred into Sir Stephen's hands unless you have any particular reason against it, else pray give Sir Francis Childe's note to Sir Stephen and take his note for so much to me.

I am glad the apples please you and the grafts came safe I think it was a little early to send grafts, but the weather being seasonable, and the convenience of the messenger offering, I thought it no loss to adventure those few For security you shall have more towards the end of this month unless you forbid it If John Barber send you any grafts of your pears, pray let my Lord Monmouth have them, for he having a garden near there they may be grafted before they are spoiled, and from thence we can have them hither at any time

I hope S John has made my purchase of a single ticket to complete my twenty I mention it now because as I think the time comes on of the transfer office, though he need not be minded of taking care of his friends

I could have been glad Sir Walter's had been another boy, but I congratulate to him and his Lady, her safe delivery and their little daughter

The Lady where I am gives her service to the College And I am an humble servant of the whole College, bedmaker and all, for she makes good apple pies

J LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter to the College Received the 10th February, 1694[-5] Answered the 13th per Mr Freke

## *Locke to the College*[2]

18th February [1694-5]

TO THE COLLEGE, GREETING,

Let the grave Squire know that I am obliged to him for his care of my little money affair and letters, and if he pleases

[1] Edward Clarke

[2] Copy of a letter of Mr John Locke sent to Woburn Abbey 6th December, 1845, signed W A Sanford

let him peruse the enclosed, and if he approves of it send it forward with my service, or else back to me for such amendments as he thinks convenient

As to Bachelor John I beg his pardon for my bad memory, for either I writ the £5 5s 0d down in my memorandums, when I received the letter where it was mentioned, and so my memory, being discharged of it took no more care of it, or else something at the time thrust it so out, that remembering the money was mentioned paid for the cocoa nut, and not that I thought Edward the grave lad in his much business forgot to tell me of it I doubted not but you had done what you had promised, and return you my thanks

My conclusion stands thus The money in the Bank is, and I conclude always will be, managed by London merchants, whereby it will come to pass that they under under names and their friends will be sooner and easier supplied for their occasions than others, whereby I am apt to think the greatest part of our trade will in a little while by secret combinations be got into a few hands, even by this monopoly of money And I think it becomes the wisdom of the Parliament rather to consider how money might be better distributed into the country, and other ports, and trading parts of England, than to set up a corporation, and by law countenance its drawing all to London For if you examine it I believe you will find trade in all the out ports mightily decayed one cause whereof I looked on to be the banking trade (formerly) in London, which is now authorised by a law, and such an establishment of it as I fear will cost dear to England And whatever good effects are boasted of now in the infancy of the corporation will not last long when they are a little grown up and know their own strength

The Lady of the house returns her thanks and service to you both, and I am,

your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J Locke

I desire brother Bachelor would do me the favour to look into the list of unclaimed benefited tickets mentioned in the *Gazette* of the 14th instant to see whether any of my numbers be there I do not much expect it, but it is

possible former list may have been misprinted 'Tis good to be sure

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to the College Received 20th February, 1694[-5] Against the Bank Answered by Mr Freke, 28th

## *Locke to the College*

11th March [16]95

I cannot but own to the College that I was mightily pleased to read in the votes by what hand the bill we have been talking about was brought into the house My mind is now at rest about the matter, for when all is done that can be I acquiesce in the event

If the sheet of coinage[1] be like to do any good I am very glad But that it may be the better fitted for it pray mend the faults which disturb the sense

p 9 l 4, read ,'s ,
p 11, l 15, ,, because of the ,
p 14, l 13, ,, at so

What if the purchase were made with a little ready money to Sir W W, the purchaser undertaking to discharge that bond to B F, for let the purchaser purchase it in your name and let the property be transferred to you I offer this as my thoughts, but to one who knows better how [to] get and ascertain the property than I

I thank you Mr Bachelor for the care you promise me of my tickets at the transfer office and elsewhere, and look upon that as done when the season comes But you must excuse me if I mind you again of Mr Wynne I should not be so importunate but that a letter lies upon my hands which requires an answer, wherein my delay may be misconstrued, and yet I cannot well write till I know a little of him and his character I should be glad the search is ordered might discover the truth I have reason to think there is just occasion for enquiry, and that evil I look on to be *nostri fiendi calamitas*

[1] Locke's *Short Observations* etc, 1695

I must beg your pardon Mr Squire for the trouble of the enclosed I desire the whole College to look on me as their

faithful friend and humble servant,

J L

The Holland post goes not till Friday

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching some errata in the pamphlet touching coinage, etc etc Received the 13th March, 1694 Answered by Mr Freke the 14th

## *Locke to the College*[1]

Oates, 2nd April, 1695

Sir Edward,

I know you have so little time to spare that I scarce look for a letter from you in business, and therefore you may be sure I expect not compliments when I do you and Mrs Clarke those little services that are in my power, and are but little more than wishes I thank you for the care of my letters, but pray let them not be any trouble to you

Sir John,

I thank you for the packet you sent me and the character in it of the gentleman I enquired after I know not whether Mr T may not have some reason about the abridgment[2] on the bookselling account, though perhaps it may promote his business too But whether good or ill in itself or consequence the book is abroad, and his that buys it, and when he has it he may do with it as he pleases This is sure, that Mr W[ynne] writing to me very civilly about it, and as it seems to me with a good design, it was not for me to oppose it or go about to hinder him

I told you not how much the bond was for, because I never saw it nor did Mr Furly write me word what it was for , nor do I know whether the sum be in English or Dutch money What is necessary for you [to write] him I beg the favour of you to demand of him in a letter, and tell him how the case stands.

[1] The letter is discoloured and faded

[2] Dr John Wynne's proposed abridgement of the *Essay*

What you writ to me last I made all the haste I could to let him know I am,

The College's most faithful friend and humble servant,

J LOCKE

[*Endr*] Mr Locke [with] letter enclosed to , etc Received the 3rd of April, 1695

[1] The enclosed you may be pleased to transcribe and give him as necessary to be taken notice of because they confound the sense, not but that there are an infinite number more in the printing which disturb it, which at present you have passed over

[*Endorsed by Mr Clarke*] Mr Locke, with the errata to be taken care of, etc Received the 2nd April, 1694 Answered the 5th April

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

DEAR SIR, London, 20th April, 1695

I heartily thank you for all your kind letters The Head of the College has promised to answer most of them But in answer to that of the 18th I have this day paid Sir Francis Masham the £30 you ordered, and taken his receipt on the bill you drew on me And I will get Sir Stephen Evans his note for your last quarter's salary, as soon as it is paid, which I presume will be the beginning of the next week

I received the enclosed from Madam by the last post, but by the date do find it should come the post before I am extremely obliged to you for your great care and concern for her It is her modesty only that occasions her writing to me rather than you touching her present state of health But I have told her I shall communicate her letter to you, and do earnestly beg your further directions, as you shall see occasion Her preservation is the greatest concern I have in the world, and therefore your continued care of her health is the greatest obligation you can lay upon

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

My humble service to my Lady, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 20th April, 95 To 22nd

[1] A copy of this letter has the accompanying postscript written in Locke's hand

[2] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 26th April [1695]

The last post I had but just time to acknowledge the receipt of their favours from the College

Sir Grave having now at more leisure perused Madam's letter I am confirmed in the opinion of the method I have prescribed her That decay of spirits and want of something she knows not what is a very right description of her disease I know it very well, and I know nothing so good for that as the Bath waters, and if they should no other ways help what she last complained of, but by hindering her from being so often and so much disturbed with anything that may come cross her, yet in that they would be very useful to her in allaying and abating that other symptom But besides that I look on them as directly helpful for that too, especially if she will be careful to drink them as I have directed, to which I have at present nothing more to add of directions to be sent to her, if you have received the letter sent you the last post, and I hope we shall soon have an account of her being better If it should not be so soon let it not give you any apprehensions of her life being in danger The last ill she complained of is sometimes obstinate and will not presently yield to remedies, but as it often hangs on long, so patients support themselves long under it, and it very seldom proves mortal

I return you my thanks for your so readily answering my bill Sir Francis, and your remembrance and care of my affair with Sir Stephen when the quarterage is paid

I lately found a copy of my will sealed up and writ on in a place where I looked not for it This made me bethink myself how it came there After some recollection I fancy that I remember that last summer, having some thoughts to alter something in it when I was in town, I had it from you If so it has lain by me forgotten till now Pray set me right in this matter in your next For I find my memory I find is in many things too short to be relied on I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and faithful servant,

J L

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching his will found in his hands, etc Received the 29th April, 1695 Answered the 30th The substance whereof was answerable to the latter part of the enclosed, etc

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 30th April, 1695

DEAR SIR,

I return mine and my College's hearty thanks for your kind letter by the last post, and particularly for your care of Mrs Clarke I yesterday received the enclosed from her to be conveyed to you

This day I got a bill from Sir Stephen Evans for £50, being your last quarter's salary, and shall lay it up safe for you as you directed me I have also received by Mr Freke five pounds for you, which he received as the first payment due on your benefit ticket

In answer to what you writ touching your will, I can only inform you that about twelve months since you asked me for it, which I then delivered to you, as I understood your intentions then were to make some alteration in it, but I have never heard you say anything of it since, and this is all that I can inform you in that matter, and am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

Bank notes are very difficult to be got now, and if I am rightly informed there is an imaginary value set on them, and they rise as guineas do, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 30th April, 1695 To May 3rd

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, 2nd May, 1695.

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed, with a bill of exchange for thirty pounds to be received to your use, came to my hands by the last post from

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Lovelace Collection

Mr Stratton, of which I have given him notice by this post The bill I shall place in Sir Stephen Evans his hands to be received for you, and shall take his receipt of it on your account with the very first opportunity, etc

'Put me in mind to tell you of a matter of greater moment wherein I think you may oblige the commonwealth of letters yet further,' are words in your last to Bachelor John, which he desires an explanation of by letter not knowing when he shall be so happy as to see you The whole College are entirely your servants, but none more affectionately than

EDW CLARKE

Our humble services to my Lady, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 2nd May, 1695 To 10th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 3rd May, 1695

DEAR SIR GRAVE,

By the fire's side (and well I can be warm there) I return you my thanks for yours of the 30th April The enclosed from Madame, giving no further account of her health or anything done in order to it, does not require a present answer That which you say of my will satisfies me how little I must rely on my memory

What I said of the wardens might be done if there were more such colleges, or this one had more such fellows, I find I have reason to repeat again upon the reading of the dozen and half, which are (contrary to custom) all reasons Would your house were stored with a number of such as drew them up There was never more need of them I cannot tell what to say of their plenty

The Bachelor must give me leave to mind him again of Sir Wm Waller's book [2] upon the receipt of a letter lately from Mr Limborch, who has some concern in it I hope the purchase

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290 f 73 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 236-7

[2] Presumably Waller's *The Tragical History of Zetzer*, 1695

is made, or at least that Sir Bachelor has writ to Ben Furly about it, as I desired that it may be expedited

Last Tuesday I received from Mr Churchill a catalogue of Miller's pamphlets that are now set to sale I would desire some of the College if they know any that are extraordinary good in their kind to send a catalogue of them by the penny post to A Churchill to buy them for me There was one I remember of the administration of the affairs of Scotland under Duke Lauderdale, and another about the Scotch affairs writ about four or five years since the author was supposed Sir J M I have forgot the titles of both of them, but should be glad to have them This though I desire yet I would not have it entrench upon any of your more serious affair If you have an idle minute to throw away, write down a few such in a catalogue and let Churchill have it You that live in town pray excuse such troubles from your country friends If you want herbs or roots for diet, drinks or plasters, pray let me hear of it *Â propos des remèdes Take juice of selandine and honey with a little saffron, an excellent remedy for a sore mouth, and that which people call cankers in it Probatum est*

I thank you for your care and pains about my tickets, and am,

your most assured friend and humble servant,
J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter for Miller's Pamphlets, etc Received the 6th May, 1695 Answered the 9th With a receipt for a canker, or sore mouth, and touching my answer about his will, and sent to Mrs Clarke the 11th May, 1695

## *Locke to the College*

Oates, 10th May [1695]

I thank the Grave for the enclosed he sent me, and the care of the bill which came to his hands with it, and hope he has by this an account from Sir Stephen that the money is received

Bachelor John must not think me unwilling he should have the explication of the two lines in my former letter, because I do not send it him in writing It is fitter for a discourse than letter, and will keep cold till I come to town should ill weather

and lungs keep me here longer than I hope and intend, but the thing will not suffer by delay I mentioned my hopple, when I thought of my hopple, that you who have better memories might call upon me for it when I appear before the College if my bad one should let it slip Let the College believe me their most devoted humble servant,

Excuse the charging you with the enclosed J L

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 13th May, 1695, with a memorial, etc Answered the 14th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

DEAR SIR, Oates, 17th May, 1695

I have sent a gentle remedy [2] for your little one at Ditton, which possibly may be without any greater business In your next pray send me her age Let Mr Shipton tie the ingredients in a thin rag, and so let it be hung in a bottle of small beer, which let the child drink of and no other As the beer is drunk out let fresh be put in till it has no more taste nor purging, and then let me know how it succeeded

I am not at all pleased with your news of the Bachelor's designed journey Half the satisfaction of my being in London will be lost if he be out of the way when I am there Let me know when he intends to go and when return from Bath My breath is yet short, and I know not how long stay it will permit me in town, and therefore having business that will call me to town, but not presently, I must husband my time there as well as I can, but would willingly order it so as to be there when he is *I have something which I would gladly propose and have debated in the College* If he goes and be not like to return in three weeks from hence I think I must beg him to leave directions and papers with you about my ticket and lottery concernment in the Exchequer, that I may settle that affair when I get to town

Pray send me word in your next whether you think the reversions of the annuities in the Exchequer worth the having

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 74 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de J Locke*, p 237

[2] ℞ Rhubarb in taleol in cis - - - - 5i
Corallinae - - - - - - - 3s
For Mr Clarke's daughter

M f nodulos

at the Act rate at 4½ years' purchase, and whether you intend to purchase and turn yours from lives into the years certain

We have still winter weather bateing a little warmth Last night's violent rain has made here an unusual flood, and it rains hard now and looks settled to it My service to College I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J L

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with a prescription for Gennay, and to know when Mr Freke goes to Bath, and about purchasing the reversion of the annuities, etc Received the 20th May, 1695 Answered fully the 21st

## *Clarke to Locke*[1]

London, 23rd May, 1695

DEAR SIR,

Your letter sent me by the last post to be conveyed to Mr Stratton I have enclosed in mine to him by this post, wherein I have acquainted him that the money he last returned by bill for you is received, which I hope will put him out of pain in that particular

Whether the Bachelor will drink the waters, or what he will do when he gets to Bath, or how long he will stay there, or when he will return, I can no more tell than when a certain gentleman now within the moated castle will visit the College I thank him most heartily for his care of Madam's health, of which she is not pleased to give me any account, having other complaints to fill her letters withal And I fear by her silence she has not put to practice the directions you were so kind to send for her And I pray God she may not have cause to repent it, etc

Pray give my hearty service to Sir Francis and my Lady, and be assured that I shall not only with all readiness make the enquiry desired for a security, but gladly embrace all other opportunities how really and how much I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

Your letter to Mr Wynne I have sent by this post as directed, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 23rd May, 1695 To 25th

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 25th May, 1695

DEAR SIR,

It will fall out extremely unlucky if I should miss you too in town when I come thither The weather and my business are neither of them yet ripe for it, for I write this by the fire's side, and know not yet how I shall be able to bear London air Syll, who brings you this and comes out of town again on Tuesday morning, will I hope bring me word that your journey will not be so soon as you talk of I beg you, therefore, to send me word precisely as near as you can the day you intend to go out of town and the time you intend to stay in the country, that I may order my journey so as to have as much time with you in town as possible, for I have a great deal to say to you and talk with you, and will if possible see you before you go into Somersetshire *I shall, I think, in the beginning of July have some money paid me in, and perhaps some sooner Pray tell me whether I cannot refuse clipped money, for I take it not to be the lawful coin of England, and I know not why I should receive half the value I lent instead of the whole*

Yours of the 23rd, which I received just now, has prevented some questions I was going to ask you The Bachelor I see is not mollified by age, and I think it is his own ripeness keeps him so stiff to his own ways and purposes I thank you for sending my letters and writing to my cousin Stratton I suppose Sir Stephen Evans received the money I hope, since you hear not the contrary from Mrs Clarke, that she is well, and that is a great deal better than anything can be presented her I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J LOCKE

If Syll wants any money whilst he is in town, pray let him have forty shillings

You have two bank bills of mine, which I think were limited to a year I know not how near that time is out what must I do to change them? Pray make not too much haste into the

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 75 Also printed in *Lettres inedites de John Locke*, pp 238-239

country I must see you before you go, and expect you will order it so that I may

[*Endr*] (1) Mr Locke, touching bank bills and clipped money, and other business, etc Received by Syll on the 25th May, 1695 Bank bills, etc Answered by Syll the 28th

(2) One of the B bills within mentioned bears date the 7th, the other the 14th of August, 1694

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, London, 28th May, 1695

Yours of the 25th by Syll came safe to me And I hope this warm weather will speedily bring you as safe hither likewise For, indeed, it is next to impossible for me to send you the precise time of my going out of town It depends much on the pleasure of the Treasury But my intentions are to begin my journey hence some time the next week, if possible I can compass it, so that if the weather and your health will permit, and you come to town any time this, or the beginning of the next week, you will certainly find me at the College But afterwards at Chipley for six weeks or thereabouts, if I can get leave for so long

I think you may lawfully refuse all clipped, or other money that is diminished in the weight more than by reasonable wearing, or otherwise you may in a very short time be forced to receive a quarter part of what you lent instead of the whole

Sir Stephen Evans received the money on your cousin Stratton's bill. The two bank bills of yours which are in my custody bear date one of them the 7th, the other the 14th of August, 1694, but what must be done to change them when the year is out I know not as yet I should most heartily rejoice to see you before I leave the town, and as heartily serve you both here and everywhere else to the utmost of my power, who am

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

My humble service to Sir Francis and my Lady Syll received forty shillings of me yesterday, etc

[*Addr*] These for Mr Locke at Oates

[*Endr*]. E Clarke, 28th May, 1695

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke.*[1]

25th August, 1695.

DEAR SIR,

When I began to read Mr Engeham's letter written in your lodgings I began to be frighted But the sequel of it and Mr Pawling's which was writ after his, pretty well satisfied me with the hopes that the pain and danger is now well over I flattered myself when I parted with you that your distemper was at an end for that time, and would be kept off with a little care two or three days, though I know it so apt to return that one is not very secure till one's health be confirmed by some days' continuance Let this be a caution to you not to be too forward in venturing abroad or eating anything but plain meat, and be sure for this good while to keep your stomach and belly and feet very warm I think the Doctor has done exceeding well in bleeding and purging you upon the return of your pains This I have great confidence will prove an effectual cure, and I see your body was so disposed that there was no getting it off at a cheaper rate, and notwithstanding my hopes to set you right an easier way, yet had I been in town I should have been forced I conclude to come to the same discipline Have a care of yourself I hope to hear by the next post that you have no remains of your pain

Pray send Mr Trent word that I do not think that two grains will purge the child or at all make her looser, but that they may continue to give it her if she be a little loose, if it does not directly purge her, for if it does they must then forbear I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

Pray give my service to Mr Engeham and to the Bachelor, who is with you, I hope, before this time

All the company here give you their service, and are concerned for your health There were several people robbed on Epping Forest the same morning we passed it.

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 77 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 239-240

We heard of it at the Green Man, and our ladies' hearts went pit-a-pat

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near the Temple Gate, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke of his and the ladies being like to have been robbed And about my illness, etc Received the 26th August, 1695 Answered the 27th

## *Mr Bonville to Clarke*

SIR, London, 8th September, 1695

I have lately seen a letter from Mr Thomas to my Cousin Locke, wherein he writes that both Mr Powell and Mrs Thomas complain that she has been unfairly or unfriendly dealt with about the interest of the £600 lent to Dr Thomas He talks as if the Doctor were promised to have it at 4 per cent, which I never heard mentioned Indeed, he said that if he should pay 5 per cent he should pay in the money in a year or two, because he thought he might get it cheaper, but he said if the money might continue in his hands at 4½ he would keep it seven or eight years That 5 per cent was agreed it appears by the writings Had they continued it seven or eight years as the Doctor proposed, there would have been but 4½ expected But they pay it in so soon and without six months' notice as was agreed, it was reasonable that the interest should be paid according to the writings I cannot believe Mr Powell should find fault with anything which has been done, because the computation of the interest being put into his hands some days before the money was paid, I doubt not but he would have excepted against it if there had been any unreasonableness or mistake in it However, if there be any I am ready to rectify it, counting mistakes no payment, and shall refer the whole matter to you to make what satisfaction you think fit If I have done anything amiss in it I beg the favour of you to write to Mr Powell about it

I rest,

your humble servant,

JN BONVILLE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, next door to the Hen and Chicken, in Red Lyon Street

[*Endr*] Mr Bonville, touching Mr Locke and Mrs Thomas, etc Received the 9th September, 1695 With a copy of my letter to Mr Powell thereupon, etc

## *Clarke to Mr Powell* [1]

London, 10th September, 1695

SIR,

Mr Bonville tells me that in a letter from Mr Thomas to Mr Locke both you and Mrs Thomas complain that she hath been unfairly and unfriendly dealt with about the interest of £600 lent to Dr Thomas Mr Bonville says he cannot believe you saying such a thing, because the computation of the interest being put into your hands a day or two before the money was paid, he doubts not but you would have excepted against it had there been any mistake However, if there be any he is ready to rectify it, counting mistakes to be no payment I desire you therefore to let me know how the matter stands, and I will be answerable that if there be anything whereof any one has reason to complain you shall have full satisfaction from him in the affair This you are desired to communicate to Mrs Thomas

With my humble service to her from [2]

your affectionate faithful servant

[*Addr*] For Mr Powell at his house in Salisbury

## *Clarke to Locke* [3]

Chipley, 30th September, 1695

DEAR SIR,

Though I know not certainly, yet I guess at the contents of the enclosed, which was just now brought to me sealed up to be conveyed to you And upon the presumption that I guess right, I will only say that I take it to proceed from the vapours, which frequently puts my wife upon fancies that this, and that, and t'other particular, will only tend to the restoring her to health again, and now your presence is what I hear is harped on I know your friendship is so real to her and me you would not

[1] Rough copy of a letter to Mr Powell in Locke's handwriting

[2] In Mr Clarke's hand from this word

[3] Lovelace Collection

refuse us anything that might be for the real good of either of us But since I look upon the enclosed to be the effects of mere fancy, and that a journey hither at this time of the year may be greatly inconvenient, and perhaps prejudicial to your health likewise, I think a dexterous excuse may satisfy if you put it on your necessary attendance on the Commission for Appeals, or what else you think fit But let me be concealed in the matter And pardon the liberty that in all cases is taken by

your real friend and servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 30th September, 1695 To 7th October

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 7th October, 1695

DEAR SIR,

Your obliging letter of the 30th of September came but last night to my hands or you should sooner have received my thanks for your kind direction therein with relation to my wife, who indeed continues still extreme weak, and hath had many pull-backs since my letter of the 21st of September to you The pains and swelling which (in one of my letters about ten days since) I gave you an account of in her right foot, leg and thigh, were very troublesome for five or six days, but by fomentations used are now removed thence, but are fallen in like manner upon the other foot, leg and thigh, and are a very great affliction and trouble to my wife at this time, being very painful upon the least motion But I hope time, care and patience will overcome it all, which I heartily pray for

I have by this post writ to Mrs Thomas exactly pursuant to your directions in your last, but introduced it with a compliment to her for her particular concern for my wife, which a late letter from Mrs Stringer gave me a very proper occasion for, and I have given as good a turn to it to gain an answer as I can And you may depend upon it that all the care imaginable shall be

[1] Lovelace Collection

taken to put an absolute end to that matter, that is or shall be any ways in the power of

your truly affectionate and faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE.

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex First to London
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 7th October, 1695

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

London, 9th November, 1695

MADAM,

I was very glad to see Mr Clarke last night returned safe to town with other looks in his face and a less weight on his heart than when I last parted with him here at his going out of it It was welcome news to me to receive from him an assurance that you were upon your legs again, and such an account of your health, which though yet distant from your former strength, yet I conclude there is no more required to bring you to it again but a little time, and a little care in the management of yourself He tells me your legs are a little apt to swell sometimes You know I am not a man very fond of wine, and therefore I may be trusted when I advise it I think it very necessary in your present case to drink a small glass of good wine once or twice a day, and I think it would be best warmed Set a little silver cup to the fire till it be very hot, pour your glass of wine into it, and pour it back presently This will warm it without wasting the spirits, and thus drank it will comfort your stomach, strengthen your spirits, and hasten your recovery For you want a restorative diet, little and good and oft, and if in convenient cases you use nutmeg and other spices more plentifully than you used to do it will not be hurtful to you I know I am at a distance and that under the care of so good a physician as you have my advice is needless But where one has great concern I find one cannot be wholly silent

I return you my thanks for your kind letter by Mrs Burgess's hand I hope some time or other to convince you that your

obliging invitations are not lost upon me I wish you a daily increase of your health, and am,

Madam,

your most humble and most obliged servant,

JOHN LOCKE

Pray give me leave to present my service to Mrs Burgess and the little ones Though I have not had the leisure to-day, yet it will not be long before I visit Miss Nancy, whom her father tells me he has brought to town with him

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke, at Chipley, near Taunton
[*Endorsed by Mrs Clarke*] Mr Locke's letter upon Mr Clarke's return to London after my illness

## *Locke to Mrs. Clarke*

Oates, 22nd November [1695]

MADAM,

Though I could wish you had no pain at all, yet I think those which are the marks of returning health (as I look on yours to be) ought not very much to fright us, and may be borne with the more patience The pains and swelling in your leg which returns sometimes you have a remedy for it You have tried and cannot I think have a better than the Queen of Hungary's water But perhaps that will be made more effectual if you first foment the part with flannel soaked in brandy made as hot as you can endure it over a chafing dish of coals, and when you have repeated the hot brandy flannels three or four times, or as often as you can bear it, then put on hot flannel soaked in the Queen of Hungary's water, and so let it lie on all night This fomentation I would have used when you are in bed And in the morning rub the part, if you can bear it, with a piece of dry flannel fumed with the smoke of amber powdered grossly and thrown upon some live coals

You complain, I perceive, of another swelling in your legs increasing towards evening without pain This I think is to be cured by diet I would advise you to drink as little as you can, but especially to forbear much small drink And be sure to drink every day a glass or two of good wine such as you like best, or good mum oftener, if you can get it. And for your meat, let

it be fresh meat such as you like best, and let it be but of one sort at one time, eat not of varieties at the same time But when you have a stomach again and fancy anything else, let it be got ready for you In your case it matters not to observe hours, or set meals Only I would not have you eat any flesh after candle lighting, for by that time I think convenient you should be in bed Good, light, well baked bread of the best [flour] you can take, and this I recommend to you [1]

My Lady is in great affliction for the loss of her mother [2] She presents her service to you, and wishes the speedy return of your perfect health I very particularly and earnestly wish you were rid of all the remains of your disease I count a little care and time will perfect recovery I heartily desire it, and am,

Dear Madam,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Mrs Mary Clarke, at Chipley, near Taunton

[*Endorsed by Mrs Clarke*] Mr Locke's letter concerning the swelling in my legs

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 2nd December, 1695

SIR,

I am so bad a solicitor and have acquaintance with so few members that I imagine my presence in town would that way be very little serviceable to my country and only waste the time I now spend in writing what you desire, which, whatever may be expected from me, I cannot dispatch faster than my health and leisure will permit The first week after my coming into the country was taken up with the business and Bishop that was here, since that my cough and toothache which hath grievously tormented me have required some allowance of time to be made to them, and yet I have not been wholly idle, but cannot write post what I intend for the press In the meantime you have my papers on that subject, which you may communicate or give to all those who would be serviceable in the debate, who I think

[1] Five lines are here illegible

[2] Lady Masham's mother, widow of Dr Cudworth, died 15th Nov, 1695

are not many, for if anything I can say may be useful, or of force there, I think it is And I have been the less forward to print on this occasion, because I remember I was told when I was going once to print something on this very subject, that it was better not, in regard of the Parliament, for that arguments that were in print were quite lost when made use of in the house and signified nothing

As to the business of the Appeals I desired you to speak to some of my brethren to see what disposition they were in to execute their office and hear the appeals that are before us, unless I know that I may take a third journey to town and wait there to the prejudice and danger of my health, as I have done twice already to no purpose For I cannot hear appeals myself, and if my brethren will not, I cannot help it I had rather lose two places than one life

I thank you for your care of my business with Mr Powell I look upon it as safe in either of your hands But when both of you join to consider of it, I think I need not ever ask a question about it

Though you are, as you say, but guessers, yet pray whilst I am absent now and then communicate some of your guesses I had rather know them than some of the enlightened polls certainties

Your direct answer to my question about one person is what I suspected by the discourse of our host where we dined together, though how it was ordered to go so glibly I could not guess till you told me Is the world stark mad? Do you remember a question I once asked you about your cousin P? I cannot get my thoughts off from that place Things do not come about without some influence, and the squires being deserted as you tell me gives me further doubt If that point be carried all may go well, but my papers could not possibly be public before that motion, and after it I hope will come time enough for what will remain I make what haste I can I have a design to dedicate it to my Lord Keeper,[1] if he will allow of it, that will give me an opportunity to say something which will not possibly come in so well in the body of the discourse

Pray give me your thoughts of the Parliament, and tell me who is sheriff for Somersetshire

[1] Sir John Somers

The printing act I see has been taken care of to the utmost, and I thank you it is lodged, and that's well I am,

Sir (which is a title belongs to either, to both, to the College, as the matter directs),

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee-house, near Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 4th December, 1695 Answered per Mr Freke the 5th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 13th December, 1695

DEAR SIR,

My bed with other things I have used have, I thank God, put a stop to the increase and violence of my cough I think it well that I am got so far, though my breath yet be very short, and my cough far from being quite gone, as it was before I last came up to town But it is some comfort to be getting up the hill, though it be but slowly I wish it were so in other places In my last to you I enclosed one to Mrs Clarke You will find by that, that I think it not convenient at present to trouble her with any new rules about her health, fearing that if we multiply them too much we shall have none observed, and those few I formerly sent her will, I hope, if kept to bring her to her former strength, and then if she feel or fear any return of the pain she complained of in her last to me we may give directions about it The *ens veneris* I advised for your son Sam in that letter was not intended to thrust out the use of *mana* and *syrup of Althaea* directed by Dr Cole, but will consort very well with it, only omitting it these days that he takes either the *mana* or the *syrup*

I must beg you to present my most humble service to my Lord Keeper, and my thanks for his concern for me

I do not doubt but the College is the same I only wish the College could work upon another college not to be so much the same as it seems to me to be

A poor carpenter of this parish had a debt of £40 or £50 paid

him just before the first proclamation about money came out He tells me that he can pass away neither half-crowns nor shillings, though he owes money he can get nobody to take them, and I am told that guineas in this country go for 1 or 2 and 30s I see by the votes that your house dissents from the amendments of your bill about the coin made by the Lords, but what those amendments are you chiefly stick at I cannot see by the votes, nor what the amendments were I suppose they were good for nothing, because your house has rejected them But is it true what I hear talked that false money, not standard silver, is to pass? I am to the whole College,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and affectionate servant,

J Locke

Your son is very well, and presents his duty to you

My Lady and my Cousin King present their service to you and to Mr Freke

[*Endt*] Mr Locke about the *ens veneris* to be given to Sammy, etc And something touching the coin, etc Received the 15th December, 1695 Answered the 16th by Mr Freke

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

2nd January, 1695-6
8 at night

Sir,

The House of Commons is just up They have been all this day in a committee concerning trade, and about an hour since came to a question and 175 carried it against 174 That Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament When it comes to be reported it is possible the House may not agree with what was carried in the Committee but by one vote If ever it come to be reported, as it is possible it may not, for by that time all the several powers are settled, if they are debated as this question was, the session will in all likelihood be at an end before they can come to make a report from the committee

The Lords have gone through the Coinage Bill and made several amendments to it, and added several clauses, but I can't

[1] Lovelace Collection

learn what they are in particular, only there is a clause to hinder the importation of gold and for the exportation of coin, and it is said they have provided that an account be taken of what clipped money is in everybody's hand, and what its deficiency is, and that then it shall go by weight

Give my service to my Lady, her son, Mr Clarke, and Mr King, and own me as,

Sir,

your faithful friend and humble servant,

J F

[1] I am so near tired with the fatigue of the day that I should not write a word to you were it not that I have the express order of the Lords of the Treasury to call you to town again to attend the Appeals appointed to be heard Tuesday morning next They lay great stress on the cause, and your being present at the decision of it, and therefore expect you should not be absent in the first instance where the Government will want your assistance in your office They say the whole management of the revenue and excise is struck at in these appeals This I have in command to tell you, and am therein but a faithful reporter and

your affectionate friend and servant,

E C

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselin, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford
Frank
Edw Clarke To be sent by a messenger on purpose

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 2nd January, 1695-6 To 4th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 4th January, 1695[-6]

DEAR SIR,

I write this in bed, which I know not whether I shall rise out of to-day or no I shall always readily obey the orders of the Treasury to the utmost of my power, but I doubt not but they will excuse my not coming to town, if anyone has so much charity left for me as to represent to them the very ill state of my health, wherein I at present suffer more from my lungs than ever I have done since their first disorder I am not so averse

[1] The remainder is in Mr Clarke's writing

to the town as to have left it at this time if I could have borne it any longer, and I needed not so strong an invitation to return as that extraordinary message you sent me were I in a condition to come

I received Mrs Clarke's letter but last night, and shall answer it the best that I can by the first opportunity My humble service to the Bachelor, and thanks for his news I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My Cousin King, who is sitting by me whilst I write this, presents his service to Mr Freke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke that he cannot come to town, but is sick, etc
Received the 6th January, 1695[-6] Answered the 9th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 6th January, 1695[-6]

Dear Sir,

My usual helps not working upon that ill state of my lungs which I brought from London I have been fain to betake myself to my last refuge of keeping my bed I am still under that discipline, and flatter myself I find good by it and begin to find myself better

I have here enclosed writ to Mrs Clarke I guess that which Mr Smith calls hypocondriacal wind was a little touch of gravel, though I am not certain of it If it return again I shall be better able to judge of it, but I imagine it will not probably very quickly, and so she need not be discomposed about it till she be better confirmed in her health by observing those rules which you know we have difficulty enough to make her observe already, though they are but few and easy I would advise you to get an ounce or two of *ens veneris*, and send her for the child by the first opportunity Upon consideration of the whole matter I think it every way the best thing he can take, desire her to observe nicely any changes she shall find in him upon taking of it

I wish you an happy new year, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My humble service to the Bachelor. Your son is well, and presents his duty to you, and the rest of the company here present their service to you and the Bachelor

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, of his own illness, and directions for Sammy, etc Received the 8th January, 1695[-6] Answered the 9th

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Oates, 6th January, 1695[-6]

DEAR MADAM,

The marks of your concern for me will always be welcome to me And you cannot interest yourself more in anything that you think a good fortune to me, than I shall always rejoice in the health, prosperity and happiness of you and all your family I am sorry that you have any painful accidents that make you at all suffer in your return to health This last I am glad is so well over that you are only concerned for the name That which Mr Smith gave it I think as good as any, and will serve your turn as well as a Greek or a Latin one, so you have no returns of it I desire you to observe those few easy rules I formerly sent you till you have recovered your former strength, and then if the hypocondriac wind should trouble you again I shall talk further with you about it As a farther direction for your son Sam I have writ to Mr Clarke to send you an yellow powder, whereof I would have you give him two grains every morning in two or three spoonfuls of black cherry water till you can get any of the herb arsmart, which I would have you distil as you do roses, and then give it him in that I wish you an happy new year. I am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble servant,

J LOCKE

Your son is here and well He sends you his duty, and my Lady her service

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter, etc

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 9th January, 1695-6

DEAR SIR,

I have only time to tell you that I am heartily concerned at your indisposition, and have made your excuse to all the Lords of the Treasury, and also to my Lord Keeper, who is much concerned likewise for your illness

When Mr Feast's appeal came on Tuesday last there arose a great controversy between the Council about hearing new evidence on the appeal, and your Brethren have taken time to consider and consult the judges thereupon But when it will receive a determination is altogether uncertain, as most other things are, but the College is the same to all intents, and are particularly

yours [2]

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr. Joselin, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford
Frank
Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 9th January, 1695 6 To 13th

## *John Cary to Locke* [3]

Bristol, 11th January, 1695[-6]

WORTHY SIR,

I have read your answer to Mr Lowndes his essay for the amendment of the silver coins, and I think the nation obliged by the service you have done in handling a subject of that weight so fully I know my private opinion will not add a mite to its value, however, I must give it this character, that you have done it (as all other things you write) with such clearness and strength of argument as if it had been the only thing whereto you had bent your studies When men undertake subjects whereof they have no clear notions their books rather perplex the reader than guide him to a right understanding of what they would seem to unriddle He that designs to propose methods to keep our money at home must first consider what it is that causes it to be carried abroad, in this I think you have hit the mark

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] No signature
[3] From Br Mus Add MS 5540, f 66

It is the balance of our trade with foreign countries, not altering the standard of our coin, which increases or lessens our bullion at home, and then the next thing is to consider how this balance may be brought on our side When other nations are brought into our debts no room is left for fetching away our bullion, but on the contrary they must send us theirs, and this I judge cannot better be done than by encouraging our manufactures, which will employ our people The wealth of England arises chiefly from the labour of its inhabitants, which being added to our own product, and also to the foreign materials we import, increases their value in those markets whither we export them, and by how much we lessen the importation of things already manufactured and increase that of the primums, whereof they are made, so much will the balance of our trade alter everywhere in our favour

When the public good of a nation is the design of a writer it arms him with some assurance, which hath emboldened me to present you with this little tract or 'Essay on Trade,' the work of some leisure hours All I shall say concerning it is that it was wrote without partial respect to any one trade more than another, if you shall think it worth your reading it will oblige me

Please to give me leave to offer at something in your book[1] which I suppose to be an oversight p 86 you propose the half-crowns, half sceptors, or half units, should go for two shillings and seven pence halfpenny each I apprehend it was intended three shillings one penny halfpenny, else it will not agree with the exact half of the crown, scepter or unit Whether I take this right I am uncertain, but the following table, p 86, must be erroneous, where you put

| | |
|---|---|
| the half-crown - - - | 2/7½ |
| 3 ditto - - - | 8/10½ |
| 5 ,, - - - | 15/1½ |
| 7 ,, - - - | 21/4½ |

This table seems to be perplext, for if you design the half-crown (which is imperfectly printed) at - - 2/7½

| | |
|---|---|
| then 3 ditto must be - - | 7/10½ |
| 5 ditto - - | 13/1½ |
| 7 ditto - - | 18/4½ |

[1] Locke, *Further considerations concerning the raising the value of money* etc Lond, 1695

Nor will it agree with 3s 1½d for the half-crown, which is according to 6s 3d the crown I have no design in mentioning this save that if you find it an error it may be corrected in the next edition I shall be obliged to you for the like favour if you please to give yourself the trouble to read my book, which was seen by no man but myself till it past the press, therefore I cannot think it without oversights I am,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

JNO CARY

To Jno Locke, Esq

## *Locke to the College.*

Oates, 27th January, 1695-6

DEAR COL,

The concern you express for my health is a very sensible obligation to me, and I wish my health may enable me to do you any service I shall be glad of that

I desire to give the Grave no farther trouble about my salary but to take Sir Stephen's note to me for it as he used to do, as soon as the order for payment comes from the Treasury

The Bachelor may easily conclude that he that assists with his money will not bethink a few words when he meets with fit occasions Though most of the persons I should venture to trouble on such an occasion are as well known to the Bachelor as to me, I wish he would consider with Mr Lyddel how he might be made useful, and that fault which we suspect may prove an hindrance to it may be cured

I wonder Mr Pawling should fail to give me that book, if it were left with him for me But I shall enquire after it

They seem to me to saddle their noses with strange spectacles who cannot see a thing so plain and so long before their eyes, till just the moment that it is too late

I thank you for the several parcels of news you sent me But pray tell me will an impeachment against the directors of the Scotch East India Company for the misdemeanour they are guilty of break the Company and hinder it from going on, if so I rejoice at it If it will only hinder Englishmen from sharing in the profit and drive it into foreign hands I know not what

to think Pray enlighten me a little I hear some talk here of a speech my Lord Ashley made in the house I should be glad to know a little more of the matter, and the form of it, and the opinion people have of it, for I am concerned for that young gentleman as you know, and shall always wish he may do well, especially when he appears in public

Would not the Parliament do well to require [1] the same oath of all other committees that they have voted for those for trade? But I always find money of more force than oaths in all countries where clipped and counterfeit money goes by law I hope when that act is past the House of Commons you will let me know what it is

The Grave may know that his son is well and by me whilst I was writing this letter He presents his duty and thanks for the letter he received Give me leave on this occasion to repeat what I minded you of before I left the town, viz that you would provide him masters against he returns to fill his hand with business, that for want of it he may not fall into a sauntering habit or ill company, both which are to be prevented as much as may be Especially, care is to be taken at his first coming out into the world (as I look upon this to be) concerning these matters, and therefore, if you could find him a fit and safe companion of about his age, or a little older, I think it would be useful and better for him than to have one of his own finding, which he will certainly do if you do not, for it is not to be expected he should live without company I should beg your excuse for this freedom had not your commission and long custom authorised me in it Those here return their dues to you respectively And I am,

your obliged humble servant,
J L

[2] If the bill for salary be come to your office from the Treasury signed I would desire you to take it to Sir Stephen to be repayable to Mr T Fox

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, of several things, etc Received the 29th January, 1695[-6] Answered by Mr Freke the 30th

[1] Over ' put, which is crossed out

[2] This postscript is crossed out

## *Locke to the College*

Oates, 5th February, 1695[-6]

DEAR COL,

I had by the last post made my acknowledgment for the favour of your last letter had I not stayed to see whether the carrier yesterday (for that is his day) had brought those two books you mention, whereof one was for my Lady and the other for myself, but there were none Perhaps they may come next Tuesday, for so I am sometimes served If they do I shall send you notice I sent also to enquire of Mr Pawling for that which you were told was left with him for me, but he can say nothing of it

I thank the Grave for his care in getting the note from Sir St Evans I have known a little boy grow a great man, but a little man will always be so

The solicitation I find was well managed The house disagreed with the committee, and the oath is left out

Whatever you suppose, Sir Francis does not use to send us down the Acts as they come out, and therefore my request to you about that Act I mentioned had no mystery in it, and I recommend it to you again

Another Bank at this time of day when such care has been taken of the credit of the Exchequer will no doubt bring in abundance of money But pray are the Bank, lottery bills, annuities, etc, of Christmas quarter paid, and in what money? I am told that clipped and counterfeit half-crowns go freer now even in London than before the proclamation and act I wonder not at it, for as I understand it the Exchequer must pay it, which is like to grow rich as a tradesman who buys by light weight and sells by heavy But pray is there any milled money coined in the mint, and what becomes of it? The gold you say the Cadiz fleet has brought will help to ease us of it But how to reduce guineas to their true intrinsic value any otherwise than by making light and bad money go for its weight in silver, I do not see I hear of a new proclamation about money, but cannot yet learn the contents of it But will proclamations alter the Act? My Lady, Mr Clarke, and Mr Masham return

their thanks for your remembrances, and salute you respectively as they ought I am,

your affectionate humble servant,
J L

Pray in your next one word in what forwardness our fleet is The great preparations the French make by sea makes a noise here

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with several enquiries, etc Received the 7th February, 1695[-6] Answered fully by Mr Freke the 8th

## *Locke to the College*[1]

Oates, 14th February, 1695[-6]

What a brave world is this I thank you for the printed paper you sent me, but whether it be for the stopping of clipping or for the encouragement of clippers you must pardon us dull country folks if we are not forward to speak our opinions upon once reading, and perhaps may be more amazed after a second

[Finds by the votes, which have just come, that the new bank is to be a National Land Bank, and that this and the Royal Bank are so opposed that nobody is to be a sharer in both ]

How a Land Bank shall supply the King with ready money I do not well see And less why anybody is that out, unless you are afraid there that subscriptions and money will come in too fast and overlay your Exchequer The melting, which I hear busies them there, is, I confess, a laborious hot work, and, for aught I see, may last till they are weary of it Methinks the silver does wisely not to come into England at this time, where it is like to run a perpetual circle of torment if it stay here Into the fire it goes at the Exchequer, and is no sooner out but is committed to the Tower, there to go into the furnace again to be brought to standard and then to size, and then be pressed in the mill As soon as it gets free out of the Tower it is either locked up in some jailer's chest from coming abroad, or, if it

[1] This letter is missing and what is here printed has been copied from an abstract of it previously made by the Royal Historical Commission

peeps out, it is ten to one but the thieving company of coiners and clippers put it again into the fire to be joined with bad company, and then to be hammered and cut, and so conveyed to the Exchequer to run the same gauntlet again If it be not so pray convince me of my mistake and ease me of the trouble I am in for a poor lady which we bookish men find the ancients had such a respect for that they called her *regina pecunia* But this is a great while agone, and the world is much altered Serjeant Maynard's saying was older and wiser, and by an implicit faith we in the country believe it Steadiness and constancy go for two marks of wisdom, and to the best of my bad eyes all that I see of late seems to be of a piece But pray how does the old bank keep up its actions since the starting of a new one ?

[Is very sorry that the Lord Keeper is so ill with rheumatism ]

I admire the Grave's constancy, and applaud him highly for it It is a just and a noble cause, and if he can carry his clause he shall, by my consent, have a statue of better metal than the coarser alloy that now passes in the Exchequer, and he will deserve it But is there never a little man with a lucky hand to solicit against it ?

P S I wonder not that the patriots you mention should carry all before them, that is but the least part of what the cure of clipped money put into the way it is was sure to produce

The young gentleman [Mr C 's son] is well

[Thanks him for a paper he had sent ] If it be not banter the author seems to have a notable clever understanding, and his reasons, I think, may deserve to be bound up with some of the discourses without or speeches within doors Truly I think that subject before it is done will run us all out of our wits Wit without money was once in an old play, but I think the present world has settled the maxim No money without wit

The Grave is desired if he has any occasion to write to Mr Codrington to enclose this for Mr Lyde to him, that it may go frank, for he, taking the troubles of my affairs upon him, it is best he should not be frightened with such a packet

If you have driven the shares of the Scotch East India Company out of English hands, how that will break that Company if foreigners come in to supply those subscriptions I know not

I think the business turns upon that And if that should happen England will lose and not gain by excluding Englishmen out of it

[*Endr*] Answered the 15th Answered by Mr Freke the 20th

## *Clarke to Locke*[1]

London, 15th February, 1695-6

DEAR SIR,

If I had not been quite worn out with an attendance of thirteen hours together without ever stirring out of the House on Thursday last I had then acquainted you with the result of the longest debate I ever yet saw in Parliament The subject-matter whereof was the then current price of guineas, wherein gentlemen's reasonings were very different, as you may well imagine by the length of the debate, which lasted from about twelve at noon till ten at night In which debate a few gentlemen forced the adverse party generally to agree that unless gold and silver be brought and kept at a par to each other, that which exceeds will eat out, and carry away the other And that unless gold be reduced speedily to its real intrinsic value as well as silver, as it has already devoured a great part of the riches of the nation, so it will certainly ease us of the small remainder of our wool, and woollen, as well as other manufactures, and of our silver likewise, and will in a little time effectually carry away more of the treasure and wealth of the Kingdom than all the expense both of the fleet and army together doth amount unto And yet, notwithstanding the reducing that exorbitant imaginary value which hath been permitted to be set on gold for so long, all at once by a vote of Parliament was thought to be of such consequence as to prevail so far against the arguments on the other side, that by a small majority there was a vote obtained in the Committee, and this day agreed to by the House, viz That no guineas be allowed to pass in any payment above the rate of 28s, which it is expected will prevent their rising higher And I hope the true interest of the nation will soon reduce them to their real value All this is chiefly owing to the monkey and some others of his brethren, who have still strong inclinations to

[1] Lovelace Collection

alter the standard and raise the silver to the present imaginary value of the gold, by which you may be satisfied they are as wise and as honest as ever

The College have only time to thank you for your letter by Sir Francis, which shall be answered the next opportunity by him that is now quite tired, but my Lady's and

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 15th February, 1695-6

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 17th February, 1695-6.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that so plain a question should hold so long a debate, or indeed that the house should tire itself about that which ought to be no question at all You may as well regulate the price of wheat as gold Silver alone is our money Let the several species and pieces of those species be of the weight and fineness the law requires and they are pretended to be, and all other things, gold as well as other commodities, will find their price Gold was well before, when it had none or a low price set by the law Now you have overvalued it and given 6s or 6s 6d in the pound sterling to the impostor, who by this means will carry away (instead of 16 ounces of silver for one ounce of gold, which is the rate in other places) about 19 ounces of silver for one of gold Nor can this vote or a law stop it from going far above 28s per guinea, when anyone has a mind to take it rather than the light and base money which has been the only thing that hath raised guineas and will raise them still till that be cured For all the rest is pudder in vain or mischief till that be mended, which I think can have no other cure but what you proposed For as long as the stamp, which has no other use but to warrant the quantity of silver, shall be inverted and made use of to supply the defect of silver, and so made to warrant on the other side, never fear but people will find ways to apply stamps to pieces of metal as long as they are of so good value and will pass for good silver and in a large proportion Does not our friend in the corner know the monkey yet? You lay the matter

right Nothing of these matters could ever have passed in the house without the industry and assistance of those very men I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My humble service to the Bachelor
My Lady gives her service to the College
Your son is well, and I suppose will tell you so himself this post

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, about the coin, gold and silver, etc Received the 19th February, 1695]-6]

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Oates, 18th February [1696]

Madam,

Whether you carve to many or but to one in my opinion it is best always to do it with a good stomach, and therefore I cannot but advise you to send for your water again and to drink and be merry, there being no mirth equal to that of good health I hope by that time this is got to you the frost and snow will be gone As soon as that is I think it will be seasonable for you to return to the use of the waters

When the physician was with the child and you found he had done him good you ought to have consulted him about the rickets He was a better judge upon the place than I who am in the dark and at this distance I hope you did, and then you will not venture your child's health upon the use of a remedy grounded upon no better light than your guesses that he is inclined to the rickets

As to the management of your great and little children, this I think that the bigger may be made useful to you for the governing and instructing of the less, if they be once set right, which I think they can never be if they be very frequently chid, and for every little fault rebuked with displeasure and made uneasy If every little slip brings them under such correction

and into the forfeiture of your good thoughts of them, they will conclude there is no avoiding being chid, and so they will not be very careful not to deserve it The first thing you must endeavour must be to give them a taste of the pleasure it is to be in your favour and good liking by doing well, and when they see they are able to keep possession of it by a little care, and every small mistake does not forfeit it, they will be unwilling to lose it, and you will have a hold upon them If they have faults (as who has not) consider which is the greatest in each of them, and when they are guilty of that show your displeasure more by the reservedness and coldness of your looks and carriage than by hasty or angry words, which should be but few and gentle, and just enough to let them know why you are displeased, but let them find the continuance of your displeasure in your looks and carriage till they have reconciled themselves to you by amendment of their carriage Thus having mastered one you may go on to the next But if you endeavour to mend every fault you see in them at once by falling severely upon them as often as they commit any you will never mend any one Whilst they are in a state of acceptation with you by avoiding your great fault you have rebuked them for and straitly forbid them upon pain of your displeasure, any other that comes in your way worth your notice you should only in kind words and without anger admonish them of But I trouble you to no purpose, you have this in print by you, and need not here a hasty disorderly repetition of it

Master Edward was very well come to everybody here and to me in particular, and my Lady makes it her request to you and Mr Clarke that he may come hither whenever his school business will afford him so much leisure She with her service returns you her thanks for the favour of your remembrance Pray remember me kindly to my dear wife and the rest of the young folks that know me I am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley

[*Endr*] By Mrs Clarke—Mr Locke's letter Also in her hand is written—"Pray send me this letter again"

*Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 28th February, 1695-6

One would think that what is done already should satisfy, it being more, I think, than ever was done in any country since the creation, viz the making counterfeit money go for true, light for heavy, brass for silver, by a law But yet this is not enough Something more yet lies behind You writ me word some time since that you found a hankering yet after lessening our coin I found no difficulty to believe you, and have now fresh evidence that that design is still on foot

About three weeks since (for it was the 10th instant) the Archbishop himself brought a packet to Mrs Lockhart and left it with her to be conveyed to me It hath so fallen out by Mr Pawling's negligence or care (for to his house it was sent) that it came not to my hands till yesterday The design of the paper is to show the raising the denomination of our coin would be advantageous to England, and the request that comes with it is to have my judgment upon it After so long a delay I thought myself obliged to give the Archbishop a speedy answer, and therefore not going over the particulars, not having time, I have only showed that the author grounds all upon a wrong supposition, which failing all fails This I have dispatched away this morning Whether the gentleman will demand, or I shall do anything more after this, I know not I have more than one reason to persuade me that the paper comes to the Archbishop from the monkey you formerly mentioned, though as I believe dressed up by an abler hand than his who is at the bottom of all this All this story I tell only to the College, and desire no part of it may go any farther The scene is not yet over, and I believe I shall hear farther from them I hope in this conjuncture there will be warmth and vigour enough to settle the business of the money, and put an end to the going of all clipped and base money for any more than its intrinsic value Sixpences themselves, if they have not a day set beyond which they shall not be current, will leave a hole big enough to sink you were all things settled to your mind I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

My humble service to the Bachelor

Your son is well and gives you his duty

My Lady, who is this day in physic, by me presents her humble service to you, and thanks you for your last and the care you take of her business, which is the only hopes she has it will be set right and go well

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, about the coin, in answer to a paper lately sent him by the Archbishop, etc Received the 1st of March, 1695-6 Answered the 5th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 5th March, 1695-6

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter by the last post, and have sent that which came enclosed to Mr Lyde according to your desire, and have also sent you the votes as far back as I can get them, and will endeavour to send you those that are to come by every post till Sir Francis his return to town And shall continue to serve my Lady to the utmost of my power in her affair with the Bishop of Gloucester and Mr Cudworth, but cannot get time to give an account of particulars, only this that both of them give themselves and me much more trouble than is any ways necessary But I think the Bishop is now thoroughly sensible of his past errors, and will act with more caution and prudence for the future As to the guineas received, he will take care to fix the loss where it ought to be, and for the repairs there must be no more allowed than upon further consideration shall appear to be reasonable

Pray give my humble service and thanks to my Lady, and accept the like yourself for the great favours bestowed upon my son, and be assured of the continued faithful services of

your humble servant,

EDW CLARKE

I received your letter also by the preceding post

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Jocelyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex
Frank
Edw Clarke

*Endr*] E Clarke, 5th March, 1695-6 To 9

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to the College*

Oates, 18th March, 1695[-6]

DEAR Co,

Though I had not time to look into the dialogue the Bachelor did me the kindness to send me, between its coming and the going of my letter, yet as soon as my letter was gone I fell upon it and found it worth my haste The author is master of the matter, and has made it very plain in short, and has good intentions Do you and may I know him? There are so few on poor England's side methinks in this case that I desire to be acquainted when I meet with any of them But will any rational consideration work on your raisers? I thank you again for sending it me

Pray send me word in your next what is or is like to be the fate of guineas, for I know not what directions to give about receiving my rent in the country The enclosed is about it, but I know not well what to say He to whom it is writ gives his service to the Squire in one I received from him last post Pray let the enclosed go to the post with yours I am,

Dear Co,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J L

Ladies and young folks give their services and duties respectively

If any money be paid to Mr Codrington in Bristol by Mr Lyde for the account will it be any trouble or inconvenience to you to pay it me in London? I ask the Squire not because I am in haste for it, but to give Mr Lyde as little trouble as I could in my business, which he has so kindly undertaken, and at best in the present state of our money it will be troublesome enough to him This would be a great convenience to me, and I know Mr Codrington used to return you money

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to know the author of the Dialogue touching gold and silver Received the 20th March, 1695[-6] Answered the 21st by Mr Freke

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Oates, 22nd March [1696]

MADAM,

If you enjoy a perfect health I do not advise the waters or any other kind of physic But if you are out of order, you know your remedy Bath is in the same county, and frost and snow are now gone

Since the Dr had so good success with Sammy in his late illness, I advise you to make good use of the diet drink he offered you, he knowing what distemper he lately had and with what method he recovered him will be the better able to judge what is fittest to be done for that which you apprehend to be rickets, and will be at hand to help and alter his course if anything given him should not agree well with him

The difficulty like to arise in the education of children from the folly or perverseness of servants was what I foresaw when I writ about it, and therefore do not wonder to find you complain of it I know no other remedy but what is printed to keep them as much out of the servants' company as you can, especially the eldest of them But how far that is practicable in your family you can only judge

Had your letter come but a day sooner I should have said something to Betty concerning those faults you complain of, but a letter I writ to her was gone the day before If blowing her nose be a thing which after your gravely telling her of it she neglects, you must change your countenance to make her sensible that you are displeased, and keeping her constantly with you let her find some uneasiness from your displeasure, and restore her not to your favour till that fault be cured, and then after a little while, that she has found the ease and pleasure in satisfying you by curing that fault advise her of the next But still remember that the faults of childhood that are not like to produce ill habits but that age will cure you must not trouble yourself or them much about If after being reproved for it two or three times Jack persists in holding his head on one side, though it be forbidden him, if it be through obstinacy, he must be soundly whipped for it If he be willing to mend it, but does it through custom and forgetfulness, you must fasten something

to his collar that may hurt him and so mind him of it when he turns his head that way This is all I can bethink myself of at this distance I wish you and all your young family very well, and am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble servant.

J Locke

Pray remember me very kindly to all the little ones Particularly to Betty to whom I writ not long since But pray tell her I wonder how she spends her time For I hear she has not yet learned out her Catechism, which she went so far in when she was here at Oates I can scarce believe it, and should be very much ashamed, if it should be true

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter, etc

## *Locke to the College*

Oates, 23rd March 1695[-6]

Dear Co,

I cannot omit this opportunity by a hand that goes from hence to return my thanks for two letters which came this post the one of the 19th from the squire with a transcript of a part of his Lady's letter, which I shall take care to answer as he desires by the first opportunity, though the departure of the gentleman who carries this allow me not time enough for it now

I thank the Bachelor for his news, and the Grave for what he says about Mr Codrington By which I find that my letter which enclosed that to Mr Lyde came safe to your hands I writ to you by both the immediately preceding posts, and should be glad to know whether those two letters came to your hands In one of them was a copy of Manvillain's paper about money The shortness of time cuts off the rest I am,

Dear Co,

your most assured humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady thanks the Grave for the postscript in his All here are well and give their dues to the College

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to the College Received the 23rd March, 1695[-6]
Answered the 24th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

DEAR SIR, Oates, 25th March, 1696

I have here enclosed obeyed your commands to the best of my skill, and have endeavoured to make it as effectual as I could If there be anything that you would have added, altered, or omitted, you are but to send it back to me and I shall do it just as you shall think it will work best

I think the dose of the powder to Sammy should be increased, but having forgot how much I prescribed I would gladly know that before I give any further directions in the case Pray how does the child at Ditton?

I would be glad to know whether you received my two letters the two immediate preceding post to that which brought you Mr Lyde's enclosed

I am very glad the design of fixing a rate on guineas, especially at 25s, was defeated The thing I look on to be ill in itself and worse in the intention The subscribers will not now be able to put off their guineas at an high rate to the cost of the Government, nor the raisers, I hope, be able to compass their so long laboured design of raising the denomination of our coin Did I not see so steady a motion towards both of them, especially the latter, I could scarce imagine that any Englishman could harbour a thought so destructive to his country as I apprehend these to be But what may one not believe of Englishmen when there are those amongst them that would favour a French invasion!

My service to the Bachelor, and thanks for his news sent me 21st

Is there no hopes to put a total end to clipping and coining? Methinks the present ferment should raise some vigour, and put a stop to that great and surely destructive evil!

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

My Lady gives her service to the College and your son his duty to you

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to know what doses of the powder he formerly directed for Sammy, etc Received the 27th March, 1696 Answered the 28th

[1] From Brit Mus Add MS 4290 f 79 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 240, and partly in *Original Letters*, p 61

*Locke to Mrs Clarke.*

Oates, 25th March, 1696

DEAR MADAM,

By the last post I received an account from Mr Clarke of some indispositions that still hang upon you This, though unwelcome news, did not at all surprise me The winter, with such a severity of cold hanging so long on the close of it, is no friend to the recovery of people brought very low, nor to the use of remedies that should hasten the cure But it will not be long now before we may be sure of a more favourable season And then I hope the spring, with the assistance of the steel course proposed by Dr Musgrave, will so invigorate your blood as to make it able to concoct and master those undigested humours which now fall down into your legs and swell them He is a learned man, and has managed your last great illness with great skill and care, which would exempt me from saying anything were I not very much concerned for your health Give me leave, therefore, to add to his medicines some small directions for your diet Eat nothing but meat of good nourishment and easy digestion, and but little at a time, especially towards bed-time; and with all that you eat take a good quantity of light and well-baked bread, which is the best nourishment you take in your present circumstances, and in it there is no fear of excess For your drink, let it be as little and as strong as will serve to quench your thirst Be careful never to sit up late, and if you lie pretty long in the morning I think it will do you no harm And when you are up be as much in the open air as the season will permit, and walk or ride as much in it as your strength will allow you I know all this might be spared to one in so careful hands as you are And you might well excuse me from saying anything, Dr Musgrave being so near you But I cannot excuse myself, and to that you must impute it I am apt to think the powder was sent you for Sammy does the child good, and therefore I think you will do well to continue it I wish him, and you, and all your family, perfect health, and am,

Dear Madam,

your most affectionate humble servant

J LOCKE.

Pray give my service to Mrs Burges, and my love to my wife if she be with you

My Lady Masham presents you her service, and wishes you a speedy and a perfect recovery of your health And your son, who is well, presents his humble duty to you

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley
[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter [1]

## *Locke to the College* [2]

Oates, 26th March [1696]

DEAR CO,

I do not expect my letters should be answered only to keep touch when there is something in them that requires it But the reason why I enquire so much after those two letters was because there was several things in them that I believe you would have thought fit to have said something to For besides the copy of the paper, which I here send you, I told you what I had answered to another paper which endeavoured to prove that the lessening of our coin would be an advantage to the Kingdom He built on the supposition that foreigners would not raise their commodities in proportion As a proof thereof he said 'Instances of this may be given innumerable For the clipping of our money had an effect equal to any public alteration of the denomination, and yet it was a great while that it was so far from affecting our commodities that it is known the light money would have bought the heavy And in a goldsmith's shop 5 ounces of clipped money would have bought 6 ounces of plate, and purely by virtue of its denomination'

To which I replied that I guess that innumerable instances when examined would not amount to one. And that if the author would say that five ounces of his new light money coined so by law would buy six ounces of plate in a goldsmith's shop,

[1] A pencil note which follows this letter says, Mr Locke to the College Oates, 26th March, 1696' But the letter is missing from the volume

[2] This letter is missing from the manuscripts, and has been copied here from the abstract made of it by the Historical Manuscripts Commission

I would grant all he said to be true If not it all fell with his false supposition I added further to you, that if you thought it might be of any use in the debate, I would revise and send my answers to the particular argument in his paper

I then also told you my further conjectures about these raisers of our coin and the subscribers of the Land Bank, which it is now to no purpose to repeat I also desire you to send me word whether you had any news of the fleet under Sir Rooke's command, which I was in pain for, and shall be till I hear they are safe in our Channel and all our whole fleet joined

I thank you for the news and the paper you sent me in your last By so much as I have read of it I own your man understands the matter of our money well and is a mettled fellow I have been so busy writing ever since I received it that I have not been able to go through it But as soon as my letters are dispatched I shall, and promise myself much satisfaction in it

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 28th March, 1696

DEAR SIR,

Your obliging letters of the 25th and 26th instant came both together to me by the last post, and I return you my hearty thanks for them, and particularly for your kind letter to Mrs Clarke which came enclosed, and I have conveyed to her by this post, and I hope will have the desired effect upon her I am extremely obliged to you also for your care of Sammy The dose of powder you formerly ordered him to take was two grammes at a time And I am very thankful to you for your concern for my child at Ditton She continues still weak, but I hope something better than she was As for the two letters you mention to have sent me the two immediately preceding posts to that which brought me Mr Lyde's enclosed, I believe neither of them ever came to my hands But if you could tell me the dates of them I could then be positive and certain, for I have them still by me if they did ever come to my hand But by so much of the contents of them as you repeat in yours of the 26th to the College, with the paper enclosed, I am very certain

[1] Lovelace Collection

that neither of them ever came to me The College are entirely yours and my Lady's servants, but none so particularly as

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

N B —In mine of the 26th was enclosed that to the A B^p

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Jocelyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 28th March, 1696 To 30th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 30th March, 1696

DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter of the 28th not coming to my hand till we were just now sitting down to dinner, I have not time to look after the dates of those letters I enquired after, which by your not remembering what was in them I conclude lost, though I wonder how

I was very glad to understand by yours of the 26th that you had fought it out so bravely, and carried the point about guineas and clipped money If the Act pass I think you must take some care that the clipped money shall go by weight, else I fear the want and hoarding of weighty money when the Parliament is up will make such a scarcity of it that necessity will either make your law be broke through and give passage still to clipped money, or else cause horrible confusion This I am fain to propose to the College in haste, and have scarce time to excuse myself to you for giving you that trouble to the Archbishop, which if you knew all the circumstances you would allow as unavoidable, for I conclude you received my letter to him though you mention it not My service to the Bachelor, and all here to both I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to make money go by weight, etc Received the 1st of April, 1696 Answered the 2nd

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 31st March, 1696

DEAR SIR,

I have only time to tell you that your letter with one enclosed to the Archbishop came safe to hand, though not so soon as it ought to have done But yesterday I waited on his Grace with it, and stated all the matter to him, as you had informed me He received your letter with great kindness, and desired me to give you his hearty service and thanks for that and a former letter which he received from you, and (as he told me) had used to good advantage, and that he had some time since written you an answer and sent it to Mrs Lockhart to be conveyed to you, and that he would write to you again as time and opportunity would permit, etc

The Lords have this day passed our bill wherein guineas are reduced to 22s apiece, and clipped money rendered impassable after the 4th of May next, the receiver being to forfeit double the value of every piece of such money by him received after that time And when the Royal Assent is given to that bill I think we are then safe against all further ill attempts upon our coin during this session, where we have often been so near to utter ruin and destruction that I cannot but wonder at our deliverance from that part of the plot, as I do at the miraculous discovery of the rest, etc

I kept the Bishop of Gloucester off from answering Mr Cudworth's bill as long as I could, being sensible it is my Lady's interest that matters should not come to a very speedy determination And have been forced to use all my skill in getting the answer so framed as to oblige Mr Cudworth to make you and I parties before the court make any order or decree in that matter, and when you and I come to answer it is more than probable we shall set forth everything more to my Lady's advantage, than I could possibly bring his Lordship up to But more of this as there is occasion, in the meantime give my dues to my Lady, and be assured that I am,

affectionately yours,

E C

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 31st March, 1696 To 2nd April

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 2nd April, 1696

I beg your pardon for troubling you with my letter to the Archbishop I know how little time you have to spare on trivial occasions, and am therefore the more sensibly obliged to you for delivering that letter, a trouble I would not have given you could I have avoided it But there were some circumstances that left me not any other way

I think the nation extremely obliged to you for gaining the two clauses about clipped money and guineas to stop the leak that would certainly have sunk us if we escape all other rocks There is only, in my opinion, one thing wanting, viz to contrive, if one could, that standard clipped money should go by its weight, for, as I told you in my last, I mightily apprehend great disorder for want of current money, if your clause about clipped money prevent its passing after the 4th of May, and if it does not we are still under the ruin of clipping and coining I confess there are great difficulties against touching of it again in Parliament And I know not, unless I know the temper of your House better, whether I should be for that or no Besides that a law about it would leave, I fear, great room for coining still of false money It is, I grant, natural enough for people to see that though clipped money must not go for the value of its denomination in tale, yet that the silver in it is as good as other bullion silver and may be taken by weight as old plate But you know how dull common people are in making right inferences, especially when they are discontented, and have by their mutual complaints warmed themselves into a clamour And there will not be wanting men ready at hand to blow the coal I therefore propose it to the College to think of some way to spread this notion among the people, and to introduce the passing of clipped money by weight amongst them, that the practice of it may be understood and grow a little familiar before that day that so it may take place the easier

In one of those letters that miscarried about three weeks ago I enquired after our Calais squadron under Sir G Rooke, and have been in pain about it ever since, pray ease me in it if you can

I have here enclosed sent you a bill on Sir Stephen Evans for

£110, which I desire you to take of him in guineas and lay by for me till I come to town I would not have it received of him in any other money but guineas, and if he will not pay them to you at 22s apiece pray let the money alone

My Lady returns you all manner of thanks for your care and pains in her business, which she is the more sensible of and the great obligation she has to you for it in the multiplicity of your business

My real service to the Bachelor Did you not receive a letter from me to the College enclosed in the same cover with that to his Grace? I am so particularly inquisitive, not that there was anything in it I am in haste for an answer to, but because I find my letters lie by the way and miscarry of late more than they used to do, and I am jealous of tricks I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

Your son is well and gives you his duty Excuse the trouble of the enclosed

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, next door to the Hen and Chicken, in Red Lion Street in Holborn, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, of clipped money going by weight, etc Received the 3rd of April, 1696 Answered 4th

## *Locke to the College*

Dear Sirs, Oates, 6th April, 1696

I am not a little glad that about the same time you were communicating to me your opinion concerning the clipped money my thoughts fell in with your sense, and I was explaining myself a little more fully to you in that subject You will find then, if you received a letter I sent you by a private hand on Friday last, that we are agreed it ought not to give a new trouble to the higher powers It is now only to be considered how others should second them in what they have wisely done towards our deliverance from that mischief, which will be effected if others contribute but their parts to bring what they have enacted into practice, and do all they can to prepare men's minds and remove the difficulties that may obstruct it The care you mention to

be taken with the graziers is one very material step For the keeping down of guineas now they are down is of infinite moment, and the observance of the law, and reducing clipped money And since you ask my opinion, and would have me think of ways that may contribute to it This I think first, that London in all these matters of money gives a rule to all England, what is done there the rest will follow, and that therefore it should be begun in London

Secondly, that as to the making it take in London a good number of substantial citizens who understand the matter and see the dangers we are in of certain ruin, if clipped money be not stopped, should agree together not to take any clipped money, but as bullion for its weight, and should endeavour to bring in as many as they could into this necessary obedience to the law by joining in a preparatory lawful practice for the benefit of everybody You know how better to spread this in town than I, who am a stranger there I will only name one, a man of weight, Mr Samuel Heathcote He is the younger brother, but a very sensible man, and I am satisfied will be industrious in it And what, too, if you should, as soon as it is seasonable, begin to pay clipped money by weight at Richard's Coffee House The talk and example would spread

Thirdly, to this purpose I am apt to think that it is of moment that those who practise it should besides scales have those species of our coin by them, a penny, two pence, three pence, a groat and six pence, besides bigger pieces of our milled money against which to weigh the clipped These I think much better than brass weights, because everyone knows not the value of those weights in silver, and so may suspect he has not the full allowance of his clipped money, but when he sees it weighed against money everyone must presently be satisfied, and there is no room for scruple or debate on either side These, therefore, are the materials should be got ready

Fourthly, when this is got into practice, it may not be amiss to spread the notice of it by the *Postboy* and such other printed papers, but in the wording of it I think that care should be taken to say that clipped money passes in London as bullion by weight, the word *Bullion* being put in to take off the notion that it passes as coin, for that would be a violation of your law and open the flood gates again

Fifthly, I think the receipts and payments of the Exchequer should be looked after and kept staunch to the law, for if I am not misinformed they pay out coin, which by the law it is supposed should stop there If the Exchequer gives it currency it will be hard labour to stop it anywhere else

Sixthly, if the Bank of England could be brought to receive and give out clipped money as bullion by weight it would be a mighty stroke towards it Mr Heathcote is one of them

Seventhly, the goldsmiths must be watched, for I fear you will have few or none of them on your side And therefore they must be exposed and laid open by public talk A Kingshead club would do that, and keep them from opposing the necessary and only means to save us

Those who acknowledge that they have been out of the way ever since they rejected this method might do much towards the promoting of it now, but how far these new converts are to be relied on you can better tell This is certain this is a way to try their sincerity, if that be thought worth while But I am not for anything but what will help to compass the end

You see I have readily obeyed your commands If anything else comes in my way you are sure to be troubled with it, not only to satisfy you that I am heartily with you, for that you know already as well as I know how little help I can add to you, but because though my thoughts may miss the mark, yet variety of suggestions, though not right, may be the occasion of starting thoughts that are so

I returned my thanks last Friday to the Grave for his care of my letters I desire the continuance of that favour to the enclosed I am,

Dear Co ,
your most faithful humble servant,
J Locke

The dues from our fireside to the College

I received the Grave's of the 4th instant just now, after this was writ, and return my thanks

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq , Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with several proposals to put a stop to the currency of clipped money, etc Received the 8th April, 1696 Answered per Coll the 11th

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 8th April, 1696

The last post I troubled you with one to Mr Molineux, and now here is another to Mr Furley When I am in town and you out I promise to do as much for you In my last also I sent you my thoughts about making the clipped money pass by weight I wish you there may think of some effectual way to make the act to take place, for I apprehend the thoughts of raising our money are not yet quite laid by the disputes for it I see still employ the press Sir Richard Temple[1] and Squire Barbone[2] have it seems singled me out Pray let me know whether their late printed discourses make any impression in town, for I wonder anybody should be at all wrought on by them unless it be such as are of their minds for other reasons than their arguments I am called to supper, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE.

My Lady, who is by me, gives you both her humble service
Your son is well, and gives you his duty
The Holland post goes Tuesdays and Fridays

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Sir Richard Temple and Doctor Barbone's book on the coin, etc Received the 10th April, 1696 Answered per Coll the 11th

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 12th April, 1696

I received last night by Sir Francis [Masham] Mr Cary's *Book of Trade*, and with it a very civil letter from the author bearing date 11th January It came to Sir Francis about a fortnight since, where it has lain all the rest of the time I cannot guess But that which I am principally concerned for is lest

[1] Sir Richard Temple, *Some short remarks on Mr Lock's book in answer to Mr Laundis* [*i e* William Lowndes], *etc* Lond, 1696

[2] Nicholas Barbon, *A discourse concerning coining new money lighter, in answer to Mr Lock's considerations about raising the value of money* Lond, 1696

I should seem rude to Mr Cary in not taking notice of his present or answering his letter all this while To excuse it I have writ the enclosed, which I should not have troubled you with but that Sir Francis tells me that he thinks that Mr Cary is in town and that he often comes to Richard's Coffeehouse If that be so I'm sure the Bachelor knows it, and then I must beg him to do me the favour to deliver it to him with my excuse for not having writ sooner If he be not in town, pray let it go with your letters to the post-house Sir Francis will be gone to-morrow morning before the letter you promised in yours of the 9th from the Bachelor will be come In the meantime my humble service to him I thank you for sending forwards my Irish letter, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives her humble service to the College

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Mr Cary's *Book of Trade*, etc Received the 13th April, 1696 Answered the 16th

## *Locke to John Cary*[1]

Worthy Sir, Oates, 12th April, 1696

Your obliging letter[2] of Jan 11, with the most acceptable present of your book which accompanied it, came not to my hands till late last night The lingering of it so long by the way has upon many accounts been a misfortune to me It has deprived me of the pleasure and instructions I might have had from the perusal of your *Essay* It has made me lose the opportunity of correcting a great fault, which, having passed the press in the first edition of my answer to Mr Lowndes, I wish your timely and very kind admonition had come early enough to have made me set right in the second But most of all I am troubled that it has so long delayed my thanks to one who by his undeserved civility has so just a right to them And I might reasonably apprehend what thoughts of me so long a silence might raise in you, did I not persuade myself that the good opinion you are pleased to express of me in your letter, would not let you impute my silence to the worst of causes, ill-breeding

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 5540, f 67 [2] Cf *supra*, p 433

and ingratitude, till you were satisfied that the slowness of my acknowledgment was owing to nothing but pure neglect in me This stop so unluckily put to the beginning of my acquaintance with you I hope you will permit me to repair by my faster growth in it Think not this a compliment in return to your civility which has made the overture This request has more weighty motives than what I have received from you, though I acknowledge your book and your letter have very much obliged me A worthy rational man and a disinterested lover of his country is so valuable a thing that I think I may be allowed to be very ambitious of such acquaintance wherever I can meet with it Give me leave then, now that you have opened the way to it, to own an impatience to be admitted into the freedom of familiarity and communication For though I have not yet the happiness to know your face, yet I am not wholly a stranger to your character

I shall say nothing now of your book, the few hours I have had it, have permitted me barely to cast my eye in haste on the three or four first pages I shall employ the first leisure I have to read it over with attention, and, to show that I think myself already past the terms of compliment with you, I shall very frankly do what in the close of your letter you desire of me, and whereof you have set me so friendly an example in the error you have showed me in mine, I am,

Worthy Sir,
your most humble and most obliged servant,
JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Mr John Cary, merchant in Bristol
[*Endr*] Received 15th April Answered the 17th, 1696

## *Locke to the College* [1]

DEAR CO, Oates, 16th April, 1696

You have been so successful hitherto in a point of that moment, and so heavily hung upon, that I will not despair of what remains from the endeavours to complete it I am extremely glad of the good service you mention to be done by an young gent[leman] [2] I shall always be concerned for I hope

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 80 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 241-2

[2] Probably Lord Ashley, who became later the third Earl of Shaftesbury

this will bring him back into better hands pray make that use of it Get him and cherish him, and gently pass by mistakes He is a young man whom I hope time and experience will better enlighten

What other trial you intend to make I wish well to, but I have not any other expectation from the wisdom and honesty of those you mention than I used to have

As to the Commission of Appeals, I could do no more than I did unless I could have heard and judged by myself I took three journeys to London on purpose, but neither found any more than Mr Dodington in town, nor could with my utmost endeavours get three together The last time my health forced me out of town in haste, and then being four there present I could not think my absence could hinder their proceeding to judgment, and yet I should have come up had not my illness at that time kept me in bed and not permitted me that attendance without danger of my life But pray tell me, have not my brethren determined that cause, and at what sticks it? Mr Tilson, a clerk in the Treasury, our secretary, knows how much I laboured to get a quorum and to bring the appeals to a hearing, and you are not wholly strangers to it I return my thanks to those friends who concerned themselves for me, and am,

Dear Co,
your most faithful humble servant,
J Locke

My Lady gives her service to the Co, and his son [1] his duty to the Grave [2] Pray have you yet received the guineas, or when are you like to receive them? If they be not paid before the order comes for our salaries, let that £50 be paid you by Sir Stephen in guineas, and let alone the remaining number to make up an hundred till you hear from me again, and keep that note I sent you by you

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter touching the Appeals, etc, and guineas, etc Received the 22nd April, 1696 Answered the 23rd

[1] Edward Clarke, jr [2] Edward Clarke

## *John Cary to Locke* [1]

WORTHY SIR, London, 17th April, 1696

I have the favour of yours 12th instant per Mr John Freke, noting the receipt of mine 11th January, together with my *Essay on Trade*, the perusal whereof you are pleased to promise me, together with your judgment thereon The freedom I took in laying before you the printer's errors in your answer to Mr Lowndes you are pleased to excuse, and to take it with the same candour I intended it This, together with those many kind expressions your letter is filled with, makes me very ambitious to be better known to you, but above all that extra character all men give you, and your works deserve, I am sure such an acquaintance must be much my advantage, if I could serve my country more I should be willing to do it, and this makes me to honour every man who is able to do it better I am apt to think Mr Scrope, to whom I enclosed the letter I wrote you, kept it by him, expecting your return from the country, which was the reason you had it not sooner I am, SIR,

your most humble servant,

To John Lock, Esq JOHN CARY

## *Locke to Clarke.*

SIR, Oates, 22nd April, 1696

The ill impressions my lungs received when I was last in town are not so wholly worm off yet that I should be forward to return into that mischievous air till settled warm weather hath made it a little safer for me I am hoarse still almost every evening this is a daily monition to me to beware your pestilent air, which with all other circumstances of my health have made me resolve not to hazard it in London till the advance of the season shall give me some security, and I should be very sorry any urgent business should force me thither sooner

I have discharged your commission to my Lady She bids me tell you, you very much mistake her if you think you ought to be out of countenance for having trusted your son some time with her, which she takes as a mark of your friendship for her,

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 5540, f 69

[and a] confidence in her which she thinks you would not have granted everybody She says he has been very welcome to her, and shall always be so whenever he and you shall agree to afford her his company As for Sir Francis, you must make him your compliments yourself, for as I writ you word Monday last, you will see him before I shall, and therefore your son and I shall expect new orders from you about his journey to town As for myself, I have been so long accustomed to take care of your son that it is now habitual to me, and I fear that may have made me sometimes forget that he is almost as tall as his father, and therefore have been as plain with him as if he were my own son Whether it has been of any use to him I know not I thought it would be acceptable to you But it is time now for me to change that way of living with him as with a young gentleman of my acquaintance, whom I wish well to and shall be ready to serve for his own and his father's sake, without any marks of authority

I thank the Bachelor for the printed letter he sent me The author, I think, makes the best use of the proceedings in Parliament on that subject that could be made of them, and deserves thanks for it But unless the Coll provides some more powerful and skilful helps I fear his use of exhortation will not be sufficient Those jobbers you mention lie most in the way, and if they do any such thing you talk of must certainly be deceived into it

I find at the later end of the *Flying Post*, 16th April, Number 14, a proposal of Richard Smith in Lombard Street to give out milled money for guineas at 22s apiece to be distributed in the country I see nothing in it but good I shall therefore desire to have twenty guineas as soon as they can be got from Sir Stephen to be laid out in that money on purpose to get it hither to distribute as fast as I can hereabouts for the benefit of commerce, which is the end he proposes And as I vent that I will send for more As soon as I know you have it for me I will find some way to get it hither

In the *Flying Post*, Number 145, there is an advertisement that the office of the new adventure of £61,000 kept at Saddler's Hall will take guineas at 30s Is there no way to catch and punish them It will be of good example, as their breach of the law with impunity will be very pernicious I am,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

Pray send me one of the proclamations, that I may make people hereabouts take notice of it, and let them see the Government is in earnest in the point and that everyone is concerned to be so

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to exchange guineas for new money with Mr Smith, etc And of the illness of his lungs, etc, and about the coin, and the advertisements in the *Flying Post*, etc Received the 24th April Answered the 25th, 1696

## *Locke to the College* [1]

DEAR COL, Oates, 24th April, 1696

I see by the temper the country is in (and I doubt not but that there are those who will blow the coal), that if London do not set them good example the act will be broken through, and clipping will be continued upon us The trade, I am sure, goes on as brisk as ever a company was lately taken at or about Ware Somebody ready as soon as the day comes to arrest a goldsmith that refused to pay money according to the law would spoil the trick, especially if several of them were made examples If clipped money once get but currency in London amongst those blades but for the first week after the 4th of May I look upon it as irretrievable But if it be stopped there the rest of the kingdom will fall into it, especially if receiving clipped money by weight can be introduced These are at present my thoughts, which I trouble those with who I know are able to make use of them if they may be of any Duty and service respectively from all here I am,

Dear Col,
your most affectionate and faithful servant,
J LOCKE

Pray let the enclosed go with your letters to the post

[*Endr*] Mr Locke for putting the law in execution touching the coin, etc Received the 27th April, 1696 Answered the 28th per Coll

[1] From Brit Mus Add MS 4290, f 82 Also printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, pp 61-62

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 27th April, 1696

DEAR SIR,

If you had said nothing else but that I should send your son up by the first opportunity, as you do order me in yours of the 25th, I should certainly have sent him by the next coach, which I should have thought a convenient opportunity But you saying in yours of the 23rd, which came with the other, that you desire your son should come up when any other person from Oates, or out of that neighbourhood, comes to town by coach I was not very clear what you meant by convenient opportunity, or what was best for me to do in the case I therefore communicated your orders to my Lady, in whose house he is and at whose invitation he came hither, unwilling to do anything where I had not your direct order without her consent She presents her service to you, and desires you would let him stay here till somebody from hence goes to town that may accompany him in the coach She, indeed, expressed the same desire upon Sir Francis not returning this way from Chelmsford, but I thought this of so little moment in respect of more weighty considerations relating to your son that, as I remember, I mentioned it not to you But since I see you have some debate in yourself, whether he should be ventured up in the coach alone amongst strangers, I shall leave that to be agreed between you and my Lady, and shall exactly follow those orders you send But yet shall not forbear to tell you that I think it of great concern to your son to be in town under your eye and under the direction of masters who may keep his hands full of business, and this the sooner the better The reasons whereof I discoursed to you when I was in town

I see the College are very industrious to carry their point and save us The opposition they find is no more than what I expected, but if we miss the remedy at this time I fear we are lost

The printed *Letter of Advice concerning the Currency of Clipped Money*, which the Bachelor did me the favour to send me, I have disposed of, and have sent to Mr Churchill for half-a-dozen more of them to distribute And I dispose all who come near me to obey the law by showing them how much it is their interest to

keep strictly to it I do what I can, though that I know is but little, and would not be of great consequence as to the main were it much more For as you lead in the city so will the country follow

One of my brethren writ to me in January to let me know I was expected in town at the hearing which would begin the next week this came to me when I was very ill in bed, and so in my answer I excused myself The 15th of January there was sent me the common notice by our secretary that they would meet the Friday following To this Mr Pawling made answer by telling the secretary that I was ill in the country The 24th of March Mr Tillon, their secretary, sent me by their order the association which they had signed, desiring me to return it with all convenient speed, without the least mention of anything else in his letter, so that I could not but be extremely surprised when you told me the cause was not yet heard and judged For whatever you have been told they writ, this is all that ever I heard from them

I hope the gentleman in the corner will prevail with our master to stay till past the 4th of May, and speak to him plain English about that matter

Duty and service from us here respectively to you there I am,

Dear Sirs,
your most affectionate faithful servant,
J Locke

I have desired my Cousin King to buy some books for me, if he comes to you for money to pay for them pray do me the favour to furnish him and put it to my account

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, for me to send for my son to town, etc Received the 29th April, 1696 Answered fully the 30th

## *Locke to the College*

Dear Col, Oates, 30th April, 1696

Monday is near, and therefore I venture this by the penny post in answer to yours of the 28th, at least that part of it which contains the objection against clipped money going by

weight out of the clause of the Act of Parliament cited in the tenth page of the printed letter you sent me I have not that letter by me, but what you say of it at first reading startled me, but upon second thoughts I think that clause need not hinder at all, but may promote the passing of clipped money by weight For if those of the substantial citizens who agreed to receive none but lawful money, *i e* weighty, will also resolve to cut all the clipped money they receive by weight before their faces whom they receive it of and before they weigh it, that clause is not only complied with, but people will be encouraged to bring that money to them when they see a demonstration that they can design no profit to themselves by it, nor anything but an obedience to the law—and the good of their country Nor does the cutting of a clipped shilling make it more unfit to go by weight than it was before, the two pieces being as fit to be weighed and worth as much as when they were in one piece

I have a thought comes into my head whilst I am writing, but whether practicable or useful I have not time to weigh But sudden and raw as it is I send it to you, if any use can be made of it you can judge and digest it, and that is, that the citizens who can be brought to a resolution to keep the law should enter into some agreement and contract so to do amongst themselves

Sir Francis is expected home to-day If he bring me any of the money you were promised I will make the best use of it I can, and if I can get but a pair of tailor's shears I will show the way to destroy clipped money, and yet not lose the benefit of it by weight in trade till new can be recoined I am,

Dear Co ,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J L

Duty and service respectively from those here

[*Addr* ] For John Freke, Esq , at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

[*Endorsed by Mr Clarke*] Mr Locke's letter touching the support of the laws made for remedying the ill state of the coin, etc Received the 2nd and 4th of May, 1696 Answered the 3rd, 5th and 7th by myself and Mr Freke, etc

[*Note in another hand*] Mr Locke's letters Dated 30th April, 1st May, 3rd May, 1696

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 30th April, 1696

DEAR SIR,

I cannot yet procure any guineas for you from Sir Stephen, though I have had several promises But I have procured the present value of 20 guineas of him for you, viz two-and-twenty pounds in new money, which I shall be willing to send you as you shall direct

As for my son's coming up from Oates, my intentions were that he should have returned by the first stage-coach after your receipt of my letter that should come from thence, and wished there might be some of that family or neighbourhood might come up at the same time But however (in a hurry) I expressed myself at that time, I never intended he should remain there until some of that family or that neighbourhood should happen to come to town I therefore now renew my desires to you to send him up by the first convenient opportunity, I mean by that only the first stage-coach you can conveniently send him up by, for I am so foolish as to think he may not be trusted alone to come up in the stage-coach But I beg the favour of you to direct Mr Brownover to tie up his clothes and things all in one bundle, and return my hearty thanks to Sir Francis and my Lady for their great favours to him For which, as well as many other favours, I can never be out of your debt, but shall for ever remain,

your most affectionate and obliged servant,
EDW CLARKE

The College are entirely yours, etc

I shall hope to see my son in town either Monday, or as soon after as may be, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Jocelyn, a shopkeeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 30th April, 1696 To 3rd May

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to the College* [1]

Oates, 1st May, 1696

DEAR CO,

I sent to you yesterday by the penny post that my letter might be with you as soon as may be If it comes to your hands, you will see how that clause [2] of the Act of 6 and 7 Gulielmi Tertii, quoted in the printed letter, as I think may be turned to the advantage of passing clipped money by weight If those honest citizens who resolve to receive it no otherwise will cut it in two in the sight of those they receive it from before they weigh it, which will be a demonstration to them they mean not profit to themselves by it This will, so far as it reaches, effectually hinder clipped money from passing by tale, but not at all by weight, the two pieces of a cut half-crown being as fit to go by weight and as much worth that way as when they were whole in one piece For in that case they will have the stamp for a mark of standard bullion as well as before I have since my writing yesterday got some more of those printed letters, and reading the clause in it I understand it to reach no other cases, but where English money is exchanged for English money, and for that, cutting the clipped into two pieces secures the parties from the penalty of that Act, and in all other cases of giving money in exchange for commodities that clause hinders not the taking it by weight

But I think the cutting of clipped money (whereby it would be brought to perfect market standard bullion), and passing it by weight so cut would be of great use, for the putting an end to it, if that could be brought into fashion If Mr Smith, the goldsmith in London Street, be a man that wishes well to this business, as he seemed by his proposal, and would for the advantage of the public distribute milled money for the use of the poor and commerce, let him be content to take on him the trouble of doing it this way by giving milled money for clipped weight for weight, but first cutting the clipped money in pieces I would fain see a goldsmith of so public a spirit as this If this

[1] Copied from the abstract made by the Historical Manuscripts Commission

[2] This clause is to the effect that clipped money shall be cut and passed in payment by weight

be such a man I shall worship him, and by this published in the prints and done for the benefit of ordinary people but one week he will do more good than anything I can imagine But in all such cases let him not weigh the clipped money brought him against weights, but against the new money he gives for it, that ignorant people may be satisfied they are not cheated This I am sure would show the other goldsmiths that would not cut the clipped money, and quickly force out the hoards of milled money, and then the business is done

The senseless country people will, I find, be very uneasy against their own interests, but to enforce the strict observance of the law and keep the majority to a compliance the two good votes made on Monday morning will do well to be published in the *Flying Post* and those other prints, and that more than once, especially if Mr Attorney[1] do anything therein, for then the vote and what has been done upon it may go both together and be set out to advantage If, too, anything good be done in London Monday, that either milled money appears in payment, or clipped money pass only by weight, and that cut, pray let us have it in these prints with all advantage on Tuesday, and so on This will be of great influence in the country

I beg your pardon for this long talk on this subject and to you that know better than I, but I count all is at stake, and in this occasion would not omit to show my concern by suggesting anything I can think of on *valeat quantum valere potest* This made me in mine yesterday mention some agreement or kind of association amongst those who are of the mind to observe the law, at least your city canvassers would do well to be easy to promote it it is of more consequence than any election of sheriff or burgess

*In conversus confirma fratres* should be preached, and all hands at work to make proselytes I should be glad to see in your next letter the name of the gentleman who failed you, that I may remember him another time

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House

[1] Thomas Trevor, afterwards Lord Trevor, succeeded Sir John Somers as Attorney General on 8th June, 1695

## *Locke to John Cary* [1]

Oates, 2nd May, 1696

WORTHY SIR,

I have read over your *Essay of Trade* you did me the favour to send me, and have found that satisfaction I expected It answers the character I had of you, and is the best discourse I ever read on that subject, not only for the clearness of all that you deliver and the undoubted evidence of most of it But for a reason that weighs with me more than both those, and that is that sincere aim at the public good and that disinterested reasoning that appears to me in all your proposals a thing that I have not been able to find in those authors on the same argument which I have looked into This makes me dare to own to you that there are some few things in it wherein my opinion differs from yours, but yet I like not your book one jot the worse, since I can promise myself from a man of your ingenuity, and one who covers no bye-interest of his own under the pretence of serving the public, that, when I have the opportunity to debate them with you, either I shall be brought to righter thoughts by your stronger reason, or else that you will not reject anything I shall offer because you have been of another mind In all debates with anyone all that I desire is that between us the truth may be found, but whether I brought it thither or carry it away instead of an error, that took its place before, I am little concerned, only in the latter case I am sure I am the greater gainer One thing I have to complain of your book, but it is the complaint of a greedy man, and that is that it is too little, but a second edition will give you an opportunity to enlarge it, and I hope you will do so He that can say so much can say a great deal more if he will, and you do as good as confess it in several parts of your *Essay* You cannot employ your thoughts on a more necessary or useful subject The country gentleman who is most concerned in a right ordering of trade, both in duty and interest, is of all others the most remote from any true notions of it, or sense of his stake in it It is high time somebody should awaken and inform him that he may in his place look a little after it I know nobody so able to do it as you I see no

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 5540, f 70

party or interest you contend for but that of truth and your country Such a man carries authority and evidence in what he says, and those that will not take the pains to understand him thoroughly cannot refuse to believe him, and therefore I hope the same reasons that first set you on work will have force to make you go on

You make apologies in yours of the 17th April [1] for the freedom you took in showing me a mistake in my book, and take it as a kind of obligation that I excuse it But I tell you I do not excuse it that were to suppose that it needed an excuse, now I assure you I thank you for it, and whether it were mine or the printer's slip I take it for a great mark of your goodwill and friendship to me, that you advised me of it, and I have given order to have it mended Will you give me leave with the same candour to offer two places to you to be altered in the next edition of your book The one is in the last page of your Dedication to the King,[2] where I think it is more for the advantage of your argument that you should say *all his dominions* than *Judea* For he and his father David had extended their conquests as far as the Great River, *i e* Euphrates, and the Scripture tells us that Solomon built Tadmor, which was a great town in a pleasant and fruitful plain a great way in Arabia deserta The other I guess is a slip of the printer, and is of no consequence to your argument, and that is *inter Hades*,[2] p 56, which I conceive should rather be *in Hades* or *Hadon*, which signifies the state of the dead, and possibly you think may be as well expressed by *amongst the shades*, or some such other English words I take this liberty only to show you that I in earnest covet a familiar acquaintance with you, and am without a compliment,

Sir,
your most humble servant,
JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr*] To Mr John Cary merchant, in Bristol

[*Endr*] Received 5th May Answered the 9th, 1696

[1] Cf *supra*, p 463

[2] Cary, *Essay on the State of England in Relation to Trade and its Taxes* Bristol, 1695

## *Locke to the College.*

2nd May, 1690? [6]

DEAR CO,

Our letters came so late that I have only time to acknowledge your two kind ones and the enclosed papers, and to make my acknowledgments in the name of the public, and tell you you are brave folk Moreover [1]

To the Grave,[2] that though Sir Francis is not expected here, though he will be at the Sessions, and I remember he said he would return directly from Chelmsford to London, if it fall out otherwise your son shall return with him otherwise you must send forth orders which shall be obeyed

To the Squire,[3] that I second him all I can by disposing all I meet with to take clipped money as bullion, by right of which I shall say more in my next, but the messenger is going and I would not lose the opportunity Yours,

J L

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 3rd May, 1696

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the trouble you have been at with worthy Sir St [4] about the guineas But I hope the tricks of those blades are now at an end I wish the new money had come to your hands a day sooner, that I might have received some part of it by Sir Francis for the purposes I told you I shall send order by the post to-morrow to my Cousin Bonville to come to you for one half of it, that it may be ready at that end of the town for anyone of this neighbourhood that goes to town whom I can trust to bring it me The remainder I must beg you to lay up for me till I can light on a way to get it hither In the meantime for present supply I hope to borrow a little of a neighbour here by, who I am told has a sum of milled money lately paid her here If the observation of the law take place, and clipped

[1] Sentence is unfinished in MS

[2] Edward Clarke

[3] John Freke

[4] Sir Stephen Evans

money be not henceforwards current, there will be no need for you to take up the remaining fourscore guineas from Sir Stephen. I shall be able to do it myself well enough when I come to town without giving you that trouble, and so it may rest as it is I hope to hear good news from you of this matter the next post, and that I shall see the good effects of the College's pains and labour in this point As far as I can hear people hereabouts stand pretty right, but that will all depend upon what the town does If London stands firm the first shock all will go easy I writ to the Bachelor on Friday, and sent it from Hongar by the penny post I should be very glad to hear that he received it, and when, that I may know how far to rely upon that conveyance in case of necessity I should also be glad to have the College's sense on the cutting the clipped money, which was the subject of that letter I have writ the Monday's two votes at the end of the letter about the currency of clipped money and so given them The summary of Queen Elizabeth's reasons shall now go with them Add but *clipped money* to *base* and those reasons contain just our case I received them this afternoon, and thank you heartily for them, for I think they will be of very good use

Pray do me the favour to let me know whether my brethren go not on to hear the appeals, and what they stick at All that ever I heard from them was what I writ you word the last week, and therefore could not but be surprised when I heard that none of the causes had been yet heard, and cannot guess at the reason Pray enlighten me a little in your next

I beg your pardon for mistaking your directions about your son's coming to town, and for my excuse must tell you what led me into it, and made me interpret your orders of coming by the first convenient opportunity, by what you had said before, that he should come when any person from Oates or out of the neighbourhood came to town by coach, viz because you had bid me before send him up with Sir Francis when he returned from the Sessions, which made me suspect you might have some particular reason why you would not have him come alone However, I concluded it was to err on the safer side to keep him here till I knew your mind clearly, and some few days' stay longer here could not be of any great consequence one way or other I shall give charge to Syl to make up his things safe

together in one packet, and he shall wait upon him to-morrow morning to the coach at Harlow, and see his things put up safe I hope you will see him safe with you in the evening I am,

Dear Sir,
your most faithful humble servant,
JOHN LOCKE

Pray give my humble service to the Bachelor

My Lady has writ to you, I understand, herself

Pray desire the Bachelor to do me the favour to deliver the enclosed if Mr Cary be in town, or else I must beg you it may go by the post

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 6th May, 1696

DEAR SIR,

I hope your son came safe and well on Monday last I think the people hereabout are pretty rightly set as to the money matter Only I find that the money now first coming abroad is hammered coin that has pretty well escaped the clippers But about this, there are scruples raised about understanding the clause about punching in the fifteenth page of the *Act for remedying the ill state of the coin* The questions put to me were

1 Whether a man who has punched money which had been clipped but so little that above half the letters were left on, was under the penalty of forfeiting the money if he tendered it in payment

2 Whether by *the greatest part of the letters* were meant the greatest part in numbers (as it sometimes happens in that coin that in the very stamping of it without clipping it will want a great part of the letters at one end of the diameter by the misapplication of the stamp, and have them all entire at the other end of the diameter on the same flat side), or greatest part of the height of each letter, as when above half the R, half the E and half the X if left in Rex

To the first of these I thought the true answer was *no* To the second *above half the letters in height* But my opinion, not

being of authority, I would gladly have that from you which might be so to make this matter easy to those who are willing to have the law obeyed, and yet would neither lose the benefit of broad hammered money in commerce, nor yet let it go unpunched for the benefit of clippers, nor yet be exposed to the fancy or humour of a justice of peace I would be glad of your assistance herein to help our honest neighbours, and to hear how it goes in London I am,

Dear College,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

Sir Francis and my Lady give you their services

[*Endorsed by Mr Clarke*] Mr Locke, with several questions touching punched money, etc Received the 8th May, 1696 Answered the 9th per College

## *John Cary to Locke* [1]

London, 9th May, 1696

Worthy Sir,

I have yours 2nd instant, with your favourable opinion of my *Essay on Trade*, which was wrote without any partial respect either to myself or anyone else What I endeavoured was to set things in a true light, in opposition to those who I had observed in a former sessions to be continually perplexing the Parliament with notions fitted for their private interests under the splendid name of the public good This was my intention in writing it, and your opinion that it answers this intention is a great satisfaction to me , and though I could never be induced to value anything that is my own, yet I can do no less than think much better of what you esteem That a treatise designed for a public use is wrote without partiality is as great a character as can be given it, and this coming from your pen makes it more weighty I must beg your pardon if I show my folly in being proud of it, because it makes me think I have hit the white I aimed at, and the more because it had the same character from Mr Edmund Bohun, who having read it was pleased to write me from Ipswich to Bristol almost in your words.

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 5540, f 72

Integrity and faithfulness are what I esteem above other commendations You think it too short, and others have complained it is too long, those gentlemen did not consider how difficult it is to comprise so spacious a thing as the trade of England in a few lines

I am heartily sorry I shall not have the happiness to see you in London, I design for Bristol Monday next, and should gladly have discoursed on those points you differ with me, and to have owned in a second edition that they were of your correction There are some things I leave in the dark, as thinking them more proper to be spoken to in the House of Commons than made the subject of a discourse, they might bring me under the name of a projector, which I carefully endeavour to avoid I could say much on this, but I must then find fault with our legislators, who too often examine things by the touchstone of their own interests, and either throw them out, or coolly let them fall, as they answer that end I wish that House were better filled with men of public spirits than it is, our taxes might be raised with more ease, our trade better secured, and our money made to go farther towards the use of the war, were self shut out, but when that is let in it will be to no purpose for any gentlemen without doors to contend against it When I have the honour to be there I will endeavour to show my designs are still of one piece

I thank you for the two alterations you propose in the close of your letter *Your reason for the first is beyond dispute*, but please to consider I had mentioned the word dominions in the beginning of that paragraph, so whether it will be proper to use it twice, or leave it out where now it is, and put in the place of Judea is the question it doth not seem to run so well that way, but this I leave to your judgment As to the other, I must clear the printer, it was my own error, and I will mend it in the next The book as it was wrote privately so it came abroad unexpected, being never seen till in the bookseller's shop, nor known that I was writing till it had almost past the press I was, indeed, then desired by a near relation (who was a competent judge of words) to have the perusing it, but besides that it was too late I was afraid he would have perplexed the matter by mending the language, so I chose to let it come abroad as it was

Enclosed I send you the proposals I gave the city of Bristol for employing and maintaining the poor, grounded on that part

of my *Essay*, and also the Act of Parliament passed this sessions, which hath met with such approbation, that it is generally desired for a precedent, the other is a short reply to a paper put into the House of Lords against passing a bill sent them by the Commons, which I thought would have been of great use to the public The managers had reprinted that part of my *Essay* which treated of the East India Trade, and delivered it to both Houses, where the linen drapers raised objections I have fairly summed up their arguments, though I cannot send you the original paper, to which this is a sudden reply, made at the request of the manufacturers I am,

Sir,
your most humble servant,

To John Locke, Esq JOHN CARY

## *Locke to the College*

Oates, 11th May, 1696

DEAR COL,

I received yours of the 7th and 11th just now, and have scarce time before the messenger returns to do any more than barely thank you for them, and for taking such pains against the patrons of the clippers, and am very glad to hear of the very good success that is like to be of it

I perfectly agree with your interpretation of the Act about punching, and could wish something were published about it for the directing and quieting of honest men's minds about it And if it were strengthened with the opinion of some of the judges it would be of great use, for this is the trick now made use of to continue clipped money, and why those words were put into the Act by some men I have not doubted from the beginning If anything of that kind comes to be published I desire some copies to be sent me by the first opportunity The printed letter about the currency of clipped money, with the two votes of the house their last day of sitting writ into it, and the summary of Queen Elizabeth's reasons, I have given about with good effect, and have sent for more for the same purpose I am,

Dear College,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

Sir Francis and my Lady and Mr Masham return you their humble services

I thank you for delivering my letter to Mr Cary

I desire the Grave to give my service to his son

I writ to my Cousin Bonville to call on you for eleven pounds of the milled money in your hands Has he not been with you for it?

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 12th May, 1695[6]

DEAR SIR,

I writ some time since to my Cousin Bonville to receive of you eleven pounds of the new money you got for me of Sir Stephen Evans, that it might be lodged with him conveniently to be received by any of our neighbours who going to town lodge about that end By your and his silence in that matter I am in doubt whether my letter came to his hands or not Mrs Lane, my Lady's servant who brings you this, gives me a convenience of having it hither I have given her a letter, and desired her to call at my Cousin Bonville's for it If she finds it there you need not trouble yourself to give it her If it be still in your hands and not paid to my Cousin Bonville, I desire you to give her eleven pounds in milled money, which she will bring me down on Saturday And if you have anything else to send me I beg the favour of you to send it by her She will lodge somewhere in Holborn, and I have desired her to leave word at your lodging if she troubles you or Mr Freke within where she lies, that you may send thither anything for me

My Cousin King writ me word last week that he had received eight pounds of you for my account I hope you did not pay it him out of the milled money you received of Sir Stephen Evans I desired you to keep by you till I could find a way to get it hither For when I ordered him to receive money of you, I intended you should pay him out of what money was most convenient for you of your own, and so put it to the account between us For I would not have given you the trouble to get new milled money of Sir Stephen Evans to pay for books, or lend anyone in London I have done it with a prospect of putting it to a better use here

Pray give my humble service to the Bachelor I writ to the College in haste yesterday [1]

If some of the judges' opinions could be got and published in the case, their authority would [be of great use to] settle the people I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

Sir Francis and my Lady present their service to the College

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, next door to the Hen and Chicken, in Red Lion Street in Holborn, London

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, 14th May, 1696

Dear Sir,

Your letter to the College of the 11th was received, and the Bachelor says he will answer it in due time But that which you propose of procuring the judges' opinion upon the clause in the Act touching punched money, I am satisfied is not to be obtained, it being a rule with them in no case to give an extra judicial opinion in a matter that probably may come to be determined judicially before them But if the Lords Justices, for preventing the endless disputes and controversies that do and will arise amongst the people upon the punched money, and hindering any further damage to the nation by a new currency of clipped money in that shape, will be prevailed upon to issue a proclamation for quieting the minds of the people, by instructing them plainly and clearly in the intention of the law, as to that particular of punched money, I believe it would be of infinite good use, and therefore you may depend upon it shall be industriously laboured to be obtained The College have already prevailed, by the methods they have taken, to procure an order from the Lords Justices to Mr Attorney General to prosecute all such persons as shall presume so much as to offer or tender any money (not allowed to pass by law) in any payment whatsoever And we shall find Mr Attorney evidence against

[1] Several lines which apparently refer to the circulation of punched money are here illegible

[2] Lovelace Collection

some great offenders in that kind very speedily, of which care will be taken that you shall not fail to have an account in the public prints And I will not despair of obtaining a useful proclamation touching clipped sixpences that may prevent the currency of them likewise in the country We have ordered that matter so, that they are generally refused to be taken by anybody here, and care is taken to give notice thereof to all the considerable towns in England, etc

The 15th of May

Thus far I had written Thursday in the evening when Mrs Lane (my Lady's woman) brought me your letter of the 12th, whereby I find that Mr Bonville had not then given you any account of his having received the eleven pounds in new money as you directed, indeed the hurry that I am constantly in made me forget to acquaint you with it But he received it above a week since, and Mrs Lane will take it of him and bring it to you The eight pound I paid Mr King was in punched money of my own, and is placed to your account as you desire

Pray give Mr Freke's, mine, and my son's humble service to Sir Francis and my Lady, and all the good family at Oates, and accept the like yourself from

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

I am told the Commission of Trade is passed the Great Seal, so that I conclude we shall now be so happy as to see you in town very speedily, and by that means I may have an opportunity to kiss your hands before I go into the country, which I design as soon as I can get leave of my Lords and Masters, etc

[*Endd*] E Clarke, 14th May, 1696 To 28

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 18th May, 1689 [1696]

DEAR SIR,

I mentioned the Judge's opinion because it being a matter of law I thought that would carry most weight with it, and that

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 56, and printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, pp 50-2, with date of 1689 The endorsement, however, is of 1696

if the Lords Justices or the Council should demand their opinions in the case they would then give it But I agree with you that a proclamation of the Lords Justices to the purpose you mention would be of infinite use, and I hope those who have done so much in this affair will be able to obtain that too And take care that the proclamation be so drawn and by such an hand as may not increase the difficulties and the doubts Some examples of the kind you mention, especially amongst the Lombard Street blades, would make the matter go glib and raise the croke against them, and turn the poor and suffering people's eyes upon them, for there lies the great obstruction Hold but tight as you have begun in London and we shall do well enough, and the country will bless the College

I thank you for paying the money as you did to my Cousins Bonville and King That from my Cousin Bonville I have received, and shall make the best use of it I can

I intend to be in town as soon as the weather is but so warm that I leave off fires It is now with us perfect winter weather, and I write this by the fireside But warm weather cannot now be far off But however that may be, pray give me at least a week's warning, and as much longer as is possible, before the day set for your journey into the country, for I must needs see you, and have many things to say to you, and therefore will venture my lungs a little sooner than otherwise I would in town not to miss the opportunity of kissing your hands Else not knowing how long I may be detained there I would if I could have so much warm weather as to get off the remainder of my cough before I venture into that anæmic air I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to the Bachelor

All here present their service to the whole College

I know the multitude of your business, and therefore do not wonder that you say nothing to me of having yet received a note of Sir Stephen Evans for my Ladyday's salary, which I sometime since desired you to take of him when the order from the Treasury was come to pay the excise officers If you have not yet received it of him, I beg leave to mind you of it again, and to desire you

to take it of him, and let it bear the date that you received your salary

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to know when I go into the country, etc Received the 20th May, 1696 Answered the 21st

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 24th May, 1696

DEAR SIR,

This day's coach from Bishop's Stortford is quite full, so that it will now be Friday before I shall have the happiness of seeing you This is therefore in the meantime only to acknowledge the receipt of, and return you my thanks for, the favour of your two letters, one of the 21st and the other 24th instant I am glad to find no day yet set in your letters for your journey, which gives me hopes I shall have some time with you in town I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

My humble service to the Bachelor

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 25th May, 1696

## *Locke to Clarke*

London, 28th July, 1696

DEAR SIR,

I was very glad to hear by yours of the 18th that you and your little girl got so well to Chipley and found all well there I had sooner returned my thanks for that good news but that I have been out of town for a week and returned but yesterday

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 83 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 242

The want of a place to put the papers and books in belonging to our commission hindering us from having them, and so to go on in our business, gave me that liberty which was convenient for my health and necessary for some business I had I hear the last post has brought an order for the rooms, so that step farther is gained in order to the putting us in our geers

On Sunday, about 10 in the morning, my Lord Portland arrived here, and he declaring he would be glad to speak with my Lord Keeper, somebody officiously went to Powis House, but finding my Lord was gone to Church went thither after him This calling my Lord Keeper out of Church mightily alarmed the town, and caused various reports of the business of his coming, which at last terminates in the opinion of most men to be for money, which they say is mightily wanted in Flanders

My humble service to Mrs Clarke Your son is well, and I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, of my Lord Keeper's being called out of Church Sunday upon my Lord Portland's arrival, etc Received the 30th July, 1696 Answered at large the 1st August

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

London, 4th August, 1696

Mr Cudworth has been very troublesome to the Bishop, with several summons to attend the Master

[Expects he and Mr Clarke will be summoned too]

That conduct which you admire is but a part you would admire more if you knew more What do you think the Land Bank be revived and supply our necessities at this time of day The thought of that Bank I think is quite now over But are those who were the managers and undertakers or proposers in that affair likely, think you, to supply the King with money in this emergency? Yet this is talked of And the project now on foot 12 per cent rebate for ready money, their own remittance into Flanders, which some estimate at 16, other at 20 per cent,

[1] Copied from the abstract of the Historical Manuscripts Commission

and 6 per cent interest, the town talks to be the terms, gain one thinks sufficient And yet some observing citizens tell me that with all this that men either cannot or will not be able to raise the present supply demanded And this, if you will have my opinion, is for want of the same remedy which you propose for the cure of the inconveniencies the country labours under

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

London, 13th August, 1696

MADAM,

Though business has kept me longer from returning my thanks to your last kind letter than I intended, and so you may perhaps blame me in your thoughts, yet you have this advantage by it that you have thereby escaped an importunity I had designed for you And I have nothing to do now but to commend you for the course you have put yourself into under Dr Musgrave's care, instead of persuading you to do so This was all the advice I could have given you at this distance for the swelling of the legs To which I can only add that you should carefully follow his prescriptions This, I think, I might have spared, because it is in itself so reasonable, but where I am so much concerned as I am for your health and perfect recovery I could not forbear saying something I am very glad to hear your son Sam is better I hope the little one that Mr Clarke took down with him will find the advantage of the change of air and other things Mr Clarke enquires whether she should take the powder again which she did at Ditton, to which I answer yes, for I believe it will do her good Your son[1] is very well, and presents his humble duty to you and Mr Clarke I hope in the next to hear that your legs are much mended, and am,

Dear Madam,
your most humble and affectionate servant,
JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke, at Chipley

[1] Edward Clarke, jr

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, London, 13th August, 1696

I am mightily troubled at what you tell me in the second paragraph of your letter, and that for many reasons, for I think it not barely the concernment of my private friend, though that be enough, but a very ill symptom of a much larger extent I know not what to advise him more than he does, but I cannot but think other people mightily to blame that it is come to that pass

I am so little a friend to privilege that I meant not you should make any other use of it than to fright him into reasonable things, for you and I have no other interest in it But it is a very unreasonable and unnatural as well as senseless fellow, and acted by a malicious one I so perfectly agree with what you say, you are as wise and as honest as the rest, that I fruitlessly trouble not myself any farther in that point

There are two mails now wanting, so that we have no news Nor do I know how the case about the loan stands, only that the application is now to the Bank, and there is a general court to be on Saturday next I suppose to that purpose

I have here enclosed writ to Mrs Clarke concerning little Jenny's taking the red powders, as you call it, which I think may be useful to her I wish Mrs Clarke her health I am glad to hear she is in the hands of Dr Musgrave I long to see you here again, and am, Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

[*Endt*] Mr Locke, to hasten to town Received the 19th of August, 1696

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

DEAR MADAM, London, 19th September, 1696

I am very very glad you find so great an amendment in your little daughter since she came home I make no doubt but she will every day recover greater degrees of health and strength under your way of ordering her I am of opinion with you that the rhubarb has done her a great deal of good, but I think she

has taken it long enough, and that it should now be at least intermitted for some time, for I think it not convenient that anyone's, especially a child's, body should be accustomed to purging medicines constantly for any long time together Purgings are a sort of violence to nature, and so should be used no more than necessity required and by intervals If you find any want of it after a month or two you may give it her again If kitchen physic will do I would never use any other, and therefore I am also for omitting the yellow powder, and would try what good ordering alone will do When you find her recovery at a stand, and that there is a stop in the increase of her strength and vigour, you may then use the rhubarb, or the powder, or both, as there shall be occasion For the weakness of her ankle and her treading aside as you mention, you must help this with a boot which must hinder this turning of that joint, which when kept in its due motion and straightness by this outward help will be confirmed by nature as she grows stronger

As to your own health, I look upon you as in the safe and ready way of return to it by finding you in the Doctor's hands who has had so very good success with you all along your last illness, and to whom I look upon it under God you owe your life I am glad to find you so much resolved (as you have reason) to follow his directions, to which I need add none but that you will often reflect upon what you say in your letter to Mr Clarke, that you find your health as the quicksilver in the weatherglass rise and fall as your temper of mind is It is that which I know to be so, and do tell you but that half your cure depends on the Doctor's prescriptions, the other half is in your own mind Cheerfulness will have a greater efficacy towards your recovery than anything the apothecaries' shops can afford And it being of all other the most pleasant remedy, you will have nothing to say to yourself and your friends if you do not use it I am one of those, and therefore expect it of you, and am,

Dear Madam,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

My love to my wife and service to Mrs Burges Your son is well, and presents his duty to you

[*Addr*] For Mrs Mary Clarke, at Chipley

## *Mrs Clarke to Locke* [1]

[September, 1696]

DEAR SIR,

I humbly thank you for your last letter, notwithstanding you tell me I must often reflect on what I have formerly writ to Mr Clarke in comparing myself to the weatherglass as I will answer it to you and the rest of my friends, which challenge I do accept as to yourself And if I was at my own dispose, or it was more in my power, I would meet you to-morrow in the middle of Lincoln's Inn Fields at your peril For I do assure you I pass in this country for one that has as great a temper of mind and greatness of spirit as any of my sex I appeal to Mr Clarke himself, who was lately an eye-witness of some of the trial I met with upon the account of his suffering in the esteem of the people by their misunderstanding of their own interest, but now I hope the generality of them at least are better satisfied But when these sort of spirits reign among them, and they threaten to expose him and his to the rabble, can you imagine that the very noise of such a thing should affect my quicksilver, and if I am to suppose I must not have an inward concern though I disguise it

Pardon in that I [tell] you with this history a little to vindicate my own ill humour, and give me leave to tell you that I think poor Jenny the most mended since she came home as ever you saw She has got a great deal of flesh and that pretty firm, and for this month has been able to run from one room to the other, and this without holding her string at all, and when she is under my charge I venture her to go to one end of the gallery by herself and I stand at the other till she comes back again But this is a liberty I don't give anybody else leave to take with her, she having so great a weakness in one of her legs, that a small matter will throw her down, for she goes on one side of her foot almost on her ankle, but since she goes more I fancy the fault is in her knee, for the knee of that leg in her walking comes quite over to touch the other, and by that means turns her foot so upon her ankle I have sent for a boot for her as Mr Clarke and you

[1] Mrs Clarke's answer, written in her own hand, is on the back of the preceding letter

directed me, but cannot yet get one here, so I have sent to borrow that Mr Clarke mentioned of my Aunt Strachey But when it comes, if the fault prove to be in the knee, I question whether it will be proper for her She fetches her breath much better than she did, and has always had over good stomach, so that I thought she did eat more than nature could digest, she being as I found naturally costive [1]

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

London, 24th October, 1696

MADAM,

I should be glad to meet you in the middle of Lincoln's Inn Fields, or some more convenient place not far from it, in answer to your challenge, but it would be with a resolution to submit to you as a better manager of your weather-glass than I am of mine I am not a little glad of it since it will not only give you the victory over me, but also over the remains of your late disease

I am very glad Jenny is so much recovered I look upon her to be in the right way to health and strength in your hands When I spoke against the frequent use of rhubarb I did not intend she should not take it when there was need, but only meant she should take it as seldom as might be And I believe the occasions (which, as you rightly observe, make her taking of it necessary) will as she grows stronger and stronger return every time at a greater distance As to the weakness in her leg, I take it to be in her ankle which turns her knee in, and not in her knee which you suppose makes the bending in her ankle, and this I doubt not you will find by the use of a boot

What you suggest concerning Sammy I own ought to be examined and looked after But at this distance I think it necessary to have a little more light in the case before I can advise anything in it To inform yourself and me more fully concerning his hip, whether there be any sprain or dislocation there, I think it would be convenient to consult your Doctor, who being a learned man and skilled in anatomy will by seeing of him naked, handling of the part, and observing when he sets

[1] The remainder of the letter is discoloured and falling to pieces

him upon his legs, whether both the child's legs are of an equal length, and whether he standing upright can set both the soles of his feet flat upon the plain ground, be able to resolve you whether his hip has been hurt or no, and when that is discovered that will be ground to proceed to other things I wish you and all your family perfect health, and am,

Madam,

your most humble and most affectionate servant,

JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke, at Chipley
[*Endorsed by Mrs Clarke*] Mr Locke's letter about Jenny, etc

## *Locke to Clarke*

[November] 1696

DEAR SIR,

I got hither, I thank God, very well, and [am free] already of one of my maladies that tormented me constantly every night The cramp has spared me all but the first night since I came home I know not what to [attribute] it to but the goodness of the air, which helping [relieve me] of those crude humors which this way rack me in town This, I am sure, it is not lying warmer that hath eased me of those acute pains Because the clothes that lie upon me here are thinner and cooler than those I had at little Li[ncoln's Inn Field]

The Bishop's and our letter I delivered to my Lady, who is [assured] in the reasonableness of it, and neither has nor will expect of the trustees that they should in compliance with her desires do that which is not safe and reasonable for them to do She thinks herself very much obliged to them that they will take upon them the trouble of managing her and her child's concerns entrusted to them, and does not expect or desire they should run themselves into any more expense in it She presents her service and thanks to you and the Bishop and [will reply] concerning that matter as soon as she knows what to say to it She and I have been served with an order from Sir John Franklin to attend him on Tuesday next at five of the clock to contest the account between her brother and her if we think fit For I suppose the account about the arrears of rent due from his

mother's [estate] at the time of her death which he is to take for so much [1] For as much as I understand of these chancery affairs, I am apt to think it is fit somebody should appear there for us, that the account be not settled just as they please But this I talk at random being ignorant and submit the whole matter to you Only I think that when you speak to the Bishop you should make him sensible that going (as he says they did) into Chancery by consent, it is not reason nor conscience that my Lady's and the infant's estate should pay all the cost, and that therefore he ought to make use of his privilege till Mr Cudworth be brought to reason in that point

Though I am eased of the cramp, yet my lungs do not recover so fast My cough continues to shake me cruelly, though I find my lungs move better than they did in town, and I am not so much oppressed with short breathing as I was there I wish good success to all your counsels at the College, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

Pray give my humble and hearty service to the Bachelor

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London
Frank

## *John Cary to Clarke*

Bristol, 16th November, 1696

HONOURED SIR,

I humbly make bold to write you this on occasion of your late vote of taking in hammered money at 5s 8d per oz in the future taxes, but no mention made how it shall be received in the revenue of customs, excise, etc This will be a very great injury to the traders of England, especially in great cities, many of them having received large sums in that sort of coin on encouragement of your former vote, and wrote to their chapmen to send them their vessels at that price, which hath been a great means to keep things so quiet in the country as they have been, so that the loss will light on the well-meaning men who

[1] Several lines are here illegible

have endeavoured to serve the Government, and will very much disoblige the corporations

All trade on this last vote will be at a full stop, nothing but milled money will pass, unless the revenue is ordered to be received in hammered money if this were done but till the 25th March it would make all current again, *if the House thinks fit to explain the word hammered money it twould not be amiss*, it makes a puzzle in the country

I desire you will pardon the liberty I take to be so free with you in this affair I have no peculiar interest, the quiet of the nation is the thing I aim at, and that those who desired to disaffect the people against the Government may have no just occasion of doing it I wish you may settle the credit of the nation for us to ensure the ends intended I am afraid the banks will not be a foundation solid enough to build a national credit on, nor anything else that is private, and thereby liable to be swayed by interest, I love the Kingdom of England though I am not in any station to serve it, and this makes me take a greater freedom with you who are That little acquaintance I have had with you hath given me full satisfaction that you are an honest English gentleman With due regards, I am,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

JOHN CARY

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 20th November, 1696.

DEAR SIR,

I return you my thanks for the little book I received from you just now, and by the first page (which the haste I am in could not hinder me from casting my eye upon) guessed I shall find notable matters in it, and many good words to the country gentlemen and landholders

Having had time to recollect a little better since I writ to you in haste two days since, I guess the Bishop of Gloucester settled the account of arrears with Mr Cudworth when they last met before the Master, so that we having nothing as I think to contest about that account, I now am of opinion there is no need of attending Sir John Franklin by ourselves, or by counsel, or

anybody else But this I must submit to you, who I know will do what is convenient in the case and excuse my ignorance I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My Lady gives you her humble service My most humble service to the Bachelor

Pray let the enclosed go with your letters to the post, and excuse this liberty

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching attendance before the Master, etc Received the 23rd November, 1696 Answered the 24th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 27th November, 1696

Dear Sir,

My Lady has now some hopes that by your assistance and appearing in the thing the business with her brother will soon have a final and no very disadvantageous end She is very sensible of the kindness she has and shall receive from you in it Notwithstanding what she has writ to you in the enclosed, which she showed me, I guess she would not be sorry if that use could be made of what the trustees writ to her about the twice £84 that debt might be secured to the estate and so produce present interest She sent a copy of the trustees' letter writ to her to Sir Francis, but has got no word from him about it Whether you will think it convenient to speak to him about it must be left to you He has land loose here which he purchased lately, enough to secure it But this you must not take notice of unless you can draw it out of him, by pressing him to give personal or real security For if it should be suspected that you were told so from hence it might breed ill blood, and be thought my Lady aimed at that, and that so this assigning of the notes to Mr C[udworth] was made use of to that purpose The whole management of this business is left to you, who after what is fit

for the trustees to do, will I know do what shall be most convenient for my Lady, who mightily desires this business with her brother should be as soon as might be at an end

I shall trouble you no farther at present but to ask you whether Sir St [1] has come in your way since I came out of town, and whether he be free to pay I am just made like that good Doctor of Divinity who professed that the more he knew of this world the less he liked it I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

I am the Bachelor's most affectionately I answered his obliging letter on Monday last

You have not yet answered the question I expected Though now if I do not guess amiss I think the Privy Councillor lately sworn will make it needless However, pray let him hear from you concerning it

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 29th November, 1696

Dear Sir,

In the enclosed from my Lady Masham you will [find] the two notes you sent for My Lady is in hopes that the business with her brother will now have its desired end [since] you take it in hand, and desires me to acknowledge the favour [Her] resolution in all the particulars is included in yours, being of [opinion you] best know and will do what is fittest in the whole [matter]

My service with the enclosed to Mr Freke If he [will] do me the favour to write, the messenger who brings [it to] Mr Pawling has order to call there again on Tuesday morning, and stay till Mr Pawling dismisses him, which he will not do till he hears from the College I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

[1] Sir Stephen Evans

## *Locke to Clarke.*

7th December, 1696

DEAR SIR,

I return you my thanks for yours of the 3rd and the 5th My Lady [1] is extremely sensible of your favour and kindness to her, and makes you all manner of acknowledgments, and is sorry you and she have to do with so unreasonable people I thank you for your news I perceive my letters of late are very slow in coming to you I hope they do not talk to anybody by the way Pray give the enclosed with my service to the Bachelor I know you will not be sorry that the late arrival of your letters to-day gives me not time to add more but that I am,

Dear Sir,

yours,

J LOCKE

I had Mr Addison's letter that you ordered him to write me

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 11th December, 1696

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 18th December, 1696

SIR,

This is to enclose the within, to desire one of them may go to the post to wish the Bachelor [2] and you a merry Christmas, and to let him know that I have received none from him since his of the 5th I say not this by way of complaint, but by way of account I read in the votes of a bill about printing was to be brought in by Mr R H, but have not read in the votes since that it is yet brought in by him I am,

yours perfectly,

J LOCKE

[1] Lady Francis Masham

[2] John Freke, the head of the College

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 26th January, 1696-7

The letters came so late yesterday that when I sealed mine to the Bachelor, which I writ in haste, I hoped not for an opportunity to answer by this post any more of those many I received yesterday, but by accident I have now the opportunity to tell you that though your letters are always very welcome to me, yet I did not so much as once grumble at your silence I know how your time is taken up, and shall always desire rather that it may be enlarged for the public than straitened in civility to me When necessary business makes me trouble you I know I may depend on you, and you will forgive me

My Lady bids me say she is exceedingly sensible of the kindness in yours of the 23rd, and thinks it civiller, because shorter to you, to return her thanks by my hands than a letter of her own She has seconded the Bishop's [1] letter to the debtors, and explained it so as to make it, I think, more intelligible and of more force So that I hope the business between her and her brother is now in a way to an end

Your answer to Sir Francis about laying the notes before the Master, that it was what the trustees were obliged to do and was for their security, I believe to be so, and that which must satisfy any reasonable man, and the same, too, seems to me to reach the case of taking his single bond For I ask you whether we are not under a like obligation not to do it, and whether with security to ourselves we can? I am willing to comply as far as may be with Sir Francis's desires, and to do what may be for the convenience of my Lady and the child But I must ask whether with safety to our trust we can take this single bond, when Sir Francis has land here, which he purchased with money which he got by that executorship, which makes him liable to pay those two notes, and with which he should have paid them above a year since, with which land he may secure this debt if he pleases Moreover, I must whisper in your ear that that which makes his difficulty to pay this debt out of Sir E Abay's money when he receives it, is that Sir E A, contrary to Sir Fr 's expectation, tells him he will, when he pays the bond (now under your refer-

[1] Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester

ence) to him, call in an hundred pounds which Sir Fr owes him upon a bond, wherein he and his son are bound If Sir Francis will give the trustees the same security for £100, and pay the remainder of those two notes out of Sir E A 's money, he may this way, too, secure this debt of the trustees beyond exception If he has two ways to give better security than his single bond and will do neither, I ask you whether we can answer it, to consent that he should leave the trustees and the estate less secure than he can make them ? And if that little time wherein the money is promised to be paid should not in a little while come, must not the trustees either let it drill on under the hazard of assets (for who has a lease of his life ?), or else come to the same extremities they decline now, though Chancery does it now, and it will then be their voluntary act ? And will not the inconvenience to my Lady and her child, if he be then forced, be the same as now ? Besides, if Mr Cudworth will not take his single bond, how can we be justified in doing it ?

These are the objections that occur to me in the case, and would be unanswerable by Sir Fr if I could put them But that would bring my Lady not only into suspicion, but almost in view that her hand was in it, and that she at the bottom hinders our accepting the single bond For this of the £100 owing to Sir E A[bay] upon his and his son's bond I had from her, and the mortgage of the new purchased land, if you mention it, will also be concluded to be suggested from hence. But if you ask him, as from yourself, whether he hath not land on which he can give the trustees security, I believe he will not deny it and by talking with Sir E A about the affair between him and Sir Fr you may get out the knowledge of that bond, which he has (in his own or Sir Michael Henage's name) of Sir Fr and his son, and so may manage this upon the obligation of one trust without discovering any notice you have from hence This would be a great kindness to my Lady, and, as I guess, ease and security to us, which I would join with you in were not my Lady unavoidably involved in my appearing This appears to me the state of the whole case, and I shall be glad to have your opinion in it, by which at last I doubt not but I shall be determined I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to the Bachelor, Madam, and your son Pardon the trouble of the enclosed

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke what methods to be taken for getting good security from Sir Francis Masham for the debt due from Mr Andrews, etc Received the 27th January, 1696 Answered fully the 28th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 1st February, 1696[-7]

DEAR SIR,

Though yours of the 28th came at the same time as the Bachelor's, yet I could not answer it as I did the Bachelor's by Sir Francis this morning, for thinking it likely he should say something to my Lady or me about the security whilst he was here, I forbore writing to you till he was gone To me, I am sure, he has not said a syllable, and my Lady tells me he has said nothing to her of it If it be because he is resolved to do what he ought, viz to give the trustees as good security as he can, it is well I am very glad of it, that he has come to a resolution both becoming him and, I think, for his interest But if it be to give you further trouble in the point and expose the trustees unreasonably by a mismanagement of their trust, I know not what to say to that My Lady tells me she imagines he will be willing to give better security than his own bond, but concludes it is not the land but his and his son's bond for £100, supposing the £100 upon their joint bond be Upon what reasons she concludes this, since he has said nothing to her, I know not But this she earnestly begs of you that you would by all gentle means endeavour to work him from an obstinate persisting on his own bond, and so she thinks you may be able to bring him off from it A security for the whole £168 I find she would like best But would, I find, to avoid suspicion and wrangling, etc, be content that Sir Francis's and his son's bond should be taken for £100 and the £60 be left upon Sir Francis's single bond, if Sir Francis promises to pay it out of Sir Ed Abay's money, and that belike to be paid speedily, which she says you, to whom that matter is referred, can best tell

But the taking Sir Francis's single bond for the whole she is, I find, not for, since if it be left in that state she and her child shall run the greater risk, but she not live one jot the easier by it, since that debt pressing, and as she supposes the trustees not being willing to let it hang long on that single bond, it will but make a greater trouble and vexation then For if we can once take his single bond, why can we not continue it? My sense of the thing you know in my former letter If you can, by the handles I there gave you gently and smoothly managed, bring Sir Francis to do what is fit for the trustees to accept, you will do her a singular kindness If the matter sticks before it come to that, I believe you will let me know before you come to a conclusion, that I who am in less hurry than you may think how to remove the difficulty it sticks at If you can get a knowledge of the land he has morgeable from Sir Francis himself, or from Sir Ed Abay the knowledge of his and his son's bond, methinks the giving of either of those securities may be urged by you as a friend as his own interest to give them, since he thereby discharges himself of so much personal debt of his own, which cannot rest long without being troublesome to her, and lays it upon his heir, who will have the estate to discharge it But you will know how to manage this better than I can tell you I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J Locke

Your saying nothing of Madam makes me hope she is well Pray give her and my wife my humble service

[1] The Bachelor I find is for speedily printing a book, you may guess I think you were best find some way to delay it a little

Your business and mine hath made us both forget to say anything ever since I came out of town of two notes of Sir Stephen Evans I left in your hand Pray have you yet got the money, or any hopes of it?

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke of the methods to be taken for procuring Sir Francis his security for Mr Andrews his two notes, etc Received the 3rd February, 1696[-7] Answered the 4th

[1] Added on a small slip of paper

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 8th February, 1696[-7]

DEAR SIR,

If it were to persuade Sir Francis to do a thing at your entreaty, which it were in your choice whether he should do or no, perhaps there might be more difficulty to prevail with him than I imagine But it being as I apprehend it, what the trustees cannot do in pursuance of their trust (with which I see not how it can be reconciled to venture near a quarter of the estate upon the hazard of a single security), it seems to me a thing of necessity to be done, to give better security than his single bond, which if you stand on I see no room for debate nor difficulties on the other side If I have suggested other particulars to you, it has been to show you how easily he could do it and to give you a handle, if you can come at it to turn him the easier to what at last is necessary to be done and the trust will not suffer you to recede from, whose case ever it was And as to my Lady's concern in it, I do not see how she will at all be eased, but her part in the trouble will be unavoidably increased if you recede from the obligation the trustees are under not to venture so considerable a part of the estate upon the uncertainty of a single life For I know not how to answer my Lady if she should ask whether ever we can have a better opportunity to stand upon it? And whether it will ever look less to be hers or the trustees' act than now, when the decree of the Court has ordered the laying the securities before the Master, to see which are good, and those that are not to call in the money? If this occasion be once slipped and the trustees once content themselves with his single bond, if they afterwards demand and press for better security, for aught I know he may not be in so good a condition to give it This at least must be presumed, that there will be the same unwillingness And then where shall the suspicion and quarrel light but upon my Lady? For the trustees who were once satisfied would still be satisfied with his single bond if she pleased, and if she says she has not put them upon demanding any other security (though it be reasonable for her to do it), shall she not be put upon desiring the trustees not to press him for any other security, but let the money continue as it is upon his single

bond? And what shall we have then to say but that we cannot? If this be possible to be so, I see not how the taking the single bond now will at all ease her or anything else but insisting on that at last (if other persuasions will not produce it) that the trustees cannot, as you said, with safety do it This is as I apprehend the case But I am not so well skilled in these matters as to depend upon my own judgment, and therefore refer it to your better skill and management

I thank you for minding my business to Sir Stephen Does he say nothing what I may expect or when I shall have it? My humble service to the Bachelor I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives her humble service to the College Give me leave to trouble you with the enclosed

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to press Sir Francis for better security than his own bond, etc Received the 10th February, 1696[-7] Answered the 11th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 5th March, 1696-[7]

Dear Sir,

Though the enclosed were all ready to be sealed up under your cover, yet I stayed from doing of it till our letters came, in expectation that I might hear from you and have a word to say to you Your letter, which came just now, is fuller than I expected or could wish for I could be glad if Mrs Clarke's better health gave her and you less occasion of writing on that subject The messenger is so near going that I shall not have time to consider and answer her letter now, and therefore must defer it to the next post As to your two questions, in haste I say 1st That the beginnings of a dropsy are not to be neglected, and I fear hers will increase and prevail upon her if

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 84 Also printed in *Lettres inedites de John Locke*, pp 243-2

by suitable remedies a stop be not put to it, and the sooner the better 2nd. The recommending the use of a remedy that one does not know is very warily to be done, and can have no other reasonable foundation but the truth, memory and judgment of him that vouches the experience of it, and therefore you are a better judge than I how far Mr Phillips is to be relied on in the case Cannot the receipt be got? Try that, for I would be glad Mrs Clarke had speedily some easy, safe and effectual remedy, which possibly this may be By your next post I shall write to you farther

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My service to the Bachelor

I beg your pardon for the trouble of the enclosed, and thank you for your last

[*Endr*] Mr Locke of Mrs Clarke's case with respect to a dropsy, etc Received the 8th March, 1696[-7] Answered the 9th

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Dear Sir, Oates, 8th March, 1696-7

You will see by the two annexed letters what I think is to be done in Mrs Clarke's case To her I have given some particular directions suited to the method proposed in my letter to you But how they will suit her humour, or stomach, or other circumstances, it is impossible at this distance to know And therefore as to the particular medicines, I have set them down rather to please her than that I think that the safest way of proceeding, only the *garlic* I should expect much from, if she be inclined to use it But for her diet, exercise, and going very early to bed, and lying abed most of her time, I think I cannot mistake in The diet drink I have prescribed for her ordinary drink will do her good if she keep to it alone For if she takes it it will do her good, if she dislikes the taste and drinks but little of it, the drinking but little is one of the best remedies for her *But if you will have my opinion her life is not to be ventured upon directions at this distance, and therefore I think it necessary to consult some physician upon the place, who may adapt his method and medicines to all the whole collection of symptoms he shall observe in*

*her* I have writ my opinion to you as I have done, that if you think it may be of any use to her you may send it to any physician in those parts which she and you shall think fit to make use of, or make what other use of it you please If there be anything else I can do for her or you in the case, you are but to let me know it, and I shall do it the best I can As to your Sherborne apothecary's medicine recommended by Mr Phillips, I can say nothing to it unless I know it I think people not used to the practice of physic so apt to mistake and confound cases, and I think so little of the art of medicine lies in secret remedies and receipts, that I should no more use an unknown medicine upon unskilful people's recommendation than venture to let anyone bleed in the dark If the case were desperate and nothing else would do, it is reasonable to try anything But that, God be thanked, is not Mrs Clarke's case *It may grow to a dropsy if not looked after and prevented, but I hope there is no difficulty in it to make anyone doubt of its cure* And I believe I can direct you to one in London who will fully convince you in that point It is old Mr Papillion's wife, who I have been told had such swellings in her legs from an hypodropsical humour, that they were of an excessive bigness and large quantities of water run from them, and yet notwithstanding she was since perfectly recovered Of the truth of this you can easily inform yourself, and possibly learn what was done to her I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

John Locke

My humble service to the Bachelor, from whom I shall be obliged by a word or two when his leisure will permit

My Lady gives you both her humble service

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about Mrs Clarke's sickness, etc Received the 10th March, 1696[-7] Answered fully the 11th, and sent Betty's letter to him enclosed

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 8th March, 1696-7

Dear Sir,

Your letter, with Mrs Clarke's enclosed, I could only acknowledge the receipt of the last post, but had not time before

the messenger went to weigh her case, which upon consideration I take to be this Her last great disease so weakened her blood that it has never since recovered its former strength And hence it has come to pass that her nourishment has never been turned into good and perfect blood, but a great part of it has remained undigested and crude, and so has been apt (as happens in such cases) to get out of the sanguinary vessels into the habit especially into the legs, and this is the cause of their swelling This load of crude and watery humours, stagnating in the legs and not circulating as it should in the veins and arteries, grows cold there, and thereby increases the weakness of the blood, when it is reassumed as it is every night, all or a good part of it, into the blood again, and thereby augments the disease The way to cure this as I imagine is to get out this watery humour and prevent the generating of more

I know in these cases purgatives are usually made use of in the first place to carry off the watery humours, which I should by no means advise in her case, because though purgatives do carry off the present load of water or phlegmatic humours, yet they do at the same time carry off also the strength of the blood, and so usually the present benefit received by them is soon overbalanced by a greater increase of the mischief, especially in weak and broken constitutions For the blood being thereby less able than before to make good blood, the undigested humours are increased by the future food not sufficiently mastered I think, then, the main of the cure turns upon the strengthening of the blood First by a very nourishing and spare diet 2nd By drinking very little, and that only of liquors that strengthen the blood 3rd By as much exercise in the open air as the patient can bear 4th By warming and restorative medicines 5th By avoiding such things as check or oppress the natural heat, as pensiveness, want of exercise, intemperate eating or drinking, and particularly chilling the blood with this extra humour, which is done by sitting up late For the humour falling most into the legs in the evening it there grows cold, and the longer it stays there the more so , and then in the night, when the legs are laid almost even with the rest of the body, returning into the veins fills them with this crude humour, and helps to put out and as it were drown the natural heat And therefore I should think it of great moment in this case to go to bed very early, and to

lie there long and almost constantly, and not to rise and sit up any longer than just for exercise For then the whole body being kept warm, the legs as well as the rest, and they not hanging down, the water not sinking into them not swelling them, the crude humour constantly circulating with the blood is more and more digested and part of it made good blood, and that part which remains watery is separated out of the mass by the kidneys and the bladder Whereas it loses the benefit when it stagnates in the legs, and grows cold there to the prejudice of the blood when it returns into it And I doubt not but the superfluous water would be quickly, by the urinary passages, separated out of the blood, if more crudity were not continually generated by the supplies of new meat and drink, ill digested, and therefore I look upon the chief part of the cure to lie in restoring strength to the blood But if it be thought that cannot be done unless the load of crude humours be removed, I think that may be effected by diuretics mixed with warming and strengthening medicines, with a good deal less damage or danger to the patient than by purging, which will signify very little in small quantity, and large purgatives will very much weaken her if she can (which I conclude she cannot) bear them And to her legs themselves, both to strengthen the tone of the parts that they may not receive these humours, and to discuss what may remain in them fomentations may be used

This, Sir, is the sum of what I think of Mrs Clarke's case and cure, without enlarging into particular remedies, which a physician upon the place will always be best judge of to suit them to present circumstances or alter them as he sees occasion That which adds to my hopes of Mrs Clarke's speedy recovery is the time of the year, which brings with it strength and vigour to all sorts of people, especially to weak and low tempers I earnestly wish an easy and quick recovery to Mrs Clarke, and am,

Dear Sir,
your [most affectionate humble servant],
J Locke

[*Addr*]. For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke* [1]

Oates, 8th March, 1696[-7]

DEAR MADAM,

If your kind letter of the 27th February had brought me as good an account of your health as it did of your children, I should have been perfectly rejoiced But though some remains of your late great disease continue still to trouble you, yet I hope a little care and a few remedies used now at this advantageous time of the year, will put an end to the swelling of your legs, and then will restore you again to a perfect state of health To this purpose the first thing you should have a care of is your diet ,— whereby I mean the whole course of your way of living First, then, I would have you go to bed constantly very early and lie pretty long in the morning the first of these will prevent the uneasy swelling of your legs which always comes on and increases most at night, the other will help to dissipate and carry off the superfluous humours in your body by warmth and perspiration In the next place you should eat two or three times a day, always good nourishment and of easy digestion, and never make a quite full meal, but leave off with some kind of appetite By this means your meat will digest the better, and be all turned into strong and good nourishment, and crudities will be avoided, which increase the cold and undigested humours which fall into your legs And there is nothing better for food in your case than to eat good store of well-baked light bread with your meat or alone , and one little glass of good warm wine at your dinner will not be amiss And taking the air every day when it is fair on horseback or in your coach will do you good

To warm and strengthen your blood, green ginger, or preserved, or candied elecampane roots, taken now and then, a little in the morning and afternoon, I think you will find benefit by Though in your case I know nothing so good if you will take it as garlic Cut a clove of garlic in two or three or more pieces, and wrapping it up in butter, or any other thing that you like, swallow it every morning, and so likewise in the afternoon, will be very effectual I doubt not I believe you are not thirsty, because you do not complain of it But for your drink make

[1] This is a contemporary copy of the letter to Mrs Clarke

such a sort of small ale as you will find on the other side, and let that be your ordinary drink, only if you find the taste of the ingredients too strong, you may mix with it some of your ordinary small ale or beer when you drink it But drink none of your other drink without a good proportion of this diet drink mixed with it Pray send me word in your next how your water is coloured and what quantities you make of it, and what alteration you find in yourself upon the use of these things I wish you a quick recovery of your former strength and health in all the parts of it And am,

Dear Madam,
your most affectionate humble servant,
JOHN LOCKE

My Lady and Mrs Masham give you their humble service, and are concerned for your health

My wife[1] I see has quite forgot me, but pray tell her I remember her

Take Century
Wormwood
Broom tops
Hart's tongue
Sage
Liverwort
Agrimony
Wormwood sage, of each 2 handfuls
Horse radish roots scraped
Dwar elder root slices, of each 4 ounces
Daucus or wild carrot seeds bruised, 3 ounces
The yellow pill of half-a-dozen Seville oranges
Put these ingredients into 2 gallons of small ale wort instead of hops, and let it work with them in it
Turn it up, and when it is fine drink it

If any of these ingredients cannot be got, make it with the remainder of them

[*Endorsed by Mr Clarke*] Copy of Mr Locke's letters to Mrs Clarke and to me touching her health Received from him the 10th, and sent to her the 11th March, 1696[-7]

[1] Elizabeth Clarke

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, London, 30th March, 1697

Your letter, with the enclosed for Mr Lyde, came safe, and I have put it in the post-house with my own hand, etc

Sir Stephen Evans hath paid fifty pounds to Mr Churchill for your use, and hath one of the notes you left with me delivered up to him

Pray give my humble service to my Lady, and acquaint her Ladyship, that the Bishop assures me that Dr Cornwall's security is renewed for the money in Baine's his hands, according to my desire, so that there will be no need of my Lady's writing to the Bishop at all about it, etc

The Bishop will convey the securities that are renewed to my Lady, the next time Sir Francis returns to Oates, and I will use my utmost endeavours to get everything else settled before the Bishop leaves the town I desire my Lady's excuse for not writing to her Indeed, I have not time But I am her Ladyship's and

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

The College are entirely yours, etc

I am concerned that anything in my last letter should vex you But I thought it was necessary for me to acquaint you with what I did at that time, since which I have taken effectual care, that it shall not come out till the next term, and before that time I presume whatever is designed to be added will be conveyed to me, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 30th March, 1697 To 9th April

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

DEAR SIR, London, 22nd April, 1697

I write now chiefly to desire a particular favour of you, which is to lend me two hundred pounds, for which, together

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Lovelace Collection

with the money I now owe you upon account, you shall have any security from me that you can desire for the repayment thereof at six months' end, with interest at 6 per cent And I hope if you have, or can command so much, you will oblige me with it, in regard I have a particular occasion for it at this time, etc

I took up the enclosed at the Coffee House last night, and take this first opportunity to convey it to you and I wish you would teach your friend that writes it, to direct his letters so for the future, that they may come frank, as I presume he intends they should do, which must be by enclosing them in a case directed to me, and not as he now directs them, etc

Pray give my humble service to Sir Francis and my Lady, and be assured that I am,

your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

EDW CLARKE

I have with a great deal of difficulty got in Mr Barnard again, according to my Lady's and your desire, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 22nd April, 1697 To 26th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 29th April, 1697

DEAR SIR,

I heartily thank you for your very kind and obliging letter by the last post, and particularly for your great readiness to supply me with £200 as I desired In order to which I shall use my utmost endeavours to set in the several sums mentioned in your letter to be due to you But I cannot yet meet with my Lord Ashley, or Sir Stephen Evans, though I am in hopes to speak with them both in a day or two, and I hope to better purpose than my application with your letter to Mr Conyers was this morning He tells me plainly there is not one penny of that money due to you for interest now to be got, neither could I get him to assign any certain time when it should be paid me for you I will apply to him again as occasion offers, and get in that, and the money owing from my Lord Ashley and Sir

[1] Lovelace Collection

Stephen Evans to you, if it be possible And you may be assured that I will not press Mr Churchill too hard in this matter, but shall carefully pursue all the directions in your letter, and give you a further account thereof as I proceed And shall ever remain,

your most truly affectionate and obliged servant,

EDW CLARKE

The College are yours and my Lady's hearty servants, etc

The grafting on the Bank the last session has not as yet either worsted or bettered their actions, they remaining much as they were What effects it may have, wiser men than I cannot guess But the Parliament altered nothing of their former tenure but what they consented to, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, Bishop's-Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 29th April, 1697

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

MADAM, Oates, 7th May, 1697.

I am very sorry to find by yours of May 1st that the diet drink I directed failed to do you that good which you thought for some time you found in the use of I should have been very glad that that without any other prescriptions would have recovered you But since you find it does not do, and you think a severe course must be taken in the case, I know not how wholly to dissent from you, that something more effectual should be done, but the question is what? You seem in your letter to Mr Clarke to think purging would be useful I do not know but it may But this I know, that at this distance to tell in what manner, how much and how often, is impossible in a constitution and case like yours, and that which I cannot venture upon You commend particularly Dr Musgrave's purges I cannot but thereupon ask you whether you have talked to him about them For methinks that as well as other considerations should have been an encouragement to you to consult him in your present case For this I think absolutely necessary, that you should have the advice of some able physician, not by letter and at a distance, but of one who, by being upon the place and

talking with you, might by discourse, and sight, and everything, inform himself of all those many particulars, which are necessary to be known and considered to give all the light and certainty is to be had in such a case Besides that I know not what farther to advise And the more I am concerned for your health and recovery, the more unfit and unreasonable I find it for me to tamper in the dark, especially to venture on those which you call severer remedies, which are in danger to do as much harm when misapplied, as there is good to be expected from them where they are proper and fit Give me leave, therefore, to press you again to have recourse to some able physician, who may see and talk with you, and be at hand to observe the effects of his prescriptions, and to change them quick upon any occasion And when you are in such hands, if anything I can say or do may be of any service to you, there shall be nothing I shall more willingly do than whenever I can any way imagine [would] be for the recovery of an health which I am so much concerned for, and which I so earnestly [desire] I am,

Dear Madam,

your most humble and faithful servant,

J Locke

Pray give my service to my dear wife, and tell her that by her civil but very cold letter to me, I begin to suspect her thoughts begin to look a little after another husband

My Lady Masham and all this family present their service to you, and are concerned for your health

[*Addr*] These present To Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Dear Sir, London, 8th May, 1697

The enclosed, by what misfortune I know not, though dated the first, came not to my hands until this morning, or else you had been sooner troubled with my desires for your thoughts upon it, which I earnestly beg of you, etc

I have again pressed Mrs Clarke's coming to town as the best means that can be taken to restore her former health, which I desire you to forward all you can, and direct that which

[1] Lovelace Collection

in the meantime you think most safe and proper for her, which will be the greatest obligation you can lay upon

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

I have got you twenty-five pounds out of Sir Stephen's hands, etc

The College are yours and my Lady's humble servants

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 8th May, 1697 To 10th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, London, 13th May, 1697

Your very kind and obliging letter by the last post came safe to me, for which, and all other instances of your real friendship towards me and mine, I return you my hearty thanks

I have written to my wife in the best manner I can contrive to induce her coming to town with all the speed possible, and I hope it will prevail with her, that there may be no means wanting to preserve her, whose life is of so much moment to me and mine

I have got your five and twenty pounds from Sir Stephen Evans But Mr Conyers hath been so much taken up with the business of the term, that he has not yet done anything further for getting in of the interest-money due to you I shall continue to press him as often as I have any opportunity, and will get the money paid if it be possible, etc

Pray give the Bachelor's and my humble service to my Lady, and accept the like yourself from

your most affectionate faithful and obliged servant,

EDW CLARKE

The Parliament was this day prorogued to the 17th of June next

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 13th May, 1697 To 17th

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 17th May, 1697

DEAR SIR,

I have just time before the messenger goes to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 15th I am sorry the interest I expected from Mr Conyers does not come to supply your occasions, and therefore what is wanting to make up Sir Stephen's and my Lord Ashley's I must refer you to Mr Churchill for Those interested with me in the mortgage are Sir Charles Barrington's two sisters, who have as I remember £4000 upon it If they are paid their interest, and I not mine, I have reason to be not so well satisfied Pray did Mr Conyers say anything in that point? If not, I leave it to you whether it may not be convenient to ask him the first opportunity you can meet with I thank you for what you have done with him upon this matter already, and am glad you think my money safe

By yours of the 13th I find you have pressed Mrs Clarke to come up I hope even the journey itself may do her good My humble service to the Bachelor I writ to him the last post, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J L

Sir Francis and my Lady salute the College

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about his business with Mr Conyers Received the 21st of May, 1697 Answered the 22nd

## *Clarke to Locke*[1]

London, 22nd May, 1697.

DEAR SIR,

Your obliging letter of the 17th came not to hand until last night And I went early this morning to Mr Conyers'

[1] Lovelace Collection

chamber to have spoken with him upon the subject-matter of your letter to me But could not meet with him, and have been since informed that he has gone out of town for the holidays, so that I shall not be able to do anything with him in that business until his return to town again, when I will not fail to wait on him concerning it, and give you a further account thereof I have received your fifty pounds of my Lord Ashley, and delivered him your receipt, and will execute and leave security in Mr Churchill's hands for that and the other moneys I am in your debt, and shall ever remain,

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,
EDW CLARKE

My humble service to my Lady, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 22nd May, 1697 To 24th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 24th May, 1697

DEAR SIR,

This is only with my thanks to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 22nd, wherein you express so much care concerning the business with Mr Conyers I know not whether it will be best to make it a business to him on purpose, or whether when you can luckily meet with him again it will not be better to enquire again, whether he hath any news yet or hopes of money for the interest, because you know the pressing occasion I have for it, and then upon his answer to ask whether the others concerned in the mortgage are as far behind as I am But I need not instruct you how to find out the state of that matter

I writ to the Bachelor about a fortnight agone under your cover In it I sent him a copy of all that I had received from Rotterdam concerning the cares of the sympathetic Doctor And I also enclosed a letter from Monsieur Le Clerc Not having received a word from him since, and you not mentioning in any

of yours anything about it, I am in some pain about that letter My humble service to him I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My Lady returns her service to the College

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke about his business with Mr Conyers, etc Received the 26th May, 1697 Answered the 27th per Mr Freke

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 26th May, 1697

Dear Sir,

I writ to Mr Cornelius Lyde as you desired me about acting in raising the tax He writes me word in a letter I received this post that he hath done so, and by what he says I guess he hath been very active He desires me to give you his service

If I were not so before, yet I am now perfectly of the mind that it is best the money Sir Stephen Evans promises should be paid to Mr Churchill But I fear the difficulty is not so great where to pay it as how to get it

My Lady returns you very many thanks for the trouble and pains you have been at in the business depending, and is very sensible how much she is obliged to you for the hopes you give her that it will now quickly be brought to a conclusion

That which you tell me in the postscript of your last heartily vexes me, as I believe it will you, when I come to speak with you There is no help now, it must now take its course I am,

Dear Sir,
your most humble servant,
J Locke

My service to the Bachelor Pray let the enclosed go with yours to the post-house

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to place the money in Mr Churchill's hands that Sir Stephen Evans pays, etc Received the 29th March, 1697 Answered the 30th.

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, London, 10th June, 1697

Yesterday I met Mr Conyers as luckily as you could have wished, and discoursed him in the manner you proposed in your last letter to me And plainly found that the other parties concerned in the mortgage had received part of their money, but could not discover how much, nor the time when they received He says there will be some money for you likewise before the end of this term, but pretends he does not yet know how much And this was all I could possibly draw out of him, though I tried all the ways I could think of, etc

The constant hurry of business hath made me hitherto forget to acquaint you that in the beginning of May last I received the £25 that was due from Sir Stephen Evans to you And about a week after I received £25 from Mr Churchill by your order and gave him a receipt, on the 20th of May I received of my Lord Ashley £50, and gave him the receipt you sent me up for that purpose And the same day executed a bond to you of £400 penalty for payment of £200 with lawful interest for the same on the 21st of August next to you, the other hundred pound included in that bond being for one year's annuity due to you on the 25th of March last

The Bachelor joins with me in his hearty service to you and my Lady, and we hope to see you speedily, which will be a great comfort and satisfaction to

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] F Clarke, 10th June, 1697 To 14th

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

DEAR MADAM, London, 3rd August, 1697

Though we have had as good success in the use of the remedies I prescribed as I could expect, and am mightily rejoiced

[1] Lovelace Collection

at the advances of your recovery, yet I think it convenient for you now a little to vary them I have ordered you two bottles of a stomachical cordial, which you will receive by Mr Clarke, whereof I would have you take five spoonfuls every morning at least two or three hours before dinner, but as much earlier as you can conveniently go abroad in your coach, for the earlier the better, because upon taking of it, it is requisite you should take the air in your coach for at least two hours The like quantity you are to take again in the afternoon three or four hours after dinner with the like airing after it After the first week you should instead of five take seven spoonfuls, and as you find it agree with you increase it to nine and there stop You may, for all this, continue to drink of your diet drink as often as you please, for these two do not at all interfere with one another But the garlic I would have you at least for some time leave off, and instead of it take this, which I think a more agreeable remedy I hope I shall hear of the good effects of it, and that you are perfectly recovered to your former strength and state of health I am sure I wish for it with a very particular concern, and am,

Dear Madam,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

Pray give my hearty love and service to my wife Her father, I hope, will make my apology for not writing to her

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke at Chipley

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 9th August, 1697

Dear Sir,

The Bachelor writ me word that he has got ½ hundred cacao nuts for me He remembers his friends I see when he does not tell them so Pray pay him what they cost again, and for your pains I promise you a dish of chocolate when they are made up Pray give him also my thanks for his very kind letter which I received from him to-day

Sir Francis was here since your last, but he brought not the securities as you thought he would The Bishop talked of [deli]vering them to him, but did not Who can help dreaming?

My Lady has writ again to Cambridge and Chelmsford about Whitehead's bond I am in some doubt about it When she has got all the light she can about it, it shall be sent to town

That which in my last I writ to you should take its course must do so now, and therefore you need not do anything to stop or delay it I shall satisfy you about it when I see you, and it will be all for the better

I hope you have none but good news from Chipley and that Mrs Clarke mends, since I hear nothing more from thence I shall be heartily glad of it There being nobody more concerned for you and yours than,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady is yours and the College's humble servant

I cannot but admire the pranky tricks that are in the world
But to me it is strange they should not be se ore

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to pay for ½ hundred of cacao nuts, etc Received the 12th August, 1697 Answered in part per Mr Freke the 13th And fully the 13th per Sir Francis Masham, etc

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Wells, 14th August, 1697

Dear Sir,

I was so taken up at Sutton, that I could not get any opportunity of writing to you from thence But I can now inform you that I spent a great deal of time with your new tenant, Francis Carpenter, and had great difficulty to get him under covenants to do the offices of overseer of the poor, constable, tythingman, surveyor of the highways, and other personal offices, which by reason of that tenement he now is, or shall hereafter be liable to, and the rather for that he is this very year made overseer of the poor, which if you had paid for, would have cost the better part of five pounds The church and poor rates he positively refused to pay, or allow any part towards it I did all I could to have brought him up to discharge those payments But I could not

[1] Lovelace Collection

prevail Indeed, his obstinacy was such in that point, that by my insisting so much on it, I had like to have lost your tenant quite Upon the whole matter being satisfied there is a much greater advance made by him in the rent, and by the covenant for repairs of the house, out-houses, gates, bars and fences, and by doing the personal offices belonging to the tenement at his own costs and charges, than would have been consented to by any other person, whatsoever, I concluded with him, and he has sealed a counterpart with a bond for performance of covenants, which are left in Mr Lyde's hands until you have executed the lease, and sent it down to him But because he desires I should be a witness to your signing the lease, as well as his executing the counterpart, I do not now trouble you with it, but will bring it up with me at my return

I have received from Mr Lyde for your use, the sum of thirty-nine pounds, eight shillings, and sixpence, and his account. The money I will return to you with the first opportunity that I can do it, so as you may be sure to receive it in milled money or guineas And the account Mr Lyde has given me for you, I will bring up with me, if you do not in the meantime order me to send it to you by the post The enclosed he gave me to be conveyed to you

For assize-news I have none worth mentioning to you, there having nothing happened here but what is usual and ordinary I am just now ready to take horse for Chipley, where I hope to be this evening, and to find all well there, as I hope this will find you, which is the hearty prayer of

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

My son presents you his humble service, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 14th August, 1697 To 17th

## *Locke to Clarke*

London, 2nd September, 1697

DEAR SIR,

I suspected before yours of the 30th August came that you had not received mine of the 17th, which I writ to thank you for yours of the 14th, and for the care you had taken about

my business whilst you were at Sutton What my not hearing from you sooner made me apprehend I am now perfectly confirmed in by your letter, which I knew would have mentioned that letter of mine if it had come to your hands It having little more in it but my thanks for your settling of the business with Carpenter and giving yourself the trouble of receiving my money, the loss is not great, though the miscarriage I like not

As to Mrs Clarke, whose health makes the business of your letter, I am glad to hear that there remains no other symptoms of her illness than the swelling and piling of her legs It is I confess, what is by no means to be neglected, but it is what I have great confidence will be mastered if she will continue to follow rules, as by the good success she has found of it I believe she has done hitherto As to the continuing her bitter drink, since as you say she has found no very sensible amendment in the use of it more than what she might have expected from her former course, I think it would be convenient she should return to the use of her garlic again whilst you are there, which I desire you and her to observe as nicely as you can and to discourse of one with another, that by this means when you come to town I may be able to judge which method of the two is best for her, or whether anything else may be ordered for her advantage, better than I can by anything [that] can be said in a letter I desire you to give her my humble service, and to tell her that since she eats, drinks, sleeps and looks well, I have no doubt at all but we shall wholly master the swelling of her legs by the blessing of God, if she will take care not to make too much boast and be well too soon

My love to my wife, whom I easily believe the finest young woman in the country, not by virtue of the topknots you speak of, but of those good qualities and accomplishments which are her more visible ornaments My service to your son, and to Mrs Burges if she be with you Your son John was lately well Mr Pawling saw and spoke with his landlady, and I have delivered your message to Mr Malpus, who is very well satisfied, and has promised me if the child should need his care in your absence he will not be wanting, and has promised me to let me know it if anything should ail him Mr Freke has been in town this week, and has writ to you since he came Father Wallop

is dead I wish you and your family all manner of happiness, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most humble and most affectionate servant,
J Locke

My humble service to your son

All that I desired you in my letter that was left to add to your former favour was only that when you returned the money you received for me of Mr Lyde, you would do it so as I might be sure of it in milled money or guineas, but I am not in haste for it, but leave it to opportunity and your leisure.

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Chipley near Taunton
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke for Mrs Clarke to return to the garlic, etc Received the 5th September, 1697 Answered the 6th And sent him a bill on Mr Churchill for £39 8s 6d, being the money I received of Mr Lyde for his use, etc

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke* [1]

Ivy Church,[2] 2nd September 1697

Sir,

I could not omit so good an opportunity of returning you my thanks for your last fine present But that which I thought the greatest favour, was, considering the abundance of business you have, that you should yet find a time to think on me I also do assure you that I am extremely glad to hear of your health, and that you may long enjoy it, is the wish of,

Sir,
your most obliged humble servant,
Eliz Clarke

[*Addr*] These To John Locke, Esq, present

[*Endorsed by Locke*] El Clarke, 26th Sept 1697

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] The residence of Thomas and Susan Stringer

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

DEAR SIR, Chipley, 6th September, 1697

The money that I received of Mr Lyde for your use, I have returned with a greater sum of my own money to Mr Churchill, who I hope in a few days will have actually received the same And to the end you may not want when your occasions require it, I have, by the enclosed, desired Mr Churchill to pay it you in milled money, or guineas on demand But pray ask it not of him, until the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next week, for by that time he will have received the money due on the bills I have desired him to receive for me The money I received of Mr Lyde was at two payments, viz on the 7th of August, £35 12s , and on the 12th following, £3 16s 6d in all thirty-nine pounds, eight shillings, and sixpence, for which sum I have drawn the enclosed bill on Mr Churchill But I cannot imagine what should occasion the miscarriage of your letter of the 17th of August that you writ to me, etc

Mrs Clarke joins with me in her particular thanks to you for your great care and concern for her, and intends to-morrow, she having taken the last of the bitter infusion this day, to return to the garlic course again, the effects of which I will observe as nicely as I can, and give you the most exact account I am capable of at my return to town Since the writing of my last to you, she has complained of an unusual fulness in her body, which creates an uneasiness to her for an hour or two after her first sleep, but goes off again in the morning before she rises I know not what the consequences of it may be, and therefore trouble you with the mentioning of it, which, with Mrs Clarke's, your wife's, my son's, and my humble service and thanks for all your favours, concludes this from

your most affectionate and obliged servant,
EDW CLARKE

My humble service to Mr Freke when you see him And to Mr Pawling and all his family, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq , at Mr Pawling's House over against the Plow In Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields, London
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 6th September, 1697 To 9th

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

London, 9th September, 1697

DEAR SIR,

I return you my thanks for yours of the 6th which came safe yesterday with the bill enclosed, which I shall make use of according to your direction I am glad the change of medicines falls out whilst you are at home, that the several effects of the different courses may be observed The fulness you mention Mrs Clarke has of late felt after her first sleep, I hope upon the change she was going to make when you writ will go quite off, and she will hear no more of it I look upon it to be of no consequence, and so she need not trouble her thoughts about it

I came just now from your son John at Little Chelsy I desired Mr Malpus if anything should happen to him to acquaint me with it A day or two since the mistress had sent to him to let him know the child had a cough and she feared a consumption, upon which Mr Malpus went thither and reported to me the symptoms I went thither myself to-day, and was glad to find the mistress's care had represented it to her more dangerous than I found it He was abroad in the fields when I came, he looks well, eats well, and sleeps well, and coughed not once all the time I was there, nor had not as he told me coughed above once or twice since dinner this was between five and six o'clock I think there is no manner of danger in it However, I have ordered him some things, and hope the next news I shall hear of him is that his cough is quite gone They have promised to send me word the beginning of the week And if there be any occasion (as I believe there will not), I will visit him again I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

Pray give my service to your wife, and my wife, and to your son Mr Freke was well this morning, and remembers you, and Mr Pawling is your humble servant

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 85 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 243-4

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Chipley near Taunton
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke of my son John's indisposition, etc. Received the 12th September, 1697 Answered the 13th

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 6th December, 1697

I got hither safe the day I parted from you, and did in a very short time find the benefit of the air here, which has in a great measure taken off that horrible oppression which I had constantly upon my lungs in town I now breathe pretty easy whilst I sit still, and my nights pass without that panting for breath which so often tormented me in town, and made my life there not worth the keeping Upon coughing or stirring I find the shortness of my breath But I must not hope to be cured all at once, and at this time of the year after I have foolishly let it grow so far upon me After what I have suffered in town, it is heaven to be at so much ease as I thank God I am And I could wish our Master would try what country air, by the fireside, with some few other little things, would do against ill lungs

My Lady Masham would have writ to you by Sir Francis to thank you for your kindness in her business, but I hindered her to save your time telling her so, and that you would believe me in the case without the trouble of her writing or your reading a letter

I here enclosed send you the true state of the account between me and Sir Stephen Evans, so that there needs no more now but his paying you the balance, and delivering up to you your two notes for the two eleven pounds, and then you may deliver up Hayter's note for the £50 which is in your hands Only I beg you that before you deliver it up you cut off all that is writ under it by Thomas, [and] if he has Hayter's note up he need have no more I have nothing to demand of him, nor would be exposed to any claim or wrangle from him For I am well satisfied of the honesty of the man, and desire to be quite clear of him

One thing I am in doubt about, and would beg you to satisfy yourself in before you settle this business, and that is, whether

upon those of the Exchequer notes, which were received into the Exchequer upon loan, the interest was not allowed from their date to the time they were paid into the Exchequer If so, then it is overcounted to me by Sir Steven For the Exchequer will not pay it to me again, and therefore Sir Steven must not count it to me as so much interest due from the Exchequer And if interest be now due upon those bills from their date, and not from their receipt into or issue again out of the Exchequer, I do not see to what purpose their receipt into the Exchequer was endorsed and the days from their date to that time counted But this can better be resolved by those versed in these matters than by any reasoning of mine I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives her service to the Bachelor and I mine

I here enclosed send a letter to my Lord Chancellor Not that you need deliver it to him with your own hands It is enough if you will do me the favour to leave it with his porter if no other business carry you to my Lord himself I make bold to give you this trouble, because I would be sure to have this letter come safe to him Because what is in it must go farther, and may possibly be expected

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Westminster

[*Endr*] Mr Locke with Sir Stephen Evans his account And directions thereupon A letter enclosed to my Lord Chancellor, etc Received per Sir Francis the 7th December, 1697 Answered in part the same day Answered in farther part the 16th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 20th December, 1697

Dear Sir,

I return you my hearty thanks for your two letters of 16th and 18th, which came just now to my hands It is an extraordinary kindness in your want of time, and your care in settling the account with Sir Stephen is so too But I would

not have it entrench too much upon your affairs, a leisure hour in the holidays will do it time enough

I read so much of your two letters to my Lady as concerned her She is extremely sensible of your kindness in it, and hopes now by your assistance to see an end of the vexatious business.

I return my thanks to Madam for the favour of hers, but have not time before this messenger goes to answer it Pray give my service to her and my love to my wife

My service also and thanks to the Bachelor for his kind letter, and pray let him know that having now an opportunity by a private hand, there comes to him the half-dozen dried apples he desired I sent no more to him because he desired no more But my Lady having given me her whole stock, which is nine more, they are all at his service, if he pleases, and I shall keep them for him, till he refuses them and till I hear The six I now send are arrived well conditioned and unsquabbed I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, these

[*Endr*] Mr Locke touching his affair with Sir Stephen Evans, etc Received the 20th December, 1697 Answered the 23rd

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 28th December, 1697

Dear Sir,

The holidays put our messenger and consequently the course of our letters out of order, which is the cause I return my Lady's and my thanks to you for our respective concerns in your two letters of the 23rd and 25th, not by the post but by the carrier

I am obliged to you for being at this new trouble with Sir Stephen The £1 13s 0d for the use of the £22 must be allowed him, for it was omitted in my calculation of the interest But he must deliver up your two notes for the two eleven pounds to you And pray let nothing remain on Hayter's note for the £50, but let it be torn off, and the endorsement (if that be necessary too) blotted out before you deliver it up, that there may be no more matter of dispute with this gentleman, but you receiving

the remaining £2 6s 5d there may be a full end I have not sent back the two accounts you sent me enclosed, because I see no need there will be of them now that I allow the £1 13s 0d, which is the difference between them, and am not very sure of the safe conveyance by the carrier Though I take this first opportunity to send you my answer to your question, that it may come to your hand and the business be ended whilst your holidays last Our fireside give their services to yours I write this in haste, and am Mrs Clarke's, my wife's, the Bachelor's and your

most humble servant,
J Locke

Pray, as soon as this business is ended with Sir Stephen, let Mr Churchill have such of my exchequer notes as will serve best to pay my tax, which in his last he writes me word is demanded of him

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, these

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to receive the £2 6s 5d balance of Sir Stephen Evans And give Exchequer notes to Mr Churchill to pay his tax, etc Received the 29th December, 1697 Answered the 30th in part

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 30th December, 1697

Dear Sir,

To send you my answer as soon as I could (our ordinary messenger failing last post) I ventured it by the carrier But not knowing whether that might come safe to your hands, I repeat it here again, viz that the £1 13s 0d for interest for the £22 must be allowed to Sir Stephen Evans For in the casting up the interest due to me I took in the whole sum for the whole time, not considering that the £22 was paid almost a year and a half before I say almost 18 months because he has made it full 18 months, but it is not so much short as need any new calculation for it, so that you must receive of him as the balance due to me £2 6s 5d And then the notes on both sides being delivered up (care being first taken that nothing writ under or endorsed on Hayter's for the £50 to me be left there untorn off

or uneffaced, which may cause me any trouble), I hope I have forever done with that gentleman

I hear there is a bill going on in your House about the hammered money Cannot there be a clause put into it to oblige by some penalty the tellers of the Exchequer to receive and pay by weight as well as by toll, and to oblige them and all the receivers of the several branches of his Majesty's revenue to cut all false pieces of milled money that are counterfeit coin, or clipped If these two things be not some way or other provided for this session, I fear you will be over run again very quickly with false and clipped coin, which you will not get out of again a second time, for I find that that sort of ware is made apace and spread everywhere What do you think of making the penalty on the teller or his under-officer that does it, to pay double the sum he shall pay a receipt for before he has weighed it, or if weighing it be not that full weight which the law shall require

I shall take care of the grafts when the season comes

Pray give the enclosed to Mrs Clarke I wish her, and you, and your whole fireside, a happy new year I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives her service, and wishes a happy new year to you and yours

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to receive £2 6s 5d balance of Sir Stephen Evans his account, etc Received New-Year's day, 1697 Answered ditto

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

New-Year's Day, 1697-8

Dear Sir,

I have only time to return you Mrs Clarke's, the Bachelor's and my hearty thanks for your obliging letters by Sir Francis, which I received from him this morning at the Coffee House, and the enclosed were immediately delivered as directed

I yesterday settled your affairs with Sir Stephen in every particular according to your directions, and received the £2 6s 5d balance due to you

[1] Lovelace Collection

I will do all I can to make such a provision as you suggest for the cutting and destroying of all base, counterfeit, and unlawfully diminished money, and for obliging the tellers in the Exchequer, and all other receivers of the King's revenues and taxes to receive and pay by weight as well as by tale, and do hope for better success than in the several attempts I have formerly made to the same purpose

May your health and strength be renewed with the New Year And may all other blessings attend you that this world can afford, Mrs Clarke and all mine join with me herein And in the like good wishes to my Lady I am hers and

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 1st Jan, 1697-8 To 16th

## *Locke to Clarke*

SIR, 12th [January, 1698]

Mr Thomas the has been here with me about the money, and has promised to pay both the notes with the interest, only abating £22 Which leaving one of Mr Hayter's notes in your hand with that remain due upon it, and keeping your two notes for the £22 till I can consult my accounts in the country to see how it stands, this I agree to, and am,

Sir,

your most humble servant,

J LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq

[*Endr by Mr Clarke*] Sir Stephen Evans Mr Locke

## *Locke to Clarke*

DEAR SIR, Oates, 16th January, 1697-8

Though I am lazier than ever you knew me or than ever I knew myself, yet the delay or shortness of my letters has always some consideration of you and your time in it

I thank you again for your pains in putting an end to my affair with Sir Stephen

I find by the votes you have not been unmindful of the provision you promised to do all you could to make I hope now it will be sufficient and effectual It is no more than needs I assure you

I am assured that here are gentlemen who have lately but already declared to stand for Parliament-men the next election. And there has been great feasting lately not far from hence, as it is understood, to that purpose Can you tell any reason for it, or meaning of it? This bearer can tell you the names

The good and hearty wishes you sent me from yourself, Madam, and family on New-Year's Day I return you for you and yours for ages to come But to make my hopes accompany my wishes for my friends and self you must settle the floating island

My service to the Bachelor when he returns I fear he is at present out of town I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My service to your fireside

Did my Lord Chancellor[1] never say anything to you upon occasion of my letters to him, and what the gentleman whose health was concerned in it said upon it? Pray, when you see my Lord and have time, enquire as far as you see fit

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received by Mr King the 17th January Answered the 18th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 20th January, 1698

Dear Sir,

I do not forgive your three or four days' silence, because there is nothing in it that needs forgiveness Your thinking there was need of apology for it is all that I have to blame in the

[1] Sir John Somers

matter Silence where business requires not a quicker answer is a liberty that I think due to my friends in circumstances of much greater leisure than I know you have

I am glad that you can recollect no cause of the melancholy I mentioned in my last to you I think myself obliged to observe and give you notice of everything I can observe, that may give you light into the matter you are concerned about in that case The less you can find in it the better I think it is However, I shall continue my eyes as open as I can for your service and satisfaction in the point But I hope there is nothing to be seen If any such thing appear, it is a kindness to her as well as to you that you should know it, and you may therefore be sure on that side

My thanks to the Bachelor for the nuts, and to you for paying for them If you will do me the favour to send the enclosed to Syl, either at his lodging in St Martin's Lane or at our office at the Cockpit, I have sent him order to fetch them from you and ease you of that trouble

Though I spare you, yet I have troubled Mrs Clarke with a long scribble in the enclosed, which I desire you to give her with my service I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble service [1]

My Lady gives you her most humble service, and my wife her duty

[*Endr*] Mr Locke with letters enclosed to Mrs Clarke and Syl touching the nuts, etc Received the 22nd January, 1698 Answered the 23rd

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 25th February, 1697-8

Dear Sir,

I return my thanks to the College and my friends at the Pine Apples for the concern for my health which they express in your obliging letter of the instant As for a speedy recovery which you wish me, the little progress I make in the recovering of my breath, since the great relief I found in the first night I was here, gives me no expectation of it And for a

[1] This letter is not signed, but is in Locke's hand

perfect recovery, as you also [wish] me, my lungs are too much decayed and my life too far spent to permit the hopes of [it] The cruel, sharp weather which this winter continues still upon us here is [not] at all favourable to either What warmer weather will do when the approach[ing of the] sun shall be able to prevail, we shall see when the season comes In the meantime I am as careful of myself by the fireside as you can desire My time is all divided between my bed and the chimney-corner, for not being able to walk for want of breath upon the least stirring, I am a prisoner not only to the house, but almost to my chair, so that never did anybody so truly lead a sedentary life as I do

I beg you to give my humble service to Mrs Clarke I am sorry I hear nothing of making what use is to be had in town for her perfect recovery If it comes itself I am better pleased, but if it does not, and she sits still and does nothing to g[ain it], I am not at all pleased My service to the rest of your fireside, especially to my wife and to the Bachelor

I writ some time since to Mr Popple to give you a copy of my project about the better relief and employment of the poor since our Board thought not fit to make use of it, that now the House was upon that consideration you might make use of it, [if] it should suggest to you anything that you might think useful in the case It is a matter that requires every Englishman's best thoughts, for there is not any one thing that I know upon the right regulation whereof the prosperity of his country more depends And whilst I have any breath left I shall always be an Englishman

I wish you a little more ease and a great deal of happiness And am [1]

[*Endr*] Mr Locke of the present state of his health, etc Received the 28th February, 1697 Answered the 1st March

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

DEAR SIR, London, 1st March, 1697-8

I am heartily concerned you improve no faster in your health But I hope now the warm weather will per-

[1] The address is discoloured and the paper is dropping to pieces

[2] Lovelace Collection

fectly set you up again, which I most heartily wish and pray for, etc

Mr Popple hath obliged me with a copy of your paper touching the poor, and I shall make the best use I can of it, whenever I can find ingenuity, honesty and industry enough to make a proper law for the putting it in execution The Bachelor is with me, and Mrs Clarke, your wife, and all the young fry at the Pine-Apples, yours and my Lady's humble servants, to whom we all desire our service may be presented

Your letter for Holland that came enclosed in your last to me, I have delivered into the Post-house with my own hand, and am,

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,
EDW CLARKE

The Duke of Shrewsbury is expected in town this week And it is said will be Chamberlain, etc

The weather hath been such hitherto until now, that Mrs Clarke hath not yet taken anything for her distemper, but is notwithstanding, I thank God, indifferently well, and I hope will now be advised, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 1st March, 1697-8 To 19th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 19th March, 1697-8

DEAR SIR,

I should sooner have returned you my thanks for the concern you express for my health in your last to me did I not know that you are so well satisfied of my sense of your kindness therein, that I may presume your multitude of business will excuse me if I am not importunately punctual in returning you my thanks the very next post The weather, I thank God, is now become warmer, and has a little released me from my close confinement to the chimney-corner But though I have been a little in the open air, which I find refreshing to my lungs, yet I can enjoy it no otherwise than by sitting in it For I have not breath enough yet to walk, and therefore I have been without

the moat but twice since I came hither, and that only to crawl to a seat we have in the terrace walk, where I can at my ease lazily enjoy the sun and breathe the fresh air I am pleased also with the return of moderate weather upon another account, for I hope I shall now hear that Mrs Clarke has made use of the conveniency of the season for the perfecting of the recovery of her health I shall take my share in it, and shall be exceeding glad to be assured that there is not the least remain of her late distemper Pray give her and my wife and the rest of your fireside my most humble service I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives her humble service to you and Mrs Clarke, and the young folk of her acquaintance, and desires you would very particularly in her name acknowledge to Mr Freke the favour he has lately done her in his opinion on the clause of her father's will, of which she is extremely sensible

Pray give my humble service to the Bachelor and thanks for the book he sent me, which I received not till yesterday

I thank you for the care you took of my last enclosed, and beg leave to trouble you now again with another

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter of the present state of his health, etc Received the 21st March, 1697 Answered the 9th

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 15th April, 1698

Dear Sir,

Though listlessness from indisposition be almost as patent a clog [as] hurry from business to make one slow in writing, yet my letters would be both frequenter and longer to you did I not consider how much you are taken up with indispensable occasions, and that you have scarce time at liberty to read long ones I take a word from you when you have leisure for it very kindly, and thank you for a short letter without grumbling that it is not more I am glad to hear that Mrs Clarke is in so good hands I hope his skill and directions and her compliance will in concurrence quickly set her perfectly to right, so that she may enjoy many years of health to come My

humble service to her and your fireside and to the Bachelor. I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 3rd May, 1698

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 29th of the last month came to my hands yesterday, for which I thank you, and shall readily pay upon demand any bill you shall draw on me for fourscore pounds But a greater sum than that I cannot conveniently answer at present, my wife and family being in town, which occasions a more than ordinary expense to me, at this time Mrs Clarke joins with me in her true love and service to you I hope she mends upon Dr Pitt's prescriptions, of which you shall have a particular account as soon as I can get time to write to you

I am,
your most affectionate faithful servant,
Edw Clarke

The Bachelor is your servant, etc And the Great House desires to be kindly remembered to you, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 3rd May, 1698 To 7th

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

Oates, 7th May, 1698

Dear Sir,

Finding by yours of the 3rd that your convenience at this time suits not, I have been unwilling to strain it as far as you say

[1] Lovelace Collection

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 87 Only the second paragraph is printed in *Original Letters of J Locke*, p 62

you could make it reach, and therefore have drawn a bill on you only for £55 payable to Sir Francis The remainder I have made up elsewhere I desire it may be paid him on sight when he comes, though I presume you will not hear of him in two or three days

My Lady Masham has said something to me concerning my wife Since she has been here she has been very reserved if it be her usual temper it is well If it be present thoughtfulness it is worth your consideration How I shall carry myself to her you must instruct me, for I love her, and you know I am at your disposal to serve you

She tells me she thinks Mrs Clarke mends I am very glad to hear it, and am the apter to believe it because she says she is very observant of the Doctor's rules My service to her, your fireside, and the Bachelor I am,

Sir,

your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to pay £55 to Sir Francis Masham, etc And of Betty's being very reserved, etc Received the 10th May, 1698 Answered fully to all parts the same day, etc

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 13th May, 1698

Dear Sir,

I received your two of May the 10th just now, and have had time just to read them over and in haste to answer what relates to my wife My Lady and I have as strict an eye as possible over that affair, but there is yet not the least appearance of a letter going or coming But we do not think your fears or our care discharged by that, if there shall be any such we presume they will not escape that care which is taken to discover them If there were any answer begun which your letter makes me suspect, yet the breaking of the correspondence so early in an age like hers may at this distance probably make it die This I say is probable, but not to be presumed on There is never so much cunning and opiniatrety as in these cases where the affection is once engaged, and therefore I cannot blame your

caution, nor bethink my care and attention if I can do you any service in it For I should for her sake as well as yours be very much troubled if any such irremediable misfortune should befall her

Madam's health I shall discourse frankly to you of when I have had time to consider the prescriptions and what you tell me have been the effects of them, only in general upon reading over the bills I think they are all directed to those intentions which ought to be proposed and pursued in her cure I wish her health My service to her and your fireside, for by my fireside I write this I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate and most humble servant,
J Locke

My Lady gives you and Mrs Clarke her humble service

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter touching my daughter Betty And Doctor Pitt's prescriptions, etc Received the 16th May, 1698 Answered the 17th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 20th May [1698]

Dear Sir,

Think not of your children too confidently for fear of negligence of them to their ruin, nor too suspiciously for fear of your own needless trouble The first part of this belongs to my Lady and me on whom you have now transferred that care, and we have and do carefully put on your eyes, but have hitherto seen nothing of what you suspected, and we have been so watchful that if any letter had passed one way or the other I think it could not have escaped us And therefore the latter part of my first sentence I recommend now to you I thank you for answering my bill We are all here very well, and present you and Mrs Clarke our services I have had company with me here ever since the beginning of the week, which has hitherto hindered me from considering at leisure the bills you sent me The first time I get I shall be employed in it I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My humble service to the Bachelor

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, of his and my Lady's being very watchful over Betty, etc Received the 23rd May, 1698 Answered the 26th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 23rd May, 1698

DEAR SIR,

I cannot neglect this opportunity by Sir Francis to assure you that we are here all well, and for aught I can say to the contrary just such as you would have us There has not one letter passed one way or the other, which we have not with all care imaginable observed, and there has not, that we can find, been the least intention or endeavour to write or send any one secretly, and whatever have passed one way or other there has still care been taken that they should first come to my Lady's hands or mine You will do well to observe, too, at your end (if the people are so near) as well as you can

I hear of a subscription going about now for the raising of two millions, for which the Parliament will raise a fund to pay 8 per cent Pray tell me whether you think it a good way to dispose of one's money, and whether you would advise me to subscribe For I know you perfectly understand it Pray let me know your opinion of it in your next My humble service to your fireside I write this by mine, and think I shall not this year be warm without a fire I am,

SIR,

your most humble and most affectionate servant,

J. LOCKE

My Lady gives her service to you and Mrs Clarke and the Bachelor I am the Bachelor's most humble servant

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to be informed of the nature of the subscription, etc Received the 24th May, 1698 Answered the 26th

*Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 30th May, 1698

DEAR SIR,

I have acquainted my Lady with the acknowledgments you make to her on occasion of your daughter, to which she replied that she is extremely glad of her company, and she hopes she shall enjoy it as long as you and her mother can spare her, and she takes it for a favour that you would use that freedom with her These were her own words This I dare assure you from what my Lady has said to me, that she is very glad of her company, and that you need not upon this account be in any haste to change your lodging, for my Lady is very glad if she can in this or any other occasion do you or yours any manner of service in acknowledgment of those many obligations she has to you

My wife tells me that her mother writes her word that she is worse than she was If this be anything more than an apprehension pray send me word, that I may again revise the prescriptions have been given her, which upon reading of them I thought very suitable to her case But if the swelling of her legs increase, I doubt not but what Dr Pitt, who is a careful as well as a knowing physician, will take it into his consideration

I thank you for the care you promise me to take that I receive no inconvenience by the indiscretion of a man which mightily surprised me But as there is no fence against other people's folly, so I think nobody is to answer for other people's follies but they themselves

I was thus far in my letter when I received yours of the 28th with the votes enclosed, for which I return you my thanks, as also for what you say upon that subject

The best time of gathering and drying any plant to be kept for use is before it have any appearance of beginning to blow, and this rule my friend John Barber may observe not only in wormwood-sage but all other herbs The best way of drying is in the shade

Pray if you see Mr Thomas give him my service and thanks for his letter and the enclosed paper, and tell him that I received his with other letters to-day, so little a while before our messenger returns to Bishop's Stortford with our letters that I have not time

to give him my answer about so weighty a business before the post goes But that he need not give himself the trouble to come hither about it, for that I hope the weather in a little while will be so warm that I shall be able to venture to town, for I conclude it will not be winter all the year

The last Friday the letters came not till after my wife had writ and sealed hers to you Upon the opening and reading that which was directed to her by you the blood came suddenly into her face and she was in great disorder, and with a kind of rage broke open again the letter she had writ to you This I have learnt since from one who saw and observed it I name you the day that you may recollect what was in that letter to her, or in hers to you or her mother, and by either of these consider whether you can gather anything If there were in the letter which she at that time received anything said to her about your removing your lodgings, or the like, you may possibly from thence have some further light into the matter you suspect I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful and most humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to Mrs Clarke, the Bachelor, and your son

My Lady Masham gives her humble service to Mrs Clarke, yourself and the Bachelor

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching Mrs Clarke's health The best method of drying of herbs, and about Betty Received the 1st June, 1698 Answered the 2nd

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 4th July, 1698

Dear Sir,

You have not more expected me than I have wished to be in town long before this Yesterday was the comfortablest day I have had these six months because the warmest I sat several hours of it in the warm air, and found myself so refreshed that I concluded a few more such would make me fit for the town,

and presumed so far that I should have them now, that I concluded upon coming to town towards the end of the week To-day we have winterly weather again, and I feel the want of what I hoped for, more warm basking in the open air However, upon receipt of yours of the 2nd to-day, I am resolved to come on Friday if I can promise myself to make any stay there when I come For if there should be such weather as this when I am there I doubt whether I shall be able to stay in town three days I hope I shall find the Bachelor in town on Friday. I shall be very sorry to miss him

I am his and your humble servant,
J Locke

My Lady, my wife, and all here are your dutiful and humble, etc Pray let Madam know the same for herself

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, that he will be in town Friday next Received the 6th July, 1698

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 27th January, 1698-9

Dear Sir,

I had not been so slow in returning you my thanks for your answering my bill drawn on you to my Cousin King if he had not omitted to mention it in the first letter he writ me after his return to town I therefore now thank you To which let me add that you need not make any apologies for your not writing oftener to me I could be glad indeed to hear sometimes how matters go, for I see nothing here but a little of the outside But I know your much business and no time That excuses you, but hinders me not from grumbling sometimes at the Bachelor, who methinks might now and then spare me a word

Pray return my thanks to your wife for her kind letter, and to my wife for hers I am glad to hear from her upon any occasion, though that of making excuses for your not writing you need not employ her in That matter is settled, and it is too much to expect letters from a man that has scarce time to eat

or sleep I wish your pains may be successful for the public good, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most faithful humble servant,
J Locke

All our fireside send their service to your fireside And to the Bachelor

The enclosed I hope will go with your letters to the post-house without any trouble to you

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 30th January, 1698 Answered the 31st

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 24th February, 1698-9

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your advice about the malt tickets, and desire you to send me word when you think it time to part with yours I am glad there is a stop at last put to the loss of the Kingdom by the high rate of guineas Pray when you see him give my service to Mr Bridges, but tell him that that trick must not pass I took it upon other terms

My service to Madam and your fireside and to the Bachelor I should not trouble you with the enclosed but that I know you have letters of your own to go to the post, and I desire only that mine may go with yours I am,

your most humble and affectionate servant,
J Locke

My Lady and the rest of our company give their services

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to be informed when I sell my malt tickets, etc Received the 28th February, 1698 Answered the 29th

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

Oates, 12th April, 1699.

Madam,

Your kind remembrance by Mr Clarke wanted nothing to complete my satisfaction in it but an assurance of your perfect recovery The account he gave me let me see that your health

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 88

was not so perfectly yet confirmed, but that I think upon consideration of all, which you will forgive me for having very nicely examined him to, there may a little care yet be requisite fully to remove all the appearances of any the least remain of your slow distemper I do not doubt but you have received great benefit by the diet drink you have made use of, and am not against your continuance of it But since the time of the year may give an occasion for the making some alterations in it with advantage, permit me to desire you to send me a copy of the receipt you make it by, that I may consider how to make it more beneficial to you now the spring is growing on, the proper time to enliven and invigorate the blood, which I desire you to make advantage of by being as frequent as you can in the air, and by carefully avoiding all things that may make a chill mixture in your blood and fill your veins with watery humours, wherein consists the nature and danger of your disease, and cannot be any way more fomented than by drinking small liquors, especially small beer and water But I think I need not advise you against the town small beer, which is generally so bad that even strong people who have a care of their health find it necessary to avoid it You will pardon the liberty I take to importune you with my advice and direction for the perfecting your recovery I have been so long entrusted with the management of your health that methinks custom has given me some authority in the case, or if that be not enough to give me a right of prescribing, yet the concern I have and always shall have for your life and health will at least excuse my meddling when it is only to show how heartily I interest myself in what belongs to you, and with what affection and sincerity I am,

Madam,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J Locke

[*Endr*] 12th April, 1699, Mr Locke

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 28th April, 1699

Dear Sir,

It was very kindly done to send me the welcome news of your safe arrival by the next post after you came to town,

though I can excuse a friend from such civilities who is every day tired out with business I hear you were ill again with your cold upon your return to the air and fatigues of London If you continue so, come hither again It was that which Sir Francis, my Lady, and everyone here said, as soon as they heard it Remember doing of business will end in the grave, and before, too, if you neglect your health Therefore, I seriously press it on you to come to Oates again if you are disordered where you are I shall not tire you with long remonstrances in the case My advice is friendly and good, and you were best follow it

I am,

your most affectionate humble servant,

My service to the Bachelor

J Locke

This family are your servants

The above was written, as you will easily guess, before the receipt of yours of the 25th, and I know not anything in my whole life that hath more sensibly stricken me than the news you send me in it Upon consideration of what you there say I thus reason Melancholy is either from the mind or the body That from the mind must have its foundation in some affliction, some weighty cross or other There being no such here I conclude it owing to the body, and that therefore applications must be made to that part My advice therefore is that Dr Pitt, or anyone else whom you can be informed is most skilled in such kind of distempers be presently consulted, and he immediately put into such course as shall be directed For if according to your discourse with me when you were here there be no secret cause of discontent, as I imagine there is not, I conclude you will in vain endeavour to direct his mind by travel or anything else when the cloud it receives is from the humours of his body This is what seems to me fit to be done If anything else occurs upon ruminating again upon this case you shall be sure to have it from me, for I am, Dear Sir,

yours perfectly,

J L

I thank you for your care about Mr Greenhill's letter

Pray tell Mr Conyers if you see him in the House that I have writ to him this day to give him an account how the mistake which I think now he justly accused my receipt of came about

I desire he would send me word what money Sir Francis Masham received of him for my account last year in May, and thereby enable me to set all right

Pray return my thanks to your son John for his civil and excellently well writ letter

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching my son's indisposition, etc Received the 1st of May, 1699 Answered fully the 2nd

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

MADAM, Oates, 28th April, 1699

I am sorry the remains of any indisposition needs diet drinks or anything else I had much rather congratulate to you your perfect recovery than talk to you of medicines in order to it The diet drink you have sent me the prescription of I think a very good one, and you will do well to continue the use of it, only if you like the taste of orange pills you may for variety put in the yellow thin paring of three or four oranges I find not by your letter that you make use of the pills prescribed by Dr Pitt I think they would be of advantage to you if you now and then took a dose of them when you find your legs most swelled and uneasy To which give me leave to add one thing which I formerly thought of moment to your health and do so still, and therefore take the liberty to repeat it again, and that is that you would constantly go to bed early, and if you lie abed pretty late in the morning it will be no harm to you You know what an excuse, custom and concern make for the liberty I here take I long to have you perfectly well I hope the weather and my lungs will consent in a little while to my waiting on you in town, though it be yet cold and winterly weather here, and I write this by the fireside In the meantime I cannot but approve of your resolution to avoid those things which you find prejudicial to your health I have but too much experience that without it other things here are but of little value And therefore I always count the preservation of health the best piece of husbandry

My Lady and all this family give you their humble service and to all your good company I am,

Madam,

your most humble and faithful servant,

J Locke

Pray remember me very kindly to my wife and the rest of your young folk

[*Addr*] These present to Mrs Mary Clarke
[*Endr*] 23rd April, 1699 Mr Locke

## *Locke to Clarke*

Dear Sir, Oates, 5th May, 1699

Having since my last to you thought again and again on your son's case, and believing it then wholly founded in his body, as I do still think it in part, I looking backward step by step as far as I know anything of him, placed the original of it in the terrible disease he had when a child at my Lady King's I am glad to find by yours of the second that you have found the immediate cause of this last dejection to be from some desponding thoughts of himself But what is the cause of that despondency in this one of all your children, when all the rest have vigorous and active minds? Must not that have its rise in the body, and be owing to something out of order there I say not this that you should presently put him into a course of physic, but to give you occasion to think In the meantime apply all the quickening you can to his mind, ease and raise that all you can, and try how far it will work this is the easiest, safest and best way upon many considerations if it will do There is nothing now that presses for the other, the step that is made that gives us time to look about I write this confusedly and in much haste, our letters coming not to-day till late in the afternoon and giving me not time to explain myself at large For when I hear from you again I think I shall be able to satisfy you that, if you shall think there is any need of physick, it must not be in the ordinary method that is in use in cases of melancholy Therefore, if he should, upon the unsuccessfulness of all the ease and comfort you and his mother can give to his mind, fall back again (which I hope will not be), and that you should think physic necessary,

I would be glad you should hear me upon that subject before he take anything or be put into anybody's hands But I wish he may need no other physicians but you and his mother and other well-advised and well-advising friends I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

The enclosed open letter was put into my hands by Mr Harvey, to whom it was written, a neighbour parson, the only one about us that visits here I thought it fit to send it you, that you may do in it as you judge fit

My service to Madam and all the young folks, particularly with great kindness to your son

Pardon this scribble I shall lose this post if I end not, and therefore you must excuse me to Mr Conyers that I writ not to him this post If he speaks to you of me otherwise you need say nothing to him, for I will write to him the next

My Lady and our fireside (for there we are yet) greet you and yours My service to the Bachelor

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching my son, etc Received the 8th May, 1699 Answered the 9th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 8th May, 1699

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 2nd I answered last post, and hope that the success of yours and Mrs Clarke's applications to your son's mind makes it not necessary to think of any of another kind I shall be very glad that that may prove effectual According as I hear from you in your next you will have my further opinion, and I shall be very much pleased if I can be serviceable in the case

Mr Conyers was in the right There was a mistake in the receipt I sent him by you To rectify it I beg the favour of you to exchange the enclosed receipt for that which you formerly delivered to him, and when upon the delivery of this he has given you back the other I beg the favour that you would tear it in two, and send me one half of it enclosed in your next

I shall not trouble you with the occasion of the enclosed to my Cousin Peter King He will explain it to you better and shorter If the form be not right let it be mended, and I will sign it when I come to town in the meantime the Bishop's and your hand may serve I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady's and all the services here to you and yours Mine to Mrs Clarke and the young folks

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

London, 19th August, 1699

Dear Madam,

I had long ere this returned my thanks to you for the favour of yours of the 5th instant had not cross accidents happened that put me besides the opportunities of doing it Let me tell you one which happened to me the last post day, because that is the freshest in my memory A gentleman came to visit me at ten of the clock in the morning, and his visit lasted till past ten at night You may guess by this that the town is grown so thin of company that those few that are left in it live and visit after the same manner as if they were in the country The mischief is that I am sure country air is not to be got here, how much soever in other things it may at this season counterfeit the country This makes me join with you in your wishes that Chipley were as near as Oates I know not what advantage you might make of it, to me I know it would be a great one For I should often enjoy your company there, and am very apt to think we should not want something to say to one another

I am very sorry to find by yours and Mr Clarke's letters (for I have his also of the 6th) that the country air has not yet done him so much good as I wished and expected I know not what to say more on that occasion at this distance I beg him and you to believe that nobody is more concerned for it than I am And I hope the next from Chipley will bring me better news I have none to send you from hence, but only that Mr Freke came well from Tunbridge yesterday, and my Lord Chancellor is going thither the beginning of the week

If man and wife are but one person, as they are but one flesh, this may go for answer to both your letters For if you assure Mr Clarke from me that I wish him a perfect recovery with all the earnestness and concern that one friend can have for another, I know he will believe it as if writ immediately to him himself I am indebted to my dear wife for her civil and kind letter Pray let her know how sensible I am of the favour till I have an opportunity to return her my thanks in a letter on purpose My service to the rest of the young folks there that know me I am,

Dear Madam,
your most humble and most faithful servant,
J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq , Member of Parliament, at Chipley, near Taunton
Frank

## *Locke to Clarke*

London, 16th September, 1699

Dear Sir,

I was glad to hear by the Bachelor that you got so well and in so good time to Tunbridge I hope the good air, water, and company of the place will have powerful effects upon you for the re-establishing of your health

The great news in town these two days hath been of the Scots leaving Darien It all arises from one letter of the Governor of Jamaica to Mr Secretary Vernon [1] The letter I have seen, and possibly copies of it are sent to the Wells His account being founded only upon the report of the master of the vessel, who met three canoes at sea wherein were three Spaniards that gave the account The certainty of it is received in town with some doubt

I beg you to deliver the enclosed with my most humble service, and if his Lordship says anything upon the reading of it, pray let me know it I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with a letter enclosed to my Lord Chancellor, etc Received 17th September, 1699 Answered the 19th

[1] James Vernon (1646-1727), Secretary of State

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 19th January, 1699-[1700]

DEAR SIR,

When I read what I find [2] in the *Enquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien*, p 16 and p 41 at the bottom, and compare it with what was said to me before I came out of town, I cannot but have reason to think that the order sent from the House of Lords to our Board on Tuesday the 16th instant had in the movers or promoters of it some regard to me in particular I desire, therefore, to know by whom it was moved I desire you also to have your eye upon that business and watch it, and also to acquaint the gentleman in the corner with my apprehensions, which are not groundless, and desire his care in the case Pray let me hear from you or the Bachelor when there is occasion, and if what you write needs my speedy knowledge, direct your letter to me at Oates "to be left at Mr Harrison's at the Crown in Harlow" I long to hear how Mrs Clarke and your son does I write in haste,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

My service to the Bachelor

## *Locke to Clarke*

[January] 1699-1700

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your last with the enclosed, for which with my thanks I desire you to return the enclosed Pray give her, her mother and sister my humble service My Lady and the rest of the family give you and the Bachelor their service mine to him I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

[1] This letter is missing from the manuscripts, and the abstract is from a copy made by the Royal Historical Commission

[2] The reference is to "a certain gentleman or two who have affected all along to shew their zeal against the Scot in this affair"

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 23rd January, 1699-[1700]

DEAR SIR,

I thank the College for their kind remembrance of me, and you in particular for yours of the 20th, and for the good news therein of Mrs Clarke's health and the rest of your family. For if she has not grown worse at this sinking time of the year it is to be hoped she will grow better with the return of the spring As to the D[arien] concern, he did not think that the order or those that moved for the order should name or so much as reflect on him in particular, but having indication enough that some men aim at him in particular as most zealous in that business, he thought this order might be an opening of that scene whereby to come at what is designed, and therefore that which he desired and does desire is that the steps and progress of it may be observed and taken care of This whole family are well, and presents their service to you and the whole College My service to the other moiety

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, these

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to have the progress of the Lords relating to the Commission of Trade observed and taken care of, etc Received the 27th January, 1699-[1700]

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 9th February, 1699-[1700]

DEAR SIR,

Having so lately writ to you, I should not so soon waste any of your precious time with another letter but that by the last post I received a letter from Dr Guenellon of Amsterdam, where to what he said formerly concerning your son John he now further adds that at his arrival he will receive him in his

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 32,096, f 1 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 244

house, and will himself take care of placing of him and what else concerns him I have here enclosed returned him your and my thanks, and desire you it may be sent away by the post to-morrow

Pray in your next send me word whether the business of the old East India Company be dead in your House, or whether there is like to be any attack upon the new one this session I am desired to enquire by some that would, I think, buy in the new company

A word, too, if you please, what you are doing and how the world goes, for we are here out of the world My service to the Bachelor I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

I see Sir John Stanley named in a late *Gazette* Warden of the Mint Pray what, then, is Mr Newton?

[*Endt*] Mr Locke That Mr Guenellon will take Jack into his house, if I will send him over, etc And to know how the world goes, etc Received the 12th February, 1699 Answered fully the 24th, and sent Betty's letter enclosed, etc

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 26th February, 1699-[1700]

Dear Sir,

Your little time to spare makes me excuse your short letters and your no letters when I have not short ones, and very sensibly obliges me when I receive those of an ordinary size, and therefore I return you many thanks for yours of the 24th The same hurry you are always in must be my excuse why I usually write so short to you, and particularly why I say not all which the contents of your last deserves That my Lord Bellamont ought to be supported by all those who would not abandon the plantations I think I need not tell you My thanks to my wife for her kind letter Service to all at Chipley

Mr Burridge desired me that the enclosed might be left for him with Mr Freke He receives, he tells me, great kindness

from you and the Bachelor I return my thanks to the College for it, and am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

The Castle at Oates salutes the College, and I in particular the Bachelor

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with a letter enclosed to Mr Burridge, etc Received the 28th February, 1699 Answered fully the 29th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 5th March, 1699-[1700]

Dear Sir,

I see by yours of the 21st February that man has a happy time that endeavours to serve his country faithfully However, I hope the gentleman you mention will find the good effect of your pains and management I should have spared you the trouble of so much [time to] answer this and my thanks for that kind letter of yours, had it not been to enclose the paper [which you] here find to the Bachelor, to whom pray give my service I am,

Dear Sir,
your most humble servant,
J Locke

This family gives their service to the College

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke 8th March, 1699-[1700]

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 22nd March, 1700

Dear Sir,

I love my country and I love you, and by that you may guess how much I am pleased with the news you sent me in your last As to the silent gentleman, I am perfectly of your mind, unless there be something in it that you and I know nothing of.

But of this whole matter when I see you This favourable winter made me hope it would be now in a little time But these late easterly winds have pinched me shrewdly, and to them I impute the spitting of blood, which happened lately to me, and which I am sure came from my lungs

Pray give my hearty service and thanks to the Bachelor for the information he sent me about the records, and for the piece of news he joined with it I join heartily with them that are for *preventing* or *curing* abuses May they prosper that mean it in earnest But timorous men are apt to think that reformation will not go far unless it begin at the house of God

I shall be glad in your next to hear from Chipley and from beyond sea For I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

Oates salute the College with great respect
Excuse the trouble of the two enclosed

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to convey the enclosed to Paris and to Mr Peter Stratton at Bristol, etc Received the 25th March, 1700 Answered fully the 28th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 25th March, 1700

Dear Sir,

Sir Francis being told yesterday that the House would rise this week, he and my Lady desired me in their names to invite you hither the next, being an holiday week and of leisure, which they would be very glad you would do them the kindness to spend here And truly, if you will have my opinion, I know nothing you can do better when the session is over than to take a little country air to wipe off the fatigue of so long a service, and give yourself a little freshness before your return to business and fatigue I could give you an hundred reasons for this, but they are many of them so obvious that I think I need not waste your time about them But if this little excursion will be of use to your health you ought to come even for your business sake, since that keeps pace with one's health and cannot be done with-

out it Come then and mix some fresh air with so much smoke, some mirth with your chagrin My service to the Bachelor

I am,

your most affectionate and most faithful servant,

J Locke

I beg your pardon for this repeated trouble of my letters to your post

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to invite me to Oates in the Easter Holidays, etc Received the 27th March, 1700 Answered fully the 28th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 5th April, 1700

Dear Sir,

We are all here very sorry that occasions would not let us enjoy you these holidays, and I in particular am the more troubled, because I fear where you were you did not much enjoy yourself My Lady and the whole family give the College their service, and I in particular mine Excuse the trouble of the enclosed, and be assured I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to send the enclosed to Mr Le Clerc in Amsterdam Received the 8th April, 1700 Answered fully the 12th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 19th April, 1700

Dear Sir,

I do not at all doubt but you were sufficiently tired when you writ to me last, the favour in you was the greater, and with a sense of it I return you my thanks The care of my letters which I trouble you with I cannot but with acknowledgment take notice of These and a great many other things I shall

have occasion to express myself in more at large when I have the happiness to see you In the meantime I make conscience of wasting your time, which I believe does not lie upon your hands My service to the Bachelor I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

Oates pays its respects to the College

[*Addr*] For Edward Clark, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 22nd April, 1700

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 26th Apri', 1700

Dear Sir,

The warm day or two we lately had here I hoped would by the continuance of the like quickly set me up for the town again, and so I should give you no further trouble of this kind, but make you personally my acknowledgments for your favours This day has brought me to the chimney-corner, and I write this by my fireside, so that once more I beg to be excused if I desire the enclosed may go with your letters to the post I am very desirous to see and talk with you and the Bachelor (to whom pray give my service), but it being about matters which at this distance afford me pleasant prospect to my short sight I am the less tempted to make more haste than my health encourages, there being very few things I know worth it I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives her humble service to the College

I have this day sent a letter of my Lady Masham's to the Bishop of Gloucester It is directed to us all three trustees, and is to ask our consent to lend £100 to two citizens, brothers, I have with it sent an answer which I have signed, and when the Bishop has done so too I suppose he will send them you

[*Endr*] Mr Locke with a letter enclosed, to be sent to Paris, etc Received the 29th April, 1700 Answered the 30th

## *Locke to Clarke*

London, 16th July, 1700

DEAR SIR,

Your verses and your news were both good and both welcome My wife had told me before that you and Mr Freke got well to Tunbridge I am certainly glad to hear that you find benefit by the waters already This is the welcomest news I could hear from thence I hope they will soon restore you to your former good temper, and that you will bring away from thence a vigorous and well-established health

My Lord Privy Seal's death is, I suppose, no news to you there And some little talk of a new Parliament that has been revived here since you went I conclude you will not think worth mentioning

I hope to-morrow to be delivered out of this town I have been very uneasy in it since you went, and breathe in pain whilst I write this Disturb not your waters with writing or any other thoughtfulness, and believe me,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

My service to the Bachelor

Mr Bridges, who was with me as I was going to seal up my letter, bid me with his service tell you that he rejoices that you have found good by Tunbridge, and hopes you will daily increase your health

[*Addr*] For Edward Clark, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Tunbridge Wells
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 17th July, 1700 Answered the 25th

## *Locke to Mrs Clarke*

London, 2nd August [1700]

MADAM,

Had you been by when I just now read your obliging letter you had certainly thought me the most unreasonable and outrageous man in the world, for I had certainly scolded at you

like anything, and all the return you had had to your civilities had been nothing but wrangling peevishness and choler, and how it will fare with you yet before I come to the bottom of my paper I cannot be over confident For when I recollect that having sent for my horse into Oxfordshire on purpose to come and wait on you at Tunbridge, and since that spoke for a place in a friend's coach which failed me I more easily bore the disappointment of both horse and coach out of consideration that I should inconvenience you in a place where it was said abundance of company had very much straitened everybody's lodgings, and now you tell me you have all this while kept a chamber for me on purpose Had you not a mind at any rate to have an advantage of reproaching me, how is it possible you should hire a chamber only to lock up this secret in and not let me know anything of it? I intend not to lose the opportunity of revenging myself on you there, and therefore the beginning of the next week I intend to make you a visit How the sight of you may alter my temper I know not, but this I am sure I am at present too full of Billingsgate to discourse with a lady for whom I have so peculiar a respect as I have for you, and to whom in what humour soever I am truth forces me to say that I am,

Madam,

your most humble and most obedient servant,

J LOCKE

Pray present my most humble service to Mr Clarke, with whom I conclude the waters agree since I hear nothing to the contrary

[*Addr*] For Mrs Clarke, at Rusthall, near Tunbridge, or at the Wells at Tunbridge

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 15th July [August],[2] 1700

DEAR SIR,

Though I am unwilling to hinder the efficacy of the waters by my letters that may interfere in the least with your drinking them, yet I cannot forbear any longer to enquire after your

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290 f 89 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 245

[2] July in MS, but the text and endorsement prove it to be August

health, and whether you receive not more benefit where you are than you did when you writ to me the 25th of last month I shall trouble you with no remembrances or anything else, but barely that I writ as you desired to Mrs Clarke And I expect no longer an answer from you but these three words *I am better* I am,

Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Tunbridge Wells

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to know how I do, etc Received the 17th August, 1700 Answered the same day

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 23rd August, 1700

Dear Sir,

I cannot but be mightily concerned for the ill state of your health, which I received an account of yesterday in yours of the 18th from Tunbridge My Lady being by when I received it enquired how you did, and was sorry to find the waters had had no better effect upon you She desired me, hearing that you were in town by this time, to invite you and my wife[2] down hither to try what this air will do She says we will all take a great deal of care of you, and try everyone to rectify your spleen She very earnestly importunes you to make the trial, if it be but for change sake, which is good in such cases, and to get out of the town air and smoke, which she thinks good in no distemper I join heartily with her in it, and think you cannot do a better thing Mrs Clarke's coming to town need be no objection For though you have sent to her to meet you there, it is likely that will not be presently you will have notice before of the time And this place is but at the town's end you can be presently there upon the least warning Come, then, and do not despair but we will be merry, and find something to confound

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 91 Cf Fox Bourne, *Life of John Locke*, II, 479

[2] Elizabeth Clarke

your spleen in spite of its perverseness My service to my wife and the Bachelor All here give their service to you all three. I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

If you hear of the King's return [1] you will do me a kindness to let me know

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

Matching Tie, 23rd August, 1700

Dear Sir,

Carrying the enclosed myself to Mr Jocelyn, by whom it goes to the post, I found there yours of yesterday with the enclosed from my wife I am glad to find by it that you came safe to town, and wish heartily you had left your distemper behind I know nothing so likely to produce quiet sleep as riding about gently in the air for many hours every day If your mind can be brought to contribute a little its part to the laying aside troublesome ideas I could hope this might do much

This may be a farther inducement for your coming hither, for I am on horseback every day Pray return my thanks to my wife for her letter I write this in haste, and am,

Dear Sir,
Your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letters Received the 26th of August, 1700 Answered the 27th

[1] King William was then in Holland

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 90 Also partly printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, p 63

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 2nd September, 1700

DEAR SIR,

I have both before and since yours of the 27th of August thought over and over again of the state of your health And after all the considerations I have had about it I have these things to propose for the re-establishing of it Either that you take the Jesuit's powder and steel made into pills together, or that you go away to the Spa and drink the Spa waters If you take the steel pills you must resolve to take them a good while together and ride with them every day, without which I do not expect they should have any great effect And your riding must not be for an hour or two, but so much and so long every day as when a man travels a journey The preparation of steel I should think best in the case is a preparation of it by Dr Sydenham's made with extract of gentian, which I believe is to be had at Mr Maltus's But if any physician you shall consult there (for that I think is necessary) shall think better of any other preparation of steel to be used with the Jesuit's powder, I think it no great matter if another be taken instead of that preparation of Dr Sydenham's But this, I think, considering the time of the year, no time should be lost I therefore write this to you, not knowing when a swelling lately risen in my back will let me come to town They who have seen it, by its bigness and redness think it a boil I something doubt of it, because it has no head upon it nor is so extreme painful as to answer that name, though it be tender enough to keep me from airing on horseback these two or three days What it will come to I know not, but to keep myself quiet I find necessary And an ointment I use to it I hope will bring it to break in a little time I long mightily to see you, and, since riding and the air is good for you, why should anything hinder you from riding down hither though Mrs Clarke be in town? Especially since I can at present bear neither horse nor coach, and if you saw me and how I labour for breath in the morning when I rise you would not think the town air very fit for me Pray give my humble service to

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 92 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 245-6

Mrs Clarke, and those others that remembered me in your last letter I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My Lady Masham is heartily concerned for your health, and give you and Mrs Clarke, Mr Freke and my wife her humble service

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's prescription for my health Received the 4th September, 1700 Answered the 5th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 16th September, 1700

Dear Sir,

In answer to yours of the 12th, which I received just now, give me leave to say that I thought you would have advised with some physician upon the place as I counselled you, and then I needed say nothing of the quantities of steel and Jesuit's powder Next I know not exactly the preparation nor quantities of the ingredients of Dr Sydenham's preparation of steel with extract of gentian I have only heard of it and think it a good one, but never prescribed it, nor know how to prescribe it till I know it more particularly Further, I think not that this prescription is sufficient of itself to remove your distemper without riding joined with it These are the reasons why I entered not farther into particulars, but only pointed at this method as that which I upon my best consideration thought proper for you. If you would have me prescribe the preparation above mentioned, you must furnish me from Mr Malius, with the description of it, and tell me you are resolved and fitted to ride Half methods never produce whole or any cures And health is worth all that we can do My swelling is not yet gone, it goes but slowly It has kept me quiet, and I have not been on horseback ever since I first mentioned it to you I count it a great loss to me

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 95 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 246-7

now winter is at hand, and thereby my time of riding near an end For though I rode but gently a mile or two when it was fair after dinners, yet that airing and exercise (which is all that I have) I thought did me good

Mr Furly's son, whom I have looked for and do still every day, is not yet come As soon as I see him you shall hear from me I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J Locke

My humble service to Mrs Clarke, my wife and the Bachelor My Lady and the rest here give you their humble service

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, touching pills to be taken by me, etc Received the 18th September, 1700 Answered the 19th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 23rd September, 1700

Dear Sir,

You will see by the enclosed what relates to Mr Furley I have writ to him to take care of your son in prosecution of your design, and I think you may send him to him in that confidence, just as he has sent me his Whether you will think fit to write to him first, and have an answer from him before you send your son over to him I must leave to you However, I must desire you to send the enclosed to him by the next post, for he will be in pain about his son till he hears from me

The writing to Mr Furley upon a supposition that you will send him your son to take care of in prosecution of your design has hindered me from writing to Dr Guenellen, for I do not see how you can commit him to two people's care at once When he is once settled there somewhere by Mr Furley to learn the language and merchants' accounts you may have advice from Mr Furley what farther to do, and then we may apply ourselves to Dr Guenellon as there shall be occasion It is with this view that I have writ what concerns your son in the enclosed If

you have any other prospect or scheme in view concerning this matter I will write again to one or both of them (I mean Mr Furley and Dr Guenellen) as you shall direct

I long to hear of the recovery of your health, the increase whereof I heartily wish, and am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My service to Mrs Clarke, my wife and the Bachelor The whole family here send their services to you all

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter with one enclosed to Mr Furley about placing my son in Holland Received the 25th September, 1700 Answered the 26th, with a copy of what I writ Mr Furley on the 27th

## *Clarke to Benjamin Furly*

27th September, 1700

Sir,

By the enclosed letter from Mr Locke you will find that I shall depend on your friendly assistance in placing my second son, John Clarke, where you think most proper to learn merchants' accounts and the Dutch language (the French he has already) I had thoughts of accompanying him into Holland and putting him into your hands, but my health will not (I fear) permit me, and therefore I am enquiring who is going thither that I may entrust him withal And when I can find a person to whose care I can commit him I purpose to send him, and shall address him to you, and beg that you will according to your accustomed goodness afford me and him your help in this affair, which shall always be acknowledged and returned in all the ways of gratitude that shall be in the power of,

Sir,

your most affectionate friend and servant,

E C

Pray give my hearty service to your sons

[*Endr*] Copy letter to Mr Furley about placing my son John in Holland, etc Dated the 27th September, 1700

## *Locke to Benjamin Furly*

27th September, 1700

I could wish for Mr Clarke's sake that your journey had not been put off to next spring, though Arent tells me it will be early He has an intention to send a son of his into Holland He is about or [1] years old, and is designed for a merchant His father intends to send him speedily into Holland to learn the language and merchants' accounts, and in the meantime to look out for some honest worthy merchant to place him with as soon as he is qualified for it It is a very pretty lad, is forward in Latin, and speaks French very well I know nobody that understands these things so well as you, and cannot but advise my friend to do with his son as I would do with my own, send him over to you to dispose of him as may best conduce to his father's design, which I have told you I will not say I shall have the more care of your son because my friend's is there under yours For I should do what you expect from me without any other consideration but of my friendship to you and Arent But perhaps it may be some security to a father, whose affection to a child has no ordinary measures, that your son will not be wholly neglected here, since you have a pledge there of no less consequence If I were in Holland and sent over Arent to Mr Clarke, I should say to him, ' Pray take care of him as if he were my son ' The same say I to you in reference to his, and I think I need say no more

I desire you to give my humble service to Mrs Furley, etc

[*Endr*] Copy of what Mr Locke wrote to Mr Furley about placing my son in Holland, etc Sent enclosed in mine to Mr Furley on the 27th September, 1700

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

Oates, 3rd October, 1700

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 19th of September I received not till the latter end of the last week, which delay had no great mischief

[1] Age of John is lacking in MS Cf *supra*, p 142

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 96 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke* pp 247-8

because the main part of it was answered before it came to my hands by my last to you, which I am very glad to find by yours of the 26th came safe to your hands, and satisfied you as to the affair of your son John I was glad to find you in such good hands as Sir Richard Blackmore's [1] I hope you will quickly find some good effects from his prescriptions, and that [I] shall find you with satisfaction on giving me an account of it in your letters. The reason why I answer your letter so late is because I received it not till Monday night last, and to-day is our first ordinary since that time And the reason why I write so short is because I write in pain The swelling I mentioned to you in my back I could not get to break there, and it is gone from thence, but the humour that is in it I think is fallen into my leg, where it has caused me very sharp pains, and is broke in two or three places. I spend most of my time in bed, and have ate nothing for some days but water gruel I hope in my next I shall be able to give you a better account of my spindle shanks

My service to Mrs Clarke, my wife and the Bachelor I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

My Lady Masham always enquires after your health with much concern She commands me to present her service to you and the persons above mentioned

*I perceive you see Mr Pawling sometimes, which makes me* take the liberty to desire you to give him the enclosed when he comes in your way It requires no great haste

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, that the swelling in his back is fallen into his leg, etc Received 4th of October, 1700 Answered the 5th

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

Oates, 18th October, 1700

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 17th and the other of a former date I received both just now, with the enclosed in them, and have only time to

[1] Richard Blackmore (d 1729), an eminent physician and writer

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 97 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 248

tell you that my enquiry concerning your journey into the country was not bare curiosity I concluded by that time you would see what effects Sir R[ichard] B[lackmore]'s prescriptions had upon you, and that if you found good by them you would continue the same method If not that, then you would probably leave them off because of the difficulty of having the Spa waters Upon such a resolution I intended to advise you to add to each dose of his pills gr xv of Jesuit's powder, and so to take them only in the mornings and ride upon them, and so spend your days in riding For then your excuse about not having a horse (which at best I thought no very good one) I concluded would be at an end Sir, if it were in my power I would make drinking a dish of coffee or chocolate every day a perfect cure for you But all that I can do for you being to tell you what I think will or will not restore you to your former health, I cannot forbear under the earnest concern I have for it to tell you that as far as I can guess neither steel nor any other medicines I can think of will do it without the exercise I propose, which is the only method of physic I can expect a cure from of physic I say, for what nature itself may do I say not But that lingering way nobody, I think, will advise you to My thanks to Madam for her letter The post is going I am hers and

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My sore leg permits me to sit up but very little I hoped to have had it well before this time, but it is not so forward this way as I thought

My service to the Bachelor[1] 'When his [Mr Clarke's] son comes, I shall take the same care of him as of my own' These are the words of Mr Furley's letter which you sent me enclosed in yours

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, for me to take 15 grs of Jesuit's powder with the steel pills, etc Received the 23rd October, 1700 Answered the 24th

[1] John Freke

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 21st October, 1700

SIR,

I have not so good an account of your health by my Cousin King as I could wish What I think may or may not be conducive to it I wrote you in my last, and could not forbear to do it out of the great desire I have to see you perfectly restored That must be my excuse for the liberty I have taken herein

I shall have occasion speedily to pay a considerable sum of money I would therefore desire you, if it stands with your convenience, to pay fifty pounds which was due at Michaelmas, and six pounds (which with some odd money was the balance of our account when we last adjusted it), in all £56, to Mr Churchill for me This I propose to you only upon condition it may suit your convenience to pay it presently, if not I would not have you straiten yourself I will rather stay some time My service to yours, and to my wife, and the rest of your family, and to the Bachelor I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

My Lady and all here give you their service

[*Addr*] To Edward Clarke, Esq, to be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to pay £56 to Mr Churchill, etc Received by Mr King the 23rd October, 1700 Answered in part the 24th Answered fully the 31st

## *Locke to Clarke* [2]

Oates, 25th October, 1700

DEAR SIR,

Besides the great age of Sir Thomas Willis, who is concluded to be above 90, and the infirm health of his son, there is a new accident that has happened lately in his family, that

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 98 Also printed in *Lettres inéaites de John Locke*, p 249

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 99 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 249-250

makes my Lady think it reasonable to be quick with him in the affair contrived in the two enclosed His grandson is newly married, without his father and grandfather's consent or privity The match is so much beneath him every way that it troubles his grandfather very much, and has made his infirm father keep his bed, and it is thought will endanger his life My Lady therefore desires you will be pleased to dispatch away the enclosed to Sir Thomas Willis as soon as with convenience you can The Bishop of Gloucester, she says, is an acquaintance of Sir Thomas Willis's, so that if his Lordship be in town she thinks it would forward the business if his hand were also to the letter as well as yours and mine But if the Bishop be out of town she thinks it will be too much loss of time to stay for it, and desires it may go presently She was going to have the direction wrote on the outside, but considering that you would frank it, begs the favour that you will superscribe it according to her postscript She gives you and all your family, and Mr Freke her humble service

Having heard nothing from you since my last to you, I would flatter myself that your health mends I shall be very glad to receive assurance of it from you My leg mends, though but slowly, it will not yet let me return to my ordinary course of life, but whenever I sit up an hour or two too long it grows troublesome and painful, and is sensibly the worse for it I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

My service to yours, and my wife, and to the Bachelor

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, about a letter from Lady Masham to be sent to Sir Thos Willis, etc Received the 27th October, 1700 Answered the 31st

## *Clarke to Locke.*[1]

London, 31st October, 1700

Dear Sir,

I last week paid the £56 you ordered me to Mr Churchill, and took his receipt for so much on your account And after two journeys to Cripple-gate got the Bishop of Gloucester's hand to the letter you sent me on the 25th, and after having

[1] Lovelace Collection

signed it myself also, superscribed it, and sent it to Sir Thomas Willis according to my Lady's directions And have returned you my Lady's letter to the Bishop, etc , to be kept by you with other papers of that kind I am very much rejoiced to hear that your leg mends, and your health increases My wife and all mine join with me in their humble services to all at Oates, and in their hearty prayers for the perfect establishment of your health My own health is much in the same state as when I wrote last to you But whatever conditions I am in I shall ever remain,

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,
EDW CLARKE

My children's tutor having suddenly left them, we are now detained in town until we can get another

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq , at Oates To be left with Mr. Jocelyn, a shopkeeper at Bishop's Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 31st October, 1700 To Nov 5

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 5th November, 1700

DEAR SIR,

My leg is now, I thank God, so well that it confines me no longer to the lazy lying much in bed, which I was quite weary of, so that that malady of a sore leg I look on now as quite over Whether I am much to rejoice in it I do not well know For though the settling of a humour in my legs be not a very desirable thing in one of my age, and has usually trouble and danger enough in it, yet if I do not mistake, my lungs were much easier whilst the sores were running than they were before. This I said and thought I felt then But this, I am sure, that I breathe much worse now than when my leg was ill Whether it be the coming of winter alone that causes it, or whether the alteration be owing in part to the vent of the humour ceasing in my leg, or wholly to the cold and foggy weather, I cannot be positive It is nothing but what I do and ought and do expect Every

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 100 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 250-251

winter is, of course, to bring a greater load upon me, till at last it put an end to my breathing at all

I am very sorry your health finds no amendment yet, as it might and ought to do if those strong principles of life which are in you were a little roused and excited I could wish it were done, that you might be perfectly restored to your former vigour

My Lady Masham returns you her thanks for your care and trouble about her business She did not intend it should have cost you so much pains But the calling in that money or mending the security she thinks necessary, for the grandson's marrying it is thought will break his father's heart I return you also my thanks for complying so readily with my desire

And now I must beg your assistance for a man whom I am sure, if you knew as well as I do, you would do all you could without my asking

Your Cousin Hopkins, I am informed, leaves Covent Garden lecture at Christmas next, and I know not a fitter man to succeed him than Mr Anderson I take him to be a very honest good man, that designs to do all the good in his calling I have heard him preach more than once, and know not where to go if I were in town to hear better sermons than his That, therefore, which I beg of you for him is that you get your cousin Hopkins to use what interest he has in the parish for him, or at least to favour him as often as he can with his pulpit during this time of probationary preaching I think the man really deserves assistance and encouragement, and therefore I earnestly beg yours for him to your Cousin Hopkins or anyone else you know of that parish I have this day sent Mr Anderson a letter to you, which may serve to introduce him to you if there be any farther particulars in the case to give him an opportunity to explain them

Pray give my most humble service to Mrs Clarke and to my wife I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J Locke

Not being able to rely much on my man James's memory, whether it be the *Globe* or the *Ball* in Hungerford Market where Mr Johnstown's waterman uses to call, I must beg the favour of you to send the enclosed to that ale house by one of your servants,

who will easily find the house where his waterman calls, whether it be the sign of the *Globe* or the *Ball*

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank
[*Endr*] Mr Locke, for Mr Anderson, etc Received the 6th November, 1700 Answered fully the 7th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 5th November, 1700

SIR,

The gentleman that brings you this is that Mr Anderson whom I writ to you concerning by this post more at large And shall only say to you here again what I there told you, that if you knew him as well as I do he would not need any other recommendation I desire you to consider him as one whom I am very much concerned for, and to assist him what you can in what he desires You will not think your pains or interest misbestowed, though I should not as I do take part in it I am,

Sir,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, these
[*Endr*] Mr Locke, in favour of Mr Anderson, etc Received the 9th of November Answered the 14th

## *Locke to Clarke.* [2]

Oates, 11th November, 1700

DEAR SIR,

The trouble you were at with my letter to Hungerford Market was more than either the matter of it required or I intended you, and therefore I ought not to pass it without a particular acknowledgment, which I join to my thanks for your

[1] From Br Mus MS 4290, f 102 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 251

[2] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 103 Also partly printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, pp 63-64

so readily favouring Mr Anderson, whom I take to be a man that you will as little repent assisting as any of his calling

The very day I writ to you last in confidence that my sore leg was as good as well, my other before night began to be out of order, and between the one and the other of them I am not yet free from pain and trouble, but I hope I shall in a little time get over it In the meantime I have one inconvenience now the cold weather comes in, which if my legs should remain in the state they are would make me very uneasy You know that I have but one way to keep my feet warm, that are apt to be without a fire icy cold But now if I approach the fire, the only remedy for my cold feet, the sores that yet remain on my legs, as soon as they feel any warmth from the fire, do so burn and shoot that the pain is intolerable This obliges me to spend a great part of my time in bed, a way of living I do not much like Though, when I consider well, I think I ought to be content that I am at all amongst the living It is not the spleen that suggests this thought, but the news I heard this post that my old friend Mr Hodges[1] is dead He, Dr Thomas and I were intimate in our younger days in the university They two are gone, and who could have thought that I, much the weakest and most unlikely of the three, should have outlived them

I am sorry you continue to give me no better an account of your health I heartily wish it, and that I could say anything to you about it more effectual than my wishes I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J Locke

My humble service to Mrs Clarke and all your fireside, and to the Bachelor My Lady and the rest of ours give you and yours and the Bachelor their services

Pray give the enclosed, with my service, to my wife

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, of his legs being still out of order, etc Received the 13th November, 1700 Answered the 14th

[1] Nathaniel Hodges, who became prebend of Norwich and Gloucester

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 9th December, 1700

DEAR SIR,

How much better had it been that you and the two ladies you mention had surprised me last week in my bed, than to let a kind intention you had to me come to nothing I hate bustle and pother that hinders me from the enjoyment of my friends However, the good intentions of one's friends deserve thanks, which therefore pray return to our wives, though they have ordered the matter so as to hinder their execution I know by experience that men who have been long preparing for a journey into the country have got much to do just before they leave the town, and therefore I cannot but excuse this in ladies who have more trinkets to provide and more pennyworths to buy, and more visits to make the last week of their being in London

Whether the declaration upon which your accompanying them or not depends will be before this day seventh night or no I do not know, but I am firm in the same opinion I have been a good while that it will certainly be so If the delay of it leaves you in town past Monday next, what hinders but you may afford us your company and take a little country air here for a few days, where I can more at large tell you that my thoughts perfectly agree with yours, and that I am,

Sir,

your most affectionate and most faithful servant,

J LOCKE

My Lady gives her service to you, Mrs Clarke, and my wife, and bids me tell you she hopes you will all three keep your resolution of obliging her by your company before you go into Somersetshire And pray tell the ladies from me that I am now in a better posture to receive them and enjoy their conversation than for some weeks back, in which I have spent my time in bed, not rising till after candle light this my sore legs obliged me to. But now, I thank God, they are so well that for this day or two I rise before dinner and sit up till ordinary bedtime, and hope they are now in a way to be quite well You see your neighbour Pawling sometimes I understand The enclosed is of no great

haste, therefore I venture to trouble you with the enclosed to be delivered as he comes in your way

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke Received the 11th December, 1700 Answered the 12th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 13th December, 1700

DEAR SIR,

Though I writ to you Monday last I cannot let this post go without another letter to you If it find you gone your western journey it will overtake you at Chipley, and there acquaint you with my good wishes that your progress into the country may be easy, pleasant, and advantageous to your health, and whatever other business calls you thither If it find you in town it is not only in my Lady's and my name to invite you down hither But since I conclude you are not averse to this visit, it is to desire you that it may be before the holidays, and that as soon as you can Because at Christmas there is company expected here, and I shall enjoy more of you if I have you here alone when we shall be masters of ourselves and of our time Besides that you know the straitness of room in this house, and I would have you here perfectly at your ease and freedom If, therefore, my wishes could do it I would bring you hither the beginning of the next week But I must leave that to your convenience, for I shall be glad to see you, and you will be very welcome hither whenever you will make me happy with your company I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate humble servant,
J LOCKE

My service to the College and to our wives Whether with you or at a distance I wish them a good journey

My Lady Masham gives you her service, and pleases herself

with the hopes of seeing you speedily here She gives her service to the College

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 24th December, 1700 Answered the 28th

## *Locke to Clarke* [1]

Oates, 10th February [1700-1]

DEAR SIR,

When Sir Francis went to town I desired him to give you my service and to let me know whether you were there, that I might write to you as soon as I knew you were in London Your kind letter of the 8th gives me an assurance of that, though it be too silent of your health, which was another part of my enquiry by Sir Francis I will hope, hearing no complaints from you, that it is pretty well re-established This is not a time to be ill in I cannot yet get my legs well They so much inconvenience me when I am up that they make me spend most of my time in bed, wherein I have no great satisfaction As to my lungs, they keep their ordinary course and feel the effects of winter I long to hear this day's success, by which I shall make some guess of the future Pray give my service and thanks to all that remembered me at Chipley I shall write more at large in my next This is only in short to welcome you to town For though in this place out of the world I am in no hurry yet the messenger makes me in haste I am,

Dear Sir,
your most affectionate friend and humble servant,
J LOCKE

My service to the Bachelor
My Lady and this family give you both theirs

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 12th February, 1700 Answered the 20th

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 105 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, p 252

## *Locke to Clarke.*[1]

DEAR SIR, Oates, 14th February, 1700-1

I return you my thanks for yours of the 11th instant with the heads of the speech in it I have since seen the speech itself, and though all the rest are fit for the consideration of the great council of the nation, yet there is none but the second that seems at present fit to take up your time and thoughts, for unless that be so well considered as to provide a security for us and the rest of Europe, what making a stir and provisions about the rest will signify I confess I do not see But it is like I may mistake, and you will forgive these melancholy visions of a man out of the world who lies abed and dreams

The enclosed I send you open, that you may either send it forwards or back to me to be amended as you see cause For in this you know I must continue to be governed by you And it is not barely answering the letter with affection and all the prudent advice I can give unless it be suited to some particular turn which you know how to direct to make it as I would have it most serviceable to you both

You must excuse me to my wife for not writing to her It is with much ado that I get time for this and the enclosed My untoward legs made me keep my bed all day yesterday, and I think I shall do the same to-day, for I am not yet up and it is now past two in the afternoon

Mrs Smithsby has lately laid out some money for me, and I have writ to her by this post to buy me some other things I have directed her to you for money I beg you, therefore, that what money she shall desire of you not exceeding twenty pounds you would furnish her with I have not given her a bill nor mentioned any sum to her, not knowing what she has or will lay out I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE

My service to the Bachelor

My Lady gives the College hers

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to pay Mrs Smithsby any sum not exceeding £20
Received the 17th February, 1700 Answered the 20th

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 106 Also printed in *Lettres inédites de John Locke*, pp 252-3

## *Clarke to Locke.*[1]

London, 25th February, 1700-1

DEAR SIR,

I have supplied Mrs Smithsby with fifteen pounds for your use pursuant to your direction And last night received the enclosed from my wife to be conveyed to you, which is all that I have time to write at present, more than that I am,

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

My humble service to my Lady and all at Oates, etc

[*Addr*] These for John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Jocelyn, a shopkeeper at Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 25th February, 1700-1 To March 7th

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 10th March [1701]

DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for the readiness you expressed in your last kind letter to supply my occasions But that which I had then in prospect being now at an end, I shall not have the need that I then thought I might However, your kindness is not the less, and I return you my hearty thanks for it

The great change that has lately happened will no doubt occasion a great many others You will do me the favour to let me know those that are or are like to be in the great offices and places of trust, as council, admiralty, treasury, etc, and in whom the ministry is like to reside Pray write me a word or two to give me a little light into the state and bent of things For I am in a place where the knowledge of these things comes not till late after all the world knows them I hope all at Chipley are well My service to them I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful humble servant,

J LOCKE

[1] Lovelace Collection

I hear the Bachelor is returned Pray give him my service. My Lady Masham gives you hers

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament. To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 5th July, 1701

Sir,

I long to renew our conversation (though if I mistake not it is on your side it rests), therefore amongst the concourse of visitors that welcome you to town let me tell you that I am much pleased at your being there, master of so much more health than you are used to be, and I know nothing could add to the pleasure I received at the news but its being confirmed by you, when your leisure will permit For you daily have my best wishes, I being devoted to you, by gratitude as well as by inclination

Perhaps you may grumble a little at this letter, concluding that I might as well have desired my father to make my service acceptable to you? It is true, Sir, and I still must beg his assistance, for it is impossible for me alone to thank you for your great favours, or to express myself as I ought

Your most obliged friend and humble servant,
E Clarke

My Mother and sister [2] send you their service

I hope you left the family at Oates well. I'll answer Mrs Masham's letter very soon

I have read Télémaque and La Fontaine with as much pleasure (lately) as at the first time I could almost envy the difficulties of that young man since it procured him so much wisdom

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at London

[*Endorsed by Clarke*] El Clarke, 5th July, 1701 To August 13th

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Jenny Clarke



ELIZABETH CLARKE

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 25th August, 1701

DEAR SIR,

Your very kind letter of the 13th found not its way hither till the last post It came in company with a letter from Mrs Masham of the 18th By what accident they were so much longer in their passage than they ought to have been I know not, but can assure you they were (with those they brought enclosed) very welcome to all here And you have the hearty thanks and services of the whole family here for your kind advices and enquiries after my health, which, I bless God, is something improved since my coming hither, though at present I am hardly able to hold my pen to make particular acknowledgments for all your favours and friendships to me and mine, by reason of excessive pain and weakness I have at present in my right shoulder and hand-wrist, occasioned I hope by cold only, and will be removed again in a little time Whatever health or strength I gain here I shall gladly employ in your service, and shall ever think myself happy in being continued in your favour, and amongst the number of

your most affectionate faithful servants,

EDW CLARKE

My daughter Betty hath promised to answer yours and Mrs Masham's kind letters to her

In the meantime you are desired to accept all our humble services, and give the like to Sir Francis and my Lady, and the whole family at Oates

[*Addr*] For John Locke at Oates To be left with Mr Jocelyn, a shopkeeper at Bishop's Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 25th August, 1701 To October 30

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke* [2]

Chipley, 6th September, 1701

SIR,

My best thanks attend you for the favour of your last letter, which was such an obliging one that I despair of ever

[1] Lovelace Collection [2] Lovelace Collection

making any return suitable to it For my expressions are so low, and my style so mean, that though I have often been acquainted with your great share of good-nature that on many occasions has let you judge favourably of me, yet I can't but wonder that it extends so far as to permit you with so much frankness to express your friendship for one in many circumstances unworthy of it Indeed, it is in this point only that I can lay a claim to it, viz the sincerity with which I am your most affectionate servant, for without a compliment I would serve you to the utmost of my power You did me a singular kindness in but saying, '*Perhaps you will think hard of me*,' *etc*, for I will assure you I am so constant that you can't raise a thought in me, of you, that is not full of respect and gratitude And as to my '*taking care that you should be always in health and good-humour if I expect to hear frequently from you*,' I can only say that the pleasure and advantage I receive with your letters is such that had I no other reason to wish your health, I should begin to lay about me, and as far as wishes will go (which I think is all I can do) you shall enjoy the same vigour as at twenty

My father has been this summer more healthy than for this two years last past, though I cannot say he has been so much on horse-back as one could wish, or as opportunity would give leave, his vacant hours he has rather chose to spend in fishing at a pond of his, where he is very lucky in catching carps My mother's legs still swell, under which disposition she is cheerful to a wonder They both present their humble service to you So does my sister Thus having spoken of the whole family here, in particular give me leave to assure that I am, with much respect,

Sir,
your most faithful humble servant,
E CLARKE

My service to my Lady and Mrs Masham I will write to her by the first opportunity

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq These
[*Endr*] El Clarke, 6th September, 1701 To October 30

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 28th December, 1701

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 13th I received not till this day seventh night, and the other which you mention to have writ me about the beginning of November I received not at all Had it come to my hands I should not have failed to have said something about the small pox, which that letter would have told me has got into your house But God be thanked all has gone well, and I congratulate you that the danger and trouble of that disease is well over I made no more haste to return my thanks to you for your last, since if I had writ the very next day my letter might have gone farther but would have come to your hands no sooner For Sir Francis and my Cousin King make account to find you in town to-morrow, and I should be very sorry if you should fail them I am sorry to find you complain of want of strength Bestir yourself and you will find you have it *Crede quod habes et habes*, and all is but little enough in the present state of Europe and England Though if the latter will exert itself as it ought, I think much may be done I hope you left Mrs Clarke and my wife well Pray give them my service when you write I am and have been for some time under the disorder of a very great cold, which very much indisposes me for everything, even writing itself Only you may be assured that I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J LOCKE

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 29th, 1701-2

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 29th January, 1701-2

DEAR SIR,

My own indisposition and my constant attendance upon the service of the House are the reasons that I have not been able to pay my duty to you as I ought But I was as affectionately

[1] Lovelace Collection

concerned at your late indisposition as any relation or friend you have, and am as heartily rejoiced at the account I have received from Sir Francis of your recovery, and I most heartily wish and pray for a perfect establishment of your health, etc

Yesterday the enclosed papers were sent me by the Bishop of Gloucester to be conveyed to my Lady Masham, which I know not better how to do than by your hand, and therefore beg your pardon for troubling you with them, praying you to deliver them, with my humble and hearty service to my Lady

Though I am quite tired with this day's attendance, yet I cannot omit to acquaint you with what passed here yesterday upon the bill for better securing His Majesty's Person and Government against the pretended Prince of Wales,[1] etc Amongst many other things, to render that bill ineffectual, there was a clause offered to oblige all persons to swear to support, maintain and defend the Church of England as by law established, under the like penalties and incapacities as those are to be, who shall refuse to renounce and abjure the pretended Prince of Wales The clause was debated near six hours, and at last was thrown out by 173 against 155, to the great discontent of the High Churchmen But that, I presume, will as little concern you, as it does

your most affectionate faithful servant,

EDW CLARKE

My humble service to my Lady and all at Oates, etc

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Jocelyn, a shopkeeper at Bishop's Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 29th January, 1701-2 To February 2

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 10th February, 1701-2

DEAR SIR,

I should not trouble you with this account now, but that I think I shall speedily have need not only of the balance but of more money, and therefore I desire you to send me word whether if I should have occasion for 2 or £300 more you could lend it me I will give you my bond for it, and the same interest you

[1] James Edward (1688-1766), son-and-heir of James II of England

paid me on the like occasion I beg the favour to let me hear from you the first opportunity, wherein I should be glad also to be assured of your health standing firm amidst the fatigues of your constant attendance on the business of the house My service to all at Chipley, and to the Bachelor Is he yet come to town? My Lady Masham gives you her service, and wishes you some holidays, both for your sake that you might take a little breath, and for her own hoping you would take a little country air here at Oates I am,

Dear Sir,
your most humble and most faithful servant,
JOHN LOCKE

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, with my account balanced And to borrow 2 or £300 more, etc Received the 13th February, 1701-2 Answered in the affirmative the 14th

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 14th February, 1701-2

DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter of the 10th with the balanced account enclosed I received by the last post, and will take care the balance shall be ready to answer your occasions And if you want such further sum as you mention in your letter, upon timely notice you shall be supplied as you desire by

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

I fear the conclusion of this session will not be much unlike the proceedings of the last Parliament, etc

Pray give my humble service to my Lady, and all the good family at Oates, etc

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 14th February, 1701-2 To March 10

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 23rd May, 1702

DEAR SIR,

By a letter I received this day from Mr Churchill I find he has received from you the hundred pounds for which I spoke to you when I was in town, for which I return you my thanks I wish my health would have permitted me to stay there a little longer, both that I might have had the opportunity to have prevailed with you to take some care of yours, and to have settled the account between us to this time By my reckoning the balance remaining due to me the 22nd instant (which was the day whereon Mr Churchill mentions his having received the last £100 from you) is £35 16s 4d If you find it to be so, pray send me the account drawn out and signed, that I may return you the counterpart of it signed before you leave the town If you discover any error in it, then pray send me a draft of it as it stands in the book, that I may rectify mine by it, and then sign and send it you

And now give me leave once more to press for my sake, for the family's sake, for your country's sake, not to neglect your health Get on horseback as fast as you can, it is a thing worth the riding for, and I am confident riding will do I hope I shall have that promise of you before you remove further from me My service to Mrs Clarke, and your son, and the rest of your family, to all whom I wish prosperity and happiness I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J LOCKE

Pray let the enclosed with my kindest service be conveyed to my wife

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House, within Temple Bar, London

Frank

[*Endr*] Mr Locke, to send him a copy of the account balanced, signed, etc Received the 25th May, 1702 Answered accordingly the 6th June

## *Locke to Clarke*[1]

Oates, 30th November, 1702

DEAR SIR,

I was glad to see your hand some time since upon a cover which brought me a letter from my wife And I have since that been mightily rejoiced to hear from several hands that you are returned to town in very good health I do not expect that the place you are in or the affairs you there meet with should much increase it But yet I hope you will take care that it shall not sink it again There will be, I doubt not, holidays of some kind or other for you at Christmas And then what should hinder you to take a little air A few days spent here then, I think, would do you no harm, and I am sure would oblige more than one here Do not blame me if I desire to be happy once more in your company I have been little better than out of the world these last twelve months by a deafness that in great measure shut me out of conversation I thank God my hearing is now restored again, and it is in your power to make me yet more sensible of that blessing It would be folly in me to count upon another Christmas come, then, and let me enjoy you this My Lady, who gives you her service, joins with me in this request, and says that in this uncertain world she knows nothing so desirable as the conversation of friends And, *therefore, she nor I are not to be blamed if we take care to* secure yours early, that nothing may fall in between to rob us of our hopes

I was gone thus far when I received my Lady Coverly's under your cover I am very sorry to find her under those circumstances of health she mentions Pray give her my most humble service, and assure her that I will not fail to obey her commands the next post, if I have not time, as I fear I shall not, before the messenger goes now I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J LOCKE

[1] From Br Mus Add MS 4290, f 107 Also partly printed in *Original Letters of Locke*, p 65

Pray with the enclosed let my service go to Mrs Clarke and all the family at Chipley Pray give my service to the Bachelor

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's letter Received the 10th of December, 1702 Answered the 12th, and told him the reason it came no sooner to my hands, etc

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 23rd February, 1702-3.

DEAR SIR,

I have paid the three-score pounds you ordered me to Mr Churchill, and am desired to convey the enclosed to you from my daughter, which with mine and the humble services of the whole family to you and my Lady is all at present from

your most affectionate and obliged servant,

EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselin, a shop-keeper in Bishops-Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 23rd February, 1702-3 To March 5

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke.*[1]

London, 23rd February, 1702-3

SIR,

Let me write never so frequently to you, I am sure to have new favours to thank you for I was no sooner come to town, but your present of books gave me a welcome, and I beg the favour of you to receive my best acknowledgments for them I am highly delighted to hear Mr. Furly and some others give so good an account of your health May you long enjoy it, and may you believe me as I sincerely and really am,

SIR,

your most obliged friend and humble servant,

ELIZ CLARKE

My father, mother and sister are faithful servants to you, my Lady, Mrs Masham and the young gentleman

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at Oates These

[*Endr*] El Clarke, 23rd February, 1702-3 To March 4

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 8th June, 1703

DEAR SIR,

Your many and great favours to me and mine, I do with a true sense of them gratefully acknowledge, but most particularly that wherein you gave my wife and me hopes of your assistance for reviving the affair in relation to Mr King, and I do assure you there shall be nothing wanting on our parts to bring it to a happy conclusion Which is, and ever was, heartily desired by

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,
EDW CLARKE

I hope your wife's letters went safe to you by the last post Pray accept our repeated thanks for your great kindness to us all at Oates And let Sir Francis and my Lady know how sensible we all are of the obligations they laid on us there, etc

Doctor Cole this day sent the enclosed to me to be conveyed to you I have not a word of news to send you

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishops-Stortford, Essex Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] Ll Clarke 8th June, 1703 To 18

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, 8th July, 1703

SIR,

The present of books you have lately made me will not suffer me to be silent, but I find myself so wholly incapable of saying anything answerable to the greatness of the favour, that could I find out any other expedient that might convince you that I want no sense of the reality of your friendship, I should certainly choose it and so ease my mind of the confusion it is under at sending you nonsense and giving you the trouble of reading it But this last civility has made it impossible for me not to trouble you with my humble thanks, which I beseech

[1] Lovelace Collection
[2] Lovelace Collection,

you to accept, though in a most unpolished manner, and do me the right to believe that I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

E CLARKE

My father and mother are servants to you, my Lady, Sir Francis, Mrs Masham and the young gentleman, and we all join with them in the same

I remember when I was at Oates you asked me who it was that had lately translated *Don Quixote* into English I have since enquired, and I hear it is done by Mme Motteux, and that it is as well or better than in French The woman that makes up Mr Freke's chocolate (who you also enquired after) is one Mrs Emanson, a relation of Mrs Popple's, who through her own industry maintains herself and mother, and lives at the Blue Flower Pot in Eagle Street, near Red Lion Square

I hope you have received the neck-clothes

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at Oates
[*Endr*] El Clarke, 8th July, 1703

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke*[1]

Chipley, 13th October, 1703

SIR,

No distance shall ever hinder my enquiring after your health, the perfect enjoyment of which I sincerely wish you This place affords nothing worth your hearing, for which reason I'll trouble you no longer than whilst I present you my father's and mother's most humble service, and assure you that with the same respect and affection which I ever professed, I am,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

ELIZ CLARKE

All this family join in the presentment of their service to you and all the good company at Oates

My father, I thank God, is mighty well, and my mother pursues Dr Colebatch's directions, which I hope will be to her advantage Be pleased to deliver mine to Mrs Masham

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at Oates.

[1] Lovelace Collection

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 2nd December, 1703

DEAR SIR,

I am out of countenance that I have been ten days in town, and not tendered you my service, nor made you acquainted with the state of my own, my wife's, and my children's healths, which you have been always with so much kindness and affection so heartily concerned for But, indeed, the constant hurry I have been in ever since I came to town, and my steady attendance on the House, with the interruption occasioned by the late violent storm, and the consequences of it, will I hope in some measure excuse me to you Though I shall never forgive myself for not making a particular enquiry of yourself by letter after your health, notwithstanding I have had a pretty good account of it by Sir Francis Masham, of whom I have daily enquired after it, and hope the answer to this will give me satisfaction therein, by a confirmation of the good accounts I have lately received from him and others in that point, and shall heartily pray for the continuance thereof in all respects, etc

From Chipley you have the most hearty wishes of my wife, and yours, as well as all there for your health, and desires to me to assure you that Mrs Clarke is much in the same state of health as when you last saw her, and that all my children are in perfect health, all desiring to have their humble services presented to you and my Lady, and the rest of their friends at Oates, and I am sure I shall be quarrelled with for not doing it sooner I thank God by following your good advice, my health is in a great measure restored to me, so that I am now able to do you any service you shall command me, though at present a little disabled by the sad account I had the last post from my wife of the great damage done me by the late violent storm, which I believe will not amount to less than four hundred pounds But since Providence has preserved my wife, my children and my whole family from any personal hurt, I bless God and am thankful, whatever other damage I may have sustained To descend to particulars would be tedious and troublesome, and therefore shall reserve that till I have the satisfaction of waiting on you, which

[1] Lovelace Collection

I intend with the first opportunity In the meantime desire you to make my services acceptable to my Lady, and be assured that I am,

your most affectionate and most obliged servant,
EDW CLARKE

I have no news to send you but what you will find in the prints But heartily congratulate the miraculous preservation of Mr Masham at sea

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 6th December, 03 To 6to

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 4th December, 1703

DEAR SIR,

You oblige me by your letters more than you can imagine, and your last gave me an extraordinary satisfaction, bringing me an account that your descent (which word is notwithstanding melancholy) is gentle, may you with as much health as you can wish, be long ere you come to your period My particular enquiry is at present, how you and the rest of the family escaped the most dreadful storm that perhaps was ever known in England I hope well But, indeed, the sad stories I daily hear of the destruction it has made on persons, as well as churches, houses, trees, mows, etc, I own it makes me shake to think what are become of my distant friends, from whom I cannot hear as yet, amongst which number you are not the least of my concern The damage done in this country is very great, and of the number of those that have lost their lives, the Bishop and his Lady (of Bath and Wells) are two May you have escaped this danger, and may you never be molested by any is the sincere wish of,

SIR,
your most affectionate friend and humble servant,
ELIZ CLARKE

All our service waits on you, Sir Francis, my Lady, and the rest of the good family

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at Oates
[*Endr*] El Clarke, 4th December, 1703

[1] Lovelace Collection.

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 6th December, 1703

DEAR SIR,

At a time when one could hear nothing on all hands but sad stories, it was no small satisfaction to me to receive from you the good news of the recovery of your health It is what I have long heartily wished and desired And it was a charitable kindness to give me an assurance of a thing you know would be so pleasing to me to divert my thoughts a little from the sad objects it had everywhere else I shall not so far indulge my own melancholy or furnish matter to yours by troubling you with the reflections which the ravage made by this storm at sea and land does suggest I rather choose to congratulate to you the happy escape of your wife, children, and the rest of your family from the danger the hurricane threatened It is a deliverance that ought to be rejoiced in with thankfulness as you do, and I am very much rejoiced to find you make so small an account of your other great damages done you by this tempest, since it satisfies me you are got clear of that distemper which overwhelmed you when you parted from me last This makes me the more sensible of the favour I shall receive in the visit you intend me, when you will restore to me the enjoyment of my whole friend again For the last time methought I had but the outside and shell, the better half was away and wanting

I return you my thanks for the kind offer you make me of doing me any service I shall thereupon presume to beg the trouble of you to pay Mrs Smithsby twelve pounds and eleven shillings for me, which is money she has laid out for things I would have You need not at all constrain yourself about it - any time betwixt this and Christmas will be time enough, when you find it most convenient for your going to or coming from the House, to call at her lodging When you write to Chipley I must beg you to return my service to and thanks to your wife for her kind remembrance of me But that is not all you must say to mine I received an obliging letter from her of 13th of October, and a post or two after the receipt of it I returned her my thanks in an answer I writ her It was addressed to you, and since your letter makes no mention of it I conclude it lost But in

your next to Chipley let her know that, though I am grown one of the laziest creatures in nature, yet I could not forbear returning her my acknowledgments for the great civility and kindness I found in her letter She being assured of this, she has no loss by the miscarriage of mine My Lady returns by me her thanks to you, and Mrs Clarke, and the [others] that so kindly remember her, and says she hopes you will give her the opportunity of doing it by word of mouth to your own self here at Christmas, at which time she hopes she shall have the happiness of your company I am,

Dear Sir,

your most humble and most faithful servant,

J Locke

My service to the Bachelor

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House within Temple Bar, London

[*Endr*] Mr Locke's obliging letter And to pay Mrs Smithsby £12 11s Received the 10th December, 1703 Answered the 14th in part, and sent the fate of the Occasional Bill, and that I had paid Mrs Smithsby the £12 11s ordered, etc

## *Mrs Clarke to Mr Clarke*

10th December, 1703

My Dear,

I received yours with the certificate for J Lane, which I have delivered to J Spreat to convey to him as he desired, etc I was in hopes your journey to Oates, where you said you was so earnestly invited, had been in order to some new proposals Pray was there not one word said of that matter and how stands the affair of Mr Boulstrode and Mr Collins? I should be glad to know whether Mr Freke has ever said anything to you of the gentleman he writ of in the summer, and who it was I heartily wish there would somebody or other offer that you and she could both approve of, for methinks she begins to grow past the best and so conceited withal that I fear out mend. I hope you will pardon me if I have said anything in this or my last letter that I should have kept to myself, but it is very hard to have a great deal of all sorts of trouble and nobody

to speak to, therefore it will burst out sometimes, do what I can that am,

your truly affectionate and faithful wife,
M CLARKE

Pray what is become of Ward that I hear nothing of him? My blessing to my children and my service to my friends. It is extreme cold, but fine weather here

My cousin Tom Cross's wife is here, and looks for her husband every day to come and fetch her

[*Addressed in another hand*] These. To Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament To be left at Richard's Coffee House in Fleet Street, within Temple Bar, London
Frank

[*Endorsed by Mr Clarke*] Mrs Clarke's letter about Mr Locke, Mr Collins, etc Received the 12th of January, 1703-4. Answered the 13th And very fully in all respects on the 15th

## *Clarke to Locke*[1]

London, 14th December, 1703

DEAR SIR,

I have just time enough to tell you that this day the Occasional Bill was carried up to the Lords, and after six hours' debate upon it, it was thrown out by a majority of 12 And afterwards rejected without a division, to the great joy of all good men, etc And I have paid Mrs Smithsby the £12 11s you ordered me

your most affectionate faithful servant,
EDW CLARKE

We are now drinking your health, etc
My humble service to my Lady, etc

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselyn, a shop-keeper in Bishops-Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 14th December, 1703

[1] Lovelace Collection

*Elizabeth Clarke to Locke.*[1]

Chipley, 21st January, 1703-4

SIR,

My joy at the account my father has given me of your health is not to be concealed, and I owe you more than words can express for the particular and kind enquiry after me when he was at Oates He likewise informs me that you are pleased to make me another offer of books, which is so great a mark of your favour that I can no ways reject it and yet at the same time I blush to be always on your taking side But what shall I say? I want not the utmost sense of and gratitude for all your extraordinary friendship and civility to me It is then manifest, that it is my misfortune, and not my fault, that I make no suitable returns

You, Sir, have furnished me with most of the books I have. it will therefore be needless to send you a catalogue of them, in order to your judging what sort I want And besides, I remember when I had the honour to see you last, you persisted in it, that I should choose for myself These, then, are what I shall take the liberty to name, and if you approve them not, I hope you will be so kind as to correct my judgment Dr Tillotson's *Sermons*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and a Lady's Travels into Spain, which I think is entitled *Memoirs of the Court of Spain*

We hear that the King of Spain is driven back by contrary winds to Torbay, and it is said that of 300 and odd ships that embarked with him, there is no certain knowledge of more than twelve but it is hoped they are all safe Indeed, the weather here since Monday last has been dreadful A perpetual tempest, which still continues, and which nothing can exceed but the late terrible storm on the 27th of November I pray God to allay it, and to protect you from all the ill consequence that may attend it Think all I would say to express my good wishes for you, and be assured I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

ELIZ CLARKE

My mother's service in particular waits on you

[1] Lovelace Collection

Hers and my most humble service with the rest of this family attend on my Lady, and all at Oates

Mrs Masham has my thanks for her letter

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at Oates
[*Endr*] El Clarke, 21st January, 1703-4

## *Clarke to Locke* [1]

London, 25th January, 1703-4

DEAR SIR,

I have sent you the enclosed prints, which are all of the kind I could get, to accompany the enclosed letter to you They are very well liked here, and may be acceptable to others, who have them not Pray give my humble service to my Lady, and all the good company at Oates from

your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,
EDW CLARKE

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Jostlyn, a shop-keeper in Bishops-Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke
[*Endr*] E Clarke, 25th January, 1703-4 To 28

## *Clarke to Locke* [2]

London, 26th February, 1703-4

DEAR SIR,

I acknowledge the favour of yours, with the enclosed directed to the Bishop of Gloucester,[3] to which I should have returned you an answer by the last post, had it been possible for me to have transacted what was desired with the Bishop of Gloucester But he being at present under some indisposition which renders him unable to attend the public service, or to be spoken withal, I could not till this morning, with all my importunity, get his Lordship's hand to what was desired Sir Francis was pleased to refuse to do anything towards it (not so much as to step over the threshold), though I thought it was more his business than mine to have done something in it, especially when

[1] Lovelace Collection
[2] Lovelace Collection
[3] Edward Fowler

he knew I was more than ordinarily engaged to disable me, in point of time, to attend the Bishop to get his hand. Sir, I am (in haste),

your most affectionate and obliged servant,
EDW CLARKE

My humble service to my Lady, etc

Pray give the enclosed to Mrs Masham from your wife, etc, and pardon this hasty scribble

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left with Mr Joselin, a shop-keeper in Bishops-Stortford, Essex
Frank Edw Clarke

[*Endr*] E Clarke, 26th February, 1703-4 To 4

## *Locke to Clarke.*

Oates, 6th March, 1703-4

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that the letter which you returned me signed by the Bishop of Gloucester cost you so much trouble at a season when you had no time to spare The refusal of the Baronet not to do in the case what you desired of him I confess looks strange. But to ease you a little in that matter I can assure you it was not out of any personal regard to you, but out of I know not what shyness to meddle in that business For never since you have been in the trust could he be got to go one step or speak one word to anybody concerning that affair, though he were in town and my Lady had nobody else but strangers to apply herself to and make use of in a matter they were strangers to, and it is possible had the same thoughts about that I find in his letter

I know you see Sir Walter Yonge every day I know not his lodgings, but besides that I must beg you to pay him £1 13s 5d for me, which I am in his debt This matter being done, I beg the trouble of the enclosed, and if before you go out of town you will at your convenience pay Mr Churchill an hundred pounds for my account, and then state the account between us and send it me signed, I will return to you the duplicate signed by me, that

so it may be adjusted before you go into the country I hope your health is improved with a daily increase I am,

Dear Sir,

your most faithful and most humble servant,

J Locke

My Lady gives you her thanks and service

[*Endr*] Mr Locke to pay Sir W Yonge £1 13s 5d, and to pay Mr Churchill £100, etc Received the 6th March, 1703[-4] Answered the 17th in part

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke.*[1]

Chipley, 8th April, 1704

Dear Sir,

If I did not study your ease, much more than my own satisfaction, you would hear from me abundance oftener, but I can no longer resist the pleasure of presenting you my most faithful service, and best wishes that you may be master of as a great a share of health as you can desire Assure yourself, Sir, that when I am silent, I forget not that you are both my friend and benefactor I take all opportunities to express the sense I have of your favours, and am, with the greatest zeal imaginable,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate faithful humble servant,

Elizabeth Clarke

My mother joins with me and all here in presenting you, Sir Francis, my Lady, Mrs Masham, and the young gentleman our very humble services

I hope you and Mrs Masham received the letters I sent you both some time ago

[*Addr*] To John Locke, Esq, at Oates.
[*Endr*] El Clarke, 8th April, 1704

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 28th April, 1704

Dear Sir,

I return my thanks to you for yours of the 11th instant, and to my wife for hers enclosed in it I had done it sooner, but

[1] Lovelace Collection.

that the increase of my distemper indisposeth me to everything, and my life goes away in painful short breathing, which I have reason to expect will quickly come to an end, since this warm fine weather we have lately had has been so far from relieving me that I have been for the worse for it But whatever it shall please God to do with me I shall always be concerned for you and your family whilst I am in this life, and wish all happiness continued to you when I am gone I am,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate humble servant,

J Locke

[*Addr*] For Edward Clarke, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mr Pawling's, over against the Plough, in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, London

Frank

## *Locke to Clarke*

Oates, 8th May, 1704

Dear Sir,

Mr Churchill in a letter I received from him the last week acquainted me that you had paid him an hundred pounds to my account, whereupon I have drawn up the state of the account between us and sent it you here enclosed signed If you find it right I desire you to return me the duplicate signed I remember nothing that you have paid for me since our last accounting but what I have set down If I have slipped anything rectify the account and send it me, that I may return it to you signed Thus much to comply with our usual method

But now you must give me leave to tell you that I am much troubled with what I hear of you from different hands I am told that your health is out of order, and your spleen begins to be in ferment again You will pardon me, therefore, if I interest myself again in that matter Sir Francis acquainted me that when he left the town he invited you hither, and I hoped before this time to have seen you here The air and company here I flatter myself might be some relief to you, and therefore you will pardon me if I wish to see you here, both as a present good to you and a satisfaction to me in enjoying your company, and an opportunity of discoursing to you and prevailing upon you to do what further

I may think fit to be done for the recovery and preservation of your health This I cannot but say, that allowing yourself too much time of persecuting yourself with your own melancholy thoughts in town is what I think not any way convenient for you, neither the air nor inactive leisure of that place can I imagine good for you In such a state the body and the mind revenge themselves one upon another, and in their turns increase the evil I would therefore wish you were in a way that gave constant exercise to your body and diversion to your thoughts, that so you might receive respite and help on both sides If I interest myself thus far and talk so plainly, you will believe it is because I am without compliment,

Dear Sir,

your most affectionate faithful and humble servant,

J Locke

My service to all at Chipley

All this family salute you and them.

[*Addr*] To Edward Clarke of Chipley, Esq, Member of Parliament, at Mr Pawling's over against the Plough, in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, London

| Edward Clarke Esq | | *Dr* | | | Per Contra | | *Cr* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1703 | | | | | 1703 | | | | |
| Jan 2 | To balance due to me - - | £75 | 16 | 4 | Dec 15 | By amt paid Mrs Smithsby | £12 | 15 | 0 |
| 1704 | | | | | 1703-4 | | | | |
| Mar 25 | To a year's annuity - | 100 | 0 | 0 | Mar 7 | By amt pd Sr Walter Yonge - | 1 | 13 | 5 |
| | | | | | | By amt pd Mr Churchill | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| | | £175 | 16 | 4 | | | £114 | 8 | 5 |
| | | | | | | By balance due to me - | £61 | 7 | 11 |

This account was examined and adjusted between us this third day of May, 1704

John Locke

## *Elizabeth Clarke to Locke* [1]

Chipley, 14th August, 1704

Dear Sir,

My thanks for the noble present you lately made me I had waited on you sooner, had I followed my own inclinations,

[1] Lovelace Collection

but I was unhappily prevented till this time However, be assured, Sir, I retain the sense of your favours with the utmost gratitude, and must and will for ever acknowledge my obligations to you, particularly this last, which I can never hope to merit

I am pleased to hear you continue tolerably well, and I heartily wish I could give you a good account of my father's health, but I am willing to hope he is something better than when he came first down, and that in time his cure will be perfected

I'll detain you from your better employments no longer than whilst I assure you that my father and mother, together with the rest of this family, are your most humble servants, and that I am with all the fervency imaginable,

Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

ELIZ CLARKE

All this family are servants to that at Oates

[*Addr*] For John Locke, Esq, at Oates To be left at Mr Joselyn's, a shop-keeper in Bishops-Stortford, Essex

[*Endr*] El Clarke, 14th August, 1704

---

Mr King's discharge for all due to Mr Locke

March 3rd Anno Domini 1704[-5] Received of Edward Clarke, Esqr, the sum of one hundred and eleven pounds, seven shillings and eleven pence in full of all demands from the said Edward Clarke, Esq, due to me as Executor of John Locke, deceased I say Received per me,

PETER KING

Witness

WM SHAW

[*Endr.*] Edward Clarke.

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*Biographical*

Born at Wrington (Aug 29 1632), 1, ancestry, 1, 2, childhood at Belluton (1632-1646), 2-3 attends Westminster School (1646-1652), 3-4, a student at Christ Church, Oxford (1652-1660), 4, lectureship at Oxford (1661-1664) 4-5 secretary to Sir Walter Vane at Brandenburg (1665), 5-6 returns to Oxford (1666), 6, residence with Lord Ashley (1667-1671), 6 first visit to France (1672), 7 77-79, secretary to Council of Trade and Plantations (1673-1675), 7 10 purchases an annuity (1675), 10, 36, 98, 343, 345, 348, 375, sojourns in France (1675-1679), 11-12 with Lord Shaftesbury at Thanet House (1679-1683), 12, residence at Oxford (1682), 83-86, visits St Giles (1683), 15, 91-92, exile in Holland (1683-1689), 16-42 95-121, at Amsterdam 16, 18 19-20 22 106 115, 162, 179, 181 184-188 at Rotterdam, 21, 22 260-262 at Utrecht, 19, 20 117, 124, 127, 131, 133, returns with Princess Mary to England (1689), 23-24, visits at Oates (1689-1690), 33-34, 299-302, at Dorset Court in London (1689-1691), 33-34 290, 296 permanent residence at Oates (1691) 34, 306-312, 316-328, (1692) 35, 328-349, 354-359, 361-366, (1694) 38, 366-383 (1694) 39 383-392, 394, 396-402, (1695) 40-41 404-412 414-419, 425-429 (1696) 47-53, 57, 430-432, 435-468, 470-485 491-496, (1697) 58 497-508, 511-512, 514-519, 525-529 (1698) 59-60 530 542 (1699) 61, 542-549 (1700) 63, 551-564, 566-577, (1701) 64-65, 577-580, 583, (1702) 65-66, 584, 586-588, (1703) 67, 593-594, (1704) 69-71, 598-601 visits to London, (1691) 35, (1692) 37 (1694) 40, (1695) 54, 424, (1696) 55-57, 486 491 (1697) 57-58, 517, 520, 524 (1698) 60, (1699) 61, 549, (1700) 62, 558 (1701) 65, (1702) 65, 586, death of (Oct 28, 1704), 70-71, buried at High Laver, 71

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO LTD
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW